

ELECTORAL GEOGRAPHY OF OEIRAS (PI): A SPATIAL ANALYSIS OF MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS FROM 2000 TO 2020

Geografia Eleitoral de Oeiras (PI): uma análise espacial das eleições municipais de 2000 a 2020

Geografía Electoral de Oeiras (PI): un análisis espacial de las elecciones municipales de 2000 a 2020



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ABSTRACT

The aim is to analyze the spatial distribution of votes for the municipal executive in Oeiras in the elections from 2000 to 2020. In this sense, the writing falls within the scope of Electoral Geography, one of the branches of Political Geography. Methodologically, the study is based on theoretical foundations and obtaining alphanumeric and vector files available on the website of the Superior Electoral Court (TSE) and the respective location of electoral sections via the website of the Regional Electoral Court of Piauí (TER-PI), whose data they were organized and spatialized using GIS software QGIS. The results indicate that only two family groups have alternated in power since 2000, called Tupamaro (managed the city from 2001 to 2008) and Boca Preta (from 2009 to 2024).

Keywords: Electoral Geography; Executive elections; Oeiras (PI); SIG.

RESUMO

Objetiva-se analisar a distribuição espacial dos votos para o executivo municipal oeirense nas eleições de 2000 a 2020. Nesse sentido, inscreve-se o escrito no âmbito da Geografia Eleitoral, uma das ramificações da Geografia Política. Metodologicamente, o estudo pauta-se em fundamentação teórica e na obtenção de arquivos alfanuméricos e vetoriais disponíveis no site do Tribunal Superior Eleitoral (TSE) e respectiva localização das seções eleitorais via site do Tribunal Regional Eleitoral do Piauí (TER-PI), cujos dados foram organizados e espacializados a partir do software SIG QGIS. Os resultados indicam que apenas dois grupos familiares se alternaram no poder desde 2000, denominados de Tupamaro (gestaram a cidade de 2001 a 2008) e Boca Preta (de 2009 a 2024).

Palavras-chave: Geografia Eleitoral; Eleições do Executivo; Oeiras (PI); SIG.

RESUMEN

El objetivo de este artículo es analizar la distribución espacial de los votos para el ejecutivo municipal de la ciudad de Oeiras, en Piauí, en las elecciones de 2000 hasta 2020. En este sentido, se inscribe este trabajo en el ámbito de la Geografía Electoral, una de las ramas de la Geografía Política. Metodológicamente, el estudio se basa en fundamentos teóricos y en la obtención de archivos alfanuméricos y vectoriales disponibles en el sitio web del Tribunal Superior Electoral (TSE) y la respectiva ubicación de las mesas electorales a través del sitio web del Tribunal Regional Electoral de Piauí (TER-PI), cuyos datos fueron organizados y espacializados utilizando el software SIG QGIS. Los resultados indican que sólo dos grupos familiares se han alternado en el poder desde 2000, denominados Tupamaro (que gobernó la ciudad de 2001 a 2008) y Boca Preta (de 2009 a 2024).

Palabras clave: Geografía Electoral; Elecciones ejecutivas; Oeiras (PI); SIG.

1 INTRODUÇÃO

The municipal elections for mayor in Brazil have their regular history dating back to 1948 and have undergone modifications since then (TSE, 2024). In this sense, when analyzing this chronology, according to the TSE (2024), in Oeiras, the first capital of Piauí, it is found that few families contested and managed the municipal executive, a situation also verified in the state reality, according to Silva (1999), Arraes Filho (2000) and Moura (2019). In fact, in Oeiras, these family disputes gave rise to two political groups, called Boca

Preta, which began with the Ribeiro de Carvalho family (relatives of Colonel Orlando de Carvalho), before 1948, the Sá (from 1982) and the Nunes, and the Tupamaro, which began with Augusto Rocha Neto, elected mayor in 1948, and later included the Reis, Freitas and Tapety families. These family/group disputes, which have been ongoing since the beginning of the 20th century, still occur with few changes since the 2000s (Bueno and Sousa, 2024).

This paper focuses on this scenario, since it aims to analyze the spatialization of votes obtained by candidates for the Oeiras executive in the elections from 2000 to 2020. In effect, the examination falls within the field of Electoral Geography and voting, one of the branches of Political Geography, understood as “[...] a set of political and academic ideas about the relations between geography and politics and vice versa [...]” (Castro, 2010, p. 17).



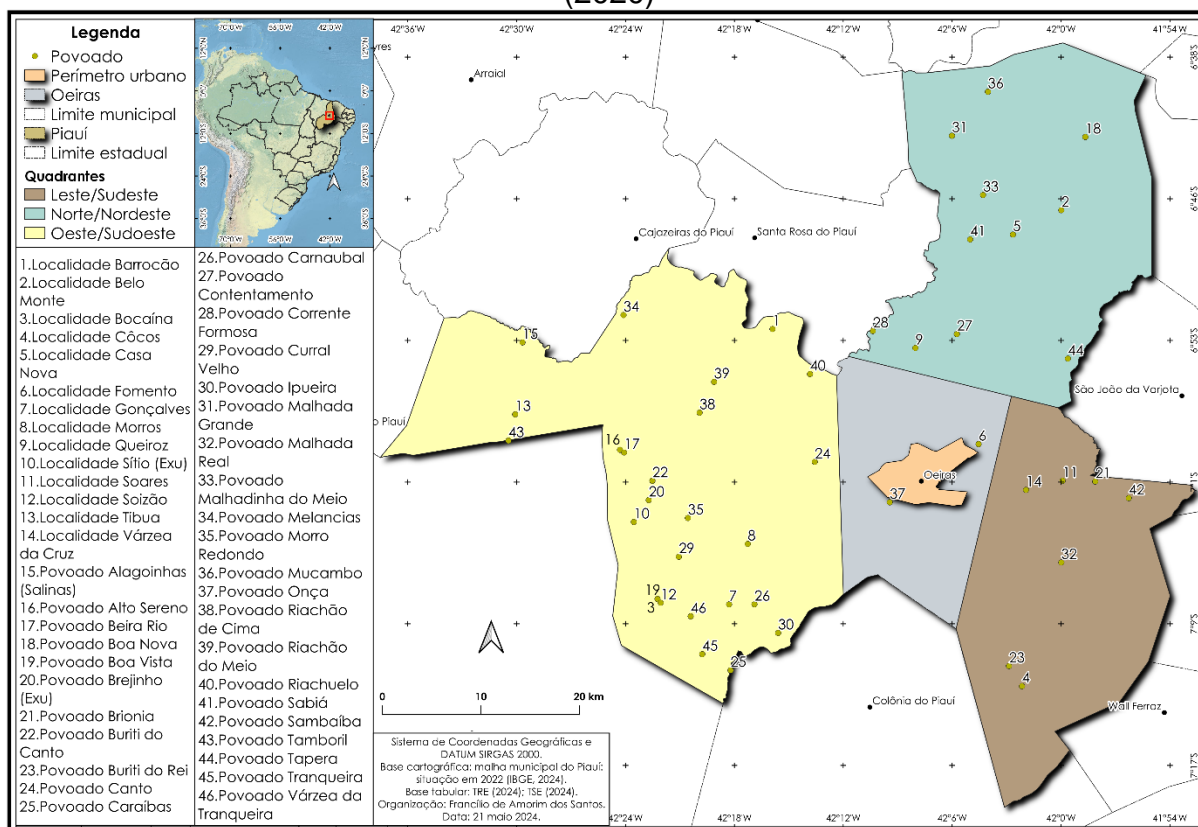
In fact, since the 1990s, there has been progress in research aimed at discussing how politics and its dynamics condition and are conditioned by spatial forms and contents, a fact that directly interferes in spatial [re]production, as pointed out by the investigations of Castro (2010, 2021), Castro and Azevedo (2022), Azevedo (2012, 2023), Braga (2008), Augusto (2012, 2017), Cunha (2014), Pereira (2014), Soares (2019), Naves (2019) and Nogueira (2020).

However, in the reality of Piauí, this theme is little explored in the field of Geography, since only one dissertation by Azevedo (2012) was found, which deals not directly with Electoral Geography and voting, but with the analysis of the exercise of citizenship from the creation of new municipalities in Piauí in the 1990s. In fact, examinations of politics, its dynamics and interference in spatial reproductions (this analysis is tenuous), are more common in Political Science, as pointed out in the writings of Neves (2010) and Dantas Filho (2018). These authors discuss the spatial patterns of votes for deputies, based on the classification of Ames (2003) and Carvalho (2003), in which the former focuses on federal deputies in the elections from 1994 to 2006, and the latter on state deputies elected from 1998 to 2014.

2 THE AREA UNDER STUDY

The electoral sections in the municipality of Oeiras are outlined as follows, as shown in figure 01. It is for this electoral scenario, from 2000 to 2020, that the analytical reflections on the distribution of votes for the candidates of the Oeiras executive branch follow. In this sense, this municipal division into quadrants will be used, which, didactically, makes it possible to spatially visualize the votes for the candidates proposed for mayor of Oeiras. The composition of the villages that make up each quadrant is described in Table 1.



Figure 01 – Towns and locations with electoral sections in the municipality of Oeiras (2020)

Source: Prepared by the authors (2024).

Table 01 – Villages in the quadrants of the municipality of Oeiras (2020)

East/Southeast No./Village	North/Northeast No./Village	West/Southwest No./Village
14 – Floodplain of the Cross	9 – Queiroz	24 – Singing
11 – Soares	28 – Formosa Current	40 – Riachuelo
21 – Bryonia	27 – Contentment	1 – Baroque
42 – Sambaiba	44 – Tapera	39 – Middle Stream
32 – Royal Malhada	41 – Thrush	38 – Upper Stream
23 – King's Buriti	5 – New House	34 – Watermelons
4 – Coconuts	2 – Belo Monte	15 – Alagoinhas
	33 – Mid-School Mesh	13 – Tibua
	31 – Big Malhada	43 – Monkfish
	36 – Mucambo	16 – Alto Sereno
	18 – Good News	22 – Buriti of the Corner
		20 – Marsh
		10 – Site
		35 – Round Hill
		29 – Old Corral
		19 – Boa Vista
		8 – Hills
		7 – Goncalves

		46 – Tranqueira Floodplain 45 – Junk 26 – Carnaubal 30 – Ipueira 25 – Caribbean 3 – Bocaina 12 – Big Night 17 – Riverside
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Source: Prepared by the authors (2024).

Furthermore, in each election year analyzed, the current state governments are presented, since given the correlations between municipal and state elections, whether through the local manager's support for the governor or as opposition, contextualizing these realities helps in understanding local disputes.

3 MATERIALS AND METHODS

The construction of the cartographic database, with the acquisition of alphanumeric and vector files, was carried out together with several government agencies. Spreadsheets with data from the municipal elections of the years 2000, 2004, 2008, 2012, 2016 and 2020 were acquired from the website of the Superior Electoral Court (TSE) and, respective location of the electoral sections via the website of the Regional Electoral Court of Piauí (TER-PI), whose data were organized and spatialized using QGIS, version 3.28, called "Firenze".

Only those relevant to the study were selected, such as position (mayor only), candidate name, polling place and polling place coordinates. Subsequently, these data were brought to QGIS through the "add a delimited text layer" function and then exported in "shapefile" format.

For each election year, maps were produced showing the individual votes for each candidate, both for urban and rural areas. For the latter, quadrants were delimited – East/Southeast, North/Northeast, West/Southwest – to improve the analysis potential. Vector files were also acquired via the database of the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), namely: street faces for the municipality of Oeiras; border of the state of Piauí; network of municipalities in the state of Piauí and municipal headquarters of Piauí.



4.4 ELECTORAL GEOGRAPHY OF OEIRAS: SPATIALIZATION OF VOTES FROM 2000 TO 2020

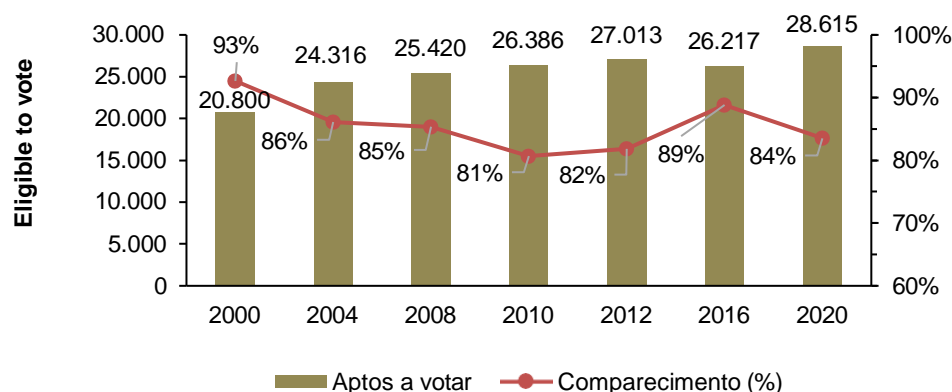
In the electoral game of Oeiras, since the 2000s, of the 29 parties registered with the TSE, 25 of them had or have representation in the city ¹(TSE, 2024). The elections in Oeiras from 2000 to 2020 had candidates from the Tupamaro group in charge of the executive for 8 years, from 2001 to 2008, while the Boca Preta group administered from 2009 to 2024, 16 years. Regarding the polling stations in Oeiras throughout the elections, it can be seen that there were not many changes, since in 2000 there were 94 spreads throughout the municipality, with more significant increases in 2012, with 110 sections and, in 2016, with 115 sections, in 2020 it was reduced to 107 (TSE, 2024).

Regarding the number of eligible voters, there have been significant increases over the years. In 2000, there were 20,800 voters (61.4% of the municipal population recorded in the 2000 IBGE census); this number increased to 26,386 in 2010 (74% of the population according to the 2010 IBGE Census) and, in 2020, reached 28,895. These data suggest an intense flow of household changes by voters from Oeiras. In 2012, the number of voters was 27,013 (an increase of 6,213 compared to 2000); fell to 26,217 in 2016, which represents a drop of 796 people eligible to vote, and increased by 2,398 in 2020, when 28,615 voters were eligible to vote. Voter turnout has remained above 80% of the electorate over the years. In 2000, 19,272 voters turned out (93% of voters eligible to vote); this number fell to 20,939 (84%) in 2004, and reached the end of the series, in 2020, at 28,615 (84%) voters, as shown in Graph 01.

Abstention rates, the number of people who did not show up to vote compared to voters eligible to vote, remained below 20% over the years, according to Graph 02. In 2000, 7% did not show up, 14% in 2004, 15% in 2008, 19% in 2010 (highest percentage), 18% in 2012, 11% in 2016 and 16% in 2020, a pandemic year.

¹ Workers' Party (PT), Communist Party of Brazil (PC do B), National Labor Party (PTN), Brazilian Democratic Movement Party (PMDB, now MDB), National Mobilization Party (PMN), Liberal Front Party (PFL, now Democrats – DEM), Brazilian Socialist Party (PSB), Liberal Party (PL), Brazilian Social Democracy Party (PSDB), Popular Socialist Party (PPS), Brazilian Labor Party (PTB), Party of the Republic (PR), National Mobilization Party (PMN), Green Party (PV), Democratic Labor Party (PDT), Brazilian Republican Party (PRB), Socialism and Liberty Party (PSOL), Progressive Party (PP), Republican Party of Social Order (PROS), Social Christian Party (PSC), Progressive Republican Party (PRP), Social Democratic Party (PSD), National Labor Party (PTN), Sustainability Network (REDE) and Podemos (PODE).

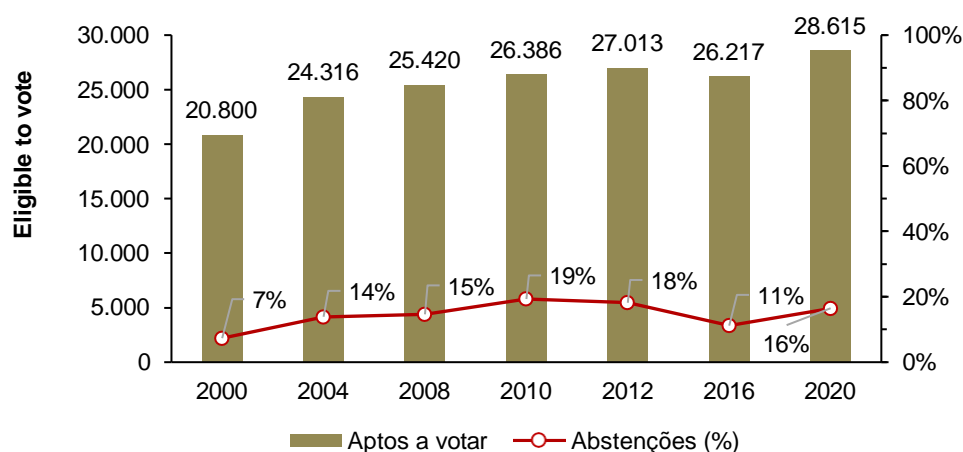
Graph 01 – Number of voters eligible to vote and abstention in Oeiras. 2000 to 2020*



Source: TRE (PI), 2024.

*in 2010 there was a Supplementary election.

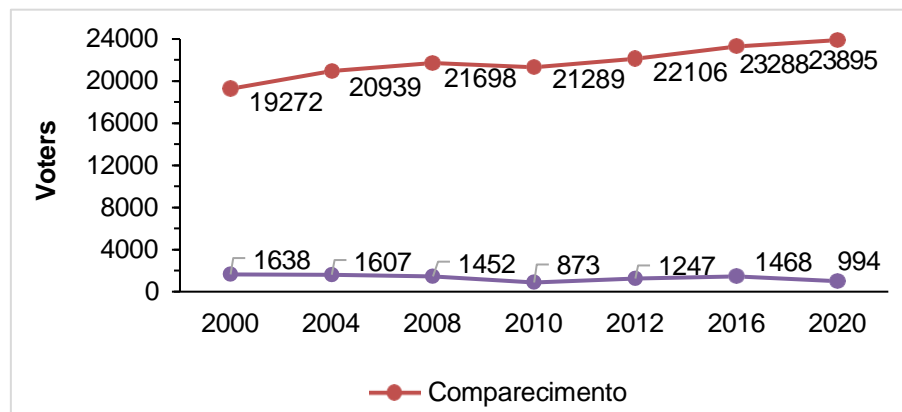
Graph 02 – Abstention rate in the Oeiras elections. 2000 to 2020*



Source: TRE (PI), 2024.

*in 2010 there was a Supplementary election.

Blank and void votes, calculated among those who turned out to vote, remained below 10% throughout the years under analysis, with greater expressiveness in 2000 – 1,638 (8.5%), 2004 – 1,607 (7.7%), and 2008 – 1,452 (6.7%) of voters cast blank or void votes. The disputes with the fewest blank and void votes were those of 2010 – 873 (4.1%) and 2020 – 994 (4.1%) of voters (Graph 03).

Graph 03 – Number of blank and invalid votes in the Oeiras elections. 2000 to 2020*

Source: TRE (PI), 2024.

*in 2010 there was a Supplementary election.

Oeiras, with 38,161 inhabitants (IBGE, 2022), is the 13th largest population in the state, a fact that makes it a significant city for state political disputes and their correlations in the game of municipal forces. In this sense, in 1998, Hugo Napoleão, from the PFL, ran for election with his vice Felipe Mendes, from the PPB, in coalition with the parties PV, PRP, PSL, PAN and PT do B, entitled “Avança Piauí”. Mão Santa, from the PMDB, had as his vice Osmar Júnior, from the PC do B, in coalition with the PDT, PL, PPS, PSDC and PRONA to head for reelection. Historical rivals, and under the slogan “Piauí in good hands”, the PSDB, with Francisco Gerardo, candidate for governor, allied with the archrival PT, which nominated the vice of the ticket, Antônio José Medeiros, and formed a coalition with the PSB and PSC. Two other candidates put forward their names, but with insignificant votes (TSE, 2024).

That year, Hugo Napoleão won in the first round, but lost in the second to Mão Santa, which represented the beginning of the end of the Almendra Freitas oligarchy in the management of the state executive (SILVA, 1999). However, Mão Santa became the first governor to be impeached by a decision of the Superior Electoral Court, in November 2001, and the runner-up took office for a term until 2002 (TSE, 2024). In effect, the administration of Tapety Neto, who had been elected in 1996, began on the state's situational side to compete for the municipal executive in his reelection.

In 2000, 4 years after losing power to the Tupamaro group, the two largest representatives of Oeiras' political groups faced each other directly, since the candidate Benedito de Carvalho Sá (popularly known as B. Sá) put forward his candidacy, for the

PSDB and in coalition with the PTB and PPS, entitled “Oeiras back to the future”, to face Tapety Neto, candidate for reelection for the PMDB, in coalition with the PDT, PL and PMN, under the slogan “Oeiras in the heart” (TSE, 2024).

In this election, B. Sá obtained 8,632 of the valid votes, distributed as follows: in the West/Southwest quadrant, of the 2,614 valid votes, 1,266 voted for the Boca Preta group; in the North/Northeast quadrant, 663 votes were recorded for B. Sá, of the 1,586 valid votes; in the East/Southeast quadrant, he obtained 477 of the 922 valid votes in the sector; in the city, of the 15,512 valid votes, B. Sá obtained 6,226 votes.

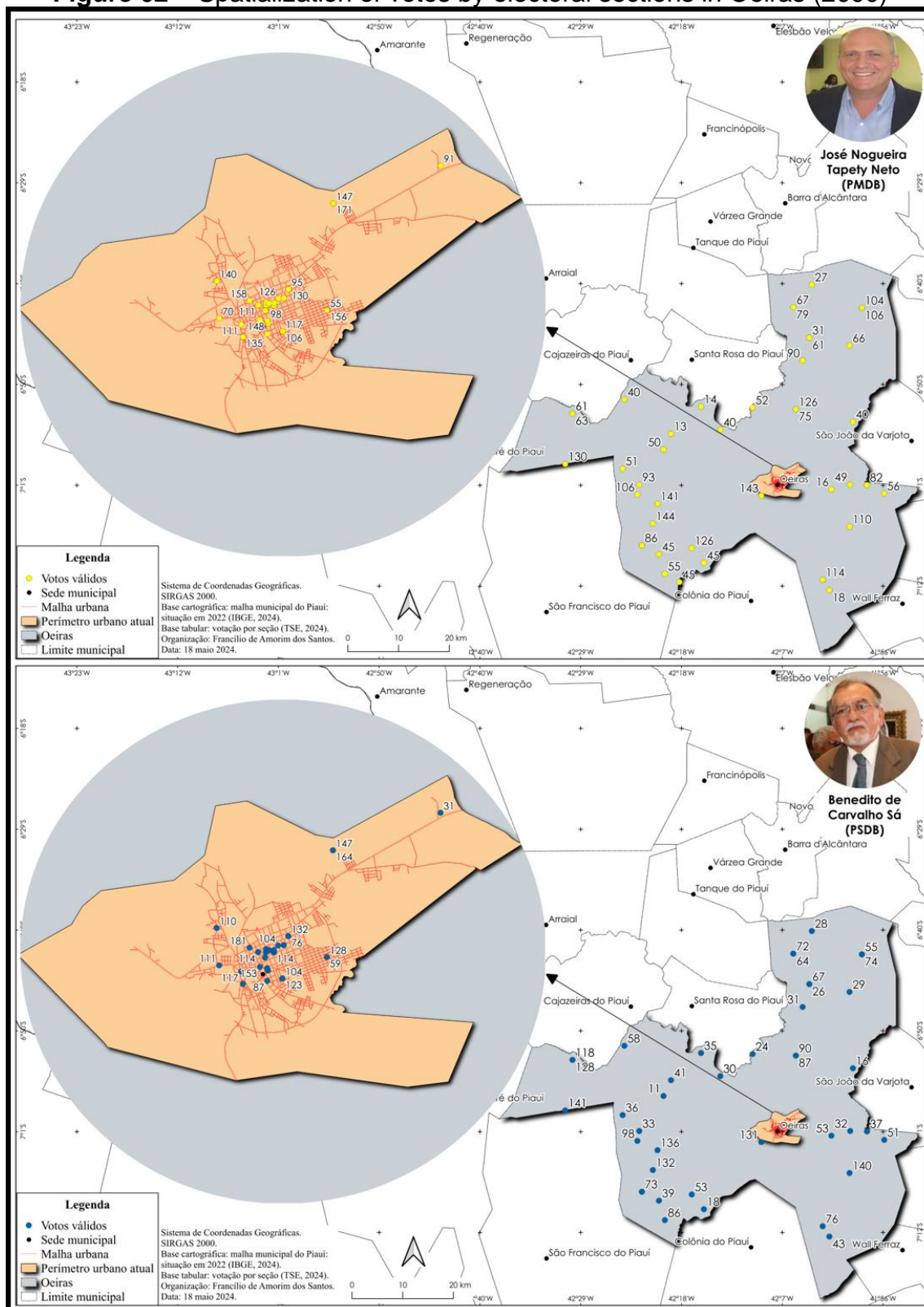
Tapety Neto obtained 9,002 of the valid votes, distributed as follows: in the West/Southwest quadrant, of the 2,614 valid votes, he obtained 1,348; in the North/Northeast quadrant, he obtained 923 of the 1,586 valid votes; in the East/Southeast quadrant, he obtained 445 of the 922 valid votes; in the city, of the 15,512 votes, Tapety Neto obtained 6,286 votes. These numbers made him the winner of the election with an advantage of 370 votes over candidate B. Sá (Figure 02).

In 2002, Hugo Napoleão ran for reelection for the PFL (now extinct and renamed the Democrats Party – DEM), with Fernando Said, from the PSDB, as his vice-president. His coalition, entitled “The Piauí that the people want”, included the PPB, PRTB, PSDC and PRP parties. His opponents included Wellington Dias, from the PT, with Osmar Júnior, from the PCdoB, in coalition with the PL, PMN, PCB, PAN, PTN and PTdoB, under the slogan “The victory that the people want”; the PMDB launched Jônatas Nunes and Inácio Carvalho, from the PST, as his vice-president, without a coalition with other parties; five other candidates also ran, but with weak votes. In this election, the PT candidate won in the first round (TSE, 2024).

In the 2004 municipal elections, three candidates ran for mayor of Oeiras. The Boca Preta group launched candidate José Augusto Nunes of the PPS, in coalition with the PTB, PL and PSDB parties, calling his campaign “Oeiras for our People”. The Tupamaro group put forward José Nataniel of the PMDB, in coalition with the PFL, PMN and PSB parties, and repeated the slogan of the previous election, “Oeiras in the Heart”. The third candidate who presented himself as an alternative to leaving the dominant groups was Deolindo Ferraz Nunes Filho of the PC do B, who formed a coalition with the PT and PTN parties, under the name “Mudar para Crescer”, the only candidate from the state government. In this election, the votes for the candidate of what could be called the third way had low reception in terms of votes, since of the 19,332 valid votes, he obtained only 1,276 from voters (6.6% of those registered) (TSE, 2024).



Figure 02 – Spatialization of votes by electoral sections in Oeiras (2000)



Source: Prepared by the authors (2024).

Boca Preta group received 8,535 of the valid votes, configured as follows: in the West/Southwest quadrant, of the total of 2,971 valid votes, Augusto Nunes obtained 1,446;

in the North/Northeast quadrant, of the 1,383 valid votes, he had 505 votes; in the East/Southeast portion, of the 1,044 votes, 600 voted for the candidate Augusto Nunes; in the city, he had 5,984 of the 12,658 valid votes. These votes were not enough to overcome the opponent, so Boca Preta suffered another defeat.

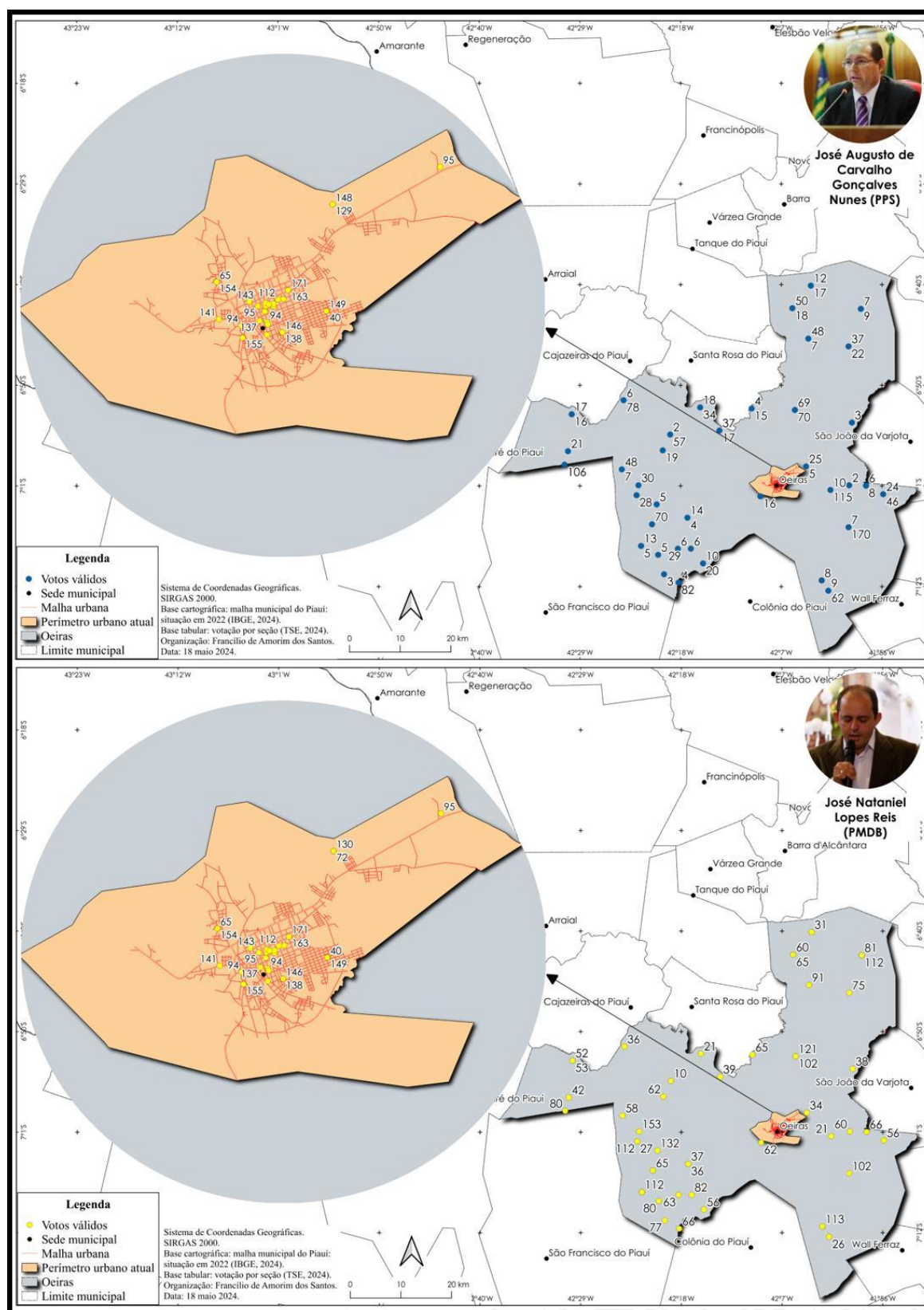
José Nataniel, popularly known as Tiel, was chosen by Tapety Neto to succeed him in the 2004 elections and represent the Tupamaro group. In this election, the group increased its vote in relation to 2000, having obtained 9,521 votes, distributed as follows: in the West/Southwest quadrant, of the 2,971 valid votes, it obtained 1,525; in the North/Northeast quadrant, it obtained 878 of the 1,383 valid votes; in the East/Southeast quadrant, it obtained 444 of the 1,044 votes; in the city, of the 12,658 valid votes, Tiel obtained 6,674 votes. These numbers made him the winner of the election with an advantage of 986 votes over the candidate José Augusto Nunes (Figure 03).

In the 2006 state elections, Wellington Dias of the PT ran for reelection with vice-president Wilson Martins of the PSB, in coalition with the PTB, PCdoB, PL and PRB parties, under the slogan “The victory of the strength of the people”, to face Mão Santa of the PMDB, in which he had as his vice-president Ciro Nogueira of the PP, in coalition with the PSC, PCB, PTC and PAN, under the slogan “Popular resistance”; Firmino Filho of the PSDB, and vice-president Luiz Menezes of the PPS, in coalition with the PFL, PV and PTdoB, under the slogan “Piauí from now on”; five other candidates put themselves forward, but with insignificant results in terms of votes. The PT candidate was reelected in the first round (TSE, 2024).

In 2008, B. Sá, while serving as a federal deputy, decided to step down to run for mayor of Oeiras with the intention of regaining the power lost by the group in 1996 and, therefore, 12 years outside the municipal executive management. In this direction, with the title of “Union of All”, he managed to unite the parties PDT, PT, PR, PPS, PMN, PV, PSDB and PC do B to his PPS to run for the city’s executive. The political opponent who presented himself was Aleksandra Tapety of the PMDB, which formed a coalition with the PTN, PTB and DEM, with the title of “The Will of the People” (TSE, 2024). In fact, Tiel's failure to run for reelection indicates weaknesses in the municipal administration during his term, which required a recalibration of the Tupamaro forces with someone much more familiar, in this case the wife of Tapety Neto, elected mayor in 1996 and reelected in 2000.



Figure 03 – Spatialization of votes by electoral sections in Oeiras (2004)



Source: Prepared by the authors (2024).

Boca Preta group obtained 10,687 of the municipal votes, as follows: in the West/Southwest quadrant, he obtained 1,721 of the 3,584 valid votes; in the North/Northeast quadrant, he obtained 856 of the 2,252 votes registered; in the East/Southeast quadrant, he obtained 689 of the 1,395 valid votes; in the city, of the 13,015 valid votes, B. Sá received 7,421. The results made him the winner, with a majority of 1,128 votes, and marked the group's return to municipal executive power after 12 years.

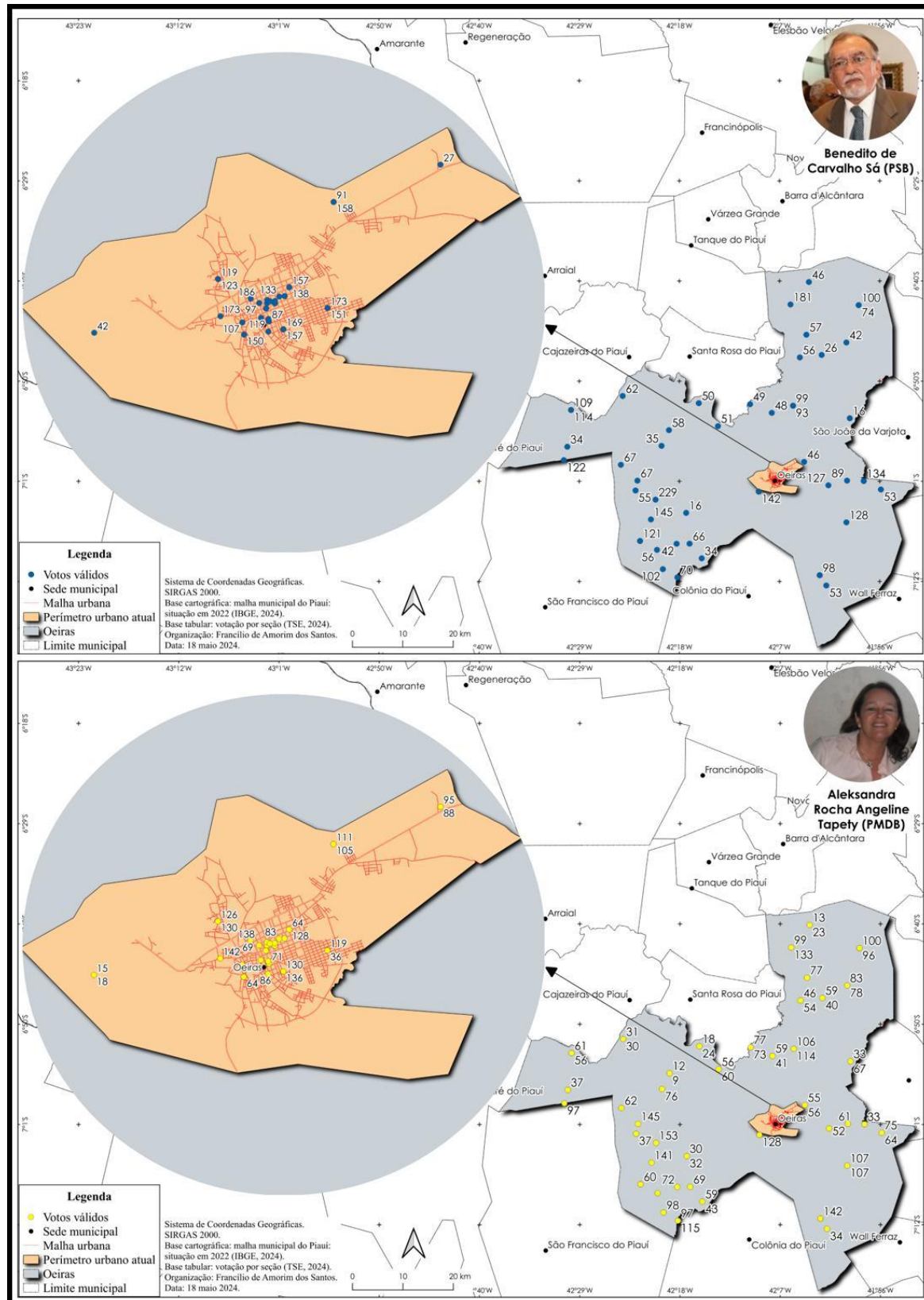
Already Aleksandra Tapety was voted for by 9,559 Oeiras residents, distributed spatially as follows: in the West/Southwest quadrant, out of 3,584 valid votes, she obtained 1,863; in the North/Northeast quadrant, she had 1,396 of 2,552 valid votes; in the East/Southeast quadrant, she had 706 of 1,395 votes; in the city, out of 13,015 votes, Aleksandra obtained 5,594 votes. In fact, even with a majority in the interior, the disadvantage in the city gave the victory to the old chief of the Boca Preta group (Figure 04).

B. Sá's victory in 2008 did not guarantee them the completion of their term, since he was revoked by the TSE in 2010, which required a supplementary election. In this scenario, the Boca Preta group launched Lukano Sá, B. Sá's son, who ran the entire campaign against the opponent Aleksandra Tapety. However, on November 12 of that year, a Friday, the TSE rejected the candidacy of B. Sá's eldest son, and the group replaced him with Antônio Portela, then president of the municipal legislative chamber. This imbroglio led to an unusual event: since the elections took place two days after Lukano's rejection (November 14, 2010), there was no time to remove his photo and party number from the electronic ballot boxes, which were already properly distributed and ready for the election. In fact, voters who voted for the Boca Preta group saw Lukano's photo and pressed number 40, referring to the PSB party, but their vote was counted for Portela, from the PPS. Allow yourself a poetic license for this situation of voters in this election: "Lukano is Portela and Portela is Lukano."

In 2010, there were 26,386 eligible voters, distributed across 107 polling stations, of which 21,289 voters turned out, with 5,097 abstaining. The election results show that Antônio Portela Barbosa Sobrinho, PPS, obtained 10,668 votes compared to Aleksandra's 9,748. Tapety, from PMDB, difference of 920 votes for Boca Preta²

² No voting data by section was found with the TSE or TER/PI, which made it impossible to create a map of vote distribution across the municipal territory.

Figure 04 – Spatialization of votes by electoral sections in Oeiras (2008)



Source: Prepared by the authors (2024).

The 2010 state elections were contested by: Wilson Martins, from the PSB, who was Welington Dias' vice-president and was his nominee, and had as his vice-president Antônio José de Moraes Souza Filho, from the PMDB, who formed a coalition with the PT, PRB, PTN, PR, PRP and PCdoB, with the slogan "For Piauí to continue changing"; Sílvio Mendes, PSDB, and his vice-president Raimundo de Sá Urtiga Filho, also from the PSDB, in coalition with the DEM (formerly PFL), PPS and PSC, under the slogan "The strength of the people"; João Vicente Claudino, PTB, and his vice-president Flávio Nogueira, from the PDT, in coalition with the PP, PRTB, PHS, PTC and PTdoB, under the slogan "For a new Piauí"; four other candidates also proposed themselves, but without significant votes. In this election, there was a second round, at which point Wilson Martins emerged victorious by defeating Sílvio Mendes (TSE, 2024).

In Oeiras, in 2012, four candidates ran for the municipal executive. The Boca Preta party launched Lukano Sá, who had been a member of the governor of Piauí's party since 2010, the PSB, in coalition with the PRB, PDT, PTB, PPS, PSDB and PC do B, and called their campaign "Oeiras above all". The Tupamaro party put forward Tapety Neto, their biggest local representative, from the PMDB, which is in coalition with the PP and runs under the motto "The people in power". Edmilson Carvalho, brother of former federal deputy Assis Carvalho (in memoriam) and a local political leader, ran under the motto "Oeiras: courage to change", in which the PT joined forces with the PTN, PR and DEM, abandoning the partnership of the 2008 election with the Boca Preta party. Francisco Carlos de Oliveira from the PSOL launched himself alone in the race. As had occurred in 2004, candidates outside the traditional groups had insignificant votes: Edmilson, from the PT, of the 21,375 valid votes, garnered 888 votes (4.1% of the electorate); the PSOL candidate obtained 71 votes (0.3% of the total) (TSE, 2024).

In this sense, the dispute was effectively between the eldest son of the leader of the Boca Preta, Lukano Araújo Costa Reis de Sá, and the leader of the Tupamaro, José Nogueira Tapety Neto. Lukano Sá, without experience in management with legislative or executive positions, obtained 10,854 votes from Oeiras voters in this election, which were configured as follows: in the West/Southwest quadrant he had 1,515 of the 2,850 valid votes; in the North/Northeast quadrant, he had 1,097 of the 1,959 valid votes; in the East/Southeast quadrant, he obtained 636 of the 1,040 valid votes; in the city, Lukano had 7,606 of the 14,051 valid votes. The numbers obtained by Lukano Sá elected him mayor with a majority of 1,808 votes.

Tapety Neto was voted for by 9,046 voters in 2012, divided as follows: in the West/Southwest quadrant, out of 2,850 valid votes, he obtained 1,335; in the North/Northeast quadrant, he obtained 862 of 1,959 valid votes; in the East/Southeast quadrant, he obtained 404 of 1,040 votes; in the city, out of 14,051 votes registered, Tapety Neto obtained 6,445 votes. In this scenario, the Tupamaro group lost in the interior and in the city, which gave victory to the opponent (Figure 05).

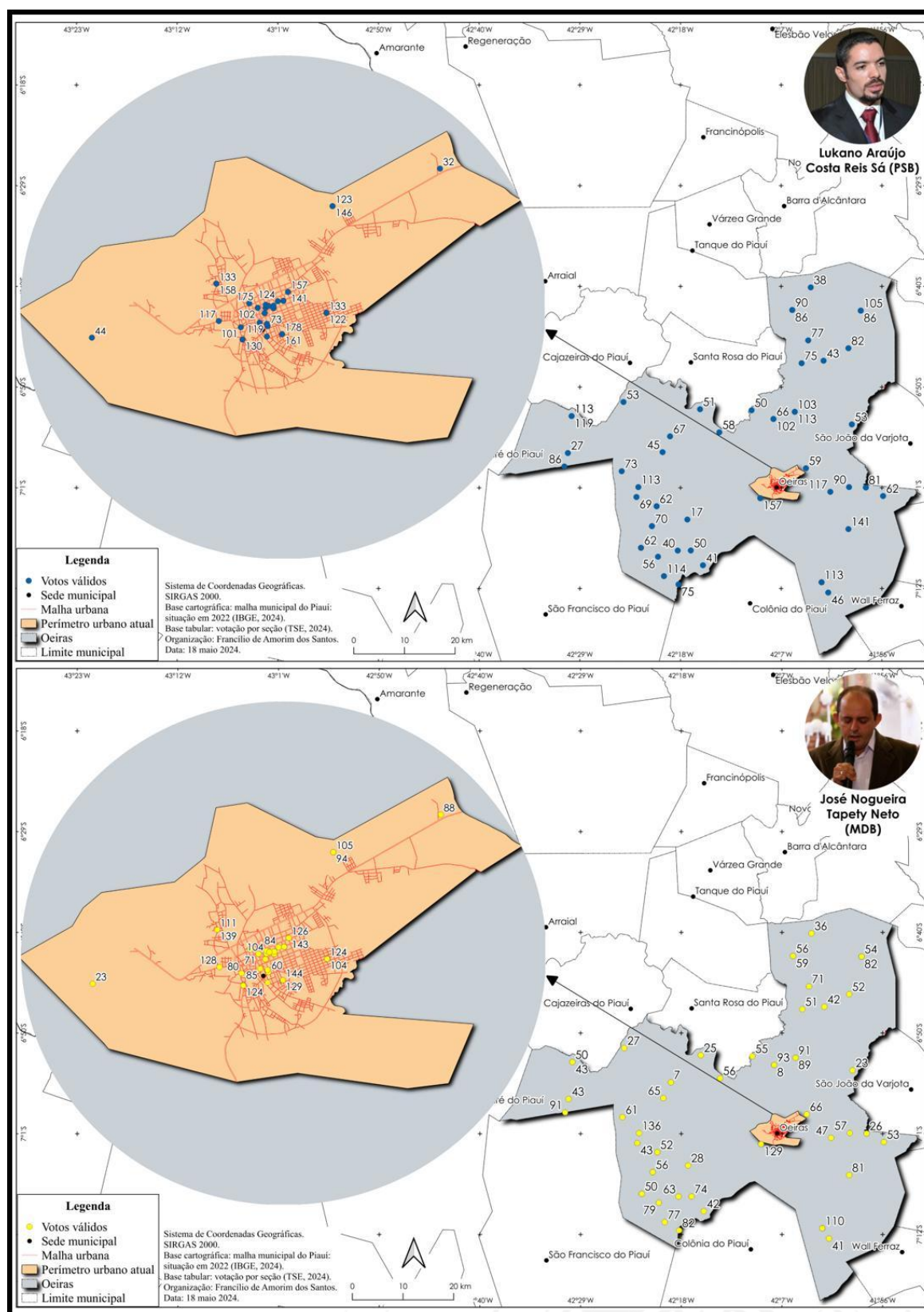
In the 2014 state elections, the candidates for the elections were: Wellington Dias, from the PT, who left the Senate to run for governor, and his running mate Margarete Coelho, from the PP, who formed a coalition with the PTB, PR, PRP, PROS, PHS and SD, under the slogan "Victory with the strength of the people"; Antônio José de Moraes Souza Filho, from the PMDB, who was running for reelection, had Silvio Mendes, from the PSDB, as his running mate, in coalition with the PSB, PSD, DEM, PPS, PDT, PC do B, PV, PRB, PSL, PTN, PSDC, PMN, PTC, PR do B and PEN, under the slogan "Piauí in the heart"; five other candidates ran, but with low vote counts. The PT candidate won in the first round (TSE, 2024).

In 2016, Lukano Sá nominated his Secretary of Administration as the candidate of the Boca Preta group, José Raimundo de Sá Lopes (PP), already affiliated with the vice-governor's party, in coalition with the PDT, PTB, PMB, PSB, PSDB, PC do B and PROS, with the slogan "Competence and Work". The opposing ticket was led by Abimael Soares da Rocha Neto (PTN), then vice-mayor in Lukano's legislature, supported by the Tupamaro group, in coalition with the PTN, PMDB, PR, PSD, PSC, PRP, PRB and PT, under the slogan "All for Oeiras" (TSE, 2024).

In 2016, José Raimundo's votes were distributed as follows: in the West/Southwest quadrant, he received 1,695 of the 3,213 valid votes; in the North/Northeast quadrant, he received 1,194 of the 2,138 votes; in the East/Southeast quadrant, he received 743 of the 1,283 valid votes; in the city, 7,849 of the 15,176 voters voted for Zé Raimundo. Abimael was voted for by 10,339 voters, distributed as follows: in the West/Southwest quadrant, he received 1,518 votes; in the North/Northeast quadrant, he received 954; in the East/Southeast quadrant, he received 540; in the city, Abimael received 7,327 votes. In this direction, these numbers made José Raimundo the winner with 11,481 votes compared to 10,339 for candidate Abimael, a difference of 1,142, obtained with a majority in rural and urban areas (Figure 06).

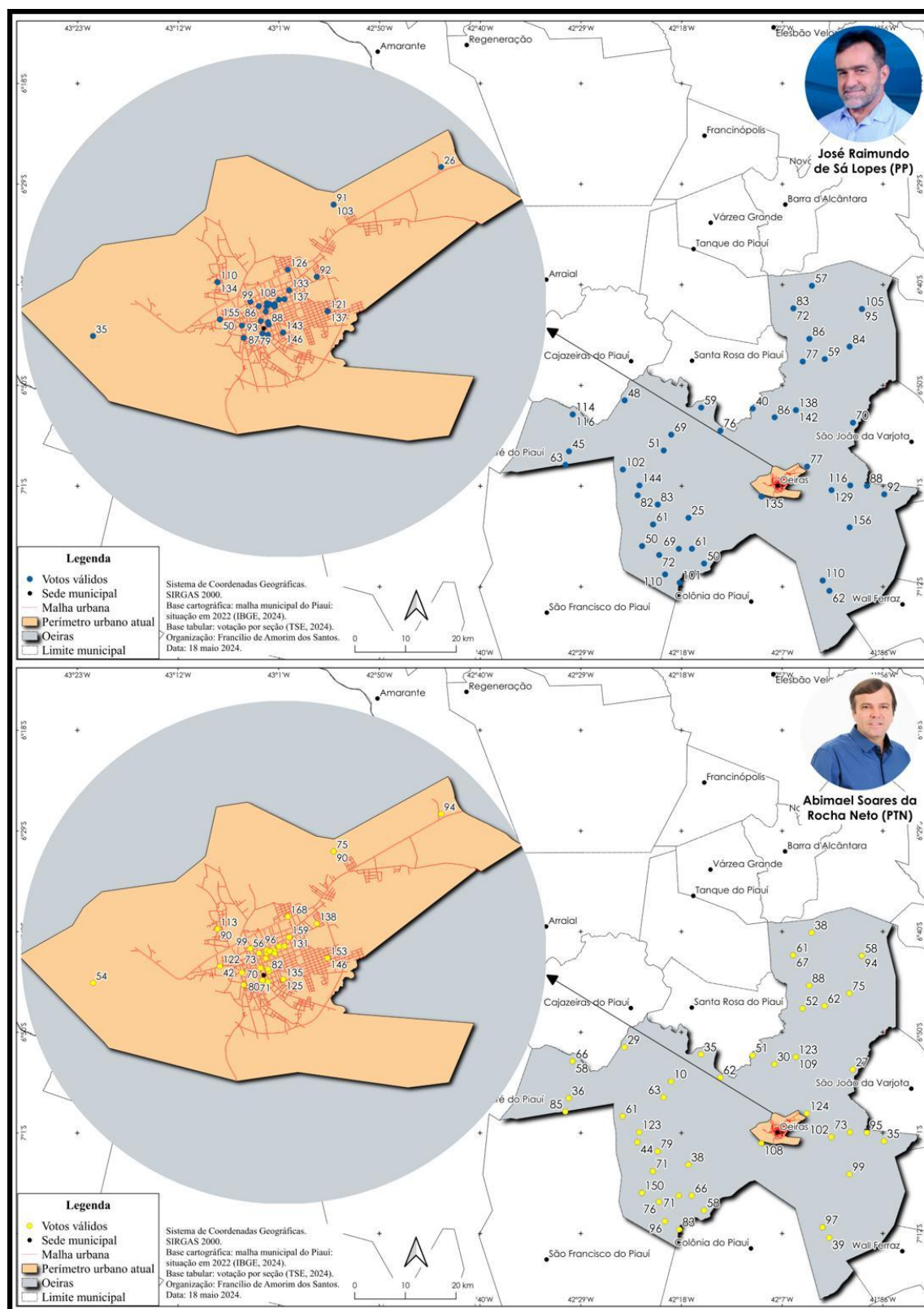


Figure 05 – Spatialization of votes by electoral sections in Oeiras (2012)



Source: Prepared by the authors (2024)

Figure 06 – Spatialization of votes by electoral sections in Oeiras (2016)



Source: Prepared by the authors (2024).

In 2018, the state government was contested by Wellington Dias and his vice Regina Sousa, a pure PT ticket, in coalition with the PP, PR, PTB, PC do B, PRTB, PDT and PSD, with the same motto as in 2014; José Pessoa Leal (popularly known as Dr. Pessoa), SD, and his vice Vanessa Tapety (daughter of Tapety Neto), PTC, in coalition with the PMN, PRB and PPL, under the title “Change to serve our people”; Luciano Nunes, PSDB, and his vice Cassandra Moraes Sousa (daughter of Mão Santa), DEM, in coalition only with the PSB, under the motto “Piauí for real”; seven other candidates launched themselves in the election, but with low votes. The candidate seeking reelection won in the first round (TSE, 2024).

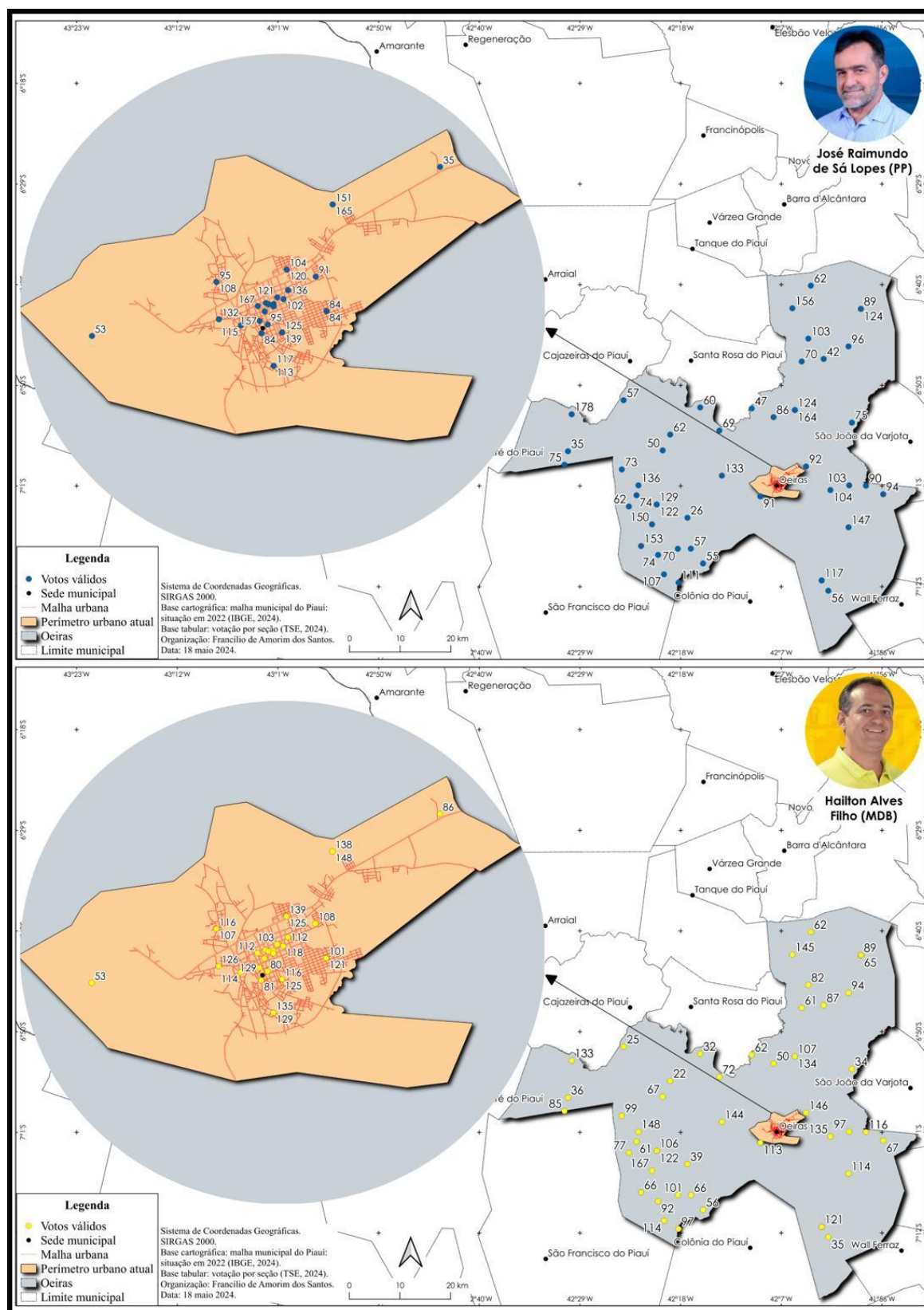
In 2020, José Raimundo, from the PP, in coalition with the PSB, PSDB, PSD and PDT, under the slogan “Oeiras on the right track”, faces Hailton Filho, from the MDB, supported by the PT, PODE, PTB and REDE, with the title of “Resistance and hope” (TSE, 2024). This election was the second closest in the disputes between the two political groups, second only to the 1972 election, which gave the winner a majority of 26 votes (TSE, 2024); in 2020, the winner received 43 more votes.

In this election, José Raimundo obtained 11,472 of the valid votes, distributed as follows: in the West/Southwest quadrant he obtained 2,188 of the 4,372 valid votes; in the North/Northeast quadrant, he obtained 1,238 of the 2,337 valid votes; in the East/Southeast quadrant, he obtained 765 of the 1,451 valid votes; in the city, of the 14,894 voters, 7,281 votes were registered.

Tupamaro family ran for office, but the group supported Hailton Filho, who received 11,429 votes. These votes were distributed as follows: in the West/Southwest quadrant, he received 2,184 valid votes; in the North/Northeast quadrant, he received 1,238 votes; in the East/Southeast quadrant, he received 765 votes; and in the city, out of 14,894 voters, he received 7,460 votes. These numbers reveal that the Boca Preta candidate was defeated in the city by the other candidate by 179 votes, but the victorious differences in the municipality's inland communities consecrated him as the winner with a very narrow margin of 43 votes (Figure 07).



Figure 07 – Spatialization of votes by electoral sections in Oeiras (2020)



Source: Prepared by the authors (2024).

The electoral data from Oeiras, in the period under review, show that the disputes between Boca Preta and Tupamaro are fierce, even with fluctuations from election to election, whether in rural or urban communities. In this sense, the disputes between the greatest local political leaders in 2000 clearly demonstrate this historicity, since Tapety Neto ran for reelection in 2000 and only obtained a majority of 370 votes in his favor, at a time when B. Sá had a majority only in the East/Southeast quadrant.

In fact, the East/Southeast quadrant was loyal to the Boca Preta group, having given the majority of votes to the group's candidates in the 2000 elections – 477 Boca versus 445 Tupa, 2004 – 600 Boca versus 444 Tupa, 2008 – 689 Boca versus 706 Tupa (exception), 2012 – 636 Boca versus 404 Tupa, 2016 – 743 Boca versus 540 Tupa, 2020 – 765 Boca versus 686 Tupa.

It is also noted that when a certain group was re-elected or remained in power, the rural areas of the West/Southwest and North/Northeast quadrants remained more loyal to the current government or to the candidate nominated by the current leader. The Tupamaro held the majority in these rural areas in 2000 (re-election of Tapety Neto), 2004 (he elected his successor) and 2008, even though they were defeated. In the elections of 2012, 2016 and 2020 (maintenance of the Boca Preta group), these rural sectors gave the majority to the candidates representing the group.

In the West/Southwest quadrant, the disputes occurred as follows: 2000 – 1,266 votes for Boca versus 1,348 votes for Tupa; in 2004 – 1,446 Boca versus 1,525 Tupa, 2008 – 1,721 Boca versus 1,863 Tupa, 2012 – 1,515 votes for Boca versus 1,335 for Tupa, 2016

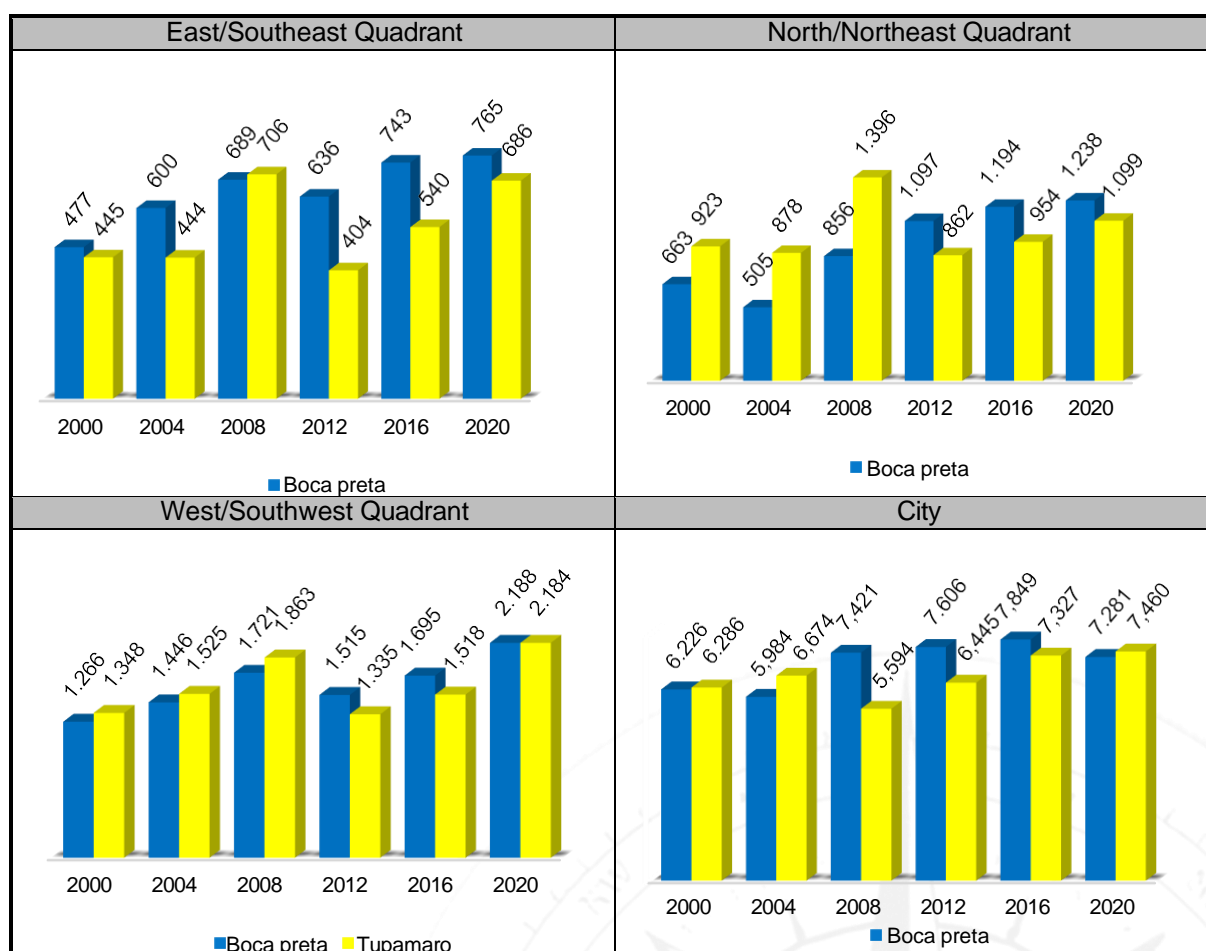
– 1,695 Boca versus 1,518 Tupa, 2020 – 2,188 Boca versus 2,184 Tupa. In the North/Northeast quadrant, the disputes were as follows: in 2000 - 663 votes for Boca versus 923 for Tupa, 2004 - 505 votes for Boca versus 878 for Tupa, 2008 - 856 votes for Boca versus 1,396 for Tupa, 2012 - 1,097 votes for Boca versus 862 for Tupa, 2016 - 1,194 votes for Boca versus 954 for Tupa, 2020 - 1,238 votes for Boca versus 1,099 for Tupa

The votes in the city reveal that these voters are closer to the Boca Preta, since in times when the groups remain in power, the differences between the votes are small when the Tupamaro win (the biggest difference was in 2004, with 690 votes), which is reversed in the Boca victories, as in 2012, with a difference of 1,161 votes. This is how the city's votes were outlined: 2000 - 6,226 Boca versus 6,286 Tupa, 2004 - 5,984 Boca versus 6,674 Tupa,

2008 - 7,421 for Boca versus 5,594 for Tupa, 2012 - 7,606 votes for Boca versus 6,445 for Tupa, 2016 - 7,849 votes for Boca versus 7,327 for Tupa, 2020 - 7,290 votes for Boca versus 7,604 for Tupa.

The summary of the votes from the 2000 to 2020 elections, with the exception of the 2010 election due to the lack of data by section obtained from the TSE, is found in Figure 08, which contains the totals obtained by the candidates representing the two political groups from Oeiras, Boca Preta and Tupamaro, distributed across the quadrants.

Figure 08 – Summary of votes in the 2000 to 2020 elections * by quadrants



Source: Prepared by the authors (2024).

*voting data by section was not available in the 2010 supplementary election.

The data analyzed here on the spatiality of the elections in Oeiras allow us to infer that the candidates' choices by voters follow the reasoning of Augusto (2012): personal identification prevails over party identification. In fact, the candidates from the Boca Preta group have moved between several parties over time, with little interference in their votes. The ones who remained most loyal to their parties were the Tupamaro; in most elections, they were in a single party. In analogy to what Silva (1999) examined for the political reality of Piauí, but which is more appropriate to the reality of Oeiras, political parties, before being instruments of ideological positions, function, in fact, as instruments for the realization of the desires of family networks.

Furthermore, the groups' votes reveal the systematic nature of the electoral processes in Oeiras, which is similar to the reflections of Cunha (2014), since it can be seen that the actions triggered by the group that won a given election create bonds of voting loyalty in the following election, whether in rural or urban areas of Oeiras.

Based on the reflections of Silva (1999), Arraes Filho (2000) and Moura (2019), it was found that, given the socioeconomic conditions present in the municipality of Oeiras, which are still fragile, with significant poverty rates, a scenario arises that favors the maintenance of families that are more favored in their economic, social, political and cultural capital in municipal management. In effect, the city hall ends up becoming an enterprise that houses the employability of a significant part of the population of Oeiras, from the management core to the supporters who are hired for the various activities intrinsic to the dynamics of public affairs.

5 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Electoral and Voting Geography, derived from Political Geography, seeks, among other focuses, to investigate the spatial distribution of votes and the reasons for choosing certain candidates over others. In this sense, the text in question did not focus on the contexts that influenced electoral choices, but rather to analyze the spatial distribution of votes in municipal elections in Oeiras from 2000 to 2020.

The analysis of the Electoral Geography of Oeiras reveals a complex dynamic that reflects the interaction between historical, spatial and political factors. It was found that the urban area of Oeiras tends to show a distinct pattern of candidate evaluation, but with a tendency to vote more for Boca Preta. In the rural area, it was evident that the East/Southeast quadrant can be characterized as more aligned with Boca Preta, while the



other two lean towards the group in power. Furthermore, it is inferred that rural areas have significant weight in the elections in Oeiras, a fact revealed, for example, in the 2020 election, since the candidate José Raimundo lost in the city to Hailton Filho by 179 votes, but won in the entire rural area, which gave them a victory with a majority of 43 votes.

Finally, it is concluded that, even though it is characterized as an exploratory study of the theme in the territory of Piauí, the analysis reveals the potential of Electoral Geography for understanding the interrelations between politics and spatial reproductions. In effect, it is expected to have contributed discursively to the understanding of this very intriguing phenomenon: politics as conditioned and conditioning spatial forms and contents.

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