



Economic profile of the guaraná city in the Amazon: urban, commercial and touristic functions of Maués (AM)

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Abstract

The article analyzes the economic profile of Maués (AM), presenting the participation of economic sectors, urban-commercial functions, and recent touristic dynamics. The characterization of the Parintins microregion, in which Maués is located, is presented, while analyzing the territorial structure, socioeconomic aspects, and roles of the headquarters in the urban network. The methodology uses secondary data to compose comparative tables between municipalities, demonstrating the fragile composition of economic activities. The commercial profile is presented with data that feature the highlights and types of commercial activities. The profile analysis is completed with data obtained from fieldwork, which demonstrates: i - understanding of urban expansion based on interviews, literature review and historical documents; ii – on-site investigation of the recent formation of peripheries with a strong presence of the popular economy (informal service sectors and small businesses); iii – survey of the commercial profile of the central area associated with tourism facilities compared to city hall data. We concluded that the insignificant economic productive profile has been compensated through the expansion of commerce and the symbolic and iconic construction of a touristic city linked to guaraná, resulting in the formation of more complex economic circuits for the production of popular festivities and large parties.

Keywords: economic profile, commerce, urban functions, tourism

Perfil econômico da cidade do guaraná da Amazônia: funções urbanas comerciais e turísticas de Maués (AM)

Resumo

O artigo analisa o perfil econômico de Maués (AM) apresentando a participação dos setores econômicos, as funções urbanas comerciais e as recentes dinâmicas turísticas. Apresenta-se a caracterização da microrregião de Parintins na qual Maués se insere, analisando a estrutura territorial, os aspectos socioeconômicos e papéis das sedes na rede urbana. A metodologia parte de dados secundários para compor quadros comparativos entre os municípios demonstrando a frágil composição das atividades econômicas. O perfil comercial é apresentado com dados que evidenciam destaques e tipos de atividades comerciais. Completa-se a análise do perfil com dados obtidos a partir de realização de trabalhos de campo, onde se demonstra: i - entendimento da expansão urbana a partir de entrevistas e

revisão da literatura e documentos históricos; ii – averiguação *in loco* da formação recente de periferias com forte presença da economia popular (setores informais de serviços e pequenos comércios); iii – levantamento do perfil comercial da área central associada a equipamentos de turismo comparados aos dados da prefeitura. Conclui-se que o perfil produtivo econômico pouco significativo tem sido compensado através da expansão do comércio e da construção simbólica e icônica de cidade turística atrelada ao guaraná, desdobrando na formação de circuitos econômicos mais complexos para a produção de festejos populares e festas de grande porte.

Palavras-chave: perfil econômico, comércio, funções urbanas, turismo

Perfil económico de la ciudad de guaraná en la Amazonía: funciones urbanas comerciales y turísticas de Maués (AM)

Resumen

El artículo analiza el perfil económico de Maués (AM) mostrando la participación de sectores económicos, funciones urbanas comerciales y dinámicas turísticas recientes. En un primer momento, se presenta la caracterización de la microrregión de Parintins de la que forma parte Maués, analizando la estructura territorial, los aspectos socioeconómicos y los roles de la sede en la red urbana. La metodología parte de datos secundarios para componer cuadros comparativos entre municipios, demostrando la frágil composición de las actividades económicas. El perfil comercial se presenta en la próxima sesión con datos que destacan los aspectos más destacados de la actividad y los tipos de actividades comerciales. El análisis se completa con datos obtenidos del trabajo de campo, que demuestra: i - comprensión de la expansión urbana a partir de entrevistas y revisión de literatura y documentos históricos; ii – investigación *in loco* de la formación reciente de periferias con fuerte presencia de la economía popular (sectores informales de servicios y pequeñas empresas); iii – relevamiento del perfil comercial del área central asociado al equipamiento turístico frente a los datos de los ayuntamientos. Se concluye que el insignificante perfil económico productivo ha sido compensado mediante la expansión del comercio y la construcción simbólica e icónica de una ciudad turística vinculada al guaraná, resultando en la formación de circuitos económicos más complejos para la producción de festividades populares y grandes fiestas.

Palabras clave: perfil económico, comercio, funciones urbanas, turismo

1 Introduction

The article addresses the municipality of Maués (AM), which is part of the project entitled “Territorial Heritage, Territorial Systems and the role of cities for the development of Parintins and Microregion”. The objective of the project is to deepen the understanding of the urban network, its roles and the composition of the socio-spatial dynamics of the municipalities in the Parintins microregion, based on the analysis of local networks of subjects and their territorial systems.

The challenge of understanding cities in the Amazon based on the relationship with overlapping and complex scalar dynamics, requires analysis of new forms of territorialization of local subject networks, which include their actions in the territory (popular or dominant), rupture relationships or continuities with cultural attributes, recursive (i) materials rooted in social and historical formation, composing the geographic space.

This raises an important topic for studies of small cities in regions with stagnant economic dynamics, which must consider exogenous and macroeconomic coercive forces such as competition/rivalries between capitalist agents and

oligopolistic forces, for example. Disregarding inter-regional hierarchies would be a serious mistake, as the greatest command of this process is outside the spaces of analysis “making it imperative to study the nature of hierarchies (imposed on different scales) of generation and appropriation of wealth” (BRANDÃO, 2007 , p. 48).

The drought prolonged by the extreme El Niño event in 2023 has drastically demonstrated the fragility of small Amazonian cities, especially in sectors of the Western Amazon, where river transport predominates. Shortages due to river droughts, population isolation, loss of rural crops and various socio-environmental impacts are indications of the importance of the trending topic.

The economic profile of Maués is analyzed, presenting the participation of economic sectors, urban commercial functions, and recent touristic dynamics. We also reflect on the relationship between the city's urban expansion and the spread of informal sectors of popular services and small businesses. The methodology is based on secondary data (IBGE, SEBRAE, municipal and state departments), which composed comparative tables aiming to demonstrate the fragility of the municipality economies in the microregion. Data are systematized into tables highlighting the occurrence of negative trade balances and the dependence of municipalities on transfers of federal and state resources.

Other tables show the types of small companies and entrepreneurs that compose the popular economy. The analysis is complemented with data obtained from fieldwork and interviews, aiming to: i - understand urban expansion from interviews, literature review, and historical documents; ii – on-site investigation of the recent formation of peripheries with a strong presence of the popular economy; iii – survey of the commercial profile of the central area associated with tourism compared to city hall data.

To trace the history of urban expansion, we chose to conduct interviews, as there is, to date, no bibliography that systematizes the process. In semi-structured interviews, the artifice of oral history becomes essential in this regard. Recorded and later transcribed, they were applied to four key subjects in the municipality: the president of the City Council Rodrigo Bentes (2020 – 2024); to the historian and professor at the Federal Institute of Amazonas (IFAM), Elias da Silva, who is a community leader and member of the Commission for the Defense of Human Rights of Maués; to the writer and poet Luisinho Aguiar, member of the Maués academy of letters; and to former mayor (1980 – 1985) and former councilor (1990 – 2020) Edilson Negreiros. In order to seek details in the reports, the transcribed events were complemented with access and analysis of historical documents from the legislative and executive powers (LOM, 2014), as well as from the Municipal Parish Secretariat through consultation of the Tombo Book. As a result, a map of urban expansion by decades and type of neighborhood formation (subdivisions or irregular occupations) is presented.

Through photographic records, georeferencing, and access to municipal documents, aspects of the popular economy were described during fieldwork in peripheral neighborhoods. Bars, restaurants, inns and leisure facilities in the Centro and Maresia – Maués neighborhoods are presented on a map whose analysis denotes the degree of touristic centrality, mixing natural attributes and symbolic-cultural elements.

Firstly, we present a characterization of the Parintins microregion in which

Maués is located, describing the territorial structure as a determinant of the dynamics and presenting data on socioeconomic aspects. The urban process is analyzed in its regional dimension to establish comparisons as well as recognize distinctions and economic profiles. It is stated that the entry of various products from other states has contributed to weakening local economies in unequal competition with other regions of the country. Like the other municipalities in the Parintins microregion, the insignificant agricultural production in Maués is compensated by the strong dependence on transfers from Federal and state funds as well as the public service in the composition of the municipal GDP.

In the second item, we describe the commercial profile of Maués, whose participation in the economic composition stands out when compared to other cities in the microregion.

The third item describes characteristics of the urban expansion and historical aspects of Maués, with a brief chronology about the formation of peripheral neighborhoods and new economic activities related to the recent expansion of tourism and municipal events and festivals. It is pointed out that the transformation of popular festivities into large-scale spectacles aimed at attracting sub-regional audiences, had an impact on the central area with the formation of small service facilities aimed at touristic demand.

It appears that the city, despite its insignificant economic production profile, has compensated for this low dynamism through the expansion of commerce whose local subjects make efforts in the symbolic and iconic construction of a touristic city. As an attraction for the festivities, natural attributes (beaches) and mainly its greatest distinctive mark, the guaraná, stand out. The visibility of Maués has grown in the state with an increase in flows of visitors and goods, resulting in the formation of more complex economic circuits for the production of popular festivities and large parties.

2 Characterization of the Parintins and Maués microregion: territorial structure, socioeconomic aspects, and urban network

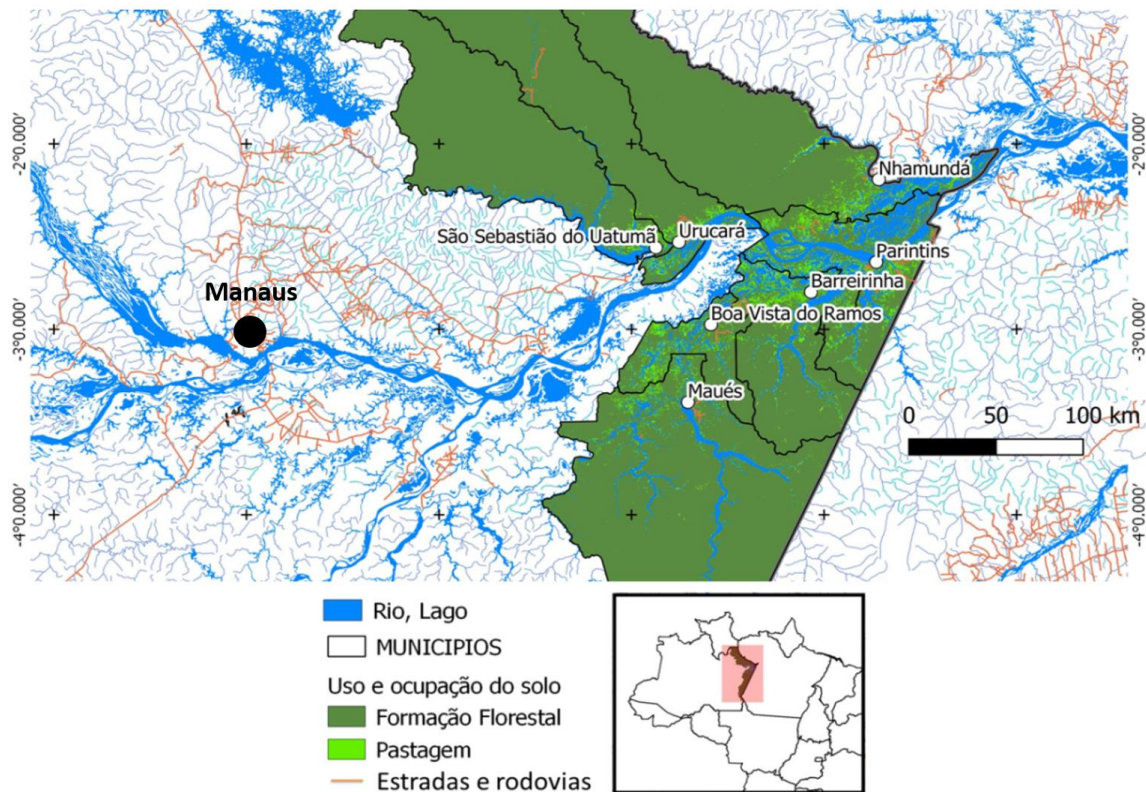
This session presents the socio-spatial characteristics of the municipality of Maués and describes the territorial structure of the Parintins planning microregion, considering productive profiles. The choice of the spatial outline of the microregion planning is due to operational criteria, related to the roles of different institutions to rethink public territorial development policies, fostering municipalities in the state of Amazonas (SEDECTI, 2020). Experiences such as those of the Territories of Citizenship Program of the Federal Governments, proposed in the period between 2003 and 2016, used this approach by focusing on networks of local subjects through the articulation of the Rural Territorial Development Councils (CODETER). Currently, the Department of Economic Development, Science, Technology and Innovation of Amazonas (SEDECTI) has been developing the InovaSocioBio Program, with the aim of mapping and encouraging productive circuits related to biodiversity with economic potential, using this microregional focus. Therefore, in addition to comparing data from municipalities, the aim is to analyze the urban space in its regional dimension to recognize distinctions, where city typologies associated with other territorial development strategies provide assistance in the specifications of public policy proposals (BITOUN, 2009).

This microregional delimitation for operational purposes does not mean

disregarding “porosities”, multi-scale flows, and interactions, as well as disarticulations and fragmentations. Territorial fragmentations and low economic complementarity between municipalities in the network are factors as important as cohesion characteristics. Connections with the Pará network are also essential (BARTOLI, 2018, 2020), as there has been an intensification of the circulation of vessels coming from Pará in recent years, which has been polarizing the Amazonas network.

The territorial structure of the microregion conditions the land use and development of transport systems, as there is an absence of land connections both to the east, with the Pará network (except for small precarious dirt roads), and to the west with the Manaus metropolis (figure 1). Maués is located on the right bank of the Maués-Açu river, distant 356 km from Manaus by river and 268 km in a straight line. River transport is the main articulator of the urban network, whose mediations go beyond technical and economic functionality, having cultural dimensions of extreme importance in the construction of the territorialities of different networks of subjects, forming territorial systems.

Figure 2 – Territorial Structure – Lower Amazonas microregion (2018)



Source: IBGE, 2015; INPE, 2008 – prepared by Heitor Pinheiro, 2010. DATUM:WGS1984.

The rarefaction of large-scale engineering systems in the microregion, such as roads, hydroelectric plants, power transmission lines and airports, makes two criteria essential in the analysis: river and riverside dynamics. The term river has been used to indicate a mode of transport with a prevalence of mercantile capital, whose logic of using rivers is focused on the circulation of goods and passengers using larger vessels (predominance of exchange value), which BARTOLI (2017) names this type of subject network as the Urban-River Territorial System (STUF).

The term *ribeirinho* is used to indicate the reproduction of spatial practices and territorialities associated with inland populations increasingly adapted and inserted into the urban environment: a strong symbolic reference – cultural with “slow” temporalities, use of rivers for recreational purposes, subsistence work activities and circulation to supplement income (predominance of use value). Using small and medium-sized vessels, these populations form networks belonging to the informal popular economy, which are interpreted in BARTOLI (2017; 2018, 2019, 2020) as the Urban-Riverside Territorial System (STUR). River and riverside dynamics complement and interpenetrate each other in different ways.

As various products enter the Amazonian urban network through the state of Pará, mainly through the STUF, with Parintins (AM) as its first stop, there is a huge amount of food imported from other states and countries, which supplies the state of Amazonas (SEDECTI, 2020). This demonstrates the fragility of food sovereignty and has promoted changes in eating habits and the composition of the regional food basket (MORAES, 2008).

After a journey carried out by large iron vessels, coming from Pará (iron ships, catamarans, and ferries), from the ports of Santarém and Belém, the products are loaded on medium-sized wooden vessels to smaller cities, such as Maués and the others in the microregion. From these, they leave in small boats that make up the STUR, and until arriving in communities, towns, and villages. The hold and ground floor of vessels are generally used for loading goods, vehicles, machinery and fuel. The upper floor transports travelers accommodated in hammocks to access health and educational services, carry out commercial transactions, etc.

This is an important stage in the formation of the urban network, as wooden vessels manufactured by local artisans in traditional shipyards (BARTOLI, 2019) transport products from agribusiness and national agro-industries, whose local economy in Amazonas has a low level of competitiveness, which leads to an increase in imports of fruits and vegetables. The improvement in traffic conditions on the BR-163 highway since the 2010s, connecting Cuiabá (MT) to Santarém (PA), has allowed a greater quantity of fruits, vegetables, eggs, and various agro-industrial products to enter the urban network of Amazonas via Parintins. The import of eggs from the states of Goiás and Mato Grosso has been equally increasing. Items coming from distant locations stand out, such as pears imported from Argentina, grapes from the São Francisco River Valley, avocados from Minas Gerais and apples from Santa Catarina, from where 80% of the fruits consumed in the Amazon are imported.

This growing import of food and the formation of a deficit in the trade balance of Amazonas (SEDECTI, 2020) is associated with the scarce presence of productive sectors in most interior cities, but which present another type of complexity in the composition of the social and territorial division of work that the STUR model demonstrates. Part of the agricultural products are imported via the municipality of Parintins reaching Maués and other municipalities (ADAF, 2015), while having their origin in Santarém (96%), Belém (0.3%), São Paulo (3.65%).

In general, stagnant economic dynamics in the microregion reflect a low variety of productive activities in the cities, even in Parintins, which is considered a medium-sized city with territorial responsibility (BARTOLI, et al 2020). Bertha Becker (2013) states that such cities do not fulfill their roles in the social and territorial division of labor, relegating them to only function as central places.

This “incomplete” economy is also manifested in the low formation of revenue/collection in the municipalities of the micoregion, which become dependent on Federal and State Transfers (Table 1).

Table 1 – Transfers of Federal and State Resources – 2018

Subregion/ municipality	Federal transfer (r\$1,00)		State transfers (r\$1,00) (transfers)			ROYALTES	GDP
	FPM	FUNDEB	ICMS	IPVA	IPI		
Microregion of Parintins	114.306.429	188.410.862	102.706.545	1.074.641	287.982	1.433.053	2.299.502
Barreirinha	15.766.404	33.597.278	9.258.164,94	21.370,66	25.959	129.178	224.067
Boa Vista do Ramos	11.824.803	12.391.113	7.546.687,54	10.616,02	21.160	105.298	110.649
Maués	23.649.606	45.815.744	25.753.328,13	185.609,55	72.211	359.333	141.135
Nhamundá	11.824.803	13.426.422	9.513.263,16	13.490,86	26.675	132.737	135.660
Parintins	31.532.808	67.222.985	31.240.259,58	789.421,67	87.596	435.892	1.027.190
São Sebastião do Uatumã	7.883.202	4.835.230	7.576.835,60	11.296,21	21.245	105.719	93.397
Urucará	11.824.803	11.122.090	11.818.006,25	42.835,55	33.137	164.895	297.858

Source: Secretaria de Estado de Desenvolvimento Econômico, Ciência, Tecnologia e Inovação (SEDECTI-AM, 2020). Data organized by the authors.

Regarding the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), the municipality of Maués occupies the fourth position in the Parintins microregion and 15th position in the state of Amazonas (IBGE – 2016), but is positioned in 50th in terms of GDP per capita in the State, which has 63 municipalities. With the Human Development Index (HDI) ranking 19th in the state, it is necessary to detail its municipal economic profile, describing part of the existing economic activities and those that could be enhanced.

In four of the municipalities in the microregion, Barreirinha, Boa Vista do Ramos, São Sebastião do Uatumã, and Parintins, the GDP originated from agriculture exceeds the GDP from commerce and services (table 2). The majority of agricultural income comes from extensive, small-scale cattle farming. This is a cultural aspect of these municipalities whose urban populations have few heads of cattle in the interior maintained as a “reserve” or income supplement for urban activities carried out by the popular economy. Unlike the areas of southeastern Pará, southern Amazonas, Rondônia, and northern Mato Grosso, which are dominated by large cattle ranchers, the cities in the Parintins microregion have a predominance of small producers, as demonstrated by Freitas (2018). With the rise in the price of beef in 2020 and 2021, such activities possibly became important sources of income amid the economic crisis generated during the COVID-19 pandemic.

In this context, the commerce and services’ sector in Maués appears as the main generator of jobs, most of which are informal (table 2), generating close articulation between mercantile capital and the popular economy. The sector stands out, occupying the second highest percentage in the sub-region, contributing 21.33% of the municipal Gross Domestic Product (GDP), behind only Parintins with 25.85% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) related to the sector of commerce and services.

Table 2 highlights the predominance of the public sector in the composition of GDP in all municipalities, with positions in city halls usually being the biggest generators of jobs in cities. These positions are mostly obtained through appointment, which gives mayors an advantage in sponsoring their voters, an asset in the re-election bargain. This leads to an accumulation of power for mayors, harming any type of democratic alternation.

Table 2: Gross Domestic Product (GDP) by sector of the economy and employed persons

Municipality	Agriculture	Industry	Services and commerce	Public sector	Filled jobs
Barrerinha	23,51%	3,08%	16,51%	56,59%	954
Boa Vista do Ramos	17,52%	2,96%	16,71%	62,81%	685
Maués	15,05%	4,61%	21,33%	58,56%	3.574
Nhamundá	17,44%	4,32%	19,22%	59,02%	888
São Sebastião do Uatumã	26,54%	4,66%	16,04%	54,76%	536
Parintins	28%	4,57%	25,85%	41,58%	6.974
Urucará*	---	---	---	---	882

Source: SEBRAE, 2019. (Data organized by the authors). *Research was not conducted in Urucará.

3 Commercial profile of Maués

Silva (2010) discusses the issue of centrality in the context of what could be called productive structuring/restructuring, returning to theories that show that cities and roads create certain regions, and are, therefore, organisms that direct regional supply. Centrality is considered as the ability in offering central functions by a given city for itself and its region, whose central goods and services are necessarily offered in a few central places (as indicated by Christaller's theory – 1968 apud Mello e Silva , 2010, p. 43). Obviously, due to the type of territorial structuring explained here, with a low industrial and agricultural productive composition and predominance of river transport, the centralities in the Parintins microregion can only be understood in the relationship of complementations and overlaps between the rural and the urban. With intense exchanges between the popular economy (STUR) and mercantile capital, the cities of the Parintins microregion have relations with cities of a higher hierarchical level such as Manaus and the urban network of Pará (BARTOLI, 2017, 2018a). Other activities that have stimulated circulation between cities and their interiors are related to the provision of educational and health services (SCHOR and OLIVEIRA, 2016).

The popular economy which develops in this context of low economic dynamics is partially explained by the significant number of individual micro-entrepreneurs (table 3). Maués stands out in relation to other small municipalities, positioned in second place in the microregion in relation to the number of micro-

enterprises, small businesses, and individual micro-entrepreneurs.

The activities of the popular economy where poor populations are found on the outskirts of large and medium-sized cities were called by Milton Santos (2007) as lower circuit, which makes urban consumption viable. Such productions with low levels of investment in capital, technology and organization – often called non-modern – find shelter in large metropolitan areas, constituting a force of concentration (SILVEIRA, 2010). Interpreting the nature and composition of this sector of the popular economy in small cities in the Amazon has been a conceptual and methodological challenge, different from the metropolises. It requires a specific methodology for locations with intense river and riverside dynamics as well as different scales within the urban network.

Table 3 – Micro-companies, individual micro-entrepreneurs in the Parintins microregion

Municipality	Micro-companies and Small size companies*	Micro-entrepreneurs Individuals*
Barreirinha	342	237
Boa Vista do Ramos	116	128
Maués	561	664
Nhamundá	155	185
S. Sebastião do Uatumã	107	99
Urucará	---	---
Parintins	1549	1846

Source: SEBRAE*; IBGE cities** - (Data organized by the authors).

In a study on small cities, Endlich (2009, p.151) highlights that the form and volume of consumption as well as the cultural transformations and values that permeate and establish social relationships are relevant factors in understanding the meaning of these cities. The author states that the decline of rural society is characteristic of small cities, a process that follows changes in consumption and a decrease in production for subsistence, with the creation of new commercial patterns (ENDLICH, 2009, p. 158). Regarding the north of Paraná, studies by Endlich (2009) indicate that the implementation of different highways with increased use of automobiles resulted in population access to larger neighboring cities, causing bankruptcy in businesses in small local towns. This qualitative and quantitative expansion of consumption caused most small cities to lose centrality in relation to the commerce parameter that existed in previous decades. This has not occurred in the small cities studied with river and riverside dynamics, with a rural population maintained over the last decade and where access to larger cities is much more difficult, expensive, and time-consuming. The commercial sectors in table 3 have reinforced the centrality of these cities, as they serve a huge number of communities, towns, districts and indigenous villages that orbit around the municipal

headquarters, as in the examples of studies carried out in Urucará, São Sebastiao do Uatumã, Boa View of Ramos, and Barreirinha (BARTOLI, 2020 a; 2020 b; 2021). The consolidation of Maués in terms of this commercial function is similar compared to other municipalities in the micoregion (BARTOLI, 2020 b).

But the development of river transport has generated changes in centralities in small cities in the Amazon in recent years, due to the development of travel via aluminum boats, supplanting part of the slow travel by wooden boats. This reinforced the role of commercial warehouse for small towns and their immediate surroundings. Part of the population tends to move frequently to larger communities closer to the headquarters, which also have small businesses, with small sales, as monthly purchases are usually made in the city (BARTOLI, 2020 a; 2020 b; 2021). Another fraction of the population travels less frequently from distant communities with expensive access to fuel due to low family income (BARTOLI, 2020 b).

Also in Maués, production and consumption function as forces of concentration and territorial dispersion. This is the consumption of basic items and services provided by lower-income populations (table 4). These are simpler commercial profiles and types of services due to the existence of few middle and upper classes in small cities in the microregion of Parintins.

Table 4 - Business density and main sectors/segments in Maués formalized as Individual Microentrepreneur (MEI), Microenterprise (ME) or Small Business (EPP) - June/2019

Description of the activity	Quantity
1° - retail trade of general goods, with a predominance of food products - minimarkets, grocery stores and warehouses.	333
2° - school transport	285
3° - retail trade of clothing items and accessories	134
4° - retail trade of cosmetics, perfumery and personal hygiene products	38
5° - snack bars, tea houses, juice bars and similar.	30
6° - restaurants and other similar options	27
7° - retail trade of haberdashery items	25
7° - retail trade of building materials in general	25
7° - retail trade of pharmaceutical products, without manipulation of formulas	25
8° - hairdressers, manicures and pedicures.	23
8° - retail business	23

Source: SEBRAE, 2019. (Data organized by the authors)

A large portion of companies formalized as MEI, ME or EPP are concentrated in the commerce and services sectors. Table 4 presents the main activities carried out in the municipality, with emphasis on grocery retail and minimarkets; school transport, clothing and accessories trade. Most commercial establishments are located in the center, with high density and prevalence in the streets close to the banks of the Maués-Açu river, decreasing towards the peripheral neighborhoods. As they serve inland communities and indigenous villages, the proximity to ports, shores and central ramps becomes trivial.

In the peripheral neighborhoods, three recent service sectors stand out: the sale of motorcycle parts and services, beauty salons, and pharmacies. Due to the recent expansion of the outskirts into new neighborhoods resulting from irregular occupations, the replacement of wooden houses with masonry buildings encouraged

the spread of several construction materials businesses throughout the city, with 27 establishments.

4 Urban expansion

In this session, the characteristics of urban expansion and new equipment related to the functions of tourism activities, and municipal festivals and events are described. Probably beginning in the year 1798, the municipality of Maués currently has an estimated population of 65,040 people, with 50.5% of which has a monthly income of up to half the minimum wage (IBGE, 2010). Discussing the accelerated urbanization process underway in the Amazon today requires understanding the roles that headquarters play to stimulate public policies aimed at improving the worsening poverty scenario.

The intra-urban space of Maués has particularities in common with other cities in the Parintins microregion, as it was structured based on different river and riverside dynamics when compared to the remaining urban networks in Brazil, mostly structured by road and air transport. The first particularity refers to the phases of past economic activities that did not cause substantial changes in the structure of the urban morphology of such cities. The beginning of urban expansion occurred in the 1950s when the Maresia and Eden neighborhoods emerged. Due to the nature of these economic activities, which began with booms and declines (from the end of the 19th century to other shorter activities such as cocoa, jute, and rosewood), cities in the microregion were not able to form complete economic circuits with social and territorial divisions of the more complex work. Nor did they form roles of complementarity and exchange between the network's headquarters with density in the use of surrounding territories. These factors barely changed urban forms until the 1970s (BARTOLI; PINHEIRO, 2022).

In the current landscape, the architectural forms inherited from the phases of activity in these cities are few in number, with a few mansions and small warehouses for storing jute, rosewood or rubber goods. The greatest impact on the structure of the urban plan and landscape occurred precisely after the crisis of these “cycles” (BARTOLI, 2017), with sudden productive declines and migration of populations to peripheral areas of cities. The establishment of public education and health services in the headquarters were also and still are motivators of the rural exodus process (SCHOR and OLIVEIRA, 2016).

Obviously, with a closer look, the legacies of the process of re-territorialization of populations to the cities are noticeable in vernacular architecture (wooden houses, stilt houses and even boats), in eating habits and especially on river banks where riverside dynamics hybridize with more modern dynamics of the current economy.

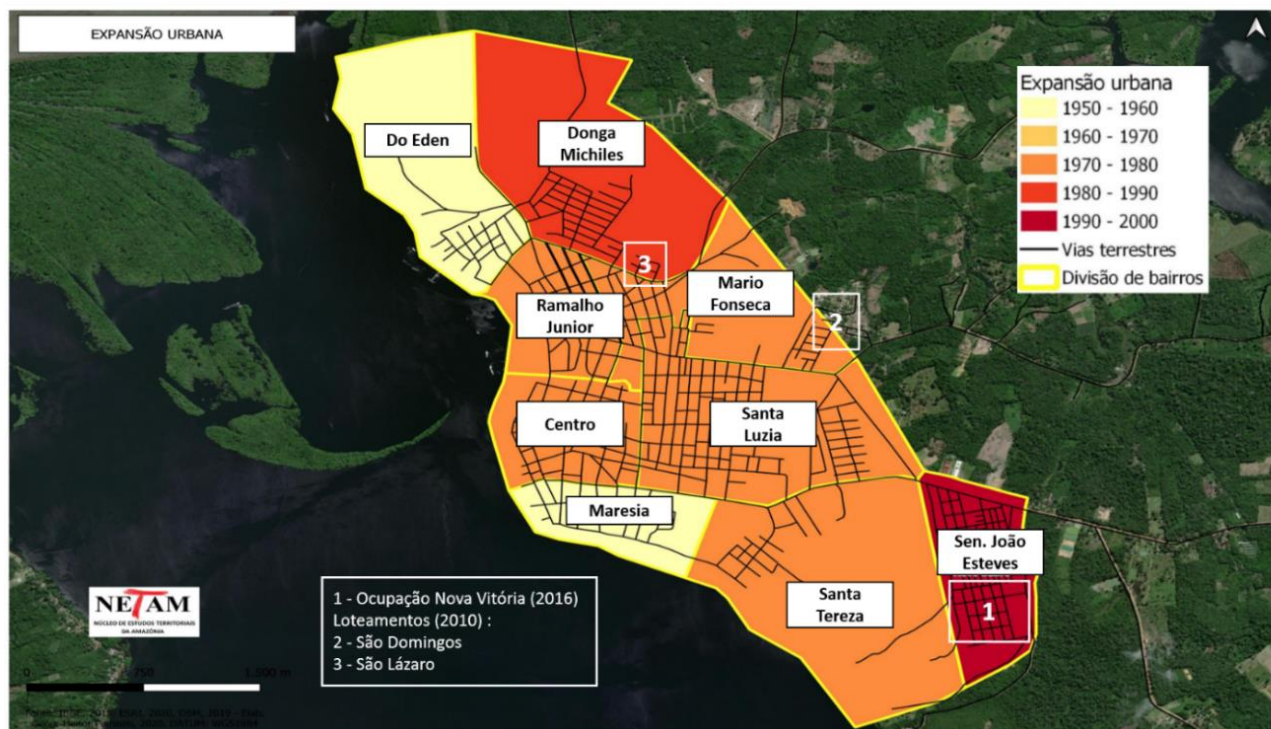
Irregular occupations and subdivisions that became neighborhoods are processes observed in all cities in the microregion, with the second common characteristic between Maués and the others being the formation of peripheries, following similar patterns of growth from subdivisions and irregular occupations after the 1970s. (BARTOLI and PINHEIRO, 2022). The Santa Luzia neighborhood emerged from the construction work of the SUHAB housing complex (1985-1986), with the surrounding areas subsequently occupied by residents from rural families. This is the largest neighborhood in the city today.

In this sense, Oliveira (2000) states that the process of urbanization in the Amazon does not necessarily occur only due to the presence of cities in the regional landscape (urbanization of the territory), but mainly due to the diffusion of urban society, which also expands urban influence. For BARTOLI, the generalization of the urban phenomenon in the Amazon is discussed based on the identification of contradictory processes, based on a tripod: the destruction of existing spatial forms, the creation of resistance, and the reconstruction of spatial forms and contents endowed with new dimensions and meanings. It conceives that socio-spatial practice, the geographical place of social action, is revealing in constituting alternatives for liberating relationships in the city.

Figure 2 shows the urban expansion of Maués over the decades, where the neighborhoods originated from subdivisions and irregular occupations that intensified from 1980 onwards with the formation of Donga Michiles are present. Other sections of subdivisions emerged later, such as Senador José Esteves (2001), São Domingos, and São Lázaro (2010) and the recent irregular occupation Nova Vitória (2016).

In 2001, the Senador José Esteves neighborhood emerged from the donation of wooden houses to the population. In 2008, another phase of expansion of the neighborhood began through the Minha Casa Minha Vida program. In these neighborhoods, there are numerous small activities related to the provision of services and popular businesses, visible in the landscape in small boxes for repairing fans, motorcycle and bicycle maintenance, fruit and fish stands, lunch box sales, small markets, barbecue stalls, etc., which do not have records such as MEI, ME or EPP, and are undervalued in the general data on the municipal economic profile (Table 4).

Figure 2 - Urban expansion of Maués - Neighborhoods/decades



Source: adapted by BARTOLI e PINHEIRO (2022). Organized by the authors.

The third common characteristic refers to the diffusion of intra-urban mobility, characterized in recent decades by rapid expansion and current predominance of motorcycles (PINTO and SCHOR, 2013), with intense use of bicycles. This has stimulated urban expansion in a dispersed manner, as there is no public transport system in the seven cities in the Parintins micoregion, but only municipal and federal agreements for school transport and the spread of motorcycle taxi driver cooperatives. There is the formation of urban fragments dispersed on the outskirts and peri-urban spaces throughout the microregion.

It is also noteworthy the growing presence of indigenous people belonging to the Sateré-Mawé ethnic group in the peripheral neighborhoods of Maués (RADICCHI, 2020), whose intensification of movements between villages and the city via river transport has been decisive for the increase in the flow of migration to the cities. This process is also related to economic, social and cultural transformations within indigenous communities, against the backdrop of the degradation of subsistence conditions in the territories where they are located and the disruption of the traditional way of life (TEIXEIRA et al, 2009).

5 Festivals and tourist functions in the land of guaraná in the Amazon

Maués is regionally known as the Land of Guaraná. Despite the strong presence of companies that make up the local circuit for purchasing and processing the product, the transformation of guaraná into a commercial attribute with a strong cultural symbolic bias also occurs in the formation of the Sateré-Mawé Indigenous Producers Consortium. Through the production and export of guaraná with certification of origin, linked to the international fair trade network, the Consortium has, over the last 3 decades, intensified relations with different scales and institutional spheres, ranging from state support, NGOs, to trade networks (BARTOLI, 2015). The city becomes a strategic node for the reconstruction of the network territory by some members of the ethnic group, mainly Parintins (AM), headquarters of the consortium (whose brand is called Nusoken). With the consortium strengthening, the indigenous people began to carry out several actions to coordinate the network of producers, demonstrating the cohesion of the group and the achievement of “trump cards” in the process of re-territorialization of the ethnic group. This process has allowed the overcoming of historical dependency relationships, relying on urban space as a strategic node in the group's actions, that is, there is a clear expansion in the form of ethnic territorialization, according to which symbolic, environmental and cultural elements are activated around the construction of the “waraná” commodity (BARTOLI, 2015, 2017).

In relation to aspects of the local elite of Maués, its consolidation is possibly related to the mercantile activities of the decades following the strengthening of the Manaus Free Trade Zone (1980) and the Industrial Pole (1993), topics for further study. We did not notice evidence that the expansion of guaraná cultivation has constituted the strengthening of a local elite linked to this activity, considering that control of the purchasing network and dominance of the product's price is carried out by transnational companies. In this context, Costa (2017) highlights that guaraná growers are part of the process of territorial monopolization by transnational capital in the municipality of Maués, and that the arrival of the Empresa Paulista Antártica (current Companhia de Bebidas das Américas - AMBEV), in 1964 was one of the

factors that certainly influenced the increase in demand and productivity of guaraná in the lower Amazon region. Subsequently, Coca-Cola began to influence the sub-regional marketing of guaraná concentrate, implying price control for both companies, which has reinforced relationships of exploitation and dependence on producers who obtain lower profits.

As seen in Table 2, the GDP relative to the agricultural sector in Maués is the lowest in the micoregion. Therefore, there is apparently no evidence that the cultivation of guaraná and its accumulation of capital have generated major changes in urban morphology or in local capital investments. Thus, the urban process would be much more related to the cultivation of guaraná through the income earned by peasants and their interactions in the urban consumption of complementary items, strengthening local commerce and networks related to metropolitan mercantile capital.

Another important aspect, related to guaraná, is its transformation from a symbolic-cultural element redirected and re-defined as a commodity and media attraction to promote local festivities, in an intense event economy. Maués has gained prominence in the regional media due to the propagation of images related to the brands of beverage companies, which resulted in a symbolic artifice of “the land of guaraná in the Amazon”. In the municipalities and communities studied in the microregion, there is a strong influence of the Catholic religion through festivals of devotion to the patron saints of the places, even with the rapid expansion of the influence of evangelical churches, contrary to this type of festivities, the saint's festivals are in greater numbers. Festivals related to the main agricultural products sold by municipalities coincide with harvest seasons for vegetables, tubers, fruits, nuts, cereals or even fishing. These two types of festivities – religious calendar and agricultural calendar – are the most popular, attracting large numbers of visitors to municipalities and communities. Mário Ypiranga Monteiro (1983, p.43) addressed such manifestations as profane-religious festivals in Amazonas: “festive concentrations that favor the expansion of small exchange trade in the floating areas in the interior of the State (...). These are parties with enormous social attraction.”

These festivities move the urban commercial sectors through the sale of stowage and food, the assembly of sound equipment, the provision of accommodation and the sale of tickets, forming a municipal calendar of festivities circuits. The main festivities in Maués are the festival of the city's patron saint, Festa de São Sebastião (in January), Nossa Senhora da Conceição (on December 8th), Folklore Festival of the Island of Vera Cruz (July 11th to 13th), Festa do Divino Espírito Santo (from May 31st to June 8th), Maués Birthday (June 24th and 25th), the Maués Summer Festival (September) and the traditional Festa do Guaraná (November), which celebrates the largest guaraná production in the state of Amazonas.

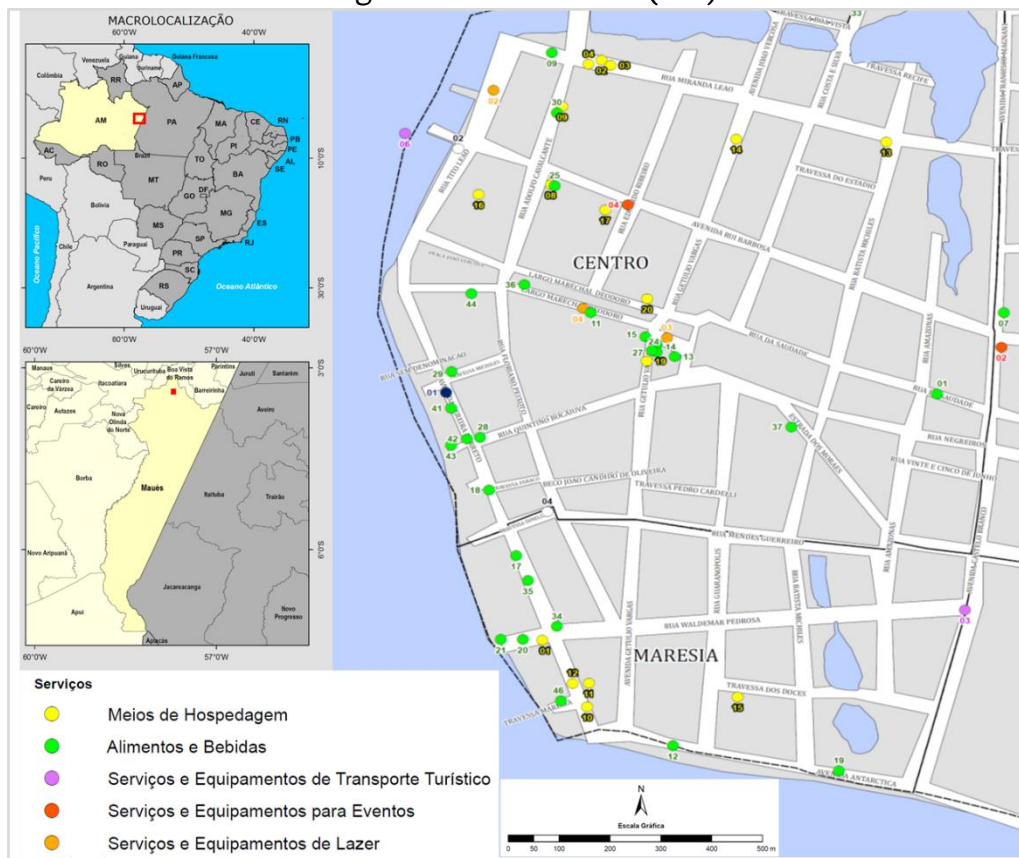
An example of the transformation of a local popular celebration into an event on a regional scale is the Festa do Guaraná de Maués, which is one of the main cultural events among the interior municipalities of Amazonas. Held 38 years ago, its origins are associated with the celebration of the guaraná harvest, a fruit cultivated by indigenous people since the beginning in the Maués region (CARNEIRO, 2012). It generally takes place on the last weekend of November, coinciding with harvest time. It brings together thousands of people from the municipality itself, neighboring cities, riverside communities, villages and the capital Manaus, attracted by musical shows from national attractions, boosting tourism and the local economy¹.

The 38th edition of the Maués Guaraná Festival, in 2017, brought together more than 50 thousand people from Praia da Ponta da Maresia and injected R\$10 million into the local economy, according to data released by Maués City Hall. Held by Maués City Hall, it receives financial support from the Government of the State of Amazonas, and sponsorship from Companhia de Bebidas das Américas – Ambev, the main financier of the event and largely responsible for its marketing at national and international level.

The inclusion of popular festivities in the circuit of spectacularization of major events has generated changes in forms and content, with huge gains for the dominant sectors in this circuit: drinks, assembly and rental of sound engineering, river transport sectors, etc. These are processes that are similar to the famous Parintins festival, where the “market celebrates in the forest” (NOGUEIRA, 2000), an occasion in which the performance of the event surpasses the celebration party (guaraná harvest, in the case of Maués), and is based on a high-technology product, merchandise adapted to the tastes of promoters (AZEVEDO, 2010).

Figure 3 and table 5 demonstrate how the circuit of festivities and events concentrates the provision of services for the tourism sector in the Centro and Maresia neighborhoods, a fact witnessed in the microregion only in the city of Parintins. The center of Maués is the most dynamic area of the city, with public buildings, a cathedral, a concentration of commerce, banks, services and leisure equipment. Urban beaches such as Ponta da Maresia and Antártica (figure 3) form a bathing area of around 2,400 meters in front of the municipal headquarters in the Centro and Maresia neighborhoods. Equipped with white sand, calm waters, night lighting and easy access, these characteristics of the site are favorable to reconfiguring the functions of the Antártica and Pereira Barreto avenues, which have a large concentration of food and beverage establishments and accommodation. A positive point appears in the wide promenade close to the riverside of Avenida Antártica, providing good mobility and accessibility for the population for different uses of the banks, which serve both as boat docks and in recreational and leisure activities. This rare quality of public space on the riverbanks is one of the city's attractions.

Figure 3 – Bars, restaurants, inns and leisure facilities in the Centro and Maresia neighborhoods – Maués (AM).



Source: Maués City Hall: Strategic Tourism Development Plan (2019) adapted by the authors.

Table 5 – Maués tourism service equipment

Service	Total in the city	Center and Maresia
Bars, guaraná houses, restaurants, pizzerias and snack bars	47	27
Inns and hotels	20	16
Tourist Transport Equipment	8	2
Leisure Equipment	5	3
Event Equipment	5	2

Source: Maués City Hall: Strategic Tourism Development Plan (2019) – organized by the authors.

Final considerations

Conditioned by the territorial structure of river connections that dominate the flows in the urban network, Maués becomes an important commercial warehouse in the microregion, supplying its direct surroundings. In relation to the rapidly expanding intra-urban space, it has been forming a range of other smaller, popular peripheral businesses. The overlapping of scales that boost the local economy manifests itself in the dependence on products from external networks (manaus as

a supplier) but with influence from the urban network of Pará. This reticular geographical situation interacts with a historical territorial formation with a strong indigenous, peasant and riverside presence, in which an intense transfiguration of different dimensions of popular culture (symbolic, material, economic in the midst of a privileged socio-nature) has been led to the production of popular celebrations increasingly influenced by the mercantile logic and spectacularization.

The construction of an image as a touristic city increases visibility in the state of Amazonas, attracting flows of people, goods and complex circuits to produce spectacular parties. This prints intra-urban rebounds. The city of Guaraná presents a worrying picture of a weakened economy, but with important virtualities in the complex territorialities of its populations.

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