


One city and three centers: the case of Marabá (PA)

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A city and three centers: the case of Marabá (PA)

Abstract

This paper aims to analyze by means of functionality of urban equipment and land use in three central areas of the city of Marabá-PA, namely Marabá Pioneira, Nova Marabá, and Cidade Nova. The analytical methodological approach was based on the concepts of *urban center* and *centrality*. These two urban Law Suit, center and centrality, may generate ambiguities or even equivalence as structuring conceptual elements of city, however they cannot be confused although they overlap. Center has locality as its matrix condition while centrality is conditioned by variation. Center is supported by centrality. Since centrality is fleeting and mobile it can be sheltered in another area that best suits it, especially at a time of planetary globalization, producing another central area. In this case, the aegis of movement is the economic factor, whether modern or traditional. As operational methodology, semi-structured photographic records and interviews were conducted with ninety individuals in each center. The results pointed for synthesis of three centers consolidated.

Keywords: Marabá. Center. Centrality. Space. Intra-urban.

Uma cidade e três centros: o caso de Marabá (PA)

Resumo

Este artigo analisa, por meio da funcionalidade dos equipamentos urbanos e do uso do solo, o que confere a condição de três áreas centrais na cidade de Marabá-PA – a Marabá Pioneira, a Nova Marabá e a Cidade Nova. A abordagem metodológica vale-se dos conceitos de *centro* e *centralidade urbana*. Ainda que possam gerar ambiguidades ou mesmo sugerir equivalência, esses dois elementos conceituais estruturadores da cidade não podem ser confundidos, pois a condição matricial do centro é a localização, enquanto a centralidade é condicionada pela variação. O centro é sustentado pela centralidade, que é fugaz e móvel; pode abrigar-se em outra área que melhor o atenda, sobretudo num momento de globalização planetária, produzindo outra área central. Nesse caso, a égide do movimento é o fator econômico, seja de

carácter moderno ou tradicional. Quanto à metodologia operacional, fizeram-se registros fotográficos e entrevistas semiestruturadas com 90 indivíduos em cada centro, e os resultados apontaram justamente três centros consolidados.

Palavras-chave: Marabá. Centro. Centralidade. Espaço. Intraurbano.

Una ciudad y tres centros: el caso de Marabá (PA)

Resumen

El objetivo de este artículo es hacer un análisis por medio de la funcionalidad de los equipamientos urbanos y el uso del suelo, lo que confiere una condición a las tres áreas en la ciudad de Marabá-PA, cuyas las áreas son denominadas Marabá Pioneira, Nova Marabá y Cidade Nova. El abordaje metodológica analítica ocurrió por el medio de los conceptos de centro y centralidad urbana. Los dos procesos urbanos, centro y centralidad, aún que no puedan generar ambigüedad o mismo equivalencia, cuanto elementos conceptuales estructurados de la ciudad, no pueden ser confundidos, mientras si sobrepongan, pues el centro tiene como condición matricial a localización mientras la centralidad es condicionada por la variación. El centro es sostenido por la centralidad, siendo esta, corta y móvil, puede abrigarse en otra área que mejor la atiende, especialmente, en un momento de globalización planetaria, produciendo otra área central. En este caso, la égida del movimiento es el factor económico sea de carácter moderno, sea tradicional. Quanto la metodología operacional, fue realizado registros fotográficos y entrevistas semiestruturadas con noventa individuo en cada uno de los centros, cuyos los conocimientos apuntan para la síntesis de las tres centros consolidados.

Palabras clave: Marabá. Centro. Centralidad. Espacio. Intraurbano.

Introduction

When analyzing old aspects of the city and of urbanism, it is common to use the concepts of the Chicago School.¹ However, it should be noted that the authors of this school start from the premises of urban sociology, the contribution of which to geography is mainly its theoretical-methodological resources, or empirical references. Since the morphology of Brazilian cities is very different from that of the United States (US), there are limits to the conceptual adoption of their time-spatial meanings.

Such investigation methods in social research were new to the 1910s, especially in US cities, which were undergoing urbanization processes and experiencing their specific regional socio-spatial corollaries. However, the legacy of the Chicago School for certain themes of urban geography is undeniable, such as the central area, centralization/decentralization, segregation and invasion/succession, which would give rise to future investigations into the dynamics of cities, such as urban centers.

Not all the ideas and authors from the Chicago School will be discussed or mentioned herein, but rather those that have contributed to the present essay, discerning the postulates that approach the object of the research (in which there is no exact correlation between the central areas of US cities and Marabá) and bring elements that may guide the processes that surround the urban centrality² of the three Marabá centers.

It is known that at this school a strong comparison is made between the living organisms of the biotic community in order to explain the dynamics that exist between man and the city, thereby establishing a theoretical approach: Urban or Human Ecology. Although there are limitations to the analogy, our proposal is not to highlight it, but rather to reveal a valid understanding, especially with regard to the positive externalities³ and the production of the commercial center.

In the Brazilian reality, the term specified by Corrêa (1989) to the area in question, surrounding the commercial center, was the Central Peripheral Zone. In both propositions (US and Brazilian), this denomination has the same connotation: areas that have lost their initial function, such as commerce or industry, and have become a deposit for merchandise, low-standard housing, parking lots or are even underused.

The perspective adopted herein regarding the factors responsible for the formation of the center and its decentralization, is that of the Chicago School, which emphasized the center and its derivations that result from its evolution, although there are some contemporary European postulations with a different morphology.

The city is in its spectrum, the movement, above all the capitalist, whose center and dynamics of centrality convey the speed of the transformations of the urban content brought about or generated by economic, social and cultural events, being a corollary that presents itself as an empirical base, demanding theoretical substance for further investigation.

1 “[...] one of the most important contributions of Chicago sociologists was the development of original investigation methods, ranging from the use of personal documents, to systematic fieldwork and to the exploration of different documentary sources” * (Teodósio, 2003, p. 4).

*This and all non-English citations hereafter, have been translated by the author.

2 “Urban centrality may be approached on two territorial scales: the intra-urban and the urban network. On the first level, it is possible to focus on the different forms of expression of this centrality taking as a reference the territory of the city or the urban agglomeration, from its center or centers” (Spósito, 1997, p. 27).

3 These are the relationships that contribute to the growth of the urban center.

Center: theoretical-conceptual elements

The city center in an analytical temporal dimension predates capitalism, amongst which are port and commercial cities (Spósito, 2008), and it is also possible to mention that the center coincides with the development of capitalist cities, as a testament to its originality represented in the landscapes that mediate the spatial process. In a doctoral thesis entitled *O centro da cidade do Salvador* [The city center of Salvador], Santos (2012) discussed the urban center.

This is one of the Brazilian seminal studies on the interpretive geographic dimension of the center, which infers that “the center constitutes a true synthesis, as it reflects, at the same time, the current forms of the life of the region, of the city and of the past, due to historical evolution” (Santos, 2012, p. 28).

The abovementioned thesis became a methodological proposal for the study of the center by investigating: (1) the direction and pace of the evolution of the region and the city, (2) the site data and (3) the current forms of organization and urban life, including, on the one hand, the current dynamism (force of transformation), and, on the other, the forces of inertia (Santos, 2012, p. 29). This attempt was considered a qualitative leap, since Brazilian and world geographies found themselves at the beginning of a renovation, divorcing themselves from their positivist bases.

In a more recent conceptualization, Spósito (2017, p. 28) stated that “The center is constituted through a process that concentrates activities involving the commercialization of goods and services, under public and private management, of leisure and of material and symbolic values in an area of the city”.

The perspective of undertaking an analysis of the city from the viewpoint of the center is strengthened by the principles of *urban agglomeration*⁴ and *spatial concentration*⁵. Although these principles are immersed in social content and new forms, the residues of old spaces do not disappear completely, the center being a socio-spatial representative.

In relation to the concept of the main and traditional centers, “[...] this is concerned with two analytical possibilities and not two centers, we must, necessarily, understand that their functions and roles are not the same. The ‘traditional’ and the ‘main’ are thus, and once again, relational and relative” (Whitacker, 2012, p. 292).

In order to operationalize such adjectives, the traditional center would refer to the same fraction of the main center, which, in some cases,⁶ may not be linked, since the first retains the past relations of the city and the second is due to the greater density of spatial objects of a commercial nature.

Although the main center shares the complementarity with other central areas of the city, in both, there are “objective and subjective relationships” (Salgueiro, 2012). Therefore,

4 For Miyazaki (2017), the bringing together or concentration of people, construction, services, commerce, industry, etc. in an urban center already characterizes an agglomeration, i.e., the city understood as an urban agglomeration.

5 In Marx (1996), the concept of concentration is linked to accumulation. In an attempt to insert social capital into the geographical discussion, the concept needed the spatial dimension and, therefore, the principle of location, which necessarily implies distinguishing the areas that make up the center. For further discussion, see Smith (1988).

6 In the case of Marabá, it would be coherent to speak of the *traditional* and the *main* of the same spatial fraction.

there are common nuances between the centers of the same city and even between city centers of different levels.

Regarding the common functional and symbolic appropriation of the center(s) as characteristics belonging to these spaces, what follows are some of the linked duo notions: agglomeration-dispersion (daily/nocturnal), capital-work, random-bureaucratic, business-playful, sociability-individuality, ancient-modern, endogeny-exogeny, speed-slowness, affectivity-aversion, formal-informal, management-claim, insurance-insecure, encounter-mismatch, variable-invariable, organization-entropy, deceit-elucidation, reason-emotion, visible-invisible and empty-full.

The center is the space-time par excellence of the complex fluidity consistent with the hierarchical level of the city and the need for the circulation of capital. In other words, the center(s) is(are) directly proportional to the economic dynamics of the city, without excluding the cultural, historical and political dimensions.

The appearance of the process of spatial production in other fractions of the city with characteristics of the center is associated with the growth of the city, a process called decentralization⁷ in the form of secondary nuclei.

Decentralization with the creation of secondary nuclei⁸, which is the perspective in the case of Marabá, the complementarity between them expresses a complexification of the urban fabric, insofar as it reveals other possibilities for reproducing the content of the main center, in addition to the social strata towards which it is targeted. There is a form that is sketched in the city that reverberates not only in the intra-urban landscape but in its horizontal and vertical relations, considering that these spatial rearrangements affect the change in spatial practice, a process most strongly perceived in the peripheries.

Centrality: theoretical-conceptual elements

It should be stated that the urban fabric of Marabá is moving towards a multi-nucleated structure, a process that Villaça (2001) acknowledged as having origins in US metropolises with the reproduction of urban centers in line with the need for capitalist reproduction. Although Marabá is a medium-sized city, its condition as an urban site⁹ was combined with a prevalence of economic dynamism producing the polynucleated structure engendered by the binomial center-centrality. This condition is justified, in part, by the demographic level, one of the largest after the state capital, Belém.

7 Decentralization in non-central areas, with the following characteristics: (a) unoccupied land, with low prices and taxes, (b) implanted infrastructure, (c) ease of transport, (d) attractive qualities of the site such as topography and drainage, (e) possibilities for controlling land use and (f) amenities (Corrêa, 1989, p. 4).

8 The nucleus in question covers a portion of the city's residential and commercial function, although in the present work, only the second function in its circumscribed center will be analyzed.

9 Ab'Saber (1957, p. 112) considers the urban site as "a small framework in relief, which effectively houses an urban organism".

Table 1 - Absolute population of the municipalities in the state of Pará

Municipal code	Name of the municipality	Total population 2000	Total males	Total females	Total urban population	Total rural population	Total population 2010
1500107	Abaetetuba	119.152	71.612	69.442	82.950	58.104	141.054
1500131	Abel Figueiredo	5.957	3.542	3.250	6.046	746	6.792
1500206	Acará	52.126	28.139	25.466	12.625	40.980	53.605
1500305	Afuá	29.505	18.449	16.568	9.478	25.539	35.017
1500347	Água Azul do Norte	22.084	13.618	11.443	4.876	20.185	25.061
1500404	Alenquer	41.784	27.086	25.628	27.774	24.940	52.714
1500503	Almeirim	33.957	17.502	16.163	19.972	13.693	33.665
1500602	Altamira	77.439	52.814	52.216	90.068	14.962	105.030
1500701	Anajás	18.322	12.968	11.803	9.492	15.279	24.771
1500800	Ananindeua	393.569	226.537	245.207	470.590	1.154	471.744
1500859	Anapu	9.407	10.965	9.528	9.840	10.653	20.493
1500909	Augusto Corrêa	33.011	20.994	19.505	18.237	22.262	40.499
1500958	Aurora do Pará	19.728	13.630	12.949	8.174	18.405	26.579
1501006	Aveiro	15.518	8.319	7.448	3.182	12.585	15.767
1501105	Bagre	13.708	12.136	11.719	10.652	13.203	23.855
1501204	Baião	21.119	19.450	17.457	18.555	18.352	36.907
1501253	Bannach	3.780	1.849	1.585	1.284	2.150	3.434
1501303	Barcarena	63.268	50.379	49.421	36.357	63.443	99.800
1501402	Belém	1.280.614	658.188	733.843	1.380.836	11.195	1.392.031
1504208	Marabá	168.020	118.148	115.314	186.122	47.340	233.462

Source: IBGE ([s.d.]).

The centralization¹⁰ of capital is a condition for constituting the centrality of space, it becomes necessary for the analytical emersion from the scale so that the action of the agents producing the centrality may be “read”, given that these agents are not always local. However, the materiality of capital is located and expressed objectively with specific domains in urban life.

The importance of incorporating the geographic scale not only consists of locating the object being investigated, but also assigning it with potential. It is agreed that the center and the centrality play a key role in the scale of the city, with regard to the nodality of the “horizontal and vertical” connections (Santos, 2008).

10 “The centralization of capital occurs whenever two or more previously independent capitals are combined into a single capital, and this generally occurs directly through a merger or takeover or indirectly through the credit system.” (Smith, 1984, p. 184).

Hence, identifying its potentials for enabling the horizontal and vertical economic flows gauges and qualifies the contained events as vectors of probable socio-spatial rearrangements.

Based on the geographical theory on the insertion of spatial phenomena as always being singular events in different places, even though they may be supportive, it is assumed that the event is a “data of time in space” (Santos, 2008) and a “moment” (Lefebvre, 1991). Both agree that the event is an irreversible phenomenon and changes the history of the place.

The scope of the scalar level of the city through centrality is dimensioned according to the degree of polarization and influence that the event may achieve. In this case, for the investigation, the scale concerns the intra-urban level in terms of the “intra-urban central locations” (Souza, 2013), without discounting that its influence may extrapolate to the inter-urban level.

Centrality as an economic spatial process is predominantly addressed at the intercity level, in the urban network, even national and global; for Lefebvre (1999), “the essential aspect of the urban phenomenon is its centrality”.

At the city level, the centrality, from its center or centers, for Spósito (1997) “is activated by the activities of commerce and services”, initially in a multivectorial manner, i.e., through the action of several agents from different segments.

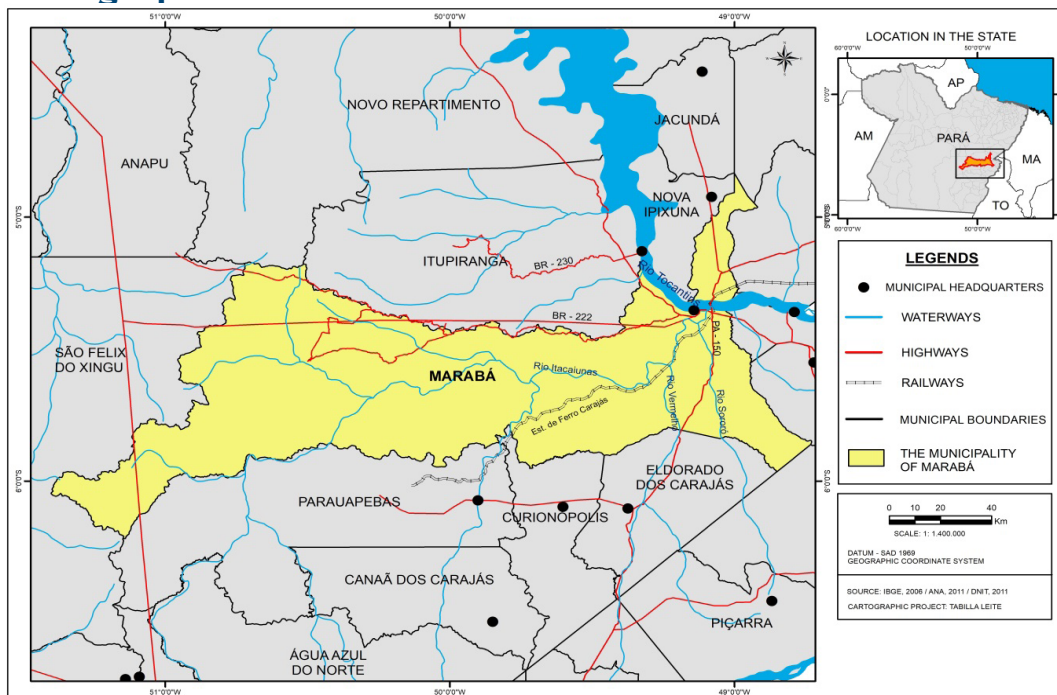
As a rule, on the intra-urban scale, spatial fractions destined for economic centrality essentially consist of two sequential factors: modernization, as an “addition of science and technology in space” (Santos; Silveira, 2014), and accessibility. These factors are space restructuring elements that express the functional urban landscape of the current city. In this sense, for Camagni (2005, p. 74), “accessibility signifies overcoming the barrier imposed by the space on the movement of people and things and the exchange of goods, services and information”.

In areas that have the condition of centrality, there is a common predominance of modernization aggregated to the range of services and commerce that are intended for exchange, re-presented in the urban landscape and inserted into the massification marketing strategies of the product and the place (such as, for example, shopping malls). Therefore, access to these areas must be such that streets, avenues, trails etc. connect it with as much of the city as possible.

From Marabá to the three urban nuclei of its centers

The municipality of Marabá is located in the northern region of the country, in the Brazilian Amazon, in the mesoregion of the southeastern part of the state of Pará, on the left bank of the Tocantins River. With an average altitude of 125m above sea level, it covers an area of 15,157.90 km², and a population of 233,462. It borders the north with the municipalities of Itupiranga, Nova Ipixuna and Rondon do Pará; to the south, with Parauapebas, Eldorado dos Carajás and São Geraldo do Araguaia; to the east, with São Domingos do Araguaia, São João do Araguaia and Bom Jesus do Tocantins and, to the west, with the municipality of Novo Repartimento (IBGE, [s.d.]).

Map 1 - Geographic location of Marabá in the state



Source: IBGE ([s.d.]). Produced by the author, 2015.

NB: Most of the municipalities that now border Marabá originate from its dismemberment.

The main urban transformations in the city have been those induced by high investment capitalist activities. Thus, since 1970, mining has played this role in the southeastern region of Pará, electing the city of Marabá as spatial support for the capital and the state itself, including the presence of migrants.

The insertion of extra-local economic activities has reconfigured the intra-urban location of spatial objects, in the case of Marabá, from a perspective of the emergence of centers and centralities, whose configuration in three different parts of the city had already been observed: “Since the 1980s, it had already presented a differentiated triangular intra-urban structure, namely: (a) Marabá Pioneira, more traditional trade, (b) Nova Marabá, planned by Sudam [Superintendency of Development for the Amazon], (c) Cidade Nova, the result of more spontaneous occupation” (Becker, 1990, p. 56).

The perception of the aforementioned author is essentially valuable for understanding the emergence and spatial characterization of the three centers. However, the speed of the urban and economic movement tends to move away from its precursor processes of formation, not with abrupt ruptures, but rather with the dialectical movement of relatively intense changes-permanencies in each, whose spatial expression of analysis unfolds in a socio-spatial manner.

Center and centrality of/in the nuclei: Marabá Pioneira, Nova Marabá and Cidade Nova

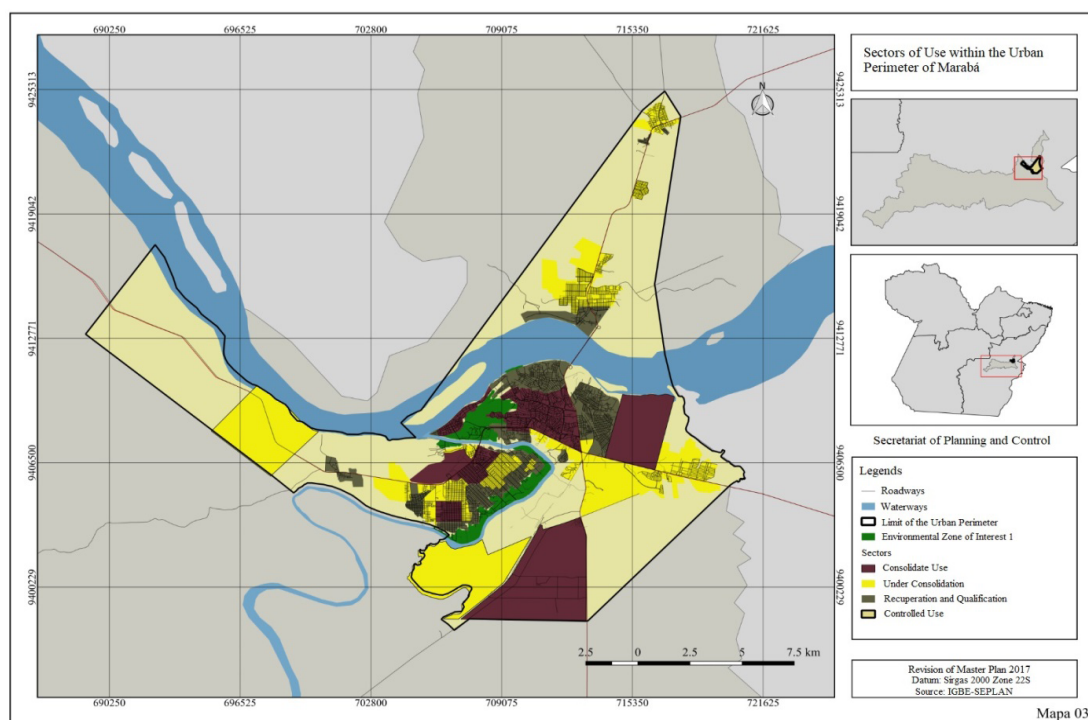
The geographical situation of the three nuclei in the urban site of Marabá is expressed in their spatial discontinuity, enabling, in the center of each nucleus, a glimpse of a relative

dependence supported by a relationship of intra-urban organizational solidarity through services and commercial activities. This thereby brings a particular characteristic to the spatial production in Marabá and thus, the possibility of a specific rationality amongst the economic agents allocated in the three areas.

The use of the urban land in Marabá has undergone a process of installing economic activities, in which services and commerce have gained prominence for representing a considerable part of this use associated with the urban expansion of the city.

The manner in which the urban land has been used may be observed in Map 2.

Map 2 - Sectors of urban land use in Marabá



Source: Marabá ([s.d.]).

With the georeferencing of sectors in terms of land use, it may be noted that the areas of consolidated use and under consolidation are located in the subareas concerning the three nuclei that include their respective centers. This makes it possible to allude to activities of services and commerce as vectors of this solidification process of land use.

Marabá Pioneira

The traditional center with its access routes and circulation of people and vehicles, stores (clothing, jewelry, appliances, electronics), pharmacies, opticians, etc., constitutes a main center. The exchanges allow us to consider an inter-scale relationship (local, regional, national and global), through the action of small, medium and large economic agents, who are able to capture, for this space, extra-local logics, producing verticalities as they develop new behaviors and consumption.

With regard to the centrality of a traditional nature, Marabá Pioneira is outstanding for its intense informal activity, emphasized by the transference of the Getúlio Vargas market into a covered area, recently opened on April 5, 2018 (fieldwork).

Photograph 1 - The new Getúlio Vargas Market – Marabá Pioneira



Source: Fieldwork, July 2018.

With the transfer over to the new space, kiosks were regulated by their typology of activity, including the sale of electronics, clothes, shoes, sound equipment and a reserved area for food, with standardized stalls. Thus, a perspective of traditional informal centrality emerged in the downtown area, not only due to the absence of a modern environment, but also due to the residual social content of past times in Marabá. Therefore, the center is both traditional and main.

Nova Marabá

The central area is linked to the process of “spatial decentralization” (Corrêa, 1989). However, does it indicate the dual perspective that these new areas will develop with complementarity or competition in relation to the main center? This question permeates the spatial dynamics of Brazilian cities that have been redefining the urban fabric, due to the intensity of economic interventions such as the guiding thread of intra-urban urban remodeling.

For Yoschioka (1986), the spatial production of Nova Marabá resulted from public intervention so as to redefine the role of Marabá in the Brazilian political-economic scenario during the 1970s and 1980s, when mining emerged in southeast Pará. Tourinho (2011, p 123) argues that “[...] its strategic function was to shelter population groups from Marabá Pioneira,

as well as serving as a containment space for migratory flows that moved to the southeastern sub-region of the state of Pará”.

The main urban equipment with rigorous inter-scale economic centrality (horizontal and vertical), with regard to the range of services and commerce of/in the nuclei of Nova Marabá, is the presence of the Pátio Marabá Shopping Mall, created in 2013. The enterprise denotes the perspective of the centrality process.

The presence of urban service and commerce equipment with a modern capitalist trait in the city scale, the shopping mall, creates a mosaic of perspectives per se in urban life, the nature of which is standardized, which tends to standardize social behaviors.

Photograph 2 - The Pátio Marabá Shopping Mall, located on the Trans-Amazonian highway – Nova Marabá



Source: Fieldwork, March 2016.

It may be noted that the intention is to establish scalar relations in Marabá, specifically in the central area of Nova Marabá, through the Pátio Marabá Shopping Mall, with fast food franchises and their levels of spatial performance.

Table 1 - Fast food franchises at Pátio Marabá Shopping Mall – Nova Marabá

No.	Franchise	Scale
1	Bebelu	national
2	Jin Jin	national
3	Bob's	national
4	Pop Pastel	local
5	Todde's	local
6	Camarão & Cia	national
7	Subway	global
8	Parmeggio	national
9	Haru Oriental <i>food</i>	national
10	Patroni-Pizza	national
11	Giraffa's	national
12	Spoletto	national
13	Lug's	national
14	Ice Bode	regional
15	Big x picanha	national

Source: Fieldwork, July 2018. Produced by the author, 2019.

Amongst all the franchises present in the Pátio Marabá Shopping Mall, only two are of local origin and one regional, with 11 national and one global. The dimension of scalar performance demonstrates the links that the city of Marabá has begun to exercise with the arrival of the enterprise, through the trade carried out by the franchises, in addition to crystallizing the phenomenon of centrality in the content of the central area of the nuclei of Nova Marabá.

From the perspective of “city-region” (Lencione, 2017), i.e., of a city that is not only important in itself, but also for its regional surroundings, into which it is inserted with a transcendent polarization of its borders, Marabá is in the sub-regional urban network of southeastern Pará. This perspective gives rise to the “neoliberal city” (Massey, 2008), where national and international private capital produce forms and evoke urban and city restructuring.

Cidade Nova

The emergence of the Cidade Nova nucleus as a whole, including the center, is considered a product of Marabá's disorderly and orderly urban expansion “[...] faced with the failure of the official colonization policy undertaken by the federal government via Incra [National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform], along the Trans-Amazonian highway, in the southeastern sub-region of Pará” (Tourinho, 2011, p. 123).

The origins of this nucleus are linked to the constant floods that have plagued Marabá Pioneira, becoming a shelter for the flood victims; along with migrants attracted to the region by various work fronts.

The social production of space creates ambivalence between areas considered as “functionalities and dysfunctionalities for capitalism” (Gottdiener, 2010). The latter, with few exchange functions of the land, are areas that are expressly intended for working-class housing. Such a theoretical assumption is close to the geo-historical process of the nucleus of Cidade Nova.

Photograph 3 shows the center, with the accumulation of commerce and service activities, assigning it with the qualification of city center together with the two others (Marabá Pioneira and Nova Marabá), which enables the expansion of the idea of multinucleation by the provision of urban centers subordinated by a single center for multinucleation with three central poles in the city of Marabá.

Photograph 3 - Central area of Cidade Nova, on the corner of Nagib Mutran Avenue and Frei Raimundo Street



Source: Fieldwork, March 2016.

Moving away from the agglomeration of the central area, less complex economic activities are perceived, such as, for example, tire-repair shops, mechanics, gyms, popular restaurants, low-standard hotels, etc., theorized as the “lower circuit of the urban economy”¹¹ (Santos, 2004).

Another useful criterion as a theoretical contribution of this circuit is that investigated by Montenegro (2006), which distinguishes the number of workers in the informal sector, that

11 The evolutionary conditions of the modern economy and the enormous weight of an urban population with a low standard of living, which continues to increase with the massive arrival of migrants from the countryside, lead to the existence, alongside the modern circuit, of a non-modern economic circuit, which includes small manufacturing production, often artisanal, small trade in a multiplicity of services of all kinds” (Santos, 2004, p. 197).

which employs up to ten people in a given activity, and is a condition that indicates the demand for justified services by quantitative human labor.

In the immediate surroundings of the center, there is a peculiarity, namely: amongst the three centers, it is only Cidade Nova that has nightlife with children’s entertainment, bars and restaurants of a medium and high standard.

A synthesis of the three centers

In order to understand their particularities, it was essential during the investigation, to communicate with the subjects who frequent the centers.

Table 2 - Questionnaire on the socioeconomic profile of those who frequent the center

Nucleus/ Center	Nova Marabá Center	Cidade Nova Center	Marabá Pioneira Center
Type of transport used	35,7% motorcycle 7,1% car 17,8% bicycle 7,1% public transport 3,5% taxi/minibus 28,5% none (walks) 100% total	50% motorcycle 25% car 0% bicycle 12,5% public transport 12,5% taxi/minibus 0% none (walks) 100% total	8% motorcycle 5% car 2% bicycle 80% public transport 5% taxi/minibus 0% none (walks) 100% total
Sector of the economy where they work	70,3% services 7,4% livestock farming 7,4% industry 14,8% does not work 100% total	75% services 0% livestock farming 0% industry 25% does not work 100% total	62,5% services 3,3% livestock farming 6,6% industry 30% does not work 100% total
Monthly income	11,5% up to one minimum salary 61,5% one minimum salary 23,07% two minimum salaries 3,8% three minimum salaries 0% more than three minimum salaries 100% total	12,5% up to one minimum salary 50% one minimum salary 12,5% two minimum salaries 25% three minimum salaries 0% more than three minimum salaries 100% total	30% up to one minimum salary 40% one minimum salary 26,6% two minimum salaries 3,3% three minimum salaries 0% more than three minimum salaries 100% total

Source: Fieldwork, July 2018. Produced by the author, 2019.

A questionnaire was applied to 30 people in each center, thereby totaling 90 people consulted. Hence, the data provides the following socioeconomic results:

In the centers of Nova Marabá (35.7%) and Cidade Nova (50%), the most predominant form of transport was the motorcycle, while in the center of Marabá Pioneira (80%), it was public transport. This therefore denotes that those who frequent the center of Marabá Pioneira

have a lower income, which is confirmed by the predominance of respondents with an income of up to one minimum salary (30%), followed by Cidade Nova (12.5%) and Nova Marabá (11.5%). Thus, Marabá Pioneira is the most popular center in the city.

The center of Cidade Nova represents the most affluent in terms of the forms of transport used by the respondents, since the private car is the transport used by 25% of those surveyed; followed by Nova Marabá (7.1%) and, with a very low percentage, by Marabá Pioneira (5%). Thus, reinforcing the abovementioned inference for the latter (most popular) center.

One other finding that corroborated the literature on the labor market in Marabá was the prevalence of formal jobs in the tertiary service sector, with very high rates in relation to other sectors: in Cidade Nova (75%), Nova Marabá (70.3%) and Marabá Pioneira (62.5%).

Final considerations

The city of Marabá is an example of the complex urbanization of the Amazon over the last forty years, i.e., a city where elements of the new and the old dialectically coexist.

The intra-urban approach was dedicated to the three centers of the city of Marabá, which for a long time was monocentric and, with the orderly and disorderly urban expansion, its urban fabric became more complex when its spatial dynamics of center(s) and centrality emerged and/or expanded(s).

Marabá Pioneira has the aspect of a traditional and main center, with a strong tendency towards popular commerce, in addition to its nuclei ethos of forming the territory of Marabá. Nova Marabá implies a perspective of unfinished planning, in the supralocal molds, but it is of significant importance for the installation of government apparatus, with its political functions, and contains the bus terminals and hotels of various standards, in addition to the flows resulting from university institutions and of its most modern scalar object, the Pátio Shopping Mall.

Lastly, Cidade Nova, constituted as part of the unfolding process of the previous two, is a mosaic of socio-spatial contradictions and a core of both daytime and immediate nocturnal life, while also being characterized as an institutional support and scalar vector city, containing federal entities such as Incra [National Institute for Colonization and Agrarian Reform], and the airport.

Thus, it may be stated that there is, between the three centers, an urban territorial division of labor, with socioeconomic demands for all, and, within the scope of urban geography, a complementarity above competitiveness.

In the perspective of critical urban geography, the urban restructuring process of the city in Marabá, verified in the accentuation of services and commercial activities that drive the center and centrality, highlights the “space-merchandise” (Carlos, 2001), which tends to undermine the relations of the movement of use under the sign of capital with a predominance of exchange, which alienates man in the sphere of consumption and spatial arrangement, giving the center the antithetical relationship of the man-capital-middle trinomial.

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