The way of life in amazonian communities: an example of the application of participatory mapping in São Caetano de Odivelas (Pará, Amazônia, Brazil)

O modo de vida das comunidades amazônicas: um exemplo da aplicação do mapeamento participativo em São Caetano de Odivelas (Pará, Amazônia, Brasil)

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ABSTRACT
This article aims to make an analysis about the way of life, through the participatory mapping of the Brazilian Amazon traditional communities, having as objects of study the communities of Cachoeira and Boa Vista, located in the municipality of São Caetano de Odivelas (Pará, Amazonia, Brazil). Thus, this paper presents both the economic aspects of natural resources management – mainly fishing – and the natural and cultural attractions of these communities, whose can be used for the development of community-based tourism (CBT) as a means of generating income. To do so, participatory mapping application workshops were held, as a methodology to bring together community representatives to plot productive, cultural, leisure, conflict and natural information. The mapping products generated will certainly contribute to a better understanding of territorial planning in the communities studied.

Keywords: participatory mapping, traditional communities, use of natural resources, Amazônia.
RESUMO
Este artigo tem como objetivo fazer uma análise sobre o modo de vida, por meio do mapeamento participativo das comunidades tradicionais da Amazônia brasileira, tendo como objetos de estudo as comunidades de Cachoeira e Boa Vista, localizadas no município de São Caetano de Odivelas (Pará, Amazônia, Brasil). Assim, este trabalho apresenta tanto os aspectos econômicos da gestão dos recursos naturais - principalmente a pesca - quanto os atrativos naturais e culturais dessas comunidades, que podem ser utilizados para o desenvolvimento do turismo de base comunitária (TBC) como forma de geração de renda. Para isso, foram realizadas oficinas de aplicação de mapeamento participativo, como metodologia para reunir representantes das comunidades para traçar informações produtivas, culturais, de lazer, de conflitos e naturais. Os produtos de mapeamento gerados certamente contribuirão para uma melhor compreensão do planejamento territorial nas comunidades estudadas.

Palavras-chave: mapeamento participativo, comunidades tradicionais, uso de recursos naturais, Amazônia.

1 INTRODUCTION
The representation of space has always accompanied human beings in the stages of their history, with the map being a form of physical representation of human and natural attributes, and, beyond that, being a representation of power relations (HARLEY, 2009). In this sense, it can be said that the map and the cartography were decisive in important historical periods of humanity.

The discussion, that is based on a debate in participatory methodologies, aims to further encourage the participation of local communities to make them to know their own reality. A diagnosis carried out by participatory mapping seeks to identify both the exercised territorialities and the different actors that compose the space, in order to provide the mapped communities a better communication with public bodies, to express their problems, potentialities and to promote territorial development. Besides, it is also sought to discuss the social character of this tool and the role of society in its construction, considering participatory mapping as an empowerment and territory recognition tool, for the benefit of local communities that does not have a map as their main representation method (SILVA & VERBICARO, 2016)
IFAD (2009) states that participatory mapping is a cartographic production process that seeks to make visible the association between land – and its type of use –, and local communities, through a commonly understood and recognized cartographic language. This work also argues that participatory mapping provides a rich visual illustration of community perceptions on both territory and significant features within it, including the representations of its natural physical traits, as well as the socio-cultural traits known by the community itself (ACSELRAD, 2008).

Thus, it is understood that participatory mapping seems to be an excellent tool for the study of communities in the Brazilian Amazonia, since, unlike official mappings, it allows the direct participation of the local groups, enabling them to know their ways of life, as well as the challenges that those communities face to territorialize themselves.

This tool, from the perspective of communities’ self-knowledge, allows them to appropriate their spatial reality and, by recognizing their places of experience, to offer more appropriate and closer information about their local reality, ensuring effectiveness in drawing up plans, actions and policies that guarantee compliance with their demands.

In this sense, this study aims to show a reflection on both material and cultural aspects of the territory, working methodologically, through the application of participatory mapping workshops, in order to achieve the social cartographic survey and the recognition of productive, cultural and environmental activities of the studied communities. Thus, we sought to map the local potentialities of Boa Vista and Cachoeira communities, which are integrated into Mocapajuba Marine Extractive Reserve (Reserva Extrativista Marinha Mocapajuba – RESEX-Mar Mocapajuba) that is located in São Caetano de Odivelas municipality, in the northeast of Pará, on Brazilian Amazonia.

As a result of the participatory mapping application workshops, it was decided to make available the final maps, and its cartographic base, in a web-based digital environment, with the possibility of printing them as often as necessary by interested users, with easy and any-time direct access from internet. In this sense, the digital cartographic database was made available in a virtual address (encurtador.com.br/bpJP2) on Google My Maps platform (CARDOZO, 2016; PAZIO & GOMES, 2017), in which the visual variables (JOLY, 1990; ARCHELA & THÉRY, 2008) can be changed.
according to the characteristics of the objects and the normalizations/conventions that allow to understand this map wherever it is visualized (SILVA, 2013). This divulgation option seeks to meet a new moment of cartography: the migrating of its bases, which were collected in the field or by remote sensing images for years, to both internet and mobile applications, being available to any user who has access to the web. This perspective has been called Neocartography (FREITAS, 2014; FERREIRA, 2016).

2 THE SPATIAL REPRESENTATION AND THE USE OF MAPS

The importance of building maps for the progress of humanity is presented in power, prestige, control and knowledge relations (HARLEY, 2009). In this sense, it can be said that the map and the cartography were decisive in important historical periods, as in wars, during the processes of maritime expansion and new continents discovery, in the construction of cities, among others. The map, in this perspective, helps not only in the orientation process, but, above all, in the understanding of geographic space (MOURA FILHO, 1993; MATOS, 2008; MENEZES & FERNANDES, 2013; OLIVEIRA, 1983).

The first human groups mapped their living areas to identify places of collective use (for hunting, for fishing, among others). To this end, they scribbled on the walls of caves, papyrus, stones, for example, trying to locate both food sources and dangerous areas, either by the presence of wild animals and natural hazards, either by the occupation by other human groups.

It is important to notice that although these first maps were very different from those produced in later historical periods, they were fundamental for the understanding of past social groups organization (in fact, these maps allow this understanding even to modern anthropologists). It is possible to say that these maps still reveal the objects that were relevant to those communities (CARVALHO & ARAÚJO, 2008). Additionally, this association between the existing resources and, in a broader perspective, the very need of human groups for survival reveals a power relationship established amid a given community and the thus considered outsiders, as well as the implicit internal power bond, according to which what would be or not a relevant resource to been drown in a map or any kind of spatial representation. According to Harley:
Maps are images that are never exempt from judgment and, except in the strictest Euclidean sense, they are neither true nor false by themselves. Considering the selectivity of their content and their symbols and styles of representation, maps are a means of imagining, articulating and structuring the world of men. (HARLEY, 2009, p. 2, translated by the authors\(^1\))

By this conception, a map is never a simple set of symbols placed randomly on a material support, but a choice, which is implicitly permeated by power relations and relevant social strategies. It is not uncommon, in this sense, that ancient engravings represented animals intended for hunting, while more complex maps from later historical periods represented other interesting resources for expanding civilizations or nations. In the end, these representations carry on common meanings and interests, varying according to the historical period. As an example, there are the drawings/symbols of Figures 1 and 2, which highlight the objects and animals that were relevant to their authors.

\(^1\) Original text: Os mapas nunca são imagens isentas de juízo de valor e, salvo no sentido euclidiano mais estrito, eles não são por eles mesmos nem verdadeiros nem falsos. Pela seletividade de seu conteúdo e por seus símbolos e estilos de representação, os mapas são um meio de imaginar, articular e estruturar o mundo dos homens.
In later periods, along the territorial expansions of the empires or the maritime expansion process, for example, maps became even more complex, as resources and strategic elements representation systems, for both territorial assault and the combat against enemies. In addition, to decide about the elements that should be on the maps have become relevant, politically speaking, considering the power relations. Thus, the map allows not only the reading of political territories, but also the interests of those actors who have the power to make appear on the map the symbols they think as pertinent (RAFFESTIN, 1993), demonstrating a territoriality on spaces in which, in fact, there is a multiterritoriality.

Considering this issue, Harley (2009, p. 7) states:

A good example of interaction between maps and political regime can be found in military technology history. For the Army, maps have always been considered as an important form of knowledge, and measures to maintain secrecy and censorship are common, both today in the hidden specifications of the military public cartographic bodies and in the past in many of the larger national States. On a practical level, military maps are a small but vital cog in the Army’s technical infrastructure on the ground. When the techniques of war passed from the headquarter practices to the mobile strategies, especially from the eighteenth century, the maps accompanied that transformation. (translated by the authors)

2 Original text: Um bom exemplo de interação entre mapas e regime político encontra-se na história da tecnologia militar. Para o exército, os mapas foram sempre considerados como uma forma importante de conhecimento, e as medidas para conservar o segredo e a censura são comuns, tanto hoje em dia nas especificações escondidas dos organismos cartográficos públicos militares, quanto nos Estados – maiores de...
In this sense, the strategic importance of maps has proved to be fundamental in the 20th century, since they were mostly recognized as State’s political management instruments (ANTUNES, 2002), and at the beginning of the 21st century, when cartographic products have become popular as strategic tools that enable a quick management of large-scale information, in view of both big data and data mining perspectives, that are essential to private agencies, social organizations and even the control and surveillance activities developed by the State itself (BRUNO, 2018).

Thus, it is observed that the map was initially used for the knowledge of spaces and then for the demarcation of territories. Currently, as a management tool, it is related to numerous approaches, such as health, transport, vulnerable places, deforestation areas, among others. In addition, with technological and informational systems development, it is possible to talk about real-time mapping, which allows the identification, in short periods of time, of information that is sensitive and essential to public order, for example, as with apps that allow feeding traffic information or monitoring restaurant delivery activities.

It is precisely in this technological perspective that the real evolution of maps, in parallel with the history of humanity, goes more unnoticed (however, it shows itself in the most vehement way): yesterday’s maps, painted on rocks and stones, are made in real time today, by the data of sliding fingers on mobile phones’ screens, with universal sharing power (SILVA, 2013).

3 THE PARTICIPATORY MAPPING IN SÃO CAETANO DE ODIVELAS (PARÁ, AMAZÔNIA, BRAZIL)

Social Cartography in an instrument that privileges the construction of popular, symbolic and cultural knowledge, elaborated under the precepts of the collectiveness, in which different social groups express their longings and desires (GORAYEB; MEIRELES & SILVA, 2015). This tool, from the communities’ self-knowledge
perspective, allows them to appropriate their spatial reality and to offer more appropriate and closer information of their territories by the recognition of their places of experience, ensuring the effectiveness in drawing up plans, actions and policies for the accomplishment of the demands of the communities.

In this sense, participatory mapping, as a methodological strategy for the realization of social cartography maps, is effective on the collection of primary data. In the participatory mapping workshops, carried out in the communities analyzed in this study, Silva and Verbicaro guidelines were followed, in which all the basic cartographic information (rivers, roads and limits) were added to a blank map that contains only these information of the territory, in order to influence the workshops participants to complete it with field features that they deem important about the natural dynamics and social relations of the community, at the time of the plotting exercise.

Thus, it was possible to map both the productive dynamics and the attractions that have a tourist potential in these communities, considering the views and perceptions of the residents, the main elements in the construction of participatory mapping (Figure 3).

Figure 3 – Participatory mapping at Cachoeira Community.

The mobilization of the teams that joined the participatory mapping workshops took place through actions involving local leaders. In Cachoeira Community, the president of the Colony of Fishermen and the president of the Association of Fishermen
and Seafood of the municipality organized the teams and articulated the invitation for other community to contribute in the event, which happened at the association headquarters. In Boa Vista Community, the participation of the group of residents was articulate by the president and vice president of community’s sports association.

From the data obtained in the field and the participatory mapping, it was possible to state that the tourist potential of the municipality is based on religious festivities, sports tournaments and local festivals, such as both crab and fishermen festivals and other folk commemorations. Also noteworthy are the carnival blocks and the Círio de São Caetano de Odivelas, which is held annually, in the past 134 years, on the second Sunday in August.

Another tourist potential activity in São Caetano de Odivelas is sport fishing, since the municipality has become a good destination for those who practice this type of fishing, with the holding of tournaments or the activities of groups who spend periods of time in the municipality. It should be notice that such activity does not yet have a regulation neither by the municipality’s City Hall nor by Mocapajuba’s environmental management body, which generates conflicts between sport fishermen and local artisanal fishermen, who feel damaged by municipality’s lack of organization.

By analyzing the specificities of each community involved in the workshops, it was noticed that the Cachoeira Community has an important productive activity in fishing, occupying the majority of the local workforce in the generation of income and the supply of food to the local population. Thus, the workshops revealed that the majority of the economically active population has its main activities in fishing, local commerce, masonry and wood dwellings. In social aspect it was noted that the community’s square is both the main meeting point of the residents and the stage for their religious celebrations and cultural events.

During Cachoeira community’s workshop, it was elaborated the symbol for these attractions and the setting of their locations in the territory of the Community (Figure 13). Both natural elements and potentialities, mangroves areas and fishing territories, for example, were indicated by the participants, because the location of the community on the banks of Mojuim River (Figure 4) facilitates fishing activity, because of the access to
water courses and the its abundancy of fish. The productive highlights, in this case, are the riverside, artisanal and commercial fishing, which involves several families living around fishing capture and sell.

Figure 4 – Cachoeira community’s port

Source: field research (2019)

Cachoeira community’s workshop participants informed the following attractions, which have potential for tourism: Círio de Nossa Senhora das Graças (community patroness saint), Flaviano Góes’ band musical presentation and the carnival blocks, that are organized by the community and present themselves in street parties during the carnival period, in addition to the Mojuim River itself, with its fishing potential, that can be used to develop the activities of sport fishing and educational embarked tour.

The predominant vegetation of the community is the mangrove forest, which is a natural cradle and the main source of nutrients for the fisheries resources of the region. Thus, both the river and the mangrove areas are punctual and prominent elements in the cartographic survey carried out.

During the information plotting on workshop maps, important elements were highlighted for the community territorial recognition, regarding the location of fishing equipment³, such as pens and shipyards, which are used for the construction and repair of vessels, in addition to the main fishing grounds⁴. It was also included in the mapping both

³ Tools used for fishing (SILVA et al., 2016).
⁴ Places, points or fishing territories in rivers, in which fishing is more productive) (SILVA et al., 2016).
material and cultural heritage of the community, such as the church, the football field, the schools and the ports. Figure 5 highlights the information plotting process on Cachoeira community’s participatory mapping workshop.

Figure 5 – Completion of the participative mapping workshop in the Cachoeira Community

![Completion of the participative mapping workshop in the Cachoeira Community](image)

Source: field research (2019)

Figure 6 shows the result of the workshop in the community of Cachoeira. We must highlight the plotting of the main information, the most important for the participants, that demonstrates the relationship of belonging to the territory, emphasizing on cultural activities’ areas, as well as educational and productive spaces, which includes the places of conflict, considering the use and access to natural resources.
Figure 6 – Participatory map prepared by the Community of Cachoeira

Source: field research (2019)

The participatory mapping (Figures 5 and 6) in the community of Cachoeira also pointed out other relevant activities for the territorial dynamics of the community and its relation with the fishing resources, such as the shellfish, crustaceans and mollusks collection, the riverside fishing and sport fishing, which take place in specific areas of the rivers that bathe the community.

From the participatory mapping workshop held in the Community of Boa Vista (Figure 7) it was possible to observe various information provided by the participants, regarding its fishing areas, secondary ports and structural aspects. It was also noted that the main tourist potentialities are related to community activities involving religious festivities, sports tournaments and festivals aimed at entertainment and fundraising for associations and residents who directly participate, by selling typical foods and local crafts.
Regarding cultural and material elements, it stands out the presence of the Santo Antônio church, the health center, the school, the community center, all with direct influence on the relationship of residents with the way of life that guides their territorialities. During the workshop, one of the participants reported about a shorefront building project in the community, focusing on improving access to the locality, which may become, in the future, a community-based tourism (CBT) development infrastructure. Figure 8 presents the final map, from the information plotting of the participatory mapping workshop in Boa Vista Community.
With respect to local fishing dynamics, the participatory mapping in the community of Boa Vista emphasized the main fishing spots on the Camapú river, which bathes the community and the local port (Figure 9), as well as the mollusk, crustacean and shellfish collection areas, that forms the basis of the local economy and the inspiration for communities’ cultural manifestations, besides a vegetation predominantly formed by mangrove forests and other floodplain species, with vast bands of açai-zals that cover the areas along waterholes and the river of the community.
Given the geographical situation of São Caetano de Odivelas municipality, that is a coastal city, the fishing activity plays an important socioeconomic role in the occupation of labor force, income generation and food supply for the population, especially for small rural communities, such as the communities studied here. The capture of fish in the municipality represents one of the main economic activities, since most families depend on fishing to survive, so fish are highly valued by fishing workers.

Both Cachoeira and Boa Vista communities have their territorial dynamics mediated by the access to the river and its resources, factors that were reported on the workshops, highlighting the main fishing points and tourism potential places. On the occasion, the participants were able to express their concerns and complaints about the fishing dynamics and the conflicts that they are experiencing.

The sport fishing is indicated by these communities as a key challenges for the formulation of fishing agreements in the municipality. Both fishermen and Fishermen Colony border direction testimonies reflect the conflict dynamics with regard to the sport fishing. According to them, the activity had strictly sportive purposes – to capture and to return the fish to the river – however all caught fish is taken, conserved and consumed without any kind of embarrassment or penalties for fishermen who practice this type of fishing.

Figure 9 – Boa Vista Community Port, on the Camapú River

Source: field research (2019)
According to the report of São Caetano de Odivelas fishermen’s colony representative (Z4) and field research information, the individuals who participate in the fishing are adult men and their older children, which are usually higher than 16, along with the most experienced anglers. Women and children also participate in this dynamic and consider themselves fishers, being responsible for the construction of the fishing instruments, in addition to carrying out the so-called riverside fishing, with the fishing of shrimp and the collection of snails and crustaceans, in addition to often participate in the sale of fish that is brought by professional fishermen.

The participatory mapping workshops were considered productive, since their information resulted in a set of elaborated and plotted knowledge, from the reality of the subjects involved. Thus, the use of social cartography method in this work sought to apply the local knowledge in the elaboration of the maps here presented, which show additional information, taking into account the way how these communities use and recognize their territories, based on a relational context, that is, as a product of an interactive daily life between the territory and the mapping subject, in addition to showing the concerns and weaknesses that these communities feel regarding the maintenance of the use of natural resources (rivers and mangroves) with the presence of external factors that are affecting the fishing activity of the region.

Figures 10, 11 and 12 show the results of the workshops, with field plotting available on the Internet, as Google My Maps digital maps, which has been used as the main platform for the dissemination of cartographic products by the authors of this article. It is important to emphasize that the data collected should incorporate new field information, in the course of other workshops or mappings works to be conducted with residents and accompanied by ICMBio or Federal University of Pará technicians, that will be able to update the plotted information and generate cartographic products to be incorporated in the Mocapajuba RESEX management plan.
Despite limitations regarding the use of visual variables, it is possible to plot spatial information in Google My Maps with some precision, depending on how the data was collected, using only interviews or global positioning equipment (GPS). Figures 11 and 12 show the information of Cachoeira and Boa Vista communities, respectively.
The digital map information groups together a series of data that have been gathered in three different themes, which complement each other to understand the spatial planning of communities’ interest, namely: culture and structure; nature and landscape; and limits (Figure 13). The teamwork perspective is that more mapping workshops are
carried out to collect information on other topics, such as productive activities, health, education, conflicts and violence, etc.

Figure 13 – Map legend for Boa Vista and Cachoeira communities’ map (São Caetano de Odivelas, Pará, Brazil)
The symbols of the final map legend sought to approach the drawings elaborated by the RESEX users at the information plotting time, during the workshops. From the internet, it is possible to print the map in a large sheet format (A1 or A0), allowing to collect new information from what has already been created, or to generate new blank maps, as it was applied initially. Now, there is reference information that can be stored by several users and used by the Mocapajuba RESEX association or management body for the creation of public policies of planning and agreements of use of natural resources between communities, in addition to the possibility of following or monitoring the internal activities for those interested.

As previously mentioned, this type of map presentation should become a trend in other works, avoiding the loss of printed documents (maps) and allowing the collaboration of users from outside of Mocapajuba RESEX. It is indicated, however, that the reambulation and data collection continuously enrich the maps, incorporating these products in the RESEX management plan, as a way to mitigate conflicts and verify who are the actual users of the space.

5 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Participatory research promotes the convergence of methodologies, techniques and diverse relationship practices between the researcher and research object, which contribute to the existence of a horizontal involvement between the local population and the scientist. In this sense, Social Cartography stands out as a territorial practice surveying
tool, inserted in significant political and social spheres, translating in a certain way the complexities of the social actions that human being perform in space.

Social Cartography also shows its importance since it favors the articulation between lore and knowledge, by the establishment of an accessible language to represent the reality through the cartographic record. The mapping elaboration with local communities’ participation and leading becomes a strong ally to them in the claiming for their social rights, in view of both documentary and political importance of these maps that, in addition to supporting local living memory, can promote the practice of cartographic elaboration and mapping in individuals, showing how human beings organize and ordain the territory, through its appropriation.

Thus, the differential of participatory mapping is related to the fact that it is not limited to simply representing a geographical design. It makes possible to illustrate important social, cultural and historical knowledge, including, for example, information related to land use, history, mythology, demography, ethnic-linguistic groups, health patterns, as well as individuals, objects or phenomena location and distribution.

From the participatory mapping inherent discussions, which were expressed in this article, it is possible to say that the communities focused in this paper have a life-experience knowledge concerning fishing activity, since it is the element that moves not only the economy, but local traditions and customs too. These communities’ individuals also revealed skills and lore on the use of fishing and its entire production chain in other activities, such as the tourism, taking advantage of their practices/experiences to attract visitors to consume such a reality.

These participatory mapping products, which are available on online platforms, such as Google My Maps, ArcGIS Online, among others, can become effective spatial planning tools, since they allow the collaboration of a large number of users/readers of maps. The so-called Neocartography period, through which cartographic production has been passing, do not demands in-depth cartography knowledge from the mappers but the understanding about their own territories, in order to manipulate accessible, free, interactive and easy handling tools, such as the one that were used in this work (CARDOZO, 2016; PAZIO & GOMES, 2017).
We hope to contribute to the debate on participatory mapping, by giving a good example of how it is possible to make the social map a tool for territorial recognition of communities, which were once invisible and, now, are able to put their territories and ways of life inside the cartographic reality. In this sense, considering public management, mainly natural resources and territorial planning, maps are essential technologies, in order to understand what happens in conservation units, such as Mocapajuba, since they allow a series of correlations between objects, phenomena and themes and, in addition, transform any region/community/territory into an infinite laboratory for cartographic production, since the themes, such as education, safety, environment, health, economy, transport, waste, etc., are just a few examples of issues that can be put in a map, to adequately plan and improve the life quality of the inhabitants of conservation units in the Brazilian Amazon.

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