THE INSURGENT ARCHITECTS' RIGHT TO THE CITY IN THE BRAZILIAN AMAZON.[1]

O DIREITO A CIDADE DO ARQUITETO INSURGENTE NA AMAZONIA BRASILEIRA.

Tatiana Schor
Professora da Universidade Federal do Amazonas (UFAM)
Departamento de Geografia
Manaus, AM
e-mail: tschor@ufam.edu.br

Resumo

O Direito a Cidade não é só um conceito teorico mas um ideal político. Este artigo apresentará dados de uma pesquisa empírica e aspectos teóricos relacionados a este direito, e das possibilidades de mudança, por meio de uma analise de um grupo de cidades na Amazonia Brasileira, aquelas localizadas ao longo da calha dos rios Solimões e Amazonas. As cidades tem um carácter em si e para si. Considerando o carácter em si a cidade pode ser estudada e compreendida em si mesma, suas estruturas morfológicas (físicas e imaginárias) e seus fluxos (de coisas, pessoas e poderes). Este entendimento é necessário para um primeiro movimento em direção à mudança e da forma como este entendimento é feito, os procedimentos metodológicos, vai limitar ou expandir as possibilidades transformativas. Força revolucionária do direito a cidade é o de compreender a cidade per si, como uma entidade que pode influenciar e tomar liderança sobre as mudanças que podem transformar as premissas para o futuro. Em áreas com baixa densidade, tal como na

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Amazônia, uma cidade tem um importante valor (de uso). As cidades da Amazônia ocidental são lugares especiais, ainda abertas a mudanças, pois as algemas da propriedade privada da terra ainda não estão plenamente definidas pelo capitalismo. A propriedade da terra nas cidades não está definido pela lei e as casas e os jardins se mesclam. As relações socioecológicas que definem esta diversa socio-biodiversidade podem gerar interessantes ideias para a discussão sobre o Direito a Cidade mundialmente.

Palavras-chave: Direito a cidade, transformação social, cidades na Amazônia, Amazônia Ocidental, Brasil.

Abstract

The Right to the City is not only a theoretical concept but also a political ideal. This paper will present empirical research and theoretical aspects ofo this right, and possibilities of change, through an analysis of a group of cities in the Brazilian Amazon, those located along the rivers Solimões and Amazonas, Amazonas state, Brazil. Cities have an *in si* and a *per si* character. Considering the *in si* character a city can be studied and comprehended in itself, its morphological structures (physical, imaginary) and its fluxes (of things, people and power). This understanding is a necessary first movement for change and how this understanding is done, the methodological procedures, will limit or expand transformative possibilities. The revolutionary force of the Right to the City is to comprehend the city *per si*, as entity that can influence and take lead on the changes that transform the premises of the future. Areas with low city density, as the Amazon, a city itself has an important (use)value. The functions that are intrinsic to cities are available in definite places/locations. These cities are special places, still opened to change, for the handcuffs of private property of land as defined by capitalism are not fully established. Land property in most of the cities in the western section of the Brazilian Amazon is not defined by law: houses and gardens merge. The socioecological relationships that define this diverse socio-biodiversity may give interesting insights to the discussion of the Right to the City world-wide.

Keywords: right to the city, social change, cities in the Amazon, western Amazon, Brazil.

The insurgent architects' right to the city in the Brazilian Amazon.

> The right to the city is far more than the individual liberty to access urban resources: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city...The freedom to make and remake our cities and ourselves is the most precious yet most neglected of our human rights. (HARVEY, 2008,p.23)

> ...greater democratic control over the production and utilization of the surplus. Since the urban process is a major channel of surplus use, establishing democratic management over its urban deployment constitutes the right to the city. (HARVEY, 2008, p.37)

> The right to the city as both working slogan and political ideal, precisely because it focuses on the question of who commands the necessary connection between urbanization and surplus production and use. (HARVEY, 2008, p.40)

1. INTRODUCTION: THE ELDORADO CITY

The myth of a hidden city in the Amazon, common to most indigenous cosmological worlds, was named El Dorado or Eldorado by the spaniards and portuguese and is present not only in the minds of the colonial past of the Amazon Basin but stirs imaginations until today. It is said that the indigenous population had/has a belief of an immense and golden city lost in the dense forest or/and under the Amazon river, where society was/is perfect. Society and nature mix itself in this mythological city where fresh-water dolphins (*boto*) especially the red ones, would lead the way to the kingdom-city underwater. The red *boto*, known for enchanting young ladies and dissapearing with them or making them pregnant, usually appears dressed in a white linning wearing a hat (to disguise the hole on its head) wearing gold that he brought from Eldorado. It is also said that the big snake (*cobra grande*) sits her tail right at the entrance. The spaniards and portuguese, followed by other expeditions (the recent book "The Lost City of Z," about Coronel Fawcett, written by David Grann, is a good example), sought the entrance to Eldorado in search of its

treasures. Eldorado permeates the imagination and dreams of northern Brazil (local novels such as "Orfans of Eldorado" by Milton Hatoum brings the myth into contemporary art); it is the utopian vision of a richer, equalitarian and socioecologically just society which lies right under our feet, under the water. Without the consciousness of utopianism, people throughout history have tried to build in their minds and myths cities where life would be better (paradise in the Christian-Judaico tradition is an important example), and construct themselves into different beings. It is the cosmological Right to the City that permeates our socio-ecological history. But how can this cosmological Right to the City be updated in modernity and transformed into a radical proposition of change?

2. THE RIGHT TO THE CITY

If we understand the Right to the City as the right to change ourselves by changing the city in which we live, and thus consider this a common right for all people, the question to be asked is what is this right and to what do we want to change ourselves to?

As a common right, the Right to the City depends on a collective power in order to organize and put forward debates and actions that will lead to a universal right that terroritorializes itself into paricularistic rights in certain places. In this context how can power be understood? Can power be collective? How can a collective power be produced in a capitalist environment? If we understand the divide between civil society and political society to be a division between the rights given to citizens and the sphere of the political paralegal where the population meanders, such as Charterjee suggests (CHARTTERJEE, 2003), can we think of the Right to the City as a medium between civil society and political society? Can the collective power come from the political society? And how does political society work in places where there is not enough thinking about what type of city we want? Does the Right to the City make sense in places/cities where society is fragile and fragmented, in the invisible cities? Where does the common /collective power come from in these cases? These are all questions that have permeated the idea of the Right to the city since Henri Lefebvre's classical book Le Droit à la Ville (1972) and these questions have been re-

placed and re-contextualized in David Harvey's recent talks and synthesized in his paper *The Right to the City* (2008) and book *Rebel Cities* (2012).

In Harvey's essays and talks, the Right to the City comes with, or supposes, an idea of radical urbanism. How do these two "political and working slogans" function? Does the Right to the City lead to radical urbanism? Or is the idea of radical urbanism intrinsic to the Right to the City?

The politics of radical urbanism has to deal with the politics of everyday life. Everyday life is the sphere where common power can be gained or lost, where decisions are taken, even if the decisions are not to decide, in relation to what a city is for and for whom. The structures of the city determine the meanders in which struggles can be fought, and "struggles for freedom determine the entire development of the structures of power" (HARDT; NEGRI, 2009:235).

In this case, the meanders of city structures and power, the state "does matter and one needs to take that into account when discussing the potentials of urban subaltern activism" (BAYAT, 2000, p.544). Power, to be collective in modern society, has to be captured by political society and interwined with civil society in order to achieve possibilities of radical urbanism and consequently the Right to the City. But, can social change depend on one class by itself, be it working, middle or subaltern? Or will the necessity to change ourselves be more universal than the separation cleft by modernity based on labour? There is certainly an enormous scope in which the state can be understood. The lack of state fragilizes people towards the forces of capital and too much state or a neoliberal state petrifies change, thus fragilizing people towards the forces of capital.

The Right to the City in its various forms of radical urbanism is a counter-attack on capitalist-modernity, for it is the right to change ourselves by changing cities. This right understood through the signifier "to change ourselves by changing our cities" leads to a couple of interesting questions. First, who can change a city? The nation-state and the city dwellers? Cities, as Lewis Mumford well examined in his classical book "The city in history" (1961), are expressions of human evolution and as such a common heritage to all people. From this perspective, one that see cities as part of man-kind, who has the right to the city? is it only the ones who live

there or, from a universal perspective, should the sovereignty over the cities as established by capitalist-modernity nation-state be questioned? An important step is to start questioning the ideals of sovereignty as established by modernity (this city is mine, that city is yours – a collective imagined private property owned by capital), for if it is a universal right, the Right to the City should question boundaries established by nation-states and recognize the common heritage that cities represent.

As a common heritage, the city is the key to understand contemporary life and, in this sense, a privileged location of/for social-change. The social-change proposed by the Right to the City is obtained not externally to individual change but is cause and consequence of internal individual change: "changing ourselves by changing the city". But who is "ourselves" in this context? The understanding of "ourselves" is a *sine qua non* condition for change. "Ourselves" in the context of this form of capitalist-modernity, labor-based and individually constructed, does not lead us to the understanding of other possible forms of "ourselves". In order to understand "ourselves" and create possibilities of "other-ourselves" leads to obscure discussions of human nature.

Harvey, in Spaces of Hope (2000), considers the ability that we, as humans, have to construct ourselves to be linked to the figure of an insurgent architect, a metaphor for human agency. The insurgent architect has the capability to construct "our own fates and fortunes" (2002:200), constructing and re-constructing our daily lives. This construction, as a continuous movement, depends on our understanding of ourselves as a species in relation to the world. The relation to nature, and thus to human nature, is the basis of all possibilities of change (p.206). Harvey argues that "unless we confront the idea, however dangerous, of our human nature and species being and get some understanding of them, we cannot know what it is we might be alienated from or what emancipation might mean." (p.207). In this sense, the Right to the City presupposes the understanding of our human nature, not as static but as in constant movement, as such permits possibilities of change. Radical urbanism implies in incorporating the role of insurgent architects to our everyday life experiences.

As a dynamic idea, understanding dynamics in its biological meanings as the relationship between beings and their environment (biotic and abiotic), human nature implies "species-specific capacities and powers, arguably the most important of which are our ability to alter and adapt our forms of social organization … to build long historical memory , acumulate knowledge and understandings that are collectively available to us as guides to future action, to reflect on what we have done and do it in ways that permit learning from experience... to build all kinds of adjuncts.."(p.208) all of which affect the speed and scale of adaptation and transformation not only of our species being but also of all other species and environments. The growing capacities of our species being, our human nature, has given us the capacity of interferring with the evolutionary process, not only transforming ourselves but all beings (Harvey, 2000). The recognition of this collective power should and must create responsabilities and possibilities of change. The insurgent architect has a role to be played in the socio-ecological transformation of our time.

The insurgent architect is the key figure of radical urbanism, and thus the principal articulator of the Right to the City. One of the most important and contingent roles that the insurgent architect should play, which is maybe the most important part, of "the repertoire of our evolutionary capacities" is in the opening of the debate of "the kind of 'nature' we are now in a position to produce" (213). The kinds of nature, ours as a species and consequently of other species, that we are able to create, in our minds or practically, will open (or close) possibilities of socio-ecological change in years to come (p.218). Utopias, dialectical utopias which are spatialtemporal (p.182), are the working tools of insurgent architects.

The role of dialectical utopias in the production of the Right to the City, and thus in the production of new forms of living in the city, can present possibilities of socio-ecological change. But should utopias be understood as exercises for the cross-country marathon that the Right to the City challenges us? Are they exercises for the forthcoming revolution or is "today, in fact, revolution no longer imaginable as an event separated from us in the future but has to live in the present, an 'exceeding' present that in some sense already contains the future within it." (HARDT; NEGRI,

2009). In this sense "the perspective of a permanent revolution (in, for example, the production of spactial forms) must therefore be added to that of a long revolution as we reach for the principles of a spatiotemporal and dialectical utopianism" (HARVEY, 2000, p.243)

The Right to the City can thus be understood as "a moment of existential decision, a moment of 'either/or' praxis, when certain principles are materialized through action in the world" (HARVEY, 2000, p.246). It is a moment of choosing, and there must be a choice. The challenge of the insurgent architect is to choose between possibilities and to build spatiotemporaly the notion of the "Right to the City".

As the Right to the City, not only as a theoretical concept but also as a political ideal, depends on a concrete understanding of a city, this chapter will discuss, as an insurgent architect, the questions related to this right, and the possibilities of change, through an analysis of a group of cities in the Brazilian Amazon, more specifically those located along the rivers Solimões and Amazonas in the Amazonas state.

Cities are not all alike. An obvious assumption. Cities have an *in si* and a *per si* character. Considering the *in si* character a city can be studied and comprehended in itself, its morphological structures (physical, imaginary) and its fluxes (of things, people and power). This understanding is a necessary first movement for change and how this understanding is done will limit or expand possibilities of change. But the revolutionary force of the Right to the City is to comprehend the city *per si*, as it is as an entity that can influence and take a lead on the changes that can, in fact, transform the premises of the future.

3. METHODS OF ANALYSIS: THE AMAZONIAN RIGHT TO THE CITY

In areas with low city density, as in the Amazon, a city in itself has an extremely important (use)value. The functions that are intrinsic to cities are only available in definite places/locations. These western amazonian cities are special places, still overtly opened to change, for the handcuffs of private property of land as defined by capitalism are not fully established. Land property in most of the cities in the western section of the Brazilian Amazon is not defined by law and houses and gardens merge .

Some cities generate or attract insurgent architects and assume political roles that can transform society. How these cities come to act and why is an important question when analysing possibilities of socioecological change. There are few places in the world where nature and society are so embeded as in the Amazon Basin. And even in the Amazon Basin, especially in the Brazilian part, there are few cities which are not "boom-towns" or "frontier towns". In order to develop the argument lets have a look at the group of cities that conform the urban network along the Solimões River in the state of Amazonas, Brazil.

These cities are located in the far western section of the Amazon Basin, frontier with Columbia and Peru. The access to them is difficult and expensive (it is cheaper and easier to go from Manaus to Miami or São Paulo by airplane than to go to Tabatinga or Fonte Boa). Due to this this is a region that few outsider have the oportunity to come and visit. Most brazilians have never heard of them. The maps shown below ilustrate this reality. The first map, produced by IBGE, depicts the transport infrastructure of Brazil with emphasis on road system and the second one, also produced by IBGE, depicts what they classify as Region of City Influence. In this map the Amazonas State is easily recognized due to the supremacy of Manaus, as some say: "at the end of the world there is a river and across the river a city, that is Manaus."

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION: URBANIZATION IN THE BRAZILIAN AMAZON

The urbanization process in the Brazilian Amazon created a matrix of human conglomerates that characterize the region as an "urbanized forest" (BECKER, 2004). Data obtained by the National Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) point to a quick population concentration, especially along the main river systems. The territorial division in municipalities elevated some of these human agglomerations to the legal category of "City". In the Amazonas State, Brazil, especially along the mainstream (main navigable channel) of the rivers Solimões-Amazonas, many of these cities have the form of this category, but do not exercise plainly its functions. The way in which these functions are exercised differs from one

city to another in accordance to a certain degree of institutional arrangements. This is a reality specific to this region and as such deserves an understanding of the form and function of the cities in the Brazilian Amazon.

The city is not an isolated being, but belongs to a group of cities that in some cases becomes a megalopolis, in others a network or even a region. Dematteis (1999) defines two forms of relations between cities. The first definition is the network relationship, which for the author implies belonging to a global network where the interactions are influenced little or not at all by the physical distance. These relationships reflect the divison of labour at a supra-national scale and indicate the degree of globalization of the local urban systems. The second group of relationship that describe the interactions between cities are called territorial relationships by Dematteis. In these, the friction of distance, the physical forms (climate, geographical relief, hydrology, etc) and the historical legacy have significant influence on how the cities inter-relate. For Dematteis these two groups of relationships do not exclude themselves, on the contrary they interact in their specific spheres. The network interactions transform the physical space and the structures of territorial relations into network conections. This is with no doubt the reality for the Brazilian Amazon, especially for the Amazonas State, where the territorial relationship deals with frictions of the physical forms in an imposing manner – it is the flooding or draught of the rivers that determine the transportation fluxes, the food production on the flooded plain lands, the extraction of forest-river products that determine the costs of living in such environment (Schor, 2007; Moraes, 2007; Schor et al. 2014) – and at the same time are re-defined by the network relationships that insert determinate pieces of the local into the space of global network (MARINHO, SCHOR, 2012).

Harvey (2000:234) argues that the insurgent architect has to "consider political possibilities at a variety of spatiotemporal scales" and that "real political change arises out of simultaneous and loosely coordinated shifts both in thinking and action across several scales". The city, Harvey continues, "periodically re-emerges in political theory as the spatial scale at which ideas and ideals about democracy and belonging can be best articulated" (p.238), in this sense the city can be understood as the scale in which the insurgent architect can act on and construct possibilities of

dialectical utopianism. To include the study of cities in the analysis of globalization is indispensable in analytical terms for it breaks with the national-global duality and, focusing on the city, decomposes the nation-state in a variety of sub-national components, some profoundly articulated with the global economy (SASSEN, 2005). For Brazil, and especially for the Amazon with its low density of urban centers, analyse the city to comprehend the different forms of insertion or exclusion of the globalization process is primordial. In this case, economic and/or cultural, the city is an adequate scale for the comprehension of the diverse and contradictory social processes of modernity and thus the possibilities of change.

Figure 1: Cities in the Amazonas State – Codajás, rio Solimões, 2008 and Eirunepé, rio Juruá 2012.

Figure 1: Cities in the Amazonas State – Barcelos, rio Negro, 2007 and Tefé, rio Solimões, 2008.

The study of the Amazonian cities permits the rescue of the bio-geo-historical process of territorial formation and at the same time comprises a region considered

as a global "hot spot" in terms of biodiversity conservation and climate regulation which inserts itself contradictorily in the different globalization networks. Focusing on the cities permits a specific geographical strategy that relates the places in themselves with the economic dynamics of globalization which for their means modifies, as Dematteis has shown for Italy, the territorial relationships re-structuring the urban dynamics.

The cities in the Brazilian Amazon constitute themselves as priviledged places for the analysis of the contradictory processes of globalization. Be they environmental debates that transform different fragments of the territory, building conservation units of different types and organizing research agendas world-wide, or the promisses of riches from the unknown biodiversity or knowledge from traditional people that re-create the Eldorado myth, not as an utopian society but simply – capitalistically - as treasures to be found in the unknown forest.

In Amazônia, due to its multiscalar dimension – the imense forest and the diminute cities – that "(...) globalization materializes itself concretely in a place, here one can read/perceive/comprehend the modern world in its multiple dimensions (...)" (Carlos, 1996:15). To understand the urban dynamics and the cities in the Amazon is to comprehend the mechanisms with which global and local interact, including and excluding processes and people in the contradictory movement that is modernity.

One way to understand the urban dynamics is to classify the cities. Classifying cities can mean to create a static hierarchy between them (like BERRY, 1972), but it can also be a more direct process of understanding the similarities and differences between the diverse cities that compose the urban network. Jointly with the classification, that relates similarities and differences, an urban typology can be created. This typology can take the path of the construction of ideal types on Max Weber's style (Economy and Society) or can simply recognize patterns of functionality and urban dynamics and categorize them in types. It is this second alternative, classification that relates similarities and differences and the typology that recognizes patterns, that it is understood here by the study of an urban typology in the Brazilian Amazon which can give concreteness to ideas such as the Right to the

City. The classification and typology are instruments for the insurgent architect to re-build Eldorados.

The spatial-temporal analysis of the urban in the Amazon is essential for the understanding of the spatial dynamics due to the fact that the region congregates temporalities and spatiallities differentiated and unequal, being that some of these spaces insert themselves fully into modernized globalization while others perpetuate themselves in a local dynamics. The temporalities and rythms (LEFEBVRE, 1991), different and unequal, overlap in the immensity of the forest. The proximity to Manaus does not imply necessarily its insertion into the rythm of globalization nor does the distance imply insertion into the local rythm. Distance, physical and social, are disconected. Distant places, through products obtained from the forest, through extractivism labour or forest-research labs, insert themselves in international proximity networks (MORAES; SCHOR, 2010A; MORAES; SCHOR, 2010b; MORAES; SCHOR, 2010C; MARINHO; SCHOR, 2012). In this context, the urban network pluralizes without losing its bonds to the rivers and forests. The multiscalar study of the urban network, that aims to understand the daily life of the cities and the fluxes in the network, is primordial for the understanding of possible transformation dynamics and permanences in space in the largest equatorial forest on Earth.

Figure 2: Cities in the forest – Tefé, 2011 and Parintins, 2011.

In order to comprehend these small cities interwined in a complex urban system in the middle of the river a matrix of institutional frameworks were organized and data related to them collected for 24 cities along the mainstream of the river

Solimões-Amazonas during a period of 3 years (SCHOR, OLIVEIRA, 2011; SCHOR et al. 2014). A detailed methodological description is available in the appendix.

Eventhough the scale of the maps are in kilometers the distance is not measured in these terms. Distance in this region of the Amazon, that has no access through roads of any type, is not measured in kilometers but in time (hours and days) and depends basically in two distinct factors: the seasonality of the river and the power of the engine of the boat. During high-water season, when the river spreads out like an enourmous snake short-cuts can be taken and the time of the journey can be shortened by half, if the journey is down-river (for example, from Tabatinga to Manaus it will take 4-5 days in high-water and up to 7 days in low-water season, considering the speed of the regional boats). Time and distance assume rhythms of their own.

The analysis of the data collected permits some preliminary reflections that are essential for the comprehension of the urban in the Amazon, especially in the Amazonas State. A first and important result is that in terms of urban network there is an enormous difference between the Solimões and the Amazonas rivers. The urban network of the Solimões river has distinctive characteristics compared to the one established along the Amazonas river (MORAES; SCHOR, 2011; SCHOR, 2013). The Solimões network has a precarious urban infrastructure and local dynamics remaining distant to the insertion in the regional and national development dynamics. The Amazonas urban network, when it is in the Amazonas state, is more homogeneous in terms of urban infrastructure and fluxes between them. This is the case due to that fact that the commodity and people coming to and from Manaus to Santarem and Belem, in Pará state, leave their trail on the way. It is also due to the growing importance of Parintins with its cultural festival that has a global outreach with Itacoatiara, at the mouth of the Madeira river, adding to the region the fluxes of commodities and people coming from Rondônia and the rest of the country (SCHOR, COSTA, 2007; MORAES; SCHOR, 2011; SCHOR et al. 2014).

While reading the data and trying to visualize the differences and similarities between the cities, some cities stood out as having a diferentiated role in the urban network. These cities were not necessarily the most active in economic terms nor the

most attractive for human migration, but their role in the urban network made them different from the surroundings. These cities form or attract insurgent architects who end up in local/regional politics and/or organize social movements. Tefé is without a doubt an important city in terms of possibilities of social change. Tefé has an interesting geo-history, located on the Tefé lake, ancient Pebas lake-system that existed there before the Andes and when the Amazon flow was to the pacific, is the oldest town in the region with the Carmelites Mission dating to the begging of the 18th Century.

Tefé has been center for various religious[2], military and now research centers maintaining in its urban tissue all these materialized forms. In recent years, a campus of the State University of Amazonas has been located there attracting young professors (history, sociology and geography) from the southeast of Brazil with a strong background in organizing social movements, specially zapatista-type, who have given the region a strong internal voice. Free-radios, community building and organizing take a strong stance in Tefé.

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2   There is an interesting biogeography question related to the importance of Tefé as a contemporany city. Catfishes, which have recently been discovered as homing-species, are born in the affluents of the river Solimões and migrate to the estuary in Belém (4000 km down river) to grow, when they reach their adulthood and are ready to reproduce they return to their rivers of origins. After this return they stay around the Pebas system, where the lake Tefé is one of them. Catfishes are around the Amazon before the Amazon river changed its course, so some type of biological memory still maintains these fish stocks around the Pebas system. The big catfishes (Piramutaba 80cm, Dourada 1m or the Piraíbas that can reach 2m) stay in the region (BATISTA, 1998) and are heavily fished for international markets (MORAES, 2008). I believe that the Missions settled in this area due to the fact that it was an important fishing area for the indigenous tribes, bringing many of them together. In the near future I want to gain access to the Carmelites and Jesuits writtings to see what they describe as an important aspect of locating their missions in this area. Research hypothesis can make us learn latin!
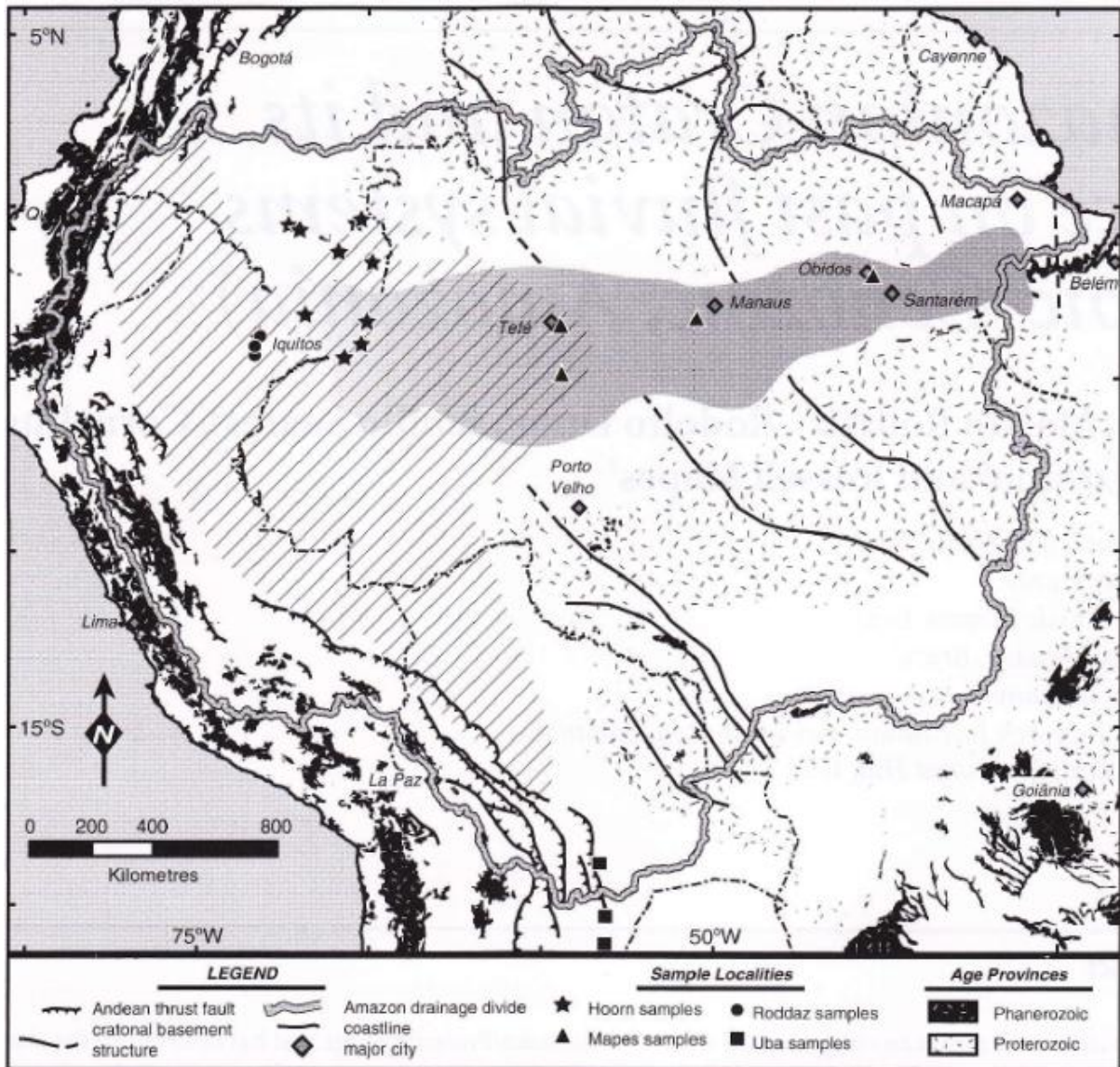
Figure 3: Tefé and the Amazon Drainage Divide. "General map showing the Amazon drainage basin and the Amazonian Craton. (…) The extent of the Alter do Chão formation has grey shading; that of the Pebas/Solimões is shown by the hatched area." (HOORN et al., 2010, p.104)

Tefé is a good example of a city, but not the only, which has no economic or political importance locally or nationally, but still maintains a special type of control over the territory, some sort of socioecological responsibility. These cities where given the name "cities of territorial responsability" in the constructed typology. These cities are of interest for the insurgent architect, possibly a change in them will imply changes all around.

Figure 4: Poster calling for a Street Party/manifestation for Social Liberation, Tefé.

Figure 5: Tefé, 2011.

The spatial analysis of the institutional arrangements permitted a construction of a typology for the urban network in the Amazonas state. As a result a city tipology was constructed that classified the cities by their role in the urban network dynamics. The figure below defines the types and classifies the cities:

TYPOLOGY	CHARACTERISTIC	CITY
MEDIUM CITIES		
MEDIUM CITIES OF TERRITORIAL RESPONSIBILITY	Fulfills a role in the urban network that exceeds the cities characteristics in itself, for they have a territorial responsibility that makes them an important knot in the network. They excercise diverse urban functions not only for themselves but also for the cities next to them. The territorial importance of the city originated in the historical-geographical development of the region which includes religious and military bases and frontier aspects. Normally the economic development of these cities aggregate value in the region. Looked at from a national or international perspective, these cities seems to be stagnant and with no dynamics, which is not the fact if we consider the other aspects proposed.	Tabatinga Tefé Parintins
MEDIUM CITY WITH EXTERNAL ECONOMIC DYNAMIC	Has an importance for its insertion in an external economical dynamics. The bonds with the others cities in the network are not necessarily strong, nor does its economic development implicate significant regional development, because the main economic activity which characterizes the city doesn't aggregate value neither in the place nor regionally. These usually are mining cities, in the case of Coari natural gas extractivism.	Coari
INTERMEDIATE CITIES	These cities functions as intermediate locations for the movement of people and commodities between the Solimões and Amazonas urban network and Manaus. The proximity to Manaus and their geophysical characteristics historically establishes this role.	Manacapuru Itacoatiara
SMALL CITIES	CHARACTERISTIC	CITIES
SMALL CITIES OF TERRITORIAL RESPONSABILITY	Exercises an intermediate function, between the transport and commercialization, between the medium cities and the others small cities and villas. They also have an important role in indigenous organization.	Fonte Boa; Santo Antônio de Içá; Benjamin Constant
SMALL CITIES WITH EXTERNAL ECONOMIC DYNAMIC	Have economies based in the export of some products, usually agripastoral and tourism, for the regional metropolis, in this case Manaus. These cities have little relevance in the maintenance of the urban network.	Iranduba Codajás
SPECIAL CITIES	Due to the absence of infrastructure which brings difficulties in the exercise of urban functions and for their geographical location that make it more complicated for their relationship with the central channel of the river, they become dependent of the medium and small cities of territorial responsibility.	Amaturá; Alvarães; Uarini; Anori; Tocantins; Silves; Urucurituba; Anamã; Jutaí; Careiro da Varzea; São Paulo de Olivença; Urucará

Figure 6: City Typology for the urban network along Solimões-Amazonas river, AM/Brazil.
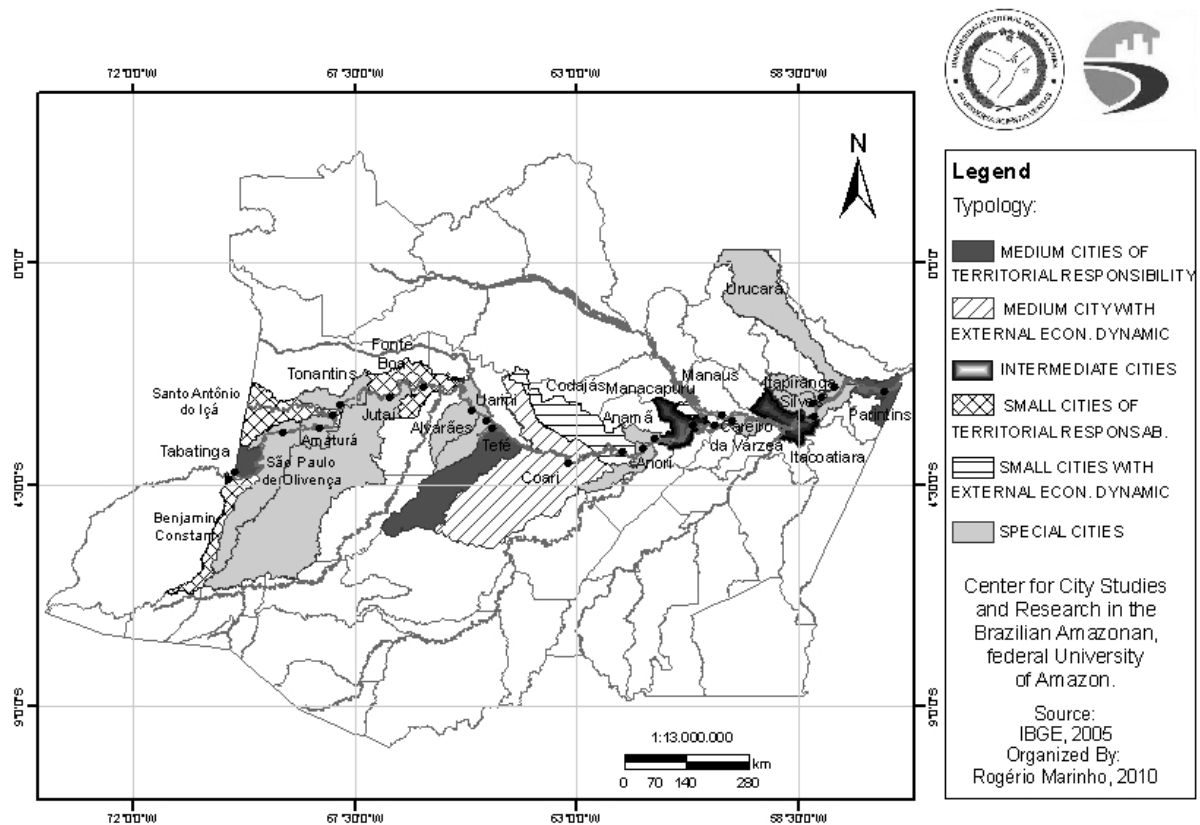Source: SCHOR et al, 2014, p.272-273

Figure 7: Map representing the City Typology

5. CONCLUSIONS: URBANIZATION AND POSSIBILITIES OF TRANSFORMATIONS

The study of the urban dynamics in the Amazon is essential due to the fact that the language of globalization negates any form of autonomy for urban development, underestimates the individual capacity for each city to define new possibilities of living the urban and makes it impossible to glimpse alternative exits for the capitalist trajectory of globalization/urbanization especially for the cities without an economic dynamics in a national/regional scale. In this sense, the comprehension of the uneven geographical developments, not only in a descriptive form, but also as a goal of possibilities in which the main focus is the understanding of the production of space articulating them to the social relations of productions that, though the knowledge acummulated about the lived space, creates possibilities of permanence and rupture (HARVEY, 2004). This is a *terroir* in which space-time, place and environment cannot be separated nor treated as mere abstractions out of its concrete

historical and geographical conditions. It is here, in this point of intersection that Amazônia finds itself, with its unequal and differentiated space-time, that the theory of historical-geographical materialism is ready to be politically, and of course scientifically, applied. Which means a transformation from the globalization or place discourse to the language of "unequal space-temporal development" or simply "unequal geographical development" (HARVEY, 2000) as an opened possibility of social change.

Harvey (1996) constructs the idea of uneven geographical development in the concrete historical-geographical conditions in which socioecological action can take place in a way that human action can transform these socioecological conditions of capitalist-modernity.

The city for Harvey can be comprehended as "contemporany ecological habitats" (1996:187) in which the movement of commodities and money must be analysed as fundamental to the functioning and maintaince of the "contemporany ecossystems" better defined as socioecological systems. In these, the human activity must not be seen as separated from the ecossystem. In such, the analysis of the so called "environmental question", high in fashion, is only able to be systematized and analysed through a matrix of problems in different scales.

Urbanization is a manifestation of uneven geographical development in a certain scale (HARVEY, 1996, p. 429). In the Amazon these scales inter-relate by means of the economic networks, the macro and micro scale, place and global, and is permeated by a socioecological discourses and practices which are determinant. Space in the Amazon, especially urban space, configures new perspectives of analysis and pratices founded in the socioecological relationships historically sedimented and in continuous mutation due to the expansion of the diverse interconnected networks that caracterize contemporary capitalism (MORAES; SCHOR, 2010a; MORAES; SCHOR 2010b; MORAES; SCHOR 2010c).

In this sense, space is understood not only as the location where action occurs, but as the geografical place of action (LEFEBVRE, 1986). In this vision exists the possibility of comprehending the various producers of urban space (CORRÊA, 2002) and the way in which the production, circulation and consumption of goods and

services occurs. From this comprehension the cities are classified and the typology proposed that will characterize a socioecological urban network. The urban network is considered as a group of cities articulated between themselves, socially produced, historically contextualized, geographically articulated of which the main role is to link a socioecological system in a given portion of a territory. It is the society that establishes itself in a network, that has the city as its "elementary form", this being the geographical scale of analysis.

Globalization implies, in all its scales, a reductionism in the comprehension not only of the differences, but also, and especially, in the choices of which differences will or will not be highlighted. This process is well exemplified in the act of reducing people to a unique category, be it ethnic, religious or any other simplistic grouping. The process of reducing people to one category builds miniturized understandings of individuals which will with no doubt make the process of mutual understanding extremely difficult (SEN, 2007). This means a person adquires one only classification that overpowers the others and does not permit the complete understanding of the individual nor of the collectivity. The individual is classified, for example, as *Indio* (native-Brazilian) which is an abstraction as big as that of Fruit, used by Marx to describe the concept of abstract labour. Just like fruit, *indio* does not exist. There exists the individual, Macuxi, woman, mother, living at Reserva Indígena Raposa Serra do Sol3 which is totally different from the individual Ticuna, woman, mother living in the indigenous neighbourhood of Umariaçu in Tabatinga4. To consider both as simply *Indias* is to restrict the understanding of their needs, wishes and wills and to authoritarily confine them in little boxes. This robs them of the possibility of

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3Recently there has been a tremendous debate and violence around the indigenous reserve Raposa Serra do Sol in the northern part of Roraima. In 2009 President Lula after many years of confrontation in the area assigned the official recognition of that area as an Indigenous Reserve. All non-indigenous people have to leave, which includes high-profit rice farms and a couple of cities. The tension in the area is so high that the last time I was there we had to suddenly change routes due to violent confrontation on the roads. Indigenous land in Brazil has caused lots of controversy, especially in the Amazon, where the debate over sovereignty and the militaries occupy most of the scene.
4Umariaçu is the first indigenous neighbourhood in Brazil. The city of Tabatinga expanded and encountered the indigenous reserve which supplies the city with agricultural products. This is the first ethnical segregated neighbourhood in Brazil. When we were doing research there I entered the neighbourhood on a motor-bike and decided to ride until it finished. An enourmous indigenous-periphery, it took us 30 minutes to get to the end.

choosing another way of being understood, which without doubt will depend on the circumstances - possibly assuming multiple choices without necessarily fragmenting themselves.

The Right to the City, understood as "a right to change ourselves by changing the city" implies in the right to not be closed into simplistic categories and recognizes the role played by the act of changing the way each individual lives collectively in a city. If power is to be collective the understanding of the individual in the collectivity has to be broadened.

Sen's insistence on the critique of the singularity of human identity, that not only leaves us without choices, but worse, turns the world more inflamable, is powerful. The incidents and debates on the Raposa Serra do Sol Indigenous Reserve or with the cities inside other indigenous reserves, like the city of Pacaraima frontier town between Brazil and Venezuela in the São Marcos Indigenous Reserve which was hijacked in recent turmoils or Novo Airão which is surrounded by conservation units that excludes any possible form of interaction between humans and nature[5]. These are examples of how a categorization based in one abstract characteristic creates conflict which are difficult to resolve. The categorization that imprisons individuals in small boxes makes unviable the construction of alternatives, for what is seen is only the small boxes. There is no liberty of choice, no possibility of change and conflict is preeminent.

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5   In a recent research that I conducted in partnership with collegues from the Center for Nuclear Agriculture at the University of São Paulo we focused in understanding changing alimentary habits due to the process of urbanization-modernization in the Amazon. We conducted an extensive survey on alimentary habits and colected samples of finger nails to test for types of Carbon, Nitrogen and Proteins (C13/C14 in nails can show us what type of carbohydrates are being consumed – mandioc or wheat – and different nitrogens can tell what type of grains and proteins can say if more fish or meats are consumed) in various locations in the Amazon Basin. The results for Novo Airão were impressive – locals are changing from eating fish and forest products to frozen chicken and wheat products (pasta/cockies) the reasons in the interview are related to the prohibition of fishing and extracting forest products from the conservation units and the militaristic enforcement of law (criminalization of local population). The nail sample results from Novo Airão, a city in the middle of the forest, where similar to those obtained from a city in São Paulo State. The consequences of this process is dreadful, throwing people into the market-money economy without any cash-income employment in the city which leads to the consumption of "bad" carbohydrates, obesity etc. We are working on a paper analysing the results and when it is done I will circulate it.

Normally choices are understood as increasing with economic and/or social development. The more commodities available, the more choices one has. The idea that exists over "development", in all cases, even social, is that of economic development, even if it comes in new cloths such as "sustainable". The world today is lived in a bipolar abysm between opulence and desperate needs. From this context, Amazônia does not escape, and it is seen, in most cases, as tending towards the pole of desperate needs, and thus understood as a place where development should come, strongly and swiftly. It is understood that the development of the region will bring with it the benefits of commodities and capital. Of course the necessity to overcome the problems of need is unquestionable, persisting in modernity, and the understanding of development is essential. But, how to do so without fitting it inside the square of the economic is a fundamental question.

A theoretical alternative, largely worked out by Amartya Sen (1999), is to consider the role played by the different types of liberty in order to solve the negative inequalities, the different forms of poverty. Sen argues that individuality, seen as agent of the social process even if constrained by it, is central in the solution of the diverse forms of privations that exists in contemporany life. In Sen's idea of development as freedom is understood as the expansion of individual liberties (1999:xii). Development seems to demand removing various forms of *unfreedoms* that leave the individual with little oportunities of exercising their rational agencies. The augmentation of the individual capacities, and consequently oportunities of exercising their rational agencies is constitutive of development. Sen understands that economic liberty and political liberty reinforce themselves instead of being hostile. The role played by the state is also important in his writtings, for the social oportunities of health and education, which in his understanding requires action from the state, complement the individual oportunities of economic and political participation. In this discussion, Sen highlights the importance of public discussion as a vehicle of social change and of economic progress and considers that development can and must be seen as a process of expansion of real liberties that people can enjoy.

Sen's argument is unquestionable in terms of articulating development with freedom, but it places the agency on the individual still constructed in modernity labor-based understanding. Sen is also correct in pointing out the importance of public discussion as a vehicle of social change. The theme of public discussion (Sen) or communicative action (Habermas) or translations (Harvey) is certainly at the main path to open possibilities of social change. What to discuss in these arenas is without a doubt an important question to be asked. The argument over the Right to the City, developed by Lefebvre and Harvey, point to a specific answer: the way life is lived. The comprehension of oppulence and needs, of possibilities of change depends on the comprehension of how day-to-day life is understood and on how everyday life is more and more lived in the city. The opening of the discussion of how the city should be is a first and important step towards "changing ourselves by changing our city".

Cities of territorial responsibility are those cities that play an important role in the insurgent architect's drawing table. Changes in them will affect possibilities of changes in other places thus functioning as a small domino circle; when one piece falls (out of the hands of modernity and into the rivers of social change) all the others will go around together. To think about social change in the cities and urban network in the Amazon is to think about the way in which life, in its most extensive and inclusive sense, can and should be respected. It is the responsability of our historical time to reflect about this territory, the Amazon. Maybe it is there, along the rivers Solimões and Amazonas that finally Eldorado will meet Edilia, and new utopias for a better socio-ecological life will flourish.

6. AKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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