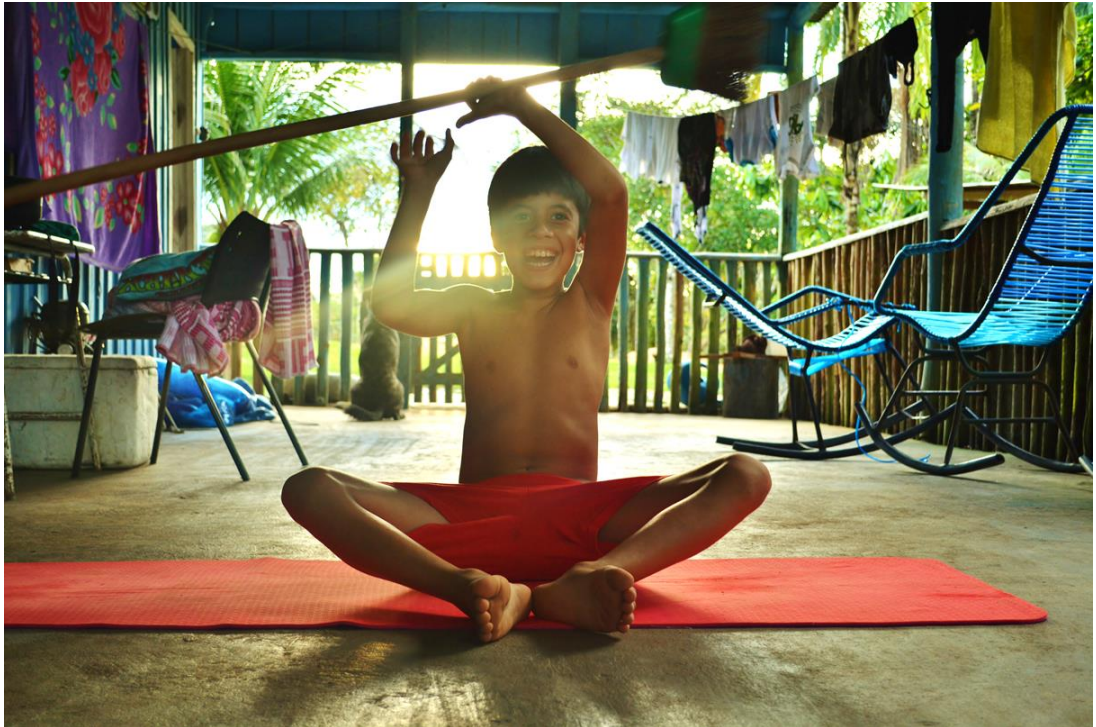# Livelihoods, Capabilities and Insurgent Citizenship in and around a rainforest metropolis: from violent urbanism to a new rurality?

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March 2017

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Livelihoods, Capabilities and Insurgent Citizenship in and around a rainforest metropolis: from violent urbanism to a new rurality?

A thesis presented to Lancaster University in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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1 DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this work has been originally produced by myself for this thesis and it has not been submitted for the award of a higher degree to any other institution. Inputs from co-authors are acknowledged throughout

Mariana Piva da Silva

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2 ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

me with maps) and Ig! Thanks for your patience and wonderful understanding and support, especially this last year!

Thanks to Fernando, pelo carinho e apoio in the end of this PhD.

Special and unlimited thanks to my family, who have loved and supported and unconditionally! You are the base of everything for me!

"… while the aim to set out basic elements of individual flourishing may be appreciated it is likewise essential to determine what forms of social organization enable the condition of the flourishing of each individual to be the flourishing of all". (Andrew Sayer, 2014).

3 ABSTRACT

Latin America is one of the most unequal and violent regions in the world. This unevenly affects the poor, who bear a disproportionate share of social pathologies including violence, poor health and inadequate access to healthcare and social rights. This uneven distribution of injustices has been theorized as "differentiated citizenship." These injustices impinge on the wellbeing of the poor in several ways. The capabilities approach has contributed to expand notions of wellbeing recognising that social injustices are a serious threat to it. This approach offers a conceptualization of wellbeing that places central emphasis on dignity and freedom, seeing wellbeing in terms of what individuals are able to do and to be within society. Migration has been seen as one of the responses to unfair socio-economic conditions and distribution of rights. Because of its importance in shaping biodiversity, human migration in the Amazon is a well-studied subject. The majority of migration research in the region has adopted a quantitative approach and focused on the socio-economic and political drivers of migration – specifically, rural-urban and urban-urban migration and its implications for the region's development and environment. Thus, many of these studies tend to frame poverty within material and rights-deprivation frameworks without addressing how people *experience* poverty, the degree to which they are capable of improving their conditions and how these things relate to people's understanding of their own freedom and wellbeing.

This thesis attempts to understand an under-studied urban-to-rural (from a metropolis to a new forest-frontier) flow of working class citizens in the Amazon. In order to do this, this thesis explores the daily lives of the working classes in the Amazonian countryside and city, as well as their experiences of symbolic and material injustices, including the production, reproduction and performances of inequalities. Adopting a qualitative approach and drawing on the capabilities and insurgent citizenship theoretical frameworks, this study compares urban and rural contexts, analysing the experiences of people who are relatively marginalized within Brazil's highly stratified society. This thesis is the result of a journey that began on a new agricultural-deforestation frontier, one hundred kilometres from Manaus, Brazil. Initially focused on investigating the potential socio-environmental benefits of fish-farming for that region, this research took a different direction when I came across to novel social transitions and landscape transformations manifest in the process of former city-dwellers (re)emerging as rural peasants.

This thesis proceeds through three data chapters. Embedded in the global debate surrounding the long-standing search for environmental and social sustainability in Amazonia, chapter two provides insights into the potential of fish farming to support conservation and regional food security in the Brazilian Amazon.

Chapters three and four are based on participant observation: the life histories and experiences of working class former city-dwellers living in the rural areas surrounding Manaus (chapter three) and on current residents of this metropolis (chapter four). Through the lens of capabilities and citizenship approaches, chapter three explores the experiences of urban social injustices and oppression and how it contrasts (and in some ways, contributes to or motivates) their new rural lives. Drawing on the capabilities , strucural violence and disadvantages apporoaches, chapter four attempts to critically analyse working class individuals'experiences of urban deprivation and violence in Manaus.

Chapter 3 reveals that the socio-environmental context of the countryside that surrounds Manaus is apparently much safer and less socially stratified than that of the metropolis, which seems to foster improvements in central capabilities. An apparently lower risk of violence considerably reduces fear and anxiety around bodily integrity and of others leading the new colonists to experience an increased sense of safeness and freedom, which appeared to contribute to an enhanced capacity for agency in comparison to that offered by the city. Alongside this, less evident social inequalities in the rural areas seems to positively influence the new rural citizens' sense of dignity and self-worth. In addition, the establishment of a new life has required migrants to collectively mobilize in pursuit of their rights, seeking fuller forms of citizenship. I interpret this urban to rural movement as a form of insurgent citizenship in response to an oppressive urban reality, which I examine in Chapter four.

Chapter four argues that structural violence (re)produces various disadvantages that contribute to capabilities failures among the Amazonian urban working class. High levels of violence impinge upon free movement, threaten bodily integrity, cause negative emotions, and damage social affiliation, resulting in severe constraint to individual flourishing. Despite experiencing some economic prosperity throughout their lives, many were unable to change and improve their capacities to do and to be and to live a dignified life due to a cluster of 'corrosive' disadvantages centred on bodily and structural violence.

These findings offer new insights to the debate surrounding human migration and insurgent citizenship in the Amazon which has hitherto paid little attention to the link between poverty

and the deprivation of capabilities. The thesis' own change in direction – from addressing grand global challenges about Amazon's sustainability towards the equally important locally-experienced social injustice – also offers insights into the possible limitations of research and policy-making which, dominated by remotely-defined global challenges, fails to capture the social transitions that define the lives and wellbeing of ordinary citizens.

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Chapter 1

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

From top left: Unpaved dirt road of *Ramal da Casa Branca*; children playing in *Ramal Bom Futuro*; fish-pound in *Ramal Bom Futuro*; former city-dwellers (Chico, Ray and Delcira), *Ramal Bom Futuro*. Photo credits: Mariana P. da Silva

In early March 2015 I was squeezed into the space behind the front seats of Isabel and Cesar's pickup. I was holding my camera trying to film the unpaved dirt road we were navigating in a colonization forest-frontier, a few hundred kilometres from Manaus. This rough road – locally called a *ramal* - linked the couple's home in the countryside to a main road going to the local urban centre of Rio Preto da Eva (herein, 'Rio Preto'). *Ramais* are usually unpaved dirt roads built in areas of relative new human settlements in Rio Preto da Eva. Isabel and Cesar had asked me to capture on film what they go through whenever they need to leave *Ramal Casa Branca* and go to their nearest town. They needed to go to there regularly in order to buy food, attempt to resolve problems at the bank and sell their farm produce. They'd said to me in a somewhat joking tone – "*Perhaps you will become a famous researcher and can show the world what we've been going through there. Perhaps it will help us change this road's conditions*". At that time the couple was trying hard to draw the local mayor's attention to the bad conditions of their *ramal.*

Such forms of activism, where people try to pressure the state to provide them with the social, civil and human rights afforded to them constitutionally, have been theorized by (Holston 2008) as 'insurgent citizenship'. These local attempts to improve roads (or other forms of public infrastructure or services) bring to the fore the ways in which non-wealthy social groups struggle against a situation characterized by lack of provision of rights, compared to more privileged sectors of society. Holston argues that members of the non-wealthy or marginalized group experience 'differentiated citizenship.' To draw examples from the lives of Isabel and Cesar: they were unable to get a bank loan because the bank concluded that the bad conditions of the *ramal* would not allow them to transport the products they would produce and hence, they would struggle to repay their debt. When they moved to the countryside from Manaus - an Amazonian metropolis of over two million people - 12 years previously, there was no road at all passing near their plot of land. Since then Isabel and Cesar had tried quite a variety of agricultural and forest-extraction activities, yet few provided them with any cash income. Selling charcoal for barbeques and some horticultural products including spring onion and coriander were the rare relative successes. At the time of our urban excursion, they were aiming to soon build a pond for farming fish, inspired by gossip and conversations that fish-farming was emerging as lucrative activity for rural smallholders. However, at that point they said entering the fish-farming sector was still constrained by the bad condition of the road which limits the transport of anything they produce.

I asked them whether, given all the hardships of life as a new rural colonist, they had thought of going back to live in the city, to which they replied a resounding 'no!'. I, intrigued, asked the obvious question; why not? They looked at each other, and Isabel was the first to speak. She said – "*God forbid going back to Manaus, it is hell!* Cesar then followed her, saying - "*In Manaus people kill each other for nothing"*. Then they enthusiastically explained to me that their countryside home was their "little paradise". They said that it was beautiful and very tranquil, they felt very safe and in peace living there. So, they certainly didn't want to go and live anywhere else. They wanted to make it work, and they seemed very confident that they would find ways to economically prosper and overcome the infrastructure challenges in their quite isolated "little paradise". Cesar even mentioned that he was back at (adult education) school because being a student strengthened their claims for a better road. During that bumpy journey to town, it started to dawn on me that the exact means by which they made a living in the countryside didn't matter that much to them; the most important thing was to be able to keep living in the place where they were feeling so *good*. So *free*. This realization of mine carried with it implications that there had been changes in the capabilities of Isabel and Cesar, that is, changes in their wellbeing and agency (Nussbaum 2013). They considered these changes as improvements, resulting from their decision to move away from metropolitan Manaus to a forest colonization frontier on its periphery. I wondered if these experiences were common to other people in that community. Isabel and Cesar seemed to me very keen to do whatever it needed to allow them to continue living there, including temporarily enrolling me and my camera into their everyday practices of insurgent citizenship. The objective being to make visible to the outside world what they feel is quite invisible – their everyday struggles to flourish, to realise their capabilities, and to anticipate a future in which their rights are more fully realised along the colonization frontier. As I will show, the desire to make visible overlooked social processes and the lived experiences of marginalized people in Amazonia also becomes one of the central aims of this thesis. The importance of achieving this aim becomes even greater considering the tendency of scholars to see Amazonia sustainability from afar; typically, through the coarse-scale lens of environmental science and the global environmental change agenda (Malhi et al. 2008, Brondizio 2016).

I had first met Isabel and Cesar at Rio Preto's weekly food market a fortnight before the above *vignette* occurred. I went to the market because I had been told by an employee of IDAM (the public agency responsible for provide assistance and support for farmers in the Amazonas state) that I would find fish-farmers there. This had grabbed my attention because

I was in the area to investigate the fish-farming - a rapidly-expanding production system in the Amazon – and implications for local livelihoods and the environment. Isabel and Cesar were not yet fish farmers, but were aspiring to this livelihood. They also knew quite a few people farming fish in their community, and they were the first people to invite me to stay with them for few days in their countryside home. Little did I know that this encounter was the start of a journey that would see me not only shift research tropic but even my underlying disciplinary orientation.

1.1 Fish-farming in the Amazon?

When I began my PhD I was interested in doing inter-disciplinary research linking biodiversity conservation with food security and poverty alleviation. So, I was really aiming to address a global 'grand challenge' and seeking so-called 'win-win' outcomes from people and the environment, albeit with a focus on issues considered particularly important in the Amazon Basin. Achieving food security in developing countries has been considered especially challenging due to rapid population growth, a nutrition transition from carbohydrates to meat driven by rising incomes, and high prevalence of poverty and inequality. During the 20 years prior to 2015, 'nutrition transition' occurred especially in the developing world, with annual *per capita* consumption of meat increasing from 15.5 kg to 31.6 kg (FAO 2015). In Amazonia, wild fish catches have declined due to over-fishing, combined with habitat loss, pollution and damming of rivers (Barletta et al. 2010). Increases in fisheries activity have reduced the mean body size of many harvested species with growing depletion of high-value and large-bodied species as *Arapaima spp*. and *Trichechus inunguis*, which are both now endangered species (Castello et al. 2013). Moreover, deforestation also impacts rivers and streams by increasing water runoff and stream discharge by reduced evapotranspiration (Hayhoe et al. 2011 from Castello et al. 2013). Agricultural runoff transport fertilizers, pesticides into rivers and streams impacting freshwater ecosystems (Williams et al. 1997 – from Castello et al. 2013).

Fish and fishery products represent a valuable and important source of nutrients for healthy diets, especially in the Amazon (FAO 2012). Fishes are a key source of dietary animal protein for many, providing over 1.5 billion people with at least a fifth of annual intake (FAO 2012). My particular interest in fish-farming was because of its increasing role in the global food supply and evidence from Asia and Africa that the sector is increasing the availability and access to fish by low-income consumer (Allison 2011). In Amazonia, despite having the highest levels of *per capita* fish consumption in the world - even urban consumption 34 kg per capital annually - (Gandra 2010) - catches from rivers and lakes have stagnated (MPA 2013)and there

are widespread reports of declining catches (Petrere et al. 2004). These declines are similar to global trends and are indicative of over-harvesting (Barletta et al. 2010). In contrast, production from freshwater aquaculture in the state of Amazonas, for example, is now 11,564 tonnes and growing at 17% per annum (IBGE 2014). This contrasts with 0.3% decline in Amazonas' wild fish catch to 70,896 tonnes. The same trend of declining freshwater catch and increasing production from fish-farming is observed for the state of Pará (SEPAQ 2010, IBGE 2014). Besides, Amazonian fish-farming has been posited as an alternative to unsustainable fishing and is supported by governmental and nongovernmental organization (Gandra 2010, Beeby 2012, MPA 2014).

The apparent decline of Amazonian wild-fisheries gave rise to my original hypothesis that fish-farming may have an important role in developing a sustainable food system in Amazonia. These appeared to be particularly important because in this region increasing demand for animal protein from a growing, wealthier and urbanized population is driving cattle-ranching expansion (Walker et al. 2009) and over-harvesting of wild fish stocks (Castello et al. 2013). Moreover, because consumers are often price-sensitive, I was aware that over-fishing of higher-value wild fish species could potentially indirectly drive deforestation by increasing demand for beef (Brashares et al. 2004). However, although there were clear and important implications for the environment and human food security, the scale, extent and nature of fish farming in Amazonia was poorly understood. There was almost nothing published on the scale and growth of fish-farming in Amazonia, let alone its potential impacts on the environment and society (Beeby 2012, Bueno et al. 2013).

Therefore, from the identification of these research gaps was born the first research questions of this thesis which has resulted in Chapter 2. This chapter was designed to offer an overall picture of the magnitude of fish-farming expansion in the Brazilian Amazon and its potential implications for this region biodiversity conservation and food security. Drawing on secondary data collected from several public databases, my findings indicate that fish-farming is now a significant source of animal protein in some Amazonian states. I also found that the sector has considerable yet under-realised potential to support biodiversity and food security among the urban poor. Fish-farming in the Brazilian Amazon has majorly been focused on a single species (*Colossoma macropomum*), probably as a consequence of long-term over-fishing (Campos et al. 2015). The fish farming sector and policy-makers have largely ignored the potential for farming some highly vulnerable and over-exploited wild fish species, such as two catfishes, *Brachyplatystoma vaillantii* and *B. rousseauxii*. However, from a land use perspective, we have shown that fish-farming is a much more efficient land-

use than cattle-ranching and the expansion of aquaculture may therefore offer indirect benefits for Amazonian forests and their biodiversity. In terms of food security, I concluded that fish-farming is unlikely to be supplying the urban poor with cheaper fish because activity is concentrated around the least poor cities and focuses on high-value species (see Chapter 2).

1.2   From natural to social science

The findings of the first chapter give an overall picture of fish-farming expansion and some of its potential socio-environmental implications. However, it draws on secondary data aggregated at municipal and state levels and uses what could be described as a reductionist approach. Like any livelihood, fish-farming (and of course, fish consumption) happens in social contexts, and thus to better understand these I conducted an exploratory pilot study. This exploratory research trip was in May and June of 2014 and involved trips to institutions and farms in Manaus and nearby Rio Preto, as well visiting a more 'mature' fish-farming sector around Porto Velho, in Rondonia State. Overall, I employed a variety of methods during this pilot trip and was interested in both collecting secondary data as well as conducting semi-structured and unstructured interviews with a wide range of urban and rural actors. In all I visited some twenty markets plus institutional and rural visits. Respondents reported that the seasonality of fisheries also strongly affects meat sales. For instance, when 'jaraquí' (*Semaprochilodus ssp*.) is in season (one of the cheapest fish in Amazonia), they noticed that beef sales tend to decrease. Curiously, market sellers had not noticed any difference in their meat and fish pattern sales due to recent expansion of fish-farming. They mostly saw farmed fish as an incremental addition to their sales and not yet a substitute for other types of meat. The data I present in Chapter 2 will also show that fish-farming is currently unlikely to provide urban consumers with cheaper animal protein. Nor does it appear to be contributing to a reduction in urban demand for beef and over-exploited wild fishes (bearing in mind that consumers decisions are – to some extent - price-sensitive – Epstein et al. 2012).

Out of the pilot study came a further insight not clear from the coarse-scale secondary data: fish-farming is concentrated in the countryside and, at least in Rio Preto near Manaus, the predominant form of farming fish seemed to be in small ponds and in small artificial dams in small streams. Interviews had revealed that fish farming was being promoted as a pro-poor economic activity and – at least in theory – being supported by the state and municipal governments. Furthermore, technical assistance agencies appeared convinced that fish farming was going to become a booming economic sector in the region. This appealing

economic-development perspective on fish-farming was appealing in some ways yet clashed with the experiences of those I met in the countryside. Whereas in Rondonia fish-farming was heavily capitalized and entering the investment portfolios of large landowners and the wealth, fish-farming near Manaus was clearly incipient and being attempted within a context of rural struggle and experimentation, against backdrop of the differentiated citizenship attributed to Isabel and Cesar's rocky road. Yet government rhetoric on fish-farming had clearly garnered widespread interest from 'farmers'. But who were these farmers, where had they come from and how important was fish-farming for their lives and livelihoods, in any case? Based on these intriguing questions and following an increasing personal interest in social sciences, I decided to focus on the social contexts in which fish farming is occurring.

From the secondary data I had analysed in Chapter 2 I had found that fish farming in Amazonas – the Brazilian state with by far the largest amount of the forest still remaining - were mostly concentrated in the metropolitan area if its capital, Manaus. The municipality of Rio Preto falls within what is generally considered the metropolitan area and at the time of my research was the state's biggest source farmed fish. In fact, responsible for 43% of the whole farmed fish production of Amazonas state (SEPROR, 2011). Like most of Amazonas, Rio Preto is still mostly covered by forest - around 10% of the municipality had been deforested by 2015 - INPE 2015) and it has a relatively low deforestation rate among Amazonas state' municipalities (annual mean deforestation rate in Rio Preto from 2001 to 2015 was 5.1 Km^2/year while for Lábrea, the Amazonas municipality with the highest deforestation rates of Amazonas, that rate was ~170 Km^2 for the same period - INPE 2015). Thus it seemed to me that rural part of Rio Preto (the municipality has an urban centre of the same name) was an ideal place to start investigating the social dimensions of fish-farming in the Amazon.

Hence, I started a longer period of fieldwork in February of 2015 adopting Rio Preto as my case study. The urban centre of Rio Preto is 81 km by road from the urban centre of Manaus, and easily reached by reached paved highway AM-010. The municipality of Rio Preto had 25,719 inhabitants in 2010, just over half of whom (52%) lived in rural area (IBGE 2010). Case studies are widely used in qualitative research as this place-based approach facilitates deep understanding gained through multiple local perspectives. Qualitative methods are also well-suited to understanding the feelings and actions of participants in relation to and within their socio-context (Blatter 2008). In the beginning of this main period of fieldwork, I spent several weeks based in Rio Preto 'town', visiting government agencies related to agriculture and the environment such as IDAM, the Municipal Secretary of Environment, public food markets etc.

During this period I was able to meet and talk to local fish-farming experts, government staff members, fish consumers and fish sellers and some fish-farmers, albeit briefly.

The next planned step was to conduct ethnographic research among fish-famers. Ethnographic research involves the researcher becoming immersed in the cultural environment of the group (or groups) of people they are interested in studying. This enables learning about the lives and perspectives of the group, mainly by experiencing their daily lives (Reilly 2009, Singer 2009). This method generally involves in-depth investigation of a small number of cases (or even just one case) and long-term fieldwork (Singer 2009). The main methodological tool of ethnography is participant observation. Central elements of participant observation include; figuring out how to get access into the context of the group being studied; recognising that the social relations and hierarchies present in the context in which the researcher is inserted are probably not known or very little known; being open and sincere with the participants about the research to be developed; avoiding judgments and learning to listen, to see and make use of all the senses; learning when to ask questions and when to be silent; learning from the unexpected and / or from what you were not necessarily looking for; and working to build relationships of trust with the participants respecting the time of each one to accept the researcher (Reilly 2009). Ethnographic interviews can be understood well through Reilly (2009, p.130) definition; "*An in-depth conversation that takes place within the context of reciprocal relationships, established over time, based on familiarity and trust*".

Thus, following an ethnographic approach, I was aiming to get access to the rural spaces and places where fish-farming takes place in Rio Preto (Fig 1.1) and spend as much time as possible among fish-farmers. So, it was in March 2015, after my first few weeks in Rio Preto town, I met Isabel and Cesar and accepted their invitation to spend some time in their countryside home in the *Ramal Casa Branca* (Fig 1.1 and 1.2)*.* I spent two weeks living with this couple in their countryside home, engaging with them in their daily activities and visiting and talking to some of their neighbours. After that I repeated it for another two locations in the colonization frontier roads of Rio Preto. First, I went to *Ramal Bom Futuro* (Fig 1.1 and 1.2) where I stayed there with another couple (who were fish-farmers) and their two children for six weeks. Then, I left *Ramal Bom Futuro* and went straight to *Ramal Cachoeira* (Fig 1.1 and 1.2) where I stayed with another family for another seven weeks. This was a family of four siblings and their mother who were not fish-farmers yet, but were hoping to become so very soon and also introduced me to their fish-farming neighbours.

1. GENERAL INTRODUCTION
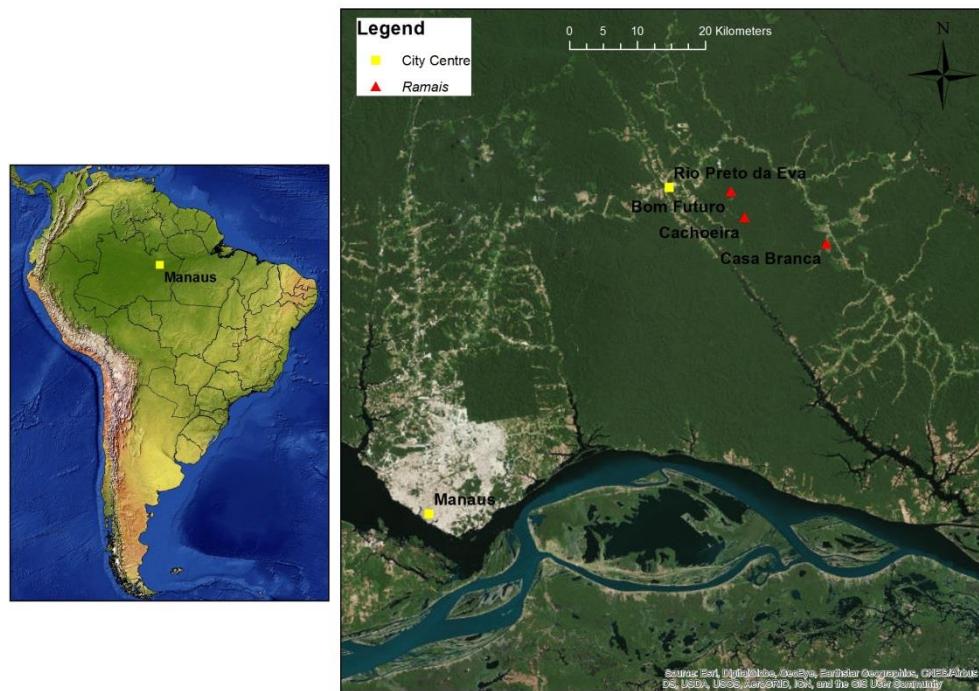
Fig 1.1: **overview of study area**. Source: Google earth©
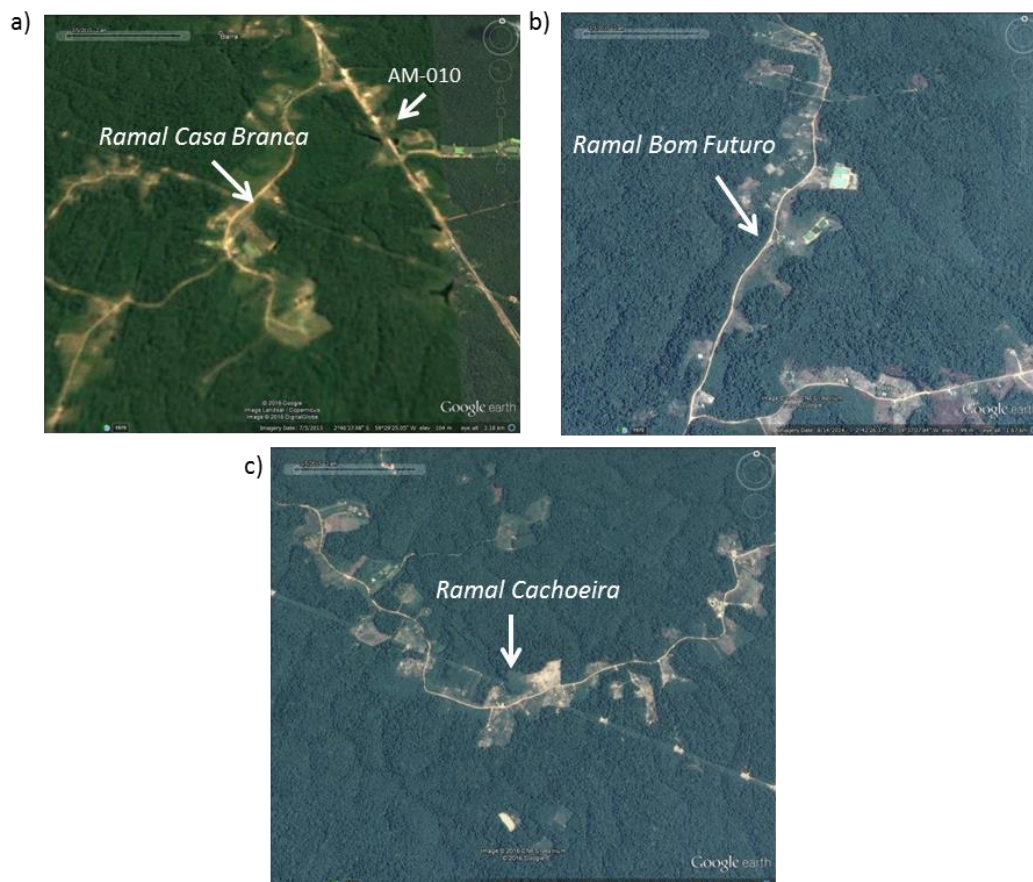
Fig 1.2: **overview of *ramais***; a) *Ramal Casa Branca;* b) *Ramal Bom Futuro*; c) *Ramal Cachoeira.* Source: Google earth©.

Around the time of my fieldwork there were approximately 70, 60 and 75 families living in the *Ramal Casa Branca*, *Ramal Bom Futuro* and *Ramal Cachoeira*, respectively. All the three *ramais* were connected to urban centre of Rio Preto unpaved dirt roads – each originally built by the government to facilitate colonization and (partial) clearance of forested plots (called *lotes*). These roads linked to the town via the state paved highway, AM-010. Marginally furthest from the local town was *Ramal Casa Branca,* approximately 29 km away (9 km by dirt road and 20km of highway). *Ramal Bom Futuro* and *Ramal Cachoeira* were both approximately 20 km distant from the town centre. The entrance to these two *ramais* is near Rio Preto town, so almost the entire 20 Km is on unpaved dirt roads. In each of these *ramais* there is a community which names coincide with the names of the *ramais*, for instance, *Ramal da Casa Branca* community, *Ramal da Cachoeira* community and *Ramal Bom Futuro* Community. Human settlements in those three *ramais* started relatively recently, approximately 12 years ago. Indeed, some of the research participants were the first families to arrive there. Most of the land in those places were public in the arrival of the research participants, nowadays most of the current unoccupied land in those *ramais* still belong to the state organs. According to the research participants and local public authorities, most of the land was first occupied through illegal occupation/settlement, known in the Amazon as 'invasion'. Hence, most of the residents of the *ramais* lack definitive land titles.

1.2.1 *Following the lives of actual and potential fish farmers*

During my time in the *ramais* I tried to learn as much as possible about fish-farming and the related experiences and perspectives of local people. Nevertheless, being immersed into the research participant's contexts and daily lives meant that sharing their broader life experiences was commonplace. Subsequently, I was not only learning about their relationship with fish-farming, but about their lives and trajectories as well, which couldn't be unlinked with their hopes and financial dreams attached to fish-farming. I began to realise that fish-farming was not a main form of income in the *ramais*, even on smallholdings where farming fish was being practiced. Among the three *ramais* I spent time in*,* there were around 140 resident families, some 20 of whom were farming fish. Most of them had started to farm fish recently, perhaps two to three years prior. Only for three families was fish-farming the main source of the family income. In other cases, families explained to me that the fish were currently only for household consumption and commercial sale remained a future prospect. All of the fish-farmers I spoke to had experienced many difficulties and setbacks in making their fish-farming systems productive. These included technical problems they lacked the knowledge, skills or financial assets to solve. Moreover, almost all of them reported losses in

fish production, at some point. These losses were thought to be due to combinations of; fish diseases; incorrect water parameters for their species; water leaking from badly built ponds; not finding buyers for their fish-production. Overall, these experiences left me with the distinct impression that, at least in Rio Preto, fish-farming did not appear to be making a big difference to rural poverty alleviation.

Yet, I encountered widespread beliefs that fish-farming was the best business of the region? The local government was strongly supporting this activity including promising to build a fish pond for every small-scale farmer. Albeit only a few appeared to have benefitted from this promise/policy during my time in the field. Theoretically, if all the technical recommendations are followed, fish-farming can be rather profitable (Izel and Melo 2004). And perhaps prospects for profitable fish-farming in this region are *relatively* good given high demand for fish from Manaus's large and fish-consuming population (Gandra 2010). From talking to local and state government agents and reading pamphlets and such they produced for farmers, I realised that the government was actively selling the idea that fish farming could help to bring prosperity to poor smallholders. In other words, the municipal government had, with state support, adopted fish-farming as a way to promote the local development. Their efforts to convince people to become fish farmers appeared to be working. However, it also became clear in the field that this initiative was far from uniformly successful. Successes appeared limited to those with money to invest (and to lose during initial experimentation) and that could afford *private* technical support. Indeed, this echoed the stories of medium and large-scale fish-farmers in Rondonia that I had met during earlier pilot work. Certainly, these financial conditions were not met for the vast majority of smallholders I met on the *ramais* of Rio Preto.

However, after becoming better-acquainted with the life trajectories of people in the *ramais* I came to understand that fish-farming appeared to be one of the few livelihood options available to help them to generate income. Like Isabel and Cesar, for most of the people I met in the *ramais*, continuing to live (and to be) in the countryside was more important than specific economic activity undertaken at the time. Thus, there were interested in fish-farming but were open and interested in any other potential sources of income. Critically, they were not living in those *ramais* because they wanted to farm fish, but because of other reasons, forming the basis of Chapters 3 and 4 of this thesis.

Most people I spent time with on the *ramais* had moved from Manaus and thus could be seen to be in the process of *becoming* a rural peasantry in this recently opened forest-

frontier. The motivations of these – almost without exception – working class people for leaving Manaus behind and starting lives as colonists centred around the rejection of urban violence, stressful and unhealthy urban life, and the restrictions to life imposed by the fear of violence. Most of the research participants were living in low-income neighbourhoods in Manaus before they moved to the *ramais*, typically around a decade previously. Many described the *ramais* upon their arrival as having "*nothing, only forest*". There were no roads, no houses, no electricity, and no piped water. In their own words, they had started their new lives *"from zero"* and had been through great difficulties, but were also strongly driven to not give up and go back to the city. Consequently, for me the reality of *ramais* was starting to become far more complex and interesting than fish-farming alone. I was witnessing the social and environmental formation of a new yet largely ignored deforestation frontier. And, perhaps more importantly, I was learning a powerful message about how oppressive urban lives can be for the Amazon's working-class citizens.

1.2.2   Changing direction

Going back to the literature to explore scholarship on migration in Amazonia, it quickly became apparent that urban-to-rural migration has received only limited attention. This is in spite of migration overall being relatively well-studied due largely to its relationship with deforestation and the region's socio-economic development. Most of the studies about human migration in the Amazon have focused on internal rural to urban and urban to urban migration mainly induced by the concentration of economic and social opportunities in certain cities (Browder and Godfrey 1990a, Browder 2003, Rudel et al. 2010, Richards and VanWey 2015, Thypin-bermeo and Godfrey 2016); and on the formation of new frontiers sponsored by national government incentives and policies to occupy a "vast and empty" territory (Fearnside 1993, Hecht 1993, Browder 2003, Carr 2009, Celentano et al. 2012).

Studies have tended to address: a) the impacts of migration on land-use change and cover with focus on the environmental changes it implies (Browder and Godfrey 1990b, Binswanger 1991, Fearnside 1993, Browder et al. 2008, Carr 2009); b) the kind of socio-economic, cultural and political changes (sometimes at different levels – local, regional and global) inducing fluxes of people within the Amazonian territory and its impacts on local economy, consumption patterns, ecosystems and wildlife (Perz 2002, Simmons et al. 2002, Garcia et al. 2007, Padoch et al. 2008, Guedes et al. 2009, Parry et al. 2010, Carr 2014, Richards and VanWey 2015, Thypin-bermeo and Godfrey 2016) . This research focus is perhaps not a total surprise considering that urbanisation has occurred rapidly in the Brazilian Amazon. Indeed, since the 1980s the region has garnered the reputation of being

an "urbanised forest" (Becker 1985, Costa and Brondízio 2009). Nowadays, 18 million people (or 7 in 10) in the Brazilian Amazon live in cities (IBGE 2010). Besides, economic development in Amazon has happened unevenly, concentrating industries, infrastructure and public services around metropolises to where thousands of people moved to hoping to escape poverty (Browder and Godfrey 1997). There are few if any signs that metropolitan-centric development is going to change in the near future (Kanai 2014, 2016).

The inhabitants of the *ramais* were ultimately showing me that the 'problems' – related to global grand challenges - I had come to Amazonia to understand (and perhaps loftily, to try and solve) were not issues that resonated strongly with their lives. Instead their life trajectories had been shaped by social inequalities – and their responses to it – including the (to them) unbearable fears, stresses and violence of urban working-class life. So, whilst trying to shed my misconceptions about what I had envisaged 'finding' in Rio Preto, I decided to change the direction of this doctoral research. As result I changed the focus to the peoples' experiences of symbolic and material injustice including the production, reproduction and performance of inequalities that has probably been constraining the wellbeing and flourishing of working-class people in big Amazonian cities. In so-doing this thesis also (now) attempts to answer the degree the urban to rural migrants have been able to enjoy an improvement in their wellbeing.

In order to better understand the urban and new rural experiences in relation to wellbeing, I extended my fieldwork. Therefore, after I had spent nearly four months in those rural communities from March to June 2015, I returned to two of them (*Ramal Bom Futuro* and *Ramal Cacheira*) for five more weeks in August 2015. The purpose of this was specifically to ask people about their views and perceptions about their wellbeing from a comparative perspective between their previous urban and current rural life. In addition, in order to have a better understanding of the urban life they had left behind, I conducted ethnographic research in a low income neighbourhood (São Jorge – fig 1.3) in Manaus, where I stayed for eight weeks. São Jorge is located in the west part of Manaus, has a population of 21,643 inhabitants (IBGE 2010), distributed within the neighbourhood in areas of evident poverty and other areas apparent well-off.

Fig 1.3: São Jorge neighbourhood, Manaus. Source: Google earth©

1.2.3 Interpreting the new findings

Although signs of development in the Amazon are probably more evident in cities, within urban areas development is unevenly distributed and a large proportion of the urban population live in woeful environmental and (Perz 2000) socio-conditions (Costa and Brondízio 2009). As Brondízio (2016, p. 3) pointed out - " *From "green hell" to "the lungs of the planet" to "God's paradise," the historical popular imaginary of the region* (Amazon) *is obviously not an urban imaginary.*" Inequalities, environmental degradation, social exclusion are widespread in urban Amazon and part of everyday lives of its city-dwellers. For instance, only 50% of Manaus's households are connected to adequate sanitation system (IBGE, 2010) and 29% of the households have no access to piped water (Portal ODM, 2010). Adding to that the poor-condition human settlements by the margins of Manaus' streams (*igarapés*) are at high risk of being affected by flooding making its population vulnerable to even bigger material deprivation and diseases (Pinto 2008, Cassiano and Costa 2010) Moreover, violence is a major urban problem. For example, it is estimated that nearly 37% of the urban populations of the Amazonian cities larger than 50,000 inhabitants live under drug traffickers control (Brondizio 2016). Homicides rates in Manaus are striking - around 1660 per year or 56 deaths per hundred thousand people per year (Orellana et al. n.d.), which is nearly seven times higher of those war-torn countries like Afghanistan and Iraq (UNODC 2013).

Data and studies revealing the magnitude of inequalities and the poor environmental and socio-economic conditions of Amazonia cities as well as rural places are not rare (Browder and Godfrey 1997, Costa and Brondízio 2009, IBGE 2010, Kanai 2016). However, very few address how poor people have been qualitatively *experiencing* and *acting* upon it. Usually, poverty and inequality within environmental debates concerned with Amazon is reduced to numbers related to reduced or lack of basic necessities, jobs, housing, transport, access to health, education, land, income etc. (Murphy et al. 1997, Börner et al. 2007, Costa and Brondízio 2009, Parry et al. 2010, Guedes et al. 2012, Castilho et al. 2015). These issues are important, especially considering the perverse effects of material deprivation and lack of access to basic rights as education and health (Harker 2006, Holston 2008, Imbiriba et al. 2009, Giatti et al. 2010, Barbier 2012, Nuijten 2013). However, what the research participants have shown is that their experiences of poverty certainly go beyond materialistic measurements, but, obviously not disconnected to it.

Taking that into account this I opted to use the theoretical approaches capabilities and differentiated citizenship to interpret the research findings of Chapters 3 and 4. The capabilities approach seemed to be highly appropriate for assessing and interpreting this thesis' empirical results for several results. First, because it offers a broad and complex view of wellbeing and poverty considering that many dimensions of life (e.g. material, psychological and emotional) are important for the wellbeing of all individuals. Second, it recognises the capacity for agency as a central part of individual's wellbeing which is linked with the opportunities and freedom an individual has in order to achieve beings and doings that s/he has reasons to value. Third, it emphasises that economic development is not enough for improving quality of life and wellbeing. Finally, the approach acknowledges that wellbeing can be constrained and/or improved due to a combination of multiple internal capacities and external circumstances (Sen 1990, Nussbaum 2013).

The differentiated citizenship approach helps us to understand how the (re)production of inequalities relates to the historical denial of social, civil rights and political rights to the poor which leave them deprived of full membership to society. In other words, full citizenship is a condition that becomes the exclusive privilege of those economically better off. This approach also takes into account the agency of the least privileged members of societies in changing their differentiated citizenship conditions. Actions in this direction are seen as insurgent citizenship (Holston 2008). Indeed, the concept of differentiated citizenship has been useful applied to understanding historical and contemporary injustices against rural Amazonians in a more 'traditional' riverine part of Amazonas state (Mathews and Schmink

2015). Therefore, through the capabilities approach lens I examine the previous urban and current rural experiences of the research participants in terms of their reduced and/or increased capacity for beings and doings and consequently to flourish and live a dignified life. I draw on the differentiated citizenship theoretical approach (Holston 2008) to explain how the (re) production of inequalities through an uneven distribution of rights within Brazilian society have been constraining the capacity of the Amazonian working class for agency and for flourishing in Manaus. I interpret their action of migrating to the countryside (and subsequent actions in the rural r*amais*) as an insurgent citizenship response to their differentiated citizenship conditions. Both theoretical approaches are introduced and discussed in greater detail in Chapters 3 and 4.

1.3 Thesis outline

The remainder of this thesis reflects the journey abovementioned. Thus, it starts with chapter 2 which examines the potential implications of the fish-fish for biodiversity conservation and urban food security in the Brazilian Amazon. Then, chapter 3 and chapter 4 explore the Amazonian working classes daily life in the countryside and the city how it relates to their movement from the Manaus' metropolis to its rural surroundings. The thesis' structure is illustrated figure 1.4.

Chapter 2 - The Amazonian fish-farming boom and its implications for biodiversity conservation and regional food security

Fish-farming is argued to be a sustainable solution for meeting growing global demand for animal protein. Solving this grand challenge is critically important in Amazonia, where demand from a growing, wealthier and urbanised population is driving cattle-ranching expansion and over-harvesting of wild fish stocks. Fish-farming in Amazonian could potentially provide urban consumers with cheaper animal protein and reduce demand for beef and over-exploited wild fishes. Although there are clear and important implications for the environment and human food security, the scale, extent and nature of fish farming in Amazonia is poorly understood. In this study I use secondary data to examine first examine the magnitude of fish-farming expansion in the Brazilian Amazon and compare production levels with other sectors producing animal protein. I then ask three questions that provide insights into the potential conservation and social benefits of aquaculture in Amazonia: (1) Has fish-farming focused on the most vulnerable wild-caught species? (2) Is fish farming currently a more efficient land-use than cattle ranching? and (3) Is fish farming likely to be supporting the food security of the urban poor?

Chapter 3 - **Capabilities and insurgent citizenship on the periphery of a rainforest metropolis**

This chapter engages with the observation that the lives of the urban poor in the Global South are fraught with social injustice. Specifically, it explores one manifestation of the 'unjust' city, so-called 'differentiated citizenship'. For example, the urban poor bear a disproportionate share of social pathologies including violence and ill-health and inadequate access to healthcare and other purportedly universal rights. This is especially evident in developing world metropolises where inequalities and social exclusion tend to be spatially concentrated and poorly addressed. Conceptually grounded in the capabilities approach and citizenship theory, this chapter draws on participant observation and open interviews with Amazonian working-class city and rural dwellers, to explore a novel tendency in insurgent citizen responses to such urban injustice. Therefore, this chapter aims to explore Amazonian urban working-class individual's experiences of injustice and their responses in migrating away from the rainforest metropolis Manaus, and the subsequent changes in their capabilities in their new rural lives.

Chapter 4: Capability failures, violence and corrosive disadvantage in a tropical metropolis

Quality-of-life and wellbeing have been, to great extent, related to economic development. However, development scholars have long-argued that increasing income is, alone, insufficient to tackle poverty and improve wellbeing in slums and elsewhere. In particular, the capabilities approach offers a conceptualization of wellbeing which places central emphasis on dignity and freedom, seeing wellbeing in terms of what individuals are able to do and to be within society. Economic development in the Amazon region has been majorly metropolises-centred. However, rainforest metropolises are still profoundly marked by poverty and inequality. Drawing on ethnographic research data and on the capabilities approach, this chapter attempts to critically analyse the experiences of urban deprivation and violence in Manaus, a rainforest metropolis.

Chapter 5 – Conclusions

This chapter presents a summary of the key findings from chapter 2 – 4. I also attempted to connect the findings of chapter 2-4, summarizing this thesis's pathways and pointing some of its limitations and potential for future research. Then I finalise this chapter with a general conclusions' section.

Chapter 1 – General Introduction
It presents the intellectual and empirical journey that lead to the production of chapters 2, 3 and 4.

Chapter 2 - The Amazonian fish-farming boom and its implications for biodiversity conservation and regional food security
It examines the maginitude of fish-farming expansion in the Brazilian Amazon and its potential implications for region's biodiversity conservation and regional food security

Chapter 3 - Capabilities and insurgent citizenship on the periphery of a rainforest metropolis
Drawing on the capabilities and citizenship theoretical approaches it explores Amazonian urban working class individual's experiences of injustice and their responses in migrating away from the rainforest metropolis Manaus, and the subsequent changes in their capabilities in their new rural lives.

Chapter 4 - Capability failures, violence and corrosive disadvantage in a tropical metropolis
Drawing on the capabilities approach and theories of disadvantages and structural violence, this chapter attempts to critically analyse the experiences of urban deprivation and violence in Manaus, a rainforest metropolis.

Chapter 5 – Conclusions
It presents the key findings of chapter 2-4, some of the limitations of this study and potential for future research and general conclusions

Fig 1.4: thesis' structure

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Chapter 2

THE AMAZONIAN FISH-FARMING BOOM AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR BIODIVERSITY CONSERVATION AND REGIONAL FOOD SECURITY

Top-left: tambaqui (*Colossoma macropomum*) being harvested from a pond in Ariquemes, Rondônia, Brazil; tambaqui being sold in Rio Preto da Eva; Matrinxã being harvested from an *igarapé* dam (another fish-farming system) by a family currently residing in *Ramal Bom Futuro*; Fish being harvested from a pond in Manacapuru, Amazonas Brasil. Photo credits: Mariana P. da Silva

The Amazonian fish-farming boom and its implications for biodiversity conservation and regional food security

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2.1   Abstract

Fish-farming is argued to be a sustainable solution for meeting growing global demand for animal protein. Solving this grand challenge is critically important in Amazonia, where demand from a growing, wealthier and urbanised population is driving cattle-ranching expansion and over-harvesting of wild fish stocks. In this study we use secondary data to examine the pace and scale of pisiculture expansion in the Brazilian Amazon. We report a boom in fish-farming from 2000-14, with production in six Amazonian states increasing ten-fold from 12,740 tonnes in 2001 to 129,515 tonnes in 2014. The mean annual growth in production was 31% compared to only 0.3 % annual growth for wild catches from 2000-11. We also assessed the potential benefits of this boom for biodiversity and food security among the region's urban poor. The fish-farming sector produced only two of the region's many vulnerable species, focussing mainly (78 % of production) on a high-value species, tambaqui (*Colossoma macropomum)*. However, fish-farming is a relatively efficient land-use and we estimate its unit area productivity to be 3.5 times higher than that of cattle ranching, even when accounting for terrestrially-sourced dietary inputs. However, we conclude that fish-farming in Amazonia is currently failing to enhance food security because this activity is concentrated around wealthier cities and lower value species have not been farmed. Nevertheless, fish-farming has become a significant sector in the Amazonian food system, with considerable yet under-realised potential to support biodiversity and food security among the urban poor.

Key words: ecological footprint, freshwater biodiversity, fishing down, overfishing, urbanisation

2.2. Introduction

Feeding a larger and wealthier human population whilst reducing environmental impacts and food insecurity is a major global challenge (Godfray et al. 2010). To meet an increasing demand for animal protein, global meat and fish production has quadrupled over half a century (FAO 2012). Increases in animal consumption and production have been particularly rapid in developing countries, where rising incomes are enabling growing and increasingly urbanized populations to eat more animal protein and fewer carbohydrates (Delgado 2003, Porkka et al. 2013). Consequently, livestock and aquaculture have become the fastest-growing food systems in the global South (Thornton 2010, FAO 2012).

Major increases in the supply of animal protein have incurred high environmental costs. Livestock production now occupies 30 % of the planet's ice-free land, is a major driver of tropical deforestation and is responsible for nearly a fifth of global greenhouse emissions (FAO (Food and Agriculture Organization) 2006, Thornton 2010). Over-fishing is also widespread – approximately 30 % of global marine fish stocks are overfished - causing the collapse of stock populations and the degradation of marine and freshwater ecosystems (Jackson et al. 2001, Allan et al. 2005, FAO 2014). As a consequence, the global annual harvest of aquatic animals has declined and global fisheries have almost flat-lined since 1980s (FAO 2012). However, aquaculture production has filled the deficit between fish demand and supply by growing 9 % per year (mean) since the 1980s (FAO 2012). In fact, aquaculture now contributes 42 % of global aquatic animal production (FAO 2014).

There is a major scientific and policy debate about the environmental and social consequences of aquaculture (Tacon and Forster 2003, Sheriff et al. 2008, Diana 2009, Naylor et al. 2009). Many studies show that aquaculture can threat biodiversity when farmed exotic species escape into natural habitats harming native species by competitive exclusion, niche displacement, hybridization, predation, and extinction (Mooney and Cleland 2001). Moreover, virulent pathogens that develop in densely stocked farms can spread to native populations, causing population decline (Krkosek et al. 2006, Brooks and Jones 2008, Johansen et al. 2011). In many regions, fingerlings and juvenile are captured from nature to supply aquaculture causing population decline (Hogan 2011). There are also important indirect threats from aquaculture, such as feeding some farmed species with fish-meal from wild stocks, including over-fished species (Chapin et al. 2000). Nevertheless, aquaculture also offers environmental benefits because it may alleviate pressure on wild populations by providing low-cost alternatives to wild-caught fish (Ye and Beddington 1996, Diana 2009).

2. FISH-FARMING IN THE AMAZON

Farmed fishes may also help to enhance depleted stocks of species with limited reproductive success and declining abundance (Anders 1998, Stotz 2000). Additionally, aquaculture might be a more land-efficient method of producing animal protein and could therefore offer benefits if replacing less efficient production systems such as extensive cattle-ranching (Diana 2009).

Aquaculture is playing an increasingly important role in supporting human food security by supplying poor people with affordable and nutritious animal protein (FAO 2014). The vast majority of aquaculture to-date has occurred in Asia (88 % of global production), where research shows it can benefit urban consumers supplying the market with low-price fish species (Irz et al. 2007, e-Jahan et al. 2010) and alleviate poverty by providing income for rural producers, employment along the commodity chain and a source of foreign exchange (Brummett and Williams 2000a, Ahmed and Lorica 2002, e-Jahan et al. 2010). However, the social benefits from aquaculture can be context-specific (Stevenson and Irz 2009). For instance, in some places in Africa, increased aquaculture production has lowered fish prices, yet the mainly small-scale producers have not benefited through improved food security or escaping poverty (Brummett and Williams 2000b, Brummett et al. 2008).

Although Latin America accounts for just 4 % of global aquaculture production (FAO 2012) it could have an important role in developing a sustainable food system in the Amazon Basin, where decelerating the pace of environmental change must be balanced against the welfare of a growing human population. In the Brazilian Amazon alone, there are more than 18 million city-dwellers (IBGE 2010a), and rising incomes are driving a nutrition transition towards higher individual consumption of animal protein (Nardoto et al. 2011, Jesus Silva et al. 2016). Meeting regional food demands is the principal driver for cattle-ranching and associated deforestation (Hecht 1993, Faminow 1997a, Fearnside 2005), and has also led to over-exploitation – declining catches and stock depletion – of Amazonian fisheries (Petrere et al. 2005, Castello et al. 2013). Because consumers are often price-sensitive (Epstein et al. 2012), over-fishing of higher-value wild species could indirectly drive deforestation by increasing demand for beef. However, fish-farming in Amazonian could potentially provide urban consumers with cheaper animal protein and reduce demand for beef and over-exploited wild fishes. Although there are clear and important implications for the environment and human food security, the scale, extent and nature of fish farming in Amazonia is poorly understood.

In this paper, we first examine the magnitude of fish-farming expansion in the Brazilian Amazon and compare production levels with other sectors producing animal protein. We then ask three questions that provide insights into the potential conservation and social benefits of aquaculture in Amazonia: (1) Has fish-farming focused on the most vulnerable wild-caught species? (2) Is fish farming currently a more efficient land-use than cattle ranching? and (3) Is fish farming likely to be supporting the food security of the urban poor?

2.3. Material and Methods

2.3.1 Study area

To assess the possible implications of fish-farming in the Brazilian Amazon for biodiversity conservation and food security we focus on the six Brazilian States that are entirely within the Amazon biome (Acre, Amapá, Amazonas, Pará, Rondônia and Roraima – Fig 2.1). This area covers 3.58 million km2 and has 14.5 million inhabitants, 66% of them living in cities (IBGE 2010).
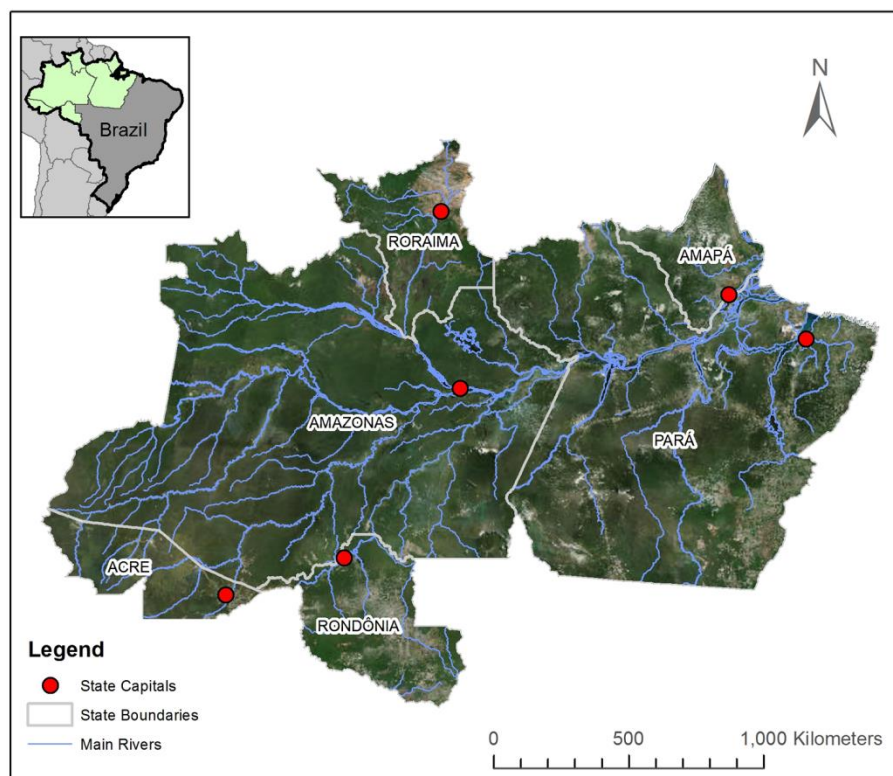
Fig 2.1: study area. Dark grey indicates the Brazilian Amazon States this study is focused on.

2.3.2 Trends in animal protein supply

We obtained annual state-scale data on farmed fish production and wild-catches (2000 to 2014) from the annual reports of the Brazilian Institute of Environment and Renewable Natural Resources – IBAMA (IBAMA 2000, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2007, 2006), Brazilian Fisheries and Aquaculture Ministry – MPA (MPA 2010, 2012a, 2012b, 2013) and Brazilian Institute for Geography and Statistics (IBGE 2014). State-aggregated, species-specific data on wild fish harvest production and prices were only available for 2000 to 2007. Species-specific data on aquaculture production by state was available for 2000 to 2007 and 2013 and 2014. Measures of intrinsic vulnerability of fish species to overexploitation (Cheung et al. 2005) were collected from the database fishbase.org. Our measures of livestock production were taken from 2010 data from IBGE (IBGE 2010b). For beef production we used the total weight of slaughtered animals. For chicken, we calculated the total slaughter weight based on the headcount at any one time, Brazil's mean chicken slaughter rate (4.02 slaughtered per chicken alive at any one time, a lifespan of ~3 months) and the mean carcass weight (2.14 kg) (IBGE 2010b). Our pork production estimates were based on the total weight of slaughtered pigs for Pará and Acre (where full data were available), and then estimated for the other four states using their swine stock numbers, slaughter rate (0.23 of pigs slaughtered each year, a lifetime of just under 4 years) and mean carcass weight (45.2 kg) (IBGE 2010b).

2.3.3 Land-use efficiency

To compare the land-use efficiency of fish-farming and cattle ranching we calculated the total area occupied by each activity and its yield (kg ha-1 yr-1; from 2010 data). We estimated pasture area by summing the three pasture classes in the TerraClass national land-use classification, which is based on Landsat and MODIS imagery (INPE & EMBRAPA 2010). Annual cattle productivity (live-weight gain in kg/ha/year) estimated by FAO (2007) was used to compare with fish-farming productivity.

To assess the total area occupied by fish-farms we calculated summed the total area covered by ponds and the cropped area required to produce compound fish-food. In order to calculate the total pond area we used the mean annual productivity of fish-farm ponds (6.5 tonnes/ha) in Amazonas and Rondônia states in 2010. These data were provided by the Amazonas State Institute for Sustainable Agriculture and Forestry Development (IDAM) (IDAM 2011) and Environmental Directorate of Porto Velho/Rondônia (SEMA) (personal communication). These were the only states with data available about fish farming productivity. Then, we divided the total Brazilian Amazon farmed fish production in 2010 by 6.5 to estimate the total pond area.

To estimate the area covered by inputs for fish-feed we considered an optimal compounded fish-feed composition (Santos et al. 2010). The ingredients of the fish feed whose production required farmland were maize and soybean. We estimated the amount of fish-feed consumed in ponds in 2010 using the proportions of these ingredients in fish-feed and the feed conversion rate for Colossoma macropomum – 1.5 kg of fish-feed / kg of live weight (Melo et al. 2001). We used the C. macropomum feed conversion rate because this species has thus far dominated production. We estimated cropped area by dividing the maize and soybean production by unit area productivity estimates for Northern Brazil (2,783 kg/ha and 2000 kg/ha respectively (Vera-Diaz et al. 2008, Companhia Nacional de Abastecimento 2012). Finally, to estimate the land-use efficiency of fish-farming we calculated the annual productivity for C. macropomum using measures of its annual liveweight gain/ha from (Izel and Melo 2004).

2.3.4   Fish-farming and implications for food security

We examined fish-farming and urban poverty levels using municipal-scale (analogous to a US County) data (2010) for Amazonas State, drawing on official estimates of fish-farm output (IDAM 2010) and demographic and urban income poverty data based on the 2010 national census (IBGE 2010a). The per capita farmed fish supply in each urban centre was estimated by dividing the farmed fish production by the number of urban inhabitants. We classified urban poverty as the percentage of households in which per capita monthly income was ≤¼ of a Brazilian minimum salary (approximately US$74 in 2010). Species-specific fish prices and production for Amazonas were taken from 2007, the most recent official report on Brazil's fisheries and aquaculture with state-level data by species (IBAMA 2007).

2.4 Results

2.4.1   Production trends from fish-farming and other sectors

Fish-farming production across the six Amazonian states increased 10-fold from 12,740 tonnes in 2001 to 129,515 tonnes in 2014. In contrast, wild catches (inland and sea fisheries) in the Brazilian Amazon showed little variation from 2001 to 2011 (the most recent available data for wild catches) (Fig 2.2). The average offtake growth during this decade was 0.3% whereas for fish-farming (2001-14) it was 31%. Aquaculture production in the six Amazonian states we focused on contributed to 27 % of Brazilian output by 2014, compared to just 3 % in 2000.
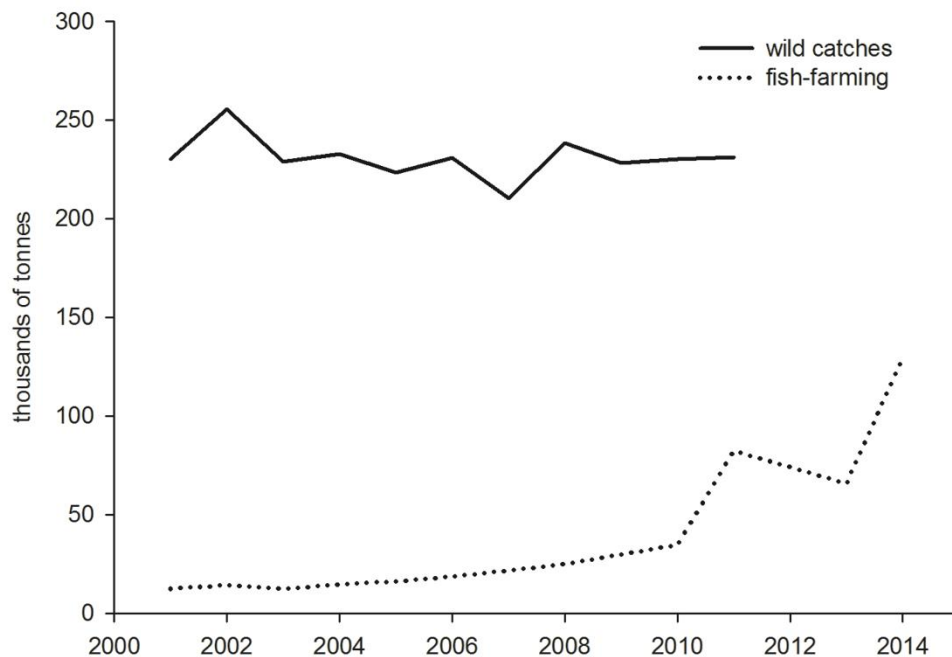
Fig 2.2: Total fish production in the study area. Wild catches represented by continuous line correspond to inland and sea fisheries from 2001 to 2011. Total fish-farming production in the study area is represented by dashed lines.

Fish-farming accounted for only 3 % of the total production of animal protein recorded in the study area. Cattle-ranching was the dominant sector, with beef comprising 79 % of total production, followed by wild-caught fishes (16 %), fish-farming (3 %), chicken (2 %) and pork (0.1 %) (Fig 2.3). The states of Rondônia and Amazonas were the biggest producers of farmed-fish, together accounting for 62 % of Amazonian output in 2010. Nearly all (99 %) of Amazonian fish-farming production was from freshwater fish and 63 % of all wild-harvested fish were from inland waters. Three states - Amazonas, Pará and Amapá - contributed 98 % of the total wild fish catch, and wild-caught fish exceeded beef production in Amazonas and Amapá.
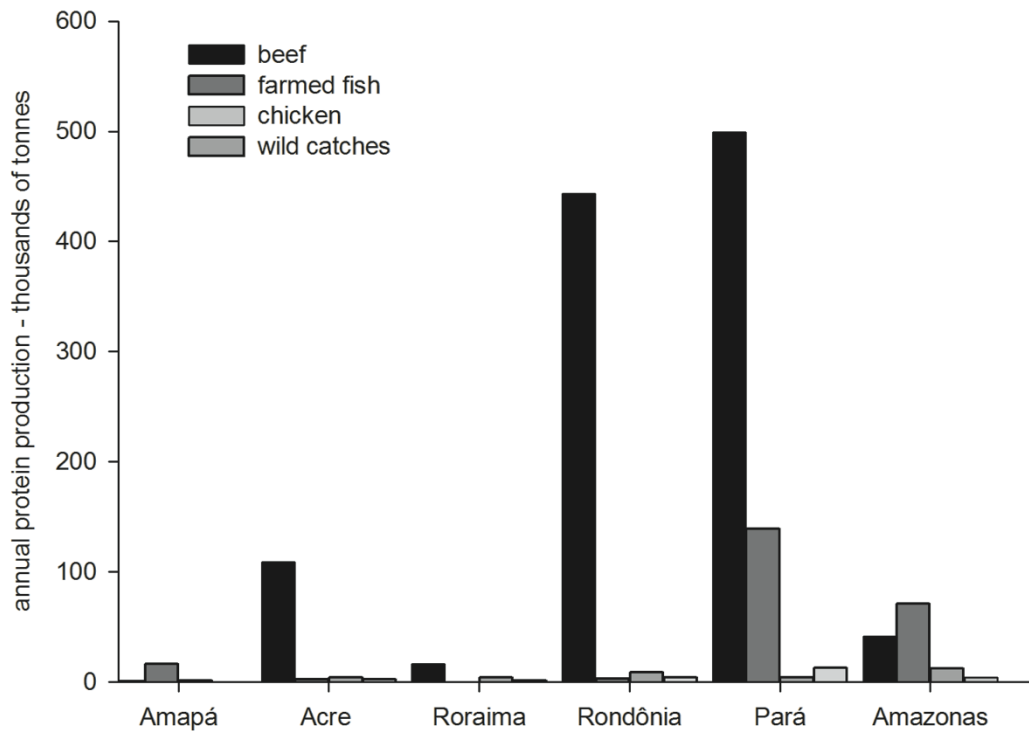
Fig 2.3: Total animal protein production in the study area in 2010.
Estimates were based on total carcass weight of slaughtered animals for cows, pigs and chickens and whole weight for harvested and farmed fish.

2.4.2   *Has fish-farming focused on the most vulnerable wild-caught species?*

Our results show that fish farming in Amazonia has focused on a small number of species, and only one of these is highly vulnerable to over-exploitation. Tambaqui (*C. macropomum*) and matrinxã (*Brycon spp*) accounted for 92 % of farmed fish production in the in 2007, equal to 16,098 tonnes and 2,243 tonnes respectively. In 2014 the species *C. macropocum*, *Brycon spp.*, *Arapaima gigas* (pirarucu), the hybrids *C. macropomum + Piaractus brachypomus* (Tambatinga) and *C. macropomum + Piaractus mesopotamicus* (Tambacu) were responsible for 95% of total farmed fish production (Fig 2.4). The production of *C. macropomum* increased 6.5 fold from 2007 (16,098 tonnes) to 2014 (101,289 tonnes. Farmed annual production of *Brycon* spp. increased from 2,243 tonnes to 9,133 tonnes. Perhaps the most striking increase in farmed production is that of *A. gigas* which increased from 6 tonnes to 11,431 tonnes over the same 7-year period. In 2007 only 305 tonnes of the hybrid tambatinga was reported, compared to 3,133 tonnes by 2014. Tambaqui has moderate-to-high intrinsic vulnerability to overexploitation and was the only heavily-

harvested species (in the top ten by harvested biomass) for which farmed production in 2007 was already greater than wild-catch.
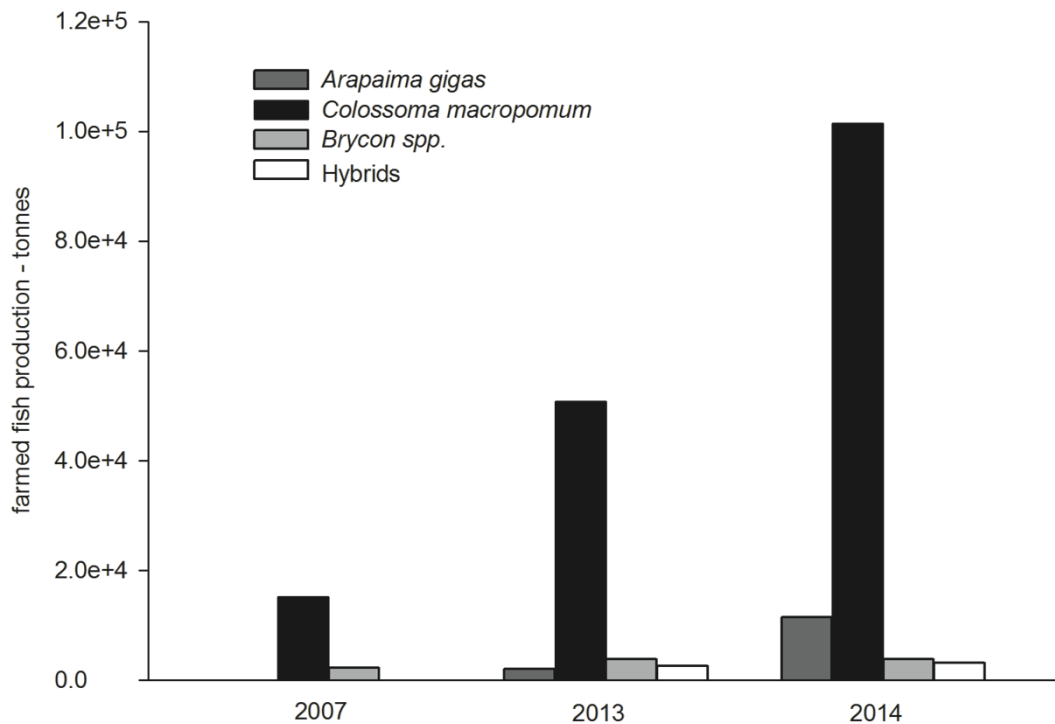
Fig 2.4: Species mostly farmed in the study area. The species that appear in each year group accounted for at least 95% of the total farming fish production of each year.

Notably, there were no farming records for two heavily-harvested and highly vulnerable catfishes (Siluriformes); *Brachyplatystoma vaillantii* and *Brachyplatystoma rousseauxii*. These species, plus three other catfishes, together contributed over a third (37 %) of the total wild-caught fish offtake. Most wild catch came from species with low or low-to-moderate intrinsic vulnerability (Fig 2.5). In fact, *A. gigas* is the only highly vulnerable species in Amazonia that appears to have been farmed commercially.
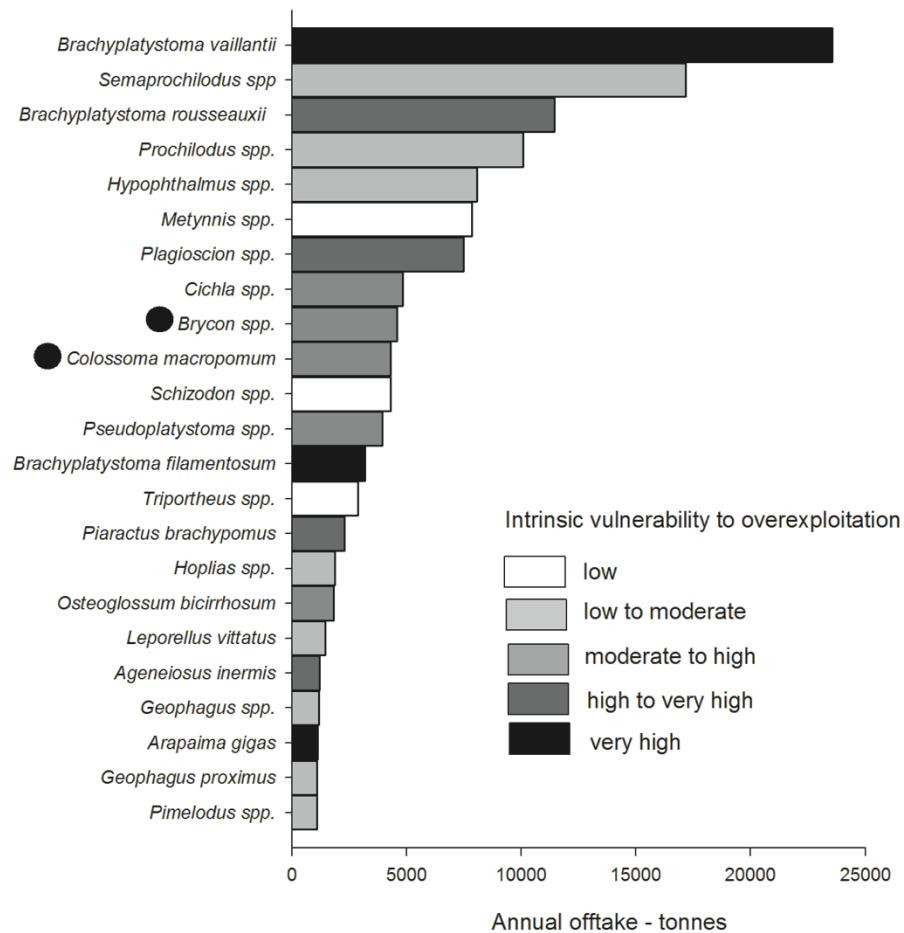
Fig 2.5: Wild catches in the study area in 2007. Bars show wild catches by species. Grey colour scale indicates intrinsic vulnerability levels to overexploitation according to Cheung et al. 2005. The species plotted represent 95% of total offtake. The dark circles indicate the mostly farmed species (95% of total fish farming production in 2007). The corresponded annual farmed production of *Colossoma Macropomum* and *Brycon spp.* was 15,171 and 2242 tonnes respectively.

2.4.3 Is fish farming a more efficient land-use than cattle-ranching?

Fish-farming ponds in Amazonia were estimated to occupy just 221 km² of land, compared to 205,000 km² of cattle pasture. Beef made a much greater contribution to the regional food supply: 1.11 million tonnes, compared to just 0.035 million tonnes of farmed-fish. However, fish farming was much more efficient in terms of the area of land required per kilo of produce: we estimated the mean annual productivity of fish-farming as 10,311 kg/ha compared to just 64 kg/ha for tropical cattle pastures (FAO 2007).

2.4.1   *Could fish farming production support the food security of Amazonia's urban poor?*

The local production of farmed-fish was low for the poorest urban centers in Amazonas State; the annual mean *per capita* production for the poorest quartile of urban centers was 0.10 kg ± 0.05 SE. In contrast, the annual *per capita* supply was much higher for the wealthiest quartile of urban centers; mean = 26.3 kg ± 0.94 SE (Fig 2.6). Examples of urban centers with low levels of poverty and a high farmed-fish production include four towns relatively nearby the state capital, Manaus; Careiro, Careiro da Várzea, Presidente Figueiredo, Rio Preto da Eva. Thirteen of the 17 cities in Amazonas with very low farmed-fish production (<0.5 kg person^{-1} year^{-1} urban resident) were poorer than the median (Fig 2.7). Moreover, two species with the highest farmed production (*C. macropomum* and *Brycon* spp.) were among the most expensive to buy. Both species were among the top five most expensive on the market in 2007. In this year the average *C. macropomum* price was R$5 / Kg (US$2.4 in the same year) compared to R$2.3 (US$1.1) of jaraqui *Semaprochilodus* spp., one of the most popular and cheapest species in the region's fish markets.
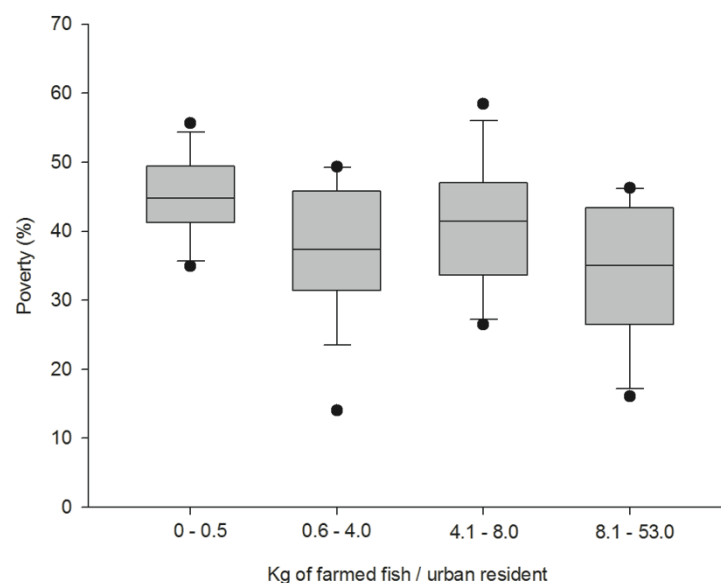
Fig 2.6: urban farmed fish supply in Amazonas state. Axis y represents the percentage of people that earned up to ¼ of Brazilian minimum salary in 2010 in the 62 Amazonas State municipalities. These municipalities were grouped into quartiles (axis x) which correspond to categories of farmed fish supply (Kg) per urban resident.
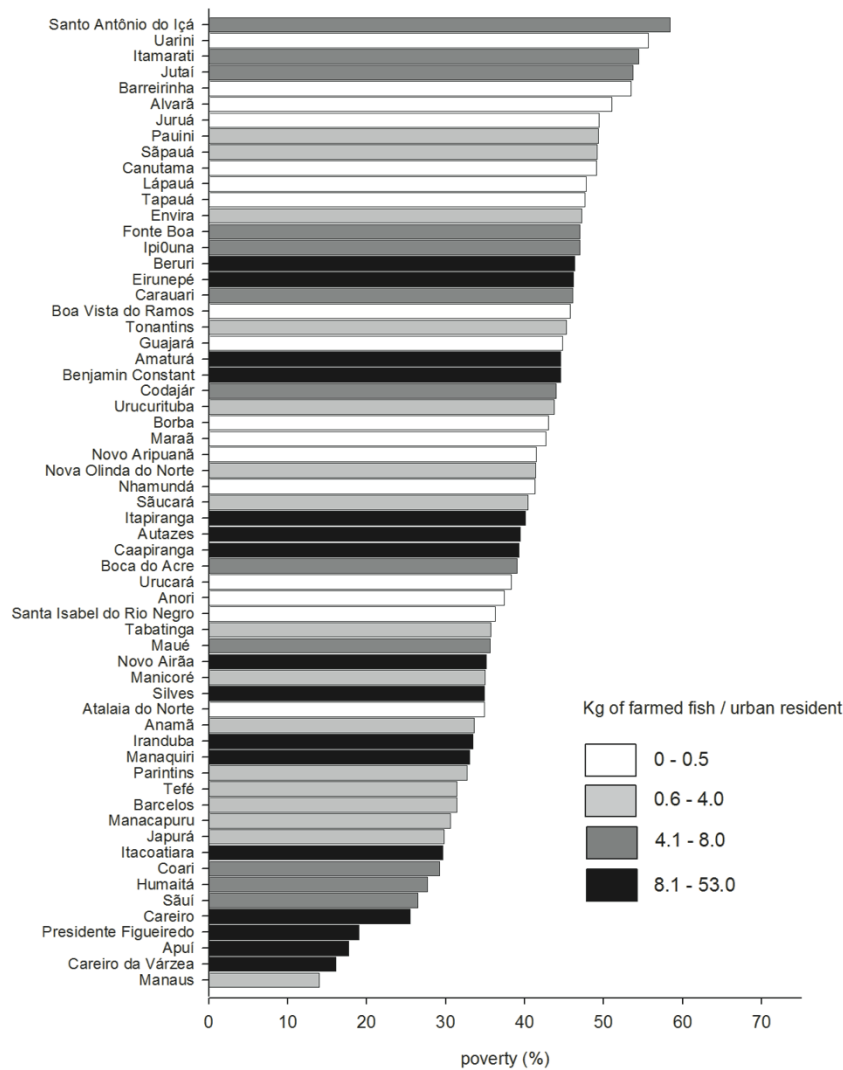
Fig 2. 7: urban farmed fish supply by municipality. Grey colour scale shows categories of farmed fish supply per urban resident of Amazonas state municipalities. Axis x shows the percentage of the population that earned up to ¼ of Brazilian minimum salary in 2010 by Amazonas state municipalities.

2.5 **Discussion**

Fish-farming has become an alternative animal protein source, playing an important role in filling the gap between world's demand and supply for fish. Our results show that fish-farming in the Brazilian Amazon has increased significantly this century and by 2011 it accounted for almost a third of the Amazonian fish production.

Our findings indicate some potential benefits of fish-farming for biodiversity, as we estimate it to be more land-use efficient than cattle ranching (unit area productivity and annual productivity to be 3.5 and 161 times higher than that of cattle ranching) which has well-

known negative impacts (Fearnside 2005, Agostinho et al. 2005). However, it is unlikely to be alleviating pressure on wild-catches of the most vulnerable fish species because only one has been farmed *(A. gigas)*. Finally, we conclude that at present fish-farming is probably not making a significant contribution to reducing food insecurity among the region's urban poor due to a sectoral focus on high value species.

Fish-farming in Amazonia has been largely focused on a single species (tambaqui - *C. macropomum*) which is coveted by Amazonian consumers and is rapidly declining in the wild following decades of over-exploitation (Costa et al. 2001, Garcez Costa Sousa and De Carvalho Freitas 2011, Mounic-silva and Leite 2013) . In the 1970s, tambaqui accounted for 40 % of fish landings in Manaus yet declined to 3 % in the 1980s and 1990s (Costa et al. 2001). Interestingly, our results show very large increases in the farmed production of pirarucu *A. gigas*. This is an important development because pirarucu is one of Amazonia's most endangered fishes (Castello et al. 2013). Illegal fishing of this species has been reported, despite law enforcement efforts to prevent over-harvesting. For example, over three-quarters of *A. gigas* landings in the lower Amazon basin are illegal (Cavole et al. 2015). Pirarucu is also preferred by Amazonian consumers and is among the most valuable species on the market.

In parallel with the over-exploitation of wild fish populations in recent decades, Amazonia's urban population has grown enormously. For instance, Manaus' population expanded four-fold from 1980 to over two million people by 2010 (IBGE 2010a). This increase in urban demand has led to increasing harvesting effort (Almeida et al. 2003) and widespread overexploitation of stocks across Amazonia (Castello et al. 2011b, 2013).

We also found that at least until now, the Amazon's fish-farming sector has ignored many of the species most vulnerable to over-exploitation in the wild. Increasing the farmed output of vulnerable and overexploited species may lead to lower market prices and reduced incentives to harvest depleted wild stocks as observed for other species (Ye and Beddington 1996, Diana 2009, Valderrama and Anderson 2010). However, identifying market-mediated positive outcomes for wild species from fish-farming is challenging and more complex than just considering supply, demand and prices (Damania and Bulte 2007, Asche et al. 2009, Natale et al. 2013). As a starting point, improving the currently inadequate monitoring of fish-farming and wild-harvested fish stocks (Castello et al. 2011a, 2013) would allow for more effective decision-making and investment in fish-farming and support regional food security.

Encouragingly, we estimate that the land-use efficiency of fish-farming is much greater than cattle ranching, the biggest driver of Amazonian deforestation (Barona et al. 2010). This supports the Brazilian government's assertion that there would be net environmental benefits of replacing some cattle ranching with fish-farms (MPA (Ministério da Pesca e Aquicultura) 2014), assuming – perhaps wrongly - that total food demand is finite. Importantly, cattle-ranching activity in Amazonia is responsive to internal, national and international markets whereas fish-farming currently mainly supplies regional markets (Fearnside 1999, Gandra 2010, Bowman et al. 2012). In addition, we estimate that beef accounts for four-fifths of animal protein production in Amazonia and there is little evidence that fish ponds are replacing pasture either in this region or elsewhere (Bondad-Reantaso and Suasinghe 2010, Allison 2011). Although there are examples of profitable integrated ranching-agricultural-aquaculture systems in Asia (e-Jahan et al. 2010) direct comparisons are difficult as cattle ranching and fish farming in Amazonia are operating at very different scales with different drivers.

Drawing on insights from Amazonas State, this study found that that fish farming is probably not supporting urban food security because production is concentrated around the least-poor urban centers and focuses on high-value species. This is consistent with earlier assertions that 80 % of fish-farm production in this state is around Manaus (Gandra 2010). This metropolitan-bias contrasts with experiences in Africa and Asia, where poor city-dwellers are reported to have benefited from the cultivation of low-value species (Belton et al. 2012).

Economic differences may explain these inter-continental differences. Extreme income poverty is relatively rare in Manaus (3% of households; (IBGE (Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística) 2010a)) and incomes have rapidly increased in recent decades, fueling consumption of more expensive food items and reduced dietary intake of carbohydrates (Dufour and Piperata 2004, Piperata et al. 2011). Consequently, the Amazonian fish-farming boom we have identified has focused on high-value species is likely to be a response to the demands of a growing and wealthier urban population. However, development initiatives from state governments in Amazonia are promoting the expansion of fish farming around poorer, provincial cities, although still focused on high value species as *C. macropomum* (Lopes et al. 2011, Sartori and Amancio 2012). In Amazonia, wild stocks of the various heavily-consumed and low value fish species are still relatively abundant and they are particularly inexpensive during certain seasons. Low prices presumably deter

cultivation of those species because it would be challenging to farm profitably, without heavy subsides.

Although fish-farming currently represents only 3 % of the total animal protein production in the region, there is strong evidence suggesting it will continue to expand as it is being incentivized both by federal government investments – totaling almost nearly R$3 billion in 2015 – and the relaxation of environmental legislation affecting fish-farms (MPA (Ministério da Pesca e Aquicultura) 2012a, 2015). Moreover, increasing demand for animal protein from a growing, wealthier and urbanized population (Faminow 1997b, Nardoto et al. 2011), and widespread depletion of wild fish stocks (Castello et al. 2015), suggests that demand for farmed fish will continue to grow in Amazonia.

2.6   **New research directions**

Although food production systems are major drivers of global biodiversity loss (Tilman et al. 2001, Godfray et al. 2010), their impacts can be substantially reduced by optimizing production strategies (Swift et al. 2004, Kahane et al. 2013). Finding more sustainable ways to meet growing demand for animal protein in regions such as Amazon is therefore vital, and requires significant research attention. The social and environmental benefits of fish-farming in Amazonia could also be enhanced if linkages with other food systems are identified.

Major research gaps still remain regarding the social and environmental dimensions of fish-farming in Amazonia. For instance, do regional food preferences for wild-caught fish constrain opportunities to innovate? Does fish-farming offer greater economic and social advantages to farmers than cattle ranching? Does fish-farming pose risks to the livelihoods of Amazonian fishers? From an environmental perspective, are Amazonian ecosystems threatened by the risks posed by disease transmission from farmed fishes to wild populations, genetic interactions between farmed and wild species and water contamination by fish-farming wastes (Mooney and Cleland 2001, Krkosek et al. 2006, Hogan 2011, Johansen et al. 2011)?

2.7   **Conclusions**

This study has shown that fish-farming is now a significant source of animal protein in some Amazonian states, with considerable yet under-realised potential to support biodiversity and food security among the urban poor. We interpret a current focus on farming *C.macropomum* and *A.gigas* as a direct consequence of long-term over-fishing. However, the fish-farming sector and policy-makers have largely ignored the potential for farming some

highly vulnerable and over-exploited wild fish species, such as two catfishes, *Brachyplatystoma vaillantii* and *B. rousseauxii*. Interestingly, we have shown that fish-farming is a much more efficient land-use than cattle-ranching and the expansion of aquaculture may therefore offer indirect benefits for Amazonian forests and their biodiversity. Incentives to stimulate the species-specific focus of fish-farming among Amazonian farmers and reduced incentives for cattle ranching (Hecht 1993, Fearnside 2005, Barona et al. 2010) could enhance the net contribution of fish-farming to biodiversity conservation and regional food security. Fish-farming may also enhance the resilience of rural households by diversifying their income streams (Prein and Ahmed 2000, Prein 2002). Nonetheless the contribution of fish-farming to food security and biodiversity (by reducing pressure on wild stocks) observed elsewhere in the Global South (Ahmed and Lorica 2002, Stevenson and Irz 2009, Diana 2009) is far from being achieved in the Brazilian Amazon.

2.8 **Acknowledgments**

2.9 **References**

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Chapter 3

CAPABILITIES AND INSURGENT CITIZENSHIP ON THE PERIPHERY OF A RAINFOREST METROPOLIS.

Top Left: end of a practice of organic agriculture in *Ramal Cachoeira*; Chico and its grandchildren doing manioc flour in *Ramal Bom Futuro*; kids (cousins) playing and drawing in the middle of a manioc plot in *Ramal Cachoeira*; Paulo, an former city-dweller showing his uncle's plot of land in *Ramal Bom Futuro*; the middle one: Delcira working in her horticulture plot in *Ramal Bom Futuro* . Photo credit: Mariana P. da Silva

Capabilities and insurgent citizenship on the periphery of a rainforest metropolis the periphery of a rainforest metropolis

3.1 Abstract

The lives of the urban poor in the Global South are fraught with social injustice, one manifestation of which is so-called 'differentiated citizenship'. The urban poor bear a disproportionate share of social pathologies including violence and ill-health. In Brazil and elsewhere this situation directly contradicts constitutional visions of citizenship based on universal rights and equality. Conceptually grounded on the capabilities approach and citizenship theory, this chapter draws on participant observation and open interviews to explore a novel tendency in insurgent citizen responses to such urban injustice. Specifically, I examine the experiences of Amazonian "insurgent citizens" who are responding to injustice in Manaus, a rainforest metropolis, by migrating away and creating new rural lives and communities at the forest-frontier. I argue that rural space and place provides a safer environment, which fosters individual and collective capacities to be and to do. An apparently much lower risk of violence considerably reduces fears around bodily integrity, so pervasive in the city. I found that this safety fosters freedom and dignity by reducing worries and anxieties and in-so-doing, leads to improvements in emotional wellbeing. Interestingly, the increased sense of freedom felt by many urban-rural migrants appears to be manifest in an enhanced capacity for agency; through the flourishing of senses, thoughts and imagination, and affiliation with others. Over time it also became apparent that agency is further enhanced through rural livelihoods that, in stark contrast to urban work, allow for and even demand more creativity and time invested in human relationships. Hence, creating a new 'rurality' has required migrants to mobilise and work collectively in pursuit of their rights as insurgent citizens. Tellingly, social inequalities were far less evident in the colonisation roads this research was based in, and it seems likely this has positively influenced the new rural citizens' sense of dignity and self-worth. Nonetheless, I conclude that although the migrants enjoy improved capabilities in their new rural reality, their long-term freedoms are threatened by the persistence of differentiated citizenship, reproduced through a dysfunctional relationship with the State.

3.2 Introduction – *"Here is a paradise"*

"Here is a paradise! All the qualities of life are here! I feel good and free, I walk around without any worry, and I love to look after my animals and plants. In the beginning, when we moved here [from Manaus in 2008]*, we had all the difficulties in the world, but I am so glad that my health has incredibly improved since I moved that it has been worth all the effort. We have been successfully overcoming all the obstacles we have come across during our time here".* Etelvina's perceptions and feelings about living in the *Ramal Cachoeira* were shared by most of the research participants I came across during fieldwork conducted in three rural communities. Etelvina is the community leader along this forest colonisation track, a hundred kilometres or so by road from the metropolis of Manaus in the Brazilian Amazon. What is it about these new rural settlements in the municipality of Rio Preto da Eva that make Etelvina and others I met feel, compared to Manaus, healthier, better and freer? It is the central question which this chapter attempts to address, using the framework of the capabilities approach (Sen 1990, Nussbaum 2013) to human development, along with ideas of insurgent and differentiated citizenship (Holston 2008).

3.2.1   The Capabilities Approach to development

The capabilities approach focuses on the freedom of an individual to achieve beings and doings that she has reason to value. Capabilities are a set of interrelated opportunities to choose and to act, and a person's capabilities refer to the combination of functionings that are feasible for them to achieve (Nussbaum 2013). Functionings are active realisations of one or more capabilities; they are beings and doings that are the outgrowths of capabilities. For instance, functionings can include working, resting, being literate, being healthy, being part of a community, and so forth. (Robeyns 2005, Nussbaum 2013). The main claim of the capabilities approach is that assessments of wellbeing and judgments about justice, or the level of development of a place should not primarily focus on economic factors. Instead, the approach focuses on the effective opportunities that people have to lead the lives they have reason to value (Robeyns 2005). In this sense, the capabilities approach is a new way of thinking about agency (Abel and Frohlich 2012, Claassen 2016, Gangas 2016).

This approach recognises that whether or not individuals have certain capabilities depends on internal skills and competencies and on the external conditions in which they find themselves, including norms, institutions and social structures (Nussbaum 2013). In this sense, the capabilities approach acknowledges that the capacity of individuals for beings and doings are essentially related to the real opportunities and freedom they have. These opportunities are closely linked to the rights one holds within a community and/or society (Smith and Seward 2005, Nussbaum 2013). In contemporary societies, rights are normally guaranteed to individuals, at least in legal apparatuses, through membership of a nation-state, described through citizenship (Holston and Appadurai 1996, Heijden 2014). Historically, especially in western societies, citizenship has developed following intellectual movements and discussions about individual liberties and equality of rights. These notions are attached to ideas of natural rights -- a set of rights that are considered universal and inalienable such as the right to life, right to liberty, right to property, right to equality of rights etc. (Somers and Roberts 2008, Heijden 2014).

The capabilities approach is also based on normative theories of fundamental rights and justice and related scholarship, therefore, takes it seriously the role of governments in assuring sets of capabilities to citizens of nations (Robeyns 2006, Nussbaum 2013). For instance, Nussbaum (2013) asserts that in order to ensure that people are able to pursue a dignified life, worthy of living and minimally flourishing (i.e. about a certain level), governments have to secure for all citizens at least a threshold level of ten central capabilities (Nussbaum (2013,) p. 33-35)(table 1). Notably, however, Sen disagrees with the proposition of a universal list and instead has argued that selection of essential capabilities should be done through participatory democratic processes (Sen 1990, Nussbaum 2013).

Table 3.1: The ten central capabilities by (Nussbaum 2013)

Capability	Description (Being able to…)
Life	Live a worthy life to the end of human life of normal length.
Bodily Health	Have good health, including reproductive health; to be adequately nourished; to have adequate shelter.
Bodily Integrity	Move freely from place to place; to be secure against violent assault, including sexual assault and domestic violence; having opportunities for choices in matters of reproduction.

Senses, Imagination, and Thought	Use the senses to imagine, think, and reason. Being able to use one's mind in ways protected by guarantees of freedom of expression concerning both political and artistic speech, and freedom of religious exercise.
Emotion	Have attachments and feelings to people outside ourselves. Not having one's emotional development blighted by fear and anxiety.
Practical Reason	Form a conception of the good and to engage in critical reflection about the planning of one's life.
Affiliation	Live with and toward others, to recognise and show concern for other humans, to engage in various forms of social interaction. Having the social bases of self-respect and non-humiliation; being able to be treated as a dignified being whose worth is equal to that of others.
Other Species	Live with concern for and in relation to animals, plants, and the world of nature.
Play	Being able to laugh, to play, to enjoy recreational activities.
Control over one's Environment.	Political. Participate effectively in political choices that govern one's life; having the right of political participation, protections of free speech and association. Hold property, and having property rights on an equal basis with others; having the right to seek employment on an equal basis with others;

3.3 Urban violence and capability constraints

To understand what is making Etelvina and the other urban-rural migrants I met feel so positive about living at the forest-frontier we have to consider the urban lives they left behind. Like Etelvina, most of the research participants had moved to the colonist communities relatively recently; around six to 12 years previously. In all cases, migrants had relocated from Manaus, the most populous Amazonian city with 2.1 million inhabitants- IBGE 2016). Interviewees had spent most of their lives in Manaus, invariably living in low-income and violent neighbourhoods. The primary factor motivating migrations from the metropolis to the countryside appears to be the urge to escape from an urban life full of stress and fear of violence.

Etelvina and many others I met living along these recently colonised roads had felt and experienced violence in many ways in the city. For many, robberies, assaults, physical attacks and sexual abuse had been part of their lives. Even if not directly affected themselves, all the research participants certainly knew others who were victims of violence or had witnessed it.

For instance, Isabel and Cesar, former residents of the low-income neighbourhood União in Manaus and current residents of a new colonised road in the countryside of Rio Preto da Eva (*Ramal da Casa Branca*) had frequently heard gunshots and often seen corpses on the street they used to live. Delcira, a former resident of another low-income neighbourhood in Manaus (Jorge Teixeira) and a current resident of *Ramal do Bom Futuro*, told me that most of her children's friends from Jorge Teixeira are now dead, the majority killed deliberately. Delcira's daughter and currently her neighbour in *Ramal Bom Futuro* reported that she had her cell phone robbed many times in Manaus, on some of these occasions the thieves were armed with guns with which they threatened her. These are only a few of the many examples I heard from the research participants out of many others alike.

These situations in which the research participants had experienced close threats to their life and bodily integrity seem to resonate with the experiences of many urban dwellers, especially the poorer ones, in Amazonian metropolises and elsewhere in Brazil and Latin America (Briceño-León and Zubillaga 2002, Queiroz 2016, Pinto 2017a, 2017b, 2017c, Alves 2017). Brazilian northern states capitals have seen unprecedented levels of violence (Cerqueira et al. 2017). Average homicide rates in Manaus and Belém (the biggest Amazonian capitals) increased 181% (from 26 to 57 homicides/100,000) and 63,1% (from 41.2 to 27.5 homicides/100,000) respectively from 2001 to 2011 (Waiselfisz 2013). Perhaps not surprisingly, Manaus and Belém are currently ranked 23rd and 26th respectively among the most 50 violent cities in the world (Barbosa 2017)

Expectedly, living with this risk to life and bodily integrity, as Etevilna and others described, has negatively affected urban dwellers' emotions, mostly through insecurity fear and anxiety (Caldeira 2000, Doran and Burgess 2012a, Ferreira 2015). Moreover, it hugely influences people's everyday life because it leads to restrictions on several aspects of their lives (e.g. staying indoors, avoiding walking on the streets, restricting leisure activities etc.) in order to protect themselves (Equipe Diário do Amazonas 2016).

Urban violence has been widespread in Latin America, and it disproportionately affects the poor because they are much more likely to become its victims (Sánchez R 2006, Koonings and Krujit 2007, Briceño-León et al. 2008). It often creates a social atmosphere marked by generalised fear and lack of trust in others; this is compounded when institutions criminalise the poor (Caldeira 2000, Wacquant 2008, Huggins 2010, Garmany 2014). Consequently, those from lower social classes often find themselves vulnerable, isolated and powerless in the face of their oppressive realities (Gilligan 2000, Briceño-León and Zubillaga 2002, Doran

and Burgess 2012a). As a result, poor urban dwellers may see little space for agency. The tragic consequence of which is a constraint on the poor's capacity to *be* and to *do* in large cities in the Global South (Bourke and Geldens 2007, Doran and Burgess 2012a).

3.4 Insurgent citizenship

Citizenship has been inherently linked to universal rights which have motivated national jurisdictions and contractual relations based on principles of liberty and equality. However, the realisation of citizenship rights on the ground is often relatively unequal within societies, especially in the Global South. These unequal experiences of citizenship contribute to the production of oppressive urban environments, as described above (Holston 1991, 2009, Holston and Appadurai 1996, Caldeira 2000). This social reality has been captured by Holston's (2008) notion of "differentiated citizenship". This situation can be partially explained by the fact that citizenship artefacts of laws have not been sufficient to challenge the class divisions and social and political exclusions that a capitalist economic system (re)produces (Marshall 2009).

Sociologists have argued that laws to guarantee universal rights - that are usually equated to civil rights[1] in legal apparatuses - can be meaningless without also assuring social rights[2] to citizens of a nation (Arendt 1979, Somers 2008, Marshall 2009). For instance, Marshall (2009), p. 149 argues that a citizen only becomes a full member of society when *"… the right to share to the full in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilised being according to the standards prevailing in the society*" is achieved. In this sense, Marshall sees social exclusion as an ontological violation of universal rights (Somers and Roberts 2008). Hence, without institutions to promote and secure social citizenship, social inequalities will undermine formal legal equalities. It is because the lack of relative equality serves to deprive a huge portion of the humanity of the right to recognition. A lack of recognition impedes the

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[1]Civil rights is defined by Marshall (2009, p. 148) as *"the rights necessary for individual freedom – liberty of person, freedom of speech, thought and faith, the right to own property and to conclude valid contracts, and the right to justice"*.

[2] Social rights can be understood as Marshall (2009, p. 149) put it: *"the whole range from the right to a modicum economic welfare and security to the right to share to the full in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilised being according to the standards prevailing in the society"* (Marshall, 1950)

capacity of disadvantaged people to live as civilised beings. Therefore, socially and politically excluded, victims of inequality suffer the social exclusion of non-recognition (Somers and Roberts 2008).

In practice, many democracies have experienced deep and painful conflicts between social inequalities and citizenship principles of inclusive social equality. On the ground, hypocritical ideologies often collide with prejudices and a lack of political will to make the terms of national membership and the distribution of rights work (Holston and Appadurai 1996, Marshall 2009). For instance, Brazilian is among the world's twenty most unequal societies. Yet the country has a very progressive constitution that establishes every citizen is equal by law and equally deserving of civil, social and political rights (Câmara dos Deputados do Brasil 2012). Nevertheless, this constitution is a recent democratic achievement (the actual constitution was promulgated in 1985) and the uneven historical distribution of social rights among Brazilian citizens and the class divisions it foments persists. However, as (Holston 2008) pointed out the poor demand social and political inclusion through what he refers to as insurgent citizenship. So, insurgent citizenship responses can simultaneously disrupt hegemonic rationalities based on social differentiation yet remain linked in unstable entanglements that corrode both (Holston and Appadurai 1996, Holston 2008, Nuijten 2013, Campbell 2015a).

'Insurgent' and 'differentiated' notions of citizenship have therefore become poignant and exciting scholarly approaches to study social struggles for recognition and social justice. These struggles are highly relevant to Latin American societies where neoliberal economic models and institutionalised class prejudices have failed to guarantee full citizenship to the poor (Caldeira 2000, Holston 2009, Nuijten 2013, Mathews and Schmink 2015). Hence, recent scholarship on citizenship has significantly contributed to understanding four related issues. First, differentiated citizenship and livelihoods struggles (Rajagopal 2007, Caron 2015, Mathews and Schmink 2015). Second, the relationship between differentiated citizens and the state (Ong 2006, Holston 2008, Nuijten 2013). Third, the formation, conceptualisation and practices of new forms of citizenship and its entanglements with old ones (Ong 2006, Holston 2008, Nuijten 2013). Finally, the emergence of social awareness about the right to have rights and claims for new ways of governance by differentiated citizens (Yashar 2005, Ong 2006, Krishna 2007, Hecht 2011).

Although differentiated citizenship is still the reality for a large proportion of humanity, the notion that all people in a country are citizens with equal rights has spread, galvanising social

movements around the world pressing the state to comply with equality of rights (McCann 1994, Andrews 1997, Hecht 2011, Heijden 2014). However, insurgent citizens deploy different strategies to press for rights. For instance, in Brazil, the right to property has been pursued by the poorest via illegal land invasions (Holston 2008, Campbell 2015a). Economic development models in Brazil have focussed on specific regions and cities, leaving out big portions of the country's territory where many live almost without access to basic rights including education, health and job (and livelihood) opportunities. As a result, huge waves of migration to the more developed regions of the country (particularly the South-East) have occurred. Migrations have been most prevalent to metropolises where people have relocated in search and hope of a more dignified life with expected improvements in their capacity for beings and doings (Caldeira 2000, Dufour and Piperata 2004, Oliveira and Jannuzzi 2005, Seráfico and Seráfico 2005, Fontes 2008, Richards and VanWey 2015).

3.4.1 Migration to and within Brazilian Amazonia

Cities may lack the capacities necessary to absorb waves of migrants and cope with rapid urban population growth. Indeed, this is what has occurred in Manaus, which has experienced decades of migration from small, provincial municipalities to the state capital. The state's shortcomings are manifest in its failure to provide migrants with the social rights they were seeking, combined with deepened urban poverty and social inequalities (Despres 1991, Seráfico and Seráfico 2005, Gomes et al. 2009, Imbiriba et al. 2009, Nazareth et al. 2011). In fact, it was the concentration of economic and social opportunities in Manaus which attracted many of the individuals who participated in this study to this city. The majority of them were born in the provincial "interior" (rural areas and/or small towns) of Amazonas state or eastern Amazonian states including Pará, Amapá and Maranhão. In most cases, participants moved to Manaus with their parents during their childhood or teenage years, searching for jobs, education and access to public services.

In the Amazon, human migration has been relatively well studied due largely to the central importance of migration and colonisation for the advance of the deforestation frontier and associated environmental impacts. Hence, a multitude of migration studies in Amazonia has focused on the formation of new frontiers (Browder and Godfrey 1990, Browder et al. 2008, Carr 2009, 2014, Celentano et al. 2012, Caviglia-Harris et al. 2013). Other studies have addressed internal rural-urban and urban-urban movements, and in so-doing highlighted the role of the concentration of economic and social opportunities in certain cities rural frontiers

(Browder and Godfrey 1990, Browder 2003, Rudel et al. 2010, Richards and VanWey 2015, Thypin-bermeo and Godfrey 2016). Overall, migration studies in the region have tended to address: a) the impacts of migration on land-use change and cover with focus on the environmental and socioeconomic changes it implies (Binswanger 1991, Fearnalde 1993, Browder 2003, Rodrigues et al. 2009, Carr 2014); b) the kind of socio-economic, cultural and political changes (sometimes at different levels – local, regional and global) inducing fluxes of people within the Amazonian territory and its impacts on local economy, consumption patterns, ecosystems and wildlife (Perz 2002, Simmons et al. 2002, Garcia et al. 2007, Padoch et al. 2008, Guedes et al. 2009, Parry et al. 2010, Carr 2014, Richards and VanWey 2015, Thypin-bermeo and Godfrey 2016) .

Nevertheless, to my knowledge, very little academic work in Amazonia has addressed the apparently new phenomenon of urban-rural migration. Perhaps even more importantly, only a few migration studies in the Amazon have taken into account what migrants have been *experiencing*. In other words, changes in life experiences between their previous and current places of residence and how these experiences connect to their capabilities and wellbeing (Macdonald and Winklerprins 2014). So, few researchers have asked questions around how migrants have been living, struggling, thriving and organising themselves to achieve full citizenship and improve their capacities to do and to be (Ludewigs and Brondízio 2009, Macdonald and Winklerprins 2014). Macdonald and Winklerprins (2014) present a rare insight into migration from urban to rural locations by Amazonia's working class. They found migration decisions were more related to wellbeing than a lack of economic and social opportunities in the places they left behind.

3.5 Chapter Aims

This chapter aims to explore the mechanisms underlying migrant's perceptions of improvements in their capacity to be and to do in rural communities, compared to Manaus. In other words, why do these 'new' Amazonian smallholders appear to be flourishing, despite material hardship? This chapter also aims to explore their practices of insurgent citizenship and how these contribute to living a life that one has reason to value. I argue that these rural colonist-frontier communities offer a social context in which residents feel freer and safer. I then show this relative freedom and security increases the capacity to be and to do. For instance, an important insight is that *ramais* are much safer than the city streets - due to a reduced risk of violence - and this considerably reduces fears around bodily

integrity. Reduced anxiety appears to foster improved emotional health because people they feel less worried, tense and anxious. As a result, many of the colonists I met felt freer than before, with increased capacity for agency and social affiliation. Moreover, many also felt freer to realise forms of affect: sense, thoughts and imagination. Plus, migrants engaged in and developed new livelihoods, apparently less stressful than their city jobs, allowing space and time for creativity and relationships with others. Indeed the requirements for the establishment of a new life in those rural areas have forced people to *collectively* pursue rights and improve capabilities.

Indeed, collectivism is an important dimension to this form of insurgent citizenship; rural life demands that atomised ex-urban dwellers collectivise to pursue rights on a metropolitan forest frontier. Interestingly, social inequalities are less evident in the *ramais* than in the city, which positively influences the urban to rural migrant's sense of dignity, self-worth and rights-bearers. However, this improvement in capabilities has not happened without conflict and struggle; negotiations and costs on these insurgent citizens who are explored in further sections of this chapter.

3.6 Experiencing better bodily integrity – an important step towards freedom from the domestic prison

The rural people I lived and interacted with emphasised the low levels of both threatened and actual violence they experienced in the countryside. Many of them enthusiastically described how they feel safer, more relaxed and freer in these areas in comparison with Manaus. It appeared to make a huge difference in their daily lives, making it possible to do routine activities like moving from one place to another, sleeping, visiting a neighbour or family member and working without fearing for their lives and bodily integrity as it normally happens in the city. Whereas in Manaus they said they were constantly worried about personal safety and insecurity. Any activity outside their homes tended to involve feeling exposed and vulnerability to violence. Even mundane activities like travelling by bus, going shopping, going to the bank and walking on the streets would be considered dangerous. Indeed, most of the adults I spoke to had been a victim and/or witnessed of violent actions and behaviours in public places and on transport. Many even felt unsafe in their homes in Manaus; worried their homes could be invaded by robbers. To protect themselves, most of them had fortified their houses, leading to a heightened sensation of living in prison.

The urban experiences described above seem to be common to the experiences of many others Amazonian living in metropolises (Em Tempo 2015, Queiroz 2016, Pinto 2017b,

2017c) A constant fear of crime and violence has become a reality for many citizens living in Latin American metropolises. In fact, Latin American cities have some of the world's highest rates of violent death (Briceño-León et al. 2008). It is therefore unsurprising that the fear of violence my interviewees felt in Manaus led to a series of restrictions on everyday life (Briceño-León and Zubillaga 2002, Doran and Burgess 2012b). In violent cities, people tend to avoid to be out in public spaces spending most of their time indoors either at home either in locations they feel safe (Vanderbeck and Jr. 2000, Sánchez R 2006).

In stark contrast, on the metropolitan forest frontier, people feel safe. As Etelvina described to me: "*In Manaus, one lives in a prison, one is always worried to walk on the streets and being assaulted and to have his / her house robbed. Here, I can be outside without any worry*". As a result, normal daily activities are no longer a source of worry and fear, which enables people to become much more active. Etelvina and her peers spend most of the day outside their houses, which are not fortified (fig 3.1). Over my time in the *ramais*, an image of a very different life emerged. The 'new' rural folk engage in activities such as planting crops, looking after animals, visiting neighbours, enjoying and appreciating the landscape, listening to the birds, relaxing in their hammocks usually hung outside their houses. Several people remarked that they now slept much better at night, freed from worrying about night-time robbery and able to enjoy a much cooler climate, relative to Manaus.

Fig 3.1: Examples of typical houses in the *ramais*; a) the house of one of the research participants in *Ramal Cachoeira*; b) a typical facility in the ramais, it is usually located close to the house, and it is normally used for hanging out, partys and sleeping during the day; c) the house of one the research participants in *Ramal Bom Futuro*; d) the interior of a wooden house in *Ramal Bom Futuro.*

Several informants related how they had become more independent, no longer fearful of doing things by themselves. It was especially true for women. For instance, Ray, a resident of *ramal* of Bom Futuro, she used to be at home most of the time when she was living in Manaus because she feared to go out only by herself. Yet here in the *ramal* she is one of the most socially active people in the community, having taken on the leadership role of Community President

Moreover, those who have children feel much less worried about safety because threats to their physical integrity such as violent actions and behaviours are very rare. It is partly due to the absence of 'urban' social problems like drug trafficking, a prevalent threat or perhaps temptation to marginalised youth in large cities (Zaluar 2000, Riccio et al. 2016). Hence, in the *ramais* parents feel less pressure to be and to keep children indoors (Fig 3.2) , according to research participants. Indeed, here children are encouraged to play outdoors, which is obviously healthy and also important for their cognitive development (Bjorklund and Brown 1998, Lloyd and Hertzman 2010). The children themselves obviously feel the difference - as

one of them who lives in the *ramal* of Bom Futuro reported to me. She said that she does not like going to Manaus because there her parents do not let her go outside, which makes her bored and frustrated.

Fig 3.2: Research participants doing activities outdoor in the *ramais*, something that they reported to be very rare in their previous city life; a) family hanging out in the open kitchen in *Ramal Cachoeira*; b) research participants tranquilly watching TV in the evening in *Ramal Cachoeira*; c) kids playing outdoor in *Ramal Futuro;* d) boy learning to play keyboards outdoor in the evening, while his dad was laid down in his hammock behind him, giving him instructions to play.

Perhaps not surprisingly, most of these rural inhabitants mentioned improvements in their health since moving to the countryside. For instance, Etelvina's said - *"Moving to this place* (*Ramal* da Cachoeira) *saved my life. I used to be constantly ill in Manaus, going to the hospital all the time. Here almost never need to go to the hospital. I would have died much sooner if I continued to live in Manaus".* Others described remarkable improvements in their health with significant reductions of medicines taken and visits to doctors in comparison with the time they used to live in Manaus. Ferreira (2015) has observed that illness related to anxiety and stress as heart problems were common among her research participants in a

favela in Rio de Janeiro where violence was a constant source of worrying and distress among its residents.

Hence, it appears that from research participants narratives that improvements in health and wellbeing are related to their move to the forest frontier. It is well established that a sedentary urban life - combined with worry, fear and anxiety - can be damaging to physical, psychological and emotional health (Ollendick and Yule 1990, Siegman and Boyle 1993, Gilligan 2000, Ewart and Suchday 2002, Farmer 2004, Yasuoka and Levins 2007, Mendelson et al. 2010, Wilkinson and Pickett 2010a, Jovanovic et al. 2014, Henson and Reyns 2015). There is also strong evidence that densely populated urban areas with few green spaces (which is the case in Manaus) can be linked the prevalence of a range of serious physical and mental health problems as well (Galea et al. 2005, Maas et al. 2006, Mitchell and Popham 2008, Lee and Maheswaran 2011).

In summary, living in a safer, greener and cooler place on the edge of the forest has contributed to significant improvements in fundamental capabilities of bodily integrity, health and emotional wellbeing (Nussbaum 2013). People can live physically, and emotionally-healthier lives on the *ramais* and to perform fundamental functionings and capabilities related to wellbeing in stark comparison with their urban lives. It has increased their confidence and capacity for agency as I will go on to explore.

3.7 Realising Capabilities through rural livelihoods?

The rural livelihoods central to the new colonists' lives are full of struggles (as discussed later), yet create opportunities for functionings and capabilities they value. These include having more free time and family time. It has been hard for new colonists to become economically self-sufficient - a common reality among peasants in the Amazon (Adams et al. 2003). Financial worries are therefore common, yet the characteristics of rural livelihoods – the kind of routines they produce – offer some distinct advantages to the livelihoods many migrants would have practised in Manaus.

In large cities working class people tend to work very hard, sometimes having more than one job – they involve exhausting routines and hours spent commuting in overcrowded buses held up in heavy traffic (Despres 1991, Newman 1999, Roy et al. 2004). Salaries are relatively low (e.g. household per capita income is less than ~U$ 607 for 80% of the Manaus' total households - IBGE 2010) and the cost of living in metropolises can be very high, causing working class people to be constantly worried about whether or not they have enough

money to sustain their urban lives. Manaus, in particular, is somewhat infamous in Brazil for the high cost of basic foodstuffs (Souza 2015).

As Célia, a self-employed resident of a low-income neighbourhood in Manaus frustratedly pointed out, the money she and the other members of her family earn in the city is sufficient *only to survive* and *not to live*. What Célia meant was they all work hard and are almost unable to pay for the basics, including water and energy bills and food. Also, Célia constantly felt tired and resented her lack of time and money for leisure and recreation – both things she felt were essential to her wellbeing. The lack of time for non-work activities has been reported among the urban working class in other countries, as well (Newman 1999, Jarvis et al. 2001, Roy et al. 2004). The stress of daily routines for Célia and others in Manaus is further compounded by the fear of violence related to trips to and from work (ACTIVIA 1998, Sánchez R 2006). As Antonio, a resident from Ramal Bom Futuro said – "*When I was living in the city and working as a bus driver I used to live all the time anxiously and arrive at home after a working day very tired and stressed. The last thing I wanted to do, by that time, was to play with my kids. I just wanted to go to bed, which used to make me feel guilty and even more stressed*".

Along the *ramais*, on the other hand, people work on their land or houses. These are places where they do not fear of violence and indeed, spaces where they have autonomy and control. On smallholding, the to-do list is normally long and diverse, covering; planting and harvesting crops; weeding gardens and fields; looking after animals; making manioc flour (*farinha*), fishing, hunting, and farming fish. Most of this work is labour-intensive, and so, as with typical rural Amazonian households, the whole extended family gets involved (Lima 2004). Non-kin labour is rarely affordable though may be used through reciprocal exchange. However, the general reliance on family labour serves to enables family interactions. It, using Nussbaum's lens, fosters the central capabilities of emotions and affiliation. Most of the research participants appreciated and valued being close to their family even if the relationships among them were not always peaceful. Also, daily routines in the *ramais* are less exhausting and busy in comparison with their routines in Manaus. Instead, the colonists normally have some free time to do things they enjoy. These activities included spending time with the kids, watching TV, learning to play a musical instrument, making art crafts, talking to neighbours or family and even resting and relaxing in their hammocks. These activities are interpreted as opportunities to develop the capabilities related to sense, imagination and thoughts.

In addition, people told me that working itself in the *ramais* is a source of contentment and self-realisation. For instance, Etelvina highlighted how much she enjoys taking care of her plants and animals. Antônio, Gil and Reynaldo, from *ramal* Bom Futuro and *ramal* Cachoeira respectively, said they enjoy taking care of and watching the fishes growing in their ponds. Isabel from *ramal* Cachoeira enthusiastically said that she loves to plant seeds and is always looking for seeds of different species she can turn into a tree.

As the new smallholders experiment with what may or may not work well on their land, there is plenty of space for learning, innovation and creativity. During fieldwork, I saw, for instance, innovative ways of farming fish that were developed through the ingenuity of research participants. Ataliba, for instance, had created his irrigation system (fig 3.3). Through their own knowledge combined with observation of others' fish farming and irrigation systems, farmers have developed systems that they consider would best work for them. They were very proud of their creations and solutions they worked out themselves when they faced a problem. This exchange of knowledge and experiences resulting in practices well adapted to one's reality is valued and quite widespread in rural places in the Amazon (Ludewigs and Brondízio 2009). In their narratives about the previous urban life they rarely mentioned they had enjoyed their city jobs or they had space and opportunities for manifesting their capacities to create which helps to enhance one's sense of autonomy, agency and control over their environment (Nussbaum 2000, 2013, Robeyns 2006, Claassen 2016).
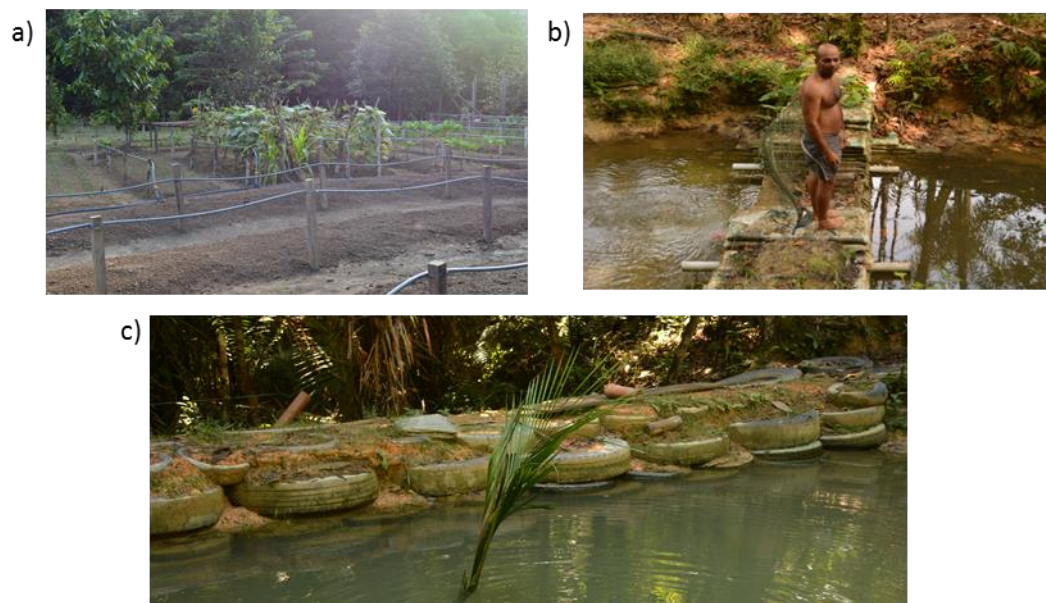
Fig 3.3: Innovative systems for irrigation and fish-farming; a) irrigation system created and built by one of the research participants-; b) and c) innovative dam systems to cultivate fish created and built by the research participants

Perhaps surprisingly, there are very few studies linking innovation and creativity among small farmers with individual wellbeing and opportunities to flourish. Instead and understandably, most studies of farm innovation and creativity focus on the impacts it has on livelihoods and social relations in rural places (Reji and Waters-Bayer 2001, Sanginga et al. 2009, Brouder 2012). Rarely do they mention how people see and experience it at a personal level. Regarding livelihood and social interactions the local development of innovative ways of dealing with everyday life obstacles and problems can be very important to cope with poverty and deprivation. It can also help to enhance social cohesion among community members as innovation sometimes is a collective process (Reji and Waters-Bayer 2001, Ludewigs and Brondízio 2009, Sanginga et al. 2009).

As Sayer (2014) argues, work goes beyond the means by which we provision ourselves. Depending on its characteristics, work may enhance or constrain the realisation of central capabilities. Regarding wellbeing, it makes a significant difference if our work is pleasant, interesting, satisfying and socially useful, or unpleasant, stressful, tedious, mind-dulling and seemingly pointless. Besides, our work may be a source of sociality, dignity and recognition, or it may be solitary, demeaning and despised, merely a source of money (Sayer 2014). For Nussbaum (2000), work is crucial to enable or restrict the use of one's senses, imagination and thought.

My impression is that the rural-migrants I met in Rio Preto da Eva had been able to use more their senses, imagination and thought in their rural work, compared to before. In addition, they appear to feel more in charge of their labour and of its products and their time. Moreover, they are not engulfed by exhausting urban routines and jobs over which the poor may lack control (Roy et al. 2004). For example, lack of free time, overwhelming traffic, air pollution, low salaries and everyday violence. It gives a sense of autonomy and control over their lives and environmental which has been linked to improved health and wellbeing (Farmer 1999a, 1999b, Marmot 2004).

Paradoxically, learning, innovation and creativity can be achieved through rural livelihoods, yet there is also anxiety and worry related to what could be called 'rural toil', which can work as capability constraints. Rural anxieties are often related to the pressures of lacking resources to invest. Likewise, lacking the capital to reinvest in their properties if something goes wrong. Thus, making mistakes can also be overwhelming for them. Overall, we can see

that the former Manaus-dwellers on living on the *ramais* experience the difficulties of making a living from agriculture and forest and river extractive activities, which are shared by many peasants in the Brazilian Amazon (Adams et al. 2003, Nugent and Harris 2004).

Lack of institutional support, technology, capital, supportive local infrastructure (e.g. roads in good conditions) and market integration make hard to generate income from agriculture (Murphy et al. 1997, Driven 2004). It is aggravated by a lack of prior farming experience for some, which makes them struggle even more to, in their words, "*make things work*". These conditions cause frustration and stress from time to time, yet these seem to be outweighed by perceived improvements in wellbeing, which provide a strong stimulus for trying to generate more income from the land.

3.8 Capabilities, collectivity and social dignity on the *ramais*

What the research participants were mostly missing in their urban lives when they decided to leave the city and live in the *ramais* were security, peace and freedom. People living in violent metropolises may struggle to trust each other, often avoiding interactions with neighbours and strangers, making life quite solitary (Sánchez R 2006). The shift from a big city to the new colonist communities in Rio Preto da Eva had forced people to engage in new forms of socialisation and affiliation. These activities were helpful or even essential for establishing rural livelihoods in the forest-frontier, leading to novel encounters and on an aggregate level, the creation of place and community. These transitions are defined by interwoven with changes in levels of trust and dignity. The relatively egalitarian and flat nature of the rural social hierarchy in early-phase colonisation areas provides perhaps a rather non-judgemental environment. It appeared to enable those I spoke with to feel more comfortable within themselves (with exceptions discussed further) and also to get close to people they do not know very well.

In terms of her dignity as a rural citizen, Ariadenes stated, "*Here* [in *Ramal Cachoeira*] *I feel good, I get along well with everybody that lives here. Here nobody looks at us* [me and my family] *with disdain. Nobody says; don't go to Ariadenes's place because her son is a thief or a killer. There is nothing like that here. Here I can walk holding my head up".* Hence, the dignity that Ariadenes expressed is probably a reflection of a more egalitarian social context where social stratification is less apparent than in the city (Farmer 1999b). Most research participants took similar paths to establishing a life along the *ramais*. They all came from urban working class backgrounds - albeit some better off than others – with few resources to begin a new life. Thus, as they often said, they were building new rural lives "from zero".

Hence, neighbours share relatively similar financial and social (dis)advantages, in stark contrast with large Brazilian cities, where differences between the rich and poor are literally, shocking. It is now well documented that classes divisions and inequality can lead to poor self-worth. Therefore, dignity, in modern societies, is strongly linked to social status and in hierarchical capitalist societies, this is normally defined by capital accumulation (Marmot 2004, Wilkinson and Pickett 2010b).

Moreover, the terrible transport and public-service infrastructure of the *ramais* is equally experienced by everyone, unlike the city where these are generally "privileges" of the poorest (Caldeira 2000, Holston 2008). So, roads are bad for everybody (although slightly worse in specific spots), the power often goes off for all due problems in the power stations, and the insufficient and poor school transport is the same for all children. In other words, folk are more equally exposed to situations that they can solve only with the help of others. For instance, cars commonly get broken during journeys along the *ramais* due to its very bad conditions. A breakdown or getting stuck here necessitates – and receives - help from others to fix it or to get a lift somewhere. Breakdowns are thus considered sympathetically and treated reciprocally. It could be your turn bad luck next time, regardless of wealth.

Life in the countryside provides the opportunity to experience different kinds of relationships and escape urban social stigmas. Many I spoke to had previously had 'blue-collar' jobs in the city, including working as housekeepers, manual factory employees, taxi drivers, bus drivers and truck drivers. These occupations have somewhat lowly positions within hierarchical Brazilian society (Despres 1991)(Marmot 2004, Sayer 2014). Indeed, some people told me they had felt quite humiliated by their city jobs. For instance, Ademir, a former builder and current resident of *Ramal Cachoeira*, said to me that what most motivated him to move to there was that; *"I started to realise that I was building houses for others and then those who hired me wouldn't let me get into them to eat during the work time. So, I thought, I am building all these houses which I can't get into even to eat when I am working. Then I asked myself – what kind of life is this? And then I decided to move here where I feel much better".*

In the central Amazonian forest-frontier, the scarcity of non-kin labour and the relative unaffordability of hired labour creates demand and opportunities for new ways of working together. Specifically, working relationships that rely more on cooperation rather than competition and patron-client inequalities (Sayer 2014, Fevre 2016). It helps to bring people closer together, which builds trust. As people share their struggles and feel relatively equal, there comes new opportunities for a sense of commonality (Sayer 2011, 2014, Fevre 2016).

As one person remarked, "*We are kind of in the same boat, so we better help each other.*" During my fieldwork, I had joined a "*mutirão*" – an Amazonian work describing a collective work group. It is a way for people to help each other with some specific tasks that would be very difficult or take a long time to be executed by only one person. Those involved in the *mutirão* had agreed that for one week they would work together in each other's properties in order to help each other to get work done quicker.

A further example of a different way of working is the exchanging of tasks instead of hiring someone to do the job. For instance, Antonio, a resident of *Bom Futuro*, didn't have either a machine or the resources to hire someone to dig ponds for farming fish, but his neighbour did. So, he proposed to his neighbour that he could work for few days for him in exchange for borrowing his machine to dig the ponds. Antonio's neighbour accepted the dealt because it was also beneficial for him.

Situations in which work relationships are non-monetized are not rare in rural livelihoods, as Adams et al. (2003) and Fraser et al. (n.d.) have shown. This kind of labour (and labour relationships) is described by Polanyi (2001) as characteristic of pre-capitalist economies in which labour and land have not been transformed into commodities to be sold in the market, and consequently their value and function have not been reduced to money. In pre-capitalist societies, labour – a fictitious commodity for Polanyi – was also a form of exchanging and reciprocity between agents (Polanyi 1944). However, considering the urban origins of the colonists in *Rio Preto da Eva*, it is very interesting to note that new forms of exchange create opportunities to develop affiliation. Furthermore, through these relationships individuals fleeing the city appear to become less isolated, and freer from the social stigma often attached to the work of the urban poor.

Nonetheless, the experience of more egalitarian social conditions was unsettling for those with less humble origins. Consider, for example, Maria, a current resident of *Ramal Bom Futuro* and former manager of a big company located in the Manaus free trade zone. At first, Maria refused to join a community fayre being organised to help sell the smallholders' products. She did so because she thought it was an initiative to benefit the poor, which she considered not to correspond with her socioeconomic situation. It turned out that after a while Maria was also struggling to make a living in the *ramal*, which was very worrying for her as she enjoys living there and wanted to stay. So she eventually decided to join the fayre. She probably felt it undignifying, in the beginning, to join forces with those she considered to have lower social status as her, which is a common situation in Brazilian society (Holston and

Appadurai 1996, Caldeira 2000). Circumstances appeared to have required a rethink in her values and change her attitude which created closeness to others rather than segregation. Maria would probably not have changed her mind if she was living in the city, due to more independent livelihoods and (probably) higher-income in the city (Koonings and Krujit 2007, Publications 2011).

Another remarkable episode also illustrated the building trust and dignity in the rural forest-frontier. One day Etevilna was in her sister's tavern, and she left a mobile phone on the balcony which wasn't there anymore when they came back to pick it. Thinking about who could have done it, the family concluded it was a young man who lived close-by with his wife. This man, according to Etelvina, was a drug addict. They did not know him very well, but she decided to go after him in order to ask for the phone back. She patiently talked to him and said that she would not say anything to the police. She said to him that she knew he was not a bad man, but, just that he had done something wrong. The man listened to her and returned the phone to her immediately. Etelvina said that after that they became friends, she hired him and his wife many times, on a day labour basis. Etevilna and her family judged him for stealing a phone, but they did not classify him as "bad element" which one should avoid, which is more likely to happen in unequal and violent cities (Caldeira 2000, Koonings and Krujit 2007, Wacquant 2008).

3.9 Achieving capabilities through insurgent citizenship

Myriad experiences in the *ramais* made it clear how much the colonists valued the capabilities they have achieved, emerging out of their moves from the metropolis to the countryside. Thus, when asked if they would go back to the city they usually responded with a resounding 'no' (with some exceptions, below). Remember, people had left the city in part because they were deprived of basic rights as the right to security, to freedom, to equality (Câmara dos Deputados do Brasil 2012)(see Chapter 4). This section explores the extent to which the colonists can be considered 'insurgent' citizens on the *ramais*, in the sense that they are trying to realise the rights and therefore capabilities denied to them in the city.

The modalities of citizenship experienced in the city appeared to be felt by them as oppressive and undignifying, considerably undermining their capacity to be and to do. Unfortunately, this seems to be a common reality among working class people from metropolises (Holston and Appadurai 1996, Caldeira 2000, Gilligan 2000, Koonings and Krujit 2007, Lazar 2009, Nuijten 2013, Garmany 2014, Huning 2016). These capacities have been

partially recovered and developed in the *ramais* but not because the state provided them with more rights. Instead, because the safer, less hierarchical and more pleasant social-environmental context of those rural areas have been allowing them to experience greater freedom, agency and dignity. This is why I argue that the colonists I spent time with can indeed be considered insurgent citizens – they created the space in which they could informally realise these rights, not the state. Their creation of 'place' is something they value enormously and hence were unwilling to lose these hard-won rights. This position has provoked political engagement and collective actions, which they consider necessary to formalise these rights and improved capabilities.

Government support is crucial for most rural Amazonians to be able to achieve some degree of economic prosperity, especially land registration (Adams et al. 2003, Driven 2004, Steward 2007a). The lack of infrastructure, land titles, access to technologies and technical assistance and services has been pointed as the major impediments for small farmers to prosper economically in the Amazon which has serious implications for poverty and inequality reduction in a regional level (Ludewigs and Brondízio 2009, Guedes et al. 2012a). In fact, during my field research, those who appeared to be doing somewhat better than others had access to public bank loans and/or to agriculture-promoter government projects. For instance, they had cars and engaged in activities that provided income - although not always a regular - such as banana cultivation, horticulture and fish-farming. Virtually all colonists were acutely aware of the importance of accessing this government support to become economically self-sufficient.

Perhaps more importantly, they knew that accessing these kinds of supports tends to be difficult, especially in Brazil where it has been historically difficult for the poorest to access their rights and social welfare payment (Holston 2008). The shortest route to obtain support is therefore by pressuring the government to actualise their rights through social mobilisation, a process quite new for these people whose narratives of the urban lives they left behind were certainly relatively unmarked by vertical (with authorities) engagement and resistance. However, social engagement in rural areas in the Amazon is a common practice, and it is crucial for achieving institutional support which is crucial for the development of livelihoods (Ludewigs and Brondízio 2009).

People from the three rural communities where I conducted field research were active in pursuing their social benefits and universal rights as prescribed by law. However, accessing the relevant government programs was not without struggling. As the colonists put it, they

had "*tirelessly run after them*". Unfortunately, the struggle to access rights is very common in Brazil because in practice access to rights is balanced unequally in favour of the privileged and against the disadvantaged (Holston 2008). If the poor want to access rights, they usually need to actively go after them, jumping through bureaucratic hoops to prove their entitlement. In other words, they must act as insurgent citizens in order to get rights (Holston 2008). Recognizing that poor citizens deserve equal rights does not come easily to Brazilian institutions and society at large. The exception being at election time when recognition is used as a strategy to gain votes from the poor - Nuijten 2013). Normally, recognition happens through a considerable amount of social pressure (Holston and Appadurai 1996, Holston 2008, Huning 2016, PeriferiasContraoGolpe 2016). Hence, most of the government projects and land titles provided to those communities came under significant pressure on the local and state government from community leaders.

The lack of definitive land titles was a big, omnipresent issue for inhabitants of the *ramais* and a driving force behind insurgent citizenship. Most settler families had occupied their smallholding through land invasion or had bought it from someone that had previously invaded it. In the latter case, the buyer is normally provided with an informal contract or receipt by the seller, not equivalent to an official title. Most of the area occupied by these rural communities was officially designated as public lands and/or land eventually destined to settle small farmers with no land through an officially-sanctioned colonisation process. Therefore, not having the title was a major source of insecurity for people I lived and spent time with as it is for many in the rural Amazon (Barbier 2012, Campbell 2015b). By law, once settled on land, occupiers cannot be expelled (Câmara dos Deputados do Brasil 2012). However, not having the definitive title exposes colonists to have their territorial limits questioned either by the government or neighbours, leading to conflicts (Campbell 2015a). Moreover, the definite land title is normally a basic requirement for accessing agricultural credit, loans and subsidies. Therefore, pressing the government to regularise their lands is usually a primary goal of social mobilisation. Access to definitive land titles has been a complicated obstacle not only to these urban-rural migrants but also to smallholders elsewhere in Amazonia (Pacheco 2009a, Hecht 2010, Barbier 2012, Campbell 2015a, 2015c).

Most of the social encounters in the three communities occurred when people needed to talk about issues related to their livelihoods (Fig 3.4). For example, the process of acquiring definitive land titles, knowledge exchange about agriculture activities, courses, government programs and credits, *ramais'* infrastructure etc. Overall, rural life presented significant opportunities to meet and get close to people in the *ramais* yet most colonists did not

appear to be explicitly seeking social interactions apart from those related to their livelihoods. In everyday life they also value privacy, exchanging little about their personal lives with neighbours. Nevertheless, new relationships emerged over time. Nonetheless, I was left with the impression that people appreciated being in a social context where trust and dignity were more likely to be felt. The rural folk appeared to value privacy but also recognised that joining forces with other was important to succeed in the *campo* (countryside). Besides, it was through their collective attempts to prosper that they got to know their neighbours and, consequently, not fear them as they used to in the city. This reduced fear was something they clearly valued.

It is worth mentioning here the remarkable protagonistic role of women in community leadership in the researched *ramais*. In the three communities under study, the leaders were women who were very socially engaged and committed to bringing better infrastructure, services and opportunities for agriculture production to the *ramais,* often challenging local authorities and institutions. Two of these leaders were actually considering formal engagement with the local political scene by becoming a candidate for a municipal council position (*vereador*). They were also very active in participating courses about agriculture production bringing technical knowledge to their households. Men in *ramais* normally stayed working in their properties most of the time, socially engaging less than women. It seems to contrast to what these women have experienced in the city where they reported any political and community engagement. On the contrary, most of the women had mentioned having very few opportunities to leave their houses (apart from going to work and sometimes church) and they fear to walk alone (or with their children) on the streets because of violence.

This women's social protagonism in those rural communities probably is linked to some aspects of the new rural context: it is a safer environment in comparison with the city. Consequently, the women feel much less fear for their bodily integrity, feeling more confident to act in their environment (Chant 2013); there are more opportunities for affiliation. They feel less isolated than they used to feel in the city. They are not dealing with complete strangers; they have more opportunities to know each other and to trust others; their husbands are more likely to support them in their leadership roles, because they realise that their partners are relatively safe. They are also more able to trust others being reassured that their partners will probably not be victims of sexual harassment and/abuse by strangers (which can be common in Amazonian metropolises – Santos (2011), Augusto et al. (2015)). Moreover they, in general, recognised the important role of women in the

community for the development and the maintenance of their livelihoods. These aspects have broadly been associated with women's empowerment in many places (Hossain 2012).

Fig 3.4: **Situations of social engagement**; a) research participants and technicians engaged in c course about organic farming; b) research participants in their way to a meeting in Manaus about government's projects and funding for agriculture; c) a meeting held in Rio Preto town to discuss land regularisation to which some research participants had attended.

3.10   Final considerations -

3.10.1 Transiting among differentiated social and civil rights

A key finding of this study is that rural colonists tend to experience significant improvements in their capacity to be and to do, compared to their previous lives in Manaus metropolis Nevertheless, these perceived and valued improvements in capabilities in the countryside by those urban-rural migrants have not happened without the expense of elemental social rights, including the right to education, to infrastructure, to an adequate standard of living, and housing. Migrants left their houses and jobs in the city to move to a place that, as they said, "*there was nothing, only forest*".

3. CAPABILITIES AND CITIZENSHIP

The interiors of Rio Preto da Eva by the time of my field research, still resembled the initial stages of a typical frontier in the Amazon, where normally lack of infrastructure and services prevails and there are serious obstacles for the development and maintenance of livelihoods (Ludewigs and Brondízio 2009, Pacheco 2009b, Guedes et al. 2012a). For instance, the unpaved road (*ramais*) only arrived in the study communities in 2007, after many of them had built their houses, and its trafficability is still very poor which is a huge obstacle for agriculture production and commercialisation. Electricity arrived in those *ramais* only in 2010, and it was still not reliable by the time of my fieldwork. Electricity was cut off quite a few times during my time in those communities impairing important activities, as, water supply for their houses, animals and plants, as most of them relied on electrical water pumps to collect and distribute water within their properties. In the beginning of the settlement process (around 2003-2008), there was any significant economic activity going on or some colonising government projects (e.g. land distribution campaigns, the instalation of industrial hubs, mining etc. – Pacheco (2009a)) that could configure reasons to attract people to that region, as it generally happens in frontier's formation in the Amazon (Muchagata 1997, Ludewigs and Brondízio 2009, Rodrigues et al. 2009, Caviglia-Harris et al. 2013). However, despite all these "absences" and barriers these new colonists left their city jobs and houses and decided to start a new life the new frontier, and I ask, why?

In an attempt to find answers for the question above I have learnt from my research participants that, perhaps life for the urban poor has been, for many, almost psychologically and emotionally unbearable which resonates with other studies on the life experiences of the urban poor in Brazilian metropolises and elsewhere (Caldeira 2000, Koonings and Krujit 2007, Ferreira 2015). What the research participants were mostly missing in their urban lives was essentially the rights to security, peace, trust, dignity and freedom.

The research participants were probably not the poorest members of Manaus society. In this sense, they were not severely dispossessed and deprived, conditions which tend to exclude people from access to almost all of their rights (Arendt 1979, Somers 2008, Marshall 2009). Nonetheless, they had faced some level of deprivation in their urban lives. Yet, these basic rights were not enough to permit full enjoyment of civil rights. These rights are instead privileges of those who can afford them, including the upper classes who can choose to live in less violent neighbourhoods and to have greater security by paying for it and by being better served by the police (Caldeira 2000, Sánchez R 2006, Farias 2007a). In this sense, the powerful slogan of the campaign against violence run by residents of one the *favelas* in Rio de Janeiro, appears to capture, what the urban-rural migrants I have met felt about the life

they left behind in the city – "*The riches want peace to keep being riches. We want peace to keep being alive*" (Farias 2007b). "Being alive" can mean not only being physically alive (although it was the emphasis on the *favelados* campaign), but, also being able to act on and engage with the world and being able to feel worthy, in summary, to be able to feel alive.

Civil rights are, strongly related to individual freedoms in all areas of life, including speech, respect, work, property, non-discrimination. These are vital for one's social recognition and to feel like a full member of society, essential for the realisation of agency and dignity (Andrews 1997, Fukuda-Parr 2003, Ong 2006, Somers 2008, Nussbaum 2013). Feeling safer, peaceful, freer, more socially respected, more in charge of their own lives, healthier and more able to trust others were the major perceived differences in the lives of the urban-rural migrants. These aspects, according to the capabilities approach, constitute the basis for flourishing and should be rights assured by any society (Sen 1999, Nussbaum 2013).

Following Holston (2008) I have conceptualised this transition from urban to rural places as a form of insurgent citizenship as it appears to be a bold response to the unjust reality of Latin American urbanity, where it is very challenging for the poor to improve their capabilities without ascending the social ladder (Caldeira 2000, Gilligan 2000, Wilkinson and Pickett 2010a, Kraus et al. 2012). Sen (1990, p. 3) proposed development as "*a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy",* the basis for the development of capabilities. Critically, we observe that the state – including in the Brazilian Amazon - frequently fails to provide these freedoms for citizens (Holston and Appadurai 1996, Caldeira 2000). I conclude this to be the reason that people resort to insurgent forms of citizenship such as I observed in *ramais* of rural Rio Preto da Eva.

3.10.2 Dealing with the barriers of the new life

What are the consequences for the lives of the urban-rural migrants of what turns to be a conclusion of this paper – dealing with a more severe deprivation of social rights in the *ramais* in comparison with the city seems to be a price worth paying in order to feel greater wellbeing? Would they be shifting from one kind of poverty to another? Alternatively, would they have been shifting from one set of deprived capabilities common to the city to another set common to rural areas in the Amazon?

It is worth noting that the research participants differentiated quite clearly what they consider to be wellbeing and quality-of-life. The latter was associated with good material

conditions and status, and the former were related with how they feel, health conditions, safety, freedom and peace. Therefore, it was common to hear from them that in the *ramais* – *"quality-of-life was still poor, but wellbeing was great"*. "Still" in that sentence deserves attention, as it signifies their strong sense of hope in achieving the desired quality-of-life in the *ramais*. It was clear that they want to economically prosper in the countryside, and have not hesitated to go after their rights in order to achieve a self-defined adequate standard of living.

Interestingly that they have, to a great extent, embodied those rights. They speak about prospering as their newly peasant condition's right. In other words, they seem to have become more aware of what it is to be right-bearing citizens, in a way they probably never were in their urban lives. Through their narratives related to their previous urban life it appeared to be difficult for them to see solutions and how to act upon the city-problems, they were mostly unhappy about (e.g. physical and structural violence). The 'new' smallholders considered that in the long-term becoming economically self-reliant *and* enjoying improved capabilities are rather inseparable. Nevertheless, although advances were made by these new colonists regarding achieving improvements for the *ramais* 'infrastructure and economic opportunities, this new mini-frontier is still poorly served by infrastructure and services and the desired betterment of their livelihoods is rather challenging. Then, in the face of this situation, how have these entanglements related to "quality-of-life" and "wellbeing" been negotiated by them in the *ramais*? Can they sustain these improved capabilities over time?

Smallholders have been struggling to generate income from agriculture in many locations in rural Amazon mainly because of analagous factors operating in the *ramais*: lack of infraestructure and services, difficulties to access markets and credits, lack of access to tecnhologies and technical information etc. (Ludewigs and Brondízio 2009, Guedes et al. 2012a) Considering the definition or rural poverty presented by Guedes et al. (2012b, p. 43) for the Amazon: *"general lack of choices and opportunities that are reflected in low levels of income, portfolio of assets, land uses choices, land tenure security, access to natural resources, and social networks",* we can say that the urban-rural migrants in the *ramais*, to some extent, still fill most of this list. Nevertheless, they have also consistently built some strategies to cope with this situation that has significantly improved since they arrived. In the beginning, most of them were living basically from wood extraction, and charcoal production which was extremely labour demanding and low paid. Nowadays, they have, to some extent, diversified their portfolio of assets (e.g. cars bought from loans, small agriculture machinery

etc.) and activities (e.g. there are in the *ramais* crops, horticulture, perennial plantation as banana, fish-farming and husbandry) but, income is still low and sometimes inconstant.

Strategies developed by the urban to rural migrants to cope with the situation above included: on off-farm sources of income (e.g. rents from city-properties, pensions, social benefits such as cash transfers, non-farm jobs, and intermitent remmitances from relatives living in the city); social networks (e.g. most of them have kept contact with urban friends and relatives who normally help them to sell their products in Manaus); social organisation and mobilisation (e.g. some of them have been granted agriculture projects, loans and land titles due to persistent pressure on the public land sectors); community representation in agriculture forums and conferences increasing their visibility and knowledge about what is available to their situation in terms of government and non-government projects, credits and loans.

The reliance of rural households on non-farm sources of income and rural-urban networks of remittances and kinship support is common in the Amazon and elsewhere (Driven 2004, Lohmann and Liefner 2009, Ludewigs and Brondízio 2009, Guedes et al. 2012a, Vanwey and Vithayathil 2013). These strategies are considered to be important ways of coping with the challenge of generating agricultural earnings, related to limited access to formal credit and capital restrictions, seasonality risks and lack of assets. In this sense, off-farm income can serve to help to diversify the portfolio of assets and land uses which can avoid rural *exodus* (Ellis 2000, Driven 2004, Perz 2005, Vanwey and Vithayathil 2013). In fact, the few households in the *ramais* that reported lack of any non-farm source of money were visibly – at least materially - worse off than the former group and somewhat more dependent on neighbours' help to the city (e.g. they were dependent on lifts to do that) and consequently to access markets.

However, although the urban-rural migrants have managed to achieve some livelihood improvements, poorly-provisioned public services such as education and health care still configure a difficult challenge for those living in the *ramais*. Schools are present only in the nearest urban centre (Rio Preto da Eva town) which is around 20 km by dirt road from the communities I studied. The bad conditions of the roads, especially when it rains, make it very hard for the public bus ascribed to take the children to schools to pick them up in those communities. As a result, children often miss classes and have their school progress thwarted. Moreover, there are not universities in Rio Preto da Eva, the closest place they are available is Manaus.

Future capabilities in rural Amazonia are intrinsically linked to access to education, both now and in the future. A long-term failure to provide young people in the *ramais* with a good education will likely become a serious limitation for hybrid forms of rural living. Education has been associated with the better capacity to engage with non-farm jobs and to contribute with investments on land helping smallholders to diversify their portfolio of assets, an important factor to reduce poverty (Escobal 2001, Guedes et al. 2009b). Specifically, for the young in the *ramais,* poor access to education will likely to limit desirable employment in urban areas, at least by some family members (Driven 2004, Lohmann and Liefner 2009) which can constrain the search for citizenship rights, a prerequisite for social progress.

Indeed, education for the research participants' children was something they valued a lot and was seen as the gate for what they meant for a good "quality-of-life". In fact, without improvements, many families stated they might opt to move back to the city so their children can have a better education, similar reasons for rural exodus were found by (Parry et al. 2010). They also mentioned that, if necessary, they would send their children to live with their city-based relatives to make possible for them to have access to a better-quality high school and to go to the university. It is also a quite common situation in the Amazon (Despres 1991, Brondizio 2016). Poor access to education turned to be one of the most difficulty dilemmas for these urban-rural migrants because they know that in the *ramais* their children were experiencing a much freer, safer, more stimulating and probably happier childhood than they would in the city. However, on the other hand, it can cost a high price for their adult's life when they will be probably behind their urban peers regarding qualifications.

Life for the youth living in the *ramais* can be a conflictive experience. Although young people recognised the greater freedom and safety they enjoy there in comparison with the city; they also fel "left out" of the "progress" associated with the city as easier access to technologies (e.g. computer games and internet) and to consumer goods. The children and adolescents that I met had regular contact with other young from Manaus. They were used to going to Manaus with their parents to visit relatives and friends and also to receive them in the *ramais*. I was present in some of these visits and it was clear that the youth from the *ramais* were allured by the smartphones, tablets, games, clothes and shoes that their urban cousins were displaying, which could have been hard for them as feelings of inadequacy can arise from these uneven encounters (Gilligan 2000, Caldeira 2006).

Paulo, for instance, a young man in his twenties that had moved to the *ramais* during the time I was there, told me that what he was most missing from Manaus was the access to the internet. He was also very aware of the scant job and educational opportunities (e.g. professionalising courses, universities) nearby his rural community which he knew to be an obstacle for him to improve his standard of living. Even though, he said that he was enjoying very much living in the *ramais* because there he could feel safe, free and in peace, things he found hard to experience in Manaus.

Although the city can lure the youth, moving there, perhaps it is not necessarily a guarantee of meeting more opportunities to prosper. Most of these urban-rural migrants families may not be able to afford a good standard of living for their children in the city. Inequalities are greater and far more evident in metropolises, and the pressure to consume is higher, especially among the youth that is normally more vulnerable to associate self-worth with purchasing power in capitalist societies (Caldeira 2006). Thus, the pressure to consume and the possible incapacity for doing so can make them, for instance, tempted to join illicit activities as drug-dealing that is very seductive for its capacity to generate money quickly and it is widespread in Amazonian metropolises (Zaluar 2000, Phillips 2011). As result, these youth can experience a high risk of having their lives shortened due to the violent traits of that "business", not to let alone the high levels of violence in general (not only associated with drugs) in Amazonian metropolises that disproportionately affects the poor (Marra 2008, Phillips 2011, Nascimento 2013).

To economically prosper in the city like Manaus once you are poor can be very challenging (Despres 1991). Examples of young rural-urban migrants that moved to Amazonian metropolises hoping to change their "quality-of-life" for better, but, encountered serious obstacles for it (e.g. unemployment, difficulties to afford education etc.) are not rare (Despres 1991, Riccio et al. 2016, Brondizio 2016). Actually, the parents of the youth in the *ramais*, had experienced it, to some extent. Although they recognise that they had managed to improve their standard of living during the time they lived in Manaus, they were not able to socially ascend to the point they could afford to experience a better wellbeing (which turns to be expensive in the city - e.g. paying for security and safe leisure actives) and to escape from oppressive social stigmas. As some of them reported, they were used to live for working in the city and spend most of the days indoors either because of incapacity to afford leisure activities either because of fear for their bodily integrity. In this sense, parents perhaps can be more able to cope with rural-urban differences as they already experienced

the stark contrasts and limitations of an urban life which can be quite oppressive and restrictive.

These intergenerational issues are very complex, and we do not fully explore these in this chapter. However, based on the field experience, if access to education does not get better for people living in those rural communities, I would risk saying that even though the parents in the *ramais* are quite aware of the risks the youth can be exposed in the city; they probably wouldn't hesitate to send them there for educational purposes. Would the children come back to live in the rural communities? Would they be able to help their parents in the future? These are questions that will probably depend on how these youths will experience the city, which is also dependent on a variety of factors as the social networks able to support them in the city, jobs opportunities, the relationship they have established with the *ramais*, the relationship with their parents etc.

3.10.3 Capabilities sustainability and persistent forms of differentiated citizenship

The long-term maintenance of the achieved capabilities by the new colonists still remains uncertain. As discussed above, a differentiated citizenship condition, especially regarding social rights, also present itself in the *ramais*. Continued successes will probably continue to depend on the insurgent urban-rural migrants' capacities to change it.

Nowadays and shortly it can be particularly challenging due to changes in the Brazilian welfare state that offers threats to the provision of social benefits like cash transfer and pensions. The new unelected president Michel Temer has been quick to stimulate privatisation and to take austerity measures, including a 20-year freeze on spending on social and welfare services; a move that has been widely condemned as an attack on poor people (Watts 2016a, 2016b). Moreover, the federal government has been showing a clear inclination to favour large-scale agriculture and consequently big landowners which can result in greater land concentration and fewer opportunities for smallholders (Daher 2017, 2018). Besides, even though there still are a considerable amount of government projects and subsidies for small-scale agriculture (Governo Federal do Brasil n.d.) access is complicated because of seemingly endless bureaucracy and the lack of staff and infrastructure to operationalise its distribution. This reflects a broader reality in the Amazon region (Adams et al. 2003, Beeby 2012)

The urban-rural migrants' capacity to keep enjoying the improved capabilities in the long term will probably depend on their continued capacity for social mobilisation and to exert pressure on the state, to demand social rights. Their capacity to diversify their assets and capital, to keep and improve their social network in the *ramais* and the city and to keep (and perhaps find new) non-farm sources of income can also be crucial for them to keep living in the *ramais*. In this sense, the greater wellbeing and sense of dignity they have been experiencing in the new frontier seem to significantly work in their favour encouraging agency and helping them to deal with the frustrations that come with the slow process of becoming fuller citizens within a society that offers huge amounts of barriers to it.

The findings of this study appear to challenge the dominant literature about internal migration in developing countries. Specifically, my insights from fieldwork challenge the dominant perspective for the Amazon that migration by the poor is a strategy to improve livelihood and socio-economic conditions (Murphy et al. 1997, Cohen 2006, Garcia et al. 2007, Haas 2008, Padoch et al. 2008b, Caviglia-Harris et al. 2013, Fertner 2013) This chapter also differs from other reported manifestations of insurgent citizenship in the Amazon, most of them related to territorial claims by Indigenous and Afro-descendent groups in the provincial interior, control over natural resources, livelihood struggles, new ways of governance and political participation (Vosti et al. 2003, Yashar 2005, Hecht 2011, Mathews and Schmink 2015).

This study also provides strong empirical support for claims that increases in monetary income do not necessarily promote wellbeing and end oppressive structures (Sen 1990, Nussbaum 2013, Wolff and De-Shalit 2013). Although the urban-rural migrants still experience a shortage of social rights and low levels of income they have been able to enjoy greater security, peace, trust, dignity and freedom in the *ramais*. Perhaps one factor in this is that, as other studies have shown, to be in an environment where you 'share' similar levels of deprivation with your peers is less detrimental to wellbeing, health and dignity than contexts with large deprivation gaps like Brazilian metropolises (Farmer 1999a, 1999b, Gilligan 2000, Marmot 2004, Wilkinson and Pickett 2010a). Albuquerque et al.(2008) also found greater subjective wellbeing among low-income rural residents of a Brazilian northeast municipality than its low-income urban residents which he attributed to feelings of belonging to a community, better control over the environment and status homogeneity in the rural area.

This paper is not claiming that the differentiated citizenship condition that also pervades rural areas is not a source of unfreedom especially due the limitations it imposes to the capacity of the rural dwellers to overcome material poverty (Guedes et al. 2012b). What this study is perhaps demonstrating is that in comparison with a metropolitan life, people living in some rural contexts, such as the one described in this paper, appears to be finding more opportunities for agency and to act as insurgent citizens.

Increasing inequalities, physical and structural violence in the Brazilian metropolises appear to have permeated the life of the urban poor with heavy oppression and restrictions which are preventing them to act in the world and realise better wellbeing even in the cases when they manage to improve their standard of living stepping out of material poverty. For instance, Kerstenetzky and Santos (2009) found that many inhabitants of a *favela* in Rio de Janeiro are not income poor, but they are very poor regarding freedom. These authors argue that living in this marginalised and violent place interferes negatively with people's wellbeing, restricting several functionings and opportunities for collective action in such a way that the traditional social capital, often considered a form of wealth of favela dwellers, is being eroded. It was also found for other urban contexts apart from favelas (Ribeiro 1997, Caldeira 2000). Consequently, the capacity of the urban dwellers to be insurgent citizens and pursue fuller forms of citizenship seems to be increasingly harmed.

3.10.4 *What the future holds for the landscape of the new frontier?*

From an environmental perspective, we are witnessing the establishment a new deforestation frontier, as people are moving to recently quite unoccupied forested areas. Rio Preto da Eva still offers a lot of "empty" areas, which ones mostly public lands, that seems to be very attractive either to potential migrants, from both urban and rural areas. Land occupations were ongoing in the study area during my fieldwork in 2015. Overall, the occupation of these rural areas relatively close to Manaus (~ 110Km distant) is on the increase, indicating perhaps more people willing to find refuge from violence in rural areas (see Chapter 4). Illegal occupations of public lands can get legitimatized once its occupants prove they are living and using the land, what is normally initially done by deforesting some parts of it (Campbell 2015b). Consequently, a wave of migrants to a well-preserved area, like the interiors Rio Preto da Eva, might lead an intense deforestation process. What social and environmental transformations might further colonisation bring to the forested landscapes in which this paper is interested? This is an important question for future research. The

smallholders I met did not seem to have enough means or motivation to undertake considerable deforestation. However, they probably wouldn't hesitate to cut the forest if it were to get "in the way" of some economic activity they were interested in or which was within their means to develop. It is what tends to happen when they produce charcoal and/or undertake wood extraction from the forest. Smallholders' livelihoods have been linked with deforestation in the Amazon (Vosti et al. 2002, Pacheco 2009c, Godar et al. 2015). Though absolute deforestation in the Brazilian Amazon has been lower in areas dominated by smallholders than areas dominated by large farms, deforestation activity has fast been increasing in frontiers predominantly occupied by smallholders (Pacheco 2012, Godar et al. 2015).

Adding to the loss of biodiversity and ecosystem services associated with deforestation itself, there are its contributions to global warming. As previously mentioned the use of fire to bring down the forest by smallholders is widespread in the Brazilian Amazon. It is used by farmers to clear areas of fallow or to get rid of weeds in pastures (Carmenta et al. 2011). These practices were also present in the researched *ramais*. There are some regulations about the use of fire in agriculture mainly related to the mandatory adoption of practices that can prevent it from leaking to unwanted forested areas. However, the capacity to smallholders to follow these practices can be limited due to little access to technologies, to extension services, to sufficient labour force and to the law itself (Brondizio and Moran 2008), as it is partially the case of the participants of this study. As a result, fire leakages are frequent in rural Amazon, destroying huge forested areas (Berenguer and Barlow 2015), which is very detrimental for the region's ecosystems and biodiversity (Barlow et al. 2012, Berenguer and Barlow 2015). Besides, it aggravates global warming due to the enormous quantities of carbon emissions (Berenguer and Barlow 2015).

Fires can be even more difficult to control in dry seasons when the hotter and less humid weather favours its dispersion (Carmenta et al. 2011, Berenguer and Barlow 2015). Climate change has been associated with changes in rainfall patterns in the Amazon. Increases in temperatures and extended droughts appear to be more recurrent and have contributed to the widespread of fire significantly intensifying forest losses and carbon emissions (Barlow et al. 2012). For instance, in my fieldwork year (2015), when El Niño contributed to the rise of temperatures and changes in the rainfall patterns, 18,716 fires were registered in the Brazilian Amazon, a record for the region (Berenguer and Barlow 2015). Therefore, from a conservation and climate perspective, the occupation of new forest frontiers, like the one focus of this study, can represent considerable risks to the biodiversity and climate.

Fires can also offer threats to rural livelihoods. When it gets uncontrolled escaping to untargeted areas, it can seriously damage crop plantations and pastures causing farmers financial losses threatening the maintenance of their livelihoods (Brondizio and Moran 2008). It can be particularly harder for those smallholders already decapitalized (Brondizio and Moran 2008).

Most of the research participants were well aware of the role that the relative isolation, forest cover and, to some extent, lack of infrastructure play at keeping these areas rural and peaceful. For instance, residents of *ramal da Cachoeira* had resisted attempts from the government to build more roads around the *ramais* to better connect it to urban centres. The colonists perceived it as a way to attract more people to their communities, which would have increased the population density, potentially causing the social problems they had escaped from. However, to what extent further development can be avoided is questionable and uncertain.

In addition, they seemed quite aware of the benefits of the forest especially about water conservation, and they were open to learning about producing at the lowest impacts to the forest. For instance, a lot of them got engaged in a course about organic agriculture and in their everyday speeches they seemed quite keen to be able to produce without pesticides, for instance. The urban background of the smallholders I spent time with probably contributed to notions of healthy food which included the ones produced without, in their words, "a *lot of chemicals*". Therefore, although the urban-rural migrants can cause some deforestation in the new frontier, they will also perhaps be more sensitive about the importance of preserving the local biodiversity which could favourably work for the sustainability of the region.

Tellingly, land speculation is a reality in the rural communities I lived and worked in. For instance, many families, including almost all the research participants, had paid less than ~ U$1,500 for their plots a decade ago. Yet when I was there in 2015 plots were sold for around U$13,000. Thus, those outsiders interested and capable of buying them will probably not be working-class people anymore. It could mean people coming to those places with more resources and capacity to establish, for instance, cattle-ranching, intensive arable farming, and large-scale fish farming. These activities would probably cause much deforestation, as it has commonly happened in other frontier regions in the Amazon (Arima and Uhl 1997, Barreto et al. 2005, Fearnside 2005, Pacheco 2009d)(Fearnside 1993, Hecht 1993, Steward 2007b). It could also lead to pressure on the original migrants to sell their

lands to make way for larger, consolidated landholdings. Exactly because the colonists continued to face economic instability, material deprivation and sometimes debts, it may be hard to resist selling their land for a much higher price than the one they paid. This would mirror the findings of existing research on land-sale decisions by Amazonian smallholders (Schmink 1982, Schmink and Wood 1992, Campbell 2015a)

In summary, the future awaiting the insurgent citizens of the colonist's communities and their frontier landscapes remains rather uncertain. Even more so considering the social vulnerabilities and risks involved in the establishment of a new life and the lack of support from the Brazilian state.

3.11 Conclusion

This chapter examines the experiences of recent urban to rural migrants who left the rainforest metropolis of Manaus for its surrounding countryside. We interpret this movement as an insurgent citizenship response to an oppressive urban reality characterised by striking inequality and violence. These rural areas *(ramais)* offer a safer and less stratified socio-context which contributes to a greater sense of freedom, dignity and control over one's own life for the migrants. The achieved capabilities improvements seem to be further enhanced by the rural livelihood, as set against the more stressful and stilted urban jobs, have allowed (and even demanded of) the urban to rural migrants more creativity and time invested in human relationships. The establishment of a new life has required the migrants to act collectively, mobilising themselves in the pursuit of their rights and consequently acting to address their differentiated citizenship.

These findings offer insights into the dominant literature about internal migration in developing countries, specifically by challenging the perspective that migration by the poor is a strategy to improve livelihoods and socio-economic conditions (Murphy et al. 1997, Cohen 2006, Garcia et al. 2007, Haas 2008, Padoch et al. 2008b, Caviglia-Harris et al. 2013, Fertner 2013). This chapter also offers insights for insurgent citizenship literature on the Amazon because it captures an insurgent citizenship response that differs from those previously reported, the purview of which has hitherto been related to territorial claims, control over natural resources, livelihood struggles, new ways of governance and political participation (Vosti et al. 2003, Yashar 2005, Hecht 2011, Mathews and Schmink 2015).

This study also calls attention to the costs and uncertainties related to the establishment of new rurality in a new frontier. Although the new migrants have been able to experience an increased capacity for beings and doings (Nussbaum 2013) in the new building-rurality, their long-term freedoms remain threatened by restricted access to basic social rights, economic instability and by the weakening of the welfare state (Watts 2016a). This situation can lead to little resistance from the urban to rural migrants to land speculation and to adopt economic activities that don't require many inputs, offer quick economic returns, as charcoal production and wood extraction, but, that is environmentally damaging as well. (Broadbent et al. 2008, Chidumayo and Gumbo 2013). Therefore, the future of this new frontier is uncertain, and policy-makers should attempt to ensure that its formation and development are socially just and environmentally responsible. Especially given the dire consequences, both socially and environmentally, of other forest frontiers across Amazonia and beyond (Schmink 1982, Schmink and Wood 1992, Campbell 2015a, Fearnside 1993, Hecht 1993, Steward 2007b).

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3. CAPABILITIES AND CITIZENSHIP

Chapter 4

CAPABILITY FAILURES, VIOLENCE AND CORROSIVE DISADVANTAGE IN A TROPICAL METROPOLIS

Top Left: a typical settlement by the margins of *igarapé* Cachoeir*a*, São Jorge neighbourhood, Manaus Amazonian; typical fortified houses of São Jorge neighbourhood; talking with one of the city-dwellers research participants in São Jorge neighbourhood; a typical street of São Jorge neighbourhood. Photo credits: Mariana P. da Silva

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Capability failures, violence and corrosive disadvantage in a tropical metropolis

4.1 Abstract

Policy-makers in developing countries undergoing rapid urbanization have tended to equate increasing wellbeing with economic growth at the macro-level and material-wealth and the micro-level, the latter assisted through conditional cash transfers. However, development scholars have long-argued that increasing income is, alone, insufficient to tackle poverty and improve wellbeing in slums and elsewhere. In particular, the capabilities approach offers a conceptualization of wellbeing which places central emphasis on dignity and freedom, seeing wellbeing in terms of what individuals are able to do and to be within society. Drawing on this approach, this chapter attempts to critically analyse the experiences of urban deprivation in Manaus, a rainforest metropolis. We argue that structural inequalities (re)produce various disadvantages that contribute to capabilities failures among the urban working class. Moreover, the threat of violence impinges upon free movement and wellbeing of the body by threats to bodily integrity, negative emotions, and affiliation, which can negatively affect an individual's flourishing, and this is particularly acute among the lower social classes. We find that despite some economic prosperity throughout their lives, many people are unable to change and improve their capacities to do and to be, in part due to a cluster of disadvantage centred on bodily and structural violence. We conclude that the capabilities approach, alongside theories of disadvantages and structural violence, can contribute to better understanding the lack of wellbeing faced by the urban working class of large Latin American cities and to better designed policy interventions.

4.2 Introduction: Urbanization and the decline of wellbeing? – Looking at the *manaura* working class' urban experiences

Maria looked suspiciously at me through a small hole in the front door of her house in a low-income neighbourhood (São Jorge) of Manaus and asked me what I wanted. I was keen to talk with Maria about her life experiences as part of my field-research on wellbeing among poor residents of this rainforest metropolis in the Brazilian Amazon. I'd been told that Maria was one of São Jorge's oldest residents and hence she knew the area's history very well. I explained that I was doing research about life in her neighbourhood and other residents had recommended I talk with her, a *veterana* ('old-timer'). She appeared convinced of my intentions, though not yet relaxed in my presence.

Feelings of vulnerability and insecurity in many places and everyday life situations are part of daily life in Brazil's big cities. For Maria - like many of the *Manauaras* (people from Manaus) I met - there are tangible reasons to fear about personal safety. She lives on the corner of Cachoeira Street, considered by many to be one the most dangerous streets in the city.. Tragically, the violence of Cachoeira Street is fairly indicative of Manaus as a whole; ranked as the 33rd most violent city in the world (Waiselfizz 2014). Rates of violent deaths in the city are around 1660 per year or 56 deaths per hundred thousand people per year (Orellana et al. in press). This is more than double Brazil's overall homicide rate (25.8 deaths/100,000 people) which already compares unfavourably to 7-8 per 100,000 in 2012 in war-torn countries like Afghanistan and Iraq (UNODC 2013).

Homicide rates provide an impression of how significant a problem is violence in Manaus, but statistics offer little insight into what it is like living alongside everyday violence as Maria does. From looking at local newspaper reports we find records of many violent events on the infamous Cachoeira Street, that passes behind Maria's house: "gunshots coming from an unidentified vehicle at night left two severely wounded men at Cachoeira street, Manaus" (G1 AM 2017); "Woman, involved with drug trafficking[3], is found dead by 4 gunshots in her house, at Cachoeira Street" (Reporter 2014). "A 22-year-old man is chased through Cachoeira Street and stabbed to death" (Diário Manaura 2017). Maria also reported that during the week I talked to her a man was killed on the same street. And not long time ago before our discussion she had her house broken into by a strange man whom she unexpectedly found in her living room. In her words – "*When I unexpectedly saw that man inside my house, I got so frightened that I thought I was going to have a heart attack. I could not move and breathe. Luckily, he left without causing me any harm. I think he was drunk or drugged because he could barely speak and find out his way out of the house*".

In fact, it is not difficult to understand why Maria felt so lucky to have her bodily integrity and belongings preserved in the situation above considering the amount of stories of similar situations that have not ended up "well" as Maria's. Indeed, similar cases of houses being

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[3] The term drug trafficking in this chapter is used in a broad sense and includes drug commercialization and economy as well as drug-dealing. I opted to use only this term to refer to the drug activities because it seems to best approximate to the term using in Brazil (tráfico de drogas) which englobes commercialization in large-scale as "dealing" in a local level.

entered by "strangers" tragically ended with deaths, serious material losses and plus , of course, the psychological trauma it entails. For instance, Maria could have met the same fate as Antonio Filho who was killed by thieves along with his two children (his son – Alan and his daughter - Eva) in the robbery of their home in Manaus, in a neighbourhood nearly 5 km from Maria's house (Queiroz 2016). Maria, like other Manaus's urban dwellers, is very aware of this possibility of risking death either by personally experiencing violent episodes or by the constant flux of stories about violence among neighbours, families and friends and through the media.   Consequently, Marias lives in a near-constant state of fear and anxiety about what is usually a conclusion that ends narratives about violence   – "It could have been me" or "It could have been my son/daughter" etc. (Farias 2007, Alves 2017). "Could have been me" in metropolises like Manaus (and other metropolises in Brazil and Latin America) represents a possibility that is quite tangible. For instance, estimates suggest that during the first two months of 2016, six people per hour were only robbed or robbed and murdered afterwards (Diário do Amazonas 2016).

Thus, the incidence of violence, being it a possibility or a materialised episode, has been taking a great part on the everyday lives of the *Manauras*. Not surprisingly this topic emerged as a central theme in the research participants' accounts about their lives and wellbeing in Manaus.

Nevertheless, life in Manaus has not always been so violent. Maria and other older residents I encountered recalled that life was very different when they first moved to São Jorge. Maria described how São Jorge looked like the countryside when she arrived in 1959; streets were unpaved, there was no piped water and getting to the centre of Manaus by road was difficult. Residents drank water from the *igarapé* (stream), which was also used for getting around by canoe. The neighbourhood also lacked key services including public transport, health posts, and schools. Many families cultivated food in their own garden and some apparently even made a living from agriculture. And, importantly, Maria used to participate a lot more in São Jorge's social life. She used to know her neighbours well and often spent time with them. Maria also recalled frequent outdoor activities like swimming in the *igarapé,* which was one of the things she missed most from the past. She was clear that she used to feel safer, freer and able to do many more things in her early days in São Jorge, compared to now. Maria explained how, today, her anxiety and fear of violence constrains who she is able to be and what she is able to do. Nowadays, Maria spends most of her time "locked" (her word) inside her house, afraid of suffering violence or being taken advantage of by dishonest people that abuse one's trust for their own advantage.

Maria lives in a low-income neighbourhood, but her main complaints about life in Manaus were not about money or household living conditions. In fact, Maria actually felt her housing and purchasing power to have improved significantly. This woman's experience of the contradictory development of Manaus – economic growth accompanied by rapid urbanisation and chronic poverty and social inequalities mirrors the experiences of many *Manauaras* I met. Many had experienced some improvements in income or material wealth throughout their lives, but also suffer from the effects of urban insecurity and violence. The majority of the older people I spoke to had arrived in Manaus in search of a better life after leaving behind an early life of extreme rural poverty elsewhere in the state of Amazonas. Typically, on arrival, they or their parents had no jobs, no house, and very few belongings. Now, most have experienced improvements in the material standard of living, which they attribute to their own hard work. This is reflected in a popular belief that Manaus is a city full of opportunities to make money if one is willing to work hard. These 'opportunities' refer mainly to informal jobs and activities. Yet despite chances to make some money, many shared Maria's feelings of fear, anxiety, isolation, vulnerability and lack of trust.

Maria's and others *Manaura* dwellers urban life are the focus of this paper. It analyses the urban life experiences of Maria and her fellow research participants through the lens of the capabilities approach (Sen 1990a, Nussbaum 2013) as well as through the concept of disadvantage developed by Wolff and De-Shalit (2013). As the capabilities approach calls attention to - and the lives of Maria and the other participants of this research show – wellbeing cannot and should not be confused with economic development. The essence of the capabilities approach is a focus on the freedom of an individual to achieve *beings* and *doings* that s/he has reasons to value. Capabilities are a set of usually interrelated opportunities to choose and to act. A person's capabilities refer to the combination of *functionings*[4] that are feasible for them to achieve (Nussbaum 2013).

Few studies have been linking urbanisation and capabilities and most of them have taken quantitative approaches (Li et al. 2015). However, reducing lives to numerical measures and

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[4] Functionings are active realisations of one or more capabilities, they are beings and doings that are the outgrowths of capabilities. For instance, functionings can include working, resting, being literate, being healthy, being part of a community etc. (Robeyns 2005, Nussbaum 2013).

proxies is in general insufficient to capture intersubjective, nuanced and subtleties dimensions of capabilities (Nussbaum 2013, Seeberg 2014). Thus, qualitative approaches to capabilities are essential to provide a better understanding of determinants and also evaluative processes affecting the people's capacity to do and to be. Therefore, this chapter aims to contribute to a deeper understanding of what are the main disadvantages (re)produced through the economic, social and political structures of this rainforest Metropolis – Manaus. And, how these disadvantages – or capability failures – have been restricting what Maria and other citizens can be and can do, and thus preventing them from living dignified lives.

My analyses are based on data collected during fieldwork in the low-income neighbourhood of São Jorge in the city of Manaus, Amazonas state, Brazil. In order to explore the lived experience as fully as possible I chose participant observation-based research in which I embedded myself full-time in São Jorge (Fig 4.1), where I resided with a local family from August to October of 2015. During this time, I tried to get fully engaged with the host family's routine as well as to get to know their neighbours and other people in the neighbourhood. I would also walk around the neighbourhood stopping in food stalls, local markets, small restaurants and public spaces where I conducted some unstructured and semi-structured interviews with residents. I also visited local schools and health-care centres where I interviewed staff members, students and patients, respectively. This chapter also draws on insights from participant observation and interviews conducted in rural communities of Rio Preto da Eva, Amazonas, Brazil, where I had the opportunity to know former residents of Manaus that had recently moved to those areas.

Fig 4.1: São Jorge neighbourhood; a) igarapé Cachoeira which cross part of the neighbourhood; b) typical street of São Jorge; c) public school; d) residents of São Jorge watching the street from their homes

4.2.1 Why the capabilities approach?

The capabilities approach allowed me to explore the ways in which wellbeing is not equal to economic development, by providing a lens through which to examine the lives of Maria and other informants. Capabilities was first developed by Amartya Sen in an attempt to think about human wellbeing, departing from a utilitarian approach which had dominated modern economics (Sen et al. 1987, Deneulin and McGregor 2010). For a long time, in political and economic arenas it was assumed that quality of life in a nation could be improved only through increases in the GDP *per capita* (Nussbaum, 2011). However, Sen et al. (1987) and Nussbaum (2013) call attention to the limitations of this way of thinking by arguing that increases in GDP *per capita* do not necessarily mean improvements in the standard of living of the majority of the members of a society. Nor do they address issues such as deficient health and education systems and social inequalities.

The main claim of the capabilities approach is that assessments of wellbeing and judgments about justice, or the level of development of a place should not primarily focus on economic

factors. Instead, the approach focuses on the effective opportunities that people have to lead the lives they have reason to value (Robeyns 2005). In this sense, it is a new way of thinking about agency (Abel and Frohlich 2012, Claassen 2016, Gangas 2016). The capabilities approach considers that the freedom to choose has intrinsic value and it is built into the notion of capability, which is also framed as the opportunity to select. Therefore, promoting capabilities would mean promoting areas of freedom (Nussbaum 2013).

As a normative theoretical approach the capabilities approach gives significant attention to conceptualizations of fundamental justice to which debates about material and social equality take a central role (Robeyns 2006). In this sense, Nussbaum (2013), asserts that if governments are to ensure that people are able to pursue a dignified life, worthy of living and minimally flourishing (i.e. about a certain level), they have to secure for all citizens at least a threshold level of ten central capabilities (Nussbaum (2013,) p. 33-35)(table 1). However, Sen disagrees that a list should be proposed and instead he defends that selection of essential capabilities should be done through participatory democratic process (Sen 1990, Nussbaum 2013).

Table 4.1: The ten central capabilities by (Nussbaum 2013)

Capability	Description (Being able to…)
Life	Live a worthy life to the end of a human life of normal length.
Bodily Health	Have good health, including reproductive health; to be adequately nourished; to have adequate shelter.
Bodily Integrity	Move freely from place to place; to be secure against violent assault, including sexual assault and domestic violence; having opportunities for choices in matters of reproduction.
Senses, Imagination, and Thought	Use the senses to imagine, think, and reason. Being able to use one's mind in ways protected by guarantees of freedom of expression with respect to both political and artistic speech, and freedom of religious exercise.
Emotion	Have attachments and feelings to people outside ourselves. Not having one's emotional development blighted by fear and anxiety.

Practical Reason	Form a conception of the good and to engage in critical reflection about the planning of one's life.
Affiliation	Live with and toward others, to recognize and show concern for other humans, to engage in various forms of social interaction. Having the social bases of self-respect and non-humiliation; being able to be treated as a dignified being whose worth is equal to that of others.
Other Species	Live with concern for and in relation to animals, plants, and the world of nature.
Play	Being able to laugh, to play, to enjoy recreational activities.
Control over one's Environment.	Political. Participate effectively in political choices that govern one's life; having the right of political participation, protections of free speech and association. Material. Hold property, and having property rights on an equal basis with others; having the right to seek employment on an equal basis with others;

The capabilities approach is also concerned with entrenched social injustice and inequalities. It acknowledges that they can be crucial at producing circumstances that thwart freedom and individuals opportunities to realise their capabilities and consequently to flourish and achieve wellbeing (Drèze and Sen 2002, Nussbaum 2013). It is also recognised within the capabilities approach that material and non-material circumstances can influence and shape people's choices and evaluations about what they can effectively be and do (Robeyns 2005). For instance, social norms and traditions can deeply influence women's preferences which influence their aspirations and what they perceive as effective choices (Sen 1990b, Nussbaum 2000).

The capabilities approach recognizes that whether individuals have certain capabilities or not depends on individual features like skills and competencies, and on the external conditions in which they find themselves, including norms, institutions and social structures. However, post-colonial scholars have criticized the capabilities approach arguing that it is, to some extent, complicit with an individualistic, capitalistic neoliberal framework (Comiling and Sanchez 2014, Sayer 2014). In this sense, Comiling and Sanchez (2014) point out, for

instance, that Sen's capabilities approach accepts the neoliberal system as the overall context of this capability framework. By giving centrality to individual freedom, Sen acknowledges social arrangements only as influences that can affect individual freedom and not structures that restrict it which tend to reduce structural, social and class concerns to being private affairs (Comaroff and Comaroff 2001, Comiling and Sanchez 2014).

Hence, Comiling and Sanchez (2014) argue that Sen's capabilities approach may promote the participation of poor people in building the life they have reason to value yet this is unlikely to happen if their collective mode of living, means of support, and common experience of deprivation are not adequately recognized nor self-organization encouraged. Although Sen recognises the importance of the poor's articulation for the expansion of their political capability, he falls short to address issues like practical empowerment (Comiling and Sanchez 2014). In this sense, Sayer (2014) argues that the intentional vagueness of the capabilities approach that is justified as way to make it applicable in diverse contexts can create scope for opportunistic appropriations and interpretations that can neglect power, domination and structural inequalities.

Moreover, the capabilities approach has been criticized from the perspective of postcolonial studies for using a western, liberal lens regards to understand non-western cultures and knowledges (Charusheela 2009, Comiling and Sanchez 2014). It has been argued that the capabilities approach universalises particular cultural elements from dominant cultures or identifies "similarities" among different cultures from a western interpretation (Charusheela 2009, Comiling and Sanchez 2014). Consequently, critics assert that the capabilities approach's alignment with neoliberal values and interests can undermine opportunities to proper understand and cultivate the plurality of non-western cultures (Charusheela 2009, Comiling and Sanchez 2014).

Although these critiques to the capabilities approach may raise concerns about its application, it is noteworthy that it offers a more inclusive perspective than traditional economic frameworks of wellbeing. Furthermore, it gives poverty a more nuanced and multidimensional analysis, considering it a state of capability-deprivation instead of lack of income or material possession which helps to combat narrow views of poverty as simply lack of basic necessities (Comiling and Sanchez 2014). In addition, the approach encourages agency and public participation in the identification of public priorities, thus pushing governments to consider people as an end in policy-formulations. These factors can

ultimately help develop better solutions for alleviating poverty and lack of wellbeing (Comiling and Sanchez 2014).

Besides, the broad scope of the capabilities approach allows for dialogue with other theories that can perhaps better explain/analyse social situations. This has encouraged a prolific dialogue between capabilities approach and other theoretical perspectives, which has enormously contributed to addressing issues about social analysis and its empirical application (Robeyns 2006, Abel and Frohlich 2012, Wolff and De-Shalit 2013, Sayer 2014, Gangas 2016). Therefore, the capabilities approach combined with other theories has provided major contributions to studies related to, for instance, wellbeing (Deneulin and McGregor 2010, Wood and Deprez 2012) health (Lallukka et al. 2007, Abel and Frohlich 2012), gender issues (Sen 1990b, Winter et al. 2002, Chant 2013), and environmental justice (Winter et al. 2002, Edwards et al. 2015).

4.2.2   Capability failures, disadvantage and violence

Nussbaum focuses on the positive capabilities that people need to flourish, but in order to understand the landscape of capabilities failures which can be inferred from the narratives of my *Manauara* informants, I draw on the notion of *disadvantage*, advanced by Wolff and De-Shalit (2013), (Wolff and De-Shalit (2013), p. 8).). By using this concept, I attempted to identify what kind of disadvantages permeating the lives of the research participants have been contributing to capability failures. In order others, what kind of capabilities they would like to realise in their urban lives, but, have been unable to do so because of disadvantages

What does it mean to be disadvantaged? Can one compare different disadvantages regarding, for instance, access to education or healthcare? How can you determine who is least advantaged? These are questions posed by Wolff and De-Shalit (2013). They also argue that different forms of disadvantage can be correlated, forming a cluster of disadvantages. They also ask how clusters of disadvantages persist and even accumulate over time, and can be reproduced over generations.

For Wolff and De-Shalit (2013) what matters for an individual is not only the level of functionings he or she enjoys at any particular time, but also their prospects for *sustaining* that level. Therefore, "*one central way of being disadvantaged is when one's functionings are or become insecure involuntarily, or when, in order to secure certain functionings, one is forced to make other functionings insecure, in a way that other people do not have to*" (Wolff

and De-Shalit 2013, p. 72). Hence, consider Maria's case, the functionings of being outside her house and work in her garden make her insecure because she lives on a dangerous street where there are multiple risks to her bodily integrity.

The capacity to be and to do is intrinsically related to opportunities available to a person for beings and doings (Sen 1990a, Nussbaum 2011). According to Wolff and De-Shalit (2013) someone has a genuine opportunity (and thus a capability) to do something only only if the costs of doing so are reasonable for them to bear (i.e. not posing undue costs or risks). The relevant costs are the impacts on other functionings, and what is reasanable will depend on the context (Wolff and De-Shalit 2013). In this sense, the unconstrained exercise of functionings that a person has reason to value is central for the fulfilling of one's capability and consequently her/his wellbeing (Sen 1990a, Nussbaum 2013). Therefore, identifying and understanding the disadvantages impeding this is crucial for recogonising capability failures and taking actions aiming to improve quality-of-life and wellbeing.

 Disadvantages impact an individual's functionings and consequently restrict their capacities to be and to do, resulting in reduced wellbeing (Wolff and De-Shalit 2013). Using the case of life in Manaus we aim to identify socioeconomic and environmental conditions and situations that operate as disadvantages to the exercise of functionings of, by the urban working class in the Brazilian Amazon. We are particularly focussed on the capabilities of life, bodily integrity, emotions and affiliation. We recognise that the plural character of disadvantage affects functionings related to many other capabilities, but we focus on these four because they appear to be of most concern to our informants during the course of their daily lives.

Therefore, because the urban lives of the participants of this research appeared to be permeated by high levels of physical and structural violence, we look at violence (whether physical or structural) in this chapter as a *corrosive disadvantage*; the type of disadvantage which negatively affects other functionings (Wolff and De-Shalit 2013). I attempt to account for the influences of physical and structural violence on selected central capabilities, including; life, emotions, bodily integrity and affiliation. In this sense, we try also to make some correlations among the disadvantages identifying possible clusters of them.

4.3 Manaus' recent journey

In the Manaus of the late 1960s, there were high levels of poverty and unemployment and very poor infrastructure and provision of public services such as education and healthcare. In provincial Amazonian urban centres and most rural areas, these services were virtually

absent (Dean 1989, Simmons et al. 2002, Seráfico and Seráfico 2005, Araújo 2009). In an attempt to reverse this situation and stimulate Manaus' economy in the 1960s the Brazilian government launched a series of policies and programs linked to industrialization (Seráfico and Seráfico 2005, Araújo 2009). This led to the creation of the Manaus Free Trade Zone (MFTZ) a form of economic zoning where many fiscal incentives and infrastructure were made available in order to attract capital to the region and foster industrialisation. The Free Trade Zone grew quickly, and by the 1970s more than one hundred companies were operating there (Despres 1991).

The implementation of MFTZ contributed to Manaus ranking the 7th GDP among all Brazilian cities (IBGE n.d.). Demand for labour in factories and service industries attracted thousands of people from across Amazonas State as well as migrants from other regions (e.g. northern and north-eastern of Brazil) who were seeking better life conditions such as access to public services, job opportunities and markets (Perz and Skole 2003, Seráfico and Seráfico 2005, Nazareth et al. 2011, Richards and Vanwey 2015). As a result, the population of Manaus grew more than ten-fold from 171,343 inhabitants in 1960 to 2,094,391 inhabitants in 2016 (estimated) (IBGE 2010), becoming the most populated city in the Brazilian Amazon. Economic development and social programs (e.g. cash transfers to the poor and above-inflationary increases in the minimum wage) have helped, to some extent, alleviate income poverty (Castilho et al. 2015). For instance, the prevalence of extreme poverty decreased from 15% of households in 2000 to 10% by 2010 (IBGE, 2000, 2010). Average real monthly per capita income in Manaus increased by 38% between 2005 and 2015, although it remains below the national average (Castilho et al. 2015).

However, as is often the case, economic growth was paralleled by sharply increasing social inequality; the GINI index of income inequality increased from 0.57 in 1991 to 0.63 in 2010. The economic prosperity of Manaus has been concentrated in only a few sectors (particularly industrial) and there has been only limited commitment to redistributing wealth to achieve social improvements for most of the *Amazonense* population (Seráfico and Seráfico 2005, Miranda 2013, Kanai 2014). Furthermore, the rapid population growth that followed industrial development has intensified a chaotic urbanisation process. This has been marked by negligence towards the poor and has produced stark social and spatial inequalities (Despres 1991, Seráfico and Seráfico 2005, Kanai 2014, Neto et al. 2014). For instance, there are stark contrasts between the relatively prosperous central-south area of the city, with imposing buildings and avenues, compared to high levels of deprivation and chaotic, poorly-

planned infrastructure in north-western and north-eastern areas (Nogueira et al. 2007, Cruz et al. 2009, Imbiriba et al. 2009, Giatti et al. 2010).

Ignoring these inequalities, the official narrative throughout Manaus' industrial development has been of providing jobs for everyone keen to work. Yet, the sarcastic phrase "*Zona Fraca*" (meaning weak or poor trade zone) expresses a popular critique of low wages, poverty, job insecurity, high prices, unmanageable urban growth, and a multitude of related problems. Indeed, for anyone visiting the city, there is abundant visible evidence that many people are not living well. Despite the official rhetoric, much of Manaus appears to have the characteristics of a huge *favela* [5](slum) (Despres 1991).

Across Latin America, economic development models that are city-focused and poorly committed to welfare distribution have produced cities characterised by social exclusion, poverty, inequality, spatial segregation and increasing violence (Fernandes 2007, Koonings and Krujit 2007). Although Latin American cities tend to dominate the rankings, urban violence is a global social problem that affects millions of people (Comaroff and Comaroff 2006, Koonings and Krujit 2007, Muggah 2012). Causes of violence have been associated with several factors such as poverty, unemployment, drug economy, armed conflicts, social exclusion, the inefficacy of justice systems etc. (Comaroff and Comaroff 2006, Koonings and Krujit 2007, Wilkinson and Pickett 2010a). Although there is no consensus about causal relationships between these factors and incidences of violence there is little doubt that violence is greater in more unequal societies and it disproportionally affects people from lower social classes (Gilligan 2000, Koonings and Krujit 2007, Wilkinson and Pickett 2010a).

Indeed, positive correlation between high levels of inequality and violence has been found by several studies (Briceño-León et al. 2008, Wilkinson and Pickett 2010a, Rufrancos et al. 2013). For instance, Briceño-León et al. (2008), have shown that Latin America countries with the highest GINI coefficient were also the ones with the highest homicide rates. One possible explanation for this is proposed by Gilligan (2000) that argues that violent behaviour and crimes appear from psychopathological roots of hidden shame and that our societal

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[5] There is a debate about whether it is appropriate or not to use the term *favela* and *slum* because both names can carry a negative connotation (Arabindoo 2011). However, considering that *favelas* is not the focus of this study, but, another urban social context this study can dialogue and most of the cited literature use this term, I opted to use it as well.

systems of response are iterative in causing further shame and shaming and, therefore, creating a circle of causation. According to Sennet and Cobb (1973), Gilligan (2000) it is not poverty or deprivation in an absolute sense that causes shame, but rather, it is relative deprivation which comes down to forms of psychological deprivation such as of dignity, self-respect and pride. As stated by Gilligan (2000, p. 201) – "*it is the gap or disparity between the wealth and income of those at the top and those at the bottom of the social hierarchy that is much more powerful cause of feelings of inferiority and shame than is absolute poverty*".

Thus, metropolises like Manaus and many others in the developing world, where development and urbanisation happen to have a strong exclusive trait, are marked by increasing social tensions and conflicts where physical and structural violence thrive. Structural violence can be understood as systematic ways in which social arrangements harm or otherwise disadvantage individuals. It can be subtle, often invisible and normally there are no specific individuals or culture that can be held alone responsible for it. Instead, structural violence is, in general, resulted from historical and economic processes that are not committed with the egalitarian distribution of rights consequently constraining individual agency, especially of the poor (Farmer 2004, Ho 2007). The combination of these types of violence works together to (re)produce cities, which are in Holston's words (Holston 2009, p. 261), characterized by "*generalized climate of fear, criminalization of the poor, criminal violence, support for police violence, abandonment of public space, and fortification of residence*".

4.4 Experiencing threats to the capacity of living a life of a normal length and other forms of violence

"It is a miracle that I am alive". That is how Gil ended a sad story he was telling me about his life. Gil used to live in Manaus in a low-income neighbourhood. One day someone unnoticeably had entered his house in Manaus and stabbed him several times. Gil is still confused about why someone had done it to him. He thinks the main purpose of this person was not to rob him, as he missed only a few things in his house after that odd incidence. He thinks it was rather vengeance. Gil suggested that it was his ex-partner who gave the order to murder him, but, until the time of our talk (after almost ten years he was injured) he did not know for sure why that occurred to him. Nevertheless, Gil, presumably, felt so insecure where he was living that he decided to make a bold change. He left his house and job in Manaus and moved to the interiors of Rio Preto da Eva in order to find some peace.

"I've witnessed at least two guys of a similar age to me being shot right next to me in my old-neighbourhood. They were involved with drug trafficking, which I was also involved in. I lived in constant fear. I know if I kept living in that neighbourhood my immediate destiny was the cemetery". This was the experience of Paulo, a young man in this 20s and former resident of the low-income neighbourhood of Redenção in Manaus. Paulo said he was convinced by his relatives to move to the interior of Rio Preto da Eva in order get out of the sight of his drug dealers "friends".

"My biggest fear is to get shot in my face". That was what Andrea, a teenage girl said to me when she was telling me about her life in São Jorge neighbourhood. Although she never mentioned to me to be physically affected by violence, she seemed to be quite terrified about the possibility of that happen.

What Gil, Paulo and Andrea stories show us is that in an urban context like Manaus and elsewhere, threats to life can operate in different ways. Gil had his capacity to live a life of a normal length seriously jeopardized, Paulo watched very closely what could easily have been his fate, and Andrea seemed to feel terrified about what she hears to happen with other people in her neighbourhood and city. Although not all the research participants had experienced this proximity to death as Gil and Paulo did, most of them had felt and experienced these threats in many ways. For many, robberies, assaults, physical aggressions and sexual abuse have been part of their lives. Even if not directly affected themselves, all participants certainly knew others who were victims of violence or had witnessed it.

The research participants are obviously not alone in their urban experiences of violence. Newspapers, TV, and statistics are constantly reporting numerous cases of violence (from brutal assassinations to thefts with apparent no physical harm, but, certainly psychological effects) (Junior and Costa 2016, Queiroz 2016, Acrítica 2016, Alves 2017). Watching and reading these news items give the impression that violence reaches everywhere in the city and no-one is safe, ever. The local media frequently picture violent episodes with little contextualization, often reinforcing stereotypes and promoting the use of brutal force by the police (Em Tempo 2015, Junior and Costa 2016), which contribute to a generalized climate of fear and tensions.

However, although there is some truth in affirming that there are now few places in Manaus and other Amazonian capitals as Belém, where violence hasn't reached (Nascimento 2013), if

we get a closer look we will find that it disproportionately affects the poor and poorest areas (Nascimento 2013, Chagas 2014), something that is not new for Brazil and other countries classified as violent (Haugen and Boutros 2014, Waiselfizz 2014). For instance, (Orellana et al. n.d.) found that 71% (641) of the victims of homicides in 2014 in Manaus were young people (up to 25 years old) with low levels of education, the latter often indicative of poverty. Nascimento (2013) showed a concentration of homicides in neighbourhoods on the eastern part of the city, known by its high levels of poverty, poor infrastructure and housing conditions. While for the eastern zone of the city the average homicide rate was 65.5 homicide/100,000 inhabitants in 2012, in the centre-south portion of the city (one of the least poor areas) this rate was 20.1 homicide/100,000 inhabitants (Nascimento 2013). São Jorge neighbourhood in the western part of the city, where my field work took place homicide rate was 40.0/100,000 inhabitants. But, in the neighbourhood next to it (Compensa), the rate was nearly double – 72.3 homicide/100,000 inhabitants (remembering the homicides rates 7-8 per 100,000 in 2012 in war-torn countries like Afghanistan and Iraq (UNODC 2013).

Amazonian metropolises like Manaus and Belém have seen unprecedented levels of violence. In fact, in Manaus and Belém (the biggest Amazonian capitals) homicides numbers has increased 181% and 63,1% respectively from 2001 to 2011 while in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro metropolises that used to be known in the country by their high levels of violence homicides have decreased 79,8% and 55,2% respectively in the same period (Waiselfisz 2013). Not surprisingly, Manaus and Belém are ranked 23rd and 26th respectively among the most 50 violent cities in the world (Barbosa 2017). Crimes in those capitals have been associated with a variety of factors as widespread poverty, unemployment and increasing drug trafficking (Orellana et al. n.d.). The latter, for instance, has been linked to 70% of the murders in Manaus (Phillips 2011). A growing and very profitable cocaine market in Manaus through where drugs from Peru, Colombia and Bolivia have been passing in their way to the south (e.g. Rio de Janeiro) have been reported (Phillips 2011, Riccio et al. 2016). Consequently, the city has become a centre for drug-related crimes and for the region's mafia.

Those numbers are undoubtedly alarming, even more, it is how disturbing and disruptive it can be for people's everyday lives (Queiroz 2016). (Gilligan 2000), pointed out that being a victim or a perpetrator of violence is equally tragic. What I have learned from my research participants (and experienced it somehow myself during my fieldwork, is how vulnerable they feel to it and how it has been affecting their emotions, routines and interactions with

others. Although violence can be experienced in different ways, people seem to share a terrifying common sense of being extremely vulnerable to it, which turns to be a corrosive disadvantage because it does not only affect their emotional state, but also the exercise of many functionings as explored in the next section.

There appear to be only a few studies about how Amazonian urban citizens have been experiencing violence in their everyday lives and its consequences for their emotional state and routines (Borges 2012, Barreto 2013). However, equally important, but not a focus of this research, studies related to violence against women ((Santos 2011, Augusto et al. 2015) , sexual abuse and assault of women and adolescents (Ribeiro 2011), the geographical distribution of violent incidences (which tend to concentrate on the peripheries of the cities) (Orellana et al. n.d., Chagas 2014, Gonzalez 2017), the rise of drug-trafficking and its relationship with public security (Marra 2008, Chagas 2014, Riccio et al. 2016) , and the increasing violence in schools in Amazonian capitals have been receiving increasing attention from researchers (Pontes and Cruz 2010, Souza 2011).

4.5 Experiencing Fear of losing bodily integrity and its implications for the capacity for free movement and agency

 "My daughter works at night until she comes back home I cannot relax, I cannot sleep. I try to find something to distract myself from the anxiety; I often pray for her to come back home from her work safe and well". Celia, who works and lives in São Jorge neighbourhood.

"Here in São Jorge neighbourhood is not too dangerous, there are other parts of the city that are more dangerous. However, I leave my home to go to work afraid of not coming back alive." Joelson, a young man (23 years old) resident of São Jorge neighbourhood, that also told me me that he had lost many neighbour friends who were involved in drug trafficking and were murdered.

 "My children get bored of being home (indoors) *all the time, but, I fear for their safety if I let them play outside, it is dangerous. There are very few places in Manaus where is safe and affordable to us for doing something outdoor".* Kate, mother of three children, and resident of São Jorge neighbourhood.

Celia, Joelson and Kate's quotes help to illustrate the fear and anxiety most of the research participants have reported to me to feel for the bodily integrity of their own and of those they care about. This constant state of worrying appears to be widespread in Brazilian metropolises (Caldeira 2000, Garmany 2014, Ferreira 2015). Although violence concentrates

in poorer urban areas, the fear to be a victim of it appears to permeate all social classes (Caldeira 2000). Nevertheless, the responses to it can vary considerably among groups, regions, classes and individuals (Ribeiro 1997, Caldeira 2000). In spite of what kind of responses it provokes, they normally share a common element that is the influence on people's everyday routines. Like a way to get a sense of security, the *Manauara* working class ends up taking a series of "precautionary measures" (as they call it) in their everyday lives that can be quite restrictive to the free movement and agency. This situation recalls, to some extent, what the sociologist Machado da Silva described in an interview about his research in the favelas of Rio de Janeiro regards to the presence of drug trafficking. In his words (Homero 2006, p. 2):

"The presence, or the ghost, of drug trafficking is constant in the practicalities of everyday life and the subjective preoccupations of the residents of favelas. It is a cognitive and moral reference in both the "tranquil" and "violent" favelas, as well as in other areas of the city. "This affects the circulation of the residents, particularly of the young, both in the place where they live and in other urban areas, since they are orientated according to which they believe to be permitted or not, dangerous or not. Thus, the power of drug trafficking ends up appearing greater than its material ability to impose its "will".

Although in the urban area I conducted fieldwork drug trafficking didn't seem to have the same dominance and influence it has on many favelas in Rio de Janeiro (although it is certainly present - (Branco 2014, G1 AM 2017)), the "presence" and the "ghost" of assaults, robberies, aggressions of many kinds, murders, as well as drug trafficking seem, to some extent, to have the above-mentioned similar effects of drug trafficking in favelas on the working class *manauras*' everyday life, worries and subjectivity. The research participants also orient themselves according to their evaluations and assessments of what is dangerous based mainly on their own experiences of the neighbourhood and other parts of the city and/or on what is read (and watched on TV) and heard from others. For example, there are streets and alleys in the neighbourhood that are avoided to cross (like Cachoeira Street, for instance). There are times of day that are considered unsafe to walk or stay on the streets, speak on the cell phone on the street are strongly not recommended, bags should be carried very tightly to the body. This was one of the first things I had learned talking to people in the neighbourhood, I have been warned several times – "*Be careful while walking on that street*", "*never speak on your phone while on the street*", "*don't walk in that direction*".

Thus, the fear of a violent attack or being a victim of assaults and robberies led to many research informants restricting the exercise of several functionings, including working. For instance, Lena, an older resident of São Jorge told me that she already quit a job because she feared to lose her life in an assault. It was part of her job to deposit amounts of money in the bank regularly, and after a situation of being next to a person that was assaulted in front of her the in the bank's exit; she decided to leave her job. According to her, she feared that soon it was going to happen with her. Borges (2012) found a similar situation among women who have the function to sell and check tickets within public buses in Manaus, which are often robbed and assaulted putting these women in very dangerous situations as they are the ones responsible to keep the money. As result, many reported suffering from anxiety and depression which lead some of them to quit their job. Andrea, the teenage girl above-mentioned, said that she often helps her family with its small informal enterprise; selling food and drinks in or around public festivals and events. Andrea said that on many occasions she and her family had had to quickly flee a trading-spot because things started to "get dangerous", because of assaults and street fighting. In other words, the disadvantage of violence and the resulted fear of one for his/her bodily integrity directly has an impact on people's functioning of working, making it, in this case very insecure and emotionally hard

Another significant capability failure in Manaus' poor neighbourhoods is linked to play and leisure activities. Like Kate that doesn't let their children play outside other research participants told me that they do the same and think that there are very few places and spaces that are safe and affordable by working class where they can have good-quality leisure time, especially outdoors. This gives children and adults as well the sensation of boredom as result of what they described as "lack of things to do" in a place considered to be dangerous.

Staying most the time indoors in fortified houses appears to be a common strategy to get a sense of security in São Jorge neighbourhood. As Maria, Joelson and Kate, most of the research participants seem to struggle to feel safe outside their homes. The most extreme example I encountered was provided by Envira and her family who recently moved to Manaus from Tefé, a town in the interior of Amazonas. Envira lives in Sao Jorge, in a one-room house, with her son, grandson and daughter-in-law. Envira was unemployed and told me that she almost never left the house because Manaus is too dangerous and she is afraid to get out alone. She used to spend the days with her grandson in the room watching TV all day.

Those strategies above can be quite disruptive to the flow of everyday life and resonate with the experiences of many *Manauras*. For instance, a local newspaper (Diário do Amazonas 2016) gathered some of them: a man that changed his time to leave home to his work in an attempt to avoid being assaulted again; a woman that avoids to walk on the street in the evenings and at night; a family that acquire three dogs to watch their already fortified house; another family that stopped to stay in the public space in front of their houses where they used to talk to their neighbours, being indoors most of the time with the gates and doors heavily locked etc. This constant preoccupation with security is probably is even worse among women that added to risks of being assaulted and robbed, they have to deal with an apparent higher risk of being victims of sexual abuse and/or harassment in public spaces and/or during robberies in Amazonian metropolises (Santos 2011, Augusto et al. 2015).

This (re)organisation and often "enclosement" of the everyday routines have been well studied for contexts like *favelas* in Rio de Janeiro (Cavalcanti 2006, Ferreira 2015) and other upper classes urban areas (Ribeiro 1997, Caldeira 2000). Although in *favelas* the disruption of routines (as well as life itself) due to violence, especially when there are armed conflicts between the drug traffickers and the police, appears to be more extreme than observed in São Jorge (e.g. in Rio schools stop to work, people miss workdays because they can't leave their homes in the middle of gunshots, parents have to suddenly stop what they are doing to pick up their children at schools because shootings nearby have started etc. - Ferreira (2015)), favela dwellers and the urban working class *Manauaras*, to some extent, share similar experiences of an urban life. Although there are differences about how violent episodes occur between the favelas and study area, the fear and anxiety for bodily integrity, the constant state of alert regards to what can be dangerous and the (re) organisation of routines according to what urban dwellers infer make them less vulnerable (which often reduce people's freedom or make the exercise of essential functionings insecure) appear to be common elements of life in the *favelas* and *Manaura* working class neighbourhoods (Cavalcanti 2006, Silva and Leite 2007, Ferreira 2015).

It is worth mentioning as Cavalcanti (2006), Farias (2007), Ferreira (2015) noticed for favelas as well that although there is a constant effort in attempting to escape from being a victim of violence (which sometimes can make a difference in reducing the exposure to risk) , actually experiencing violence can be quite unpredictable. For instance, (Cavalcanti 2006) observed that residents of the favela where she conducted ethnography were always consciously and unconsciously attentive to signs (e.g. perceived strange presence, the *mototaxis*' countenance, perceived unusual movement of people and things, shops opening or closing

the doors etc.) that could indicate that shootings between drug traffickers and the police could happen. However, although attempts to predict it were made all the time, its occurrence often seemed to catch them by surprise. It reminded me of situations I saw or heard about in the field related to other crimes. For instance, during my time in São Jorge, the bakery in front of the house I was living was assaulted in the morning, and its owner was shot dead, and two staff members were seriously wounded. This took many residents by surprise, as the bakery was located in an area viewed as not dangerous by São Jorge inhabitants and the time it occurred considered a safe one to circulate in the streets. Many crimes in Amazonian metropolises happen as well when they are least expected (Queiroz 2015, Pinto 2017, Holofote 2017).

As (Ferreira 2015) pointed out this unpredictable trait of violence greatly contributes to a kind of widespread terror which intensify a generalized climate of fear that can evolve to certain disconnection with reality as people, because of fear, stop engaging with the world, which seemed to resonate with the cases of Envira and Maria. Moreover, the occurrences of crimes in places that are essential for the functioning of society and where it is presumably expected to be safe as schools (e.g. assaults in public schools have constantly been reported in Manaus and Belém – Souza (2011), Em Tempo (2015), Simão and Semis (2017) and public transports (e.g. 414 public buses were assaulted in Manaus in 2015 - Em Tempo (2015)) can leave citizens with very few options for feeling safe in their everyday lives. Besides, these places cannot be avoided by the majority of the urban dwellers as they are fundamental for the maintenance and sustainability of their lives which turns the exercise of elemental functionings a source of fear and anxiety for one's bodily integrity.

4.6 Violence, poverty and the erosion of trust

"Nowadays we cannot even say hello to people on the streets. I never say hello to people when I am walking on the streets or taking the bus". Ivonete, a resident of Alvorada, a low-income neighbourhood in Manaus.

 The fear and anxiety of having bodily integrity harmed and of losing material possessions not only affects routines but, also how people interact with each other as Ivonete's quote illustrates. Ivonete told me that she is no longer used to saying hello to people on the streets or in public spaces (as well as in public transport) because she is afraid that it would open a door to an unwanted approximation with someone that can cause her harm. She said that nowadays one cannot trust anyone else, no one knows what people's intentions are. Like

Ivonete, many other research participants struggle to trust other people. Not trusting others appears to be one of the "precautionary" attitudes to get a sense of security in social contexts permeated by high levels of violence like Manaus and elsewhere (Marmot 2004, Wilkinson and Pickett 2010a). This is not specific to Manaus, the erosion of social trust which often leads to the loss of the capability affiliation have been observed for other violent and unequal metropolises in Brazil and elsewhere in Latin America and other developing countries (Briceño-León and Zubillaga 2002, Farmer 2004, Fernandes 2007, Haugen and Boutros 2014).

In São Jorge neighbourhood, all the formers residents I talked to told me that in the 'old days' people used to interact much more as well as to use the streets and public spaces than they are used to do nowadays. In fact, the family that hosted me, one of the first families to have established in São Jorge, have had very little interactions with their neighbours during my time there, except with a few of them that were relatives. Actually, the head of my hosting family mentioned to me few times that she does not like proximity to her neighbours because she does not want anyone to know about her life. Proximity with others seemed to be something that everyone I talked to in São Jorge, to some extent, was quite afraid of. Probably because the exchange of information about one's life is viewed as something that can be put people in risk, as it can be used for doing no good by those with "bad" intentions, as I heard many times from the research participants. So, interactions with others appear to be less frequent and permeated by caution and distance, sometimes being close to a total withdrawal from a social life as in the case of Maria and Envira.

Staying most of the time indoors in heavily fortified houses, reducing the social life, being afraid of the other and being very cautious when interacting with others seemed to be the reality of many people in São Jorge neighbourhood and probably in many other parts of the city as well. Local newspapers and TV programs are full of stories of people that like Maria reported to live locked in her house, to be unable to trust other people, to build up walls and gates around their houses, install security cameras etc. (Em Tempo 2015, Queiroz 2016, Equipe Diário do Amazonas 2016, Acrítica 2016). Even shops are reducing the interactions with costumers - I saw many examples in Manaus of small heavily fortified shops where the costumers look at the shops' products through gates, they do not enter the shops. They ask what they want from a small window, the owner pick the product for them and deliver through this window. Talking to one of this shop owner he said that fortifying his shop was the only way to avoid being assaulted. He had been assaulted by armed people many times before. Not only Manaus have been experiencing this tendency for fortification and social

isolation (which some of the research participants described as living in a prison), it seems to be a quite generalized situation in Brazilian metropolises and elsewhere in Latin America (Ribeiro 1997, Caldeira 2000, Briceño-León and Zubillaga 2002, Farmer 2004, Silva and Leite 2007).

Thus, the erosion of social trust and consequent distance among urban dwellers shake even more the already weak basis for affiliation in Manaus and elsewhere in the country because it normally leaves room for quicker judgments and categorizations which ultimately reinforces social stigmas (Caldeira 2000, Moncrieffe 2006, Wacquant 2008a). Societies marked by structural inequalities like the Brazilian one have historically struggled to keep the social basis of self-respect which correlates with being able to be treated (and to treat others) as a dignified being whose worth is equal to that of others (Holston 2009b).

The uneven distribution of resources and rights that affect not only material conditions but also 'inoculates' inequalities into people's minds, which get accepted (or not), unconsciously, semi-consciously and consciously, all at the same time. And are then manifested (or not) in their everyday lives (Sennet and Cobb 1973, Bourdieu 2002, Sayer 2014). As Sayer (2011) has pointed out it is almost impossible to assess ourselves without avoiding comparisons with others and shared standards. According to some psychological experiments, people make judgements of each other's social status within the first few seconds of meetings (Kalma 1991). As Bourdieu (2002), p. 483) argues *"A class is defined as much by its being-perceived as by its being, by its consumption – which need not to be conspicuous in order to be symbolic…"* As has been well discussed (Caldeira 2000, Bourdieu 2002, Moncrieffe 2006), this is often translated into those from lower social classes being pejoratively perceived by those from upper classes which impinges as poor self-esteem and sense of unworthiness (Sennet and Cobb 1973, Gilligan 2000, Wilkinson and Pickett 2010b).

The situation exposed above gets even worse when high levels of criminality exists, especially in hierarchical societies, because the poor get often blamed for it which reinforces stigmatisation and discrimination against the least advantaged members of society (Gilligan 2000, Howard et al. 2002, Farmer 2004, Moncrieffe 2006, Sánchez R 2006, Garmany 2014). As a result, explanations for violence and crimes committed by members of all classes of hierarchical societies often centre on personal failure of achieving better socio-economic conditions rather than structural social problems (Caldeira 2000, Holston 2008).

For instance, Joelson, in an attempt to explain why people, commit crimes, said - "*I don't really know why people become bandits. One can see that in the poorest areas of São Jorge*

there are loads of bandits, but there are loads of good and honest people as well. It makes me think why that happens. If it was because of poverty, then everybody that lives there should be bandits, because everybody there is poor. I think those that go for the crime are opportunistic, they don't want to work hard, and they are lazy and jealous of others. They want to have what others have without working hard for it". This type of argument that sees personal traits and characteristics as the reasons for committing a crime or to overcome (or not) poverty is widespread in the Brazilian society (Caldeira 2000, Holston 2008, Garmany 2014). It probably explains why the research participants liked to emphasize that the improvements in their living conditions have come mainly through personal effort. It shows that they have been working hard throughout life and things haven't improved in an "easy way" which often means through "lazy" routes associated with taking advantages or something from others that some of those from similar socioeconomic conditions "choose" to take. Therefore, it is important for them to highlight the differences between those who are honest, hard-working, with decent jobs and others that take a different route, as it seems to make the former feel more entitled to be respected and deserving of rights than the others who take the "easy way". This type of attitude was also identified by Caldeira (2000) and Holston (2008) for São Paulo metropolis and Zaluar (2000) for Rio de Janeiro.

Like Joelson, Maura another research participant, also believes that if someone is or wants to be a decent person and is willing to work hard she/he does not need to take the "easy routes" which for her included prostitution, drugs and crime. Telling me her life trajectory, Maura highlighted many times what a hard-working and "correct" person she was even though she has belonged to the working class her entire life. She grew up in São Jorge following her parents' instructions of not trusting anyone and behaving well which included being very selective about friendships, places to go, clothes to wear, etc. Even though, Maura herself could not escape of being discriminated. She reported to me to have been mistreated by one of her neighbours because the neighbour thought that Maura looked like someone that was going to cause her harm when she showed up in her house to deliver cosmetic products she was selling to her neighbour's sister. Maura said that she felt hurt and humiliated by this situation.

Neither Joelson, Maura or the majority of the research participants questioned the social conditions that many times force people to take the so-called"easy routes" (e.g. drug trafficking, prostitution, stealing) as widespread unemployment, a poor public educational system, and a lack of opportunities of many kinds to the poor. Even Maura and Joelson have experienced uneven opportunities during their lives that probably led them to work harder

than others and to be more vulnerable than others to humiliating situations due to their social position in the society. To believe that personal character is mainly responsible for choices that are perceived as morally doubtful can add other layers of worries and anxieties related to avoiding stigmas and self and others discrimination in the urban poor's life (Farmer 1999, 2004, Gilligan 2000). This combined with increasing distrust due to violence can lead to indignation, confusion and a kind of paralysis resulting from the fear to act (e.g. because of retaliations) in the face of oppressing social disadvantages (Silva and Leite 2007, Ferreira 2015).

In this context, trusting others, associating with others, helping others, even talking to others, for instance, to strangers or people you do not know very well, becomes hard because it represents for these urban citizens a risk to the security of important functionings and capabilities and also to their dignity. Social interactions become a risk to their bodily integrity and life (in the case of violent assaults), a risk of being stigmatised, or being taken advantage of as the following example illustrates.

The risk of trusting others gets even worse and more complicated when we add situations when people use disguises to commit a crime. For example, during my fieldwork in São Jorge neighbourhood, I was warned several times about a group of men that was going around disguised as moto-taxi drivers. After being flagged down by a woman and setting off, they would change take them to a hiding-place and rape her. This interchangeability of roles is not at all rare in Brazil; many crimes are committed under the "everyday life functionings cloak"(Caldeira 2000, Mccann 2007). Therefore, situations like that combined with an inefficient justice system that tends to criminalise the poor (Farias 2007, Wacquant 2008b, Garmany 2014); it becomes difficult to figure out who is criminal and who is not. As a result, people (including the police) end up discerning criminals or not based on the personal traits and circumstances, they are used to relate to one condition or another.

The police in Brazil, in general, are well known for their abuse, arbitrariness, and injustices against the poor (Caldeira 2000, Farias 2007, Wacquant 2008b, Garmany 2014). As Caldeira, 2000, p. 194) pointed out, the outcome of this is that *"The application of legal principles or the recognition of some rights may be seen only as another form of harassment and disregard for the rights of the working class".* Moreover, the anti-poor approach of the police commonly known in *favelas* (Farias 2007), and also a reality in Manaus (Riccio et al. 2016) makes it very hard for disadvantaged people to trust them. For instance, during my fieldwork, there was an episode that 37 people were executed in Manaus during only one

weekend. The majority of them were young men from low-income neighbourhoods. Some of them were involved in drug trafficking, but some of them were, apparently, completely innocent. The police started to investigate this massacre, but nothing conclusive about who were the murderers has been reported. Journalists accused the police of killing these people in revenge for the death of a policeman killed by a drug trafficker, revenge being a common police practice (Fantástico 2015).

In summary, living in high-crime areas like low-income neighbourhoods in Manaus is a major disadvantage because violent crime threatens elemental capabilities; life and bodily integrity. Furthermore, the poor may avoid the police due to a lack of trust or due to aspects of their own 'differentiated citizenship' (e.g. not having legal documents proving their property). This cluster of disadvantages makes the least privileged members of society extremely vulnerable, partly because there are very few institutional support mechanisms available to them. As a result, in order to be minimally protected, such people may compromise other functionings, such as those related to affiliation and social relations. The lack of affiliation works as a cause-effect of constant fear-of-trusting others (including public authorities) in the context of the research participants. This, added to the real threat that violence poses to life, has been seriously impinging on other functionings as moving freely and safely from one place to another which compromise other important aspects of life as not to be emotionally blighted by fear and anxiety in a daily basis.

4.7 Conclusions

This study shows that, in the context of urban poverty, violence can be considered a corrosive disadvantage (Wolff and De-Shalit 2013) because it seriously affects an individual's capabilities; their capacity for beings and doings. High levels of violence in Manaus seriously reduce the chance of living to an old age (especially for young men), causing people to fear for their lives and bodily integrity. Consequently, in order to protect themselves, the working class of this Amazonian metropolis live their lives full of restrictions; particularly the fear of going outside. I have shown how this fear directly impinges on the functionings including; free movement in the city; enjoying recreational activities; participating in neighbourhood social life; avoiding an emotional state blighted by fear and anxiety (Nussbaum 2013). In this sense, this paper complements previous studies that found the fear of violence to be a major restriction on life and living (ACTIVIA 1998, Caldeira 2000, Vanderbeck and Jr. 2000, Briceño-León and Zubillaga 2002, Bourke and Geldens 2007, Koonings and Krujit 2007).

Moreover, I have also shown how the threat of physical violence reinforces and is reinforced by structural violence (Gilligan 2000, Sánchez R 2006), forming a cluster of disadvantages (Wolff and De-Shalit 2013). Combined, this cluster strengthens discriminatory processes and erodes social trust and cohesion, hence corroding the central capability of affiliation (Caldeira 2000, Howard et al. 2002, Farmer 2004, Sánchez R 2006, Koonings and Krujit 2007, Wilkinson and Pickett 2010b). Today, it appears hard for Manaus' working class citizens to trust others and to be trusted, especially when crime is often associated with personal socio-economic conditions, as opposed to structural inequalities. In hierarchical capitalist societies where success and personal value is usually measured through one's capacity for resource accumulation, social status comes close to defining our worth and how much we are valued. It raises tension among people, influencing how people feel about themselves and how they relate to each other (Gilligan 2000, Bourdieu 2002, Wilkinson and Pickett 2010b, Sayer 2011, Ziegler 2014). I have drawn on several examples to show how the urban poor may judge and be judged by fellow citizens, causing them to live under the pressure of striving for acceptance and respect and avoiding social stigma. Yet, they are still more susceptible to discriminatory attitudes and actions than any those from the upper classes (Caldeira 2000, Fischer 2004, Wacquant 2008a, Holston 2009a, Nuijten 2013, Garmany 2014). It gets even worse when public and institutions and authorities (e.g. the police) also act in discriminatory ways contributing to the way the least advantaged ones feel even more isolated and vulnerable (Caldeira 2000, Fischer 2004, Wacquant 2008a, Huggins 2010).

Importantly, the day-to-day lives of Amazonia's urban working-class citizens strongly demonstrate the contradictions or shortcomings of the dominant development model; achieving economic growth. Perhaps most people I spoke to had managed to achieve some economic prosperity during their lives, yet many could not escape the oppression of social disadvantage, confining them to an urban life full of risk, with complex cascading effects on social relations and emotional states. Therefore, my findings provide strong empirical support for claims that increases in monetary income do not necessarily end oppressive structures (Sen 1990a, Nussbaum 2013, Wolff and De-Shalit 2013). My informants perceived improvements in their material standard of living in key ways but felt trapped in lives lacking freedom and dignity. Interestingly, many informants mentioned their wish to move from Manaus to somewhere in the rural interior of Amazonas state, where they felt people are more able to live a more peaceful, less stressed, healthier and freer life. This became the focus of Chapter 3 of this thesis.

In this sense, the capability lens can be relevant in revealing the limitations and contradictions of economic development by offering a perspective that is able to capture how social disadvantages ((re)produced by socially exclusive economic growth) can be felt and how it can corrode the capacity of the urban poor for beings and for agency. In doing so, it helps us to look at urban poverty not only as a number of deprived people but, as an oppressive experience which can perhaps contribute to questioning reductionist and frequently stigmatised views about the poor and about how to tackle poverty (Nuijten 2013). Research on the poor urban citizens' experiences linked to violence can also help to understand the phenomenon of violence, a complex problem of big proportion in Latin American cities, and its implications for the functioning of society (Haugen and Boutros 2014). Nevertheless, the literature about it is still scarce for Amazonian cities where violence is escalating and making significant reductions in the freedom and wellbeing of its urban citizens. A limited understanding of this phenomenon can lead to ineffective and insufficient solutions to the problem (Farias 2007, Riccio et al. 2016). Therefore, more research is needed about the causes and effects of violence in the urban Amazon.

In summary, by analysing the wellbeing of Amazonian urban working-class citizens through the capabilities approach lens, this paper has highlighted the weakness of exploring wellbeing among the poor using traditional economic approaches. In particular, this paper has shown how the threat of violent assault is at the centre of a cluster of urban disadvantage by profoundly impacting central capabilities; including life, bodily integrity, play and affiliation. Considering wellbeing as a combination of multiple internal capacities and external circumstances (i.e. structural issues related to political economy) is particularly relevant for regions like Latin America where structural inequalities have a huge influence on how people feel about themselves, relate to others and decide to conduct their daily lives.

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Chapter 5

5 CONCLUSIONS

Top Left: the research participants who host me in *Ramal Bom Futuro*; the research participants who host in *Ramal Casa Branca*; research participants that host me in *Ramal Cachoeira*; research participants of *Ramal Bom Futuro;* research particpants from Manaus.

5.1 Concluding remarks

This thesis encapsulates my intellectual – and personal - journey from natural to social sciences, in the context of research conducted in and around the rainforest metropolis of Manaus. Through this work, I hope to contribute to a better understanding of the life, struggles and dignity of a section of Amazonian society that is invisible to scientific debates around the region's role in global environmental change. In this thesis, I have tried to give voice to my research subjects – the Amazonian working class. My journey began on new agricultural-deforestation frontier a hundred kilometres from Manaus, initially motivated by curiosity about a potential boom in fish-farming. Instead, I was deeply fascinated by a novel social transformation at the metropolitan frontier, where I found former city-dwellers in the process of (re)emerging as rural peasants. Later I traced the roots (both geographical and social) of some of the colonists back to deprived areas of Manaus, to understand why many are turning their backs on the city. My research focus shifted to an exploration of daily lives of these urban-rural migrations in the countryside but also in the city, to understand the factors leading to their decisions to leave it, which entailed an examination of experiences of symbolic and material injustices including the production, reproduction and performance of inequalities. I adopted a qualitative approach and compared the urban and rural places, and analyse experiences of people who are relatively marginalized within Brazil's highly stratified society. I approached this conceptually through a novel combination of insurgent citizenship, and capabilities approaches (Sen 1990, Holston 2008, Nussbaum 2013). This research also engages with local environmental change at the margins (and beyond) of this metropolis of over two million people.

This thesis contributes to scanty literature on the experiences, perceptions and feelings related to living in a large Amazonian city (Despres 1991a, Macdonald and Winklerprins 2014). Specifically, an interest in the urban working-class people decisions to move from the city to the countryside. In this sense, this research goes some modest way to rebalancing the highly geographically unequal academic research interest in the life of Brazil's poor, biased so strongly towards *favela* life in Rio de Janeiro (Zaluar 2000, Fischer 2004, Goldestein 2013). This thesis is also one among few studies engaging with an urban-to-rural flow of people in the Amazon, motivated by reasons more related to wellbeing than lack of economic and social opportunities in the places they left behind (Macdonald and Winklerprins 2014). These findings suggest the formation of a new kind of forest-frontier in the Brazilian Amazon as these people are establishing themselves in areas not previously colonised. This 'mini'

frontier around Manaus is opening up many decades after the larger-scale schemes associated with the development of Transamazon Highway and, further west, dense smallholder colonisation in Rondonia (Browder & Godfrey 1997). To date, most migration research in the region has adopted a quantitative approach and focused on the socio-economic and political drivers of migration. Specifically, rural-urban and urban-urban migration and its implications for the region's development and environment (Browder and Godfrey 1990, Murphy et al. 1997, Bilsborrow 2002, Browder 2003, Garcia et al. 2007, Parry et al. 2010b, Caviglia-Harris et al. 2013).

This thesis took as its point of departure the burgeoning international interest in the so-called 'grand challenges'. In my case, I was interested in the long-standing search for environmental and social sustainability in Amazonia (Goodman and Hall 1990, Davidson et al. 2012). More specifically, I was focussed on the grand challenge of how to meet growing food demand while tackling food insecurity and poverty at the lowest costs for the environment (Garcia and Rosenberg 2010, Reid et al. 2010, Godfray et al. 2010). Hence, the first research questions this research attempted to answer related to debates dominated by natural scientists and related ways of thinking and knowing. In answering these questions, I believe I produced interesting and novel findings about the possible social and environmental implications of fish-farming in the Amazon on a broad scale. I, therefore, started fieldwork and took fish-farming as a case for analysing potential "win-win" solutions to poverty and the deforestation 'crisis'. However, I quickly realised that the origins, experiences and perspectives of local people were much more relevant than fish-farming for understanding the social and environmental transitions at the forest-frontier. This new research focus and the insights it provided led me to strongly believe that the "grand challenge" of interest was social injustice in the city and its rural hinterland. I found this has been corrosively permeating the lives of ordinary citizens and constraining their dignities and freedom. Through the microcosm of my doctoral research we can see the obvious limitations of dominant and remotely-defined grand challenges in international research and policy agendas (Brooks et al. 2009, Leach et al. 2012). Grounded research interested in local, contextual history, politics and nuance can reveal important transitions and social changes that will not appear in top-down global agendas.

5.2 Synopsis of key findings

Embedded in global debates, this thesis started by acknowledging a research gap around the unclear socio-environmental implications of fish-farming expansion in Amazonia, resulting in Chapter 2. This chapter examined the magnitude of fish-farming expansion in the Brazilian Amazon and provided insights into its potential to support conservation and regional food security. I found that fish-farming has been increasing rapidly and by 2011 it accounted for almost a third of Amazonia's fish supply. Nevertheless, this was still only around 3% of the total annual supply of animal protein in the region. I interpreted a current focus on farming two high-value species, tambaquí (*Colossoma macropomum*) and pirarucú (*Arapaima gigas*) as a consequence of long-term over-fishing coupled with an increasingly and wealthier urban population. The fish-farming sector and policy-makers have largely ignored the potential for farming some highly vulnerable and over-exploited wild fish species, such as two catfishes (*Brachyplatystoma vaillantii* and *B. rousseauxii*). On the other hand, I have shown that fish-farming is a much more efficient land-use than cattle-ranching and the expansion of aquaculture may, therefore, offer indirect benefits for Amazonian forests and their biodiversity. In terms of food security, this chapter demonstrates that fish farming is probably not supporting urban food security because production is concentrated around the least-poor urban centres and focused on high-value species. Therefore, I concluded that fish-farming had become a significant source of animal protein in some Amazonian states, with considerable yet under-realised potential to support biodiversity and food security among the urban poor.

The conclusions of Chapter 2 (based on compilation and analysis of secondary data) and my pilot study on fish-farming indicate that, currently, fish-farming in the Brazilian Amazon is unlikely to be significantly supporting food security among the urban poor nor heavily influencing changes in meat demand. This finding, combined with my growing interest in social science (its motivating philosophies, questions, theoretical lenses and methods) initially led me to focus my fieldwork on the socio-economic implications of farmed fish production rather than consumption. This road took me to the rural places (where fish-farmers were) where I conducted my fieldwork. Only then did I appreciate and decide that fish farming, although very present in that context, was not a central element for the social and environmental transformation in these landscapes. Instead, human experiences were paramount. Hence, Chapter 3 is mainly the result of my field observations and personal stories and experiences shared with me by the former city-dwellers/friends (all terms apply) I spent my time with in the rural *ramais*. Through the lens of capabilities and citizenship,

Chapter 3 explores the experiences of urban social injustices and oppression and how it contrasts (and in some ways, contributes to or motivates) their new rural lives, enabling greater personal dignity and freedom *and* collective action.

Hence, Chapter 3 reveals that the socio-environmental context of the countryside surrounding Manaus is apparently much safer and less socially stratified than the metropolis which seems to foster improvements in central capabilities. An apparently lower risk of violence considerably reduces fears around bodily integrity, so pervasive in the city. I also found that this safety reduces worries and anxieties and in-so-doing leads to improvements in emotional wellbeing. The increased sense of freedom felt by many urban-rural migrants appears to be manifest in an enhanced capacity for agency. This capacity seemed to be further enhanced through rural livelihoods that, in stark contrast to stressful and repetitive urban works, allow for and even demand more creativity and time invested in human relationships. Importantly, less-evident social inequalities in the *ramais* positively influence the new rural citizens' sense of dignity and self-worth. Besides, the establishment of a new life in a rural area with poor state (at municipal, state and federal levels) support has fostered political engagement and activism among the new urban-rural migrants. However, although most migrants experience improved capabilities in their new rural reality, their long-term freedoms are threatened by the persistence of differentiated citizenship, reproduced through a dysfunctional relationship with the State.

Chapter 4 is based on ethnographic research in a low-income neighbourhood in Manaus, close to the origins of many of the urban-rural migrants we meet in the previous chapter. Chapter 4 reflects my attempts to understand better the urban life that new rural citizens I have met in those recently colonised places left behind. Through the capabilities approach and theories about structural violence this chapter attempts to critically analyse the experiences of working-class individuals about urban deprivation and violence in Manaus. Poignantly, I found that structural violence (Farmer 2004) (re)produces various disadvantages that contribute to capability failures among the Amazonian urban working class. In the city, a high risk of violence impinges upon free movement and bodily wellbeing via threats to bodily integrity, negative emotions, and affiliation. Together, these factors negatively affected the flourishing and dignity of many I spoke to and spent time with. I also find that despite some economic prosperity throughout their lives, many were unable to change and improve their capacities to do and to be and to live a dignified life due to a cluster of 'corrosive' disadvantages centred on bodily and structural violence (Wolff and De-Shalit 2013).

5.3 From environmental crises to freedom and dignity crises

As should now be clear, I started this thesis looking to contribute to 'solving' a crisis of deforestation, poverty and food insecurity yet I ended up finding a crisis of (and perhaps even individual solutions, too) dignity. In order to understand the potential benefits and impacts of fish-farming in the countryside, metropolitan life ending up becoming a central element of this research. My overall 'thesis' is perhaps that most of the social and environmental changes in the *ramais* are strongly associated with experiences, emotions and perceptions of working-class *manauaras* (citizens of Manaus). The challenges and source of action – at least by those who moved out to the countryside - related to material and symbolic inequalities and deprivation.

Poverty, inequality and violence are widespread in Manaus and many other metropolises in Latin America and elsewhere (Orellana et al. n.d., Briceño-León et al. 2008, IBGE 2010). Indeed, there is an abundance of data and research on the spatial distribution of poverty, income distribution and uneven infrastructure access, for example (Orellana et al. n.d., Despres 1991, Imbiriba et al. 2009, Giatti et al. 2010, IBGE 2010, Waiselfizz 2014). However, with only a few exceptions (Despres 1991a, Macdonald and Winklerprins 2014), few researchers have asked how Amazonian people *experience* poverty. How it *feels* to 'belong' to lower positions on the social ladder, the reality of daily struggle (e.g. high levels of violence), what one is (or not) able to be and to do. And finally, which forces work for or against social changes (including mobility) or the maintenance of existing hierarchies.

This thesis also contributes to scholarship which conceptualises poverty and inequality as something beyond material deprivation, specifically the capabilities approach to development (Sen 1990, Nussbaum 2013). So, although material deprivation is disabling, a concomitant lack of access to and participation in relevant institutions can be far worse (Wilkinson 1999, Marmot 2004, Wilkinson and Pickett 2010b). This approach considers that to feel poor and institutionally 'despised' (something that (re) produces and perpetuates poverty) is worse than material poverty alone because it negatively impacts people's dignity and self-worth (Gilligan 2000, Marmot 2004, Wilkinson and Pickett 2010b). These negative impacts seem to be much more accentuated in conditions of relative poverty rather than absolute poverty (Marmot 2004, Wilkinson and Pickett 2010a). Indeed, you do not need to be the poorest member of a society to feel undignified because it can happen in any social position below the top (Bourdieu 2002, Marmot 2004). However, obviously, the negative

effects of inequality deepen according to lower positions on the social ladder (Caldeira 2000, Marmot 2004).

The subjects of this research were not the poorest members of Manaus' society, yet their lives were full of life-threatening and humiliating experiences. As Antonio, a current resident of *Ramal Bom Futuro*, said when he once accompanied his boss to a luxurious hotel in Manaus: "*when I looked to that building and all those facilities I felt like I was nothing, I wanted to leave that place as soon as possible*". Experiences like this one and others addressed in Chapters 3 and 4 are part of the everyday lives of the urban poor, and there is nothing less dignified than feeling like 'nothing'. It not only affects psychological and emotional wellbeing but, also health as Marmot (2015, p. 7) states, - "*The psychological experience of inequality has profound effects on body systems*". It is perhaps therefore unsurprising that many of the new rural folk I met reported an incredible improvement in their health since they have moved from the city. As Etelvina said – "*Moving here* [*Ramal* da cachoeira] *saved my health and life, I would have died already if I had stayed in Manaus*."

I found that the lives of the Amazonian urban working class were not seriously marked by material dispossession. Instead, they were constrained by clusters of disadvantages that limit freedoms and opportunities for agency for flourishing. Violence appeared to be the most prominent and corrosive disadvantage for the *manaura* working class. It has worked as real threat to their bodily integrity - because criminality disproportionately affects those from lower social strata (Sánchez R 2006, Briceño-León et al. 2008) and a powerful symbolic one as well, because of the criminalisation of the poor, a well-known phenomenon in Brazil and in Latin America (Caldeira 2000, Koonings and Krujit 2007, Wacquant 2008, Garmany 2014). As recounted in Chapters 3 and 4, both experiences can be very traumatic. As a result, people live in constant states of anxiety and fear of others which increases distrust among city-dwellers seriously undermining affiliation. Moreover, high levels of violence make life itself feels very uncertain, which seriously undermines the capacity of the working-class people to feel in control over their own lives. This is arguably one of the primary causes of poor health and wellbeing around the world (Farmer 1999a, 1999b, Gilligan 2000, Marmot 2004).

In addition, poverty, inequality and violence among the Amazonia working class were rarely seen by them as a structural social problem related to a series of disadvantages caused by the historically uneven distribution of rights within Brazilian society (Holston 2008). Rather, structural social problems tend to be reduced to personal failings and traits, and this

viewpoint is also widespread in the Brazilian society, and it seems to be common in other highly stratified capitalist societies (Wilkinson and Pickett 2010a). Social value and recognition are strongly associated with status "measured" by one's material accumulation, which is attributed to individual talent rather than the advantages afforded by being born upper class (Marmot 2004, Wilkinson and Pickett 2010b). Urban violence undermines trust among people, whom to protect themselves end up living in fortified houses with reduced freedom and social interactions with neighbours and strangers. This probably negatively affects one's sense of being citizens and consequently being rights bearers as opportunities for increasing social awareness as social engagement in the neighbourhood which could foster political participation gets thwarted by lack of trust in others. Life in cities like Manaus seems to be mostly a very private matter, and the recognition of constraints imposed on the working class by a situation of differentiated citizenship becomes difficult as their condition is attributed to personal failure which ultimately reinforces their feelings of lack of dignity and low self-stem (Caldeira 2000, Nuijten 2013).

Therefore, it is not a total surprise that the urban life of the *manaura* working class has been quite psychologically and emotionally hard to cope with, which has also been observed for other developing countries' metropolises (Briceño-León and Zubillaga 2002, Koonings and Krujit 2007). Nevertheless, what is perhaps new is the response of these former urban dwellers to this city-problem that is to move out of the city to its forest frontier. I interpreted these moves as a form of insurgent citizenship in response to an oppressed urban life, as urban citizens seek more fulfilling lives by pursuing their constitutional rights through the social transformation of the forest frontier. By migrating to the rural areas surrounding Manaus these urban-rural migrants are acting to change what they are finding not tolerable anymore - the lack of freedom, safety and dignity in the metropolis (Caldeira 2000, Sánchez R 2006, Briceño-León et al. 2008, Holston 2009, Kerstenetzky and Santos 2009, Nuijten 2013, Garmany 2014).

Through improvements in capabilities in the *ramais* the migrants have been able to achieve greater control over their lives. A safer environment reduces the experienced threats and uncertainties (Nussbaum 2013), which decreases fear of others and anxiety, helping people to feel freer and to build trust among one another. In addition, a less stratified socio-context helps to increase their sense of dignity and self-worth. Together, this gradually helps to create openness and space for social engagement. They gradually come to feel they are not physically and psychologically confined in imprisoning lives anymore, which helps to feel

more in control over their own lives empowering them and enhancing capabilities and agency (Abel and Frohlich 2012, Seeberg 2014, Claassen 2016).

Differentiated citizenship is still a reality for colonists at the forest-frontier, yet it manifests in different forms compared to the city. The colonists still face serious lack of rights, perhaps even more seriously than in the cities, regarding lack of social rights as described in Chapter 3. However, perhaps the biggest difference between the city and the *ramais* is that in the latter, people have a stronger sense of the possibility to transform aspects of the differentiated citizenship as consequence and/or a side-effect of being more in control over their own lives and being able to struggle to for rights. The experienced security and shared struggles of building a new life among the urban-rural migrants make them more socially aware of their social conditions, and they have been actively pursuing a better life. In other words, they have achieved a greater degree of participation in society by recognising themselves as right-bearers and fighting for social recognition (Martin et al. 2016) which is manifest in realising rights. Consequently, they feel more empowered to pursue more complete forms of citizenship, which is ultimately, in modern westernized societies, the social and institutional recognition of one's dignity (Holston and Appadurai 1996, Marshall 2006). This is quite the opposite to what they experienced in the metropolis, where social engagement and political participation due to fear and lack of trust in others seemed to be felt by them as something more vulnerable rather than empowering undermining people's capacity for agency (Caldeira 2000, Comaroff and Comaroff 2006, Koonings and Krujit 2007, Nuijten 2013).

Studies of Brazilian society employing the notion of Insurgent citizenship have gained space in the literature about social exclusion, inequality and poverty. Important contributions have been made to understanding the struggles of the urban poor in the pursuit of their rights to full citizenship and their relationship with a State that tends to exclude the least privileged (Holston 2008, 2009). In the Amazon, important studies have contributed to showing the active participation of socially excluded groups (e.g. rubber tapper, indigenous) in fighting to have better control over their environment, to guarantee the conditions to have a decent livelihood, and to have their social rights and identities provided and recognised (Yashar 2005, Hecht 2010, 2011, Mathews and Schmink 2015). These are important contributions in recognising the voice and the capacity of the least privileged ones to shape their own realities, which in turn brings a new lens to understand landscape changes in the Amazon (Sen 1990, Brooks et al. 2009, Hecht 2010, 2011). However, most work-related either indirectly to insurgent citizenship in the Amazon focuses on social groups that have strong

links with the forest such as Amazonian peasants (*caboclos* or *riberinhos*) indigenous peoples (Yashar 2005, Hecht 2011, Campbell 2015a). The marginalised urban poor are normally left out of this debate, and there are no studies that I know of linking differentiated urban citizenship with reduced capabilities and mobility.

Mobility between rural and urban areas (emphasis is given to rural-urban and urban- urban migration) in Amazonia are quite well explored in the literature (Garcia et al. 2007, Padoch et al. 2008, Sandra M. Costa 2009, Parry et al. 2010a, 2014, Randell and Vanwey 2014, Eloy and Brondizio 2015). Taking a more traditional approach to development, within the context of mobility these studies tend to frame poverty in an 'objective' way. Accordingly, researchers interested in migrant wellbeing have quantified attitudes, food habits, and the magnitude of material deprivation. Little attention is paid to what kind of life people have been able to live, what are opportunities they have and freedoms their gain or lose by moving. This makes hard to capture other dimensions of poverty that can be as limiting as harsh economic conditions, such as the vulnerability of the poor to violence and how it can influence human migration and the formation of new frontiers in the Amazon.

5.4 Negotiating rights and capabilities in and around the rainforest metropolis

Although it is clear that the new urban-rural migrants are experiencing what they perceive to be greater freedom, dignity and capacity for agency in the new frontier, the sustainability over time of these achieved capabilities remains uncertain. It is mainly due to the persistence of a differentiated citizenship condition in the newly colonised rural areas. Even though advances were made by the urban-rural migrants to change this situation, there is still a lot to be done to achieve fuller forms of citizenship. It makes us circle back to their urban lives returning to the question posed by chapter three - Would the new urban-rural migrants have been shifting from one set of deprived capabilities familiar to the city to another deprived set common to rural areas in the Amazon? The answer to this question as suggested in chapter three is likely to be yes.

Regarding their socioeconomic condition, moving to the *ramais* did little to improve it; actually, this movement initially happened towards a lower socioeconomic status. In other words, the new colonists apparently moved from a situation of improved standard of living and access to basic services (in the metropolis), but, poor in freedom and dignity to a condition of low standard of living and access to basic rights, but, richer in freedom and dignity (new frontier). However, all these aspects are very important for wellbeing, and they are very complementary to each other. Thus, the lack of "complementarity" among these

rights and capabilities (typical of unequal societies (Koonings and Krujit 2007, Holston 2008)), experienced by the urban-rural migrants either in the new frontier either in the city, forces them to face difficult choices and make hard and unfair concessions on the pursuit of the life they have reason to value. In the case of this study, these rights and capabilities disparities were very well elaborated by the research participants when they accounted to the differences they experience concerning "quality-of-life" and "wellbeing" (see chapter three) and to their desires and hopes to be able to realise both.

What the observed urban to rural movement is perhaps revealing to us is that the lack of freedom, dignity and safety in Amazonian metropolises is preventing its working class and poor urban dwellers from enjoying the capability improvements that would result from a moderately better standard of living. It echoes Amartya Sen's assumptions about the relative importance of rising incomes within society (Sen 1990). For this author, increases in income only make sense if it contributes to expanding one's freedom and opportunities for beings and doings (Sen 1990). In the sense, the *manauara* urban working-class that is finding in rural hinterlands a greater wellbeing in despite of economic success is perhaps transmitting us a powerful message: a certain rejection of the socially unjust and predominant capitalist city-centred development model rooted in a kind of "awareness-by-experiencing" that this model is, actually, not life-enhancing (life in a beyond-to-survive sense). Thus, by focusing on the experiences, opportunities and capacities, individuals have to flourish; the capability approach can be an enlightening way to capture people's responses to social disadvantages which can help to deepen the understanding of the potential and limitations for agency and changes of social conditions.

In general, the standard of living of the Amazonian urban poor might have got better in the last decades (Despres 1991b, Castilho et al. 2015), but, it has not improved their urban life experiences and capacities for beings and doings. On the contrary, they have increasingly been restricting their movements and social interactions to get a sense of security. Psychologically and emotionally they have been experiencing high levels of fear and anxiety for their bodily integrity and also frustration for being working very hard, but, being unable to enjoy life better (e.g. through leisure activities, being outdoors without fear, etc.) and to live the life they have reason to value. All this combined seem to give an intense sensation of being "*living in domestic prison*", as most of the research participants have said. As a result, little room is left for affiliation - which reinforces social segregation and stigmas.

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The abovementioned situation seems to be very discouraging for the emergence of insurgent citizenship movements and attitudes in Brazilian metropolises (Caldeira 2006, Silva and Leite 2007, Kerstenetzky and Santos 2009, Ferreira 2015). It is not to say that the working class and urban poor is not profoundly indignant about, for instance, what turns to be a major problem in low-income metropolitan areas, the high levels of violence (Silva and Leite, 2007). But, in general, they feel impotent, helpless and isolated to take action and intervene in their social reality (Silva and Leite, 2007). In this sense, the urban-rural migrants are perhaps corroborating Leite's point by showing that in a safer and less isolating social context they have been able to act (individually and collective) towards changing their own realities in opposition to the reduced agency they experienced in the city. It seems to be notably stronger for the women urban-rural migrants who have been playing a central role in social and political engagement in the rural communities. According to their narratives, they certainly feel more empowered in the *ramais* than they were used to feel in Manaus which appears, to some extent, to happen because of reduced threats to their bodily and sexual integrity. These factors have been strongly associated with women's capacity for agency and participation in society (Hossain 2012).

The relatively peaceful and safe characteristics of the new frontier that seem to contribute to the increased capacity for agency can perhaps change over time with the improvements in infrastructure, services and roads connecting the *ramais* to urban centres. It can attract more people from the city increasing the frontier's population density and the emergence of city-like social problems such as crime and violence (Thypin-bermeo and Godfrey 2016), the ones the new colonists had attempted to escape. Moreover, the slow land regularisation process can potentially contribute to conflicts between new arrivals and the ones already established in those rural areas, which can also disturb the current enjoyed peace and affiliation. Land conflicts in rural Amazon have accounted for several deaths (Campbell 2015a). The urban-rural migrants are quite aware of these possibilities, but, they also know the importance of some improvements for their capacity to generate income in the new frontier. For instance, by the time of my fieldwork, the colonists were pursuing better infrastructure for the *ramais* while simultaneously resisting attempts from the government to build more roads around their rural communities to better connect the interior to urban centres.

Would these urban-rural migrants be more able to simultaneously achieve both "quality-of-life" and "wellbeing" and sustain it over time in the new frontier? This is a question that will probably depend, to some extent, on their ability to keep being insurgent citizens

(demanding rights as infrastructure and services) and to keep mobilising resources and social networks (Lohmann and Liefner 2009, Ludewigs and Brondízio 2009, Vanwey and Vithayathil 2013). However, this perhaps will not be enough as the possibilities for improving rural-life-conditions will, as well, likely depend on other socio-political, economic and environmental factors operating at regional, national and global levels (Guedes et al. 2012).

At an individual and community level, some aspects can work in favour of these urban-rural migrants in their search for a better "quality-of-life". Fi*rst*, they have a powerful shared motivation, resulted from a greater sense of wellbeing, freedom and dignity, to act towards improving their capacity to generate income. Most of them made clear that they do not want to move back to the city, even if it means to be materially poorer in the *ramais* than they were in Manaus. It has been stimulating them to find and join forces with others and keeping carrying on even in the face of setbacks along their fights. Second, they spent most of their lives in the metropolis. Thus, most of them were able to build a relatively robust social network of relatives and friends there with whom they still maintain regular contact and often help them with money or to sell their agriculture products in the city.

Social networks can also be beneficial in giving support to the urban-rural migrants' children in the case they move back to the metropolis to study. Third, some of them still have properties in Manaus (e.g. the house they left when they moved to the *ramais)* which turns into a source of money to invest in the new life due to the rents they get from it. Fourth, they also had more educational and formal jobs opportunities in life than Amazonian peasants normally have (Despres 1991b, Adams et al. 2003). As a result, they can be slightly more familiar with the language of rights (especially those that sound more tangible as social rights), which can help when they negotiate with public authorities. They also seem more open to innovations in agriculture than traditional peasants (Ludewigs and Brondízio 2009), which can offer less resistance to adopting new productive techniques or even to produce in more eco-friendly ways (e.g. by cultivating organic food, some of the research participants were very keen on that).

These abovementioned advantages can certainly make a difference in the search for a better "quality-of-life" in the new frontier. However, advances towards a more balanced rights' distribution within the current national socio-political and economic situation can be particularly challenging. Since the unelected Michel Temer occupied the Brazilian's presidency, he has been quick in favouring the privileged ones, retroceding the few social advances towards poverty reduction and increased opportunities for access to rights by the

poor achieved in previous governments. Thirteen years of left-wing governance by President Luiz Inácio 'Lula' da Silva (in office from 2003 to 2010) and President Dilma Rousseff (2011-2016) was characterized by attempts by Brazil's federal government to reduce poverty and social inequalities. Its success was remarkable, but, still partial (Hall 2008). Under the Workers' Party (PT), national priorities included improved access to welfare and social rights through, for instance, conditional cash transfer programmes (IBGE 2000, 2010).

Going in quite the opposite direction of his predecessors regarding social priorities, Temer has proposed and approved projects and measures that have been heavily criticised for their anti-poor and sometimes unconstitutional approaches (Watts 2016a, Alessi 2016). Among these projects and measures are: a 20-year freeze on spending on social and welfare services and on raising the minimum salary above inflation (Watts 2016b); changes in the national labour law that legalize agreements between workers and employers that can reduce the labour's rights and facilitate the payment of lower salaries by loosing employer's obligations concerned to temporary contracts and subcontracts (Benites 2017). Moreover, the government has been pressing the Congress to approve significant changes on the National Pension law that makes almost impossible for the poor to retire before contributing for 50 years to the pension system (nowadays the contribution period is 30 years) (Jasper 2017).

Concerning agrarian policies, the actual government has not disappointed the rural elite. In the search for support for approving its projects, the new unelected president has not measured efforts to the make the Brazilian rural elite content, as their representatives account for nearly 40% of the total members of the National Congress. Last year, the federal government forgave an R$ 8.6 billion (~ $2.7 billion) pension-debt from large agribusiness companies (Prazeres and Rebello 2017). Moreover, since Temer assumed the presidency, resources made available by the federal government to support large-scale agriculture addended up to R$ 190 billion (~ $54.4 billion) while for small-scale agriculture resources were R$ 30 billion (~ $ 9.4). Significant differences in investments for small and large-scale agriculture is recurrent in Brazil, but, experts have been arguing that it has been made more prominent by the actual government (Equipe Parágrafo 2 2017, Daher 2018). Besides, the current national administration extinguished the department (The Ministry of Agrarian Development) previously created to support and represent, small-medium scale agriculture (Equipe Parágrafo 2 2017).

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The impacts of those changes have not been studied yet and can largely influence rural and urban life. The freeze on the spending of social and welfare services and benefits can restrict its access by the poor. Cash-transfer benefits have been an important alternative source of income for the urban and rural Amazonian poor (Caviglia-Harris and Sills 2005, Lui 2013, Dou et al. 2017). In fact, some of the urban-rural migrants have reported receiving this type of benefit which has been crucial for the maintenance of their livelihoods, as it has been the case of pensions as well. Freezing the raise of minimum salary above inflation can thwart the poor's' chances to climb the social ladder - aggravating inequality (Lupion 2017). Retirement is another relevant alternative source of income in rural and urban contexts (Costa et al. 2012, Oliveira and Silva 2012, Lui 2013). If changes that work unfavorably to the capacity of the poor to retire, get approved it is likely to contribute to accentuate rural and urban poverty. Besides, unfavorable modifications concerned to political representation within the federal government and investments for small-medium scale agriculture can hinder smallholder farmers' (as the urban-rural migrants) access to credits, technical assistance, assets and spaces for political negotiations (Equipe Parágrafo 2 2017).

Therefore, the Brazilian current economic-socio-political context is one that is not aligned with poverty and inequality reduction, which becomes hard to envision significant improvements on the differentiated citizenship for the urban and rural poor. In the case of the urban-rural migrants, this situation can impose even heavier obstacles for their capacity to generate income and diversify their livelihoods. Moreover, it can also limit the ability of their urban social networks to support them, because they will, as well, likely be negatively affected by the possible cut-offs of social benefits, potentially lower salaries (or reduced purchase power) and unemployment. For instance, unemployment in the country has reached elevated levels (average of 13% in 2016/2017). From 2015 to 2016, 2.2 million Brazilian citizens have lost their formal jobs (Trabalho Hoje 2016), major losses occurred in the "services" economic sector (Lis 2017), the one that mostly employs people in Amazonian metropolises.

The situation above can be particularly challenging for the urban-rural youth because it can accentuate the dilemma concerned to stay in the *ramais* or go back to the city as both prospects have serious implications for their futures. If they remain in the *ramais*, they can enjoy a more peaceful and safer life. However, it would perhaps mean fewer opportunities to go further on their studies and potentially become qualified professionals with better chances to have well-paid jobs and to be able to invest in their family's farm (VanWey et al. 2012, Randell and Vanwey 2014). If they go back to the city, they also face a risk of actually

not being able to succeed as expected due to uneven education and jobs opportunities, consequently being more exposed and vulnerable to be a perpetrator and/or victim of urban violence (Orellana et al. n.d.). For instance, a recent IBGE study indicated that nearly 40% and 60% of the urban population of Manaus and Belém respectively live under what they classified as "low life condition". The analysis took into account variables as sanitation, levels of education, household income, households with access to the internet, housing conditions and household density (Almeida and Zanlorenssi 2018).

Like this thesis (and other studies – Parry et al. (2010a,) Richards and VanWey (2015)) suggested earlier, the rural young would probably take the risk to go back to the city in other to be able to reach higher educational levels. If this happens, the continuity over generations of the current livelihoods on the new frontier will possibly depend on how the youth will experience the city in the future, their capacity or will to return to the countryside, and the ability of their parents to sustain their livelihoods without their children, which are all uncertain. Thus, the actual and near future scene for the rural and urban poor in Brazil does not look promising. In these conditions, the capacity to act as insurgent citizens becomes even more critical for achieving fuller forms of citizenship (Holston 2008).

It appears that the urban-rural migrants have had more opportunities to be insurgent citizens than the *Manaura* urban working-class. Collective action in the *ramais* has resulted in advances towards creating better living conditions and access to rights (e.g. land titles, credits, government projects). However, the possibilities to keep advancing in the same direction will likely depend as well on their capacity to join forces with other rural communities finding strategies to amplify their influence on local, regional and national decision-making spheres. It can be particularly important for them to be able to define what kind of development they envision for their rural communities. For example, if they want to be better connected by roads with urban centres (or not), possibly risking (or not) the perceived advantages related to peace and security that a degree of isolation might offer. Nevertheless, it is a challenging and slow process. Therefore, it seems that at least for the near future, the new colonists will probably keep facing hard choices and unfair "trade-offs" involving the countryside and the city.

5.5 Thesis limitations and opportunities for future research

The central focus of this thesis has been on the bodily integrity, emotional, psychological, affiliation and political aspects involved in the shifting from urban to rural areas from the perspectives of the research participants. Thus, in this thesis, only limited attention is given

to the implications of the reported migration for the rainforest, which certainly deserves future research attention. Although this study focus diverted from my initial interests in the scientific "grand-challenges" related to environmental sustainability and climate change in Amazonia, its findings are not disconnected to these issues. In fact, environmental and social changes are mutually related. The establishment of new frontiers normally implies social and environmental impacts and transformations either in the new place either in the place of origin of the colonists (Murphy et al. 1997, Celentano et al. 2012, Caviglia-Harris et al. 2013).

From a conservation perspective, as briefly discussed in chapter three, the development of the researched new frontier is likely to cause further deforestation, consequently contributing to biodiversity and ecosystems services loss and climate change. On the other hand, climate change can intensify the spreading of fire in rural areas leading to further deforestation and threats to the farmers' livelihoods. Nevertheless, to what extent these conservation problems will evolve is still quite uncertain and will likely depend on a variety of social and environmental factors operating in different scales and contexts (e.g. rural and urban).

For instance, physical and structural violence in Manaus may continue to be an important force intensifying migration, as well as land-cover changes in the interiors of Rio Preto da Eva. Even climate change can turn to be a city-repulsive force in Amazonian metropolises. For instance, increases in temperature can make the already hot Manaus even hotter increasing climate discomfort (Perz 2000). It can negatively influence the urban dwellers' life that probably will spend even more time indoors where they can control the temperature with air-conditioning when they can afford it (it heavily overloads energy bills). Pollution is also a problem in Manaus, and its effects are worsened by the bad urban planning that has left very few green spaces and trees along the city (Perz 2000). Etevilna, one of the research participants, for instance, when she was living in Manaus and acquire a respiratory illness, the doctors strongly recommended her to leave Manaus to somewhere she could breathe a purer air.

The characteristics of these urban to rural movements will likely depend as well on transformations of the new frontier, as mentioned earlier; land speculation is already a reality in the investigated frontier. Perhaps in the future, working-class or poorer urban citizens will be unable to afford a piece of land in those rural places. These issues perhaps raise future research questions - To what extent will the reduced capacity of the Amazonian

poor for exercising its rights to the city (Harvey 2008)[6] press the development of new frontiers? Is this working-class urban-rural movement only possible to rural hinterlands where public lands are still abundant and unoccupied? Would land privatisation in the countryside work as a barrier for the future urban-rural migration? Depending on the population density in the countryside, on the opportunities that might (or not) emerge there, social tensions and conflicts can accentuate, and disturb the experience of peace in those places. In fact, frontier regions in the Amazon can be violent as well (Campbell 2015b) which also raises the question – To what extent are new frontiers, like the one in the interiors of Rio Preto da Eva, able to support its occupants flourishing?

Regarding conservation, perhaps other interesting questions for future research would be – An experienced stressed and relatively unhealthy urban life would make urban-rural migrants more prone to adopt environmentally friendly land-use practices that could improve health and wellbeing? To what extent new urban-rural migrants consider the forest an essential part of their wellbeing? Would they be more open to conservation policies and attitudes? How their livelihoods would differ from the livelihoods of traditional peasants?

The capacity and willingness to preserve the forest - or not - will probably be linked to the possibilities the urban to rural migrants will encounter to generate income through their livelihoods. Therefore, the connections and social networks they establish with Manaus also deserve more research attention as it appears to be crucial for the urban to rural migrants to prosper economically. At times, when attempts to dismantle the already injured Brazilian welfare state have been recurrent (Watts 2016a), it becomes imperative to study the impacts of changes in social policies on the Amazonian rural and urban life which can ultimately affect the capacity for the urban-rural migrants to keep living in the *ramais*.

5.6 Conclusions

This thesis attempted to understand an under-studied urban-rural flow of working class citizens in the Amazon, from a metropolis to a new forest-frontier. I interpreted this

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[6] I referred to the rights to the city, in the sense that (Harvey 2008, p.23) described it - "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. It is, moreover, a common rather than an individual right since this transformation inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective power to reshape the processes of urbanization. The freedom to make and remake our cities and ourselves is, I want to argue, one of the most precious yet most neglected of our human rights"

movement as an insurgent citizenship response to oppressive urban reality permeated by physical and structural violence. Bodily - and structural - violence have been corrosively affecting working class citizens' freedom and dignity, considerably restricting they capacity for agency. The largely-forested rural areas surrounding this metropolis, where migrants have started new lives, offer a safer and less stratified social context. I found that these conditions are fostering improved freedom, sense of dignity and capabilities. This contributes to individuals feeling that they have a greater sense of control over their own lives, positively influencing their capacity for agency. In turn, this enables more social and political engagement for changing their differentiated citizenship condition. These findings offer new insights to the debates about human migration and insurgent citizenship in the Amazon which, thus far, have paid little attention to how poverty is linked to the deprivation of capabilities. Along an intellectual and personal journey, this thesis changed direction from addressing global grand challenges towards equally important and locally-experienced social injustice. In so-doing, this thesis highlights how remotely-defined global grand challenges which dominate research and policy agendas fail to capture the social transitions which define the lives and wellbeing of ordinary citizens.

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