Exploitive By Design: Warning Signs From the Northwest Amazon

Exploitive By Design: Warning Signs From the North-West Amazon

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INTRODUCTION

In the mid-19th century, the industrialization of rubber production, a product that could newly be stabilized through vulcanization, would begin what is now known as the "Amazon Rubber Boom." For approximately four decades between 1870-1920, rubber became one of the planet's key commodities that was primarily satisfied by latex from trees most readily obtained in the rainforests of the Amazon and the Congo. The changes in both locales wrought by the industrial transformation were enormous, but ultimately, proved to be transitory and destructive because they revolved around a temporary and extractive industry.

Rubber had existed as a product for decades but did not reach its industrial potential until the American Chemist Charles Goodyear (1800-1860) discovered the vulcanization process, which he patented in 1844.[1] Vulcanization allowed for a brittle material to become elastic and resistant to weather changes.[2] In 1888, the Scottish inventor John Dunlop patented a design for a pneumatic rubber tire for the bicycle that enabled that new machine to revolutionize personal transportation. Dunlop's company, along with a host of others like Goodyear (1898) were part of a larger industrial revolution for which rubber became a fully-integrated and essential component of tire manufacturing that consumed between 60-75% of all rubber produced globally.[3] By 1908 when the mass-produced Model T car was designed by Henry Ford (1903) rubber was already being imported to the United States, and rivaled only by the British rubber consumption. By 1910, over 90% of the world's rubber supply was coming from the Congo and the Amazon

[1] Chirif, *Imaginario E Imágenes* Lima, Peru: Centro Amazónico de Antropología y Aplicación Práctica, 2009:16
[2] Vulcanization modifies the molecular structure of rubber with high heat and the application of sulfur. (Tully, 2011:21)
[3] Tully, *A Social History of Rubber*, New York: Monthly Review Press, 2011:21, 49

through primitive extraction methods that, as will be developed below involved debt-peonage and elements of slavery.[4]

The rubber economy brought a global connectivity to the Amazon that, when paired with what seemed like exponential demand - and therefore rising economic profits - would eventually lead to the infamous "Putumayo Scandal" and the British-based *trials* that closely mirrored what had played out only a few years prior in regard to King Leopold and the Congo.[5] By 1914 the atrocious international scandals coupled with a falling commodity price - due to the emergence of highly efficient rubber plantations in South East Asia (and later at the beginning of World War II with the invention of petroleum-based synthetic rubber) - would trigger the collapse of the Amazonian rubber market.[6]

It is within this historic context that the setting of this research emerges, a Peruvian city beyond the Andes Mountains by the name of Iquitos. Even today Iquitos is one of the most remote cities in the world – only accessible via small airplane, by hiking multiple weeks through the deep rainforest, or by a many day-long boat trip extending the length of the world's longest river, the Amazon. It exists nestled within the Peruvian Amazon Rainforest at the confluence of the Nanay and Marañón Rivers, the later of which flows from the Andes to become the Amazon River from this point onwards. Despite the city's physical isolation, beginning with the Rubber Era, Iquitos has continually served as a point of global connectivity for the region: becoming *the place* at the heart of Northwest Amazonia's story – a territory shared by four countries, multiple indigenous groups, hundreds of languages, that maintains multiple – at times contradictory and contested - histories. The city has developed as a product of explosive globalization events of

[4] Tully, *A Social History of Rubber*, New York: Monthly Review Press, 2011
[5] Douglass, *Arana*, Center for Basque Studies, University of Nevada, Reno, 2019
[6] Chirif, *Iquitos*, Telefonica, 2015, 48-57.

short duration that have had radical impacts – beginning with the Amazon Rubber Boom at the turn of the 19th century and continuing today with global tourism. Due to the history of discrete economic boom cycles and the territorial isolation of Iquitos it is possible to detect and identify the effects and processes that tie marginalized or peripheral places to global economies and demands.

The Amazon Rubber Boom itself is complicated enough for one to spend a lifetime uncovering. Indeed many researchers, authors, even film directors, have been lured into the Amazon in particular because of its rubber history - for its intrinsically fascinating narratives of epic proportions that are entangled within a broad range of subject matters. I myself, have become deeply fascinated by such a historical context. Yet, in this work's scope, the Rubber Boom is best understood as the "context", as the origin of my interests in Iquitos and its surroundings.

Initially, Iquitos drew my attention because I thought an Amazonia-Tourism Architecture Typology was being created that potentially had a connection with the Rubber Boom Architecture located in Iquitos' *Zona Monumental*.[7] Both appeared to stem from a hybridization process resulting from the meeting of conflicting forces at once local and foreign, and contextual and global. If such was the case, then these two architectural periods, about a hundred years apart, seemed to offer insight into a broad research interest of mine: architecture's role within globalization and the development of 'place' in relation to modernity, tourism, and varying notions of heritage.

[7] *Zona Monumental*, "Monumental Zone", is the Peruvian designation of a historic preservation area. In this case it spans multiple blocks of a neighborhood to include about 80 structures within the city center of Iquitos.

Beginning with this hypothesis and due to having access to a breadth of research on processes of tourism and the Amazon Rubber Boom, two key realizations occurred which reenforce the relevance of this academic work. Firstly, this region, of the Northwest Amazon and Iquitos itself, lacks significant research coming from the field of design.[8] I have searched - to almost no avail - to find published works that look at the architecture or urban developments of the Rubber Period beyond a secondary paragraph or two. Furthermore, a broader discussion on Amazonia Architecture or Urbanism in Spanish, Portuguese, and English are for the majority self-contained case studies, of a descriptive stylistic or historic nature, or alternatively significant research by anthropologists on various indigenous group's vernacular architectures and habitation patterns, with a few sporadic historic preservation/patrimony reports. I do not want to suggest that broader analytical content does not exist; perhaps it does within a South American Architecture or Design school's dissertation archives or other archival publications that I have yet to discover.

As of this writing, the single commendable exception that I have found is John O. Browder and Brian J. Godfrey's book, *Rainforest Cities: Urbanization, Development, and Globalization of the Brazilian Amazon*.[9] This work from 1997 is a comparative study on Amazon frontier urbanism by an urban planner and urban geographer whose locational context is the Brazilian Amazon. For those more familiar with the geography and scale of the United States, flying direct from Iquitos (Northwest Amazon) to Manaus (Central Brazilian Amazon) is as distant as New York City is to Tampa, Florida or Jackson, Mississippi. In other words, a lot changes over about 1000 miles and that is without even beginning to consider the time

[8] "Design" in the context of this thesis refers to three disciplines which relate to space: architecture, urban planning/design, and landscape.
[9] Browder, New York: Columbia University Press, 1997.

differential between the late 1990s and 2021. Therefore, the lack of research or even perspective from the design disciplines on either the historic rubber or contemporary tourism industries in the Amazon is an opportunity. As a consequence, the work which follows is not simply a preliminary exploration of such topics but may very well be the first literature to have looked comparatively at these two periods, the 1870-1920 Rubber Boom Era and a hundred years later, the beginning of the 21st century tourism industry from 1970-2020.

Secondly and of central focus to the purpose of this thesis, as I studied the 19th century Rubber Boom and 21st century tourism industry in Iquitos, I began to discover the impacts of imported capital and culture because there are parallels in the effects of their economic processes that I will argue can be seen as "warning signs" that appear through the territorial, urban, and architectural scales. These warnings reveal imbalances in power dynamics, cultural and caste hierarchies, and predatory structures that perpetuate and contribute to exploitive cycles with dire consequences on the people and environment of the Amazon. They also implicate the design disciplines' complicity in perpetuating and *contributing to such cycles and consequences.* Initially, as we will see, these warnings signaled that the developments happening at the turn of the 19th into the 20th century were never meant to last, were never meant to create sustainable cities that could support themselves long-term, nor were they meant to create an equitable or just society. They developed instead from the asymmetry of power between western capital and indigenous cultures sacrificed on the altar of desire for quick profit, gaining social standing abroad or in the political sphere, and incentives that underly an imperialist-based resource extraction industry. Essentially, the architecture and development patterns carried values of Euro-American-centric Victorian society with its embedded colonialist world views - maintaining hierarchical race - based class systems, accompanied by concepts of *civilized*

modernity, and exploitive positions towards peoples, places, and nature that could be "othered" and thus rendered as lower status and as a result, exploited. As we can now see from the present, these warnings were unrecognized with catastrophic consequence.

What is more, the contemporary architecture and urbanism in Iquitos again reveal parallel dangers, albeit in altered form, generated by similar powerful forces as those during the Rubber Boom Era. In both the past and now, these forces, if unlimited, become monopolies of control, leading to dominance by an inherently exploitative industry, while the influx of foreign capital and external agents and actors in a "distant" land separates power from the local communities. Whether enabled by the Peruvian State Government, whole industries, or individuals, the forces manifest themselves through business and social practices, given form by design, to achieve their own agendas and result in exploitive or predatory imbalances.

Cultural practices have ramifications on how places and people come to be; it is complicit as an action that inescapably is filled with intent and has effects. The meanings of design or those effects may have been varied and contradictory understandings, but they do provide clues that must be studied and debated. Therefore, when I define design I refer to the actions of designing through the lens of three disciplines that are all fundamentally involved with the design of space which are architecture, urban planning, and landscape. Furthermore, I am proposing that design by this definition and at all scales within it must be used as a framework for which to understand the societal and economic systems that produce lived realities. It is through the design that intents and consequences are revealed; and the warnings of what has or is to happen can begin to be seen. *Within this thesis I therefore make the case that in* identifying such warnings, and excavating their histories, powerful insights can be made into how culturally conceived strategies in combination with the tools of design may be reclaimed to shift away from exploitive cycles

and powerful forces towards alternative directions, not only for Iquitos and the broader Amazon region, but other marginalized contexts globally as well.

Key Theoretical Foundations of Thesis

My research is founded on the writings of Doreen Massey, David Harvey, Anthony Giddens and meaning making through heritage as discussed by historian David Lowenthal.[10] To explain modern place-making, I have relied on two texts by Geographer, Doreen Massey. In *Places and their Pasts,*[11] she points out that when the present does not line up with a notion of the 'real' place, it feels as if these new things are not the true character of the place, they are not what was imagined and expected of it. By thinking this way, people often fail to acknowledge that places have a "long history of interconnectedness with elsewhere (the history of the global construction of the local)" and we have often preferred to create a connection between the "assumed identity of a place and its history."[12] Massey also argues against this preference, suggesting instead that the world has always been hybrid, filled with external influences upon local circumstances. However, the changes brought about are considered inevitable to the formation of what a place will be. I certainly agree that places are continually in flux and a process of creation often influenced by "elsewhere". Furthermore, I agree that these processes in which places change are inevitable. In the case of Iquitos, I argue that the particular processes of global capital and cultural systems tied to economic structures that significantly affect Iquitos are in fact predatory and exploitive of the local context and must be challenged. Massey's writings on power dynamics and geometries, specifically "*Imagining Globalization: Power-Geometries of*

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[10] Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985, 195-219. *History and Memory*, Vol.10, No.1, Spring 1998, 5-24.
[11] Massey, *History Workshop Journal*, no. 39, 1995, 182-92.
[12] Massey, *History Workshop Journal*, Issue 39, 1995, 183

Time-Space"[13] therefore provides an additional precedent for the analysis that I have used for investigating and critiquing such geometries and relationships.[14]

Sociologist Anthony Giddens, discusses how identity is formed through lifestyle choices and the plurality of these choices that come from multiple influences. One of the strongest influences is that we no longer operate on static facts, knowledge can adapt, change, and be questioned because modernity is reflexive. These topics are supported by Giddens' theories on modernity and the creation of identity in which he writes that "knowledge of [our social] world contributed to its unstable or mutable character."[15] We determine the self based on inevitable influences from our surroundings and the modern world for which everyone takes a part in a feedback loop that then influences one's surroundings.[16] His theories also help in recognizing the necessity of considering scale shifts – from the most intimate of a person to global networks – because place making, its ties to globalism, and an unstable ever-changing identity are constantly influencing one another.

David Harvey's *Spaces of Global Capitalism: A Theory of Uneven Geographical Development* have been essential in making the connections between global forces tied to capitalism and the ways in which these affect places and people. I have further been influenced by anthropologist Anna Tsing, who challenges the widespread view that globalization signifies a "clash" of cultures. Instead she develops the metaphor of "friction" in its place for the diverse and conflicting social interactions – to suggest that it is friction that produces movement, action, and effect.[17] Such a concept avoids judgments on the processes that occur from such frictions

[13] Massey, Hampshire : New York: Macmillan Press ; St. Martin's Press, 1999, 27
[14] Massey, *Global Futures : Migration, Environment, and Globalization,* New York: Macmillan Press, 1999
[15] Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity,* Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990, 45
[16] Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991
[17] Tsing, *Friction:An Ethnography of Global Connection*, Princeton University Press, 2005

and allows a place like Iquitos, which is in essence a product of constant friction, to be seen as an ever-changing location with yet to be imagined potentials caused by such frictions.

In this thesis I propose that by studying various forms of design it is possible to identify risks to make assessments and predictions on the trajectories of a local into the future. *The Metamorphosis of the World* (2016) posed by philosopher Ulrich Beck in his final text before passing in 2016, provided the conceptual idea of assessing risks to theorize on the direction places were heading. The Theory of Metamorphosis helps to provide an optimistic perspective that the parallel problematic cycles I'll discuss may not be repeated due to metamorphosizing world views. In this book, he theorizes that climate change is an event that has caused total shifts in the world-views across the globe which completely alter the ways people understand and function in that world. He theorizes that in this rare moment, like when Galileo discovered the Earth revolves around the Sun, there are drastic metamorphosis – systems and ways of being and understanding that alter so significantly that they do not simply change, bringing various elements along into the future, but metamorphosize into something wholly different.

Outline

I have divided the structure of this thesis into two parts. The part one, *Warning Signs in the Past & the Making of the Rubber City, 1870-1920*, I discuss the four kinds of warnings that appear in the 19th century Amazon Rubber Boom. Part two, *The Intertwined Forces of Politics, Tourism, & Design in Iquitos, 1970-2020*, suggests that in order to grasp the relevance of the past to the present situation in Iquitos and the Northwest Amazon, it is necessary to focus not only on the historical beginnings but to focus on the underlying powerful forces and reasons for why and how these warnings are created as well. In this portion the argument is made that

tourism in many ways has become the county's modern equivalent to the rubber boom. Part two also acknowledges that although the legacy and myths surrounding the Rubber Boom have caught the interest of some tourists, and even film-maker Werner Herzog whose *Fitzcarraldo* (1982) is set in the upper Amazon, there are other dominant global narratives concerning the Amazon at play.[18] These narratives are intertwined with international tourism to Iquitos and therefore are critically connected to the reappearance of unsustainable short-term developments, transformations of place through imported architectural imaginations, and the effects that isolated industry-controlled predatory networks create.

The concluding chapter seeks to address the question of why study these issues now and further asks whether anything can realistically be done if the cycles appear to repeat and lead towards similar Amazonian catastrophe? *The Metamorphosis of Iquitos,* is deeply rooted in the position that Iquitos and the broader world are changing due to the multiple crises of the past fifteen years – climate change, political instability, and the COVID-19 Pandemic. These crises have triggered a global metamorphosis of worldviews that will create the potential for the warnings to be heeded, for the direction things have been going in to become something totally different. Ulrich Beck's *Metamorphosis Theory* will be used as a supporting argument for *why now* might be a moment for which the exploitive mechanisms will not necessarily continue towards ecological, habitational, and social devastation of the Amazon and its people as they have historically during the Amazon Rubber Boom.[19] Having analyzed the rubber and tourism

[18] In Herzog's controversial film, *Fitzcarraldo* from 1982, the underlying narrative propelling the story of this exasperated rubber baron who drowns in a shipwreck transporting rubber is: Only a madman with his all white attire and opera, as some kind of heroic civilization savior, would enter the jungle in the hopes of development.. and ultimately, inevitably, fail by –drowning by shipwreck in the film.

[19] The theory of Metamorphosis was created by German social-scientist Ulrich Beck in his final publication, *The Metamorphosis of the World* 2016.

eras in Peru, acknowledged the role of design within the warning signs, and entered a period where such a turning-point is possible, I conclude with a discussion on what directions Iquitos could be headed. Therefore, the final chapter does not propose solutions but rather shares observations and ponderings on how design might be able to change the city's course – to focus on alternative place making possibilities that are emerging.

PART 1

WARNING SIGNS IN THE MAKING OF THE RUBBER CITY,

1870 - 1920

Part 1 consists of five chapters which cover the background of the development of the rubber industry in the Amazonian region of the state of Peru, particularly around the city of Iquitos. After a review of the development of the industry in Chapter 2, the following chapters delve more in depth into the consequences for the region and its local peoples of the extractive nature of this industry. Woven into these discussions are the elements of the architecture and urban and rural layouts that are used to identify warning signs which are then utilized in Part 2 to look at the current extractive industry of tourism as it is developing in the region in the 20th and 21st centuries. These warning signs as outlined in Chapters 2 through 6 are identified as unsustainable short-term development in the center of Iquitos, the use of foreign capital and foreign colonial and Eurocentric models for architecture that excludes input from local peoples and pulls funds from the region to the state capital of Lima and outwards internationally, and the territorial predatory practices found in the development of isolated industry controlled networks that were used for rubber extraction and hidden slave labor.

Until the year 1879, the Northwest Amazon River Basin had been largely ignored by colonialism with most external development happening along the coasts on the remainder of the South American continent. The interior had been explored and impacted by earlier civilizing efforts of Jesuit Missionaries but remained a region that was extremely difficult to navigate and had little economic interest to colonizers because no gold or precious materials had yet been found there[20]. However, the industrialization of rubber (a latex formed from the sap of a rubber tree) in the 1800's and the subsequent planetary global demand for the product would trigger interest that spurred an era often referred to as the Amazon Rubber Boom. The "boom" lasted

[20] In 1768 the Jesuits are expelled from the Amazon because of tense relationships between Portugal, Spain, and the Vatican. (Espinoza, Fondo Editorial Del Congreso Del Perú : Banco Central De Reserva Del Perú: PromPerú, 2006, 2006:267)

from c.1879-1914 and brought drastic cultural shifts, indigenous enslavement, economic activity, and expansive colonization to the Amazonas.[21]

Rubber was a product that would be used in a remarkable array of products from chewing gum to raincoats and on to what was claimed to be 32,000 different products manufactured in Akron, Ohio, by 1939.[22] The rubber industry emerged during the Victorian period of chaotic growth, industrialization, and invention that enabled a "self-regulating market" to take hold. In the case of the rubber industry, it generated enormous wealth and development all along the Amazon River and the connecting basins. However, the opulence created by the Rubber Boom quickly faded, a mirage that was neither eternal nor exponential.

The rapid "crash" of the Amazonian rubber trade was caused primarily by two events. The first event was the international scandals around the British-registered *Peruvian Amazon Company (PAC)*, owned by Peruvian Julio C. Arana (1864–1952). Multiple reports beginning in 1909 in the British magazine *Truth* implicated rubber stations managed by Arana in the far Northwest territory of the Putumayo basin - located in the lands contested between Peru and Colombia - as engaging in slavery. In 1910, Sir Roger Casement was sent as the British Consulate to investigate such reports. [23] Spending five or so months visiting Iquitos and the PAC, he published his report in 1914 known as the *Bluebook,* as cited in Casement (1997). His findings described and documented the enslavement of indigenous people through extractive,

[21] The specific dates of this period leading to the rubber crash are debatable but I have chosen to begin with the year 1910 in which Casement went to investigate reports of slavery and to end with 1914 when the rubber market collapsed financially and which Peruvian Anthropologist Alberto Chirif sites as the ending date. (Chirif, 2015)
[22] That same year, crude rubber was the single-largest import to the United States and from 1875-1900 the US consumed half of all rubber produced globally. (Tully, 2011:18, 21) This early form of capitalism was enabled by compliant governments who turned blind-eyes to the actual impacts on their people and environment. (Stanfield, 1998)
[23] Sir Roger Casement, born in 1864 in Dublin, Ireland, had previously been sent by the British to conduct the condemning investigation on the atrocities happening in relation to rubber extraction in King Leopold's Congo.

exploitive, and torturous labor conditions of the rubber industry. Historically, Casement's report was also the first time the phrase *"crimes against humanity"* was used.[24]

The *Putumayo Scandals* and trial alone might not have brought down the deeply entrenched and powerful rubber industry of the Amazon if it had not been for the slowly changing global supply. An Englishman, Henry Wickham, smuggled 70,000 rubber seeds out of the Amazon in 1876, which were studied and cultivated at Kew Gardens and then were sent out to create South-East Asian plantations. When the trees reached maturity in 1913, the new plantations exceeded the output of Amazon rubber by 25%.[25] The possibility for plantations to succeed in South Asia was in part due to a new ecological environment that lacked the fungi and insects which had prevented the success of large-scale plantations in the Amazon such as the Ford Plantation. South Asian plantations were cheaper, more efficient, and therefore produced larger quantities of latex at a fraction of the cost. The subsequent flood of rubber from South Asia plantations, combined with the changes in demand from WWI caused the rubber market in the Amazon and Iquitos to collapse in 1914.[26]

Although rubber extraction still occurs in the Amazon today, by the 1920's Amazon Rubber only accounted for 5% of the world's rubber. Nonetheless, injustices have continued against indigenous people.[27] Despite the invention of petroleum-based rubber at the outset of WWII, roughly half of today's rubber products are still derived from natural latex.[28] Synthetic or petroleum-based rubber is thermally stable and does not soften in heat as does natural rubber.

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[24] Casement, *The Amazon Journal of Roger Casement*, 1997, 176
[25] Tully, *A Social History of Rubber*, New York: Monthly Review Press, 2011, 72
[26] Tully, *A Social History of Rubber*, New York: Monthly Review Press, 2011
[27] Attacks and atrocities continue in relation to rubber tapping and other raw resource extractions such a mining. One such infamous incident was the 1963 'massacre of the 11th parallel' on the Cinta Larga Indians, which occurred on the Aripuanã River in Brazil under the firm of Arruda, Junqueira & Co. (Silva, 2017 & Survivalinternational.org)
[28] Tully, *A Social History of Rubber*, New York: Monthly Review Press, 2011:21

However, natural rubbers are highly resilient, can stretch and are extremely waterproof and continue to be utilized in products not exposed to high temperatures.

The rubber trade profits, a labor system of debt-peonage slavery, and conflicting territorial claims between Peru, Colombia, Brazil, and Ecuador all combined to create a force that pulled social, environmental balances and the economics of the Amazon around rubber and *caucheros.*[29] During the Rubber Boom era, particular styles of architecture, urban layout, and habitation patterns either emerged or became exaggerated that can, in retrospect, be identified as key warning signs that the rubber economy was generating problematic effects in the region. The history of the territory reveals that impacts go far beyond the dramatic crash of the natural rubber industry in 1914 and led to almost unfathomable ecological, social, and economic destruction to the region and its people, setting the course for Iquitos' and the Amazon's trajectory into the present.

After 1914, Iquitos - along with the rest of the Amazon's major inland cities of the rubber economy - fell into a decades-long economic depression. Iquitos survived as a trading point for other Amazonian products like fish and animal skins. Much of the opulent Rubber Boom architecture from this era went into decay but eventually became listed as national patrimony in the 1980s.[30] These topics will be expanded upon in the following chapters. Chapter 2 reviews the history of the development of rubber in the Amazon into a worldwide exploitative industry based on territorial predatory mobility strategies. A review of the urban layout and Rubber Boom architecture in the central part of Iquitos is presented in Chapter 3 in relation to short-term unsustainable development in the region. Chapter 4 further discusses the architecture in terms of

[29] *Caucheros* are laborers who find and extract the sap from the rubber trees.

[30] INC, 1999

the use of imposed models of civilized modernity tied to Eurocentric colonial and hierarchical views of societies and peoples. Chapter 5 goes on to expand on the information in these earlier chapters by looking at territorial predatory mobility practices and the development of isolated industry - controlled networks utilized for extractive purposes and their consequences in relation to power, money, and labor in this region. Part 1 presents the various warning signs that led to the societal and environmental collapse of the region following that of the Rubber Boom and sets the stage for Part 2 of the thesis where these same warning signs are explored but in the modern context of the international tourism industry that has recently been established in Iquitos and this part of the Amazon Basin.

CHAPTER 2

EXPLOITIVE TERRITORIAL PRACTICES: WARNING SIGNS

Structures of Production & The Search for White Gold

To comprehend what can be today in retrospect identified as the warning signs of destruction at a large scale and scope that emerged during the Rubber Boom era, the rubber industry's requirements must be understood. These requirements would be the catalyst underlying how and for what purposes architectural designs and particular urban layouts were implemented during the Rubber Boom. The two most essential aspects that began the search for rubber in the Amazon were the need for latex-producing trees and a cheap labor source to extract the resource. The Amazon, with its indigenous peoples and extensive forests was ripe for exploiting both those *resources* and would lead to the first of the danger signs: exploitive territorial practices that resulted from the extractive expansion and abandonment patterns that a highly demanded but difficult to retrieve product generated on the landscape.

In the 19th century, most of the world's supply of natural rubber came from the Amazon and the Congo jungles because of the natural presence of particular species of rubber trees that produced latex of much higher quality than the varieties found in other locales like India[31]. Latex is an emulsion of polymer microparticles in water that is milky and often white. It is found in 10% of all flowering plants (angiosperms) and is usually exuded after plant tissue injury and is extracted from rubber trees by cutting into the bark of the tree.

[31] India rubber was commonly known as caoutchouc. It was sticky, smelly, melted in heat, and when cold or aged became brittle. (Tully, 2011:37)

Fig. 1 – Extraction of latex in the Amazon Rainforest.[32]

Not only were these regions abundant in the trees, but they also had an enormous indigenous labor force that racist, imperialist viewpoints had no qualms exploiting to extract the raw rubber latex. In the Amazon, there are two species of latex-producing trees that each required different methods of extraction. These two methods led to different relationships with the landscape and expansion patterns across the territory. In Brazil, where the rubber trade began in the early 19th century,[33] the dominant tree for extraction was *Hevea brasiliensis*. This tree could be sustainably tapped for latex throughout the tree's life. On average, it produced approximately 1,000 pounds per year and was considered the highest quality rubber on the market. Each day the person, *seringuero*, would travel along a route through the jungle collecting the sap with the route that limited by how far they could walk and how much latex they could

[32] Image taken by Silvino Santos, c.1910. Sourced from Souza, *Da Borracha*, Funarte, 1999, 28
[33] Brazilian steam engines begin to travel for rubber trade between Para and Manaus c. 1853. (Pearson, 1911:112)

carry from about two hundred or so trees.[34] The tree's stationary extraction method promoted a sedentary habitation structure around the tapper's *estrada,* a path.[35]

The second tree species was the *Castilla elastica* which became a significant factor in the rapid expansion westwards of the rubber industry along the Amazon River. The *Castilla* tree's rubber fetched a lower price on the market because it was of lesser quality to *Hevea*. These trees could not be tapped like the *Hevea brasiliensis* trees because any incisions into the trunk would enable a fungus to invade and kill the tree. However, its latex could be more rapidly extracted from the adult *Castilla* trees because they could be cut down and drained all at once. A single mature tree could be drained of up to 200 pounds of latex in just two to five days. *Castilloa* trees harvested by two tappers could produce as much latex in ten days as a single *Hevea* tree would if a *seringuero* collected its sap every day for a year. Therefore, the rising demand and the more rapid extraction method for this more western rubber tree species resulted in a seminomadic and less stable lifestyle for the *cauchero* tappers and major effects on the environments as many of these trees were cut down.[36]

The possibility of quick extraction to satisfy epic demands and enormous growth in rubber's value promoted a -gold rush-like phenomenon to spread across the landscape.[37] As the lands for rubber tapping in Brazil were quickly claimed by rubber companies or the *Hevea* trees were killed from over-extraction for quick profits, the rubber industry followed the rivers and streams into Bolivian, Peruvian, Ecuadorian, and Colombian[38] territories. Plantations of rubber

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[34] *Seringueros* were the lowest ranked in the rubber trade. Most of these tappers would owe debts to *aviadores*, middlemen traders who exchanged food and supplies for the rubber.
[35] Stanfield, *Red Rubber*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1998, 24
[36] Stanfield, *Red Rubber*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1998, 24. Tully, *A Social History of Rubber*, New York: Monthly Review Press, 2011
[37] Nugent, *The Rise and Fall of the Amazon Rubber Industry,* New York: Routledge, 2018. See figure 1 Pg 1 and map 2.4 Pg 24
[38] Colombian *caucheros* began to focus their efforts on *Castilla* in the Putumayo in the 1870s. In the 1890's they had to start to shift focus to *Hevea* because the *Castilla* trees had been exhausted. (Stanfield 1998:25)

in the Amazon did continue to exist but were scarce and would prove difficult to create due to a series of issues, like the previously-mentioned fungus, such as infamously occurred at the later plantations at Fordlandia in the central Brazil state of Para.[39] *Castilla* trees were prevalent in the further inland regions of Colombia and Peru and because it was also a much more profitable tree, the destructive and temporal methods of rubber extraction quickly dominated the markets.[40]

The exploitive territorial expansion, which evolved from the rubber industry's epic global demand, promoted rubber tappers to continually expand into the rainforest in search of new trees, resulting in temporary settlements, massive deforestation heralding this same problem today, and an influx of immigrants from across South America by the hundreds of thousands. Like so many other prospectors, the workers and the eventual rubber barons arrived with dreams of temporarily conquering the *wild* frontier to exploit the environment for riches. Michael Stanfield, University of San Francisco historian of Latin America, summarizes this phenomenon as follows, "the collection of caucho, like that of quinine, followed the quintessential and durable Amazonian extractive pattern: plunder the rainforest as quickly as possible regardless of resource destruction."[41] Put another way, the allure of enormous profits transplanted whole populations, sometimes forcefully and with no choice[42], who lived a *cauchero* lifestyle designed around exploitive economics that promoted decades of expansion and abandonment patterns through the rainforest in search of latex.

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[39] Tully, *A Social History of Rubber*, New York: Monthly Review Press, 2011:72
[40] Stanfield, *Red Rubber*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1998, 24
[15] Stanfield, *Red Rubber*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1998, 25
[16] "In 1923, one year after the Salomón Lozano Treaty — which finally defined the [Peruvian] border with Colombia — was signed, several Peruvian rubber barons started to move natives to Peruvian territory south of the Putumayo… In the 1970s, under a law recognizing their rights, the natives finally freed themselves from their masters and registered their settlements as "native communities." - Chirif, 2015:55

The actual human and environmental costs of rubber are therefore almost impossible to calculate. This is evident even a century ago when the American Dr. William Lytle Schurz created a report on the rubber industry for the State of Amazonas, 1922, and wrote:

The question of the cost of production of rubber in the Amazon has occupied the attention of many minds, but no one up to the present has been able to determine for certain how much it costs to produce a pound of rubber. (Schurz et al 1925: 23 – found in Nugent, 2018:142)

What is clear today, though less obvious in 1922 was the reality that a portion of that cost must include the long-term effects caused by the exploitive territorial practices - triggered by the embedded colonial rubber economy. These included but were not limited to profound ecological degradation and unsustainable relationships between the demand for the resource supplied by the owners of the rubber lands and means of extraction and distribution and the trees in the environment and landscape as well as with the source of labor, which continue in the Amazon today.

CHAPTER 3

UNSUSTAINABLE SHORT-TERM DEVELOPMENT: WARNING SIGNS

Steamships, Immigrants, and City Plans (ca. 1860 - 1880)

When French explorer Paul Marcoy visited Iquitos in 1846, he described it as a poor trading point with "a collection of huts, whose thatched roofs hang raggedly in places, resembling an old sailor with his patches of hair. The population consists of eighty-five individuals, of both sexes…"[43] He goes on to give a description of the two groups of people living in Iquitos at the time - one partially white and Christian, and the other native, alluding to the caste system that is described below. In 1851, Iquitos had a population of only 225 people[44]. In 1861 the Peruvian Government decided to build a shipyard at the Ucayali and Maranon Rivers with a naval Commander General to bolster their control of the territory. They sent a commission to England to acquire four steamships, a floating dock, and the machinery needed to set up a nautical school, factories, and any other structures they needed to support the region's development and to map the rivers. In 1862, Frigate Captain Manuel Ferreyros realized that the intended location near Nauta, a larger town, was no longer suitable because of changes in the river's course. Iquitos, instead, would become the new headquarters of the base and by November 1864, the new steamships, imported from England and assembled/towed from Belém, appeared in Iquitos.[45]

The layout of Iquitos started to change when the steamships arrived bringing, "a relatively large number of Peruvian naval officers and about 50 technicians from a variety

[43] Marcoy, *Travels in South America,* Scribner, Armstrong, 1875, 263
[44] Sotelo, *Iquitos,* Telefonica, 2015, 22 & 25
[45] Sotelo, *Iquitos,* Telefonica, 2015, 26-27

of countries, whose presence was to turn the small village of Iquitos into a bustling town."[46] The Commanding General of the Department[47] planned to build a new town whose initial layout was of three parallel streets to the Amazon River and eight perpendicular to those. Jorge Ortiz Sotelo describes the first formal planning of the city as follows:

> "The first streets were given the names of Malecón, Napo, Morona, Pastaza and Próspero in honor of the steamships that had played an instrumental role in the city's boom. Around the central square, shaded by banana trees, stood the town hall and the church and, next to it, a property owned by a man from Lima, Ramón Bernales, that was first rented to and then purchased by Alzamora to serve as headquarters for the Department's General Command and barracks for the Naval force. The sawmill, carpentry shop and factory, with their ironworks, foundry and boiler making shop were constructed in the southernmost part of the city, land belonging to Pedro E. García on the riverside avenue, while the tile and brick workshops were situated in the northernmost part. Just as quickly, houses were built for the numerous officials and Naval officers who had arrived; the 32 machine operators working at the factories, 10 for the brick works and four for the carpentry shop…" (Sotelo, 2015 Pg 27)

Despite the Government's enormous naval efforts and promotions, up until the almost spontaneous appearance of the Rubber Boom, attracting settlers to the Amazon did not prove successful. Iquitos still only had 3,000 people by 1872 - with half of them being natives and the other half a mix of *mestizos* and some twenty different nationalities, including Chinese and African descendants.[48] Iquitos would not significantly grow or be of further interest to Lima until the rubber trade exportation. From the 1880s on, the Northwest rubber industry rapidly grew, and so too did the city.

[46] Sotelo, *Iquitos,* Telefonica, 2015, 27
[47] A task undertaken by Frigate Captain Federico Alzamora. (Sotelo, 2015)
[48] Sotelo, *Iquitos,* Telefonica, 2015, 28

Fig 2 - Port of Iquitos by Otto Michael, 1898. Painting located in Museo Naval del Callao in Lima, Peru.

Global-Urban Economy Network on the Amazon River (ca. 1880 – 1914)

The Amazon River served as the means of connection between New York and Akron and London to the depths of the ever-expanding wild-rubber sources as far as the multi-national territory in the Putumayo and Caquetá regions in the 1880s to 1914. [49] The enormity of the trade brought with it international investment and generated enough wealth traveling from the world's markets into the Amazon River that out of the deep-green jungle almost miraculously grew three key cities: Manaus, Pará (present Belém), and Iquitos. Their *bonanza* urbanization, and subsequent path into the present, all emerged from the search for latex, known as white gold. [50] Because of the wealth brought by rubber, these cities thrived and grew at a break-neck pace to become three distinct urban nodes within an international-economic network.

The three rainforest cities were all comprised of idealized Belle Epoque European urban master plans, imported precast-iron architecture, public works built by masonic associations and

[49] In 1866 the Amazon River was declared by Brazil as a free waterway. (Pearson, *India Rubber World*, 1911, 113)
[50] Often used to refer to a rich amount of mineral deposits for mining, in this case rubber was that raw resource which created the bonanza effect, a sudden source of seemingly copious and sudden wealth that embedded itself into the Amazonian urbanism of the time.

social organizations, and mansions that were a mixture of Brazilian, Portuguese, Spanish and republican architecture, precariously juxtaposed - or rather collaged against - the jungle landscape, with a sweltering damp climate, and vernacular thatch-based or river-adapted stilt architecture. The second warning sign, unsustainable short-term urbanism, emerged from rapid population booms, the short-sighted and superficial nature of the urban developments, and the developers and cities leaders' ambitions to be European, or at the very least appear like they were.

The fortune, or perhaps in some ways the curse, of Iquitos is that its location was perfectly situated to become the furthest node in the Amazon to supply the global rubber economy. River rapids, the sheer vastness of the jungle, and the Andes Mountains between the rubber production areas and the coasts of any of the three regional nations forced rubber to be exported via the Amazon River. Iquitos' location at the confluence of major rivers and proximity to Colombia's Putumayo territory meant that it became the trade port which had to be passed for any Ecuadorian, Colombian, or Peruvian rubber to pass through before heading downstream to the Atlantic. At one point, Colombia, like Bolivia, tried to build a railway that could avoid Peru's trade post monopoly over the rivers but ultimately failed.[51] Therefore, the geographic benefits and substantial Peruvian naval presence over the area created a stable enough territorial condition for Iquitos' rubber exports to go from 15% in 1895 to ten years later comprising 97-99% of the city's export trade. The State Government benefitted enormously from the control of export taxes, with Iquitos handling about 12% of total foreign trade from 1900-1912. Peru would

[51] The Bolivian railway was nicknamed "the devil's railway" because 1,238 of 13,000 workers died in its construction. It was unimaginably slow to build through the jungle and took from 1879 to 1912 to complete with many starts and stops along the way. However, by 1912 it was, of course, too late as the decades of wild rubber extraction were very nearly coming to a halt. (Tully, 2011:71)

continue to send fiscal and naval support throughout these decades as it was eager to aggressively maintain hold and expand its boundary into this resource-rich area.[52]

In just over two decades, Iquitos located 1,900 miles upstream from the mouth of the Amazon River - the furthest point accessible by ocean-going ships - would triple in population. The rubber economy generated a demographic explosion that overwhelmed the original urban layout while infrastructure and public works projects significantly trailed behind the needs. Foreigners were attracted from all over the world to the white gold's magnetic power and among them were Spaniards, Portuguese, Germans, French, Italians, English, Chinese, Hindi, Pakistani, Barbadians, and others.[53] The city's accessibility also became exceptionally well-connected globally: in 1898 the British Red Cross Line launched a service between Iquitos and Liverpool and in 1899 the Booth Steamship Co Ltd. directly connected Iquitos with Liverpool and New York monthly.[54] By 1910 these ships would transport up to 7,000 passengers yearly! There was such an international presence of people and economic activity that at one time United States, Brazilian, Colombian, British, German, Spanish, Portuguese, French, Italian and Chinese Consular offices operated in the city.[55] What is fascinating is that in 1903 of 9,438 officially registered inhabitants only 542 were foreigners. The other permanent residents were descendants of the previous Iquiteños families or Peruvians who had swelled the population, arriving from all over the country and surrounding areas.[56]

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[52] Stanfield, Red Rubber, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1998, 106
[53] Rumrill *Iquitos,* Telefonica, 2015, 72
[54] By 1906, Iquitos was being served by the Booth shipping company; the Amazon Steam Navigation Company, to Belém; Adolfo Morey, to Yurimaguas and the Yavarí; Benasayac y Toledano, to Sepahua, and J. C. Arana y Hermanos, to Putumayo, Yavarí, Ucayali up to the Pachitea, Napo and Curaray. (Sotelo, 2015:31)
[55] Sotelo, *Iquitos,* Telefonica, 2015, 28
[56] Rumrill, *Iquitos,* Telefonica, 2015, 72

The combination of wealth and demands of the population caused Iquitos to thrive. On November 9, 1897 Peru moved the capital of the Loreto region from Moyombamba[57] to Iquitos because of the rapid economic growth and the need to establish a greater presence of the Peruvian State.[58] Despite this increased presence and municipal importance of Iquitos as a port, the location was primarily developed by private interests related to the rubber trade. In fact, the National Government was largely absent in supporting the city's growth, public works, and infrastructure.[59] Lima would decree legislative laws, appoint bureaucrat positions, and naval support as a kind of minimum investment in order to continue extracting profits from the rubber economy's taxes. The Peruvian Government and their appointed local politicians would heavily depend on a relationship with the most powerful man in Iquitos, Rubber Barron Julio Cesar Arana. Arana would become the unstated broker between the Peruvian Government and the international rubber trade. He had control over contested territories where the rubber was produced and the city's daily functioning. Julio C. Arana was often the lender behind the city's projects – playing the role of bank and government. There were numerous accounts of him financing necessities like public schools and hospitals to aviation and telecommunication structures.[60]

In 1905 the English Booth Company completed the first wharf for trading and the port, which consisted of the street-level esplanade that rested on pylons anchored to the river bottom.[61] That same year, modern innovations were also imported into Iquitos, such as a public

[57] A long-standing Inca administration city.
[58] Iquitos had become powerful and through the 1890s experienced various protest and separatist movements to claim independence from the government in Lima. (Sotelo, 2015:30)
[59] "Iquitos that sometimes lacked a functioning banking system, and where the funds from Lima to meet the public payroll were frequently delayed for months at a time." (Douglass, 2019:536)
[60] Douglass, *Arana*, Center for Basque Studies, University of Nevada, Reno, 2019, 536
[61] Sotelo, *Iquitos,* Telefonica, 2015, 30

lighting network[62] installed around the central plaza and the first city train (*ferrocarril urbano*), imported from England in 1905 by Arana.[63] The train was meant to carry cargo between the trading houses while in the evening could be used to transport the public a few blocks between the Plaza de Armas to the Marañon Street.[64]

The wealthier part of the city continued to expand in a European-style grid from the plazas and along the river through private initiative projects that aided, and were imagined by, the rubber and shipping companies. Their interests were focused on increasing profits and communicating ideas of what a *modern* European City ought to have as envisioned by the Rubber Barron Arana and foreigners with investment capital and politicians in Lima of European ancestry. The dominance of private development left Iquitos without a long-term urban layout of adequate infrastructures or public services and a lack of projects that invested in any kind of future that was not rubber related. Meanwhile, all around the edges of the higher topographical areas of the city's center new mansions, trade houses, hotels, restaurants, brothels, and theaters, Iquitos was being settled by those who could not afford or had come too late to purchase lands in the center of the city. The edges, often located within the seasonal flooding zone of the Amazon River - present Belém neighborhood is an example – are where the poorer or more marginalized communities built their wooden and earth structures in the traditional methods based on non-European indigenous adaptations to the landscape continuing the pattern described by Macroy in 1846.

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[62] New York City received its first power grid for several blocks in the downtown in 1882. By 1905 Iquitos was one of the first cities in the whole world to be electrified. (Edison Tech Center at https://edisontechcenter.org/)

63 https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Archivo:Primer_ferrocarril_de_Iquitos.jpg

[64] Pro & Contra, *Loreto y su Historia*, May 10 2016, YouTube.

Rubber's Monopoly, the Generator of Amazonian Dependency (1850-1920)

> "[They] can see nothing here but… the damnable commodity which is… [Amazonia's] ruin… The passengers on the river boats are rubber men, and the cargoes are rubber. All the talk is of rubber. There are no manufacturers, no agriculture, no fisheries, and no saw-mills, in a region that could feed, clothe, and shelter the population of a continent. – H.M. Tomlinson, 1912 (Tully, 2011:66)

The short-sighted ad-hoc city development was not limited to piece-meal developments and infrastructure but also affected basic city functions. At the time like in many other locations Iquitos and other Amazonian cities lacked what is today considered basic public infrastructure like sewage, schools, and hospitals. All along the Amazon River virtually all other industries except for those directly tied to rubber had disappeared in exchange for imports of every imaginable kind from The United States and Europe. Flour came from the United States, clothing from Paris and London, canned food from England, rice was imported from Argentina, and even sawn lumber for construction came from abroad to the middle of a rainforest. From today's perspective this dependency and lack of basic services can be recognized as a sign of future problems.

With practically everyone attracted to rubber's profits, very little was being produced in the Amazon beyond that singular product. The result was an enormous de-skilling in the entire region. Already in 1853 English botanist Richard Spruce had noted that Brazilians were abandoning their occupations in exchange for rubber tapping: "Mechanics threw aside their tools, sugar-makers deserted their mills, and Indians their roças [farm clearings], so that sugar, rum, and even farinha [manioc flour] were not produced in sufficient quantity."[65] From fisheries

[65] Tully, *A Social History of Rubber*, New York: Monthly Review Press, 2011, 69 originally cited from Hemming, John, *Amazon Frontier: The Defeat of the Brazilian Indians.* London: Macmillan, 1987, 273

to timber processing to mills, all of the primary industries for a place to be self-reliant had closed. In Iquitos specifically, rubber exports continued to grow but so too did the imports as more and more goods were needed to support the city and the surrounding rubber haciendas/estates/camps.[66] With the increased dependency on imports Loreto's prefect complained to the Peruvian Government that inflation had caused the cost of living to go up to eight times the cost of other Peruvian cities.[67]

The rubber economy coiled itself around all three cities (Iquitos, Manaus, and Pará), leaving not only the economic situation of the Amazon extremely vulnerable but creating a regional reliance external to the urban centers, as well. Foreign markets, mainly in England and the US, determined rubber prices while the Amazon's dependency on imported goods created an unbalanced economy. Moreover, many of the industries that did thrive were connected to foreign ownership, such as the British-owned shipping industry that controlled the Amazon River and Manaus's only bank which was British-owned, with Manaus being the world's wealthiest city during the rubber boom's peak.[68] The Peruvian Amazon Company (established in 1907), backed by British stock market investors, but owned by Julio Cesar Arana, controlled the Northwest shipping companies which had a significant role in the development of Iquitos.

The rubber boom's radical monopolization by a single industry and the control and export of that wealth by foreign enterprises is what Dependency Theorists would argue blocked the development of the Amazon.[69] Dependency theory is an approach to understanding economic underdevelopment in an area by putting the onus for such underdevelopment on external factors.

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[66] Stanfield, *Red Rubber*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1998, Table 5, pg 97
[67] Stanfield, *Red Rubber*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1998, 97
[68] Stanfield, *Red Rubber*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1998, 123
[69] William Douglass cites these saying that, "Many of these theorists are Latin American. See in particular Eduardo Galeano, *Open veins of Latin America: Five Centuries of the Pillage of a Continent*, trans. Cedric Belfrage (New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1973). Specifically on rubber, see for example Flores Marin, *La explotacion del Caucho en el Peru*, Lima: Consejó Nacional de Cienca y Tecnología, 1987, 401

Dr. Barbara Weinstein (1983) disagrees with this theory and suggests that internal societal factors and economics contributed more powerfully to the outcomes and that local actors and governments control the development or progress of a region more than do foreign or external agencies.[70] By analyzing why and how these cities urbanized, it becomes clear that factors related to both theories were in fact at play.

Europeanization of the Amazon

By the late 1880s Peruvians, Colombians, Ecuadorians, Bolivians, and Brazilians had all theoretically cut their ties to the colonial empires that developed the region or the colonial empires had already moved away from the continent. Their influence, however, did not disappear. The same colonial structures and hierarchies that existed within their societies and political underpinnings during colonial times remained and were maintained. The connections of European heritage and the Victorian concepts of civilized, otherness, and pureness of race were dominant aspects in these classist societies.[71] Family names that, still to this day, were methodically recorded back to their original Spanish, French, Portuguese, and to a lesser extent, Italian and Dutch origins were important. These were the *white* families that ran the political spheres, the businesses, the churches, and in essence, held power.

Even in Iquitos, before its official formation as a port[72], the village had already evolved its organization around a classist hybridization that began with its founding as a mission[73] and

[70] Tully, *A Social History of Rubber*, New York: Monthly Review Press, 2011, 73

[71] Akan, *Architectural Theory Review*, 2002, 37-57. Silverman, *Oppositions 8*, Spring 1977, 70-91

[72] Iquitos celebrates January 5, 1864 as the founding day of the port. But there is no official foundation act for the city, so no birth certificate. Roger Rumrrill suggests that this is because like other Peruvian Amazonian towns it was created by economic cycles connected to the global markets. (Rumrrill 2015:72)

[73] "From 1791-1817 it was a mission comprised of the Iquito nation. Now a poor trading place. It used to be located further inland until the Pasto volcanoes caused the springs to dry-up and so the mission moved closer to the river in 1817 and the indigenous mixed with four different tribes in the village." (Marcoy, 1875:263)

later integration of a Spanish caste system with the hierarchical system already present in relation to the various tribes in the region. When Paul Marcoy visited Iquitos in 1846 he found two separate neighborhoods where Spanish castaways' descendants had created a mestizo population. Marcoy describes the settlement saying that "Of the thirty-two huts which constitute the village, and which, as we have said, are divided into two distinct quarters,[74] nineteen are devoted to the native population. The remaining thirteen are inhabited by a few poor Indian and Spanish half-breeds, whom the Huambisis of the Pastaza river drove some years ago from the villages of Borja and La Barranca, after having pillaged and burned their dwellings."[75] He goes on to describe the caste system in the village connected to this spatial arrangement saying that the Spanish descendants address themselves as don and doña and consider themselves white. They were the Iquitos aristocracy and wore a short skirt and blue cotton pants, with a handmade straw hat. The second class that lived within the nineteen huts and had different clothing signifiers were a mix of four indigenous tribes. Both groups were Baptized Christians[76] , and so they regarded themselves as better than the "cannibal"[77] native peoples who lived outside of the village.[78] This would be the social condition of Iquitos continuing through the 1860's Amazon Hydrographic Committee – and on to the present.[79]

The hierarchy with Europeans at the top had a broader history in Peru as well, where the initiatives to colonize the Amazon region with European immigrants became government policy

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[74]Marcoy says that the locals called these quarters, *barios* or *faubourgs*. (Marcoy, 1875:263)
[75] Marcoy, *Travels in South America,* Scribner, Armstrong, 1875, 263
[76] A social-hierarchical concept that remained from the Missionaries who had transported the Iquitos peoples to here. (Marcoy, 1875)
[77] Marcoy suggests there is no proof of cannibalism and that it is more likely an exaggeration by the Iquiteños. He implies that it is done so as to distinguish themselves as more civilized or of higher class. (Marcoy, 1875:264)
[78] Marcoy, *Travels in South America,* Scribner, Armstrong, 1875
[79] The Amazon Hydrographic Committee was a naval operation founded in Peru by the Republic in order to map the rivers and hydrology of the region, conduct a general census, and to begin more clearly delineating Peru's territory against Portuguese and French expeditions. A good source on this history is David *Werlich's Admiral of the Amazon: John Randolph Tucker, His Confederate Colleagues, and Peru*, 1990. (Chirif, 2009:14)

in 1850 when a series of laws to promote their immigration and the creation of the "Sociedad de Inmigracion Europea," composed of fourteen members from the old continent, were created. The society administered congressional funds for lodging, food, and other logistical functions to aid European immigration. Furthermore, they were tasked with attracting highly skilled and qualified immigrants who could, in theory, help the country in extracting the underutilized agricultural and forestry potentials of the Amazon territory. Underlying these initiatives was the fundamental premise that the Amazon was an underutilized land and its indigenous peoples were "*ignorant, lazy populations"* that needed to be brought into civilization for the nation's progress.[80] A law in 1893 gives further clarification on the political motives that defined which immigrants could move to the region:

> *"Los extranjeros de raza blanca, menores de sesenta anos, que lleguen a la Republica para establecerse en ella y acojan las disposiciones de esta ley, exhibiendo ante las autoridades designadas por el Gobierno, el correspondiente certificado expedido por los consules o agentes del Peru en el extranjero, respeto a la moralidad y oficio o profesion del inmigrante"* (Chirif, 1975) [Translation: The foreigners of white race, under sixty years of age, who arrive at the Republic to establish themselves in it and accept the provisions of this law, exhibiting to the authorities designated by the Government, the corresponding certificate issued by the consuls or Peruvian consulates abroad, regarding morality and office or immigrant profession"]

The perceptions of a wild Amazon that was ripe for resource extraction by a population of European heritage who needed to overcome or "civilize" the unfavorable situation of indigenous peoples were commonplace at the turn of the 19th century. The popular literature and periodicals all propagated these ideas and gave European heritage value over anything related to natives. One particularly clear example within Peru was *El Perú Ilustrado* (Figure 3), the first

[80] Chirif, *Imaginario E Imágenes,* Lima, Peru: Centro Amazónico de Antropología y Aplicación Práctica, 2009

illustrated magazine to be published in the country whose first cover was described by researcher Isabelle Tauzin-Castellanos as follows:

> "On that iron bridge, symbol of the most advanced technology of the time, a train circulates that is about to enter a tunnel, an image of man's victory over inhospitable nature. At the same time, an allegory of ancient Peru appears, in the form of a feathered Indian. The game of proportions, the inaccuracy of the perspective, the smallness of the Indian who despite being in the foreground is nothing more than a puppet, are elements that reveal the ideological perspectives of the founders of *El Perú Ilustrado*, who were members of the ruling class... in short, everything that alludes to Indianness, is only a symbol of the past and proof that the indigenous are an obstacle to development for the country.[81]

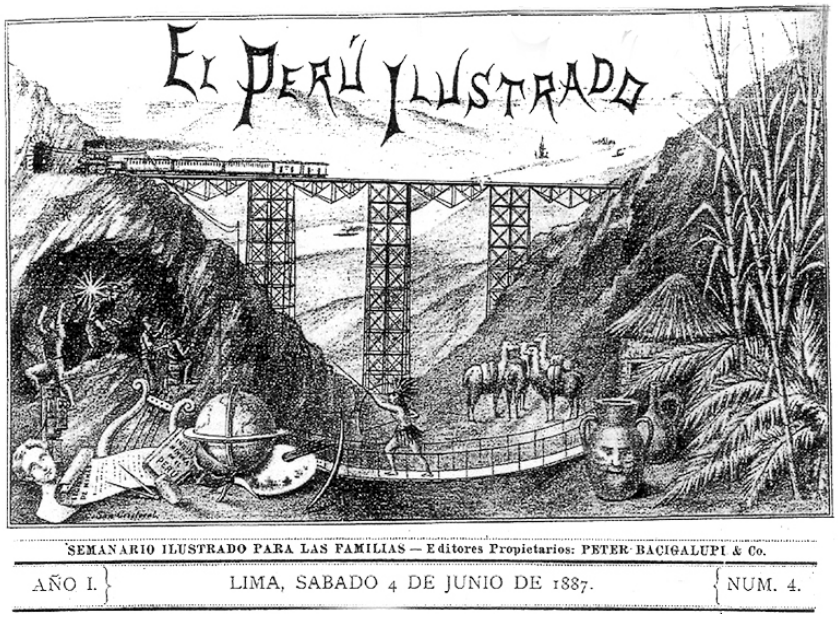

Fig. 3 - First cover design of *El Perú Ilustrado.*[82]

El Perú Ilustrado is simply one of the many cultural artifacts that recorded the dominant mentality and myths perpetuated in these decades in which Iquitos was becoming a city. The societal hierarchy benefiting white Europeans/descendants and the negative stereotypes and

[81] Translated from Spanish text from Tauzin, *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'études Andines*, 32 (1), 2003, 133
[82] Image Sourced from Tauzin 2003, 133

myths of indigenous peoples combined with existing social structures in Iquitos – also parallels the context in the Brazilian cities - was the underlying fabric of the Rubber Era development.

As discussed earlier, there were powerful societal mechanisms that combined with the modes of extraction to generate city plans that attempted – and momentarily succeeded in small portions - to be somewhere and something other than what they were. This is of course, unfair to say because in the attempt to be European through the built environment, the cities revealed exactly what they were. These were cities planned by short-sighted people that boomed from rubber wealth and the rapid urban growth of laborers seeking upward mobility and survival in a social caste system that privileged white descendants. These were cities that depended on external control by foreign markets/investors, influential local figures, and distant state governments. In combination, these groups enabled the rubber industry to monopolize the Amazon so that it could extract enormous profits from the exploitation of the marginalized – both in terms of people and physical environments. These were cities where the urban fabric reflects the societal, habitational, and ideological clashes that occur from the whiplash globalization that played out in Iquitos, Manaus, and Para's urbanization.[83] These cities were nodes along a globalized trade network meant to extract and display wealth rather than plan for the long-term development of these places. The money that stayed was invested in what historian Dr. John Tully called “pharaoh projects” (projects of self- promotion for the wealthy like Arana) rather than sustainable or diversified investment works.[84]

[83] Pará is the previous name of present day Belem City.
[84] Tully, *A Social History of Rubber*, New York: Monthly Review Press, 2011, 64

CHAPTER 4

WARNING SIGNS: THE TRANSFORMATION OF PLACE THROUGH IMPORTED ARCHITECTURAL IMAGINATIONS

When Iquitos Wanted to become Paris

Iquitos' was part of a trio of cities along the Amazon? whose urban fabric and architecture was shaped by the residing colonial "Rubber Barons," expressing their concentrated wealth, and a shared desire to appear like a modern European city – regardless of the cost. The obsession with Europeanness, civilization, and modernity is prevalent globally due to the effects of post-colonialism and the dominant world views of the 19th and 20th centuries.[85] The rubber era was certainly not the beginning of this type of urbanization. Still, the rubber industry provided the economic resources with foreign capital and had the power to reproduce a Euro-centric world view through every aspect of the Amazon that was especially apparent in the architecture. The architecture and habitation patterns were manifestations of the Euro-centric Victorian society, which was heavily embedded with colonialist world views, maintaining race-based class systems, concepts of *civilized modernity*, and exploitive positions towards peoples, places, and nature.

The colonial perspective was not necessarily a negative issue for the immigrants that came to Iquitos from all over Peru and the world looking to make it rich, have an adventure, and come away with prestige - they shared in those views. Therefore, it is not surprising that the architecture which was built during the Rubber Boom reflected their ambitions and the culture that they knew (David Hackett Fisher, *Albion's Seed*). The wealth and extravagances that

[85] Yengoyan, *Fair Representations: World's Fairs and the Modern World,* Amsterdam: VU Press, 1994, 62-83

Manaus and Pará's architecture displayed, such as the grand Amazon Theater, were perhaps the grandest of the Rubber Boom architecture and certainly have garnered the most attention by historians. Iquitos, being more distant and chronologically later followed a similar trajectory – it was perhaps just later to the party than its Brazilian counterparts. In Iquitos, rubber's wealth created many mansions, rubber trading houses, markets of imported goods, and buildings devoted to entertainment and social clubs like the Alhambra Theater[86] or Amazonian Masonic Lodge.[87] Of the many structures which reflected the rubber industry's changes on the city and its population, the two most famous and representative of the architectural styles were the Hotel Palacio (1905) and the Casa de Fierro (1889) or "Iron House".

Fig. 4 – Hotel Palacio[88]

The Hotel Palacio represented the preference for neoclassical and art nouveau styles of Spain, Italy, and Portugal. It was erected on the esplanade overlooking the Amazon River. Owned by Colonel and Prefect of Loreto, Pedro Portillo, the structure spared no expense with exterior walls covered in intricate blue tiles imported from Sevilla, Spain – giving it a slightly Moorish flair. Decorative tiles continued into the lavish interiors with all the most exquisite furniture and wall coverings imported as well. The Palacio was in the dominant architectural

[86] The Alhambra Theater, 1911, held important performances by a theatrical company from Barcelona that would visit yearly to perform between December and June. It belonged to the brother's Francisco and Demetrio de Paula. (Sotello, 2015:30)
[87] Sotelo, *Iquitos,* Telefonica, 2015, 28 & 30
[88] Image sourced from https://conoceiquitos.com/ on May 10, 2021.

style used for government buildings and was especially emblematic of how the rubber entrepreneurs built and colorfully decorated their haciendas, with tiles and Venetian glass for windows to let in the light that sparkled off their crystal chandeliers.[89]

Fig. 5 – Casa de Fierro, 2010. Photo by Augusto Oyuela-Caycedo.

The Casa de Fierro, a pre-fabricated structure made entirely of bolted together iron parts was purchased by rubber baron Otoniel Vela at the 1889 Paris Exhibition. He then had the parts imported to Iquitos that same year. It is unclear whether this structure was ordered from a catalog of parts from Belgium or was a structure physically at the world's fair.[90] Additionally, there are uncertainties around the claim that Gustave Eiffel, the designer of the Eiffel Tower, had designed the trade house. It appears unlikely as the Eiffel organization's official lists do not include this structure in Iquitos, although there is one in Brazil.

Nevertheless, despite its uncertain origins, the ideas behind them speak to the excitement and history of such iron structures in the Amazon more generally. Casa de Fierro is, at the very least, an iron structure imported from Europe to serve as a key trading house on the corner of the Plaza de Armas, the most prominent location in Iquitos, and where all sorts of events in the city's

[89] Rumrill, *Iquitos,* Telefonica, 2015, 73
[90] Rumrill, *Iquitos,* Telefonica, 2015, 73

history have taken place.[91] It also provides an opportunity to discuss why it was so symbolically important that Iquitos did import such a building in the first place.[92]

The Symbolism of Iron Architecture

Due to the Industrial Revolution of the 19th century, new materials were beginning to be available for construction. Iron was one such product that could be cheaply produced and became widely used. Before technological advances, iron was used sparingly for difficult wood connections, structural assistance for domes in the Renaissance, and reinforcement for larger spans and openings. In the early 1800's structural theorists in France began to teach and define structures as "hierarchical systems composed, in ascending order, of components, connections, elements, subsystems, and the whole."[93] This new mode of thinking allowed for the development of modular, industrial prefabrication. Professor of Architecture and History at Lehigh University, Tom F Peters, calls this "model thinking" and argues that it created the ability for an additive kind of thought. Essentially, these developments created the possibility that iron structures could be designed around problem avoidance, thrive as "kit-of-parts" of form-based constructions, and be built in sections for "divide and conquer" techniques.[94]

The development of engineering practice in the 19th century paralleled the innovations with the iron material and industrial prefabrication techniques. It ultimately allowed for architecture, especially iron architecture, to be exported to "any" location and under "any" conditions in the belief that it was well equipped to cheaply, efficiently, and successfully be erected. Iron as a material and the iron components were able to be pre-made in a factory rather

[91] For example, the first film shown in Iquitos was projected inside the Casa de Fierro. (Sotello, 2015:30)
[92] Rumrill, *Iquitos,* Telefonica, 2015, 73
[93] Peters, *Developed Thought Patterns in Design*. 2012, 35- 72
[94] Peters, *Developed Thought Patterns in Design*. 2012, 35- 72

than at the construction site. For the first time, it was possible to *assemble* the structures from industrially manufactured parts rather than *construct* as had been done prior. Once ornament, spatial layouts, and other social influences came into play, iron architectures could also carry the social and political symbols of their origins – be it Europe (Eiffel Tower, Crystal Palace) or the US (Industrial factories and vertical skyscrapers).[95]

Iron architecture's symbolic use as a metaphor of modernity gave it a place in the early world's fairs beginning with the Crystal Palace of the London Great Exhibition of 1851, and the Eiffel Tower and exhibition halls of the Paris Exposition Universalle of 1889, leading to their subsequent dispersal to all corners of the globe - the Amazon, Congo, India. Since the first French industrial fair held in 1798, fairs primarily served the political function of showing that despite France's Revolution and numerous wars/economic crises had not impeded the nation from industrial and scientific progress. The trend, and especially of the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1889,[96] used iron buildings to house the fairs and exhibitions that in combination were able to demonstrate France's progress. The 1889 fair was intended to go even further with the ambition to restore both France's economic and political place as one of the leading nations globally, especially in comparison to England. (Other areas of the fair were meant to bring the feats of its colonial missions back to the French citizens.) The iron structures that created the setting for the fair helped develop a vision of France's purpose in the global world and ability to colonize/manage/civilize it for France's benefit while also promoting more economic growth,

[95] Peters, *Developed Thought Patterns in Design*. 2012, 35- 72
[96] The fourth exhibition held in Paris since 1855.

industrial invention, and scientific discoveries. Iron was the symbol of modernity, progress, and power.[97]

The Galerie des Machines, designed by Ferdinand Dutert, was one-fifth ($1.5million in 1889 dollars) of the Paris Exposition's cost.[98] It was a building with novel iron technology, twenty giant three-hinged arches, enclosed the largest area ever – over 900,000 sq ft. Additionally, "the whole building was decorated with colored glass, mosaic work, paintings, and ceramic bricks, so that the great metal skeleton became essentially the frame of an enormous jewel box."[99] Originally the building was to be made of steel, but because iron was about two-thirds of the steel price in 1889, it was used. Steel was still more expensive, although that price was going down as innovations in the production process quickly improved[100].

The Galerie, along with the Eiffel Tower, transformed the world's perceptions as over two million people traveled to see the fair[101]. Iron, and the new kinds of architecture it could produce, were ultimately about communicating power, economics, and control of both knowledge and societies by France.[102] Other countries would not let France claim such power uncontested, and so the innovative iron factories and designers popped up all over Europe to sell their kit-of-part structures globally.[103] Hence iron-architecture was imported to Brazil and Peru for various functions: train stations, theaters, markets, private mansions, infrastructure, and

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[97] Silverman, *Oppositions* 8, Spring 1977, 70-91. Yengoyan, *Fair Representations,* Amsterdam: VU Press, 1994, 62-83.
[98] Stamper, *The Galerie des Machines of the 1889 Paris World's Fair.* Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989. Figures on pgs 7, 9, 13, 16, 19, 23.
[99] Stamper, *The Galerie des Machines of the 1889 Paris World's Fair.* Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989, 337
[100] Steel would overtake iron in a parallel timing as the Amazonian rubber trade was also overtaken by South Asia production.
[101] Source: https://www.toureiffel.paris/en/the-monument/universal-exhibition
[102] Picon, 2020. Casid, *The Sowing Empire: Landscape and Colonization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2005, 27-44
[103] Stamper, *The Galerie des Machines of the 1889 Paris World's Fair.* Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989.

rubber trade warehouses[104]. Despite the drastically different context of the rainforest, the ease of assembly and adaptability of the prefabricated iron-structures allowed for them to be imported and assembled. Beyond its physical use, iron represented politics and economic interests, and ultimately, reinforced the cultural and societal symbolism tied to the notion of European superiority over the regional peoples and rubber's civilizing conquest over wilderness. The use of iron traveled up the Amazon to the Casa de Fierro at the Plaza de Armas in Iquitos.

Material Consumption

The choice of imported construction materials reflected the cosmopolitan nature of Iquitos. At the turn of the 20th century, the city had become a place where rubber businessmen walked about in white linen suits; their wives were splendid in imported skirts from London. They dined on caviar and French Champagnes, attended evening dances on the esplanade, held lavish balls to forget their new homes' isolation, and created private sports clubs to pass the evenings smoking cigars while discussing rubber trades.[105] The business growth was exponential for thirty years - why shouldn't their architecture and culture have reflected the successes rubber had brought? Thus, the early 20th century, Peruvian Amazonian culture was defined and represented by the power of this class of people whose lives were funded by rubber and foreign capital.

However, we must not let the magic of the European illusion pull our attention away from the *other* Peruvian Amazonian culture that did not rely so heavily on the European, Asian, and Portuguese-Brazilian contributions. It was the rubber houses and their elite social class that

[104] See Santos, 2013 or Nobre, 2016 to see examples such as the Rio de Janeiro's Municipal Market[104] (1906, Belgium) or Ceara's Theatro José de Alencar[104] (1910, Scotland).

[105] Sotelo, *Iquitos,* Telefonica, 2015.

used their wealth to define the identity of Iquitos, demonstrating their power to determine "good taste" while ignoring the non-European architecture[106]. The Rubber Boom's celebrated and remaining architectures are in the art nouveau and neoclassical styles built from imported materials and spatial organizations. The humble structures of local woods and earth organized around vernacular layouts were not considered part of Iquitos' new image. Today, they remain only as passed-down knowledge in technically more recent structures that often continue to struggle for legitimacy in the city's urban fabric[107]. The opulent rubber architecture communicated an exclusive dream to be aspired to – because the methods and capital needed to construct in this way were unachievable to the majority. The architecture clearly expressed the elite's power and cultural hierarchy in the city by separating them from the lower classes; the indigenous and mixed-race poor people trapped in debt-peonage or slavery under the rubber economy.

The result of the opulent Rubber Boom architecture - reinforcing one group's position in the social caste above another and in the process creating justifications for the exploitation can be seen as emblematic of the injustices and oppression lurking everywhere. It was foreign designs, whether in architecture or language, dress, food, spatial positions, and material choices that aided the Victorian bourgeoisie of Iquitos in drawing a line of what it was to be part of the global civilized world and what and who were not. Behind these displays of wealth and power was the contrasting reality of the made-invisible indigenous culture. There was also the hidden rural world of rubber camps where indigenous people were enslaved, raped, and tortured, which

[106] Anthropologists like, Mary Douglas, understand consumption as the forms of behavior that connect our choices of good and experiences to create social meanings and structure societal hierarchies. (Douglas and Isherwood, 1977)

[107] The stilt Architecture neighborhood of Belen in Iquitos is an example of local construction that has been present since before the 18th century. It is also a neighborhood which has been the focus of relocation efforts to developments that remove the people from their river lifestyles and place them into drastically different concrete housing types, as is the focus of the dissertation on the relocation neighborhood called, "New Belen". (Bernales, 2019)

generated the wealth that propelled Iquitos. The Rubber Boom era was constructed within a dual-reality between the showy architecture in urban centers and the rest of the Amazon that funded it.

CHAPTER 5

DANGER SIGNS OF ISOLATED INDUSTRY-CONTROLLED PREDATORY NETWORKS

From Many to Few: The Arana Monopoly & the Spatial Networks of Rubber

The fourth danger sign of the Rubber Boom is evident in the isolated industry - controlled networks that emerged to support and make possible the foreign-capitalized rubber industry. If the *Castilla* type of tree promoted a *cauchero* lifestyle, the rubber trade houses' operational structure that began to consolidate enormous power in the later years of the Rubber Boom created the conditions for new webs of industrial networks around rubber extraction to emerge. Often a rubber house had a monopoly over an entire tract of land that was not only isolated from competition but isolated from governance, while offering protection from various ailments in the jungle,[108] and necessary resources - like food. The combination of multiple types of monopolies in isolated territories with the hierarchical labor structure for rubber extraction was a danger sign that, although thriving under the rules of capitalism, created complex isolated industrial networks that generated the conditions for multiple ecological catastrophes while simultaneously sustaining inhumane working and living conditions. To understand where and how they functioned, and why these networks emerged, we must first understand the scale at which this occurred. This is evident in the case of Julio César Arana del Águila, a Peruvian born to a hat salesman in Rioja, Peru, in 1864, who died as an infamous yet powerful political figure in Lima in 1952. [109]

[108] This could be from diseases to famine to attack by other groups of people - indigenous tribes or caucheros.
[109] Douglass, *Arana*, Center for Basque Studies, University of Nevada, Reno, 2019

> "It seems inexplicable that in the middle of the jungle, there, where there is not felt any government influence, thousands of Indians have been wrenched out of savagery and nationalized, to the degree of instilling in them a love of Peru and its flag, in whose defense they have spilled their blood, drawing a line before the invader that attempted to rip away with force this rich piece of national territory. How did this solution come about? That which the Government could not accomplish was done by a single man; and we have the satisfaction of proclaiming the name of this good Peruvian, who is none other that the King of rubber in Peru, Mr.Don Julio C. Arana." - September 12, 1908 – Lima's prestigious Newspaper, La Opinion Nacional[110]

Julio Cesar Arana and the Peruvian Amazon Company

Rubber extraction in Peru's far Eastern zones was separated from its' capital, Lima, by the Andes Mountain ranges. Generally, in that distant territory of the Peruvian Amazon the extraction occurred in four areas. In the North, the primary areas of impact were the Caqueta and Putumayo river basins that are now partially part of Colombia; in the South and of lesser focus were the Madre de Dios and Urubamba basins. The later region was of less significance for rubber export, although was certainly also devastated in terms of population. Rubber extraction in the South lasted for only a short time compared to the nearly four decades that the industry affected the Northern regions. Peruvian Anthropologist Alberto Chirif suggests that a significant factor for the variability in impact of the rubber industry in the Southern regions was because of the death Carlos Fermín Fitzcarrald, the principal Rubber Baron of these basins, in 1897 by

[110] Douglass, *Arana*, Center for Basque Studies, University of Nevada, Reno, 2019, 542-543.

shipwreck in the Amazon.[111] In the North, where Iquitos is located, Julio C. Arana's Peruvian Amazon Company, controlled the extraction of rubber.

The reason to focus on Arana is not that he held a total monopoly of the industry or the infamous cruelty towards the indigenous that was recorded in reference to his operations. In fact, he was not the only significant rubber trader in Iquitos, although his firm grew to enormous proportions and was one of the largest exporters out of the port.[112] Thanks to the publication *Arana* by William A Douglass, it is also clear, that at the turn of the century, Arana was not an exceptionally cruel figure in South America or the imperialist world of which he was very much a part.[113] The racist treatment and perception that indigenous people were a hindrance to progress and civilization could be found in every country on the South American continent and across much of the Euro-American world as well. The cruelty that emerged from the Peruvian Amazon Company [hereafter PAC] under Arana's total control of the Colombian Putumayo was most certainly an atrocity. Still, even the Select Committee of the Putumayo trial admitted that Arana's company may not have been the most egregious among the rubber barons and was found broadly in the lands that the rubber industry had affected:

> "… in the course of the Inquiry your Committee have been impressed with the fact that the ill-treatment of the Indians is not confined to the Putumayo. It appears, rather, that the Putumayo case is but a shockingly bad instance of conditions of treatment that are liable to be found over a wide area in South America. No doubt there are special features peculiar to the Putumayo problem, such as the dispute over the territorial sovereignty, which would not occur elsewhere. But the spirit of the "conquistador" appears to be at work on other rivers."- British Parliament Report, xix. Sourced from Douglass, 2019 pg540.

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111 Chirif, *Imaginario E Imágenes* Lima, Peru: Centro Amazónico de Antropología y Aplicación Práctica, 2009, 18
112 Stanfield, 1998, 104, 123, Table 8. Douglass, *Arana*, Center for Basque Studies, University of Nevada, Reno, 2019, 534.
113 Slavery was technically abolished in Peru in 1854 and only abolished in Brazil in 1888, the last of the countries in the Americas to do so, but extremely critical because it was the gateway and beginning for all rubber trade in the Amazon. (Walker, 2014. Fausto, 2020:251)

Nevertheless, Julio C. Arana was known as "El Rey del Caucho," the King of Rubber because of the PAC's complete control over the Putumayo and Caquetá basins, (about 12,000 sq. miles[114], an entire area almost twice the size of Massachusetts). These basins were controlled by a system designed for exploitation, power, and profit.[115] Through the case study of Arana's rubber trade, an isolated single-industry controlled network can be studied and recognized as a danger sign. The lack of regulation resulted from its distance from the national government, but also because of embedded cultural biases making it possible for Arana's corporation to operate a system that conquered existing indigenous village groups and created hierarchies among these "stations" or "haciendas" for the optimal efficiency of exploitation.

The rubber camps were organized along the rivers and streams so that the raw latex of the rubber business could be carried by Arana's own fleet of steamships, the "Liberal" and "Cosmopolita" being the two that traveled to Iquitos. There were smaller ships as well that could enter minor streams, "La Callo", La Witota," and "La Veloz," and "Audaz" to bring the dried/smoked bundles of raw latex from the more distant nodes back to the two headquarters of the operations: *La Chorrera* and *El Encanto*.[116] (Fig. 6 & 7) From these two camps, the rubber was then brought by steamship along the Putumayo River – or at times carried physically by indigenous labor through the jungles to another river - to then be brought into Iquitos to the trade houses. It was then taxed, transported down the Amazon, and sent out to the world.

[114] Arana was able to consolidate his holdings, by assassination and forced acquisitions of Colombian Caucho competition, and take over Colombia's middle Putumayo. So that from 1904-1907, in four years he is able to amass control over the 12,000 sq miles. (Stanfield, 1998, 104)
[115] Stanfield, *Red Rubber*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1998, 104
[116] Paredes, *Imaginario E Imágenes,* Lima, Peru: Centro Amazónico de Antropología y Aplicación Práctica, 2009, 95

Fig. 6 – Principal house of La Chorrera, 1912.[117]

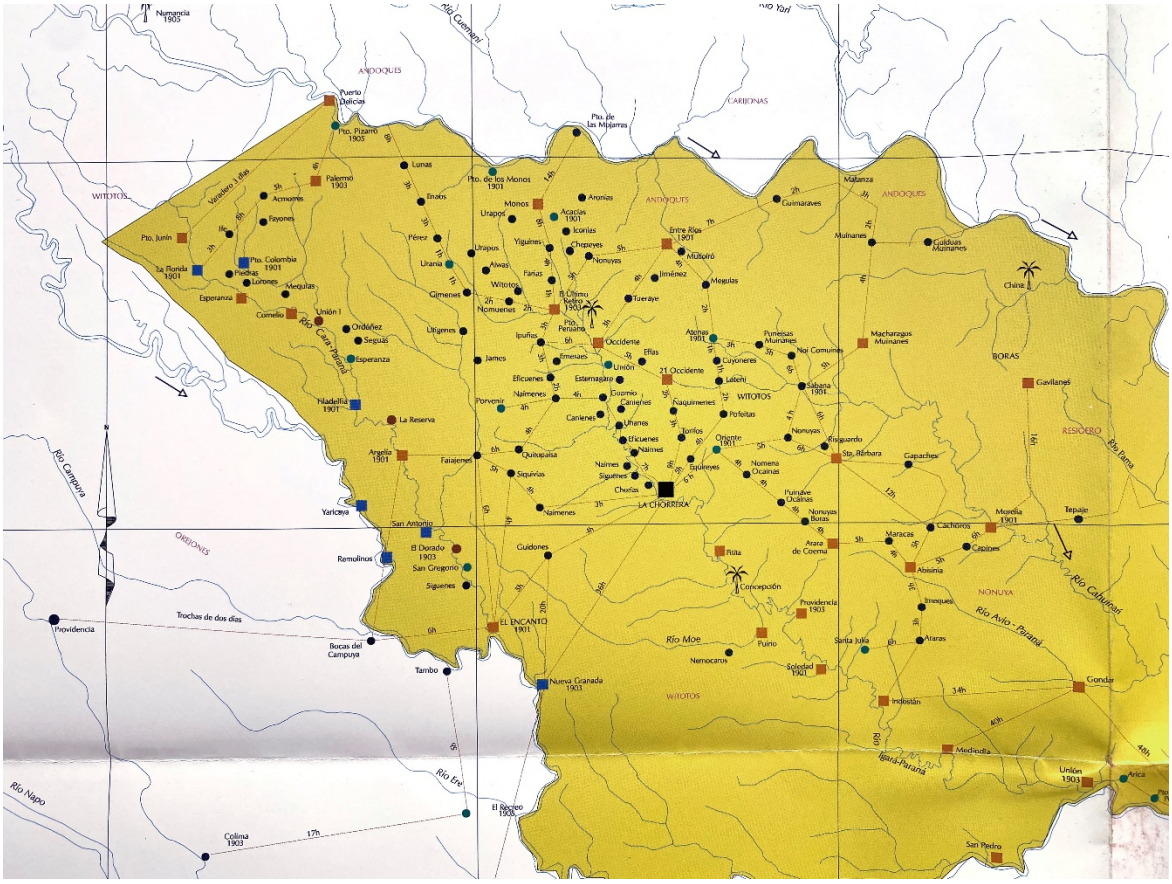
Fig. 7 – Principal house of El Encanto, 1912. [118]

[117] Photograph by Silvino Santo, sourced from Chirif, *Álbum De Fotografías*, 2013, 65.
[118] Photograph by Silvino Santo, sourced from Chirif, *Álbum De Fotografías*, 2013, 193.

Prior to returning to the camps, Arana's ships would load up with the cheapest quality supplies and foodstuffs that could be bought in Iquitos. These imported goods would then, in theory, be traded to the indigenous at the various camps in exchange for rubber. At each camp, the indigenous were discouraged from farming or having subsistence practices of their own because it reduced their efforts from rubber collection. That system, over multiple generations, forced them into dependency on imported foodstuffs of the most deplorable quality while simultaneously reflecting the outrageously inflated prices that the PAC would set for these imports. The natives paid by selling rubber but having no competition; the PAC could set significantly below-market prices for the rubber. This debt-peonage labor system spread along the rivers and, at some point, perhaps from the very beginning, became a form of enslavement.[119]

The Putumayo by the late 1880s had already lost many of the *Castilla* trees but had a crucial resource: indigenous peoples. The PAC aggressively, and in their own words, "conquered" the territory to create the network shown in Map 1.[120] Once the rubber trees in the surrounding areas had been cut down or the indigenous people of that village dwindled to extinction, the camps would be abandoned, and the remaining people were relocated to new outposts. Sir Roger Casement wrote that "Under this system of terror (Rubber extraction), the question is 'which will be exhausted first, the Indians or the rubber trees.[121]"

[119] Paredes, *Imaginario E Imágenes,* Lima, Peru: Centro Amazónico de Antropología y Aplicación Práctica, 2009
[120] Douglass, *Arana*, Center for Basque Studies, University of Nevada, Reno, 2019
[121] Casement, *The Amazon Journal of Roger Casement*, 1997, 167



Map 1 – The Peruvian Amazon Company's Network or Rubber Camps in the Putumayo.[122]

While Arana gained land in the Putumayo by striking land-tenure deals with Colombia, he gained political support from Peru that wanted to claim this contested territory. He assassinated his competition and forced other rubber houses into debt by closing off the market and controlling water routes to Iquitos until their only option was to sell to him. In these ways, his network spread along the rivers ever and deeper into the territory.[123] New rubber camps were set up with Arana's *muchachos* – armed groups of indigenous boys that had been trained from a very young age to kill, take over, and keep in-line any dissenters. Under the command of a camp leader – always ethnically white, usually Peruvian in origin –a group of fourteen or so

[122] Map cropped from Arizia, Atlas, 1998.
[123] Stanfield, *Red Rubber*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1998. Douglass, 2019.

muchachos would go to an indigenous village and plant themselves in the chief's home to negotiate. Essentially, the chief would be taken hostage, much in a similar style to Spanish Conquistador Pizarro's execution of the Inca leader Atahualpa of three centuries before. The chiefs were forced to either agree to have their villages become rubber collection points or, and often even after having reached agreements, if there was resistance, village leadership would be murdered one by one until the next in command agreed. Those in the village who refused to participate would be assassinated, their families as well, and as the stories go – sometimes splayed open and hung from stakes for all to see.[124] These were the means by which the nodes of the rubber camps appeared and what their origins were.

Once a village became a rubber collection point, a central building would be created in which the rubber leader with his muchachos and employees could live and monitor rubber collection. Since these outer nodes in the Casa Arana network were considered temporal, as disposable as the people and the landscape, the very qualities of the rubber extraction infrastructure and buildings added to the existing village were mostly temporal too. (Fig. 8-10) Therefore, unlike the previously discussed rubber-financed architecture of the cities, the buildings of the rubber camps were usually built in the prevalent wood, thatch, and earth materials. El Encanto and La Chorrera, for which we have the most visual and written texts and photographs coming from a carefully managed trip by the PAC of international consulates in 1912, shows more permanent buildings[125]. (Fig. 6 & 7)

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[124] Chirif, *Imaginario E Imágenes,* Lima, Peru: Centro Amazónico de Antropología y Aplicación Práctica, 2009.

125 "*Álbum de Fotografías: Viaje de la Comisión Consular al Río Putumayo y Afluentes Agosto a Octubre de 1912*" is the only existing source which compiles the significant documentation of the rubber camps. The 187 photographs, some of which have been included here, were taken on the trip of the Consular Commission to the Putumayo River and tributaries from August to October 1912. The album contains images, all photographic copies on paper, that are the only remains of the mostly unpublished photos that, presumably, Julio César Arana sent to all the members of the Consular Commission, companions and authorities, as a testimony of the trip made to the stations and farms of the Peruvian Amazon Company in the Putumayo river basin. This publication has an exceptional value as a visual memory and historical testimony of the period to which the photos correspond,

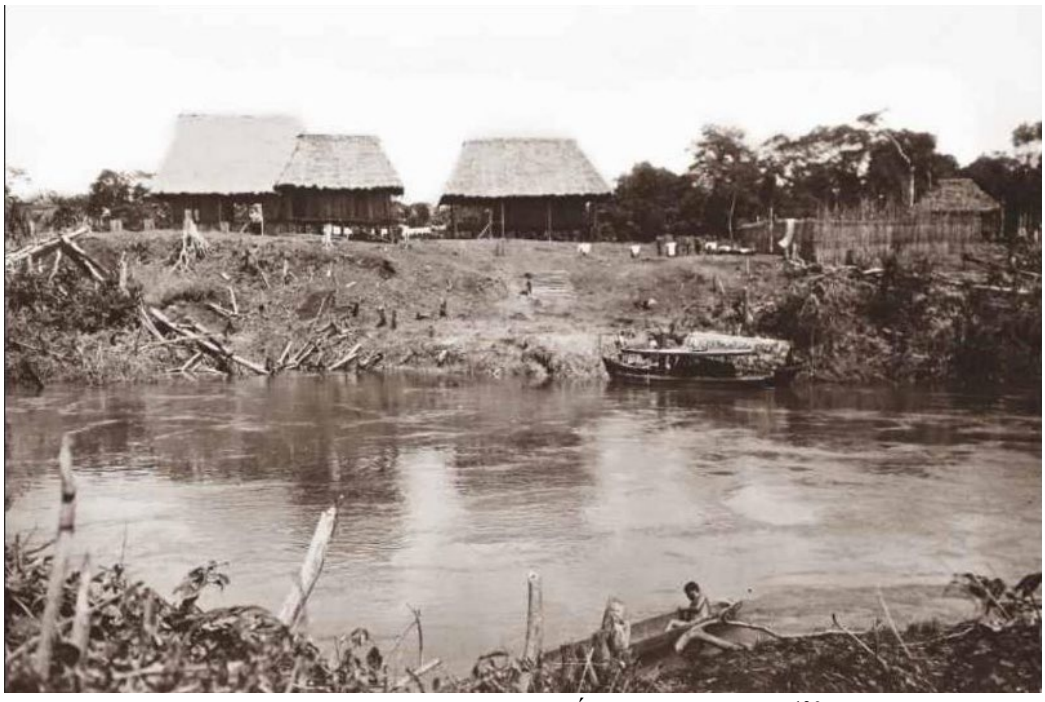

Fig. 8 - General view of Station Último Retiro, 1912.[126]

Fig. 9 - Principal house connected to kitchen structure via elevated platform at Station Último Retiro, 1912.[127]

even more so, considering the probable destruction of the original negatives and absence of other historical sources regarding these places and their architecture.

[126] Photograph by Silvino Santo, sourced from Chirif, *Álbum De Fotografías,*2013, 184.
[127] Photograph by Silvino Santo, sourced from Chirif, *Álbum De Fotografías,* 2013, 65.

Fig. 10 - "Distribution of Breakfast to the Indians" at Station Reparticion, 1912.[128]

In the larger rubber camps of PAC, two-story colonnaded haciendas would be constructed from cement or stone with secondary compounds for storage and workforce housing created. Sometimes Arana himself would come to stay at either of the two main bases. They also hosted the consulates from the United States, England, and Peru in 1912 on their investigatory trip following Casement's report, supplying the primary source of documentation of these camps.[129] Otherwise, the camps' spatial layout and architecture are a mystery as very little was documented. Casa Arana needed to control what was being seen of their operations and the image portrayed about their business. Outside reporters were kept away. When the camps were visited or documented outside of Casement and the Consulate's carefully curated trips, it was

[128] Photograph by Silvino Santo, sourced from Chirif, *Álbum De Fotografías,* 2013, 160.
[129] Chirif, *Álbum De Fotografías,* 2013. Chaumeil, *Imaginario E Imágenes,* Lima, Peru: Centro Amazónico de Antropología y Aplicación Práctica. 2009, 51

through one of the men under Arana's payroll, such as Thomas Whiffen[130] or Silvino Santos.[131] All of the rubber camps of PAC except for La Chorrera[132] in Colombia, have since completely disappeared into the jungle or became the decomposed soils underneath present settlements.

Conclusions

Without question, Arana's control of this contested region and the efficiency and sheer amount of rubber exported through his business made him the most important and famous of the rubber barons. Clearly the scale and cruelty of the spatial system described above would not have emerged to the public eye had it not been for Arana's monopoly over the rubber industry in this vast, isolated area. Furthermore, this network's creation was enabled by the Peruvian Government's desire to have political and economic control over this highly profitable region despite the consequences or effects.[133] It was also essential that this network functioned in isolation from other industries, competition, or sources of physical connectivity. As a consequence of the economic and political forces, the industry networks for rubber extraction were designed with profoundly adverse effects.

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[130] Thomas Whiffen, was a British explorer who found his way into the Northwest Amazon during the height of the Rubber Boom. Whiffen was supported by the Arana family to do a census of indigenous populations in the territory and also happened to "find" the notes of Roubichon which he integrates into his vastly popular book, *North-West Amazons: Notes on Some Months Spent Among Cannibal Tribes (1915)*.

[131] Chirif, *Álbum de Fotografías*, 2013. Chaumeil, *Imaginario E Imágenes,* Lima, Peru: Centro Amazónico de Antropología y Aplicación Práctica 2009, 56.

[132] La Chorrera was completely abandoned but went through a controversial reclaiming [how so?], then a restoration and is now a tourist site of Colombian Patrimony and a secondary school for the indigenous people who live there. (Florez, 1993)

[133] Stanfield, *Red Rubber*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1998

CHAPTER 6
WHY THE WARNINGS WERE IGNORED

> "Climate risk denotes the path. But this does not mean that it will be a successful path. It is possible that humanity may choose a path at the end of which lies its self-destruction. This possibility exists not least because, when this path comes into plain view, it becomes clear that the 'eternal certainties' of the national world-view are short-sighted and wrong and lose their self-evidence as the beliefs of a whole epoch." – Beck 2016:6

Strewn along the riverbanks remain the artifacts of the rubber decades; the extravagance and dreams of white gold, the foreign imprints in the fabric of the cities that reaches down to the specific details of the buildings and the habits of the people. What these structures and cities communicate - and often the myths that are reinforced in the century since - is that the Rubber Boom was a dream of a modernized-wealthy Amazon that spontaneously crumbled into disaster. And yet, the architecture, urbanism, and landscape of this era recorded the exploitive territorial practices, isolated industry-controlled predatory networks, unsustainable short-term development, and the transformation of distant and disconnected *places* through opulent built works were flashing danger signs of what was not only happening but what was to come.

The Colonial Gaze

The short-term problems, and what today we can see as risks or danger signs, that went unheeded in part because of the Victorian era's dominant caste-based ideology, allowed people and governments to ignore the atrocities being committed due to the precariousness of the rubber industry and all that depended on it. In *"Guerra de Imágenes en el Putumayo*," Anthropologist Jean-Pierre Chaumeil argues that culturally based ideology during the rubber boom ultimately allowed for the self-denial to occur. It provided the reasoning to claim something was a certain

way and even that a person is *just* in those actions or beliefs despite the factual evidence against such understanding. As we saw with Arana, and all of the people whose lives were beneficially touched by the rubber economy, ideology made it possible to cast the villains as heroes.[134]

Since western ideology believed that non-white races were of lesser quality, non-civilized savages therefore were barely human and hindered civilizations' progress, it was difficult to break that perception even with evidence. When Sir Roger Casement was sent by England to investigate the allegations of slavery in the Northwest Amazon by the Peruvian Amazon Company and Arana he was particularly aware that the British, with their imperialist' point of view'[135], would not be able to *see* the atrocities that were happening in the Putumayo even when presented with the facts. As Professor Carolina Sá Carvalho points out in her article, *How to See a Scar: Humanitarianism and Colonial Iconography in the Putumayo Rubber Boom* that Casement's "experience [as] a colonized Irish subject," positioned him to question the dominant imperialist world-view. Casement himself reflected on the challenge of viewpoints in 1907 when he wrote about his understanding of the Congo being aided by his Irish identity, 'I knew the Foreign Office would not understand the thing, for I realized that I was looking at this tragedy with the eyes of another race of people once hunted themselves.'[136]

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[134] Chaumeil, *Imaginario E Imágenes De La Época Del Caucho*, Lima, Peru: Centro Amazónico de Antropología y Aplicación Práctica. 2009, 37-74.

[135] "Point of view" emerges during this period as both a spatial and historical concept, where in this case the point of view means the inheritance of the history of the places in which one has been. (Carvalho, 2018:380)

[136] NL.I 36,204/1. Carvalho, *How to See a Scar*, 2018, 380.

Fig. 11 – Photograph used by Sir Roger Casement as evidence against PAC. Image is of a young boy with his back to the camera featuring whip scar on buttocks. Putumayo region of Peru/Colombia, 1910.[137]

Being well aware of the difficulty of providing proof of wrongdoings by P.A.C. Casement used the new medium of photography to provide evidence. Photography illustrating his written report was to be his tool to help the British public learn to see the crimes that were occurring. The difficulty for documentation of the crimes was that "It was impossible to document the atrocities."[138] Not only was there the issue of the vastness of the territory in which the rubber trade was taking place, but its sheer remoteness from any points of possible accountability gave PAC an enormous advantage in controlling access. Casement was limited by

[137] This image was sourced from Carvalho, *How to See a Scar*, 2018, 376. Original location of image is in the National Library of Ireland [CAS26A].
[138] Casement, *The Amazon Journal of Roger Casement*, London: Anaconda Editions, 1997, 42.

PAC to where he could visit and understood that knowing of his coming visit, there was no way to prevent a massive "cleaning up." Therefore, his use of photography as evidence relied on the physical scars left on the indigenous people from the violence inflicted on them. (Fig. 11) Even these scars, which seem so apparent at present, had to be explained and highlighted to the British jury.[139] With that perspective in mind, it is not surprising that what I herein identify as four kinds of warnings disappeared into the *justified* everyday short-sightedness of capitalist clients and numerous demands. Nevertheless, it is obvious that there were enormous short-term benefits - profitable motives - to be had if one consciously turned a blind-eye toward the evils of slavery or attempted to suppress the problems flooding in, past the warnings and justifications.

The Act of Erasing

One of the primary difficulties in discussing the Amazon Rubber Boom through a design lens is that the physical traces of the temporal architectures of the indigenous people, such as earthen and wooden stilt homes, that were common within the cities during those decades and the architecture camps of rubber extraction and terror have almost completely disappeared from the record. The rubber camps were by nature impermanent being constructed from locally available materials in a tropical environment, nonetheless, the very lack of evidence concerning these aspects of the built environment begins to make sense if we unpack the active process of erasure that has continually occurred since the turn of the 20th century. The motives leading to the erasure also reveal why various constituents would not have heeded the warnings signs despite the known risks.

[139] Carvalho*, How to See a Scar*, 2018.

Once the atrocities became widely known, the various Governments, businesses, and Arana and his relatives and descendants, did not want to be held accountable or connected to the international scandals and the soured business of rubber. Logically, they did not want to remember it either. Each constituent employed various tactics to both deny and bury the facts, physical traces, and cultural and human memories of what had occurred. Hence, confronted with the brutal realities created by the colonial ideologies combined with the rubber economy's demise, everyone involved chose to actively suppress these memories and suppress these elements of history. The principal exception to those trying to forget the past were indigenous groups that have chosen to remember through traditional songs, dances, as well as self-relocation towards more isolated lands, altered relationships with other groups, and self-organization to demand that what had happened to them be remembered and accounted for.[140]

From the very start of Julio Arana's rubber business in Iquitos to the expansive control over the Putumayo region, he was strategic in business and self-presentation. He meticulously managed what people saw and knew about his operations.[141] By the time the allegations against him had started to become known, culminating with Casement's report, there were already underway massive propaganda efforts through control and manipulation of visual content, and the likely assassinations of people who had seen too much and who therefore became enemies of Casa Arana[142]. *The consequence of this active control of the record is that the archives of his operations contain* significant gaps in information on the business aspects and the places of

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[140] Stanfield. *Red Rubber, Bleeding Trees*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1998

[141] Douglass. *Arana*, Reno, Nevada: Center for Basque Studies, University of Nevada, 2019.

[142] Like the French explorer and anthropologist *Eugène Robuchon who was in Arana's lands collecting ethnographic material for the British Museum and surveying for the Peruvian Government when he disappeared in 1904. Only his notes were supposedly "found" years later by Thomas Whiffen and as the likely planted myth goes, assumed to have been eaten by cannibals. In reality evidence and analysis put forth by Jean-Pierre Chaumeil now suggests that Arana probably had him killed and then gave particular pieces of his photographs and notes to later individuals like Whiffen and Silvino. In fact, Whiffen's guide Mr. John Brown, later in an interview says that they never actually made the journey to the rivers where Robuchon would have been. (Chaumeil, 2009; also on page 62 citing Molano Campuzano 1972:125-126)*

operation.[143] In this circumstance, very few photographs or drawings were created and fewer have survived about the rubber production spaces and buildings in which the crimes took place.

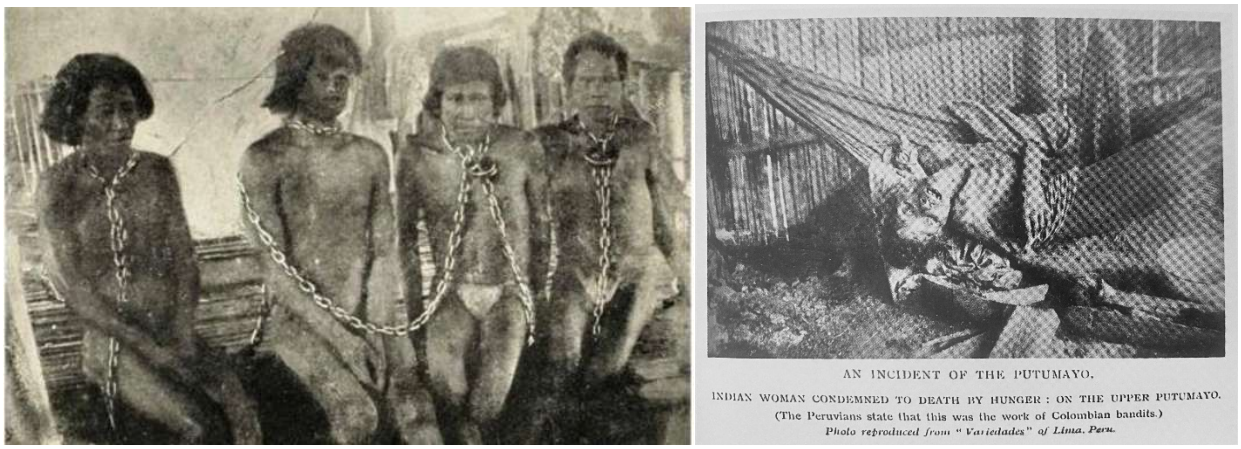

Fig. 12 - Left image printed by W.E. Hardenburg of allegedly "Chained Indian Rubber Gatherers in the Stocks: On the Putumayo River" in 1912. Right image, "An Incident of the Putumayo."[143]

In his book, *Images in Spite of All: Four Photographs from Auschwitz*, Georges Didi-Huberman writes about four singular photographs taken at Auschwitz that specifically depict the process of mass killing which occurred at the gas chambers out of one and a half million photographs related to Nazi concentration camps. The images were only taken because of a Jewish occupant's rebellious act. The images only survived because they were smuggled out into the hands of the Polish Resistance and became the visual proof that the horrors of the German policies were real. Similarly, the isolated rubber estates, hidden away from the world in the remote jungles, were places of terror that evaded documentation by photography. Much like the Holocaust's concentration camps, what was not documented at these sites was perhaps more revealing than what was photographed. Images alone could speak the unspeakable, but only two in the Amazonian Rubber record, both with unreliable provenance, show the horrific crimes

[143] Chaumeil. *Imaginario E Imágenes*, Lima, Peru: Centro Amazónico de Antropología y Aplicación Práctica. 2009, 37-74; Nugent. *The Rise and Fall of the Amazon Rubber Industry*, New York: Routledge, 2018.

directly.[144] (Fig. 12) By preventing the creation of that visual testimony, Arana and the PAC purposefully hid the significant elements of the rubber industry's mechanisms and made invisible the atrocities that happened. In doing so, they also minimized the data concerning how the rubber collection architecture and networks were designed with the intent to exploit the indigenous and the ecosystem to the point of devastation.

None of the governments involved wanted to be held culpable. Yet, a few individuals with direct experience in the Amazon were willing to describe it as it was. John H. Harris, in the 1913 *London Contemporary Review,* wrote,

> "[The Putumayo] wild rubber can hardly be produced at a profit, unless conditions of slavery prevail. Governments know it; indeed some of them know at this moment where horrors of slave-owning and slave-trading are rampant, but they lock there reports away from a sensitive public; the modern duty of foreign chancelleries in this respect appears to be that of concealing these things from view…[145]"

Regardless of what was known, multiple Governments spun the scandal around to claim innocence, ignorance, and even national superiority.

The Americans could not pass up the opportunity to scapegoat the technically publicly traded ***British*** Peruvian Amazon Company. This was despite the United States' role as the largest importer of Amazon rubber, primarily for the industrial factories in Akron, Ohio – which hypocritically fostered atrocious working conditions under the major tire companies that led to numerous protests, strikes, and unionizations.[146] The British, in response launched an investigation and sent Casement. But the findings after the 1912 trial by the British

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[144] See Chaumeil. *Imaginario E Imágenes,* Lima, Peru: Centro Amazónico de Antropología y Aplicación Práctica. 2009, 48 and 49 for his critique and interrogation on the origins of these images. Hardenburg. *The Putumayo, The Devil's Paradise,* London: T Fischer Unwi*,* 1912.
[145] Harris,.*The Contemporary Review*, 1913, 653.
[146] Tully. *The Devil's Milk*, New York: Monthly Review Press, 2011.

parliamentary select committee absolved the British PAC directors of being directly guilty, and no charges were ever brought against Arana either[147]. Colombia saw the scandal as an opportunity to claim back the contested land and pin the atrocities on Peru, a tactic that would aid them in defining the contested border years later in the 1922 Salomón-Lozano Treaty.[148]

Peru feigned ignorance at what was happening in "Colombian territory" or pretended that the crimes were the work of some rogue section leaders. Rather than accept any responsibility or confront the underlying injustices that were happening, they also found it convenient to blame the Peruvian Amazon Company. But due to enormous international political pressure, they did conduct a Peruvian report that led to the Superior Court in Iquitos trying some 200 employees of PAC. Because local officials were hesitant to act, almost none of Arana's direct camp managers were tried, and the worst offenders disappeared.[149] The country's long-term attitude towards this unfavorable element in its' history has continued to veer towards purposeful forgetfulness:

> "Peruvian neglect of the figure and legacy of Julio Cesar Arana, transformed into silence and denial, is palpable in the tardy (1981) publication of the translation of Collier's book, as well as the review by Luisa Elvira Belaunde of the book *Imaginario and imagines de la epoca del caucho: Los sucesos del Putumayo (2009).* No less than a Peruvian anthropologist herself, she states in her review: "Certainly, it was through a reading of the book by Taussig, while I was studying in England, that I myself learned of the Putumayo happenings, because while in college in Lima none of it had ever been mentioned to me, nor at home either, despite my belonging to a family that had been directly implicated in the debates regarding the Putumayo and the negotiation of the Colombian-Peruvian border after the loss of the territories in question between the Putumayo and Caqueta rivers." (note 69- Laura Elvira Belunde,

[147] The House of Commons Select Committee report of 1913 in House of Commons Paper 148 XIV. (Tully, 2011:99)
[148] Chirif. *Iquitos*, Telefonica, 2015, 55; Rumrrill. *Iquitos*, Telefonica, 2015, 74.
[149] Tully. *The Devil's Milk*, New York: Monthly Review Press, 2011, 99

"Resena" Anthropologica, 2010. XXVIII (28) Sourced from Douglass, pg 542)

Finally in 2012, on the 100th anniversary of the 1912 trial by the British parliamentary, both the Colombian and Peruvian governments officially apologized for the rubber atrocities. Then-President Juan Manual Santos Calderón of Colombia stated, "In the name of the Colombian state, I ask forgiveness of all of you for your dead, for your orphans, for those who were victims for the sake of a company, of a government of an alleged 'progress' that did not understand the importance of safeguarding every person and every indigenous culture as a vital part of a society that we recognize with pride today as multi-ethnic and pluricultural."[150] The recognition came at the end of a week of tributes organized by an association of indigenous people of La Chorrera town.

In a protest against the forgetting of the murderous history, the commemoration celebrated efforts to successfully use Government funding to repurpose the already rebuilt Arana estate of La Chorrera into a secondary school for Native students. [151] In a bafflingly inappropriate decision, the six million hectares of *La Chorrera*, the rubber camp, had been repurchased by Arana's descendants through an Agricultural organization that they owned. The agricultural development was only prevented when the indigenous peoples in the region mobilized against it, triggering legal disputes, finally causing the Colombian Government to step in to purchase the land and designate it in 1988 as native territory (Resguardo Predio Putumayo).[152]

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[150] Echeverri. *Imaginario E Imágenes,* Lima, Peru: Centro Amazónico de Antropología y Aplicación Práctica. 2009, 164.

[151] The estate had been completely decrepit but the agricultural organization rebuilt the houses and structures to what they were supposed to have originally looked like. See Echeverri, 2009 for the seven photos of the decrepit estate taken some time prior to reconstruction. (Fraser, 2012; Florez, 1993.)

[152] Echeverri. . *Imaginario E Imágenes,* Lima, Peru: Centro Amazónico de Antropología y Aplicación Práctica. 2009, 164.

It is not entirely clear in the 20th century how the Arana family or his powerful social circles reacted to the scandals and crimes committed by him. The contemporary account is that families distanced themselves and were ashamed. Still, one must question how *distant* family members and associates made themselves considering the Arana name continued to have enormous support within Iquitos and the Loretto region. Julio Arana would, after all, maintain political and financial importance in greater Peru. After the Putumayo trial, Colombia eventually bought back their land from him. In 1923 he became a senator in Lima. Essentially, Arana never paid for or served any penalty for the crimes that occurred under the PAC and may have continued if it had not been for the industry's economic crash. The rubber camps and structures were abandoned – though some continued as villages and towns while others were completely forgotten[153]. Like the other wealthy rubber families, the Aranas officially moved onto Lima and Europe[154], leaving behind what had happened in the Jungle and Iquitos there - to disappear into the jungle. Nevertheless, despite the Aranas' wish to move on, it appears that the atrocities and scandals connected to a family's name, perhaps either the social defamation of subconscious guilt of benefiting from such behavior, found its way across the generations:

> For Marie[155], then, the "Mark of Arana" is not the scar upon a Huitoto's body but rather the stain on her family, "It is this bridge – steeped in yesterday, wrapped in guilt, shut in stone – that brings to mind my father's deep history. Like Mother, he had been molded by the past, but his was a past he had not made and was unaware of, a legacy inherited before he'd seen the light of day. It was the Mark of Arana: as real as a shriveled leg, a maimed hand, a welt from shoulder to shoulder. It had reverberated from jungle to mountain, from

[153] "We spent years looking for one of the sites. I had its specific location based on maps and the paths of where the rivers had previously been. Then finally one summer I was able to go with a team to find its location and we couldn't find anything. There wasn't even a shard of porcelain to indicate any kind of settlement had been there and we searched up and down every stream and creek trying to find something." – Colombian Anthropologist Dr. Augusto Oyuela-Caycedo describing the impossibility of finding the rubber era sites in the basin from a conversation in January of 2021.

[154] Arana's family has continued to live abroad in England, Switzerland, and Paris with their children going to the best schools in Europe (Stanfield, 1998; Tully 2011).

[155] Marie Arana was the Peruvian- American, first cousin twice removed of Julio Cesar Arana. Douglass sources the excerpt from her novel *American Chica*, 2002, 39. (Douglass, 2019:542)

> one side of the Aranas to another. It had spun into every branch of the family, stung his grandfather, stifled his mother, chased his father up the stair. Nobody spoke of it, no one acknowledged it, nor did anyone really care to track the circuity, but for the Aranas the past had been toxic, and shame spilled through generations like sap through a vine." (Douglass, 2019 Pg 545)

The Consequences of the Rubber Trade

The dangers that had appeared at the end of the 19th century could not, and ideologically, would not be understood as being a problem. The powerful forces of imperialism, capitalism, globalization, and industrialization - to name a few - intertwined during the Amazon Rubber Boom because they were enabled by Governments, societies, and individuals that backed an inherently exploitive industry for their own profit and power. The warnings were not heeded, the forces were allowed to thrive and dominate unchecked, and ultimately in historical retrospect, led to horrific consequences that continue to plague Amazonia.

The temporal and extractive occupations across the continent in search of rubber trees were designed to maximize profits and destroyed the landscape. The people arranging and managing these mechanisms for extraction, be it the extraction networks down to the trade houses and routes, were complicit in creating the results. The architecture of the opulent mansions and importation of a distant *place* to erase and demean that which existed in the Amazon was complicit. Architecture, urbanism, and landscape design played a significant role in enabling exploitation, and their misuse resulted in problems. The most acute short-term effects were slavery and economic collapse. Worse still were the long-term consequences of widespread environment destruction, unsustainable habitational models, and the propagation of a caste-based society deeply embedded with racial and class inequality across the South American continent.

In terms of the environmental consequence, Colombian Government officials as early as the 1880s had begun to produce reports expressing the concern about the destruction of rubber trees. They recommended that the lands where rubber was being extracted have a program enacted to replenish the depleted forests by planting new trees and stricter regulations. Ecuador's senate in 1894 discussed laws to regulate caucho collection in its natural forests, to teach best practices for sustainably harvesting the latex, and to outlaw the felling of immature trees. Neither country succeeded in these efforts due to costs (and the refusal to give up some of the taxes gained) and the oversight impossibility of managing the enormous and isolated caucho producing territories.[156] In the following twenty years, the ever-increasing demand for rubber paralleled the forests' destruction. By the 1980s, some forty years after rubber's market price crashed, definitive climatic changes began to appear in the Upper Amazon. The rubber-related deforestation had caused alterations in precipitation patterns and sediment buildup. In 1989 the results appeared as massive flooding episodes, and the Amazon River changed course suddenly. The floods destroyed people's homes and livelihoods. However, it was the Amazon River that suddenly moved miles away from Iquitos' downtown port, that would be a continued catastrophe, as the entire city's design, social structure, and economy depended on their relationship to the river.[157]

[156] Stanfield. *Red Rubber, Bleeding Trees*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1998, 25
[157] Marengo and Espinoza. *International Journal of Climatology*, 2016. Oyuela-Caycedo. Personal Communication, 2020.

In the ten years of rubber tapping in the Putumayo, Mr. John Brown[158] estimated that under Casa Arana, an indigenous population of 50,000 decreased to 10,000.[159] According to Brown there had been approximately 4,000 assassinations yearly in just one location to benefit Amazonian rubber production. This estimate does not include the deaths of indigenous in other rubber extraction areas like the Pacaya-Samira, Ucayali, or the Madre de Dios, where the rubber baron Carlos Fermin Fitzcarrald ruled.[160] The side effects of the rubber network's predation patterns and systems on the local people's social psyche are even more difficult to evaluate because they relate to less tangible aspects. These changes include the previously noted loss of relationship with the environment, the change from self-subsistence in a food-abundant environment to total dependence on imports, loss of indigenous skills for generations through spatial habitation patterns around a debt-peonage (slavery) means of survival, the constant breaking of connections to a physical place and origin stories through displacement and mass migration, a heightened extractive valuing of the environment, the systemic racism enforced by a powerful caste-based society, and of course the traumatic social effect of the genocide of whole villages and ethnic groups.

In terms of the humanitarian effects, we are left with unanswerable questions: What were the everlasting burdens on the indigenous, who merely by the color of their skin could not escape societies that had profited and exploited them for their own wealth, ideologies of oppression, and

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[158] John Brown (b. 1873/1879) was a black man from Chicago who moved to Iquitos in 1903 where he worked directly for Arana until 1911. He is a key figure connected to the information of this period because he was the guide assigned to Robuchon in 1906, with him when he disappeared, the guide for Thomas Whiffen in 1908, and the interpreter for Roger Casement in 1910. He was therefore a valuable source, and potentially filter, for the information that would lead to the *Libro Rojo del Putumayo* and the *Blue Book* Putumayo Report. (Chaumeil, 2009)
In an interview decades later he freely reflects, implying for the first time in safety, to say, "para relatar al mundo las atrocidades de la Casa Arana en el cual se afirma que en 10 años el número de los indios se redujo de 50,000 a 10,000 lo que dio un promedio de 4,000 asesinatos por año." – John Brown in conversation with Joaquín Molano Campuzano, 1972, sourced in Chaumeil, 2009:62.

[159] Campuzano, 1972:125

[160] Rumrrill. *Iquitos*, Telefonica, 2015, 73

perceptions of them as disposable resources? What were the non-visible scars that generations of terror and brutal social conditions forced upon the multiple tribes? What problematic relationships with the landscape, a source for extraction with zero value beyond tha1t of trade, created in how peoples in the Amazon Basin settled? What effect has been created concerning the imagination abroad and locally of what it means to habituate the Amazon? What does it mean to have promoted a networked form of settlement making based on extraction/capitalist calculations as the primary and dominant driver for how and where people lived for forty decades?

It is also fair to say that although the actions of society in the 1870s-1920s would mostly maintain imperialist viewpoints and behaviors that have led to very concerning problems – the world was going through changes, and not all were negative. The British who after all had led the world in colonization had taken the lead in abolishing slavery in 1836 and were increasingly in the forefront of human rights. It was thanks to the work of figures like Sir Roger Casement, and the local Iquiteños who began the allegations, that fought for their society to address the injustices and humanitarian crimes that were happening. There were amidst all of the exploitation that has dominated this history, small steps taken towards a more just future. The processes of inequality and justice are painfully slow. Still, industrialization and the connectivity of the world in the early 20th century were forcing the mechanisms of imperialism to, at the very least, transform.

The intent of powerful exploitive forces enabled such problematic systems and groups to take advantage of marginalized peoples and places. These exploitive forces: capitalism, imperialism, globalization, and culture continued from over 500 years of previous colonial conquests in the Americas. After all, these systems of oppression, nor the manipulation of design

for nefarious purposes, were invented long before the Rubber Boom. Nor is rubber's kind of extractive industrial system relegated to it alone. The systems followed the norms of 19th century exploitive activities.

PART 2

THE *INTERTWINED FORCES OF POLITICS, TOURISM, & DESIGN IN IQUITOS, 1970's-2020*

In the Iquitos of 1846, when Paul Marcoy described the spatial layouts that made evident the village's caste system, he was telling us two facts. Spatial segregation amongst the indigenous had already occurred prior to the global rubber economy as an aspect of European and Catholic Mission values. Secondly, the missions' societal effects persisted to some extent 30 years after they had been forced to leave Iquitos.[161] When we take this into account for the impact of the cruelties of the Peruvian Amazon Rubber Company and the broader Amazonian rubber trade, having happened only 100 years ago, there is no question that the effects continue to resonate and weave themselves into daily Amazonian life. At present, the architecture and urbanism in Iquitos reveal conditions especially prevalent to the 21st-century tourism industry, albeit in altered form, that are generated by similarly powerful economic and capitalistic forces as those that occurred during the Rubber Boom era.

When analyzing the 19th century Amazon Rubber Boom, the examination of the region through the lenses of the three design disciplines of architecture, landscape, and urbanism could have revealed warnings of the dangers ahead. In retrospect, there were signs of the exploitive intentions embedded in the decision-making that led to both short and long-term problems. In the past, how buildings, places, and territories were designed promoted exploitive systems that have continued in cycles that are traceable back to that era. However, from the 1970s to today, the exploitive forces have transformed and adapted their methods to changing world views and circumstances; yet, they maintain troubling parallels to the warnings that arose during the Amazon Rubber Boom.

In the late 20th and 21st centuries, the catalyst is no longer so closely connected to a singular extractive industry but rather to the governmental framework and political power of the

[161] Marcoy. *Travels in South America*, Scriber, Armstrong, 1875.

Centralized Peruvian Republic this time with a singular focus on tourism as an economic tool. The dominant global ideologies that had become embedded in the design-based warnings also have transformed from imperialism and early industrial-protestant capitalism into various manifestations of nationalism, neoliberalism, and the international tourism industry. These adaptations parallel the past in that the same kinds of warning signs are reappearing once again through exploitive territorial practices, isolated industry-controlled predatory networks, and the dominance of foreign capital in the Amazon that has promoted both unsustainable short-term development and the transformation of place through imported architectural imaginations.

However, we are no longer looking at history. These are current happenings, so I hesitate to call these four parallel signs "warnings" because we do not precisely know what the outcomes will be. Instead, the questions transform to exactly why this repetition is happening? What are the new mechanisms and design-based tools that are used? What does this mean for the present and future? Is the Northwest Amazon and Iquitos doomed to repeat the exploitive cycles that have previously led to catastrophic societal and environmental devastation? Since we can recognize these parallel signs, what clues might we then discover that could lead to potential alternative paths?

The following two chapters attempt to address these questions. Chapter 7 discusses how the Centralized Peruvian Government in the last 40 years has approached the Amazonian region through State mandated polices and how some of these policies have led to predatory territorial manipulations that on the local level are exploitative toward the people and environment of the region. Chapter 8 then focuses on the influence of the tourism industry in these practices as foreign capital that has again led to extraction territorial practices and isolated habitation networks, short-term urbanization in the name of cultural heritage, and the imposition of

imagined “Amazonian” architecture originating from outside of the region. The final chapter seeks to provide observations and thoughts on the possibilities and potential for Iquitos to break through the repetition of exploitive circumstances.

CHAPTER 7

THE CENTER'S EXPLOITATION OF THE PERIPHERY THROUGH EXPLOITIVE TERRITORIAL PRACTICES

Territorial exploitation can be accomplished through various methods. What matters most in determining the method is who is doing the exploitation and what they can exploit? The techniques and conditions of exploitation may change because the catalyst and motivations behind the force will face differing contextual possibilities. Overtime, the methods of exploitation may also face new conditions or changing world views and have to evolve. Much like during the Rubber Boom, planning the territory around the purposes of extraction is one such method that has continued into the mid-20th century as an effective tactic for gaining capital (money) and power. However, since the time of the failed rubber economy into the 1970's, the Peruvian National Government has occupied the void left by the industry to become the primary instigator - or gatekeeper - for the Peruvian Amazon territory, and subsequently Iquitos.

With the collapse of the rubber industry, forty years of instability, border disputes, and economic decline followed. By 1968 the Peruvian Government, then under a dictatorship, developed its' use of territorial design as a technique for solidifying power, namely through policies that redrew internal borders and mapping designations of land at both the site-specific and regional scales. Through the Government's ability to draw invisible lines, it was able to enact significant influence and achieve exploitation for economic profits or political control, but often both simultaneously.

In *Seeing Like a State*, James C. Scott, theorizes that the logics of how a state organizes its society and its domain is primarily to "provide the capacity for large scale social

engineering," propelled to do so through an ideology that maintains the concept of the State. It enacts its ideology by building on top of the leveled terrain of an "incapacitated civil society." [162] Although Scott was studying cases that were tied to authoritarian regimes and pre-1989 State governance, his texts provide a useful framework for understanding that large-scale capitalism is also an ideology that involves itself in States and becomes as much an "agency of homogenization, uniformity, grids, and heroic simplification" as the non-capitalist states that he describes. Scott's work provides the theoretical foundation that all states purposefully design and organize their territories and peoples for their own ideological-based goals.

In the case of Peru, the logic behind the ordering and control that occurs from the mid-20th century onwards is enacted by a highly centralized unitary state that has been extremely fragile since its origins. The fragility in governmental structure creates the opportunity for pressure groups to influence and determine the territorial structures which the State imposes on the landscape. [163] Some of these pressure groups promote nationalism or the desire to become a nation, a project which has still not been achieved.[164]

A nation, as suggested by Kohl (1998), is a large group of people who not only consider themselves to be part of a 'nation', but who can also be described as being, "equated with a certain kind of modern territorial state so that there is congruence – either achieved or desired- between the national and political unit." The creation of a nation must therefore benefit certain social classes either through economics or politics and be constructed by nationalists. Nationalism, as felt and created by these social classes, politicians, or intellectual leaders, must

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[162] Scott. *Seeing Like a State*, New Haven and London; Yale University Press, 1998, 5.

[163] Pressure group is a political science term: "**Interest group**, also called **special interest group, advocacy group,** or **pressure group,** are any association of individuals or organizations, usually formally organized, that, on the basis of one or more shared concerns, attempts to influence public policy in its favor. All interest groups share a desire to affect government policy to benefit themselves or their causes." (Thomas, 2020)

[164] Dickovick. *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* , 2007, 1-25; Oyuela-Caycedo. Personal Communication, 2020

exist prior to the formation of such a nation; if there is no concept of a unified 'nation' then the creation of the state simply cannot occur.[165] Nationalism is the key concept which must be experienced by the people before the nation is created because once nationalist sentiments cease to exist, the state often follows the same path to nonexistence. Therefore, the tools and methods to create this feeling of nationalism are key to maintaining the power of the State and this is where archaeology and concepts of cultural heritage and state patrimony can be manipulated in the periphery to continue to promote the centrality of Lima and the State Government of Peru.

The Tools the State Discovers & Tactics to Resolve Its Problems

Nationalist Archaeology functions under the same purposes as nationalism, as the archaeological record and research is used for nation-building purposes. Frequently, when a nation is being created, expanded, or threatened, the political powers will seek to solidify and elaborate the national identity through the use of archaeology or heritage.

The ways in which archaeology and nationalism interact vary from place to place and cannot be broadly generalized. While archaeology in the Peruvian context has also been effectively used to create a *unified* history with its similarities to the European model, there are fundamental differences.[166] The historian and geographer David Lowenthal describes how historic preservation originates from European nationalism. Its use in other contexts still carries the deeply embedded function of constructing narratives for power and myth-building. Historic preservation is used as an exploitive practice because of the inevitable strategy and exclusion that comes with manipulating, picking, and using history for top-down purposes - like nation-building or the

[165] Kohl1. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 1998, 223-226.
[166] Kohl. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 1998, 223-226.

promotion of the more powerful community's history over another's. In Peru this has most often been through the use of the archaeological record.[167]

Nationalism in Peru has at least two defining characteristics. Firstly, Peru is primarily a country whose people are descendants from a variety of origins – mainly natives and Europe. Because of this, the construction of its national identity has had to develop differently than that of a singular people who believe that their ancestors have always inhabited a particular location. Secondly, its borders were determined during colonialist administrations and do not correspond to existing ethnic divisions or ancient Andean empire borders.[168] Although two of the dominant indigenous heritages are the Inca and Moche empires, the vast majority of Peru's citizens have no direct affiliation with either of these particular Andean heritages. However, nationalist archaeology and the support from the government have focused heavily on the indigenous heritage sites as a source of political and economic power. The materialization and processes that the government has used archaeology for have consequentially formed the dominant memory, myths, and understandings of Peruvian heritage.

Three Decades of State Territorial Design through Heritage & Neoliberalism

Woven throughout, I will ultimately argue that within a period of three decades, the Peruvian State - the Dictators and the Presidents - have intentionally implemented policies that redesigned the landscape and territory through zoning of heritage, resource extraction industries, and tourism with the goals of exploiting these territories for the purpose of ensuring their political and economic power regardless of cost or implications. To prove this statement, I will examine the political incentives and motivations that were behind key policies and laws through:

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[167] Lowenthal. *The Past is a Foreign Country*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985; Lowenthal. *History and Memory*, 1998, 5-24.
[168] Kohl. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 1998, 223-226.

1) the creation of Peru's first Patrimonio/Heritage laws and the Instituto Nacional de Cultura[169] (INC) in the 1970's under General Juan Velasco Alvarado's Dictatorship; 2) the regionalization policies and the creation of *Zonas Monumentales* across the country in 1986-1990 under President Alan Garcia; and, lastly, 3) the neoliberalist governance and the unapologetic use of the Amazon as a resource in the 1990-2001's under President Alberto Fujimori's Autocracy.

This is not to say that the exploitation is lesser in the periods not mentioned or during the current 21st century. Rather these three periods have been selected because of their particular importance for setting up the reemergence of the four dangerous practices and explaining the trajectory of the State's use of practices that specifically gained traction during the late 20th century: historic preservation, global tourism, and neoliberalism. The present-day consequences of decade-long State-enabled exploitive territorial practices have been most heavily at the expense of marginalized places like Iquitos. Unsurprisingly, these exploitive territorial practices also result in adding to political instability and a fragile cyclical economy of booms and busts, a society prevalent with inequalities and injustices of every sort, and the dependence of Iquitos and the Amazon territory on external agendas – both nationally and internationally.

[169] This organization is now called the Ministerio de Cultura, the Ministry of Culture. https://www.gob.pe/cultura/

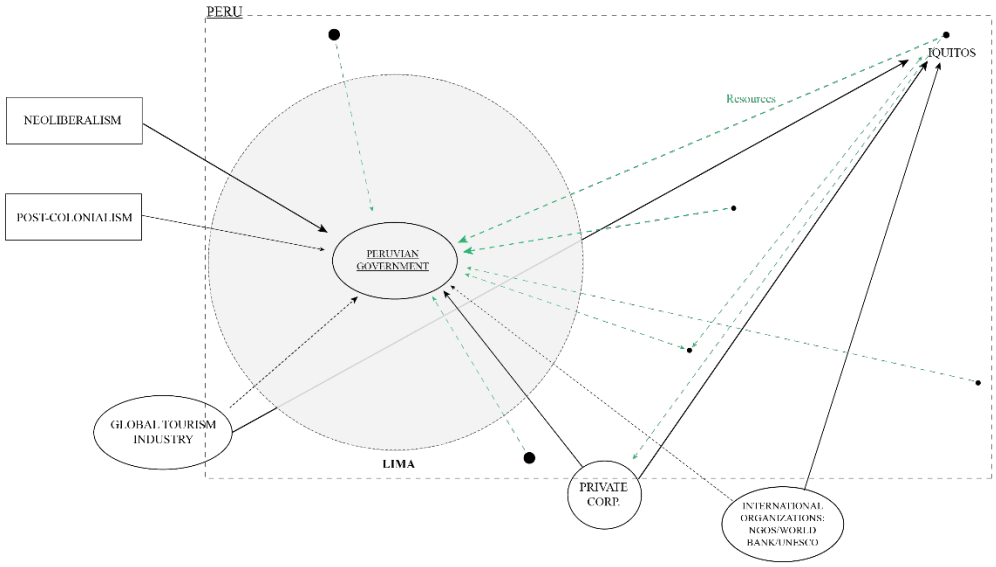

Fig 12 - Power Structure of Centralized Peruvian State's Internal Colonialism, Isabel Oyuela-Bonzani 2021.

Internal State Colonialism and the Exploitation of the Margins

The redesign of the landscape over the five decades of focus, 1970-2020, was varied but contains parallel warnings to those of the Rubber Boom era one hundred years prior. The designation of governmental borders, historic preservation sites, industrial and resource zones that suit the State's ambitions have again created short and long-term dangers to the peoples and environments in these areas. This desire is compatible with the need for the state to promote nationalism and for generations of politicians and their political parties' that continue to govern through varying ideologies to achieve their interests. Moreover, the sequence of Peruvian political history up to the present ultimately promotes a centralized Republic structure that maintains internal colonialist practices of exploiting its regional cities, towns, and resources to benefit the wealth of the capital city, Lima.[170]

[170] The *Political Determinants of Decentralization in Latin America: Causes and Consequences* by Montero & Samuels provides a helpful discussion on the decentralization that was occurring in much of Latin America from the 1980's through 1990's. They also provide background to the "centralist tradition" in scholarship which has focused on the path dependency of political culture that arose from highly centralized colonial-era institutions. Where this article is flawed is that it was published in 2003, a time when neoliberal policies were still seen as a form of decentralization of the central government and widely considered to be a

The exploitation of external areas for the benefit of one place arose in part from the Spanish colonial foundations of the country. The Republic structure arose in Latin America because the leaders of the revolution, for example José de Martín (1820-1823) and Simón Bolívar (1823-1825), were heavily influenced by the French Revolution. These leaders were educated in the French governmental system based on Roman Laws and had come from Spanish, French, and Portuguese ancestries that were enemies of England. This meant that they were less influenced by the United States Revolution of 1776 with its focus on individual freedom.[171] Hence, since 1826 the Republic of Peru has followed European models of statehood with a centralization of people, resources, and political power into what we see today as the capital city of Lima. Secondary cities of Ayacucho, Iquitos, and Trujillo have histories of attempts to be more independent but have never succeeded. The option of federalism has continually been refuted. It was not until more recent times that government restructuring programs of decentralization were even attempted. Yet, the central state government continues to pull resources and control to Lima, while the peripheral locations have often been treated much like colonies, areas of minor local political influence meant for resource extraction and national territorial strategies.

During the Amazon Rubber Boom, that kind of center-periphery relationship continued to thrive within Peru's governance and cultural attitudes. As we will discuss in the subsequent sections, the actions a hundred years after the beginning and end of the Rubber Boom continue to reflect this deeply embedded ideology of internal State Colonialism that takes exploitative actions against the rest of the country, especially its Amazonian territory. (Fig. 12)

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positive direction forward. In the case of Peru, it remains a highly centralized government where subnational governments and politicians continue to play significantly secondary roles to the State.

[171] The French Government also helped to fund the independence of Colombia as well.

General Juan Velasco Alvarado (1968-1975), Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces

In 1968, the Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces took control of Peru and named Juan Velasco Alvarado as the President. The ambitions of the Revolution were short-lived but sought to give Peruvian's autonomy by breaking the cycles of foreign domination. The method to achieve these goals was first through the coup d'état led by General Alvarado and then through nationalization policies, redistribution of land and wealth, and ambitions to challenge the Peruvian Society caste system. (Aguirre, 2017) Specifically, the RGAF proposed to simultaneously overthrow the euro-descendant ruling class and foreign economic power through force and a process of nationalization known as *Peruanismo*[172] *- being Peruvian*.[173]

One tactic for solidifying Peruanismo and control over the country was the implementation of collectivist policies that sought to make Peru internationally independent by nationalizing entire industries, from a wide range of sectors, into state-controlled monopolies.[174] The motivation for such a drastic shift had to do with the enormity of riches that continued to be extracted from Peru at the expense of the proletariat - the labor force of poor, often indigenous, peoples. We can look towards Iquitos as an example of why the concept of *Peruanismo* would have taken hold amongst the people.

Iquitos' economy only started to show signs of a weak recovery in the 1930's by exporting lizard skins, exotic bird feathers, and lumber. Again, industries in the Amazon formed around what could be extracted from it. However, no longer was the dominant bankroller of these industries the British; hegemonic power had transitioned over to the United States. The

[172] Velasco's administration used the concept of *Peruanismo* – or being Peruvian – to articulate their desire to give justice to the Peruvian poor, who were often portrayed as indigenous.
[173] Philip. *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 2013, 279-293.
[174] PescaPeru, MineroPeru, Petroperú, SiderPeru, CentrominPeru, ElectroPeru, Enapu, EnatruPeru, Enafer, Compañia Peruana de Telefonos, EntelPeru, Correos del Peru, as well as others.

Astoria Manufacturing Company[175], est. 1918, exported fine lumber and plants for medicinal research to the United States. Crocodile skins[176] were extracted from places like today's National Pacaya-Samiria Reserve and then sold to the export houses in Iquitos, the most powerful being "Kahn and Israel." In 1938 the United States corporation Standard Oil was given access to explore and prospect the Peruvian Amazon region.[177] The headquarters for large industries and small shops in Iquitos continued to appear, especially after 1968 when then-President Fernando Belaunde Terry promulgated Executive Order 15600 for Tributary Exonerations, which declared the Amazon a tax free zone for fifteen years[178]. However, the majority of economic activity would again be around the extraction of resources whose profits went to Lima in the form of taxes, but for the most part, the money went to foreign – primarily American – owners.

Velasco's regime was concerned with the large populations, like in Iquitos, that had continued to experience repetitive economic inequality and hardship because of the exploitive private companies. The suffering of the poor was a reality he knew all too well, having grown up himself from a poor family in the North. Therefore, the nationalization of Peru was an opportunity to bolster support from the populous, broadly distribute services and improve labor opportunities, and solidify control of profitable industries to finance the RGAF. In the process of forcefully taking private companies, the national Government became interested in drawing up the maps which defined precisely where those lands were that the now State-owned companies could extract from. Drawing and, therefore, designing zones for resource extraction suddenly became part of the political vocabulary of Peruvian governance.

[175] "One of its operators and collectors was Manuel Córdova Ríos, possibly the most famous vegan doctor or shaman born in the Amazon region and who gave testimony of his activities to this chronicle in the 1970s in Iquitos." (Rumrill, 2015:74)
[176] These hunting expeditions are recounted by Fernando Barcia Garcia. (Rumrill, 2015:74)
[177] Rumrrill. *Iquitos*, Telefonica, 2015, 70-77.
[178] Tax free zone in the Amazon was renewed by President Garcia through Executive Order 22179 in December 1990. (Rumrill, 2015:75).

A few years later, in 1975, approximately 71% of the country's petroleum exports came from the Iquitos' Amazon region. The enormous revenues generated from the state's oil companies continued to be mostly siphoned out of the region directly to the coast (Lima).[179] This scenario applies to every industry in Iquitos since the Amazon Rubber Boom times and was not significantly changed by Velasco. In the simplest terms, Iquitos' independence to finance its own departments and promote projects itself did not exist and would remain beholden to the Government in Lima despite the new structure and *Peruanismo*. The design of the territory for business continued to be extractive.

Peruanismo and the Creation of Heritage Borders

The second component of *Peruanismo* was meant to challenge the European-centric caste system by redefining what it meant to be Peruvian, who was to be included in that identity and how to create pride in being Peruvian through nationalism. The Peruvian Government's formal use of historic preservation began with General Velasco and in this moment of Peruvian history, the invisible lands of national heritage would be constructed to enforce a Peruvian nationalism that included the indigenous identity.

In 1971, Velasco's regime created the basis of all Peruvian heritage laws, Ley No. 18799, and the Instituto Nacional de Informacion Culturales (INC), which is responsible for managing the nation's heritage and patrimony, "patrimonio."[180] Velasco appointed the INC's director directly to manage the creation of patrimony sites. When looking at the list comprehensively, the choices of sites listed and preserved reveal that Velasco and his ministers understood well that ideas of what

[179] Gazzo, *Amazonia, Agriculture, and Land Use Research*, Cali, Colombia: Centro Internacional de Agricultura Tropical, 1982, 93-94.
[180] Phillip. *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 2013, 279-293.

a country *is,* have often been constructed by what it *was*, its past. As Doreen Massey, the British social scientist and geographer writes, "The identity of places is very much bound up with the *histories* which are told of them, *how* those histories are told, and which history turns out to be dominant."[181] By defining the zones which were of historical importance to the country, Velasco was consciously using patrimonial territory to control history and identity.

Most of the places listed as patrimony during Velasco's rule are ancient archaeological sites of indigenous heritage with a few areas tied to the colonization of Peru – strategically bringing both indigenous and European/imperial related histories together. The fact that Velasco chose sites from various time periods and Indigenous groups also worked to create a flattening of Indigenous identity to be part of a collective Peruvian history that broadly began with the Pre-Colombian, before the Spanish conquests. It did not matter if the site was Inca, or Moche, or Nazca for these differing nations were now all part of a singular Peruvian history and identity.

In Iquitos, *La Casa del Fierro* or "Iron House," a main trading warehouse of rubber that is a pre-cast iron structure, would be the first structure listed as having historic value.[182] (Fig. 5) This site was chosen to remind Peruvians of the industrial and manufacturing greatness that the country had achieved. It did not matter that la Casa del Fierro was becoming a cleaned-up symbol of industrial and scientific progress without acknowledging the darkness that had generated it. The creation of national patrimony sites officiated locations of importance used to promote a history of the nation and a singular Peruvian identity while leaving out the parts that were not useful to RGAF's ambitions and ideology.

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[181] Massey. *History Workshop Journal*, 1995, 186.
[182] INC. *Relación de Monumentos Históricos del Peru,* Institute Nacional de Culture, Centro Nacional de Información Cultural, 1999.

From 1971 on, the Central Peruvian Government has strictly controlled all matters related to history, culture, heritage, and *patrimonio*. That UNESCO developed and signed a convention for the protection of the World's Cultural and Natural Heritage in 1972 shows that these issues were also in discussion among the world's leaders at the time. It may have influenced Peruvian awareness, but the country's initiatives were directly through Velasco in advance of UNESCO and implemented by his Government and not the international organization, although the international organization's presence would play a significant role in later decades.

The Presidency of Alan Garcia (1986-1989), Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana (APRA)

The late 1980's, under Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana (APRA) with President Alan Garcia, marked an incredibly tumultuous period in Peruvian history. There was internal terrorism and unrest, deep economic recession, hyperinflation, and political insurgence. (Ridding, 1988) During this period of chaos, President Garcia decided to make a gesture towards decentralizing the country, "regionalization." Regionalization was a redesign of the State's territorial borders, redrawn in 1987 into 12 regions with regional governments.[183] The top-down decentralization[184] created regions that the party hoped they could use to maintain support as Garcia's national approval rapidly crashed and chances for reelection were slim. Once the regions were created, Garcia's administration bolstered the APRA's support outside of Lima by transferring as much as 60 percent of the country's national resources to these newly formed regions.[185] The Loreto Department, where Iquitos is located, would be renamed as the Amazonas Region and largely remain within the same governance borders as before regionalization.

[183] Werner, 2015
[184] The distinction between top-down and bottom- up decentralization policies comes from Eaton's (2004) distinction between the two.
[185] Dickovick*, Publius*, 2007, 4.

However, this important structural and spatial redrawing of governmental borders did not truly decentralize the State's power. The Government still maintained financial and decision-based control over regions through Lima-based national ministers, who continued determining the various agendas and financial allocations from a distance. Nevertheless, the increased funds that channeled to the twelve new regional districts succeeded in creating an illusion of Peru distributing some of its power and gained Garcia's party's political support across the country.

Map 2 – Zona Monumental of the City of Iquitos[186]

The distribution of more money outside of Lima also served a second purpose. Many of the funds sent to the regions were earmarked to projects that promoted nationalism and tourism through historic preservation or "*patrimonio"* – an initiative that President Garcia had begun in

[186] Image sourced from https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zona_Monumental_de_Iquitos on 5/10/2021

1986, before regionalization. In his first year as President, he designated sixteen historic preservation zones across Peru, mainly of colonial and Christian sites, with Iquitos being the first. The Iquitos *Zona Monumental*, created in 1986, focused on the Amazon Rubber Boom period and included 85 different buildings in the historic downtown port area.[187] (Map 2) That same year UNESCO listed Chan Chan, near Trujillo in the North West of the Country, on its World Monuments List. Previously in 1983, the first Peruvian sites of the "City of Cuzco" and the "Historic Sanctuary of Machu Picchu" were listed.[188]

Through the INC, the selected sites nationwide emphasized the importance of Peru's European and Christian heritage while also leveraging ancient indigenous archaeological sites to promote tourism and be inclusive of the broad population's indigenous heritage. The combination of sites was intended to represent a hybrid/mixed Peruvian heritage that helped generate support for a revitalized form of nationalism that was becoming necessary as dissatisfied left-leaning communist groups emerged. Using sites from the past served as an easy way to claim a distant, seemingly extinct, indigenous heritage without having to recognize the existing indigenous communities and their descendants' present identities or culture. The designation of the historic zone in Iquitos, for example, exclusively glorifies the Rubber Barons' wealth and industrial achievements while leaving out the indigenous people's contributions, lived horrors and abuse that had enabled the industry.

Through investment in these places and designating the territory as federally important for preservation, the Government could exploit the narrative or meanings of a historical site to curate

[187] INC. *Relación de Monumentos Históricos del Peru.* Institute Nacional de Culture, Centro Nacional de Información Cultural, 1999

[188] UNESCO, WH Committee: Report of 10th Session, Paris 1986, 1986.

moments of Peruvian history together to gain APRA political clout. Aside from the strategy of political control, designating these sites also supported Garcia's protectionism over local industry. Thus, tourism was becoming a resource that the Government could use to generate earnings for itself. The focus on expanding the list of historical sites and the financial support to do so and seeking international recognition by UNESCO became an economic strategy.[189]

The intentions behind the redesign of territories through regionalization and *patrimonio* strategies would not help President Garcia win an immediate second term.[190] However, it did succeed in establishing APRA in a strong position regionally for the decades to come. In 1990, Garcia's presidency would come to an end, and Alberto Fujimori would win – soon to drastically change the Government from a republic to a dictatorship once again. Yet, in the 1990's the *patrimoni*o-based practices of territorial exploitation would become a secondary strategy to the increased carving up of Peru.

Alberto Fujimori and the Neoliberal Authoritarian Democracy (1990-2001)

Alberto Fujimori, a Japanese-Peruvian, would be elected in 1990 and remain in power as an autocrat for eleven years. In this period, Peru would experience the heightened growth of neoliberalism. National planning agencies were dismantled as the economic gates reopened for foreign investment capital allowing for predatory mobility and the foreign-directed exploitive territorial practices to flourish anew.[191] The structural reforms were a drastic variant of those supported globally by the World Bank, and as a result, in only two years, the average Peruvian's

[189] Davis. Personal Communication, 2020; Smith. *Ethnos*, 2005, 149-170.
[190] Alan Garcia would become President again sixteen years after leaving office from 2006 to 2011. In 2019 he would shoot himself in the head to avoid charges of corruption – a fragment of which were connected to a Brazilian construction company.
[191] Fernandez-Maldonado. *Unboxing the Black Box of Peruvian Planning, Practice & Research.*. Delft University of Technology, 2019

income had dropped by a third.[192] And yet, Fujimori had broad popular support as the country still faced ongoing issues related to the Maoist Shining Path and the promise to stabilize a devastated economy with the privatization of the nation. The crisis and fear that the Shining Path and other rural rebels appeared to pose to the country was a valuable foil for Fujimori's transition from a President into a dictator. It only required the silencing of the historically ignored marginalized regions that still favored APRA.

In 1992, Fujimori succeeded in the *autogolpe* which allowed him to reverse the *regionalization* policies, reform the judiciary system, and suspend the constitution. With the removal of the regional structure, he blocked out any political space for challengers and dissident views, significantly weakening APRA's political power in the dissipated eleven regions outside of Lima. Additionally, Fujimori's congress held the majority so that the President could create even further dramatic policy changes. In other words, he maintained great support by redrawing the regional borders so that there were no regions with a majority of APRA supporters and the pro-Fujimori Lima could effectively make the rest of the country politically insignificant.[193]

In complete opposite fashion to General Velasco, what followed was the swift privatization of hundreds of state-owned enterprises and the creation of national policies that allowed private companies to make significant infrastructure and investment projects, especially related to raw resource extraction. Peru's economy depended on commodity exports, a fact that persists today, especially from the resource-rich Amazon. At the glee of foreign extraction companies, Fujimori would take a step beyond the 1990 Amazon tax-free zone law by adding

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[192] Gonzalez, 1992:52

[193] Fernandez-Maldonado. *Unboxing the Black Box of Peruvian Planning, Practice & Research.* Delft University of Technology, 2007.

1998 Executive Order 27307 for Investment Promotion in the Amazonian region. [194] What is now known as *Fujishock* did generate economic growth of 13% in 1994, faster than that of any other country in the world and making Peru macro-economically stronger. However, essentially selling carved fragments of the country to various corporations for logging, oil, and mining did little to help the poor or change the poverty rate, not to mention the effects on the environment.

These policies meant that the local government in Loreto and Iquitos held virtually no control over the profits that were generated within its territorial boundaries.[195] Resources went back to Lima, and for the most part, the majority of the resources stayed there. The city of Iquitos was not the only local government held captive to the whims of Fujimori. In 1997, a desperate Federico Salas, the Mayor of Huancavélica, rode on horseback for a week to the Capitol in the hopes of meeting with President Fujimori to discuss the problems of his city. Despite gaining national attention, Fujimori refused to grant him a meeting, and Salas[196] returned with nothing but fatigue.[197] The centralization of the administration, fiscal system, and politics prevented local governments from addressing emerging regulation problems, especially those related to the growing issues of rapid urbanization and land use.[198]

The Dangers from the Exploitation of Territories

Rather, than being generated by a singular industry as in the past, the logic behind the exploitation of the territory during the decades from 1970-2000, is motivated by and enabled through the Centralized Peruvian State. This was accomplished by dividing up the country with shifting politically-motivated regional boundaries and from the 1980's onwards blatant

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[194] Executive Order 22179 declared in December 1990. Rumrill. *Iquitos.* Telefonica, 2015, 75.
[195] Fernandez-Maldonado. *Unboxing the Black Box of Peruvian Planning, Practice & Research.* Delft University of Technology, 2007.
[196] Fujimori subsequently co-opted Salas, making him prime minister in 2000.
[197] Arce. *The Repoliticization of Collective Action After Neoliberalism in Peru*, Latin American Politics and Society, 2008, 37-62.
[198] Calderon. *Case Study Report: Urban Poverty,* UN: Overseas Development Institute, 2015.

neoliberalist policies that essentially gave corporations and organizations - both national and international - huge swaths of land for economic extraction and control. The Centralized Peruvian State also learned to use national patrimony (*patrimonio*), the tourism industry, and privatization to achieve political control by creating a myth of a singular national identity for a still-fractured country.

Under Alejandro Celestino Toledo Manrique's Presidency from 2001 to 2006, Peru returned to a Democracy and in 2001 Congress approved a constitutional reform for decentralization, again establishing regional governments which were to have political and administrative autonomy. It is important to note that this decentralized process came from the central government rather than from the bottom-up.[199] The early 2000's democratic reforms and decentralization under President Toledo's administration did not escape the path-dependency of the political culture nor the uncertainty of Peruvians towards their government's capabilities and honesty. Instead, clientelism and neoliberalism thrive in the current system for planning and urban policy making – that are ultimately still determined and approved by the central ministries and the executive branch.[200] Furthermore, the very structure of the decentralization has created central-local linkages which enforce the stated problems while also weakening the intermediate levels of government. These issues all strengthen the municipalities dependency on Lima in countless ways.[201]

Ultimately all of these regimes have used their centralized power to create territories of resource extraction, political power, and heritage for the benefit of a centralized government in Lima which has continually exploited the rest of the country – regardless of political system - for

[199] Dickovick. *Publius,* 2007.
[200] Schedler. .*The Self Restraining State* Boulder, Co.: Lynne Rienner, 1999.
[201] Dickovick. *Publius*, 2007; Eaton. *Territory, Politics, Governance*, 2015, 130.

decades. To reiterate: the Peruvian Government during Velasco's dictatorship through to the Democratic Presidency under Garcia deployed centralized decisions of large-scale territorial policies of land-use and legislative borders and partitioned the country for extractive industries that were then primarily nationalized. Both regimes achieved a cherrypicked narrative of Euro/colonial and Indigenous histories woven together through territorial design to communicate a unified, long-standing history while erasing points of tension between the class and ethnic-based factions that might one day disrupt the hiertaarchies of power.[202]

Phrased in another way, the Governments exploited history by creating the historic preservation zones to manipulate identity and construct advantageous heritage myths of Peru for continued political power. Furthermore, these strategies of territorial design were continued by Fujimori as ruthless tools implemented with the full intent of a neoliberalist ideology. His redesign of political regions, and welcoming in of essentially uncontrolled foreign capital for money, in the end, have led to exploitive territorial practices by both the government and foreign capital that parallel those which occurred during the Amazon Rubber Boom era. Essentially, the biggest danger that has arisen from the State's exploitive practices of territorial design is that Peru, not just the Amazon, has been carved up by foreign capital and these foreign influences, then, will most likely determine its future– culturally, socially, and economically.

[202] Herrera. *Public Archaeology*, 2013, 71-84.

CHAPTER 8

TOURISM, THE NEW RUBBER

> Iquitos, 7:30 in the morning. My first visions are captured by the intense yellow and green, followed by the purple and crimson of the piles of fresh fruit sold by Doña Luisa on the sidewalk of Pebas Street, only a few meters from the entrance to our hotel. *Caimitos*, *shimbillos*, *taberibás*. Exotic names and a sheen that exudes freshness and contrasts with the serenity of the concrete cracked by the sun and rain from which emerge, fragile but triumphant, the tender stalks of grass that someone will trample on the way to the port.
> – Walter H. Wust, Iquitos on the Banks of the Great River, 2015: 118.

Tourism: An Inherently Exploitive Industry

In the 21st Century, Iquitos has become an urban node of 500,000 people and serves a region of millions with 30% of that population being indigenous – the largest in Peru. The next closest city is Leticia/Tabatinga, a two day diesel boat travel away at the border with Colombia and Brazil.[203] In Iquitos one of the leading drivers of its' economy is tourism but unlike the rest of Peru's tourism hotspots, this is not driven by archaeological or colonial sites. In steadily growing numbers, tourists come primarily because of the preconceptions they have about indigenous peoples, an exotic jungle city, the *pristine* or in-crisis Amazon Rainforest, and to a lesser extent, a mythical collapsed Rubber Boom hey-day. Trips to Iquitos have been marketed as filled with adventure, the potential to save something or someone, nostalgia, and of course, *authentic* unique experiences that can't be had anywhere else. With the National government's assistance in constructing this narrative through patrimony, investment, and pro-tourism laws, the industry across Peru grew to a 7.6 billion dollar sector in 2016 and accounted for 9.4% of the GDP in 2019.[204]

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[203] There are "speed boats" which can make the trips in hours (it is an 8 hour fast boat going down to Tabatinga or 12 hours coming up) but these are less common for people to take. Although, not significantly more expensive they are notorious for crashing against rocks and are considered dangerous by the general public as there are many stories of people who have been killed in this way. The fast boats have also been known to break down often, leaving its passengers stranded at night floating along the river while being feasted on by mosquitos.

[204] Oxford Business, 2016. Knoema, 2019

Tourism in the third millennium is one of the critical economic generators in Iquitos, attracting over a quarter of a million visitors[205] with an estimated 30% growth rate.[206] In 2012 the city was listed in 6th place of the "ten most outstanding cities" to visit by the editors of *Lonely Planet*. This status probably had something to do with the Amazon River being named as one of the "Seven Wonders of the World" on August 13, 2012.[207] Much like the Amazon Rubber Industry of the late 19th century, a century later, tourism has a reshaped the city's trajectory and its surroundings by bringing in a global connection and foreign capital and culture that imposes and forcefully shapes the economic and social landscape of the place.

Capital in a "Distant" Land

The influx of foreign capital and culture has resulted in significant benefits, novel hybridizations and adaptations, innovation, and positive global interactions. Thus far, the warning signs that have appeared repeat a sustained cycle of exploitation that in the past has been destructive. Once again Iquitos finds itself offered a precarious cocktail of dominant foreign capital in a "distant" land and an inherently exploitive industry: 21st-century tourism. The tourism industry today is becoming a mono-economic presence of neo-liberal constructs in the midst of globalization, whose goals are not intended as altruistic support of local indigenous values and livelihoods but instead fall under the umbrella of globalized predatory capitalism. As with the Rubber Boom Era, the goal is the extraction of resources and capital from the area by those who are connected to the tourism industry and tourists themselves.

[205] This number is from 2012.
[206] This 30% growth rate was last assessed in 2015 and does not factor in the significant effect that the 2020 Covid-19 pandemic has had. (Marc Dourojeanni, 2015:135)
[207] Rumrrill, *Iquitos*, Telefonica, 2015, 77. Amazonexperience 2016

In globalized predatory neo-liberalism, the relationship between predator and prey is only sustained as long as there is a profit to be made. Investment in an area may occur; however, as noted above, the wealth and welfare of the local peoples are not primary goals or concerns. The predatory actions can be seen as geared toward acquiring wealth from individuals and resources from states, nations, ethnic groups, and indigenous groups. Thus, the tourism industry, like the rubber industry, moves into an area to acquire the resources that can be used to create profit which returns not to the community but to the business owner. Once the resources are extracted, or in this case, once the tourist destination loses its cachet, the tourism company most often leaves. As long as tourists come into the area, the flow of resources to the industry is maintained. However, continued investment is not guaranteed, nor are jobs or the promotion of indigenous lifeways/rights or clean environments.[208]

This categorization of the Rubber Boom and tourist industries as predatory is taken from an approach that views economic exchanges based on three forms of reciprocity: gift-giving, balanced or barter, and negative or predatory exchanges.[209] These categories of exchange are similar to those defined by Descola (1994 [1986]) and Reichel-Dolmatoff (1976, 1997, also see Pálsson 1996) and utilized in Oyuela-Caycedo (2004) when discussing how Amazonian indigenous groups interact with nature and the environment. In these indigenous relations, Oyuela-Caycedo identifies three categories of relationships: one, predation, where the relationship is seen as one of capturing and taking the desired resource; two, reciprocity, where exchanges are made with nature and spirit entities (or even a God) and other humans to maintain a balance between humans and nature; and three, protection or a domestication relationship

[208] Bonzani, *Kinship and Imagined Communities*. Kendall-Hunt Publishers, Dubuque, IA, 2019, 80
[209] Mauss 1966, Polanyi 1944, Sahlins 1972.

where humans are seen as the caretakers or protectors of the environment and which is associated with the use of domesticated plants and animals that are purposefully planted, cared for, fed, and bred with the final result being that the resource is utilized to maintain humans.[210] This last approach is also termed "familiarization" instead of domestication, implying that the plant/animal/human/spirit is made into "family" or kin in the process of its interaction with the manipulator.[211] This relationship framework can potentially be applied to industrial interactions and manipulations as well.

In applying this approach, the current manifestations of the capitalist funding of the tourism industry from distant economies for distant corporations are seen as utilizing predation in their approach of interactions with indigenous and local peoples and the environment. The resource of value to "claim" now is remoteness/wilderness and the private ownership of these lands. "Hotspot tourism" focuses on the development and building of architecture and research centers as a means to acquire land to create a tourism destination to generate profits. Importation of tourists and the need for wilderness as a resource leads to economic colonization of the remoteness and the domination of the area by those with foreign capital from "distant" lands– which are very similar to the actions and manipulations of peoples and the environment by Julio Arana a century before. This relationship cannot be viewed as reciprocal, nor can it be viewed as domestication or familiarization: the relationship is not one of reciprocity as the indigenous-local peoples are portrayed as actors upon a stage with little to no current input into the script of their past lives. Their present identities are interpreted by those who initially invest their foreign capital. The relationship is also not one of familiarization since the tourist stays are temporary, a

[210] Bonzani, *Kinship and Imagined Communities*. Kendall-Hunt Publishers, Dubuque, IA, 2019, 90
[211] Fausto and Neves, *Antiquity* 92 (366), 2018, 1604-1618

day or two, they are interlopers in a world with not enough time to understand. Instead, the tourist industry relationship to the local peoples and landscape continues to be one of predation and is extractive in nature.[212] Therefore, these conditions of an inherently exploitive tourism industry and the power of "foreign" capital and culture in Iquitos have, much like the rubber industry, become embodied within the built environment, architecture, and territorial designs. What results is the reappearance of the danger signs of the past: short-term development, an architectural typology based on *imposed* concepts of place, isolated-industry-based networks of habitation and exploitation of a largely captive population.[213]

The Dangers of Short-term Development

The 1980s was the beginning of Iquitos' positioning as a center for tourism in the Amazon. It can be considered to have formally started with President Garcia's laws to create the country's historic zones (*Zona Monumentales*), with the first in the country being implemented in Iquitos in 1986 (Map 2). The new historic zone focused exclusively on the Neoclassical Rubber Boom Architecture and developed a hardscape boardwalk along the Amazon River to "frame" this historic center.[214] The governmental initiative hoped to highlight a mythicized industrial period of Peruvian history that would create a positive historical narrative of the nation while simultaneously expanding the tourism economy into the Amazon.

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[212] Oyuela-Caycedo, *Baessler-Archiv, Band* 52, 2004, 54-74

[213] I choose the word imposed in this case because at times the influences come from visitors and foreigners, but they have also been inseparably hybridized with the local population and national conceptions that it is impossible to say these influences are fully external phenomena. The imposition comes from multiple directions and sometimes Iquiteños themselves.

[214] One year after the boardwalk's completion, in 1989, Iquitos would experience catastrophic floods caused by the rubber-related deforestation that decades later created significant alterations in patterns of precipitation and sediment buildup in the Upper Amazon. The boardwalk would lose its primary relationship with the Amazon River that suddenly changed course moving miles away from Iquitos' downtown port and the boardwalk. (Marengo, 2016; Oyuela-Caycedo, 2020)

By designating 85 rubber boom structures in the center of the city, while tellingly leaving out the darker realities that had fueled the industry that might have been understood by visiting extraction camps, the preservation initiative prioritized the social and historical importance of the European portion of the city while excluding the indigenous identity. Through governmental funding, the architectural frame and the selection of landmarks simultaneously solidified an infrastructural and real estate focus on the historic part of the city instead of the surrounding areas, which continue to lack the necessary investments. Much like in the past, where the Rubber Barons were primarily responsible for building the city's fabric and infrastructure, fluctuating global extraction industries from oil to tourism have continued to place their city interventions in this historic center – such as hotels, social clubs, and restaurants. For decades, formal developments in real estate were connected to the oil and drug trafficking businesses that boomed until the 1990s, when both collapsed.[215] As in the past, these industries collapsed and new extractive industries took their place, with tourism being of central focus since the early 2000's.

As the tourism economy continued to grow, although not necessarily focused on tourists interested in the rubber era, its foreign investors also began to adapt and build structures for hotels, clubs, restaurants, and other entertainment services catered towards tourists in the historic city center. The outer districts of Iquitos continue to reflect a neglected, unplanned sprawling condition that expands outwards from the small historic portion of the city where industry-driven development happens. (Fig. 13)

[215] Rumrrill, *Iquitos*, Telefonica, 2015, 76

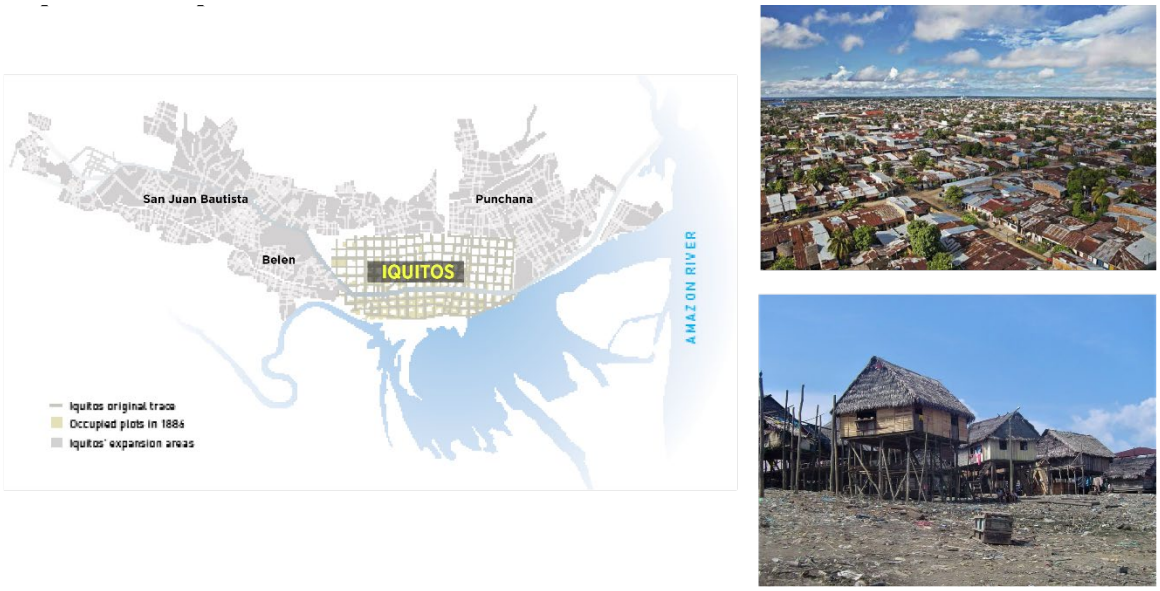

Fig 13 – Surrounding growth and conditions outside of historic center.[216]

Spatial Othering in the Urban Form

The majority of residents in Iquitos live in the chaotic unplanned neighborhoods in extreme poverty and experience urban-induced conditions of high infant mortality, overcrowding, marginalization, and both physical and psychological unhealthiness.[217] While the center of the city, although not significantly more functional in providing necessities to the inhabitants, caters to the tourists who pass through rather than the city's permanent residents. The lack of long-term initiatives requiring government-sponsored urban planning to focus and implement a plan has caused the city to develop unequally and to benefit instead the goals of private corporations and developers who have extreme liberty within Iquitos. [218] The surrounding

[216] Map of Iquitos Adapted from Iquitos, 2016. Top Right Iquitos Expansion, Rodrigo Rodrich 2015. Bottom Right: Belen Neighborhood, unknown author.
[217] García, *Iquitos*, Telefonica, 2015, 196-201
[218] In 1972 the military government launched a plan to regularize the layout of marginal settlements and titles to family plots. This first Master Plan for Iquitos was adjusted in 1983, 1996 and 2002, and 2011 although the parts that were carried out were done badly if at all. (Moreno, 2015:207)

self-built neighborhoods, such as Belén,[219] are occupied by "bosquesinos"[220] and lack many essential services like sewage, clean water, hospitals, and schools because these areas are not of interest to industry-driven developments. Instead, they are created by individuals and at times international organizations and NGO's who also bring their own agendas and perceptions.

This contrast of the historic center, with its international connection and support, as compared to the outlying-areas has racial and ideology-based foundations in the origin of the city. Iquitos' spatial organization has reflected a racial and ideology-based caste system influenced by European or Western since its' early founding as a Jesuit Mission. (c.1791-1817) With the presence of missionaries, the local population became spilt between those included in the imposed Christian ideas, "saved," and those considered outsiders, "savages." Othering and excluding those outside of the preferred group remained after the abandonment of the site by the Missionaries in 1817. When French Explorer Paul Marcoy visited in 1864, he found that there were two distinct neighborhoods, *barrios*, divided by those of indigenous heritage - in the lower-less desirable land - and those of claimed Spanish mixed-blood heritage who lived closer to the central plaza at a higher elevation. This next level of distinction had been introduced because of a few refugee Spaniards who found themselves settling in Iquitos a few generations prior. The indigenous groups who lived outside of the village and who were not Christians were even of lesser status than the Christian indigenous who lived in the village. This classification, according to Marcoy was being despite that they were ethnically a combination of the same four groups

[219] November 5 1999, in the midst of acute social conflicts, law 27195 was enacted to finally formally recognize the district which had been an active part of the city since before the 1960s. (Bartra, 2015:167)

[220] The Peruvian researcher Jorge Gasché Suess makes the argument that Iquitos is a diverse social condition that is hybridized between urban and rural. This condition requires, albeit simplified, acknowledgment of two kinds of societal classes, "urban" and "bosquesino". "*Bosquesino* society refers to the Amazonian rural society including both the indigenous peoples and the *mestizo* communities living in the banks of rivers and inside the forests, except those of recent migration [to the city who are still included]." (Gasché, 2015:190)

who lived in the surroundings.[221] Today, the city's lowest and least desirable elevations prone to flooding remain for the most marginalized and ethnically/culturally connected to the rainforests and tribes.

The 2011 Urban Plan of Iquitos attempted to rectify the situation and instability caused by the lack of governmental planning and the fundamental power relationship that foreign capital has in determining what gets built, when, and where.[222] Yet, ten years later, much of the issues continue to worsen because the levels of government do not have the power or financial stability to invest in the required ways. Ultimately, the continuation of the Peruvian State's unitary control at the national level and inability to carry through with urban plans fails to provide the necessary capital assistance and appropriate structures to accommodate the demands of urbanization in Iquitos.[223]

In part, the conditions of development are the product of a feedback loop where the local government remains weak because the dominant strategy of the city and local groups who control the city have found it possible to bypass the lack of political power and funding from the national level by applying the capital of private companies and organizations to their own purposes. These groups use tax rebates to develop projects sporadically based on the economic demands of their particular investment. Mining is one such example. "In Peru today, one of the only means by which most regional governments can be assured a significant revenue stream in the absence of fiscal decentralization is to encourage and retain investment by private mining companies."[224] The other possibility is to connect with global investors: UN, World Bank, IDB,

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[221] Marcoy, *Travels in South America,* Scribner, Armstrong, 1875
[222] Plan de Desarrollo Urbano Sostenible de Iquitos, 2011-2021, Iquitos, Peru, 2007

[223] In 1970, the population of Iquitos jumped to 100,000, in 2000 it climbed to 400,000 and in 2005, 500,000. All along the Amazon basin, of a population of a little less than 27 million, close to 70% live in cities. (Moreno, 2015)
[224] Eaton, *Territory, Politics, Governance*, 2015, 130

UNESCO, Governments of Italy, Netherlands, France, Germany, US, Christian (Evangelical) Missions, and a whole host of NGO's all with their own unique agendas and perspectives.[225] Unfortunately, the trade-off has forced Iquitos, and other non-Lima Peruvian cities, into decades of dependency on these external players to become the developers of their cities, infrastructure, and shapers of their environments, bringing Iquitos back into the risks of short-term development that this method produces.

Preservation in the Historic City Center

In both the colonial-tourism cities of Cartagena, Colombia and Arequipa, Peru their historic centers have entirely transformed in the past twenty years due to the international tourism industry. In both cases, every structure has essentially been purchased and renovated by wealthy elites into pristine conditions for touristic functions. The buildings in Iquitos that are within the historic zone, where urban tourism services are concentrated, are not, for the most part, preserved and do not follow this trend. A few of the iconic structures, la Casa de Fierro – a social club and restaurant- and Hotel Palacio – the Peruvian military base – and Casa Morey – a restored house now hotel - have been repurposed and preserved in their original historical style. Otherwise, structures tend to remain out of necessity with ad-hoc adaptations for new functions collaged in every imaginable way. When new projects have been created in place of an old building they are mostly done with minimal financial investments.

[225] Calderon, 1998; Fernandez, 2019; Bernales, 2019; Oyuela-Caycedo, 2021.

Fig. 14 – DoubleTree Hilton in Plaza de Armas, Iquitos, 2021.[226]

An exception of note related to architecture created for tourism with significant financial backing in the city center include the one international corporation hotel in Iquitos, a Double Tree by Hilton located on the Plaza de Armas. The hotel is a concrete structure with full-length glass arched window that were built prior to 2005. It is the only 5-star accommodation in all of the Loreto region and was a 2.5 million USD renovation of the previous *Dorado Hotel.* When the Dorado hotel was reopened as a DoubleTree in 2018 after interior rennovations, there were high hopes at the opening ceremony. Then governor of Loreto, Fernando Meléndez Celis remarked, "With the new Hilton, the economic recovery will begin in our area," before mentioning that thanks to the efforts of Alberto Rodríguez[227] and his family, tourism will be boosted in the region.

[226] Doubletree Hotel profile on hotels.com accessed on 5/5/2021

[227] This hotel has 71 rooms that were renovated into a Hilton by owner Alberto Rodríguez. Alberto Rodríguez is a businessman who is the chair of Grupo Dorado and owned the previous, "Dorado Hotel." Online Source: https://www.infoturperu.com.pe/index.php/empresa/hoteles/item/3866-nuevo-doubletree-by-hilton-iquitos-es-un-gran-aporte-al-desarrollo-de-la-region-loreto

Dangers of Imposed Architectural Imaginations

The tourist's search for authenticity and the pressure tourism places on Iquitos to accentuate, at times exoticize, the indigenous culture and "pristine nature" has evolved into a particular kind of eco/adventure/psychedelic tourism reflected more heavily in the architectural language of the retreats and lodges than in the historic center. By looking at the dominant motifs of this "experience economy" it becomes clear that the imposition of foreign architectural imaginations represents a commodified idea of what it is to be Amazonian in combination with hypocritical ideas of ecological sustainability.[228]

Iquitos is portrayed as a place for adventure, wilderness, escapism, and other-worldly experiences that cater to an international leisure class in search of meaning and nostalgia for an imagined pre-modern, pre-climate change, pre-Anthropocene condition. American businessmen Joseph Pine II & James H. Gilmore's writings defined "the experience economy," which they argue is the next major economic offering where businesses orchestrate memorable events or experiences to create value.[229] Later in their careers, they recognized that the past, "being forever gone and inalterable, [it] represents an ideal form of authentic experience – the *pure.*"[230] The past, is only an idea – we can't visit the past – has become an "authentic" experience sold to tourists.

Iquitos is well-positioned to accommodate the generation of a tourism economy which has ever-increasingly captured what British Sociologist John Urry and American Landscape Professor Dean MacCannell, respectively describe as the tourist's gaze or the search for

[228] Pine & Gilmore, "Welcome to the Experience Economy," *Harvard Business Review*, vol. 76, no. 4, 1998
[229] Pine & Gilmore, "Welcome to the Experience Economy," *Harvard Business Review*, vol. 76, no. 4, 1998, 97
[230] Pine & Gilmore, *Authenticity: What Consumers Really Want*, Boston: Harvard Business School, 2007

authenticity.[231] They argue that people are continually trying to find an authentic place, hoping to enter the "back-of-house" spaces and what they imagine those places to be like. In MacCannell's *Staged Authenticity*, he explains the conceptualization of "front" and "back"[232] spaces as they relate to tourism to say that visitors come with ideas of what is "authentic" and that in turn begins to influence what the back-of-house spaces become.[233] Returning to Pine & Gilmore, often people will look towards the past for a sense of authentic experiences.[234] In support of the intertwined relationship between the "authentic" tourism, and past, the geographer Doreen Massey further describes the ideas tourists bring of what a place is and what they are hoping to experience by going there in her text, "Places and Their Pasts."[235] She makes the point that places are processes and do not have an essentialist identity, there is no "authentic" place to be visited.

Since the 2000s, architecture of lodges and retreats has popped up all along the surrounding rivers. It is through the creation of these structures that the import of a foreign place-identity through architectural imaginations based on the tourist's concepts of "authenticity" and what they expect the place to be spawn parallel dangers. Unlike the warnings from the foreign architecture of the Rubber Boom, which used imported materials to distinguish itself from the traditional materials of wood and earth, this 21st-century tourism architecture revolves around the appropriation and embrace of indigenous vernacular methods, materials, and styles.

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[231] Urry, *Consuming Places*, London: Routledge, 1995. MacCannell, 1973.
[232] An early concept of modern tourism developed by Canadian sociologist Erving Goffman explains that in tourism there are front and back areas which have, "three crucial roles on the basis of function: those who perform; those performed to; and outsiders who neither perform in the show nor observe it…"
[233] MacCannell, *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 79, No. 3, 1973, 589-603
[234] Pine & Gilmore, "Rendering Authenticity," Boston: Harvard Business School, 2007, 45-79
[235] Massey, *History Workshop Journal*, no. 39, 1995, 182-92

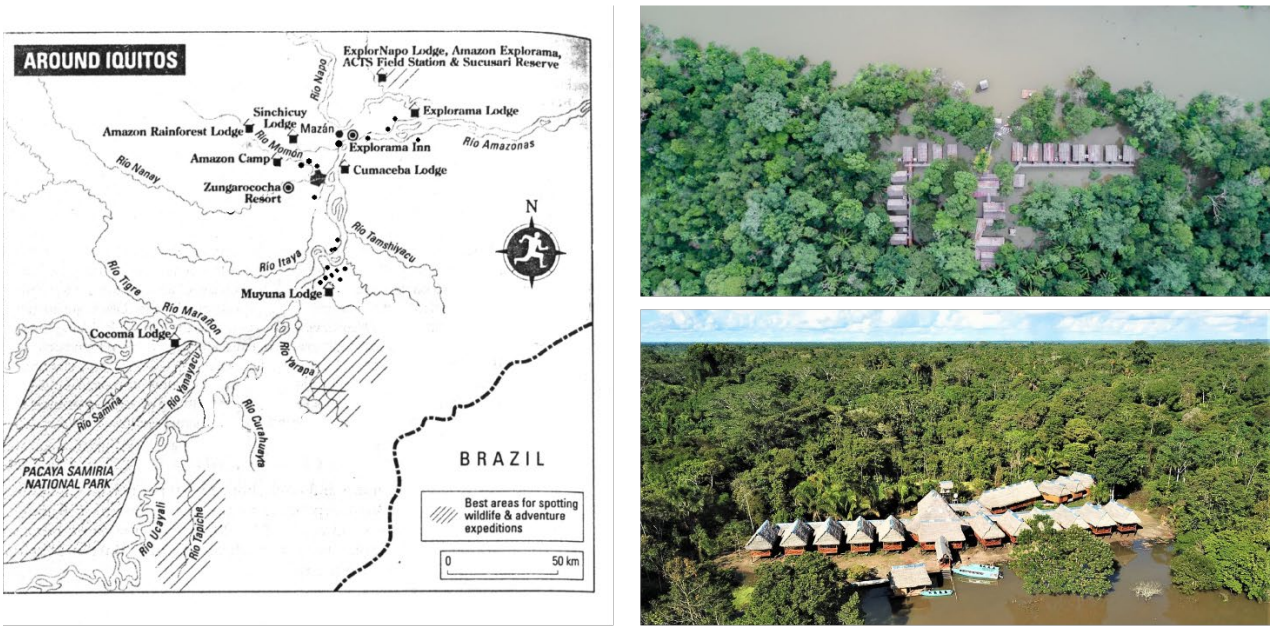

Fig. 15 - Left: Tourist Map of featured Amazon Lodges and Nature Reserves. Right: Aerial Views of Isolated Lodges near Iquitos.[236]

The lodges and retreats - owned mainly by foreigners – are located in the rainforest surroundings of Iquitos and stylistically capitalize on the local vernacular, stilt river-based housing and *malocas* or *cocameras*, while hybridizing its designs to accommodate the demands of the constituents who are staying there. As can be seen in the *Grand Amazon Lodge* and *Curassow Amazon Lodge*, this emerging typology often provides bungalows organized around fictional layouts that vaguely resemble an indigenous village. (Fig. 15) The goal of this architecture is to portray "authenticity" and contextual relevance, while in some cases, successfully absorbing the environmentally suitable lessons of the vernacular architectural forms. However, the existence of these architecture projects is filled with danger because they are almost all charades of ecological sustainability, impose concepts of identity and place-making for the tourist experience, and profitably extract from the local populations through predatory relationships based on the commodification of indigenous identity and nature.

[236] Map adapted from Dilwyn Jenkins, London: Rough Guides, 2007.

There is very little sustainable about these architectural works, which import all of the luxuries expected by their tourists – sometimes even as extravagant as caviar and imported champagnes flown in. The rooms are fully electrified, sometimes providing Wi-Fi and air conditioning to make the sweltering humid reality more palpable. The electricity comes from diesel generators set up on the hotel's cleared and manicured plots of land. The toilet paper and other waste of these businesses eventually get "ecologically" washed into the rivers – just as the diesel motor transportation that takes the tourists to and from these isolated locations does, contaminating the whole surroundings.

Furthermore, the aesthetic of these lodges is exclusively designed to cater to the three groups of tourist consumers. They are designed to promote and thrive on the exoticization of the jungle landscape and indigenous locals, who in the worst scenarios actually live-in shantytown stilt neighborhoods above sewage-filled canals. For the tourist groups seeking the exotic the lodge operators offer vomit-inducing drugs[237] so that Westerners can experience - and I quote from Graham Hancock, a British pseudo archeologist Ayahuasca fanatic - "the extraordinary effects on their consciousness" to escape the difficulties of their lives. The other dominant tourist groups that book yearly are all-white Evangelicals from the United States who come by the hundreds on missionary trips to build churches, schools, and bring items like eyeglasses to the surrounding indigenous communities. Then, as with similarly exoticized places like Thailand, the third tourist group are the backpacking Europeans who stay only a night or two along their route to see all of South America in the span of a few months.[238] These are the characters and groups for which the lodge architecture is designed to please and profit from.

[237] I refer to the traditional indigenous medicinal and ritualized intake of ayahuasca.
[238] Burleigh, New York Times, September 15, 2013. Hancock, "The War on Consciousness" Banned Ted Talk, TedxWhitechapel, 2013.

Isolated Industry Controlled Predatory Networks

As has been established, one of the major attractions Iquitos offers to travelers is connected to the city's remoteness. Most tourists are only passing through Iquitos proper to continue to one of the Amazon Lodges. Within a 30-minute speedboat ride from Iquitos, there are over thirty-two river-based lodges plopped into the rainforest. [239] (Fig. 15) This does not include the floating boat lodging or Ayahuasca-focused retreats. The lodge accommodations range from $90 to $870 per night, far above the plethora of Airbnb options offered in the city between $10 to $106.[240] For further perspective, the average 2019 monthly net salary in Peru was 1,500 Peruvian Soles, or about $400.[241]

Oddly, but not surprisingly, the tourism retreats function very much like the rubber camps from the early 20th century except that the role of the local population is now inverted and kept dependent outside of this network rather than trapped inside of it. They still do not benefit. The retreats and lodges create isolated worlds with all services covered – transport, food, excursions, opportunities to purchase handmade souvenirs, and social interactions or trips to see Indigenous tribes; these are provided within the pre-determined package purchased through the hotel or tour group. Like in Arana's camps, everything needed to sustain remote sites is imported from Iquitos or even further abroad and sold at a significant markup to those within the isolated tourism company constructions. Although the isolated lodges are heavily dependent on the importation of goods and services, they create their own incredibly insular networks not only in the importation of items to make them function but in the economics generated by the services they provide to

[239] This number was calculated on available listings under the search "lodge" in Iquitos from tripadvisor.com on 5/3/2021
[240] Tripadvisor 2021; Airbnb 2019.
[241] Numbeo 2021

tourists too. The local populations are blocked out of these profitable exchanges. From the second a tourist arrives in Iquitos, the hotel company can whisk them up, place them on a boat, and take them into their isolated network, leaving very little opportunity for local entrepreneurs and communities to benefit or have influence in the commodification of their identity and environment.

Conclusion

To conclude, the economy of Iquitos is again created by and for an external population connected to exploitive industries while the poor, and often ethnically indigenous people, live in the surrounding sprawling neighborhoods located in the floodplains. Through the guise of tourism and appropriated Amazonian style architectures of the lodge industry, it at times appears like an inclusive situation. Yet, the indigenous locals lack control over whose history is told, what heritage narratives are being constructed, and instead are exploited for their so-called 'authentic' exoticism to attract tourism while benefiting only marginally compared to the government, hotel and restaurant owners, and ayahuasca service agencies. The present development, architectural designs, and isolated habitation networks related to the tourism industry are a continuation of assimilation, control, and myth-building in Iquitos' history, maintaining deeply embedded imbalances, oppression, and ethnic divisions.

The dominant version of the identity of the Iquitos population and its context sponsored by the Peruvian State and the heritage tourism industries is a constructed, fixed identity aimed at a tourist market, in sharp contrast to the changes over time that the people and place have experienced. This makes the Iquitos people actors performing a role in a stage-set constructed as a heritage narrative that omits facts and fabricates a false identity. As historian David Lowenthal explains in his contrast of heritage and history, the government and tourist industries are selling a

fabricated heritage of people and place.[242] In espousing to promote cultural heritage, the tourism industries might do well to step back and consider other forms of relationships with indigenous and local peoples and the environment which are not predatory and extractive. Through their actions they could instead, earnestly include concepts, ideologies, and actions of reciprocity and familiarization relationships that have long occurred and taken place in Amazonian indigenous societies' relations within themselves and their conceptions of the world in which they live.

[242] Lowenthal, *History and Memory*, Vol.10, No.1, Spring 1998, 5-24

CHAPTER 9

THE METAMORPHOSIS OF IQUITOS

> "To grasp this metamorphosis of the world it is necessary to explore the new beginnings, to focus on what is emerging from the old and seek to grasp future structures and norms in the turmoil of the present." – Beck 2016, pg1

A century after the tragedy of the Amazon Rubber Boom, there have been substantial changes in the Peruvian Amazon, particularly regarding the State's governmental systems and society in general – especially concerning the indigenous communities and the environment. New forms of economic cycles have also come through Iquitos and contributed to the legacies left behind by the Rubber Boom era. The Peruvian State and tourism combined are both the catalysts and dominating fuel for the direction that this city and region are heading towards. The rise of neoliberalist policies and a weak Peruvian State at the local and regional levels has given great freedom to external capital and culture in determining their own agendas within the Amazon Rainforest. The capital associated with tourism is no exception. As in the past, design at all scales has helped to determine the trajectories and enable the powerful forces to rapidly shape Iquitos' urban fabric, culture, and surrounding environment.

Sadly, the problematic consequences have already begun to take place. The tourism industry, much like during the rubber industry's collapse, has found itself as the subject of Iquitos' mono-economic structure. Mono-economic structures are highly fragile, and when tied to globalized economic systems and demand chains, they are dependent on factors often outside of those controlled by where they are located. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, sources of income have literally been closed off, causing the city to collapse into turmoil. It is unclear

whether the industry will recover and in what form once the "new normal" comes to a resolution, and global tourism is revived. [243]

The long-term outcomes caused by the State's territorial practices and the tourism industry's existence and significance in Iquitos' economy are not yet fully known. Unfortunately, the dangers that have already resulted from unsustainable short-term development and the isolated industry-controlled networks of resorts and lodges designed for imposed imaginations were pointing towards catastrophic results even if there had not been a pandemic. More so, the global forces of neoliberalism, strengthening of an economic monopoly by the tourism industry and pressure groups, imbalanced power relations between foreign-nationals and the locals - with help from territorial interventions, urbanism, and architecture - were growing in strength again. As opposed to the Rubber Era, this time concepts of heritage, conservation, and late-capitalism inform the altered methods of extraction and exploitation.

By looking at what the marginalized and excluded communities are doing it may be possible to reposition strategies to better help a broader group of people rather than contributing to the exploitation. However, to do so, it is essential to use knowledge of the past and the systems currently at play – a necessity for the diagnosis of problems – but to also give validity and attention to the solutions and desires that are already being communicated. We must listen to what residents of Iquitos want and to help them use the tools to achieve their hopes and meet their needs. Doing so requires greater allyship between community organizations, anthropologists, designers, and constituents who can finance and politically navigate future

[243] The "new normal" is the widespread media term that has been used to describe all of the changes triggered by the pandemic during this first year.

directions. This is likely a slow process but one that becomes possible even with the smallest of actions.

Model of Alliance & Observations of Community Design

Within the masked dance rituals in the Northwest Amazon, there are active negotiation methods integrated into the dance's structure. Within these reciprocal exchanges, as explained by Oyuela-Caycedo[244], there is the possibility to learn from indigenous concepts of relationships to restructure predatory capitalism and 21st century tourism into a different model based on the concepts of *domestication/familiarization*. If this were to be done, the tourist might become "family" by maintaining long-term connections with the people in the area – a new relationship structure learned from the Northwest Amazonian people that could redefine the otherwise predatory tourism structure.

Fig. 16 – Casa Morey's trajectory overtime.[245]

Perhaps an example of a tourism architectural intervention that begins to find a method more closely to reciprocity is the Casa Morey Hotel. Casa Morey is a historic mansion built by Rubber Barron Morey in 1913. (Fig. 16) It was abandoned and then bought by a British-based professor of Conservation-Ecology who had previously done his MSc thesis on the Congo. As of 2021, Hotel Casa Morey serves as the single case of the historic restoration of a designated

[244] Oyuela-Caycedo, *Baessler-Archiv, Band* 52, 2004, 54-74
[245] From left and middle image source Castro, Casa Morey, 2012. Right image from https://www.booking.com/hotel/pe/casa-morey.html accessed on 5/15/2021.

landmark Rubber Boom structure for a hotel. This project and the additional restoration of multiple rubber-era steamships for tourism were funded through decades of student field schools related to ecology and forestry that he conducted in Iquitos.[246] Although still connected to tourism and valuing the European aesthetic of the architecture and being a project primarily run by someone who is not born in Iquitos, it does have sensitivity to the local population and is reciprocally beneficial. A portion of profits from both field schools, the hotel, and tour boat initiatives have been used to finance community projects and a foundation focused on aiding indigenous communities in the surrounding region that is heavily led in collaboration with those communities.[247]

Fig. 17 – House covered in early 20th century tiles.[248]

Upon brief external observations from afar, I have noticed two conditions that illustrate the intertangled ideals and complexity of how the local people are already negotiating. The

[246] For a c.2016 interview of the Professor by PBS on the boat restorations and his Historic Boat Museum in Iquitos: https://www.perunorth.com/news/2015/12/24/historic-boat-museum-in-iquitos
https://www.perunorth.com/clavero-historic-amazon-cruise
[247] Castro & Olivera 2012; Oyuela-Caycedo 2021
[248] Photo by Augusto Oyuela-Caycedo, 2010

continued use of tile as a material for decoration and the condition of the majority of historical structures represent both resistance to exploitive forces and the integration of certain favorable aspects. Firstly, the use of tile for building facades, which began during the Amazon Rubber Boom, continues to be widely used across all neighborhoods and class levels. Although many historic tiles have not been maintained over time and their particular designs are not widely reproduced, their contemporary form persists. (Fig. 17) The images in Figure 18 are taken in 2021 from Google Street view in four different neighborhoods outside of the center. They show the use of new patterns and new styles of tile that were most likely designed for bathrooms or kitchens but appear on the exteriors of homes. Tile also appears on markets, drug stores, multi-level apartment complexes, and all kinds of public structures too.

Fig. 18 – Google Maps Street views showing use of contemporary tile in home constructions around Iquitos, 2021.

Aesthetically, tile use continues to carry some of the meanings associated with when it was first introduced into the city - a marker of prestige and pride. Although, there is also a practical reason why the use of tile continues to adorn buildings. Iquitos, itself, might as well be considered an outdoor shower, often raining and with intensity. That condition makes newly

painted buildings fade and rapidly become dirty no matter the color or quality of the paint. As we have seen, tile lasts an extraordinarily long time and can remain vibrant for over a century when taken care of. Since Iquitos is a place that continues to demand vibrant colors and intricate aesthetics on the exteriors, the use of tile, if one can afford, is a social signifier and a smart investment.

Fig. 19 - Google Maps Street views showing adaptations of historic Rubber Boom architecture.

The second observation is that despite the national government's designation of Iquitos' downtown as a historically preserved zone, in reality, that is far from the case. Much of the designated buildings in Iquitos' Zona Monumental have not been faithfully maintained or preserved by locals or incentivized foreign investors. The majority of the early 20th-century architecture has continued to function out of necessity in a kind of Frankenstein condition where suddenly a historic façade splits apart into either smaller units or a complicated surgery of infills and half-hazard additions to accommodate differing programs. (Fig. 19) The aesthetics and methods of these collage architectures reflect a lack of value, both locally and internationally, for the rubber history and the ties to its architectural symbolism. Yet, because local residents

develop the majority of Iquitos, the disregard to the European-style architecture and the aesthetic changes appear to simultaneously reflect a protest against the dynamics tied to rubber history and a desperate desire to access the global economic networks and cosmopolitan values from decades of international exposure and migrations. [249] (Fig. 20) The symbols present in these design acts are not clear cut and deserve greater analysis and communication with the people to come to any certain conclusions, but in all three of these examples, there are clues that may help head away from and actively push against the potential risks posed by the presence of the warning signs.

Fig. 20 – Google Maps Street view of Chifa Restaurant in Iquitos, 2021.

Resistance & Protests

There have also been a long legacy of resistance and protest against external forces in Iquitos since long before the Amazon Rubber Boom. One particularly strong instance in recent history was 1998's revolt against external and national control where large portions of the city were set on fire. What triggered the mobs of hundreds of Iquiteños was an almost immediate response to the news of the agreement for the 1998 Peace Accord with Ecuador.[250] The rumor

[249] In 2019, before the COVID-Pandemic there were 247 Airbnb's for entire apartments and houses that ranged between $10-$106 a night. People wanted in on the profitable industry and offered up what they were able to.
[250] The deal was made between President Alberto Fujimori and Ecuadoran President Jamil Mahuad with four mediators – the United States, Argentina, Brazil and Chile.

had been that to end disagreements between the two countries, autocrat Fujimori gave Ecuador parts of the Peruvian Amazon. The Peace Accord determined that the jungle on either side of the border would be made into two national "peace parks" to avoid future border disputes.[251] This accusation that the Peruvian State had given away Amazonian land, regardless of the zoned function, taps into over a century of contestation over precisely the Amazon borders and who has the right to these lands.[252] Regardless of the facts or even possible outcomes, the notion that the central government was yet again deciding what happened to *their* land triggered multiple days of riots that evolved from general unhappiness over their region's land being given away to a massive rebellion against the centralized control from Lima and the local politicians who were seen as mere pawns of the Peruvian national government.[253]

In an almost immediate response, the local constituents gathered onto the streets of and burned down almost all of the national ministries' local buildings, the courthouse, and the entire archive of the city. That archive contained the records related to the Amazon Rubber Boom history. The dominant narratives and glorification of the wealthy rubber capitalist class of that era were not valued by the indigenous and mestizo communities; it was, after all, not really *their* history that had been archived to begin with.

Perhaps for comparison, we might reflect on the protests against Systemic Racism in the United States that exploded in the summer of 2020 due to the Minneapolis police brutality against the black man, George Floyd, that led to his suffocation and death pinned down by his

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[251] Faiola, *Peru, Ecuador Sign Pact Ending Border Dispute*. Washington Post, October 27, 1998.
[252] Peru and Ecuador have fought three territorial wars since 1900 and almost went into a fourth. These disputes have origins after the Revolution when borders were not clearly agreed upon between Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru. They become particularly relevant and therefore contested and manipulated during the Amazon Rubber Boom – with Peru and Colombia gaining significant territory over Ecuador.
[253] The Economist, *Peace in the Andes*. October 29th 1998

neck on the street cement. The 1960's Civil Rights movement in the United States had not solved systemic racism in the country; the legacies of racism in American society run deeply. And yet, the race-centric worldview cracked slightly more through the protests of that summer – again people, across the world, were forced to question their viewpoints. The demonstrations in both Peru and the United States were caused because a marginalized and exploited populous were outraged. In both cases, these direct forms of political activism have produced discussions around balancing and questioning the existing power dynamics in a society and have since led to more community-led organizations. For designers, we can begin by asking simple questions. How might design be influenced by community organizations? What steps can be taken to have communities have more input and control into future Iquitos' designs?

The Theory of Metamorphosis

> "Metamorphosis of the world means more than, and something different from, an evolutionary path from closed to open; it means epochal change of worldviews, the refiguration of the national worldview. [It] is caused by the side effects of successful modernization, such as digitalization or the anticipation of climate catastrophe to human-kind." (Beck, 2016 Pg 4)

The concept of metamorphosis theory is useful in further imagining alternative directions and possibilities for breaking the exploitive cycles that appear in the Northwest Amazon. When describing his theory of metamorphosis, Ulrich Beck distinguishes that it is not simply a change that occurs because that assumes a continuation of some element. Rather a metamorphosis is a change of worldviews caused by "the side effects of successful modernization."[254] At the time of the publication, in 2016, climate change was being posed as such a catalyst for inevitably morphing the way in which the world perceived, discussed, and acted within our reality. He

[254] Beck, Cambridge, UK ; Malden, MA: Polity, 2016, 5

suggests that perhaps the only other moment of equivalence would have been when suddenly Galileo discovered that the sun did not revolve around the Earth but the Earth around the sun. Such a moment of discovery, of questioning, had metamorphosizing effect and changed worldviews.

Although in 2021 we have certainly not passed through the effects of the climate change shift on worldviews, we have, I believe, encountered a second force that may position Iquitos, and all of us, to experience metamorphosis. I speak of the COVID-19 pandemic which the world at the time of this writing will have just approached about a year of living within. The side effect of a modernized world where every corner of the globe is connected and dependent in some way or another has perhaps never been clearer. When the countries experienced shortages for months of even the most basic supplies, like masks and toilet paper, this was made clear. When Thailand closed whole cities almost entirely due to an assassinated tourism industry, there were little doubts. As the virus traveled rapidly from Wuhan across the globe and up the Amazon River - that same connective axis as rubber – even the most remote indigenous tribes, the people most often incorrectly assumed to be frozen beyond connectivity, the interconnectedness of the world's modernity suddenly became a dangerous side effect. The worldview everywhere and for everyone is most certainly not changing but metamorphosizing.

It means that perhaps now, design can be one possible tool to combat the warning signs rather than repeat the devastating cycle seen during the Rubber Boom Era. Admittedly, societal changes alone and alternative design strategies may not be enough to alter the powerful forces that shape who we are and how we live. But even if it is not enough to trigger radical or rapid progressions, situations do change and shift. Places, like culture, are always being made. If a building or territory design can contribute to the problems, it must also have the opportunity to

shift away from the exploitive impacts. The difficult reality is that in the present, just as in the past, we cannot know what the effects of interventions may be, nor how slow or fast any metamorphosis occurs, or even in what direction.

Additional Thoughts

Powerful systems at play locally and globally. They profit or struggle to partake, having very few viable alternatives. Iquitos' residents absorb and hybridize the values that arrive with those that already existed while simultaneously developing an outward glance that informs their dreams. The warning signs that are revealed are not necessarily because a certain intervention inevitably leads to negative results; the intentions and predatory structure behind the outward purposes are problematic. Because they then manifested – as they were supposed to - into creating troubling outcomes or at the very least, their likelihood of occurring. It can be said another way, as Peruvian Anthropologists Alberto Chirif and Manuel Cornejo Chaparro note in the foreword of their book on the Rubber Era, "the indigenous people of that time were modern beings like those of today, that do not aspire to remain in the past. They do not reject innovation or improvements to their living conditions, but they challenge the dispossession of their resources and the neoliberal development model and centralists who seek to alienate their territories and ability to freely manage their society."[255] The problem is not in the hybridization or changes but that the fundamentals of the processes that generate warnings that continue to deny power to the locals, promote caste systems, and lead to unsustainable and exploitive relations.

[255] Translated from Spanish from Chirif, *Imaginario E Imágenes,* Lima, Peru: Centro Amazónico de Antropología y Aplicación Práctica, 2009, 6

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