PUBLIC PARKS
AND
THE RIGHT TO THE CITY

-A case study of public parks in Manaus, Amazonas
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All photos, sketches and maps are made by the authors,
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Preface

Our work with this master thesis started in the early spring of 2011 when we decided that we wanted to do our master thesis abroad. We were granted a minor field study scholarship in April of 2011 and had our minds set on going to Manaus in the north of Brazil. Manaus is a chaotic place, situated in the middle of the rainforest. With its 2 million inhabitants, a lack of public transportation and constant rainfall, Manaus isn’t always the easiest place to live in, especially if you don’t speak Portuguese. But we learned to like Manaus, mostly thanks to all the nice and friendly people that inhabit this strange city.

We would like to thank a number of people that has helped us make our trip and study possible. First off, a big thanks to our supervisor Karin Grundström that helped us during our whole journey to steer our ship in the right direction. We would like to add a special thank you to our Brazilian supervisor and friend, prof. Henrique Pereira who helped us during our stay in Manaus. Without the help from Henrique, this study wouldn’t have been possible! We would also like to thank Andrea Weichman, Guillaume Marchand and Vilma Araújo for all of your support and help during our time in Manaus.

We would also like to thank those people that made it possible for us to do this journey. First of all we would like to thank Ana Mafalda Madureira who was the first person that informed us about our possibilities to do our master thesis in Manaus. Ana Mafalda was also there to help us during all of our preparations for the journey; gave us literature tips, put us in contact with people in Manaus and answered all kinds of questions that we had about Manaus. Caroline Abrezol and Gunnar Nyström are two other persons that have helped us with our preparation for the trip and answered all questions we had during the time for our application for the MFS scholarship.

Last but not least we would like to thank SEMMAS and the parks (Mindu, Botanical Garden, Nascente, Bilhares and Japiim Park). Without your help with the questionnaire and information about the parks we never would be able to collect all this data.

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Resumo

Esta tese de mestrado, intitulada “Parques públicos e o direito à cidade” pretende estudar a relação entre o conceito do direito à cidade e espaço público através do estudo cinco parques públicos na cidade de Manaus, Amazonas. Nos debates públicos internacionais sobre pobreza urbana e dificuldades sociais, o termo “(o) Direito à Cidade”, é usado como um grito de ação e no Brasil o termo tem um papel especial como sendo parte da legislação do planejamento nacional chamado, Estatuto da Cidade. O direito à cidade é um termo amplo, usado por muitos diferentes atores nos debates públicos. O conceito tem sua origem das obras do filósofo marxista francês Henri Lefebvre. Suas ideias basearam-se no argumento de que a cidade é uma obra da qual todos seus habitantes têm direito. As ideias de Lefebvre são radicais e têm como objetivo redefinir a base da cidadania e desafiar o papel de capitalismo. O termo é também amplamente utilizado por organizações como a ONU, ONGs e pequenos movimentos sociais.

Um questionário foi distribuído aos visitantes em quatro parques e as observações foram aplicadas nos dois parques mais visitados. Outro questionário foi entregue a pessoas de fora dos parques para avaliar por que as pessoas não visitam os parques. Nós também fizemos entrevistas com funcionários de cada parque e planejadores que trabalham com planejamento e parques públicos em Manaus. Os resultados mostraram que os parques públicos mantém uma espécie de função social e educacional, ao mesmo tempo em que é utilizado como ferramenta de planejamento para proibir o disseminação de assentamentos ilegais. O direito à cidade em um contexto brasileiro significa basicamente que a tomada de decisões foram descentralizadas para os municípios, e, de acordo com os entrevistados, têm pouco impacto sobre o trabalho real para os planejadores. Os resultados também mostraram que as regras dos parques e o sentimento de insegurança proíbe visitantes de representar-se no espaço público e, portanto, não podem produzir o espaço. No geral, este estudo mostrou, em vários pontos, que o conceito do direito à cidade não é colocado em prática no caso de parques públicos em Manaus.

Uma conclusão que poderia fazer a partir do estudo é que o uso do termo “Direito à Cidade” é significativamente diferente entre a ONU, ONGs, movimentos sociais, Estatuto da Cidade brasileiro e o conceito original de Lefebvre. Enquanto o conceito torna-se um termo guarda-chuva difuso para mudança social-urbana, o termo original perde o seu poder e significado. Em um mundo onde mais da metade da população mundial vive em cidades, as ideias de Lefebvre do direito à cidade é ainda altamente relevante. Mas o termo precisa ser usado tal como foi destinado a ser: como um conjunto de ideias radicais que promove um tipo completamente diferente de cidade e da sociedade. Esta não é a maneira como o termo é usado no estatuto legal e no debate público no Brasil, e que se reflete através do uso de seus espaços públicos na cidade de Manaus.
Abstract

This master thesis, entitled, “Public Parks and the Right to the City” aims to study the relationship between the concept of the right to the city and public space through studying five public parks in the city of Manaus, Amazonas. In the international public debates on urban poverty and social difficulties, the term “(the) Right to the City”, is used as a cry for action and in Brazil, the term serves a special role as being a part of the national planning legislation called, City Statute. The right to the city is a broad term, used by many different actors in the public debates. The concept has its origin from the works of French Marxist philosophe Henri Lefebvre. His ideas were based on the argument that the city is an oeuvre in which all of its inhabitants have a right to. Lefebvre's ideas are radical and aims to redefine the basis of citizenship and challenging the role of capitalism. The term is also widely used by organizations like UN and NGO’s, as well as many small social movements.

In four of the parks, a questionnaire was handed out to the visitors and observations were implemented in two of the most frequently visited parks. Another questionnaire was handed out to people outside of parks to evaluate why people don't visit the parks. We also did interviews with the park-staff of each park and planners working in different ways with planning and public parks in Manaus. The results showed that public parks holds a kind of social and educational function, while also being used as a planning tool to prohibit the spread of informal settlements. The right to the city in a Brazilian context basically means that decision-making were decentralized to the municipalities, and, according to the interviewees, it have little impact on the actual work for planners. The results also showed that the rules in the parks and the feeling of insecurity prohibits visitors from representing themselves in the public space, and hence cannot produce the space. Overall, this study showed, on several points, that the concept of the right to the city is not put into practice in the case of public parks in Manaus.

A conclusion we could make from the study is that the use of the term “Right to the City” is significantly different between UN, NGO's, social movements, Brazilian City Statute and the original concept of Lefebvre. As the concept becomes a fuzzy umbrella-term for social-urban-change, the original term loses its power and meaning. In a world where more than half of the world's population lives in cities, Lefebvre's ideas of the right to the city is still highly relevant. But the term needs to be used as it was intended to be: as a set of radical ideas that promotes a completely different kind of city and society. This is not how the term is used in the legal statute and public debate in Brazil, and that is reflected through the use of its public spaces in the city of Manaus.
Abbreviations

CVI – Centro da Vida Independente, Independent living center is a governmental organization for people with special needs.

Developing countries- World Bank Group divides countries in three categories depending on their economic income. Countries with a low to middle income are considered to be a developing country. (Jordbruksverket 2008)

GINI-coefficient – is a measure of statistical dispersion, mainly used to measure inequality among levels of income. A Gini coefficient of zero represents a perfect equality where all values are the same, and everyone have the same income. A Gini coefficient of 100% expresses maximal inequality, for example in situation where only one person have all of the income. (Wikipedia 2012)

Igarapé – is an indigenous word for the small rivers running through the city of Manaus.

Neighborhood – “Neighborhood” in this essay is directly translated from the Portuguese word “Bairro”, which means neighborhood in a Brazilian context, however in comparison with a Swedish or European city, a Bairro would be better translated as a district or “stadsdel”, but we chose to use the term “neighborhood” instead due to the use of the word in Portuguese.

NGO – Stands for a non-governmental organization, according to Wikipedia, a NGO is a “legally constituted organization created by natural or legal persons that operates independently from any form of government.” (Wikipedia 2012)

SEMMAS - “Secretaria Municipal de Meio Ambiente e Sustentabilidade”, Secretary of Enviroment and Sustainability.

SESI – Serviço Social da Indústria, a social organization that is working to improve the lives of the workers in the industry, their families and the community in general.

UFAM – Federal university of Amazonas.
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1. INTRODUCTION

-The Right to the City, Manaus
In the last decade, the term “Right to the City” have evolved as a powerful cry in the call for social action against the social problems that cities all around the world are facing. Although the term originates from the works of the Marxist philosopher Henri Lefebvre, it is widely used amongst NGO’s and in the UN. The term is widely discussed in the international debates, such as the World Urban Forum 5 in Rio de Janeiro, as well as in the academic debates where many scholars such as Harvey (2008) and Mitchell (2003) value his work. Overall, the concept of the right to the city is presented as a possible solution to the social problems that many cities are facing (Brown 2010). Henri Lefebvre argued in 1968 that the right to the city is like a “cry, and demand” and especially with regards to the rapid urbanization in the developing world, his theories are still very relevant in the discussion about social injustice and urban planning.

All around the world there are struggles against the exclusionary processes of urbanization. As of 2007, more than half of the world’s population lives in cities, and in Brazil as much as 83% of the population lives in cities. During the last decades there’s been a steady increase in the political recognition of urbanization, and with it, issues about sustainability and urban poverty reduction. As cities in the developing world are growing fast, there are major social difficulties that follow (Voigtländer, Breckenkamp & Razum 2008). In July of 2001 a ground-breaking legal development took place in Brazil with the introduction of a new chapter in the Brazilian constitution. The chapter was the result of years of pressure from social movements to take action against the vast social problems that Brazilian cities are facing. The federal law, entitled “City statute” is considered as a way to put the concept of the right to the city into legal practice. The Brazilian city statute is widely recognized, internationally acclaimed and seen as the most well known attempt to put the theories about the right to the city into legal practice. (Fernandes 2007)

Mitchell argues in his “Right to the city” from 2003 that now more than ever, that cry and that demand that Lefebvre describes, must be heard and put into practice. He takes Lefebvre’s work a step further and argues that this right is dependent upon public space. Brazil, with its city statute and fast growing cities is therefore the only “good example” of an attempt to put the concept of the right to the city into practice. Although much have been discussed and said about the Brazilian city statute, few (if any) studies have tried to identify how the concept of the right to the city is practically implemented in the public spaces of Brazil. With this study we hope to contribute to the debate on the right to the city and expand our theoretical knowledge about the social difficulties in cities.
1.1. Aims and Research Questions

Within the theoretical framework of Mitchell (2003), where the right to the city is dependent upon public space, this study aims to analyse the relation between the right to the city and public space, in the city of Manaus. To examine this relationship we will answer these questions, which we have categorized in two themes:

Public space:
- How are public parks used, and by whom?
- What kind of public parks are there in Manaus?

The Right to the City:
- How is the concept of the right to the city interpreted in the legal statute and public debate of Brazil?
- How is the concept of the right to the city expressed in the case of public parks in Manaus?

1.2. Limitations

Geographically, this field study is limited to studying public parks in Manaus, the capital of Amazonas. Manaus displays many of the typical problems that fast growing cities in the developing world are facing and although the city have grown into almost 2 million people in population, the city only has a handful of public parks. Manaus is currently growing in a fast rate, with a majority of the population living in occupied or legalized occupied areas; the city is facing many social difficulties. Manaus has, for a Brazilian city, an unique approach to urban parks. Forrest fragments in the city are preserved and combined with the functions of public parks. The parks in the city are divided into two groups, unofficially called “green” and “grey” parks. The green parks are preserved forest fragments, while the grey parks are more “traditional” urban parks. In our field study we've limited ourselves to studying two of the green public parks, and two of the grey public parks, but also one semi-public park located in the outskirts of the city. The reason why we chose to study public parks is that they are one of few public spaces that are designed for interaction, and in a hot tropical climate, these spaces serves many important functions.
Theoretically, this study is limited to focus on the terms “Public Space” and “Right to the City”. Regarding the right to the city, the term is used in a wide variety of situations and by many different actors. To fully evaluate how the right to the city is used in a practical situation, or in a Brazilian context, it is necessary to try to give a full review on the use of the term. Due to this, we will try to give a broad description of the term, rather than a narrowed and specified on few aspects. Public space is another broad term, with many angles to evaluate. In our study, we've chosen to focus mostly on the theories of geographer Don Mitchell, which are based on the works of Lefebvre.
2. METHODOLOGY
2.1. Qualitative and Quantitative Methodology

This study combines different qualitative and quantitative methods to achieve the aims. We have chosen to combine the two different kinds of methodologies because of the positive result this combination may achieve:

- If a combination of both methods are used and both display the same result, there is an indicator that the information that was collected is valid.
- With the same analysis results from both methods it enhances the credibility and it is a sign that the result is not a product of a special method.
- It could make the theory more complete and stimulating for further theoretical developments.
- A combination of different methods can be effective for testing which theory that is the most valid one. (Holme & Solvang 1997, p. 86)

There are some different approaches to how these two kinds of methods could be combined. In this study, we will use qualitative and quantitative methods in both the collection of data and in the analysis of that data. Through this approach the data from both methods can help each other to make the study more legitimate. (Holme & Solvang 1997, p. 86)

A qualitative method creates an overview and increases our understanding for the social context that is necessary to fulfil the aim of the study. A qualitative method is flexible in that sense that the approach can be changed during the implementation (Holme & Solvang 1997, p. 79). In the qualitative method the researcher tries to work beyond the relationship between the objective and the subjective that is common in the natural sciences. Instead, the researcher tries to see the world from another person's perspective. Through seeing things from within, the researcher tries to find a deeper appreciation of the subject. But it is also important to be able to switch between the internal and external perspective, to be able to understand and describe phenomena (Holme & Solvang 1997, p. 92). In this study we have chosen to work with two different types of qualitative methods; interviews with park-staff administrators and observational studies in the parks.

Within the quantitative methodology, the researcher and the survey object has an “I-there” relationship. This means that the researcher should observe from a distance and through that won't be a part of what she is studying. This approach has some weaknesses; a researcher can never be fully objective and neutral to her values. Due to the fact that the researcher have a pre-understanding about the object of the study, the researcher has also some social based prejudices. As a researcher it is important to be aware of its own pre-understandings and prejudices (Holme & Solvang
Case studies are used in a wide variety of disciplines and are both a process that gives certain knowledge about the case and a result from learning. What defines a case study then? Grundström (2009) summarizes several researchers that uses case studies and describes a common feature that these researchers mentions in describing the case study. There needs to be a “case” as an object of the study. This case needs to be a “contemporary, complex working unit researched in its natural context with a variety of methods” (Grundström 2009, p. 22). According to Flyvbjerg (2006), two important points can be made about the role of cases in human learning. First off, whether you're a rule-based beginner or a virtuoso expert, the case study produces a type of context-dependant knowledge that is necessary to allow people to develop. The second point is that when studying human affairs, there appears to only exist contextual-dependent knowledge. With this in mind, Flyvbjerg argues that case knowledge is central to human learning. (Flyvbjerg 2006, p. 232-233)

In the study, five different parks are included. Mindu Park and Botanical Garden are “green” parks. This means that they are reserved forest fragments in the city that also function as public parks. Japiim Park and Bilhares are “grey” parks, which means that they are urban parks without much vegetation. The Nascente Park is included as a “special”-case, as it isn’t public in the same sense as the other parks. Due to the vast social difficulties in the area, the park is closed and only open during special hours or for pre-booked guided tours. Therefore, neither observations nor questionnaires were possible to implement, but we included the park to compare it with the other parks. Questionnaires were implemented in

![Figur 1: Summary of the different cases and used methods.](image-url)
all of the parks except for Nascente. Due to time-constraints, observations were only implemented in one green park and one grey park, where we chose the two most frequently visited parks for the observations. Interviews with park-staff were implemented in all of the parks, except for Bilhares, which declined to participate.

Studying these parks is important to fulfil the aim since they are some of the few public spaces that are truly “public”. The spatially dense structure of Manaus, combined with a privatisation, or semi-privatisation of many public spaces have led to a situation where the chosen case study parks are amongst the few spaces in the city that are designed for social interaction, while still being public.

2.3. Interviews

The benefits with qualitative interviews are that the researcher is affecting the respondent as little as possible. The respondent is controlling the interview within the subject and in this way the interview is more like a conversation between the researcher and the respondent. (Holme & Solvang 1997, p. 99). There are some problems connected to our choice of interviews as a research method. Due to the language barriers we need to use an interpreter for the interviews, but even when we use an interpreter there could still be the risk of misunderstandings due to language and cultural barriers.

To learn about the situation for planners and the difficulties planning in Manaus, we’ve interviewed four planners. The original intention with the interviews was to interview planners at the city hall, to understand the planning situation in Manaus and the planning regulation that affect our research subject. Due to time-restraints and language difficulties we were asked to send out questions over e-mail. An e-mail with pre-translated questions was sent out and later answered by four people that works with planning in different ways. The questions (see appendix 4) were mainly categorized after three themes: planning in Manaus, the right to the city and public parks in the city. The answers from the interviews helped us understand how planning works in Brazil, and what the right to the city means in a Brazilian context for a planner.

During our visits in the different parks, we have had the opportunity to talk with members from the park administrations. All parks in the study have an administrational staff that works full-time with administrative and maintenance-related duties. During the visits we’ve had the opportunity to ask questions to the head of each park, with an exception for the Bilhares Park. Questions were asked in English by us and translated by an interpreter that later translated the answers. During these interviews we were offered to send questions over e-mail to get more detailed answers and to save time with the translations (see appendix 4). An e-mail with prepared translated questions were sent out, but only the staff of one of the parks proceeded to answer. Therefore we have results from two differ-
The second qualitative method we used was observations. According to Harvey, it is necessary in the process of understanding urbanism and the social processes in the city, to understand how human activity creates the need for spatial concepts and how daily social practice concerns the nature of space. To achieve this, the most common method is simply to observe people’s behaviour and their reaction to objects and events (Harvey 2008, p. 14 & 33). There are different types of observational studies that can be used, obtrusive or unobtrusive and participative or non-participative. In our study we have used an obtrusive and non-participative observation method. In an obtrusive observation it is clear for everyone that you are doing an observation. With an obtrusive observation the observer have more freedom to ask questions to the observed objects. Within a non-participation study the researcher is not active in the group activities, to reduce the risk to affect the results. In our study we have observed the different kinds of activities that take place in the parks and therefore, it was not relevant for us to participate in these activities. (Holme & Solvang 1997, p. 115) To analysis the result we have used Gehl’s method to divide activities into three categories; necessary, optional and social activates. Gehl (2010) divides the activities that take place in the public space in three categories: necessary, optional and social activates. The necessary activities are things that we need to do, that aren’t optional example of these is; go to work or wait for the bus. These activities we need to do independently of the quality of the environment and the weather. (Gehl 2010, p. 20) The second category is the optional activities, this kind of activities are depending of the outdoors environment and the weather a lot. If the outdoor environment is unsafe or bad quality this kind of optional activates will be reduced but also if it’s too cold, to warm or raining. Example of optional activities is walking, sitting to enjoy the weather or the
view. Gehl points out in his book that the optional activities can increase through good planning and design of the public space. (Gehl 2010, p. 20) The optional activities that Gehl is talking about are social activities. Social activities includes all type of communication between people and have a strong connection to activities and the life in the city. If there are a lot of activities there will also be a lot of social activities and communication between people. A social activity could include anything from sitting and looking at people, talking to people you meet, children that are playing or teenagers “hanging out”. Social activities could also be more organized as social meetings, markets, street parties, demonstration and parades. These kind of social activities can be affected by urban planning. (Gehl 2010, p. 22)

Due to the time-consuming character of the observations, and the fact that we were in Manaus for a limited amount of time, we didn’t have time to do observation in all of the parks. Therefore we decided to study two of the parks more deeply, one “green” park and one “grey” park. We chose the two parks with the most frequent amount of visitors during 2011, Mindu Park and Bilhares to do our observations in (see observation diagram, appendix 5). The aim of the observations is to get an understanding for how public parks are used, and by whom. The observations are also used to evaluate how the right to the city is expressed through studying how spaces are used.

Observation has been implemented in Bilhares Park between 11-12, 13-14 the 3/3, 10.45-12.00, 13.30-15.15 12/3 and 15-17 26/3. We chose to do the observations during two weekdays and one weekend to see the differences between week-days and weekends. We tried to spread out the hours we visited the park to see the differences during the day. We counted, in total, around 750 persons in both parts of the park and we felt that we started to get an idea of what kind of activities people do. But to get a statistical significant result we would need to do observations during a longer period of time to see the differences between seasons. To be more time efficient and to get a review of the whole park, we split up and one person did the observations in the west part and the other did the observation in the east part. Because of this we got an idea of what happens in the whole park at the same time. The disadvantage of this approach is that people can be counted twice in the observations. Another disadvantage of this approach is that the observers can interpret activities and ages differently so that the results becomes more difficult to compare.

In Mindu Park, observations has been done during 10.10-11.00, 11.50-12.35 the 4/3 and between 11.30-12.00, 13.00-14.15 29/3 and 13.45-15.45 the 3/4. Every Sunday the park has a famous and popular brunch served until 11.30 p.m. Therefore we chose to do our observation during a Sunday morning. Because of the popularity of the brunch, we knew that an observation during a Sunday morning wouldn’t be representative for the park. But because the brunch is so popular and a big part of why people visit the park we thought it was important to also include it as a part in our study. During the weekdays we tried to spread out the time in the park to see the differences during the day. In total, we observed 325
people in Mindu Park during our observations there. At a couple of times, observations had to be cancelled due to no visitors at all in the park for a long period of time.

The observations in parks has contributed to provide an understanding on how parks are used in Manaus, and by whom. It has also provided us with knowledge on what kind of public spaces the public parks in Manaus are. In order to evaluate how the concept of the right to the city is practiced by the visitors of the parks, the observations have in combination with the results from the other methods, contributed to the analysis of the parks.

2.5. Questionnaires

We used questionnaires in our study to get an understanding of how people use the public parks in the city and what they think a public park should be. With questionnaires we reached out to a larger amount of people than with, for example, interviews and to get a good picture of what people do in the park it’s more important to have a large amount of quantitative than qualitative information. In our study we’ve worked with two difference questionnaires; one that we handed out in the parks to see what the visitors do and what they think about the park (see appendix 1), and one that we did at UFAM, to get a indicator why some people don’t use the parks in the city (see appendix 2).

The design of questionnaire is important, with a well-organized questionnaire it is easier to get people to respond. It is important to get a good balance between how much information the researcher need and how much time the respondent have to answer. A questionnaire should not start with a controversial question, instead a questionnaire should start with basic questions and later move on to the controversial questions, and later finish up with a non-problematic question. (Holme & Solvang 1997, p. 173) The questionnaire in our study had closed answers to facilitate the analysis of the data except for the last question where the visitors can bring up general opinions about the park. A problem with closed answers can be that the researcher control what the respondent answer even if it's always possible to write an own answer.

To help us analyse all questionnaires we have used a tool in google docs. In google docs we imported our questionnaires and transferred all the data that we got in the questionnaires. Thereafter google docs automatically made diagrams of the information and calculated out the percentages that all response options had got. We also analysed the material in GIS to see where most visitors lived and how far they had travelled to get to the park. A problem that we had was the fact that you need a special permission to do studies like questionnaires in public spaces in Brazil. Permissions like that would be complicated and time-consuming for us to get. Therefore we did the questionnaire-studies in collaboration with the parks. The park staff handed out the questionnaires, and in return they
got to have some questions in the questionnaire. In this way we got the questionnaires handed out, which saved time and gave the parks an opportunity to get information about what their visitors think about certain issues.

To develop the questionnaires to the parks we first identified questions that could help us to reach the aim of the study. After we had formulated a basis, we had two workshops with the staff from the parks where we would use the questionnaire to get knowledge about what answers people might give to the question. We also got new knowledge and perspectives about which questions that would be interesting to ask from their point of view based on their perceived problems in the parks. In this way the parks had some influence on our questionnaires, which could be good, because we got information from them about what could be interesting to include in the questionnaires. At the same time it could be problematic because the park could have a significant picture of which question they think we should ask the visitors, which could affect our questionnaires directly or indirectly.

When the questionnaires were ready, the parks helped us hand them out to the visitors. We started to hand out pilot-questionnaires for a week from the 7th to 14th of March. The questionnaires were handed out so the visitors could answer the questions during their visit in the park. After the first week we did an evaluation of the first questionnaire to correct minor spelling mistakes and formulations that were misunderstood. After these small corrections we handed out another round of questionnaires for two weeks. The second round of the questionnaire took place between 23th of March to 4th of April. To get the visitor’s attention in the park and to inform them about the questionnaires we made posters that were set up in the parks, which informed the visitors about the project (see appendix 3).
2.5.1. Non-visitor Questionnaire

To get an indicator of why people don’t visit the parks, we decided to give a questionnaire to non-visitors. Because of the problem to get permission to hand out questionnaires in public spaces in Brazil, we chose to do it at the federal university, UFAM, where we have contacts with professors who could help us to get in contact with the students and the people that works there. There is some risk involved in giving out the questionnaire at a university where most of the people are well educated. There will most likely be an under-representation of respondents with a lower level of education, but at the same time we hope that this questionnaire will give us an indication on why people doesn’t visit the park more often.

For the non-visitor questionnaire we did both a paper version that could be handed out at the university and an Internet version that could be responded to over the Internet. An Internet version saves time; we didn’t need to hand out the questionnaires, we could email them instead and we didn’t need to transfer the information into the computer.

The questionnaire results provides the study with an extended knowledge on how the parks are used and by whom, and also what kind of public space the public parks are. The open question, where respondents had the opportunity to write their own comments and suggestions are a good source to get an insight in the problems and conflicts that the parks have. Through analysing these, in combination with the results from the interviews and observations, we can understand how the concept of the right to the city is expressed in public parks in Manaus.

2.5.2. The Difficulties with the Chosen Methodology

There are several drawbacks with the chosen methodologies in this study. First off, due to time-constraints, the questionnaires were only handed out for two weeks. To include potential seasonal variations, the questionnaires would’ve needed to be handed out during a longer period of time. Another problem with the questionnaires was to get a representative sample of the visitors, both in terms of gender, age and income-level. Especially with the non-visitor questionnaires we had problems with getting a representative sample since they were only handed out in the campus-area of the city. This made people with higher levels of education over-represented in this part of the study. We are fully aware of these “weaknesses”, but when it comes to gender and age we can compare the results from the questionnaire with the observations and get a more “verified” result.
Regarding the observations, time also was a factor that limited the extent of the observations. To get a more reliable result, more observations would be needed. For this reason, we chose to do observations in two of the most visited parks instead of all of the parks. During the observations we chose to categorize different activities, the interpretation of activities can vary between different observers and observations.

A problem with the interviews are cultural and language-related issues. The interviews with planners were made by email, which made it hard to ask follow-up questions. To get a statistically representative sample, more interviews would have been required. The interviews cannot be used to make general assumptions, but rather gives an indication on matters. To get a more general view on how the concept of the right to the city is implemented in Brazil, wider studies in more cities would be necessary.
3. BRAZIL
Brazil (officially the Federative Republic of Brazil) is the largest country in South America, and the fifth largest country both by geographical area and population (UD 2011) of 196,7 million people. (NE) Brazil is a federal republic with 26 states and a federal district, Brasilia. South America was discovered by the Portuguese navy on their way to India and Brazil was a colony of Portugal from 1500 until 1815, when it was elevated as a kingdom of Portugal. The Portuguese colony was organized around the sugar plantation, where more than 3,5 million African worked as slaves during several centuries. Independence was achieved in 1822 with the formulation of the Empire of Brazil. The country became a presidential republic in 1889 after a military coup d’etat. During the first half of the 20th-century the country had a lot of economic problems and the military deposed the political leader on numerous occasions. During the early 1960’s the economic problems in the country started to get worse which lead to some concern. This in turn led to a military revolt in 1964 and the military continued to run the country until 1976. The strong military dictatorship closed down gradually and in 1985 the country became democratic. The end of the military regime led to a new constitution in 1988, which defined Brazil as a federal republic. (UD 2012)

Brazil is a country with large contrasts between different regions in terms of income differences. Some regions have the same standard as the industrialized countries and other regions have big development needs. (UD 2011) The country has a lot of natural resources like oil, iron ore, gold, tin and aluminium among others and are well developed when it comes to agriculture, mining, manufacturing and service. (UD 2012) The most important export products are among other things crude oil, meat, sugar and soy. (UD 2011) The country has developed from a country with an unstable economic and politic situation to a stable country with a growing economy. (UD 2012)

Part of the good development is credited to the former president Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (popularly just called “Lula”) who was in office between 2002-2010. He managed to implement social reforms that raised 20 million people from poverty, but also reduced the unemployment rates (UD 2012). The current president, Dilma Rousseff has continued where Lula ended and has worked against poverty and to stabilized the economic situation. Besides this, Rousseff also works for human rights and against corruption. (UD 2012) Rousseff is currently facing vast challenges in form of the economic and education-situation in the country. (UD 2011)
The economics gaps and poverty in Brazil is currently decreasing and according to the Gini coefficient, Brazil have the smallest economical gap since the 1960’s. Brazil is still one of the twelve countries with the biggest economic gaps in the world. During the last year, the Gini coefficient has been reduced with 2%. Especially in the poor half of the population, income levels has increased with 68% during the last teen years. At the same time, the richest part of the population has only increased their income with 10%. If the poverty continues to reduce, Brazil will reach UN goals to have the poverty numbers from 1990 in 2015. (Latinamerika 2012) The reducing of the poverty also means that the middle class has grown in the country. (Folha 2011)

Brazil is currently the seventh wealthiest economy in the world and was one of the last to fall into recession in 2008, and one of the first to resume growth in 2009. Due to the strong domestic market, the country is less vulnerable to external crisis. Although the economy of Brazil is currently developing fast, the country has extreme regional differences where the south and southeast part of the country enjoys much better conditions than the poor north (where Manaus is located) and northeast. Despite the reducing poverty, there are still inequalities on many levels in the Brazilian society, with one of the biggest problem being to provide an access to public education. (The World Bank 2012)

The Brazilian population is divided into five different classes from A to E, depending on which family income they have. Class E represents the families with the lowest income and A those with the highest. Families with an income up to R$ 751 (€ 299) belongs to economic group E. Economic group D represents families with an income between R$ 751 (€ 299) and R$ 1 200 (€ 478), C between R$ 1 200 (€ 478) and R$ 5 174 (€ 2 063), B between R$ 5 174 (€ 2 063) and 6 747 (€ 2 690) and finally group A represents families with an income higher than R$ 6 747 (€ 2 690). (Folha 2011)
In the diagram, the D and E group was in majority during 1992 and 2003 with more than half of the population in those classes. But according to a study from 2011, group C are now dominating, with around 30% of the population. That means that group C has increased with more than 20% from 1992 to 2011. Group A and B, families with the highest income have also increased with about 5%, but not as fast as group C. (Folha 2011)

3.3. Manaus

Manaus is situated on the left bank of Rio Negro (Taveira 2010 p. 49) in the north-west of Brazil and is the capital of the federal state of Amazonas. The city is growing fast and had approximately 1,9 million inhabitants 2009. (NE) The climate is equatorial hot and has a humid around 80%. The year is split in a dry and a rainy season; the rainy season is between November and April. (Taveira 2010, p. 49) The city is an important center for transportation and commerce, and have a big and important harbour for the region. Apart from the harbour, the most important sources of employment are tourism and industries. (NE) In 2014 Manaus will be the host for the FIFA world cup together with eleven other cities in Brazil. The city is currently constructing a new arena for the world cup. Arena Amazonia will be able to take 43 710 people and has a sustainable approach, for an example the rainwater will be collected and used for flushing the toilets. (FIFA)

Manaus is currently growing fast with a general lack of urban planning. This, in combination with 3 000 new vehicles each month (2008) have had a negative effect of the traffic systems in the city. The city has got major problems with traffic congestions, and although the areas with the most intense traffic have replaced roundabouts and intersections with viaducts and level crossings these efforts haven’t solved all the traffic problems the city has. (Moita & Almeida 2012, p. 94)

3.3.1. History of Manaus

Manaus was founded as a Portuguese settlement in 1669 (Powell, Roberts & Dennison 2006, p. 254) and became capital of the Amazonas region in 1850 (Prefeitura de Manaus) but it wasn’t until the 18th century the city started to grow and had its heyday in the late 20th century at the same time as the rubber boom (Powell, Roberts & Dennison 2006, p. 254). The rubber boom took place in the Amazonas and began in 1870 and declined during the early 20th century to collapse completely in 1910. Before the rubber boom the Amazonas had small scatterings of settlers but due to the rubber boom Manaus quickly grew to nearly 100 000 inhabitants in 1910. The city built a new opera house and was first city in the country with electric street lighting, piped water and gas. (Meade 2010, p. 114)
The Brazilian rubber market suffered when British scientists took the Brazilian rubber tree seeds to Malaysia and Sri Lanka and grew them on plantations, while the Brazilian rubber trees grew wild in the forests. Another hard blow to the rubber industry was the development of synthetic materials that arose during the World War I, which led to a dramatic decline of the use of natural rubber. (Meade 2010, p. 115)

The city started to grow again after 1967, but then as an urban and industrial center. The federal government of Brazil declared the port and city as a free trade zone. (Powell, Roberts & Dennison 2006, p. 254) This was done to maintain the regional development. (Taveira 2010, p. 29) The free trade zone led, amongst other things, to a growth of the population, an increase in public and commercial infrastructure, manufacturing and industrial facilities. (Powell, Roberts & Dennison 2006, p. 254) An example of this is that the population grew with 325% from 1940 to 1970. (Taveira 2010, p. 29)

This diagram below shows the population development in the city from 1800 until today.

![Population development, Manaus](image-url)
4.2. Brazilian Planning Legislation

4.2.1. The Urban Reform in Brazil

Brazil went through a deep process of urbanization during the 20th century, going from 70% of its population inhabited in the countryside in the beginning of the century to more than 70% of its population living in the cities during the end of the century. During this process the Brazilian cities grew in an unfair, disorganized and illegal way without any kind of planning that reserved spaces for the poor population, which led to illegal occupation of urban plots and land. The disorganisation of the urban growth was a result of a process of land concession during the colonial and imperial eras that left a legal chaos in large cities like Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. The legislation at the time was written in 1916 and crafted for rural societies and didn't provide adequate legal instruments for urban policies as the country modernized. Overall, the process of urbanization was completely out of control during the peak of Brazil's process of economic growth during the 1970’s. (Avritzer & Horizonte 2007)

During the late 70’s and early 80’s, the last period of the authoritarian regime, the process of constitution of a democratic civil society began. The society re-organized itself and claimed public goods and policies, among them the access to the property of urban land in large Brazilian cities. (Avritzer & Horizonte 2007) In 1984, the last year of authoritarianism, 64% of the population had access to treated water and 31% had access to sewage. Today the situation is much better; numbers from 2002 shows that 82% the population had access to treated water and 48% had access to sewage systems. This is due to actions from urban social movements and administrations by progressive politicians. The urban reform movement have given legal instruments to local governments to implement changes like these. (Avritzer & Horizonte 2007)

During the fall of the military dictatorship, and the return of democracy in the 1980s, popular housing movements emerged. Brazil was undergoing a process of rapid urban expansion, especially in the outer fringes of the cities; this process was also accompanied by many social problems. The popular housing organizations and movements focused on favelas (slum), poor neighbourhoods and other parts of the cities where better living conditions for the inhabitants were needed. Prior to the city statute, Brazil had, and still has an enormous concentration of urban land and the power wielded by the private property sector, in short, a model where wealth and goods are heavily concentrated but poor people are excluded. (Rodrigues & Barbosa 2010, p. 23-24)
Many Latin American cities have been facing challenges of overcoming a legacy of decades of social exclusion. By the end of the authoritarian regime, state capacity to slow down speculation and legalize occupations for the poor population was very low. In 1984, nearly two decades of dictatorship ended. The military regime was weakened due to a combination of factors such as increasing social mobilisation by trade unions and other social movements, the reorganisation of traditional political parties and the creation of new ones, the strengthening of municipal governments and finally a minor readjustment in respect of land and property capital. The military government, which had previously led the country, sought economic development through centralized power at a federal level. Urban planning during this era was characterized by a technocratic objectivism that often departed from the actual conditions of implementation of its proposals. In 1988 the country got a new constitution, during an undergoing process of decentralisation of power. (Fernandes 2010, p. 57)

Up until 1988, Brazilian cities lacked the fiscal instruments to organize real estate interests and actions in large cities (Avritzer & Horizonte 2007). In Brazil there had been pressures by social movements that pushes the issue of urban access and equity to the top of the political and development agendas. This process led to a change in the constitution in order to bring a long-term fundamental reform of the urban dynamics. The city statute, or federal law number 10.257, was approved in 2001. The city statute was preceded by a 13 yearlong struggle between civil society and the conservative sector, which involved intense lobbying. (Avritzer & Horizonte 2007). The law is highly regarded in many countries through the world because of its unique qualities as a social achievement, which took shape gradually over a number of decades. (Maricato 2010, p. 4)

The 1988 constitution made the municipal authorities responsible for defining the use and occupation of urban land. The 1988 constitution aimed to handle the problems concerning urban development with an entire chapter on urban policy. It wasn't until the introduction of the city statute in 2001 that the chapter about urban policy got its regulatory force (Rodrigues & Barbosa 2010, p. 25). The city statute reinforces this decentralization with the concept of reinforcing the autonomy of local authorities. Furthermore, the municipal authorities would be in charge of deciding on public private partnerships and urban development operations as well as deploying a substantial number of the newly available fiscal and legal instruments. Since the municipal autonomy reflects the relevant Brazilian legislation, it is obvious that effective application of the city statute depends to a great extent on the balance of power within particular municipalities. (Maricato 2010, p. 6)

The central theme of the city statute is the social function of property; the law contains provisions determining how urban property should be regulated with a view towards preventing various commercial and other pressures from becoming obstacles to the right to housing for the
The fundamental basis of the city statute is to put an end to urban vacant areas traditionally targeted by for capitalist property speculator, whereby private interests could capture value from infrastructural and other improvements brought about by public investments. The law reinforced the role of the municipality as regulator of urban land. The instruments in the statute is designed to guarantee access to land and housing and lead to a sustainable city, in addition to creating better access to commercial services establishments, industries, public amenities, etc. for all of the population. (Reali & Alli 2010, p. 44-45) But the city statute deals with much more than just urban land. Due to its holistic approach, the law covers areas such as guidelines and precepts concerned with urban planning and plans; urban management; state, fiscal and legal regulation, tenure regulation of informal properties; social participation in the elaboration of plans; budgets; complementary laws and urban management. (Maricato 2010, p. 5)

By reforming the municipal legal-urban and environmental order, the municipalities are responsible for giving concrete expression to the new views concerning social functions of property and the city. A set of legal tools, a “toolbox”, exists in the city statute that can be used by municipal administrations to formulate master plans designed to regulate, stimulate and reverse the arrangements regarding urban land and property markets in accordance with the principles of social inclusion and environmental sustainability. The toolbox consists of a combination of traditional planning mechanisms such as zoning rules, plot incorporation/dismemberment, occupancy rates, settlement models, building coefficients, removals/relocation with newer instruments such as compulsory parcelling/building/utilisation, progressive extra-fiscal taxation, expropriation-sanctions in exchange for payment with public debt bonds, surface rights, municipal preferential rights and building rights transfers. (Fernandes 2010, p. 62)
Today every large Brazilian city has a specific legislation, in which the city council has the charter to legislate on municipal territory by regulating the city planning in the mandatory master plan. The master plan, is mandatory for all cities with more than 20,000 inhabitants and, amongst other things, regulates and allows the city council to grant use rights of state soil to the poor. The process of creating the master plan needs to include public hearings and debates, where all of the population, and associations have a possibility to participate. (Avritzer & Horizonte 2007)

The city statute is based upon four main pillars:
1. A conceptual approach that gives expression to the central constitution principle of the social functions of property and the city.
2. Instruments for giving concrete expression to the principles of underlying urban management. This is the “toolbox” for planners in Brazil.
3. An urban management approach establishing mechanisms for progressing urban policy principles, and
4. Tenure regularisation to be applied to consolidated informal city settlements. (Fernandes 2010, p. 61)

In addition to this, the city statute also has three guiding principles:
- The concept of the social functions of the city and property
- The fair distribution of costs and benefits of urbanization
- Democratic management of the city (Rodrigues & Barbosa 2010, p. 25)

A central theme of the city statute is the social function of property. The law contains, amongst other things, provisions determining how urban property should be regulated in a view towards preventing various commercial and other pressures from becoming a barrier to the right to housing for the majority of the population. The overall purpose of the law involves combating segregation, territorial exclusion and the prevalence of inhumane, unequal and environmentally predatory cities. (Maricato 2010, p. 7)

The city statute has a progressive chapter on environmental preservation, which together with a chapter on urban policy regulates the right to regularization of consolidated informal settlements with a kind of right to housing approach. The law gives the municipality the possibility to legalize informal property both on private land, which gives the settler acquisition rights in 5 year-periods, and on public land using a kind of leasehold. With this, comes a progressive taxation on urban property, which gives the state right to acquisition of urban land, and a possibility to expropriate urban land. (Fernandes 2007, p. 180).
4. RESEARCH OVERVIEW

- Public Space and Green Areas
When it comes to previous research within public parks and the right to the city, Don Mitchell’s “The Right to the City: Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space” is perhaps the best collection of studies regarding public space and parks, analysed from a right to the city perspective. Mitchell describes a series of public parks and spaces in the United States and the social difficulties from a right to the city perspective. Mitchell’s work is done in an American context, which of course, reflects his work. Mitchell’s work with analysing public parks is a big source of inspiration for this study. The main difference is that our study is done in a Brazilian context, and that the right to the city have a different legal role in the cases in this study (Mitchell 2003).

4.1. Urbanization in the Developing World

There is a large variety of criteria used internationally to delineate urban from rural areas. Out of 228 countries, 105 uses administrative boundaries and in 83 cases this is the only criterion applied. 100 countries define urban areas by means of population size or population density, for 57 countries this is the only criterion. 25 countries have an additional use of economic criteria, for example the proportion of labour force employed in non-agricultural activities. It is also problematic to use one countries definition of “urban” on another country. For example, if India would apply the Swedish definition of urban areas, more than half of the country would be urban, which isn’t the case with the Indian definition, where 28% of the population lives in urban areas according to a study from 2001. (Voigtländer, Breckenkamp & Razum 2008, p. 138)

As of 2007, for the first time in human history, more people in the world are living in cities than living in rural areas. The fact that more than half of the world’s population lives in cities are a significant departure from the spatial distribution of population growth in the developing world that have occurred during the past 30 years. At the beginning of the twentieth century, only 16 cities in the world contained a million people or more, a vast majority of these cities were located in advanced industrial countries. Today, around 400 cities contains a million inhabitants or more, and about 70% of these are located in the developing world. Cities can offer important opportunities for economic and social development, if they are well managed that is. Although when cities are growing they become more complex to manage. The speed and sheer scale of the urban transformation in developing countries are problematic in a sense that there are risks to the immediate and surrounding environment, to natural resources, to health conditions, to social cohesion and to individual rights. (Cohan et al. 2006, pp. 63-64)
The emphasis in city growth have shifted from the developed world to the developing world. There are several reasons for the increasing urban population in a country. Reclassification of previously rural population centres as urban and net migration from rural to urban areas are one major reason. The rapid urbanization also presents major problems in health and quality of life, social cohesion, management and institution building and stability. The developing countries today face greater challenges than developed countries faced, due to the fact that the developed countries was urbanized at a leisurely pace. Due to the rapid urbanization, the developing countries have little time or room for timely experimentation and adjustments. (Henderson 2002, p. 89-90)

As the size of the city increases the growth rate of the city’s population typically declines. The population in large cities are particularly striking in countries in Latin America, where there are 13 countries with over 20% of its population in the largest city. The speed and scale of the world’s largest cities can create enormous stresses on the surrounding environment and poses major challenges for sustainable development. A combination of overall population growth together with rural-urban migration have contributed to a rapid and unplanned expansion of low-income settlements on the outskirts of many large cities. (Cohen et al. 2006, pp. 72-73)

Common problems for fast growing cities are traffic congestions, that can be extremely severe with air pollution as a serious environmental problem in many cities. Amongst the greatest environmental health problems are the exposure to fine particulate matter which contributes to learning disability in young children. A popular solution to the urban transportation congestion problem has been investments in large-scale public transportation systems such as an under- or overland metro. Less attention is brought to expanding and improving the public bus networks, which tend to be overcrowded and poorly maintained. In many cities private minibus companies have filled the gap in the market by providing transportation where standards bus-routes are insufficient. (Cohen et al. 2006, p. 76)
4.2. Green Areas

Green infrastructure is a vague term with different meanings for different people. For some, green infrastructure is simply trees in urban areas, for others it is engineered structures, such as green roofs and water treatment facilities. Benedict and McMahon define green infrastructure as ecological framework needed for sustainability in sense of social, environmental and economic factors. (Benedict & McMahon 2002, p. 5)

Green infrastructure doesn't focus on recreation but rather emphasizes ecology. The green infrastructure includes hubs and key landscape linkages and could be designed to promote urban growth. (Benedict & McMahon 2002, p. 9). The term green infrastructure is quite new (Benedict & McMahon 2006, p. 23) but the concept is old and based on two fundamental initiatives. The first one includes protection of green areas, and linking green areas together. The second one includes biodiversity and counter habitat fragmentation through linking natural areas. (Benedict & McMahon 2006, p. 16) The movement is linked to interrelationship between man and nature that started over 150 years ago. (Benedict & McMahon 2006, p. 23)

Benedict and McMahon also state that green infrastructure in many ways challenges popular ideas about protection and planning of green space. For many people, isolated-parks for green space and open space are land that has not yet been developed, and for others it is also a difference between green space and green infrastructure. Green space is something people considers as “nice”, on the other hand green infrastructure is something we need to have as a natural system that needs to be protected. (Benedict & McMahon 2006, p. 1)

The big difference between the conventional approaches to land conservation and natural resources to the green infrastructure is that green infrastructure is protecting at the same time as it co-operate with infrastructure and development planning. In this way green infrastructure helps communities identify and plan in a way so both the needs of people and nature is taken into account. (Benedict & McMahon 2006, p. 2)

A green infrastructure system consists of two different parts; hubs and links. Hubs are green infrastructure networks with a destination for wildlife and ecological processes moving to or through it. Examples of hubs are reserves, working lands, managed native landscape, community parks, natural areas, regional parks and preserves. (Benedict & McMahon 2002, p. 7) Links on the other hand are the connections that tie the hubs together into a green infrastructure system. Examples of links are greenbelts, greenways, landscape linkages, conservation corridors and ecobelts. (Benedict & McMahon 2002, p. 8) Besides hubs and links, sites could also be a part of the green infrastructure. Sites are like hubs but smaller and do not need to be connected to a bigger green infrastructure network but could have important ecological and social values. (Benedict & McMahon 2006, p. 14)
The green infrastructure approach can be implemented at any scale from the individual parcel to a multi-state region. On the small scale the green infrastructure include designing homes and business around green space. While it can be landscape linkages that connect forests, other natural areas and provide habitat of animals at the state region. (Benedict & McMahon 2006, p. 14) To create green infrastructure there is a need to look for where the opportunities exists. Sometimes it is clear where hubs and links can be created because of the lands conservation, but sometimes the green infrastructure needs to be created on land that is reserved for other uses. (Benedict & McMahon 2006, p. 14)

Which green infrastructure approach that is appropriate depends on where it takes place. For example, green infrastructure in rural areas can help to protect ecological valued land but also directing the development in the area. Green infrastructure in urban areas could include street trees, buffers around rivers and streams that protect against flooding. Whether it is green infrastructure in rural or urban areas it is important using the use that make most sense at the specific spot. (Benedict & McMahon 2006, p. 15)

4.2.1. Green City

Green city is an ideal city that is carbon neutral and fully sustainable, therefore a green city is a healthy place. But there is also a difference between existing green cities and the future ones. The existing ones have a basic form and structure but they also have to adapt mitigate non-green conditions. At the same time as the new ones can invent their own approach. (Birch & Wachter 2008, p. 3)

There is also a difference between older industrial cities and newer cities with their rapid growth and their spread-out structure. The older cities have park systems that are extensive but, also a lot of brownfields. Meanwhile the newer cities rely on automobiles, have low density and use zoning, they also work with strategies to preserve open space. Old as new, green cities both work with natural environments to sustain human life and reduce the imprint on the land. (Birch & Wachter 2008, p. 3)

But making cities greener it is not efficient enough if the regional dimension is not taken into account, because cities today are dependant on their hinterland. Especially metropolitan cities depend on their hinterlands in their region and a lot of cities have a bigger ecological footprint than the city. (Birch & Wachter 2008, p. 46)
Public space is the scene on which the public life and public activities take place, a place for social interaction and movements. The nature of public life is often strongly affected by the character, physical structure, spatial setting and connections of the urban public spaces. The everyday activities of the life in the city puts a demand on planning and design of the public life, therefore conscious planning and design of public space can determine the grounds for the public life within a city (Madanipour 1996). There are also democratic aspects of public space, for example, the work of German sociologist and philosopher Jürgen Habermas suggests that public space is a universal abstract realm in which democracy occurs (Mitchell 1995). A sound spatial configuration promotes the uses of public spaces and encourages strangers to interact. This fosters the development of positive tolerance, social integration, public trust among people and a sense of community and unity. This is the social capital for community rebuilding and a keystone in the building and rebuilding of a more socially sustainable city and community. (Pongsmas 2004)

Cities in all historical and cultural periods has been organized along some private-public line, but the relationship between private and public spaces vary widely. From the rise of the city public-private distinctions has been important for shaping the physical space and the social life of the citizens. The relationship between private and public space is a mirror and indicator on how society organize itself and its social relations. (Madanipour 2003, p. 1) Public space has an important ideological position and role in the democratic societies. The history of urban public space goes back to the Greeks and their agora. At the agora there was a mixed of functions such as politics, commerce and spectacle, but it was also a meeting point for strangers. (Mitchell 1995, p. 115)

Madanipour describes two different public spheres, which has been found in literature during the twentieth-century, the descriptive and the normative approach. The first, descriptive approach is trying to describe human behaviour in presence of others. Public sphere in this approach is understood as the impact humans have on each other and the co-presence of human life. The second, normative approach, tries to create a way forward in human interaction but also looks at how this interaction should be conducted. This approach means that it could be pursued in politics, political theory and a critical approach to social science. Finally power is an important key word in this approach and it’s the power, which is exerted, in the public sphere. (Madanipour 2003, p. 96)

Mitchell (2003) describes a definition about a public space that is more normative than the descriptive approach, which is about how public space has been used in “actuality existing democracies”. The normative definition of public space reflects on Habermas discussion around a spatial and normative public sphere. Habermas describes how the public sphere is best imagined, or as he calls it “as the suite of institutions and activities that mediate the relations between society and state.” This means that in the public sphere there the public is represented and organized. (Mitchell 1995, p. 116)
4.4. Public Parks in the City

In countries in the developing world, there is a tendency towards that green areas and environmental concerns gets overshadowed by an ambition to develop and exigencies of meeting basic needs. The environmental problems can especially get overshadowed when rapid urbanization takes place in a city. The problems that comes from rapid urbanization can be solved through understanding the limitations and learn from other cities mistakes. (Jim 2004, p. 312)

A public park can hold a lot of different roles and benefits for the city, both for the people living in it and the environment within it. According to Jim (2004) the compact city is characterized by high density that take large areas in claim for housing and different kinds of infrastructure, which limits the space for mixed land use and green areas. Therefore it is important to pay attention to the green space and what environmental wellbeing that could be overlooked, because with few green areas the quality of the environment, human health and life will deteriorate. (Jim 2004, p. 312)

4.4.1. Health Benefits

Public parks in cities have a significant role to facilitate physical activities, with opportunities to walk, jog and practice sports and other activities. A park doesn't necessarily need to provide opportunities for physical activities, it could also be a meeting point for neighbours and friends. (Cohen et.al. 2007, p. 509) Studies from Europe are showing that it's not only the physical health, but also the mental health that can be improved through making people spend time in the local green space. Mental health problems like work-related stress and depression can be improved by spending more time in a park. For the mental health it is important that the noise level of the park is low. These quiet natural spaces can be improved through improving the urban green areas and the ecological quality in them. (Dempsey & Burton 2012, p. 12)

Public parks could be as Fredric Olmstead (the “father” of urban parks) describes: a place for the citizens to meet the nature and have some fresh air and time for recreation. (Cohen et.al. 2007, p. 509) Studies shows that the frequency of the usage of a park is often depending on how far away from the park its users live, the closer to the park they live the more likely they will use it. (Dempsey & Burton 2012, p. 12) There are studies that suggest that it is ideal that everyone could reach a green area within walking distance, and that most people are unwilling walking more than 10 minutes or 400 meters from their home to a green area. (Jim 2004, p. 316) A study from Australia indicated that the amount of walking was connected to the access of large, attractive and public open space, but also showed how far away it was from their home. Except from the size of the park also accessibility and quality of amenities is affecting the use of the
park. But the surrounding land use and the access of organized events in
the park is also affecting the use of the park. The design of the park and
the surrounding lands is not the only thing that affects the use of parks.
Individual preferences and factors like age and exercise habits will affect
strongly how the people use the park. (Cohen et.al. 2007, p. 509)

4.4.2. Social Functions
A city with a generous and high quality green space leads to a healthy
environment for humans and a rich flora and fauna, which in turn it adds
pride to the government and citizenry. (Jim 2004, p. 311) More liveable
cities can be created thru bringing together design, ecology and thus con-
nect people with the nature. Usually there is a gap between the human
needs and the natural processes. (Frischenbruder & Pellegrino 2004, p.
68) Cities in Brazil has got an important tool to create better life quality in
the Brazilian cities is to plan and design green corridors. (Frischenbruder
& Pellegrino 2004, p. 77) Green areas that are situated near homes and
easily accessible are especially important because they are used for passive
recreation. A lot of people prefer green wild sites in the city where they
can escape the city for a moment. (Jim 2004, p. 313)

4.4.3. Environment
Through more trees and green areas in the city the air gets cleaner, homes
and buildings get cooler and more energy efficient. (Benedict & McMa-
hon 2006, p. 70) Studies shows that people that live near green areas like
parks lives healthier and visits the hospital fewer times then people that
not live near green areas. It could also elicit positive feelings, help block
stressful thought and reduce fear. (Benedict & McMahon 2006, p. 77)
Parks plays an important role to battle climate changes, and they serve
both mitigation and adaptation tasks. For example, the green areas can
give the city cleaner air and water and the trees is providing shadow and
cooling. These things give both the environments, social and economical
benefits. (Dempsey & Burton 2012, p. 12) Following are some examples
of adaptation and mitigation benefits a park could have: (Hirsch 2008, p.
281)

Floods - The city can protect themselves against destructive floods
through wetlands and natural floodplains.

Unclean water – The city water can purify through the trees, plants and
soils in the city.

Carbon – Forests absorb carbon and through that stabilize the climate.
(Hirsch 2008, p. 281)
5. THE RIGHT TO THE CITY
5.1. Right to the City - a Short Introduction

At first glance the term (the) right to the city is used in the highly abstract publications of Lefebvre, which is the first one to coin the term, but it have also been adopted by other scholars such as David Harvey and Don Mitchell, that uses Lefebvre's concept but redevelops it. Further on the term have inspired a legislative reform in Latin America and is widely used in international debates, such as the world urban forum. The term is also widely used by UNESCO and NGO's. Although the term is widely used, it remains hard to define and its content is subtle and indefinable (Brown 2010, p. 341). This chapter gives a review of the different uses of the term, starting with describing its academic origin. This is followed by a description of the legal aspect of the term, with focus on Brazil. The use of the term in international debates, by NGO's and social movements are later described. Last but not least, some critique regarding the term and the usage of it is presented.

5.2. The Right to the City - Lefebvre’s Concept

The term “Right to the City” is strongly associated with the writings of French philosopher Henri Lefebvre, who first coined the term in 1968. His short book “Right to the City” (1968) (Le droit à la ville) introduced the term and reached wider recognition during the outbreak of violent protests in Paris in 1968. The riots started with students uprisings and led to a national strike in which 10 million workers took part. The term and book “Right to the City” was used by the strikers, this according to Brown (2010) created a new radical paradigm that challenged the emerging social and political structures of capitalism. Lefebvre argues that the right to the city is a superior form of rights, which encompasses the right to freedom, individualization, socialization, participation and appropriation. These are clearly separated from the right to property (Brown 2010, p. 2). Lefebvre argued that the city is an “oeuvre”, in which the social and political life, wealth and arts are in focus. Further, the use value of cities as the centre of cultural, political and social life are being weakened by the processes of industrialization and commercialization. This leads to the creation of exchange value and commodification of urban assets. (Brown 2010, p. 342).

It is perhaps necessary at this point to explain the terms “use value” and “exchange value”, that are used by Lefebvre to explain his concept. The distinction between “use” and “exchange” value isn't unique for Lefebvre, Harvey and other Marxist researchers, it is a matter that have been of concern for the political economists during the nineteenth century. It provides a starting point for Ricardo’s “Principles of Political Economy and Taxation” as well as Marx's “Capital”. Generally the things, which
have the greatest value in use, have little or no value at all in exchange, and on the contrary things that have the greatest value in exchange have generally little, or no value in use. For Marx, each of the terms have no meaning in themselves, but take on their meaning through their relationship with each other. The term “use value” can be applied on all objects, activities and events, and particularly in social and natural settings. Exchange value is created during the social process of applying socially necessary labour to objects of nature to make material objects for consumption. (Harvey 2008, p 153-155)

According to Mitchell, the most important normative argument that Lefebvre points out is that the city is an “oeuvre”, in which all citizens participate. In contrast to the countryside, which has an essential privacy, and therefore isolation and homogeneity, the city is public and has places of social interaction and exchange with people that are “different”. Cities are places where differences live and places where different people with different projects must struggle against one another over the shape of the city, the access to public space and even the right of citizenship. The problem though, with the modern “bourgeois” city, is that the oeuvre is alienated and the spaces of the city are produced “for us” rather than “by us”. (Mitchell 2003, p. 18)

5.3. The Right to the City as a New Concept of Citizenship

Lefebvre’s concept of the right to the city introduces a new concept of citizenship that steps away from the traditional Westphalian/liberal democratic model where nation-state membership is the basis for citizenship. The right to the city bases membership on inhabitance, and those who inhabit the city have a right to the city (Purcell 2003, p. 577). Since the term “citizenship” is traditionally associated with the membership in a national political community, Lefebvre declares that those who have the right to the city are better termed as “citadins” (Purcell 2002, p. 102). Understanding Lefebvre’s concept of citizenship is central to further understanding the concept of the right to the city. Since the production of urban space is central in the right to the city, it is those who live in the city that contributes to the urban lived experience that can legitimately claim the right to the city. Furthermore there are two principal rights that the right to the city evolves around, the right to property and the right to appropriation. (Purcell 2002, p. 101)

According to the right to participation, the inhabitants (or citadins) should play a central role in any decision that contributes to the production of urban space. The decision might involve the state, a company, a multilateral institution or any other entity that affects the production of space in the city. The decision could involve any range of scale, from
The right to the city confronts the role of urban property as the heart of capitalism and claims a completely different kind of city and society, claimed to be “democratic” or just implying a different approach to the free-market capitalism (Brown 2010, p. 3). As stated in the right to appropriation and right to participation, the right to the city empowers all citizens to participate in the use and production of all urban space. With this in mind, it is central in Lefebvre’s concept that the social value of urban space weighs equally with its monetary value, and when the economic system value urban space for its exchange value, the oeuvre is suppressed. The state plays a central role in the development and legal regulation of capitalist space (Purcell 2003, p. 576-577). Within this perspective the traditional city is in the focus of wealth, knowledge, arts as well as the social and political life. The use value of the city as the centre of cultural, social and political life is being weakened by industrialization and commercialization, which creates exchange value and the commodification of urban assets. (Brown 2010, p. 2)

The right to the city are described as a superior form of human rights in which the right to freedom, to individualization, to habitat and inhabit are central. The right to the city implies the right to use the spaces of the city, and that the use value is the necessary foundation of urban life. Mitchell states that Lefebvre’s right to inhabit implies the right to housing,
The triad of space developed by Lefebvre explains how space is produced. Understanding Lefebvre’s ideas of space is necessary to fully understand the right to appropriation and participation, but also necessary to understand the claim for public space that is an important part of the concept. This is a short review on Lefebvre’s view on “space”, and how it affects the right to the city. In Lefebvre’s “The Production of Space”, space is a product and must be expected to reproduce and develop the process of production. Focus must shift from what Lefebvre calls “things in space” towards the actual production of space. Lefebvre’s concept of space is highly abstract and has three main concepts of space, which are: spatial practise, representations of space and representational space. (Lefebvre 1991, p. 36)

Spatial practise includes the spatial practise of a society revealed in the decoding of its space, it includes the associations between the daily routines and the urban reality, the perceived space. Representations of space are conceptualized space that is the space of scientists, urbanists, planners and engineers. This is the dominant space and the conceptions of space tend towards a system of verbal signs. Representational space is lived space through its associated images and symbols. This is the space of the inhabitants, or users. This is dominated and experiences space. The model of perceived-conceived-lived, which in spatial terms means spatial practice, representations of space and representational space, is a triad that, according to Lefebvre, loses its force if its treated as an abstract model. The lived, conceived and perceived space should be interconnected so
Mitchell describes two different visions of public space. The first vision represents a public space where political movements can be organized; this is a kind of "democratic" space where no one is excluded from access. Meanwhile, the second vision stands for a kind of "safe" place, a safe, orderly and planned public space. In this public space visitors should feel comfortable and shouldn't be driven away by political activity or homeless people. Mitchell sees a similarity between the two visions and Lefebvre's "representational space" and "representation of space". The "representational space" stands for a "space-in-use", "appropriated" and "lived space". And representation of space stands for ordered, controlled and planned space. A public space as a public park or a monumental plaza is often standing against what Lefebvre call "representation of space" but as people starts to use the space it also become "representational space". In public space, there is an political movement and organization that can be exposed to larger amount of people. But not only political organization can be exposed in the public space, other social groups can be represented aswell. For example it is only in the public space that homeless people can represent themselves. Public spaces are in this sense important for democratic politics. (Mitchell 1995, p. 115)

5.6. The Right to the City and Public Space

The right to the city reorients the focus from state decisions towards a view that focuses on the decisions that produce urban space. Lefebvre's theory of space includes what he calls perceived, conceived and lived space. In short, perceived space is the space people encounter in their daily environment. Conceived space refers to the ideas and mental constructions of space. Lived space is, in short, the complex combination of perceived and conceived space, a representation of a persons actual experience of space in everyday life. In this view, social relations and lived space are connected in everyday life and the production of urban space involves a reproduction of the social relations that are bound to the space. Therefore, the production of urban space involves much more than just planning the material space, it also involves the production of, and reproducing, all aspects of urban life. This means that the right to the city empowers all citizens to all decisions that produce urban space. As stated earlier, according to the right to the city's concept of citizenship, it is the inhabitants/citadins that have the right to the city, and also the right to produce urban space. (Purcell 2002, p 102)
Mitchell's first vision of space, the democratic space; “is taken and remade by political actors; it is politicized at its very core; and it tolerates the risk of disorder (including recidivist political movements) as central to its functioning”.

The second vision sees public space as a place that should be safe, orderly and planned. The one who use the space should feel comfortable and unsolicited, political activity and homeless people should not drive the users away. It is common in this vision that public space is a controlled area with a properly behaved public. These two visions also “indicate that differing definitions of the right to the city are at stake.” (Mitchell 2003, p. 128).

Public spaces are often used as a representation of space, for example, a monumental plaza, a public park, courthouse square or a pedestrian shopping district. When people use this representation of space they also become representational spaces, appropriated in use. This means that public space is produced socially through its use as public space. Public space is created in the meeting between representation of space and representational space and between the appropriated and the ordered. Public space that are produced for the political movements is a space where they can demonstrate and, through that, be seen and heard and in that way they represent themselves in the public space for a larger population. Through the representation in the public space they can create space and social groups become public. (Mitchell 2003, p. 129)

A space for representation is central in Mitchell's theories about the claims of the right to public space. It’s a place where groups and individuals can make themselves visible and is something that is always struggled for. Mitchell points out that both private and public spaces are needed in the city, but it is in the public spaces that the needs and desires of individuals and groups can be seen, recognized, resisted and wiped out. These spaces of representation require the production of different kinds of public spaces. Public space takes an exceptional importance when the world is defined by private property. For example, in a world where all spaces are private, those who own none simply cannot be, since there are no spaces for them. The formation of public spaces that are inclusive is important, but difficult. (Mitchell 2003, p 33-34)

Mitchell declares that the common view is that planning and provision of public space will lead to the ability of various groups to represent themselves, but further studies show that this is not the case. Many careful analyses of public spaces in the United States shows that most well designed spaces for interaction often lead to a limited and ineffectual public discourse. Mitchell argues that there might be an “end of public space”, and when there is a pressing need and some groups or people takes space, through this action makes it public. The representation of space both demands space, and makes it. This rarely occurs under the conditions of own choosing. (Mitchell 2003, p 35-36) Public space in the city has always been a combination of commerce and politics. Through the meeting of
anarchy of the market and the politics in the public space, a democratic public is created. But in the twentieth century the market no longer have the same connection to the politics. Mitchell proceeds to describe how planners and companies have created public space for security instead of interaction, this have led to barren public space and what Sennett calls dead public space. It has also led to spaces that encourage consumption trough, among other things, festival marketplaces. These two developments of public space create spaces that have a perceived need of order and surveillance over the people in the public space. (Mitchell 1995, p. 119)

A true security in public space is something that comprises in publicness itself is something that Mitchell argues for. He argues that the urban public spaces have been suffering from increasing privatization the last 20 years, that he means are from the;

“increasing privatization encouraged by reliance on internet services to the expansion of the mall-effect - whereby only the largest consumer outlets survive. In the current crisis, it is all the more important that the idea of public space, and its relations to urban community be sustained.” (Mitchell 2003, p. 3)

The spaces of the modern city of today are rather produced for us instead of by us. But according to Mitchell, Lefebvre argued that the people in the city have a right to more than that. This right is related to that every city needs to be structure toward meetings and social interaction. (Mitchell 2003, p. 18)

5.7. Beyond Lefebvre — Other Concepts About the Right to the City

There are many initiatives and debates regarding the right to the city. From Brazil’s ministry of cities to Hamburg’s “Right to the City Network”, from small NGO’s to UN-habitat there are many conceptions about the “Right to the City”, and the term is used as a sort of umbrella-phrase. Souza makes a connection with the use of the term “sustainability”, which also often is used as an undefined umbrella-phrase. The use of the term by many NGO’s and urban development agencies seems to imply the ideal of a human and affordable housing and participation, without much understanding for the radical approach that Lefebvre’s work have. In many cases, the right to the city simply means a more “human” life in the context of the capitalist city and on the basis of representative democracy. (Souza 2010, p. 316)
The academic debates that followed Lefebvre's work sees the right to the city as a contender to the nature of capitalism and globalization. Capitalist firms have been given relatively free reign to produce urban space over the last centuries. The valorisation of urban space has been a key strategy for capital, and property rights have been used to maximize the exchange value of the urban space. This have contributed to make Lefebvre's right to appropriation relevant in contemporary urban debates, but challenging property rights obviously challenges the foundation of capitalist class relations. (Purcell 2002, p. 103) Purcell points out that there is evidence that citizenship is being partly “glocalized”, and that there has been a shift away from citizenship generally defined at the national scale and towards a citizenship at a range of other scales (Purcell 2003, p. 572). As an example, citizens of Vietnam, Mexico and the United States can all be inhabitants of a particular city in the same country, inhabitants should have a right to participation regardless of nationality. The “glocalization” of the modern city makes Lefebvre's ideas about citizenship probably more relevant in recent times (Purcell 2002, p. 103).

Harvey, which Souza describes as “an eminent Marxist urban researcher”, has worked with Lefebvre's ideas since the early 70's and is one of the most well-known scholars that works with the term “Right to the City” (Souza 2010, p. 315). Harvey argues that the right to the city goes beyond the liberties of the individual's right to access urban resources. It is rather a right to change ourselves by changing the city, a kind of collective power to reshape the process of urbanisation. This freedom, for citizens to make and remake their cities, is according to Harvey: “one of the most precious yet neglected of our human rights” (Harvey 2008, p. 315). In this view, cities have from their beginning arisen from geographical and social concentrations of surplus products, and urbanization is therefore a class phenomenon. This situation endures capitalism, and there is a close connection between the development of capitalism and urbanization. Furthermore, Harvey argues that urbanization has played an active role, alongside with military expenditures, in attracting the surplus products that capitalists produce in their search for profits. (Harvey 2008, p. 316-317)

This is seen in the spatial form of cities, which are increasingly fragmented, fortified with gated communities and privatized public spaces under constant surveillance. Harvey sees these problems particularly arising in the cities of the developing world where the ideals of urban identity, citizenship and belonging become much harder to sustain (Harvey 2008, p. 324). Increasingly, the right to the city falls into the hands of private interests, and Harvey exemplifies this with the case of New York and Mexico City where wealthy mayors and businessmen had the downtown areas reshaped to suit their own needs. Harvey argues that the right to the city as it is now constituted, is too narrowly limited and in most cases restricted to a small political and economical elite that shapes the cities after their own desires. (Harvey 2008, p. 329)
5.8. Right to the City in a Legal Perspective, Brazil as an Example

The work of Lefebvre didn’t provide any discussion on the role of law regarding the right to the city. His work was mainly focused on philosophy and social theory and in terms of law few good examples exists where the concept of the right to the city have been put into legal practice. Many countries in Latin America, such as Colombia, Ecuador, Mexico and Brazil have tried different legal initiatives to implement the concept of the right to the city in their national legislation (Kristiansen 2005, p 95-96). The most famous, and internationally recognized legal initiative is Brazilian law 10.257/2001, more known as the city statute (Fernandes 2005, p. 39). UN describes the statute as “groundbreaking”, and as redefining the concept of land ownership, establishing the social value of urban land and democratic participation in urban planning. Neither UNESCO nor UN promotes, or have an intention to promote a new international legal instrument, and add that the right to the city is not a positive right in a legal sense (Brown & Kristiansen 2009, p. 3, 8). A speculative land market, cliental politics, elitist urban planning practises and an exclusionary legal regime led to that informal urban development became the norm. (Fernandes 2005, p. 40)

According to Rodrigues and Barbosa, the city statute recognizes the right to the city as a collective right based on three principles: the concept of the social function of property, fair distribution of the costs and benefits of urbanization and democratic management of the city. The law also established a new ministry for cities and a national charter to implement the city statute. The city statute was the result of a long process of pressure from NGO’s and social movements to promote action against the social difficulties that Brazilian cities are facing. The socio-legal movement in Brazil was greatly inspired by the work of Lefebvre, and the concept of the right to the city. The guiding political-philosophical framework that social movements, NGO’s and local governments that worked towards legal initiatives, used Lefebvre’s ideas and embraced his works. (Barbosa & Rodrigues 2010).

The city statute broke with a long individualistic tradition of civil law in Brazil and set a new legal-political paradigm with the approach of urban property rights. The legal tradition defined property rights as a longstanding ideology of legal positivism, with a state monopoly of the production of legal order. With the city statute, the right to urban property is ensured, provided that a social function is accomplished through the municipal master plan. The municipal governments were made responsible to control the process of urban development through formulating territorial and land use policies where the interest of landowners coexists with other social, cultural and environmental interests of other groups. (Fernandes 2007, p. 201-202)
In Brazilian cities, informal settlements are common and although the data is imprecise, it’s realistic, according to Fernandes (2005), to say that more than 50% of the people living in urban areas have access to land and housing through informal processes. Moreover, tens of millions of Brazilians have not had access to housing other than through informal, and often, illegal actions. For several decades Brazilians have been self-constructing vulnerable and insecure housing in favelas (slums) in irregular housing projects, as well as occupying public land, steep hills, preservation areas, water reservoirs and river-banks. (Fernandes 2005, p. 41)

To fully understand what “The Right to the City” means in a Brazilian context, it is important to understand the problems of the “Favelas”. The favelas, which are slum, or informal settlements, are a crucial part of the Brazilian urban development. Official numbers show that all cities with more than 500 000 inhabitants have favelas, and they can be found in all kinds of cities and regions all over the country. According to official data, as much as 80% of the cities with between 100 000 and 500 000 inhabitants have favelas and 45% of all cities with a population between 20 000 and 100 000 inhabitants have favelas. The informal settlements in the favelas have grave socio-economic, urban, environmental and political implications that effect not only the poorest social groups but also the urban population as a whole. (Fernandes 2007, p. 203-204)

The most important guiding principle in the city statute is that of the socio-environmental function of property and of the city. This means that regulation of urban development is a public matter that can’t be reduced to individual or state interests. The law introduced a range of principle collective rights; the right to urban planning, the social right to housing, the right to environmental preservation, the right to capture surplus value and the right to the regularization of informal settlements. According to Fernandes, the statute adds an “indivisibility” of urban law and urban management. Through decentralizing decisions regarding urban planning to the municipalities, the statute recognizes the collective right to participation (through representative democracy). Fernandes argues that through decentralizing the decision-making process to the municipalities, Lefebvre’s right to participation is recognised. And through the various legal tools the statute gives the municipalities to legalize informal settlements, the right to habitation is recognised. (Fernandes 2007, p. 211)

The municipalities have a power to interfere with, and possibly reverse, the pattern and dynamics of formal and informal urban land markets, especially those of a speculative nature. Traditional urban planning tools such as zoning, building rules, etc. are combined with a progressive tax system, which gives the municipality a possibility to construct and finance a new urban order (Fernandes 2007, p. 213). The city statute recognized the right to regularization of informal settlements, both on private and public land. The statute improved the legal instruments for the municipalities to promote tenure regularization and, according to Fernandes,
through this, democratized the conditions of access to urban land and housing. This gives the municipality a possibility to give the occupants of urban land a kind of adverse possession right and the right to use the land as a form of leasehold; this applies both on public and private land. This means that persons living in occupied houses cannot be evicted, without a legal process. (Fernandes 2007, p. 214-215)

5.9. UN, Social Movements and Other Initiatives

One of the significant actors, using the term “Right to the City” is the UN, through UNESCO and UN-habitat. The concept is promoted through different publications about the matter, and the project “Urban Policies and the Right to the City: Rights, responsibilities and citizenship”, which was launched by UNESCO in 2005. The project, according to a publication from UN, aims to seek consensus amongst key actors on public policy and legislation that combines urban development with social equality and justice. The concept of the right to the city was debated at five international meetings, held and organized by UNESCO, UN-HABITAT and NGO’s at UNESCO headquarters in Barcelona (2005), Paris (2005, 2006), Vancouver (2006) and Porto Alegre (2008). (Brown & Kristiansen 2009, p. 8)

UNESCO’s definition doesn’t mention Lefebvre, or his work. But rather takes its standpoint from the UN “Universal Declaration of Human Rights” from 1948. Although the right to the city isn’t one of the human rights, UN claims that the term and idea has its roots in the idea of universal human rights. UN are less illusive, and defines the term as “a vehicle for urban change, in which all urban dwellers are urban citizens; it creates space in which citizens can define their needs but, in order to appropriate substantive citizenship, citizens must claim rights of participation and allow others the same rights” (Brown & Kristiansen 2009, p. 9). From the debates at the international meetings, five main axes of the concept was identified:

- “Liberty, freedom and benefits of city life
- Transparency, equity and efficiency in city administrations
- Participation and respect in local democratic decision-making
- Recognition of diversity in economic, social and cultural life
- Reducing poverty, social exclusion and urban violence”
(Brown & Kristiansen 2009, p. 9)

There are several movements and initiatives around the world, which in one way or another supports the notion of the right to the city. In North America the most significant initiative is the “Montreal charter”, which commits the city to work with its inhabitants in building a framework for citizens rights. The charter promotes equality and inclusion among
all cities and a sustained struggle against poverty and discrimination. In
the charter, a citizen is anyone who lives in the city, including homeless
persons. Excluded are companies, and people who work in the city but
doesn’t live there. The charter is a two-way exchange in which the city can
guarantee services but citizens also have to play a responsible role in civic
life. (Brown & Kristiansen 2009, p. 24-25)

In Europe the most significant initiative is the “European charter for
the safeguarding of human rights in the city” that arose from a confer-
ence hosted by the Barcelona city council in 1998, which marked the
50th anniversary of the UN declaration. The charter was the culmina-
tion of a dialogue between cities, NGOs, the legal profession and others.
The charter was finalized in 2000, and by 2006 had been ratified by over
350 cities in 21 countries. In 2003 the network of cities for human rights
was established to distribute and implement the charter. The charter is a
comprehensive document that addresses universal human rights, but it
focuses on urban rights to welfare and governance. (Brown & Kristiansen
2009, p. 16-18)

On a global level, two parallel initiatives are being debated that aims to
expand the UN declaration in the context of cities. The first is the “Global
charter-agenda for human rights in the city”, which is an initiative of
city mayors that was approved during the World Social Forum in Porto
Alegre 2005. The Charter-Agenda has reached some influential support, it
was debated at the 2007 World congress of united cities and Local Gov-
ernments, and later taken forward by the international permanent secre-
tariat, human rights and local government which organizes the biennial
world forum rights, a forum created by UNESCO. (Brown & Kristiansen
2009, p. 25)

The second, and probably most well known initiative is a movement to
develop a World Charter on the Right to the City. The charter is the prod-
uct of years of discussion and has been promoted by coalitions of NGOs
and academic and professional groups. The discussions that eventually
led up to the world charter for the right to the city started at the Earth
Summit in 1992 in Rio de Janeiro and have since then grown into an in-
ternational organization that works towards making the right to the city a
part of UNESCOs human rights. (Brown & Kristiansen 2009, p. 25-26)
5.10. Criticism

Purcell (2003) aims his critique mainly at the publications from social movements using the term. He notices a lot of flaws with the current literature on the matter and argues that few have engaged in a close reading on Lefebvre's ideas, and that the lack of critical engagement with Lefebvre's ideas has led to an overstretching of the concept. He notices that most writers underestimate the revolutionary implications of Lefebvre's ideas and that the right to the city becomes diluted when attached to a variety of movements. He also argues that few of the movements claim the right to the city as Lefebvre presented it. (Purcell 2003, p. 576)

Furthermore, Purcell has two significant concerns regarding the work of Lefebvre. The first one simply concerns that "the right to the city raises more question than it answers"; there are a lot of practical difficulties with the implementation of the concept. The second concern regards the undefined character of the concept, which in Purcell's point of view could lead to negative impacts on cities. (Purcell 2002, p. 103)

Souza adds some criticism towards the use of the term by social movements, NGO's, UN and so on. He states that the use of the expression "The Right to the City" has become fashionable and that Lefebvre's concept has been trivialised and corrupted in the process (Souza 2010, p. 315). He sums up his impressions of the general use of the term with: "as much social justice and environmental protection as possible, of course, but please let us be realistic, the time of utopia has passed" (Souza 2010, p. 316).

With this, he means that the most common view is that neoliberalism have been refused, but not capitalism as such, which can be tamed and do not necessarily need to be replaced. He adds that the right to the city according to Lefebvre was not reducible to a right to better housing, or lower rents in the framework of a capitalist city. The right to city according to Lefebvre is rather a right to a different kind of life in a very different society. (Souza 2010, p. 320)

Lefebvre's path was a radical one, and certainly don't need to be followed, but Lefebvre's work remains a source for inspiration and radical thinking. Souza criticise the way a reformist discourse have used his words to decorate and legitimate a reformist and status-quo conforming approach to the social problems of cities. In the process of making the term fashionable worldwide, without taking the original ideas into consideration, the expression becomes useless for critical-radical purposes, as of which they were intended to be. (Souza 2010, p. 321)
6. FIVE PARKS IN MANAUS
6.1. Green and Gray Parks – a Short Introduction

At first glance, Manaus seems like a fairly “green” city due to its location in the middle of the Amazon. But, with a rapid urban growth, most of the parks and public green areas disappeared to make way for housing and infrastructure. As a way to handle the large amount of rainfall that the city needs to handle, all new areas needs to save 10% of the area as “green” space. These areas have no social function and are usually a kind of no-mans-land. This leaves the city in a situation with very few public green areas that are usable for the inhabitants of the city. The results from the non-visitor questionnaire, where 133 people were asked if they think there is enough public parks in Manaus, showed that a whopping 95% think that there is a shortage of public parks in Manaus.

The study contains five case studies of public parks, which are divided into two kinds of parks; unofficially they are called “green” and “gray” parks. The “green” parks are preservation areas formed to preserve vegetation and animals within the area. These preserved areas also contain a strong protection against illegal settlements. Illegal settlements are quite common in Manaus and the creation of a preserved area is an opportunity for the municipal government to be able to evict or move the illegal settlements without a legal process through court. The so-called “gray” parks have more of an urban character, aren’t preserved areas and are often designed as an urban parks.¹

¹ Pereira, Henrique, Professsor UFAM, Interview
A general observation during our visits in the public parks is the amount of people working in the parks. All parks that we have been studying have employed park staff that is working full-time with each park. Each park have administrative staff, maintenance staff, security staff and sales-staff for the shops in the parks. During opening hours, which is usually between 7 a.m. to 6 p.m., all parks are guarded. The amount of guards varies from park to park and if there is any special event in the park, but most of the parks have around two guards in the park. There are also volunteers working in the park, usually university students that, in exchange for their work effort can do their studies there. An example of this is biology-students that study the fauna and flora of the green parks.
6.2. Mindu Park

- Entrance
- Playground
- Pavilion
- Theater
- Lecture hall

[Map of Mindu Park with labeled features]
Mindu Park (Parque do Mindu) was founded in 1992, in order to preserve the green areas in the neighbourhood. The park, and its status as preserved area was a result from a movement of joining neighbours in the area that worked towards making the area preserved. The official claim for preserving the area was to protect the wild Amazonian monkeys that lived in the park. Although these days, the monkey is a rare sight, many wild animals can be seen in the park such as alligators, agoutiers and exotic birds. The park has an area of 330 000 square meters and was developed for tourism, scientific, educational and cultural activities. The combination of preserved rain forest and accessibility in the urban parts of the city, has given the park national attention and hence made the park fairly well-known even outside of the state. (Prefeitura de Manaus, slide 96) The park is situated in the neighbourhood Parque Dez de Novembre northeast of the city center, an area considered as a middle-class neighbourhood. The whole park is fenced and has one main entrance with security guards. The entrance is situated next to the roundabout where the streets Dom João and Perimetral meets. Besides walking or driving to the park there are around five different buses that passes by the entrance of the park. For people who drive to the park it is possible to park in the park.

The northwest parts of the park consist of a parking space for cars and buses, and further into the park there is a big playground. This part of the park is quite open with grass, walk path and some trees. From the playground there is a footpath and a small road to the center part of the park. In the center of the park there is a restaurant (that serves brunch at Saturday), kiosk, toilets and an outdoor theater. From the center of the park all of the different footpaths in the park start and ends. These footpaths go out in the saved rainforest, along the footpath there are signs with the name of the trees. In the southeast part of the park there is an Igarapé (small river) passing by and footbridges that go over lowland areas. For the accessibility in the park, the footpath between the entrance and the center is adapted for access with wheelchair. There is also a footpath that is accessibility adapted from the center of the park into the forest; this footpath is made of wood with a handrail.

The main objective with the Mindu park is to protect the green area within the park and the wild animals that lives there. Due to Mindu’s status a protected area, the park have rules that regulates what is allowed and not allowed to do in the park, these rules are connected to the municipal law. The park-rules consists of three A4-pages that the park staff hands out to bigger groups of visitors in the park. For ordinary visitors they hand-out an A5 paper with the main rules in the park, although we personally never saw or were given anything regarding this during our visits to the park. During the meeting to prepare the questionnaires the staff from the park stated that they hand it out to visitors. The following list is an excerpt from the rules of the park, translated from Portuguese to English):
You are not allowed to:

- Ride a bike on the trails and in domestic locations;
- Plant any native flora species;
- Drive heavy vehicles on the main track, apart from material discharge; parking is not allowed;
- The retention of children 0-12 without accompaniment;
- Hunting, fishing, or mistreat any species of wildlife;
- Walking off the tracks;
- Walk shirtless in the Park;
- Drink alcoholic beverages;
- Steal and / or destroy public property;
- Students needs to wear uniform during school hours, without the accompaniment of a teacher;
- Have a picnic on the premises of the Park;
- Smoke on the trails;
- Throw garbage out of landfills;
- Stay on this site after 17h;
- Carrying pets of any kind;
- Practice acts which offend the moral and public order;
- Remove materials of any kind;
- Remove fruits or seeds;
- Remove the patch medicinal species;
- Remove the racks from the parking lot and / or the entrance of the amphitheater;
- Use any form of production of fire;
- Use spaces other than those reserved for the event;
- Use the parking lot of the servers, except for the authorization, giving preference to elderly or mothers with infants;
- Use audio equipment above 45 decibels;
- Speed up to 20 km on the main trail;

Note: Please do not leave valuables inside the vehicles in the parking lot.”

2 Lopes, Maria Do Soccoro, Park staff at Mindu Park, Interview 29/02/12
From our oral interview with the park staff, the matter of the park’s origin was described. Mindu Park was founded due to the people in the neighbourhood that wanted to prevent the green area from getting occupied with settlements. Therefore, a lobby-campaign to make the area preserved was initialized. This, eventually, led to a decision from city council to preserve the area, while making it accessible as a public park.

A general complaint that the park-staff have, is that the combination of a public park and preserved area doesn’t work as good as they would like. In their view, the visitors acts disrespectful and constantly breaks the rules of the park. Given examples of this are visitors that eats and steals fruit from the park, feeds the animals and other things that isn’t allowed to do in the park. The staff in the park thinks that this problem is a sign of lack of knowledge. The visitors don’t know that the park is a conservation area or what that means for them as visitors. Due to the misbehaviour of some of the visitors, animals like monkeys that were common in the park previously are now very rarely seen. There are also problems with people breaking into the park and hunting animals, for example some alligators that live in the Igarapé of the park have been killed. Due to the big size of the park, it is hard to maintain a proper surveillance, and sometimes criminals breaks into the park to hide. The park staff also complain about the funding of the park, the lack of money keeps them from fixing the constantly broken fences, which makes it even easier for people to break into the park a while it is closed.

From official statistics regarding the amount of visitors during 2011, there is a big difference between the amount of visitors during weekdays and weekends. The park is generally more frequently visited by the end of the week, especially during Sundays due to a special Sunday-brunch that is served in the park.

![Visitor statistic, Mindu Park]

6.2.1. Oral Interviews with Park Administrative - staff

From our oral interview with the park staff, the matter of the park’s origin was described. Mindu Park was founded due to the people in the neighbourhood that wanted to prevent the green area from getting occupied with settlements. Therefore, a lobby-campaign to make the area preserved was initialized. This, eventually, led to a decision from city council to preserve the area, while making it accessible as a public park.

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3 Interview with park staff at Mindu Park
4 Ibid.
6.2.2. Written Interview 1 – park management

Ivania Silva is working as an advisor at Mindu park administrational staff. She is 53 years old and have worked in the Mindu Park for 3 years. She points out that Mindu Park is a park that has increased its number of visitors due to the fast growth and urbanization of Manaus. Ivania thinks there is a big variation of people coming to the park and is independent from things as gender and income. She sees the park as a green preservation area where people can get to know a piece of the remaining forest. When asked about the rules of the park, she points out that it is not allowed to demonstrate, protest or do any similar event in the park. The role of the guards in the park is to watch over the green areas and ensure that the rules are obeyed.5

She describes some suggestions that visitors in the park have given the park staff for improvements. Some examples are a pool in the park and a historic site. But in Ivaniyas point of view the best way for the visitor to affect the design of the park is to show respect to the rules of the park. The biggest conflict the park has is with the visitors, both individual visitors and neighbours, that are not aware of the park as a preserved area. This leads to the violation of the rules in the park, but she points out that bigger groups, such as schools, doesn’t respect the rules. The lack of awareness about the surrounding residents is the biggest problem the park is facing. An example of this lack of awareness is that the visitors are throwing garbage on the trails and smokes, both which are forbidden in the park. A solution to this could be media campaigns, public lectures or even fines or other kinds of sanctions. Due to that people don’t know about the park as a preserved area or not respect it Ivania don’t think it’s a good idea to combine preservation and social activities in the same park.6

6.2.3. Written Interview 2 – park management

Our second interview person is Maria do Socorro Lopes, she is 52 years old and have worked in Mindu park for two months with management. In her point of view the park have a lot of benefits, such as health benefits and contributions to the landscape. She explains that the ordinary visitor is in the age of 20 to 70 and within class C 7 (families with an income between R$ 1.200 and R$ 5.174 each month, i.e. about € 483 to € 2.070). (Folha 2011)

She explains that Mindu Park have rules that won’t allow people to protest or sleep in the park. The increase of population in Manaus had lead to a lack of awareness about the animals and the flora, according to Maria.

5 Silva, Ivania, staff at Mindu Park, Interview.
6 Ibid.
7 Lopes, Maria do Socorro, staff at Mindu Park, Interview.
This is also the biggest problem the park have, that is the conflict between the park and the visitors. Some visitors doesn't respect the rules in the park. Due to this problem Maria don't think it's a good idea to combine conservation and social aspects within the same park. "The visitors think they can use the area for social purposes and recreation and don't respect that the area is protected. For example visitors eats, have sex, uses drugs and throw stones at the animals, all of these are things that are not allowed to do in the park."

### 6.2.4. Questionnaire Mindu Park

**Answers:** 67  
**Women:** 72%  **Men:** 28%  
**Average:** 36 years  
**Grade:** 3,4  
**Average travel time to the park:** 42 minutes

The results from the questionnaire in Mindu Park shows that most of the visitors are female, public servants or students with an average age of 36 years old. More than half of the visitors in the park don't consider themselves as a regular visitor and the most common visitation-frequency is one visit each 3-6 months. Most visits in the park are quite long, and visitors generally spend more than an hour in the park each visit. A bit more than half of the visitors to Mindu Park are traveling to the park by car, and about 40 % take the bus while only 6 % goes to the park by foot. Most of the visitors visit the park alone or with one or two friends. A big majority of the visitors come to walk on the paths in the park. Most visitors feel safe during their visits in the park, around 30 % of the visitors feels unsafe one time or another during their visits in the Mindu Park. The question regarding improvements of the park showed that most visitors wanted maintenance to be improved, followed by security.

The final page of the questionnaire allows the visitors to fill in their own suggestions and additions. A lot of the answers requested more areas like Mindu Park in Manaus, or better maintenance in the park. Following is some examples of comments about the park (all comments are translated from Portuguese):

**Female 33:** "I don't come here very often, have been here three times, this is because I do not feel attracted here. The park needs more attractions, such as environmental education workshops, movies, music etc."

**Female 36:** “More cleaning of the igarapés and more interesting things for the visitors in the park.”

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Lopes, Maria do Socorro, staff at Mindu Park, Interview.
From our observations and the official statistic over visitors in the park we have found out that Sundays have much more visitors than the other days in the week. The main reason is due to the brunch that is served during the morning hours. From our observation we have seen that a lot of people goes to the park to have brunch in the park with their families during Sundays. Most of the people seem to come only for the brunch, but there is some who also take a walk on the trails or playing in the playground when they are in the park. During our observation in the park there was a group of scout kids playing in the playground except for the brunch visitors. A quite interesting observation was that half an hour after the brunch was closed at approximately, 11.30, almost all of the visitors was gone.

During our observation in weekdays we have seen mainly three kinds of groups; visitors simply looking at the park, people that are exercising and people on meeting in the lecture hall. Most people visit the park for social activities such as eating and walking the trails together with their family or friends. A few visitors visit the park alone for optional activities like exercising. Due to the fact that Mindu Park only has one entrance, there are no visitors that are walking by the park to their job or school. But during both of our observations in the park during weekdays there were a lot of meetings in the lector hall of the park. These activities was counted as necessary activities, since the people visiting the park for the lectures wasn’t visiting the park in itself, but rather the lecture hall.
6.2.6. Summary

Mindu park is the most well-visited green park in Manaus and was arranged after a movement of joining neighbours demanded the area to be preserved. The average visitor is a female in her mid 30's visiting the park with her family or friends to walk the trails or eat Sunday brunch. A majority of the respondents (69%) never feels insecure or unsafe during their visits in the park. The park is a forest preservation area and hence that have a lot of rules that the visitors needs to follow. Most visitors visit the park to walk the trails and the most common request for improvements is better maintenance. There is a conflict in the park regarding the rules of the park and the needs of the visitors, where the park staff complains about visitors breaking the rules while visitors complain that the park isn’t suitable for their needs.
6.3. Botanical Garden

1. 

- Green house
- Lecture hall
- Office
- Exhibition hall
- Entrance

N
1. Rainforest

2. Green house

3. Lecture hall

4. Exhibition hall

5. Office
The Botanical garden is a large preserved conservation area with saved rainforest that is located in the northeast corner of the city. From the beginning the park was located far away from Manaus city, but as the city has grown, the city has embraced the park, and nowadays you can see the park on the map as a distinct square. Next to the entrance, the park has a small exhibition about the plants and animals that lives in the rainforest that is surrounding the city. The park offers guided tours in the saved rainforest as well, and it's not allowed to enter the rainforest in the park without one of the guides. During the tours in the rainforest the guides talks about the different vegetation and animals in the forest.

During our oral interviews in Botanical garden the park staff explained how the park went from being situated far away from the city to a situation where the slum occupants started invading the park. As the city has been urbanized, the city have grown rapidly and today there are settlements south and west of the park. This fast urbanization has led to some illegal settlements within the park southwest corner, but the illegal settlement was legalized 7 years ago. The settlements weren't questioned legally because that would have taken too much time and would be very unpopular amongst the rest of the neighbourhood; therefore they decided to legalize these settlements. Today the park administration does daily observations in the park to look for illegal settlements to prevent new illegal settlements within Botanical garden.9

Botanical garden is located in a quite “poor” neighbourhood with a lot of illegal occupations. Although the general visitor that goes on the guided tours are usually tourists, students or other class C/middle-class citizens, there are a lot of activities in the park for the poor population. During our interview the park-stuff told us about their social work for the people living in the neighbourhoods close to the park. For example they hold courses in capoeira (afro Brazilian martial art) for young people in the neighbourhood, dance-courses and other various activities. There are also a lot of science-projects in the park and there are a lot of lectures and studies in biology in the park. The most common problem in botanical garden mainly consists of illegal hunting of animals and that people steals fruits and other plants from the forest. 10

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9 Interview with park staff at Botanical Garden.
10 Ibid.
Statistics from Botanical garden shows a smooth flow of visitors except for Mondays that has 10 visitors in average and Saturdays that has a bit higher amount of visitors.

6.3.1. Questionnaire Botanical Garden

Answers: 27
Women: 41%, Men: 56%
Average: 32 years
Grade: 4
Average travel time to the park: 40 minutes

Although the sample from the questionnaire was quite small, there were some interesting tendencies that could be seen. The visitors of Botanical garden are mostly working in the private sector and have a middle school education. A big majority of the visitors, 77%, wouldn't consider them as a regular visitor and most of the visitors visit the park less than once a year, but the majority of the visitors visit the park for more than 1 hour. A bit more than half of the visitors to Botanical garden travel by car and the other half of them goes by bus, 4% of the visitor went to the park by bicycle. In case of groups that visit the park it's quit spread out from people that visit by themselves to groups of more than 10. During the visit in the park the most visitors did walk on the path.

On the question if the visitor sometime felt insecure in the park, 81% of the visitor did answer that they never felt insecure and 15% did felt insecure sometimes in the park. When asked about what they did like to see improved in the park, the top three answers were signs, maintenance and trails.
The Botanical garden is a forest preservation area that used to be located far away from Manaus but as the city grew, the area was embraced by informal settlements. The area is one of the poorer areas in the city, but the park is mostly visited by visitors from other parts of the city. The park consists of a big forest area that needs to be visited with a guide. The park also has a small museum about indigenous Amazonian culture, and a research centre where rainforest-related studies take place. The park is located close to the illegal settlements that have embraced it, and the park also arranges activities for the people living close to the parks.

From the questionnaires in Botanical garden there was seven people who answered the last open question about what the visitor thinks about the park. Most of the people were very pleased with the park, some did have comments about the maintenance of the trails in the park, following are some examples (all comments are translated from Portuguese):

Anonymous: “The garden is very nice but the maintenance of the trails is horrible…”

Anonymous: “I enjoyed the visit to the park, the people here are helpful. It was very well.”

Anonymous: “The park is great because of the benefits such as leisure, and wildlife preservation…”

6.3.2. Summary

Botanical garden is a forest preservation area that used to be located far away from Manaus but as the city grew, the area was embraced by informal settlements. The area is one of the poorer areas in the city, but the park is mostly visited by visitors from other parts of the city. The park consists of a big forest area that needs to be visited with a guide. The park also has a small museum about indigenous Amazonian culture, and a research centre where rainforest-related studies take place. The park is located close to the illegal settlements that have embraced it, and the park also arranges activities for the people living close to the parks.
1. Parking

2. Theater

3. Skateboard

4. Bridge

5. Football field

6. Library

7. Playground

8. Kiosk
Bilhares Park (Parque dos Bilhares) is situated north of the city center of Manaus, between the avenue Constantino Nery and Djalma Batista. The park was founded in 2007 and is divided by the Mindu Igarapé. Bilhares is opened between 6 a.m. to 11 p.m. every day and is free to enter. (Municipality of Manaus) The park is surrounded by highways, apartment buildings and shopping centers, the neighbourhood is considered an upper-middle-class area. There are a lot of buses that passes by with bus stops quite near the entrances of the park. Around the whole park there are fences and the park has about three main entrances in connection with the big roads. The park is divided in two different parts, one east and one west of the Mindu Igarapé. These two parts are connected with a bridge over the streams and under the road. In the west part of the park there are various opportunities to practice sports, amongst other things they have two multisport fields, two football fields, an amphitheatre, kiosks and playground. In the east part of the park they have a smaller playground, a small pond, restaurant and an amphitheatre. The park has also a 1 400 meters long jogging trail and parking space for 215 vehicles. The two amphitheatres can take 150 and 240 people. (Municipality of Manaus) Except for these things there are park benches and plantation of trees and flowers in the park. Due to the fact that there is little elevation in the park, and the footpaths are made of stone, the park is fairly adapted and accessible.

The most frequent activities in the park include sports, for example one of the basketball teams in the city, “CVI” (Independent Living Center) play in the park twice a week. CVI are a government organization for people with special needs. Another example is SESI, which have a building in the park with a library and computers with Internet connection. (Municipality of Manaus)

6.4.1. Questionnaire Bilhares Park

Answers: 216
Women: 46%, Men: 50% (4% no answer)
Average: 23 years
Grade: 3,8
Average travel time to the park: 49 minutes

A majority of the respondents in the Bilhares Park were students and had a middle school education, the average age was quite low, 23 years old and there is a fairly equal proportion of men and women answering the questionnaire. The average travel time to the park is generally a bit longer than the other parks, with an average of 49 minutes. Geographically the visitors are spread out over the whole city, although most visitors lives in the neighbourhoods around the park and the northern parts of the city is not as well represented as the southern part of the city. Since the northern parts of the city are generally poorer, this indicates that most visitors are from a middle-class background. Most of the respondents, 69 %, con-
considered themselves as a regular visitor and most of the respondents use to come to Bilhares 1-2 days a week and visit the park for more than an hour. A bit less than half of the visitors goes to the park by bus, 33% by foot and 18% by car or motorcycle. The amount of visitors in groups was quite spread out, with a majority of visitors that visits the park alone or in smaller groups. The most popular activities in the park are to walk on the paths followed by practice sport or exercise. Two common answers, amongst activities are to study or visit the library in the park. When asked if the visitors ever felt unsafe in the park, 44% answered that they always felt safe in the park, 40% answered that they sometimes felt unsafe and 14% answered that they always feel unsafe in the park. This mean that totally 54% of the visitor to Bilhares sometimes, or always feels unsafe when they visit the park. Regarding what the visitors would like to improve in the park, the most frequent answer was security, but lighting and service were two other quite common answers.

Around 25% of the respondents answered the last open question about suggestions and opinions about the park. Some of the people seemed satisfied with the park but there were also a lot of comments on how the park could change to get even better. Example of this is suggestions about more benches in the shadow, changing-rooms in connection to the sport fields and more events in the park. The most frequent issue, or request was improvement of the security and the guards in the park. Following are some examples of answers about that people would like to improve in the park, (all comments are translated from Portuguese):

Most of the comments are simply suggesting more (and better) security, for example through more guards and camera surveillance. Here are a couple of typical comments:

**Male 35**: “Better safety in the parking lot, because my music instruments was stolen.”

**Female 18**: "In my point of view the security comes in first place, with that, the park would be better perceived and more visited."

Especially amongst young female respondents there are comments that the problems with security actually lies in the security guards themselves. Disrespectful behaviour and incompetence are two common comments.

**Female 15**: "The guards have to be more educated and respect the choice of other people without clichés, and let us have fun. Let the school people enter and visit the park and stay until the time they want."

**Female 18**: “The ways security interfere with visitors are not correct. I've felt afraid of the guards when they'd approached me. The approaches of the guards are not correct; I have felt shameful or scared to be approached, to be in interaction with them. The security of the park doesn't work, because when there is attacks the guards don't take initiative or action.”
The activities in Bilhares Park show a good selection of all three kinds of activities. A lot of people pass through the park to go to work (mandatory activity), a lot of people visit the park to play sports or interact with friends (social activity) and there's a large amount of visitors that visit the park alone to exercise or simply walk around (optional activity). There is a school quite near the park and as the school is ending there is a lot of students that passes by the park. Some of these students remains in the park for a while to read books, hanging out with friends or play football before they go home. There is a period between 4 p.m to 5 p.m where most activities take place in the park.

Except for the high amount of activity during the time school ends, there is, more or less a consistent activity level in the park during the whole day. The location of the park, between two big roads in Manaus, makes it a popular place to pass by during the way to school, work or the supermarket. It is also quite common that people exercise in the park. Except for the visitors in the park there is also quite a lot of people working in the park. On a normal day around 5-6 people works with administration, around 4-6 security guards and around 5 people with maintenance. There are more extreme examples of this though, during one of the observations there was around 50 people working with maintenance in the park.

The spatial design of the park with a distinct east and west side shows a pattern of differences between the two sides of the park, that can be seen regarding visitors and activities. In the east part of the park, families and teenagers are the most frequent visitors. The families go to the park to use the playground with their children and the teenager is socially interact-

Female 22: “The guards should be more polite in their interaction with the visitors of the park, despite getting young drug addicts doesn’t mean that you have to frighten people from the other parts of the city.”

Female 18: “The security is not good, because there are places without monitoring where there is more risk of attacks and other crimes with high level of danger. The guards manifest a lack of respect about the image of women. The guards are disrespectful and tries to seduce women.”

Some comments point out that the diversity of different people in the park makes the park “scary” or insecure. Following are two examples of this:

Female: “The Bilhares Park is one of the scariest places in Manaus. The park is made for diversified public and the situation is bad with the diversity. I also don’t like the security guards.”

Female 19: “Due to the people from other parts of the city and other cities, the park needs (without a doubt) more security.”

### 6.4.2. Observation in Bilhares Park

The activities in Bilhares Park shows a good selection of all three kinds of activities. A lot of people pass through the park to go to work (mandatory activity), a lot of people visit the park to play sports or interact with friends (social activity) and there's a large amount of visitors that visit the park alone to exercise or simply walk around (optional activity). There is a school quite near the park and as the school is ending there is a lot of students that passes by the park. Some of these students remains in the park for a while to read books, hanging out with friends or play football before they go home. There is a period between 4 p.m to 5 p.m where most activities take place in the park.
ing, talking or skateboarding. In the west part of the park most visitors practice sports, primarily football. There are also a lot of young couples that comes to this part of the park to sit on the benches in the shadow. Benches in the shadow are one thing that the east part is missing, which is something that could be the reason that the benches aren’t as used as those in the west part.

From our observations we can see that 60% of the visitors are male and 40% female. An explanation could be that the football fields attract mostly male visitors. To simplify the summary of all activities in the park we have used Gelhs method and divided the activities in three categories. As can be seen in the diagram (p. 80) there is a majority of social activities in the park while there is no big difference between optional and necessary activities.

6.4.3. Summary

The Bilhares Park is the most well visited park in Manaus, probably due to its location close to the city center between two of the major roads going through the city. The park is designed for social activities with several football fields, skateboard ramps and playgrounds. The most frequent activities in Bilhares Park are social activities like playing sports. The average visitor is quite young, 23 years old, and the people visit the park are from all parts of the city. With an average transportation time of 49 minutes to get to the park, Bilhares is the park that people are willing to travel longest to visit. A problem with the Bilhares Park is a feeling of insecurity amongst visitors. A majority of 54% the respondents replied that they sometimes, or always feel insecure and unsafe during their visits to the park.
1. Theater
2. Theater
3. Footpath
4. The bridge and the lake
5. Footpath
6. Office
Japiim Park (Lagoa do Japiim) is located in the industrial areas of Manaus, in the neighbourhood Japiim 1, next to the road Avenida Rodrigo. (Municipality of Manaus). The road that leads to the park is heavily trafficked and a lot of different buses passes by the park. The park was the result of an expropriation of land due to a private land-owner that didn't pay taxes. In 2007 the municipality started to build the park and the park as it is now, was finished in 2008. The park will be expanded, and plans are already made to expand the park by expropriate an area of previously illegal occupations. The park have a small commercial center, with buildings for shops and restaurants but due to a lack of parking space in connection to the park all commercial activities seized to exist and the buildings remains empty. The lack of parking space in connection to the park also affects the amount of visitors and their means of transportation to the park. The general visitor comes from the nearby neighbourhoods and usually walks to the park.11

Japiim Park is developed for environmental preservation, cultural and educational use. In the middle of the park there is an Igarapé that passes by that form a lake. Around the “lake” there is a footpath and some plantation with trees. In the east part of the park there are two amphitheatres where dance and theatre groups practices. In connection to the park there are also a parking space with a capacity for 100 vehicles. (Municipality of Manaus)

6.4.1. Questionnaire Japiim Park

Answers: 48
Women: 52%, Men: 46%
Average: 23 years
Grade: 3,4
Average travel time to the park: 19 minutes

A big majority of the visitors that answered the questionnaire are students, about 50% of the visitors have a middle school education and the average age is quite young, 23 years old. Almost 80% would consider themselves as a regular visitor and a majority did come to the park at least once a week and usually spends more than an hour in the park. Transportation to the park shows that most of the visitors gets to the park on foot, although there are a significant amount of visitors that goes by car or motorcycle. The most common activity is to walk, exercise or play sports. More than 70% did answer that they always or sometimes feel unsafe in the park. When asked what the visitors did like to improve in the park a majority answer security followed by more benches and lighting.

Around 20 people answered the last open question in the questionnaire. There are mainly three different comments about the park; they like the park a lot, they want to improve the maintenance (primarily the lake) and they want to improve the security and the guards in the park. But the undergoing theme amongst most of the comments is that the park is dirty

11 Interview with park staff at Japiim Park
and that the security is lacking. Following is some examples about what people did answer, (all comments are translated from Portuguese):

Male 21: "I go to the park to exercise about five times a week for five months. I’ve already had in mind some problem to speak with the administration about. Here are some remarks:

Security: I have already seen 2 attacks here involving people with gun. Why aren't there more guards here? What is the reason?

Vandalism: some persons climb the fence of the superior level every three hours; we need a guard to control the entrance in the park.

Maintenance: when it rains the water and the trashes are going down from the neighbourhood. The place stays dirty, because of that it's time to put a canalization to drain this dirty water!"

Male 21: "Well the park was a great idea from the man who started the project. But it should have more security, lights, toilets, more food options, more cleaning of the lake because the smell is awful. It should have more projects to attract visitors like live shows with different kind of rhythms and more parties in the park"…

Male 25: "This park offers a place for meetings and entertainment for its visitors but we have to recognize all the problems. The stinky smell and the security have to be improved!"

Male 16: "In my opinion the security could be improved because there are a lot of attacks here. The illumination has to be improved, because with light we feel more secure when we walk here. With more light it should not have such attacks as now."

6.4.2. Summary

Japiim Park is one of the “grey” parks in Manaus. The park was the result of a large expropriated area and the park will soon expand through an expropriation of former illegal settlements. The average user is a young male, or female around 20 years old that visits the park on a regular basis. Most visitors goes to the park by foot with an average travel time of 19 minutes. The most common activity is to play sports or exercise in the park. A majority of 70% of the visitors answered that they always, or sometimes feel unsafe during their visits in the park and although the park is guarded there are a lot of comments about attacks and robberies in the park.
6.6. Nascente Park

Nascente Park (Parque Municipal da Nascente do Mindu) stands out from the rest of the studied parks. Although the park is owned and maintained by the municipality, it isn't publicly opened for everyone to visit. The park is a preserved area founded in 2005 through expropriation of private land (Taveria 2010, p. 7). The park is opened for pre-booked visits, but isn’t opened for the public. The park is located in the northern parts of the city, surrounded by illegal settlements. The park basically consists of a large forest area that stretches through the neighbourhoods, called “Cidade de Deus” (meaning, city of God) and “Nossa Senhora das Graças”, both of which are areas with a lot of social difficulties. Spatially, the park mainly consist of preserved rainforest, which is fenced and at the entrance there is an administrational building and areas to grow fruits and vegetables. The construction of the park, and its legal status as a preserved area, were initialized to prevent the area from getting invaded by illegal settlements. The park was never intended to be opened for the public, and there are currently no plans to open it up any further.12

Visitors are required to pre-book their visit and during their stay in the park, visitors are escorted by an armed security guard. This is due to problems with visitors being attacked and robbed by the locals. One of the objectives with the park was to put an end to the illegal settlements in the forest, and during the years the park have been facing problems with settlers refusing to leave the area. The city statute gives the municipality an opportunity to legalize settlements, but due to the preservation laws settlers can be removed or evicted without a legal court process. This makes the preserved area efficient in preserving forest fragments and protecting the igarapés in the area.13

The surrounding areas have major social problems. There are no public schools or health care in the area, which have led to a large amount of illiteracy amongst the children in the area and problems with early child deaths. Drug-dealing and homelessness are the major issues in the area. The area is considered as very dangerous and is poorly protected by the police. The park-staff manager complained about people breaking into the park. Usually to hunt animals, collect fruits or other natural resources, washing their clothes in the rivers and even hiding out from the police. The park is constantly overviewed to prevent illegal settlements into it and every now and then there are settlers that needs to be removed. 14

There are many conflicts between the park staff and the locals in the area. The park staff is constantly afraid to be attacked and there has been some violent uprisings due to the removal of informal settlements in the park. Usually when locals break into the park to hunt or steal fruits, the security guards simply let them be, to avoid violence and vandalism. Usually, the “green” preserved parks have rules for the visitors, but in the case of

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12 Interview with park staff at Nascente Park
13 Ibid.
14 Ibid.
Nascente Park no specific rules are applied. The rules confuses the illiterate locals and to avoid even further conflicts, there are no specific rules. Although there are many conflicts with the locals in the area, there are also some positive social interactions. The park arranges social activities for the locals, and courses for the children and women in the area. The activities are financed with help from companies within Manaus, and aims at improving to social situation in the neighbourhood. An example of activities is a series of courses in plantation for the people in the neighbourhood. 15

6.7. All Parks

If the results from all questionnaires are compiled there are a certain patterns that can be seen. Most of the visitors has a middle school graduation followed by high school graduation and only 21 of the 358 who answered the questionnaire had a graduate. A big majority of the visitors were student and as many as 62 % would consider themselves as a regular visitor to the park and the majority visit the park once a week or more. When it comes to transportation to the park it's very variable, around 30 % came by foot and the same number by car/motorcycle and 40 % with the bus. A majority of the visitors did spend more than an hour in the park and did like to walk in the park followed by practice sport. It is most common for people to visit the park alone, but also small groups is quite common. Of all visitors it was about half of them that sometimes or always felt unsafe when they visit the park. Security is also the most common answer on the questionnaire on what the visitors would like to improve about the parks, followed by illumination and service. The most common reply on the open question was that there are a lack of security and comments about the behaviour of the guards.

15 Interview with park staff at Nascente Park.
6.8. Non-visitor Questionnaire

From the non-visitors questionnaire at the UFAM campus, we got 133 answers.

Answers: 133
Women: 62% Men: 38%
Average: 29 years
40 % live in a driving distance of 30 minutes from a park
40 % would prefer to have a park in 10 minutes walk from their home.

A majority of the people who answered the non-visitor questionnaire was students and well educated with a high school or graduated degree. 65 % of the respondents wouldn't consider themself as a regular visitor to the parks in Manaus and most of them usually visits parks once every 3-6 month. Most of the respondents visit the Bilhares Park, followed by Mindu which was the second most popular park to visit. It was also Bilhares that most of the respondent lived closest to. Most of the respondent lived 30 minutes with car from the park nearest to their home, but most of them would prefer to live within a 10 minutes walk. A majority of the respondents who answered that they'd prefer to have the parks near to their home.

95 % of the respondents in the questionnaire thinks that there is a lack of parks in Manaus. When asked why the non-visitors didn't visit the parks more often a majority felt that they didn't have time or that the park was located too far away from their home. But as many as 20 % didn't visit the park more often because they didn't feel safe in the park. 78 % of the respondents in the non-visitor questionnaire always, or sometimes felt insecure while visiting the parks in the city. Security was also the thing that most of the respondent wanted to improve in the parks, when we asked what they would like to improve.
6.9. Interview with Planners

6.9.1. Interview 1.

Rodrigo Capelato is a former urban planner at the municipality of Manaus, nowadays, he is teaching planning at a private university. He believes that working with urban public parks is amongst the most difficult tasks a planner have in a city like Manaus, that is to make parks available and sociable while fostering a more democratic urban planning. In his view, urban public parks serve a social function of meeting, mixing people, sharing public land, learning and several other social processes. Spatially speaking, the urban public parks interrupt, in a positive way, the urban real estate speculation and offers the city places for social interactions. “For us, urban planners, working with parks is a duel with the concept of occupancy rates and densities. We are asked to find endless possibilities for occupation, and the preservation of parks and green areas are left behind”.

Working with reviewing the municipal master plan, in Rodrigo’s perspective, means that the planner needs to understand that the city has become obsolete and outdated. Manaus is growing fast, and during the last ten years there have been a big progression but the urban development did not follow this process. When working with parks in the master plan, the tasks are simply to point out areas to prevent occupation of these spaces. Problems with the occupations are that the one-family-houses have a kind of individual structure, and the collective possibilities of the spaces disappears as they get invaded. Rodrigo believes that the approach Manaus have, where they combine preserved areas with the functions of public parks is very successful. “Afterall, we can not make these areas as green islands that are untouchable. We have to allow access to them so we can feel the micro climate, tranquility and its importance in the landscape”.

Regarding the right to the city, he believes that the right to the city are dependent on how people use the spaces of the city. He aims some critizism towards the right to the city, and says that the “so-called right to the city requires an authoritarian state, which prevents us to build our own city”. The right to the city-perspective degrades urban planners as something administrational and “we are victims of this concept that hardens the urban experience”. The right to the city are, according to Rodrigo, linked to all processes of urban planning in the city. He believes that the public needs to influence urban planning because “they are the ones who know the city they are living in, they are incorporating the ultimate meaning of the word everyday. Respecting the opinion of the public is to make a star in the universe of urban planning and providing an experience very close to the needs of these groups”. Although this is how he would like planning to work, it isn’t the case in Manaus. Urban development strategies are a technical and administrative task and doesn't include participation from the inhabitants. Although, in his point of view urbanism should be a collective practice.

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16 Capaleto, Rodrigo, urban planner, Interview.
17 Ibid.
18 Ibid.
6.9.2. Interview 2.

Marcelo Dutra is the head of the environment secretary in the municipality of Manaus. He believes that one of the major problems working with urban planning in Manaus is the illegal occupations, which is the case with the vast majority of the neighbourhoods. The biggest challenge working with public parks in Manaus, as with most environmental management, is related to economical aspects. The challenge lies in increasing the comfort and services while at the same time reducing the costs and investments of public funds. One solution that have been effective in with the case of Bilhares Park is to outsource the commercial activities and maintenance to private operators. There are currently many plans and initiatives regarding parks and public spaces in Manaus, which shows that this is a priority from the government. The problems with these areas includes create structures, bike paths and environmental education, but the biggest problem with planning is economical issues, like maintenance and implementation. At the moment, the municipal master plan is under revision, and at the moment the need for planning urban parks in all areas of the city have been pointed out by planners, but there are no particular plans or strategies at the moment regarding the issue. Manaus is currently growing fast, which leads to invasions and illegal settlements in the urban areas that requires public investments, but these investments is not included in the public budget.\(^1\)

Regarding the right to the city, it is guaranteed as long as the public spaces are designed with focus on the needs of the entire city, that is when the right to the city occurs. In the case of Manaus, the public spaces don’t fit everyone and there is a big need for bike paths, parks, squares and other spaces. To make this happen a total structural reconstruction of the city is needed. Regarding in what ways the inhabitants can influence planning; his answer is mainly through “the proper use of existing spaces and engagement in the instruments provided by the government”. In 2011 the municipality held 15 public hearings about the reform of the Master Plan, which is the only public meetings about urban planning in Manaus. The concept of combining preservation and public parks is “fundamental” in a city like Manaus, which have been growing spontaneously in the world's largest rainforest. The concept was created as environmental compensation for housing projects and isn't just a way to combine natural protected areas with urban parks but also creates structures for research and education about the rain forest.\(^2\)

\(^1\) Dutra, Marcelo, head of the environment secretary, Manaus, Interview
\(^2\) Ibid.
6.9.3. Interview 3.

Heitor Liberato works at the department of plantation, landscape and environmental education at the municipality of Manaus. He is the head of the urban park division. In his view, the guidelines and policies of the municipality do not prioritize the expansion and preservation of green spaces. Parks are basically built on “leftovers”, such as with the case of Japiim park where the municipality had to expropriate a big piece of private land due to lack of tax payments from the owner. He believes that the biggest problem is the political instability that the municipality currently has. The lack of public commitment from the government is another problem, which according to Heitor have led to that plans haven't been able to implement. As the city is growing fast, he belives there is a need to renew plans and policies more quicker, he points out that Manaus have grown with 300% of it's population in 30 years and that this is due to the free trading zone. The growth of the city can't be met with planning due to the time-aspect.21

Regarding the right to the city he believes that “on the paper, we have excellent tools for urban planning, but they doesn't work out as good in reality”. Regarding the way people can influence urban planning he think the best way would be to frequently use the existing parks and discover their potential and “use your voting power, elect politicians committed to improving the quality of life in the urban environment”. He thinks that the combination of public parks and preserved areas is important, especially in the case of Mindu park where the surrounding population proposed the creation of the park. 22

6.9.4. Interview 4.

Maria Eliane Ramos is an urban planner working at SEMMAS with the urban parks (grey parks). She says that the aim of the urban parks is to improve the quality of life and give environmental comfort, health and wellness. The master plan should provide the city with these public spaces and other recreational functions. She believes that the concept of combining preservation and public parks is very successful and that there should be more spaces like that in the city. “People needs to experience the biodiversity of a place that provides knowledge about the flora, fauna and water resources”. 23

Regarding the right to the city in the Brazilian City Statute, she believes that it doesn't affect planning in a practical way. She believes that the only way for people to affect urban planning in the city is through community leadership, through politicians or trying to work with politics. She ends our interview with pointing out the threats of deforestation in the Amazon region and that they are always racing against time to delay these processes. 24

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21 Liberato, Heitor, head of urban park division, Interview.
22 Ibid.
23 Ramor, Maria Eliane, urban planner, SEMMAS, Interview.
24 Ibid.
7. ANALYSIS
-The Right to the City and Public Parks
7.1. The Use of Public Parks

Although there are differences amongst the parks in the study, there are some general observations that can be made at this point. First off, the general visitor of public parks in Manaus is willing to travel a long distance to get to a park, the Japiim park is an exception with an average travel time of 19 minutes, but otherwise the average time spent to get to a park ranges around 45 minutes. There is clearly a conception that there aren't enough public parks in the city, with a frequency of 95% of the respondents share this view. The average visitor in the grey parks is most likely a male student in his early 20's, visiting the park with friends to play football or do other social interactions. The average visitor in the green parks is most likely a woman, in her mid-30's, working in the public sector visiting the park for social activities with family or friends, usually walking the trails or eating Sunday brunch.

The parks also hold a kind of educational and social function. Most of the green parks are used for science-related projects, and the Bilhares Park is fitted with a library for students to visit. The parks in the northern part of the city arranges educational and social activities for the poor inhabitants in the neighbourhoods around the park. The case of Nascente displays a special case, where the park tries to educate the poorly educated locals in plantations and tries to stabilize the area through social activities. The park is still facing conflicts with the poor locals that breaks into the closed park and tries to invade it for housing. While the other parks are located in middle-class areas, the Nascente Park displays some of the problems that occurs in poorer areas, where the inhabitants, according to the right to appropriation, should have an equal right to inhabit and use the public spaces. This is not the case, and the park remains closed down and is simply a tool to prevent the area from getting invaded by housing.

All parks, except for the Bilhares park shows different examples on how parks are used as tools in the fight against informal settlements. For starters, the Mindu Park was built from the initiatives from its middle-class neighbourhood residents, who wanted to avoid further informal settlements in the area. The park and its status as preserved area prevents the area from getting occupied. The Botanical Garden shows another example, where the city embraced the park and, as in the case of the Mindu Park, it prevents further informal settlements. The Japiim Park shows a third example, where former informal settlements are expropriated to expand the park. With a legislation that gives the municipality legal possibilities to legalize informal settlements, there are few ways for the municipality to evict or remove informal settlements without a proper legal court process. The use of giving areas the legal status of natural preserved areas is the only way for the municipalities to take rapid actions. Through disguising these areas as public parks, the preserved areas become an asset for the whole city. But in turn, these areas are not used as the inhabitants would like them to. The interests of preservation stand against the interests of the users.
7.2. Typology of Spaces

Although this is not a comparative study, we can see a lot of differences while comparing the two types of parks. The grey parks, displays a “democratic” space, as Mitchell would’ve called it. These parks are diverse with visitors from wider areas and there are no specific rules in the parks. These parks give their visitors a freedom to do what they want, but as seen in the interviews and questionnaire results these parks have a larger amount of visitors that feels unsafe during their stays in the park. The comments about robberies, criminality and violence in both of the grey parks displays that these, democratic spaces, have issues with their safety. Although the parks are heavily guarded, people still feel unsafe, and sometimes the heavy security is a part of the problem. Especially some young girls comments that they were afraid of the guards in the parks and felt insecure, while others simply complained that the presence of visitors from other poorer parts of the city made them feel unsafe and scared.

The green parks represents a “safe” space, with rules, fences, guides and guards. The rules of the parks should prevent the users of the green parks to, for instance, demonstrate, hold public debate or even walk around shirtless. These parks show less of a diversity of visitors, either geographically as in the case with Mindu Park, or socially as with the case of the Botanical Garden. The frequency of visitors feeling insecure or afraid was lower in the green parks, but at the same time there is a conflict between the rules and objectives of the parks as preserved areas and the need and demands of the inhabitants using the parks. Whether or not the concept of combining preservation areas with public parks is a good concept or not remains debatable. The park-staff and visitors doesn’t seem to like the concept. The visitors feel that they can’t use the park as they would like to, while the park staff complains about the ignorance and lack of understanding for the purposes of the park as a preserved area. In contrast to this, the interviewed planners believes that the concept is good and makes these areas useful, instead of keeping them completely closed from the public.

In addition to this Mitchell describes how spaces created for security and surveillance rather than interaction creates dead public space, a third typology. The grey parks, are from the results in the questionnaires places with a high degree of social activities and interactions and hence can not be classified as “dead space”. Although the green parks due to their size is not possible, or designed to be kept under constant surveillance there are some tendencies that leans towards what Mitchell calls dead space. Many of the questionnaire comments implies that these green parks aren’t designed to be used, and the observations from the parks were cancelled on a couple of occasions due to a lack of people to observe! Although the green parks aren’t designed for surveillance per se, they are still dominated by their rules and hence create these dead public spaces. The green parks are not designed with the visitors in mind, but rather to preserve the forest fragments, without the interaction of the visitors in mind.
7.3. The Right to the City in Brazil

From reading the publications of Fernandes, it is clear that the right to the city in Brazil basically means that decisions regarding urban planning were decentralized to give the municipalities the power to regulate land use. Through a representative democracy this gives the city and its inhabitants the right to participation, according to Fernandes. With a tradition of central decisions from the military regime, and a speculative land market that followed when the regime fell, a change towards decentralized decision-making and a powerful municipal government was a step in the right direction towards a right to participation. But when interviewing planners and park-staff members it is clear that there are few ways for the inhabitants to actually affect the public spaces and urban planning. Besides from the public hearings regarding the municipal master plan, there are no formal activities or possibilities to affect the public spaces. This implies that the decentralization of managing urban planning is by no means, a guarantee for the right to participation.

The Brazilian city statute also have its own take on the right to appropriation, where the law provides legal tools for municipalities to legalize informal settlements, but also gives the settlers a legal right to a fair trial. The law can provide the municipality with the possibility to give the settlers a kind of lease-hold for the land, both on private and publicly owned land, in order to be able to collect taxes from the settlers. Although these leaseholds are not property rights per se, the leaseholds provide the settlers with a kind of exclusive right to the land. Public parks have, as can be seen in the case of Manaus, a special role as a tool for the municipal governments to decline this “right to appropriation” that the city statute provides. Preserved areas, disguised as public parks, serves the role of an efficient tool to deny settlers the right to appropriation without a formal court hearing.

During the interviews with planners there is not a common view on what the right to the city is, but rather a tendency towards a kind of utopian attitude towards the term. Examples of these are comments about the legal tools working good in theory but not as good in practice (Heitor), the right to the city meaning designing a city that focuses of the needs of every citizen (Dutra) and that the right to the city doesn’t practically affect planning at all (Ramos). And sure, as Souza points out, Lefebvre’s concept have a kind of utopian feel about it. It requires a re-structuration of society as a whole, with new ways to base citizenship and challenging the nature of capitalism. But is this relevant to legalize the concept of the right to the city?
The Brazilian city statute is described by many (Fernandes, Brown, UN) as a way to put the right to the city in legal practice, but is this utopian concept relevant in a national planning legislation? As seen in the cases of public parks, there are at least reasons to doubt if the term “right to the city” is relevant when describing the city statute. The city statute is surely inspired by the concept of the right to the city, but describing it as a way to put the concept to practice is surely taken it a bit “too far”. The different views on what the right to the city means in a Brazilian context suggests that the term isn’t properly defined in the city statute. The right to the city in Brazil as Fernandes (2005) calls it, is rather a number of social initiatives in the city statute that are based loosely on the ideas of Lefebvre.

7.4. The Concept of the Right to the City and Public Parks?

Security and its role for the parks as spaces of representation
Security in general seems to be an infected issue regarding public parks. A majority of the visitors in the two grey parks feel unsafe during their visits, and as many as 20% of the non-visitors answered that the reason why they didn't visit the public parks was because of safety-related issues. With this in mind, would it be appropriate to say that the lack of safety is a threat to the inhabitants right to the city? First off it might be appropriate to speculate on why people feel unsafe in public parks. From the questionnaire comments there are some different answers that could suggest why. Some respondents commented that the problem might lie in the guard themselves, which are described as rude and disrespectful. Comments about robberies and violence are another reasonable reason why. Some respondents commented about the diversity of the parks, and implied that visitors from other parts of the city or country were the problem. The case of Nascente park, where visitors needs to be escorted by an armed guard to prevent attacks from the poor inhabitants in the area, support the view that the problem might lie in the attitude towards under-class citizens or people from these kinds of neighbourhoods. These comments and complaints about diversity in public parks, implies that the presence of the poorer population simply seems to scare the middle-class visitors and leaves public parks in a kind of status-quo state where none of the groups interests are being met.

We would like to argue that the problems with insecurity implies that these aren't spaces where people can make themselves visible and represent themselves or their group. In short the feeling of insecurity implies that the studied parks aren't spaces for representation. The interests of the poor population, using the parks for hunting, collecting fruits and use its natural resources stands in conflict with the need for security and preservation. The right to the city focuses on the inhabitants right to inhabit the
city and shape it after their desires, but who has that right in Manaus? It surely isn’t the poor population that breaks into the park to hunt and collect fruits, nor the agitated middle-class that requires a constant increase in safety and security. Cities are, as described by Lefebvre, diverse and complex with many needs and desires. One of the interviewed planners said that his view on the right to the city was to make public spaces that meet everyone’s desires and needs, which is an impossible task within a diverse city. This implies what Mitchell calls “the end of public space”, that there are no ways for groups and individuals to represent themselves, which seems to be the case with the public parks in Manaus. This is where the problem with security comes back. If the right to the city is dependant on public space and these spaces needs to be spaces for representation, then clearly the right to the city is neglected within the case of the public parks in this study.

**Parks as assets through its use and exchange value**
The right to the city builds on the theory on use and exchange value, where public spaces, which have a use value for its users as public commodities are later reshaped by forces of capitalism and creates exchange value. It is worth reflecting if the parks of Manaus have fallen victim to this. Are the public parks shaped for an economical and political elite, similar to what Harvey describes? Maybe. Through the results there are tendencies towards that it is the case with the green parks. They are frequently visited by “class-C” middle, and upper-middle-class while the tight security and guarding of the park suggests that these are areas shaped for their needs. During the observations and results from interviews and questionnaires in the grey parks, there are tendencies towards a more diverse space, with problems that arise with it. Criminality and violence are a problem, at least in the case of the Japiim Park. And the observations and questionnaire-results in the Bilhares Park displays a diversity amongst the visitors, but also that most visitors feel insecure and afraid during visits. Although during our observations we haven’t noticed anything that would imply that the studied public parks have fallen victim to the forces of capitalism since none of these areas have become privatized or taken under control by capitalist forces.

**The right to participation and appropriation**
Is the concept of preserving areas to prevent them from being occupied, or inhabited a good thing from a right to the city perspective? One might think that they serve a good purpose as public parks for the whole population, but the results in the study rather shows that there is a conflict between how people want to use the parks and what the rules of the parks allows people to do. Lefebvre’s ideas about the right to participation and appropriation are clearly neglected in this sense.
First off, there are no ways for the inhabitants to affect how the public spaces are going to take shape, and for the park staff the suggestions are passed off as ignorant. The possibility to attend public hearings about the master plan just simply isn’t enough to guarantee that the right to participation is taken into consideration. There are clearly two different mindsets, the view of the park-staff is that the visitors are ignorant and doesn’t understand the purpose of the park. On the other hand, the questionnaire comments from visitors show another view, that the park isn’t a good place for the activities that they expect from a public park.

Whether or not the concept of using the parks as preserved areas, and thus prevent the areas from being inhabited by occupants is a good thing out from a right to the city perspective is also worth questioning. According to Lefebvre’s right to appropriation, the city should be able to be inhabited. Not as private property though as it promotes exclusion. The case of the green parks where homeless people aren’t allowed to sleep, or as with the Nascente Park which is closed and used as a way to prevent invaded housing, shows that the right to appropriation isn’t being guaranteed in the case of the public parks.

*In conclusion*...

Is the concept of the right to the city put into practice regarding the case of public parks in Manaus? There might be some arguments that support this. First off, no one is formally excluded from the parks, they are opened for anyone to visit and the parks as public assets through their use value doesn’t seem to be in danger of being turned into profit, or exchange value.

But the problems with the feeling of insecurity amongst visitors and the demands to use these spaces in other ways suggests that these aren’t spaces where people can represent themselves, and hence not produce these spaces. The right to the city is about participation, appropriation and representing yourself in the public space to be able to, collectively shape it. Public spaces with rules that prohibits its users from demonstrate, sleep, eat, smoke or even walk around shirtless doesn’t meet up with these requirements, nor does public spaces where a majority of their visitors feels frightened during their visits.
8. DISCUSSION

-The Right to the City Loses its Meaning and Impact
When studying publications regarding the right to the city it occurred to us that the term could mean anything from:

- A Marxist-inspired theory, challenging the social and political structures of capitalism, used by Lefebvre and Harvey amongst others.
- A "vehicle" for urban change, through allowing urban dwellers a space where they can define their needs, used by UNESCO.
- A more "human life" in the context of the capitalist city, a view promoted by social movements and NGO's
- A legal movement in Brazil.

Each of these actors and views on the term has made the focus unclear and somewhere along the way, it seems as though the right to the city lost its meaning. In this study we aimed to analyse the relation between the right to the city and public parks in a Brazilian city, where this concept should've been put into practice through a federal law. What we found out was that the original ideas of Lefebvre had little to do with the federal law, and that on many levels the concept was not put into practice in the case of public parks in the city of Manaus.

The Brazilian “model” for the right to the city redirects decision-making from the state to the municipalities, to “guarantee” the right to participation through representative democracy. But, as shown in the case study, this isn’t a guarantee for the inhabitants to affect the city they are living in. As the head of the division for urban parks said, the way for people to affect urban planning is to vote for politicians that are committed to changing the urban environment. But is this what Lefebvre meant with the right to participation? We would argue, that no, the Brazilian model for the right to the city is not what Lefebvre would call “a right to participation”. A more, direct kind of democracy would be needed, where inhabitants can actively participate in all decisions that affect their lives in the city.

Perhaps, the Swedish model from PBL, which from our perspective takes this a step further and gives all inhabitants in the city a possibility to contribute and make their voice heard would be a good object for comparison with the Brazilian city statute for further research.

It isn’t surprising that the views and use of “The Right to the City” remains different from NGO’s, social movements and the scholars. Lefebvre’s concept is a bit fuzzy in a sense that it is illusive and hard to define. What remains clear though when reading the analysis of his work is that his ideas requires a restructuration of society as a whole. It is a step away from the capitalist city, where the forces of capitalism shape public spaces. It requires a step towards an approach where the inhabitants in the city actively participate in the decisions regarding all processes that shape their city and everyday life. These ideas are perhaps, simply impossible to implement in a capitalist market-driven society. Legal initiatives such as the Brazilian City statute is perhaps a step in the right direction to imple-
ment these ideas, but it still acts in a capitalist context. The Brazilian city statute might serve its purpose, but it has little to with the actual ideas of Lefebvre.

When reflecting upon Lefebvre’s ideas, one might question if Marxist-inspired theories like the right to the city are still relevant or ever possible to implement. The recent debates and publications regarding social difficulties in cities all over the world shows that Lefebvre’s ideas are still relevant, but they need to be seen for what they are: radical theories aiming for radical restructure. When the “right to the city” is promoted by UN-habitat, at the same time as they act in a capitalist context, without (from what we can tell) no intentions to challenge capitalism in itself, then clearly the “right to the city” as presented by Lefebvre, lost its meaning somewhere along the way. The concept of the right to the city is still an important and relevant source of inspiration, but we would argue that the use of the term as an umbrella-term for all kinds of social initiatives in cities, takes away the power of the original concept.

When the right to the city loses its power it becomes less relevant, which in our point of view is a shame. Although Brazil is increasing its wealth and the differences between different social classes in the country are decreasing, we’ve seen some major social problems during our trip and observations. The most extreme example might be the case of the Nascente park, where we had to be escorted by an armed guard due to the criminality in the area which is filled with drug-dealing and lacking basic public commodities such as schools and health-centres. On the contrary our observations in, for example, the Mindu Park displayed a quite empty park designed for preservation and Sunday-brunches for the middle-class citizens living close to the park. Brazil is not a poor country, but rather a country with problems to distribute its assets. This is where theories like the right to the city can provide inspiration for legal reforms, just as in the case with Brazil.

One interesting aspect that we would like to point out is the Brazilian model of handling urban dwellers and their take on the right to appropriation, where urban dwellers, which occupy land, can get their settlements legalized. It might be an unjustified system with a lot of flaws and ethical uncertainties, but it does provide the inhabitants of cities with a place to live, something many Swedish cities can not do. While cities like Stockholm are having problems with providing “dwellers” a place to live, Brazilian cities enable their dwellers to take radical actions to be able to inhabit their cities. In reality this system might lead to, what Lefebvre calls a right to property, but this is a clear sign that the city statute is inspired by these ideas. The idea and concept of the right to the city, as presented by Lefebvre, is still relevant and a good source of inspiration in the struggle for social justice in cities. But as shown in the case with the public parks in Manaus, the concept of the right to the city is not practiced by the visitors and inhabitants of the city. We think it is important
to separate the concept of the right to the city from concepts inspired by the right to the city. The fact that the Brazilian city statute is considered as a way to put the concept of the right to the city into legal practice is not only incorrect, but it also takes focus away from the radical actions that the original concept thrives for.
9. CONCLUSION
Public parks in Manaus are used by all kinds of groups and people, but predominately people in their 20's or 30's that are visiting the park for social activities and interactions. Generally public parks in Manaus can be divided into two types: the “green” preserved forest areas that also serves as public parks and the “grey” urban parks that are designed for social activities and interactions. The green parks represents what Mitchell (2003) calls a safe space, while the grey parks represents a more democratic space. Parks in poorer areas also holds an educational, and social function as the parks arranges activities and courses for the poor population. But parks are also places with conflicts. Conflicts between how the inhabitants want to use the parks and what is allowed to do in parks. Parks are used as tools to prohibit the rapid growth of illegal settlements through preservation-regulations combined with the functions of public parks. What the study showed though was that the interests of preservation usually stand against the interests of the actual users of the parks. The preserved areas might serve a good purpose as preserving rainforest, but are lacking in qualities when it comes to the actual use of the park.

The right to the city in Brazil basically means that decisions regarding urban planning were decentralized from the state to the municipal governments. The Brazilian city statute provides the municipalities with legal tools to legalize informal settlements. While interviewing planners though, no common view of what the right to the city means for their work was presented. Everyone had in common though that the right to the city have a kind of utopian character, and have little impact on their practical work as planners. Our conclusions from the study is that the right to the city in Brazil are inspired and loosely based on Lefebvre's ideas, but calling the Brazilian city statute a legalization of the right to the city is incorrect. When it comes to the right to the city and public parks there are some indications in our study that might support this idea, but overall the study showed that the right to appropriation and participation is neglected. Due to the rules of the park and the overall feeling of insecurity amongst visitors, the possibility for inhabitants to represent themselves in the public space, and hence, collectively shape it is very limited. Our conclusions are that the concept of the right to the city is not put into practice for the visitors of the public parks in Manaus.

Last but not least, we also aim some criticism to the use of the term “Right to the City”. The theoretical overview of the term shows that the use of the term varies a lot between different actors, and our own study shows that the right to the city in Brazil displays yet another version of the term. The original concept that Lefebvre presented is radical, but still relevant as a source of inspiration. But when the concept is used without any recognition of its original intent, it loses its power and meaning. The concept of the right to the city requires reshaping of society as a whole, and presents new ideas on how to define citizenship and what role capitalism should have in the process of shaping cities. Without changing the structures of society, the original intent of the concept is not possible, which is something that neither UN, public debates nor the Brazilian city statute promotes.
10. SOURCES


Municipality of Manaus. Parques urbanos.


10.1. Figurs

Figur 1: Summary of the different cases and used methods.
Figur 2: Map of Brazil
Figur 4: Population development in Brazil: Data from Pereira, Henrique & Waichman, Andrea at UFAM.
Figur 5: Five Parks in Manaus: Data from UFAM.
Figur 6: Visitor statistic, Mindu Park: Data from SEMMAS.
Figur 7: Visitor statistic, Botanical Garden: Data from SEMMAS.

10.2. Interviews

Capaleto, Rodrigo - urban planner.
Dutra, Marcelo - head of the environment secretary, Manaus.
Interview with park staff at Mindu Park, Botanical Garden, Japiim Park and Nascente.
Liberato, Heitor - head of urban park division, Manaus.
Lopes, Maria Do Socorro - park staff at Mindu Park.
Ramor, Maria - urban planner, SEMMAS.
Silvia, Ivania - park staff at Mindu Park.
Appendix 1.
Park questionnaire

Date:______________ Time:______________     Gender: □ male □ female     Age:_________

Which neighbourhood in Manaus do you live in? ______________________________ (turn the page for map)

If you don't live in Manaus, which other country or Brazilian city do you live in?_______________________

Occupation:
□ Unemployed  □ Student  □ Employed in private sector
□ Public servant  □ Self-employed  □ Retired

Level of education:
□ Fundamental  □ Middleschool  □ Upper  □ Post-graduate

Would you consider yourself a regular visitor of the park?  □ Yes  □ No

How long did it take you to transport yourself to the park?____________

How often do you visit the park?
□ 5-7 days/ week  □ 3-4 days/week  □ 1-2 days/week
□ 1-2 times/month  □ Once every 3-6 months  □ Less than once a year

How did you hear about the park?
□ From friends  □ From the tourist office  □ Internet  □ Newspaper  □ TV  □ Other____________________________

For how long have you been visiting the park?
□ Since ___________ (year)  □ This is the first time I’m visiting the park

How long time do you usually spend in the park?
□ Half a day  □ More than one hour  □ Less than an hour  □ Less than half an hour

How do you transport yourself to the park?
□ Car/motorcykle  □ Bus  □ On foot  □ Bicykle

Who are you visiting the park with?
□ I’m alone  □ Friends  □ Family  □ School  □ Other____________________________

How many are you visiting the park with?_________

On a scale of 1 to 5, where 5 is very satisfied and 1 is very unsatisfied, how satisfied would you say that you are with the park?

Very unsatisfied 1 2 3 4 5 Very satisfied

What do you like to do when you visit the park? (more than one alternative is possible)
□ Walk on the trails  □ Use the playgrounds  □ Exercise/play sports
□ Eat  □ Other____________________________

Do you ever feel unsafe during your visits in the park?
□ No, never.  □ Yes, sometimes  □ Yes, almost always

Malin Björklund & Gustaf Nyman 111
In what ways would you like the park to improve?
- Safety  - Illumination  - Trails  - Services  - Maintenance  - More benches
- Signage  - Improved green areas (trees)  - Guides
- Other

In your opinion, what are the benefits of the park for the city of Manaus city?
Select and prioritize the 3 most important answers

- Offering a meeting place  - Taking part in the preservation of the rivers of the city
- Offering a beautiful and pleasant place  - Taking part in the air purification or in the carbon absorption
- Taking part in the fauna protection  - No benefits  - I don’t know

Feel free to write down your own proposals, ideas and comments. Thank you
Appendix 2.
Non-visitor questionnaire

1. Date:__________ Time:__________ Gender: male female

2. Age:__________

3. Which neighbourhood in Manaus do you live in? ______________________________ (turn the page for map)
4. If you don't live in Manaus, which other country or Brazilian city do you live in?_______________________

5. Occupation: Unemployed    Public servant    Student    Self-employed
Employed in private sector    Retired

6. Level of education: Fundamental    Middle school    Upper    Post-graduate

7. Would you consider yourself a regular visitor of the park?    Yes    No

8. If you use to visit the parks in Manaus which ones do you use to visit: Mindu Park    Bilhares
   Nacente Park    Botanical garden    Lagoa do Japiim    Other

9. How often do you visit the park?  5-7 days/ week   3-4 days/week   1-2 days/week 1-2 times/month
   Once every 3-6 months   Less than once a year

10. If you don't use to visit the parks, why?    They are to far away from home    I feel excluded in the park
     I don't have time    The parks have nothing to offer me    I don't feel safe in the park
     Other

11. Which park is closest to your home? Mindu Park    Bilhares
     Nacente Park    Botanical garden    Lagoa do Japiim    other

12. How far away from a park do you live today? Less then 10 minutes walk
     Less than 10 minutes by car    Less than 1 hour by car
     Less than 30 minutes by car    More than 1 hour by car

13. How far is acceptable for you to travel to a park? Less than 10 minutes walk
     Less than 1 hour by car    More than 1 hour by car
     Less than 30 minutes by car

14. Which location of a park do you prefer? Closer to my house    Closer to my school/work place-
     Closer to the shopping mall
     Closer to the city center

15. Do you think it's enough of parks in Manaus?    Yes    No

16. Do you ever feel unsafe in the parks?    Yes, always    Yes, sometimes    Never

17. In what ways would you like the park to improve? Safety    Illumination    Trails
     Services    Maintenance    More benches    Signage
     Improved green areas (trees)
     Guides    Other _______________________

18. In your opinion, what are the benefits of the park for the city of Manaus city? Select and prioritize the 3 most important answers: Offering a meeting place    Taking part in the preservation of the rivers of the city
     Offering a beautiful and pleasant place    Taking part in the air purification or in the carbon absorption
     Taking part in the fauna protection    No benefits    I don't know

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Prezado visitante,
Sejam muito bem-vindos! Você está visitando uma das áreas protegidas de nossa cidade de Manaus. Gostaríamos de convidá-lo a participar e contribuir com o Projeto FLORESTICIDADES.

Floresticidades é um projeto desenvolvido em conjunto pela Secretaria Municipal do Meio Ambiente e Sustentabilidade (SEMMAS) e pela Universidade federal do Amazonas (UFAM) para a melhoria da gestão dos parques e áreas protegidas de Manaus. Contamos com sua participação voluntária através do preenchimento de um questionário com perguntas sobre a sua experiência como visitante e sobre suas opiniões quanto à gestão da área.

Não será necessária sua identificação pessoal, assim sinta-se inteiramente à vontade para expressar livremente suas opiniões e avaliações. Ao terminar o preenchimento do questionário, por favor, deposite-o na “caixa de sugestões”.

A SEMMAS e a UFAM contam com a sua valiosa contribuição.

Cordialmente,
A coordenação
SEMMAS e UFAM
Appendix 4.
Questions to planners and park staff

Planner

How do you work towards maintaining and develop green areas in the city? And do you think that’s the right way to go?

Are green areas important to the city from your perspective as a planner? And why do you think like you do?

What qualities or features/characteristics should a good park have according to you?

To what purpose do you think the park should be designed? As a safe place? As a meeting place?

Do you think the concept of combining preservation and parks (i.e mindu park) is successful in regards for the visitors of the park? Are there any conflicts or problems between the rules of preservation and the needs for the visitors?

How are the ideas about the right to the city in the constitution/city statute implemented in the practical works for you as a city planner, when working with green areas/public space?

What status does the green areas/public spaces/parks have during the work with the renewal of the master plan? What’s the status compared to housing? Development of the city center?

Is there a policy when you work with public space that you follow?

In which way can the public affect the design of new and existing parks?

Questions to the park-staff

What are the role of the security guards?

How many people are working in the parks?

What are the visitors allowed and not allowed to do in the park? For example are people allowed to demonstrate in the park or could homeless people sleep in the park?

What are the possibilities for the visitors to affect the design of the park?

Which social groups visits the park, can you see a pattern in the typical visitor of the park, i.e in an age, gender and income perspective?

What are the future plans for the park?

Do you think the concept of combining preservation and parks (i.e mindu park) is successful in regards for the visitors of the park? Are there any conflicts or problems between the rules of preservation and the needs for the visitors?

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Which authority and organizations has an impact on the park in terms of maintenance and design?

Has the increase in population and urbanization in Manaus had any impact on the park? And if so how?

Do you lock the park during night-times? If not, what are the opening-hours of the park?
# Appendix 5.
Observation diagram

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