

# Between the marquee and the central track: space for free time in Ibirapuera Park

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**Abstract:** This article has as its central theme the relationship between leisure and urban space. Thirty eight visits were undertaken to Ibirapuera Park (São Paulo) and, through the anthropologic research method, with the objective of discussing the role of different uses that one only space may have for leisure practices. The observed diversity in the central track and the subversions presented by the marquee suggest the motto so this and other places may become spaces for free time.

**Key-words:** Leisure Activities. Green Areas. Cultural Anthropology.

## 1 INTRODUCTION

This article results from a Masters dissertation with the title “Considerations about leisure and the uses of urban space at Ibirapuera Park”. It is a qualitative research which uses the anthropologic research method to investigate the uses of Ibirapuera Park, in São Paulo, for free time. The focus was given by the way in which the subjects, through their leisure practices, take possession of some specific spaces of this urban Park, in this case, the marquee and the central track. Our effort in this article is to collect the main points discussed in that research, associating them to the reflections with the empiric field.

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The term space is taken here as the addition of material and imaterial elements, set of fixed and flows (SANTOS, 1988)<sup>1</sup> which are constantly changing. Certeau (1994) helps with this point when he establishes the *concept of set of mobiles* for the continuous transformations through the relationship between the subject and the surroundings.

Lefevre (1999) established the category use to deal with the interaction between the subject and the city, which may be related to the concept of space with which we work here. The author defends that this relationship should be endowed with the use value and not with the exchange value, and that the relationships established in the practical-sensitive reality need to be composed by sense of appropriation<sup>2</sup> of space to occur in a significant way.

We understand that the possibility of those new uses may be conducive to a change in reality, in this specific case, through the leisure practices. To this end, the urban Park can be a proper space for an appropriation towards free time, from freedom to freedom (MUNNÉ, 1980). From the ideas of this author, in the combination between self and hetero-conditioned actions, (MUNNÉ, 1980),<sup>3</sup> the subjects are able to re-define their actions from the new uses they make of the space.

Starting from those references, the propelling thematic of this study may be translated by the following question: what is the relationship between the uses made from the space in Ibirapuera Park by the subjects and the path to free time?

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<sup>1</sup> According to Santos (1988), if the definition of fixed comes from the technical quality and quantity (or density) which they hold, the definition of flows comes from its quality and from its political weight.

<sup>2</sup> In the version presented for the masters defense we discussed more deeply the concept of appropriation, using mainly the texts from Codina (2007), Pol (1996) and Smolka (2006).

<sup>3</sup> In general, the hetero-conditioning might be defined by the conditions imposed by the social context (the needs and duties) to the individual, whereas the self-conditioning would be the possibility of choosing conditions according to his/her own will, i.e., according to an internal determination. (VASQUEZ, 2008).

The objective, therefore, was to understand the appropriation that the subjects make of some Ibirapuera Park spaces which were evidenced during the study such as places where the uses were observed in a richer and more dramatic way. They are the central track and the marquee.

## 2 ANALYSIS PROPOSAL AND THE FIRST APPROACHES

As a work methodology, we resorted to the anthropologic research method to understand the data supplied by the field. This choice occurred by the pertinence of this microscopic view (GEERTZ, 1989) for the interests of this work. Its interpretative character helps the understanding of meanings and the path towards the relation of strategy need, noticing how the uses are established in the practical-sensitive reality (LEFEBVRE, 2006) of the urban space.

Still to this end, the central point made clear by Magnani (2002, p. 22) is that what is important for elucidating this method “is not the obsession for the details [...], but the attention that is given to them at some moment, the fragments may be arranged in a whole which offers the path for a new understanding”.

In a stage after the visits to the field and our contact with the first part of those fragments, a documental research was developed together with the Arquivo Técnico do Parque do Ibirapuera, situated at UMAPAZ – Universidade Livre do Meio Ambiente e da Cultura da Paz, where we could have access to documents and news reports referring to the history of this park.<sup>4</sup>

The choice for Ibirapuera Park for this investigation occurred mainly for two reasons. First, it is necessary to consider that Ibirapuera Park is one of the most visited parks

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<sup>4</sup> We would like to make clear here that the contact with this file was only possible at that stage of the research, as the field was in a process of moving its headquarters and reorganization of documents, the reason why it was closed for the public until the month of July 2008.

in the city of São Paulo (100 PARQUES, 2008).<sup>5</sup> Second, the diversity of interests which appear in its use should be stressed, as the space offers attractions for the most diverse kind of public: children, runners, athletes, elderly people, people interested in cultural and art exhibitions, among others who used it in the time the field work was done, from February to September 2008<sup>6</sup>.

All in all, there were thirty eight visits. The decision to choose the observations only on Saturdays, Sundays and holidays was taken in a moment after the initial contact with the field, at the end of the month of March. Often, at different times of the day, the visits occurred systematically until the month of July, with other eventual field trips in the months of August and September.

The approach process with Ibirapuera Park and the delimitation of the field occurred in three different stages. In the first one, the intention was to walk paying close attention all through the park to make contact with the places, with the subjects, with the sensations, with the flows and with the times. This approach was parallel to an exercise of finding the familiar strange and the strange familiar: the differences in the conception of time, the relationship with nature, the meeting with different groups, the dynamics between the uses, the times and the days.

Some signs were noticed at this initial stage; however we tried to stay alert, so that those evidences would not become norms, limiting ourselves to the universe that started being presented for the new horizons of this research. Together with them, we left open the possibilities for new stimuli, new themes which could possibly occur in the period of contact with the field.

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<sup>5</sup> The Program 100 Parques para São Paulo is a project from the Municipal Secretariat of Green and Environment from São Paulo city hall, launched in January 2008. Since then, it raised and reserved areas to be transformed in parks in a number of regions in the city. With it, São Paulo earned 14 new parks and other 23 are currently at different implementation stages.

<sup>6</sup> From this point on, we refer only to the days and months, as all the field work was developed during the year 2008.

Only after the first few visits did we start walking in the surroundings. From the north side, it is bisected by Avenida Pedro Álvares Cabral, which extends to the east side, where it meets Avenida 23 de Maio, among other streets and crossings of important roads of the city. Being surrounded by great avenues *makes access difficult* to this part of its perimeter.

By the South and West side, regions which are not turned towards the center of the city and Avenida Paulista, the surroundings are more characterized by tree-lined streets, big houses and mansions, besides some squares and gardens. In general, the area around the park is made up of residential zones, with the exception of a stretch which follows the Avenida República do Líbano, where it is possible to find points of service (stores, stationeries, drugstore etc).

The situation of the park, next to areas inhabited by the so called *elite* <sup>7</sup> of the city – the neighborhoods Jardim América and Jardim Paulista – and its relative central position and the easy access transformed it into an important park for São Paulo, able to attract thousands of users every day to open air *shows*, exhibitions, corporal practices, to rest, among others.

As this first stage unfolded, the weekends were elected primarily for the trips to Ibirapuera Park, interspersed between the morning and afternoon periods. Until the second stage of investigation, there were visits on different days of the week and occasionally in the evening (two visits).<sup>8</sup> The choice of weekends came about because those are the days when the visits to Ibirapuera Park were easily multiplied compared to

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<sup>7</sup> The contact with the field in the six months of work gave us hints regarding the purchasing power of the public who lives near the Ibirapuera park, although at no moment did I refer to census and other sources of information. The price of rents and the ads for sale of real state in the streets and avenues nearby were very high, with values that can only be afforded by people with money. The stores and retail locations at Avenida do Libano also sell products with prices above that which is commonly found. We could observe this when we paid for some photocopies on the 1st June: the triple which is usually charged for this kind of service.

<sup>8</sup> Despite the Ibirapuera Park working in the evening every day, we opted for limiting the observations only to day time.

the other days of the week,<sup>9</sup> a fact which could bring more possibilities of new uses.

From then, the second moment of contact with Ibirapuera Park was outlined. At this stage, an attempt was made to choose stretches which would be more significant to support or refute the constructions made about the thematic of the research. After 14 visits to the *playgrounds*, to the jogging track, the courts, the marquee, the bicycle rack,<sup>10</sup> the central track, the museums and spaces for exhibition, the lakes, the seedling nursery, among others, some of those spaces proved to be more pertinent to foster the main points for the intended discussion in this research, mainly the marquee and the central track, for they aggregate different possibilities of uses in the same place.

With this first contact, it was noticed that in the museums and spaces destined for the exhibitions were practiced uses which clashed with those observed in other areas of the park. Regarding the notion of time and the supposed leisure *functions* in the urban park, those places were experienced as attached spaces to Ibirapuera Park. At the *Natural Tech* – International Natural Product, Healthy Food and Complementary Medicine Fair, which happened from the week of April 22, dozens of set up stalls received a public which would supposedly come to the park on that day with the main objective of visiting the event.

A similar thing occurred with some exhibitions, besides the leisure, in those spaces, specificities were presented that the discussion raised in this research would not be able to answer (the relationship with art, for example). Because of

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<sup>9</sup> According to information in a leaflet called “Guia do Park Ibirapuera”, distributed by the management, the average frequency of users per day raises from 20 thousand from Monday to Friday to 70 thousand on Saturday e 130 mil users on Sunday.

<sup>10</sup> We considered it fit to explain how the bicycle rack at Ibirapuera Park works. It is a sector for the rental of bicycles, where there are two small companies that do this service. Paying the amount of five reais, the person can rent the bicycle for one hour. It is open only at weekends and holidays; the bicycle rack shows an intense flow of people all day long, despite the amount charged.

that, we decided to stay away from those spaces and to concentrate our observations in the others.

The choice for the marquee and for the central track occurred due to their characteristics of versatility, which would ensure the diversity in the set of uses which can be developed there, making them interesting *locus* for an analysis around appropriation. In the marquee, there were several uses developed by *skaters*, roller-skaters and street cyclists, who divided this space with orchestras (on the 12th April), a choir presentation (on 13th April) and demonstrations of dance (6th July). When walking by the central track, it was possible to meet runners, cyclists and roller-skaters as well as street artists (8th June and 25th May) and health fairs in the surrounding area, such as one which happens occasionally in a set up point close to the Japanese Pavilion, as on the 5th July.

On a third occasion, a more microscopic approach with the field was made: the amount and the observed flows, the regulations that were repeated in the use of the track, the peaks of frequency along the day, the occasional rain, the punctual events.

In this stage, the impregnating by visual stimuli and elements which seemed significant provided contacts with the subjects, occurring in a non-linear way. The occasional questions and dialogues with some of them were interspersed by hours of observation in front of the scenes which took place in those spaces.

Some of the most significant points of those months of field research will be presented below, so as to discuss the possibility of Ibirapuera ending up as a space for free time, in this case, for the uses made by the marquee and the central track.

### 3 THE PRODUCTION OF THE SPACE: DIVERSITY AND SUBVERSION

In the period of visits to Ibirapuera Park, the several uses of the space observed in fixed and flow movement (SANTOS, 1988) revealed two<sup>11</sup> big categories to be discussed: the diversities revealed by the central track and the subversions in the marquee. We will focus on each one of them, from the impressions of the contact with the research field.

#### 3.1 CENTRAL TRACK: REVEALING THE DIVERSITY

Here we called central track the space which is presented at Ibirapuera Park through the continuous path that connects its main areas. Destined manly to the practices of running and cycling,<sup>12</sup> the asphalt and the marks for the cycle way give opportunities for pedestrians and bicycles to move around without great problems.

One of the points which most called the attention in the observation of the track was the diversity of attending public. Subjects walk by in *sports style*, as opposed to the so called *marginals*: the group of young people from the outskirts, the boys with their street *bikes*.

The presence of dogs and their owners all day long is also worth highlighting: Labradors, *pitbulls*, Alsatian dogs and other breeds, always with leashes and leads. *Poodles* with well-trimmed hair and “bows”, for the female, the paulistinha terrier and the basset hound usually *dressed* for the weekend.

For their owners, Ibirapuera Park is also a kind of runway. Besides being the place where the animal is taken for

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<sup>11</sup> There is still a third category present in this study, the “oasis” and the role of the Ibirapuera Park of a break to the contract of the urban space and of city life. Read NUNES JUNIOR (2009).

<sup>12</sup> It is still worth mentioning that normally in the track roller-skaters, skaters besides other more “rare” forms of use (mono-cycles and kick scooters, for example) are observed.



walk, it works as a presentation corridor. About this idea, a fact which normally happens in a lawn deserves to be mentioned. We observed on the May 18th and July 5th that a meeting of dogs of several breeds takes place. It is where the owners take the animals to “*play*” with the others of the same breed or of different breeds. As was observed on many weekends, this meeting suggests the exchange of contacts, other programs together, besides the possibility of breeding animals and the sale of puppies.

In the case of the runway, it is possible to say that the dog is transmuted into a kind of archetype of the discourse proffered by its owner. A continuity of the set of signifiers created by its follower in the use of the park. When observing them, it was inevitable to remember Geertz ethnography (1989) about the Balinese cock fight. In it, the animals work as a metaphor for masculinity, for the power of showing themselves as competitive in the dispute with another one of equivalent strength.

At Ibirapuera Park, the dogs represent constitutive parts of their owners, such as *poodles*, the delicate wife; the *whippet*, slender and fast and his running owner; the muscle tone of the *pitbull* in similarity to the body of its owner, athletic and muscular, metamorphosed into an animal, with a serious face. Besides the dog, there are other means through which the subjects show of. Either by the evident exhibition of the body: the boy with a defined chest, the languid beauty of the girl, the elderly man *getting in shape*, or through other increments and means to give the body Continuity in enunciation of discourses: the bicycle full of colored hair clips<sup>13</sup>, the different running *bikes*, the *skate* boards.

On the 5th of April, something happened which may explain why the track central was elected as an important place, where diversities are revealed, besides the other places

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<sup>13</sup> In the beginning of Sunday afternoons, a subject would arrive at the track of Ibirapuera Park with a pink bicycle, an old model, with hair clips covering it all over, from the frame to the rays. We took notes in the notebook of three visits from this subject to the park, on the 19th and 26th of April and on the 3rd May.

already studied. Two, apparently high class, ladies walk carelessly by the track when they are suddenly warned by a whistle about the passage of a *squad* of bicycles on the track. They agreed to the request *through clenched teeth* and give way while they quietly complained about the fact. One of the boys hears the comment and automatically answers in a harsh tone: “it had to be rich people really”. This ordinary fact concedes the impression that we would like to present when we state that the central track is synonymous with diversity.

The various pretensions of uses ensures the versatility of the space and the flexibility of its flows. Differently from what may happen in homogeneous leisure spaces, as it usually happens with housing developments, in the central track, the diversity is caused both by the heterogeneity of metrics (LÉVY, 1999), i.e., the walk, the running, the bicycles, the roller-skates, the *skateboard*, as well as by the meeting of public and *pieces* which may share their differences of the same space, people from the outskirts and the center, the *marginal* and the *playboy*, the elderly and the children, among others.

For those elements, broadly, it is concluded that the space of the central track receives different uses during the conventional days of work and during the weekend. The richness of the contact with the track, from those established issues and the facts observed mainly on Saturday, Sunday and on holidays is what ensure the idea that there are possibilities for exits from the system through the appropriation, the unpredictability of everyday actions.

Tensioned by self and hetero-conditioning, the subject is placed all the time in situations where he/she may experience free time (MUNNÉ, 1980). At Ibirapuera Park, those situations should happen through leisure practices, in a specific place and time of the central track, with all the unpredictability and possibilities that those uses may contain.

### 3.2 USES FOR THE SMOOTH SPACE: THE SUBVERSION IN THE MARQUEE

Near the central track, springs the famous Ibirapuera park marquee, interconnecting the entrance of the Modern Art Museum, The Afro Museum and the Ibirapuera Auditorium. It is a covered area, with large spans supported by columns and a simple floor, a condition which gives the marquee the function of versatile space for the most diverse uses.

In the field work period, it was possible to observe countless ways of using this space: presentation of symphonic orchestra, in the Brazilian Army exhibition, on the 12th April; presentation of elderly choir, during the event of the 13th April; collection of recyclable material, also on the 13th April; children vaccination center, on the 17th May; *street dance* presentation, on the 6th July, among others. Each one of those small events happened with different subjects, from distinct groups and with their own intentions. This diversity composes the marquee with interesting marks, giving it distinct meanings from the uses made of this space.

However, the great reference of use of this space happens because of sports and the street maneuvers. Enthused, sometimes, by a local sound, a kind of *break*; at their own pace, dozens of bicycles, roller-skates, *skate* boards and other similar equipment get the marquee space on the weekends, especially on Saturday and Sunday afternoon. In the period of the observations, they were invariably present at the marquee space, with the exception of rainy days, when the movement in the park would drop considerably.

Occupied mainly by young people and adolescents at weekends (most of them male), the marquee shelters subjects coming from different neighborhoods of the metropolitan region of São Paulo, as we could observe through the brief comments or through small dialogues with them while we stayed in the surroundings of the marquee, as the following speeches taken respectively, on the 15th of June and the 17th

of August demonstrate: “let’s go quick, or we will arrive at Embu only at ten in the evening” or “there at EZ<sup>14</sup> there isn’t this thing of pulling the leg of the other guys”.

The difference of the marquee use between the weekend and the conventional working days stands out. From Monday to Friday, it is only possible to observe in this space cleaning trucks, apart from the presence of sporadic athletes practicing gymnastics under the guidance of a *personal trainer*, as observed on the 11th and 18th March. Usually in groups, the subjects present at weekends, usually bring a backpack with snacks to spend the day in the park and they are dressed in a specific style, with a cap, t-shirts and large pants, showing the underwear. The sneakers also have their own style, with a round shape, with colorful laces, large soles, which makes breaking easier after the maneuvers and the fast movements.

Among the groups which are users of this space, the cyclists’ is the most significant. In a larger number, they boast in a kind of exhibition in risky turns and a few accidental falls, with bicycles full of details for the practice of certain movements. According to the observations, the lowered saddles and the support for front and back tires may indicate anywhere in the park that this subject is a user of the marquee.

In the opposite direction of the area of bicycles, the group of roller-skates mixes different sexes and ages. The roller-skaters usually set up specific circuits, ways of locomotion, such as zigzags and turns that are typical of its practice. Another group that stands out at the marquee is the *skate board* group, which presents a closer similarity of dressing with the group of bicycles.

Differently from the proper tracks or other places meant for the practice of those street modalities, in the Ibirapuera marquee the uses, both by bicycles and by roller-skates and by the *skate boards*, occur only in the span without any specific

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14 Short for “East Zone”, region in the outskirts of the city which includes neighborhoods such as Penha and Guaianazes.

equipment for those practices, such as rails, ramps or small platforms for jumping. During the field visits, the use of some improvised materials for specific maneuvers was observed: cardboard boxes, disposable bottles, among others, giving an example of some of the objects used to add uses to the space.

Although it may seem strange that this space without ramps and increments for jumping is so searched by those groups, this situation is explained by the fact that it is a meeting point. The marquee has notoriety for those subjects as it is able to gather hundreds of young people with their slangs, their gestures, their own specificities from their groups and their neighborhoods. In the observations made on the 25th May, we noticed the similarities of cyclists' clothes: the cap turned to the back, the large pants and the slang used. At the same time, a group of *skaters* makes a circle and starts eating their snacks, the cheap soda and the packet of biscuits are almost the same for everybody.

This set of meanings (GEERTZ, 1989) links the marquee to those groups, to which a space for uses for the development of practices and a culture experienced usually in ghettos or in the streets of peripheral zones of the city. When they show their maneuvers, in fact each one of them is doing the exercise of marking territory, learning not only the techniques of those practices, but also the techniques of belonging to the group. Behind the gestures expressed by each young person, the performances of life can be found which, subversively, use the marquee for maintaining their identity in the production of the space.

The space of the marquee is not smooth (GUATARRI, 1985)<sup>15</sup>. If, in principle, the homogeneity caused by the cement floor, by the symmetry of white columns and by the ceiling with equally spaced white light gives a uniform appearance to the place, the set made by the subjects and their uses converts this situation. Each group shows their own specificities, strategies and tricks (CERTEAU, 1994) to occupy the fixes (SANTOS, 1988), as the descriptions shown here highlight.

The subjects elect certain places in the marquee to stay during the day. Laying on some column, close to the *playgrounds* or in the corridor closer to the Afro Museum, they establish marks for the spaces they occupy: bicycles lying on the floor, backpacks next to the walls, sound system turned on.

The white wall in the toilet region is literally marked by the use of bicycles and *skates*. On the 22nd September, I follow the attempts of a boy to perform a maneuver. After the acceleration stage, a jump is followed by the contact with the wall for a landing afterwards, which originates acceleration for a new cycle. It becomes very dirty because of those and other attempts made, replacing the homogeneity of the white with dark traces from the rubber of the wheels of bicycles and skates. Each gesture observed is proper of the executor and gives the marquee determined uses. Several elements, marking the sense for the space which make it distant from the first condition of smooth space (GUATARRI, 1985).

A point that called the attention in the surroundings of the marquee was the presence of a larger number of guards as compared to the other areas of the park. This fact indicates resistance to the culture and to the effervescence built in the streets, as we notice in the tensions observed between the police and the marquee users. Saturday, 14th June, in the beginning of the afternoon, a tank truck crosses the marquee for the cleaning of restrooms. While it goes slowly on its way through the span, a group of adolescents is getting ready to take a *ride* on it. When they notice the movement, the police call supplementary men to contain the action, but there is no time for them to get organized. In this moment, dozens of adolescents are already *hanging onto* the truck, satisfied by the mischief caused.

Those passages narrate facts that occurred in the period of visits to Ibirapuera Park. The relationship of those subjects with the marquee and with the central track showed signs of subversion and of diversity in the dynamics of space production. Facts such as those may help think about the

dynamics of parks in the development of cities, from the leisure practices in the urban space. It remains to be seen the power that such experiences may have for the transformation of reality and the conduct of free time (MUNNÉ, 1980).

#### 4 FOR A SPACE FOR FREE TIME

As an expression that seeks the advance of the theme treated in this research, we suggest that the forces resulting that take part in forming the urban space and the constitution of leisure in the observed reality to be built in the direction of *space for free time*.

We highlighted this expression because we defend that it is a way of translating the answer to the questions suggested in the beginning of this text. We even highlight the use of the term space in the singular. It means to conceive an abstract idea, according to the concept of Santos (1996). When we talk about spaces, we get the impression that those abstractions already appear in a more decanted way, materialized in squares and parks, for example.

In this concept, it is implicit that in the places where leisure may occur, the activities will tend to make the human being free, in a relationship with the city from the value of use (LEFEBVRE, 2006). Moreover, in the experiences of the subjects, evidences should be implicit for a constant criticism of material data, such as the meeting of different public in the central track. Places like those observed at Ibirapuera Park should be taken from their utopic possibilities where the leisure spaces and equipment present several points which can serve the purpose for free time.

By the concept of free time used by Munné (1980), the way to be followed would operate for the compensating liberation of hetero-conditioning, satisfying the real needs for freedom and establishing ways for such a situation to occur. In this interim, dealing with the uses of space is important as they

predict its seizure from the activities where the path to freedom may be predominant. The relationship between the subject and the place produced new appropriations, through which free time may happen, through the authentic action between subject and space and not only by the over-compensation for work.

As well as free time not necessarily meaning leisure time, the space for free time is not also, *a priori*, a space for leisure. The fact that in the leisure spaces available today, such as in the case of Ibirapuera, there are more self-conditioning possibilities connected to that previous statement. First, because the intentionality of use of the park already implies the exercise of freedom (spending Sunday with the family, having a date etc.) Second, because, besides that, there is a break both in the contraction of time (through the notion of time liberated from work, through the non-fragmented experience of the day) as well as through the contraction of space (there are no cars or other means of transport which may shorten it). In this sense, we suggest a displacement from the term *leisure spaces* to the expression *space for free time*.

With that, we say, at this point, that Ibirapuera Park showed in those months of field countless possibilities for free time. The inversion of sense here serves a double role: besides acting in the deconstruction of some oppositions created in studies of leisure (leisure/work, free time/work time etc.), it sends the issues of uses and of appropriation of space as transforming measures, placing the subject in an active role of reality construction, from the power contained in the observed uses.

Through the intermittent action in the formation of those chains of meaning, it is possible to ponder that the space is not a neutral background. It is not only a reflection of society and neither is it only a social fact, but it is a conditional conditioner, such as the other social structures, which is made by the movement of facts at the same time as it influences it (CERTEAU, 1994).



That is why, it is necessary to take a close look at the reality, in an effort to understand which is the relationship established between the subject and the space where it takes part. From the understanding of leisure as the construction which appears from the contradiction present in the daily life and in those uses, it is possible to establish relationships of their activities with the urban space, a conceptual knot which brings with it the possibilities of transformation from the passages narrated in this work. Through a look over the use of spaces such as the marquee and the central track, it is possible to see the construction of space for free time, for freedom, in leisure practices and other life spheres.

**Entre a marquise e a pista central: espaço para o tempo livre no Parque do Ibirapuera**

**Resumo:** Este artigo tem como tema central a relação entre lazer e espaço urbano. Foram feitas trinta e oito visitas ao Parque do Ibirapuera (São Paulo) e, por meio do método de pesquisa antropológico, busca-se discutir o papel dos diferentes usos que um mesmo espaço pode conter para as práticas de lazer. As diversidades observadas na pista central e as subversões apresentadas pela marquise sugerem o mote para que estes e outros locais possam vir a ser espaço para o tempo livre.

**Palavras-chave:** Atividades de lazer. Áreas verdes. Antropologia cultural.

**Entre la marquise y la pista central. Espacio para el tiempo libre en el Parque del Ibirapuera**

**Resúmen:** Este artículo tiene como tema céntrico la relación entre ocio y espacio urbano. Fueron hechas treinta y ocho visitas al Parque del Ibirapuera (São Pau- lo), y, por medio del método de investigación antropoló- gico, se busca discutir el papel de los diferentes usos que un mismo espacio puede contener para las prácticas de ocio. Las diversidades observadas en la pista cen- tral y la subversión presentada por la marquise sugieren el mote para que estos y otros locales puedan venir a ser espacio para el tiempo libre.

**Palabras clave:** Actividades recreativas. Áreas ver- des. Antropologia cultural.

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