

Master Thesis



**URBAN ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS AND THEIR JOURNEY
TO DEMAND THE RIGHT TO THE CITY.**

The case of Guayaquil between 2016-2021

MSc. Sociology: Social Inequalities

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Abstract

This research analyzes the offline and online activism carried out by two urban environmental movements known as "Cerros Vivos" and "Árboles sin Fronteras" in Guayaquil. These environmental movements demand their right to the city through the appropriation of El Paraíso hill. The work that these environmental movements seek to demand from the municipality is the effective urban protection of green spaces. The journey experienced by these movements represents the current environmental confrontation between civil society and a right-wing municipality. The results obtained show that despite the different strategies of these movements, it is not easy to transmit arguments within a political institution. That environmental activism in Latin America demonstrates that is still necessary and imperative to generate awareness within the political arena. This research shows that environmental activities have a positive impact on society to generate a message of protection of natural spaces. However, because the cities in the global South experience a variety of other problems, the environmental issues continue to remain as a secondary concern.

Keywords

Urban environmental movements; Guayaquil; El Paraíso; activism; right to green spaces.

Introduction

Guayaquil is a port city within Ecuador. With 2.6 million inhabitants and an area of 344km², it is the largest city in Ecuador. Like various cities in Latin America, Guayaquil experiences issues like rapid urbanization, informal settlements, a legacy of colonialism, pollution, wealth inequalities, gender disparities, lack of green spaces, and more (Wendel, et al., 2012; Rigolon, et al., 2018; Flores Aguirre & Saltos Espinoza, 2019; Hong, et al., 2021). Among the numerous ongoing problems in Guayaquil, the lack of green spaces remains a secondary issue on the political agenda. According to the Green Urban Index elaborated by the National Institute of Statistics and Census (INEC), Guayaquil has only 1.12 square meters of green area per inhabitant (Primicias, 2020). The World Health Organization (WHO) estimates that there should be at least 9 square meters of green area per inhabitant, for a place to be considered environmentally and human health-friendly (WHO, 2016). The deficiency in green spaces is the outcome of a lack of municipal policy and investment focused on distributing and generating sufficient green areas for the citizens. The local government which has led the city for the past 30 years, namely the conservative right-wing the Social Christian Party (PSC), has not prioritized environmental management nor has it been able to make substantial changes over the years (Paucar, 2017; El Telegrafo, 2022). Hence, the type of urban development that Guayaquil has experienced has been criticized. As it has mainly focused on favoring particular interests, where the citizenry does not have a critical voice on the social and environmental functions of the municipal administration (Flores Aguirre & Saltos Espinoza, 2019).

The lack of green spaces and uneven urban development in Guayaquil explains the symbolic importance of the dry forest El Paraíso hill. The hill is under the Municipality administration and was declared a Protected Forest in 1989 with an area of 420 hectares which later was reduced to 299 hectares (Asinc, 2016). The main issue behind the lack of green areas that the city of Guayaquil is facing is due to the neglect of the municipality that has led to a civil society safeguarding the hill (Arcos, 2016). Through urban movements, Guayaquil citizens have decided to organize and protect El Paraíso. The municipality has done very little to preserve this forest despite the approval of the Environmental Management Plan to protect the forest in 2009. In its totality, the level of response has been insufficient (Asinc, 2016).

Urban environmental movements such as Cerros Vivos (CV) and Árboles sin Fronteras (AsF) have decided to claim their right to the city and protect this natural space through their own

initiative. They want to win and establish the right to nature in this city space and achieve fair access to green spaces, which the municipality does not provide. These urban movements have been confronting the hegemony of the municipality of Guayaquil, preventing particular interest groups from continuing to take advantage of protective forestry.

Problem statement and research questions

The environmental issue continues to affect unequally disadvantaged groups in cities. Decision-makers within the state make the political decisions and do not allow citizens to have a voice to effectively make their demands. The presence of social movements is key to discussing social needs and claims because environmental issues are not seen as a crucial topic in Latin American society (Latinobarometro, 2021). It is therefore imperative to comprehend the new ideas, tactics, and messages coming from the cities to understand the limitations and opportunities for environmental protection for cities in the global South. I apply, the concept of the right to the city, since it discusses the role of citizens in structuring urban planning. In the following research, I consider that social groups are making their demands visible and are proposing such environmental models to be integrated into the city. This paper applies Lefebvre's (1996) proposal to understand the role and the power that urban movements utilize to shape their ideas of the city. The activism emerging from these regions needs to be studied, as they contribute to acknowledging the improvements and limitations of urban environmental movements. Through the use of social media, social movements are demanding their right to the city, so as to improve the access to green spaces. It has already been studied how social media is a tool for online dissidence. Whereas online dissidence allows marginalized people to organize and shape their identities (Fahmi, 2009; Tayebi, 2013). However, there is still no literature that aligns this activism with pro-nature demands. As online and offline work is interconnected, new strategies are sought to embody demands to protect green spaces. The understanding of these processes is useful as is shaping new ways to structure and protect the nature of the city.

This research investigates how these urban movements have been developing online and offline activism to protect El Paraíso hill. It explores the strategies, tactics, actions, funding, and political opportunities that these urban movements have been looking for to protect and claim the right to the dry forest. It determines how activism is helping a city that is neglected by

authorities and despite limitations, they are guaranteed access to green spaces. Moreover, it investigates how these urban movements operate as a counter-hegemonic force that challenges and confronts the power of the municipality of Guayaquil. The question of this research is:

How do urban environmental movements in Guayaquil attempt to challenge local environmental politics by claiming their right to the city?

In addition, to support the central research question, this thesis has three sub-themes that are:

- *How do Cerros Vivos and Árboles sin Fronteras develop a vision around the effort to protect Cerro El Paraíso?*
- *How do urban environmental movements in Guayaquil mobilize offline and online support for their cause?*
- *How have local authorities responded to the claims that urban environmental movements have made around Cerro el Paraíso?*

Academic Relevance

In terms of academic relevance, this study contributes to the existing literature on the contentious politics in Latin American debate, addressing the gap with the right to the city in environmental matters. In connection with social movements studies, it is necessary to further contribute to contemporary environmental challenges in relation to the power dynamics between social struggles and governments (Caprotti, 2014; Purcell & K. Tyman, 2015; Van Criekingenb, et al., 2019; Apostolopoulou & Kotsila, 2021). Internet studies have begun to address the online strategies to demand social changes in Latin America (Chacon, 2018). However, there is a lack of research on online activism for environmental protection in the city. As pollution levels continue to intensify; it is relevant to understand qualitatively, the connection with online and offline strategies from social movements in the global South to propose ways to solve environmental challenges. This research wants to understand the limitations and improvements that experience Latin American movements at the urban level. Although the right to the city in Guayaquil has been discussed, this literature is focused on the issue of public administration but not on the situation of environmental movements (Bohórquez, 2020). This research academically contributes to understanding how non-indigenous movements confront local authorities to address environmental claims within the

political agenda. Due to the high diversity of problems that exist in Latin American cities, it is important to fill this academic gap. The grievances at the environmental level are increasing. And reviewing how this struggle for improvement exists depends on academic work that can subsequently provide an understanding of these social problems.

Societal Relevance

In terms of societal relevance, this research speaks to a variety of audiences, including environmental movements, engaged citizens, and policymakers. In Guayaquil, the urban environmental movements are concerned and in disagreement with the weak environmental policy of the municipality, specifically the protection of El Paraíso hill. CV and AsF consider that the municipal policies are not sufficient, so they have been actively demanding change (Cerros Vivos, 2013). It can be useful for environmental movements to recognize effective strategies to spread their demands. This may provide them with a broader understanding of environmental interventions in the city and how innovative social demands can be expressed. Engaged citizens can become critical of the role of authorities, as this research demonstrates the actions of a political party that has been in control of a city for over 30 years. The importance of the role of citizens in demanding their environmental rights is known and recognized. This may demonstrate what happens in such complex cities when its inhabitants' demands have not been met, and therefore act on the matter. For policymakers, this research may help to introduce forms of social demands that can help them to rethink democratic models of assistance and protection at the environmental and social scale.

Theoretical framework

This section has theoretically contextualized the situation in Latin America and the political contention that exists between social movements and the state. In addition, it expands on the urban movements literature and the existing link between their demands as well as the offline and online activism linked to achieving the right to the city. Finally, it talks about the right to green spaces and how this urban-environmental struggle seeks to promote social and natural well-being.

1. Contentious Politics in Latin America

The contentious politics in Latin America is influenced by the historical grievances from social collectives that complain about the neoliberal policies. The political, historical, economic, and cultural context that Latin America has experienced has allowed different social movements to rise, demanding changes in the democratic system. During the 80s and 90s, the strong influence of the Latin American right instigated several movements to establish themselves in search of vindicating rights and reducing the negative effects generated by market liberalization. The strengthening of the right-wing policies generated political attrition (Weyland K., 2009), and became constant due to tensions and conflict on the part of civil society (Bringel & Falero, 2016). Political institutions did not address the population (Riggirozzi, 2015), so social movements started focusing on the demands in opposition to the neoliberal agenda.

Over time, the construction of these right-wing power groups in Latin America allowed them to rule in their respective countries. And despite the strength and resistance shown by the left and social movements, they have managed to influence and remain in the decision-making process (Cannon, 2016). Many of Latin America's policies have continued to be right-oriented due to a long tradition, of controlling institutions and political parties (Cannon, 2016). We can argue in this context that part of the region's contention is limited due to discursive practices that have generated identities and have been controlled in an authoritarian manner (Laclau & Mouffe, 1987). This oppressive control is one that determines the status quo. It is the one that seeks to exclude other alternates and to be the only one with the capacity to convince (Laclau & Mouffe, 1987; Decreus, et al., 2011; Mouffe, 2000; Errejón & Mouffe, 2016; Montano, 2016). Gramsci stated from a Marxist and classist perspective that this power of persuasion is essential to determining the hegemony; he establishes that ideology inculcates the subordinates (Laclau & Mouffe, 1987). The objective of achieving hegemony is to shape the political structure where they naturalize what they do (Woolcock, 1985; Laclau & Mouffe, 1987). Employing containment, means and strategies have been sought to bring down these hegemonic practices. Nonetheless, as it has been said, it is part of the socio-historical process that Latin America has and is going through.

Counter-hegemonic alternatives propose statements to challenge the institutions in charge. Hegemony can be confronted, by counter-hegemonic positions, that put into play the

legitimacy of the dominant, thereby risking its privileged position (Mouffe & Errejon, 2015; Woolcock, 1985). In this research, I recognize the social movements as the counter-hegemonics who began to unite, seek, and demand policy reforms on issues such as the environment, education, health, and labor, and promote the empowerment of citizens in the agenda (Riggirozzi, 2015). Because of the social discontent brought upon by political leaders, civil society stays organized, demanding constant reforms based on decisions that were made by the leaders. (Serrano, 2018).

Within a political system, there is always going to be conflict, which cannot be solved logically (Montano, 2016). Democracy is not built on consensus and must be managed as a struggle of adversaries (Mouffe, 2000). As hegemony is not fixed and is temporary (Pratt, 2004) and social movements are directly oppressed by the hegemony (Marcuse, 2010). I aim to discover the methods used by the urban environmental movements to confront the influence and status quo of the municipality. Social organization and self-management by movements can generate counter-hegemonic coalitions that can pose a different urban future (Purcell, 2013). Through the appropriation of space, it is possible to show existing disagreements against the authorities and make a statement of opposition (Iveson, 2013). Through different ways of activism in Ecuador, social movements have been configured to take the cities and materialize their demands. Social Movements in Ecuador have proposed agendas that seek to address issues such as the environment, gender, human rights, and neoliberal policies (Silva, 2012).

2. Environmental Urban Movements

Social movements confront several struggles that encourage individuals to articulate and give a message that demands changes (Escobar, 1992; Clark, 2002). These actors generate an identity that, through collective action, seeks to generate innovations to established paradigms (Escobar, 1992). In the case of collective action, it has been criticized that the movements are categorized as nothing more than a joint mass, without considering the positions of individuals (Jasper, 2010). However, belonging to a certain group means sharing similar principles, whereas, through social demands, movements generate an anti-disciplinary meaning that promotes new norms (Escobar, 1992). Political powers are the ones that can weaken social movements (Nicholls, 2008). Therefore, when these movements build strong networks, they can uphold their demands to improve urban policies (Domaradzka, 2018). Among the main actions, tactics, and strategies that movements must maintain are collective consumption,

identities with meaning, and the avoidance of the state that divides them (Nicholls, 2008). In the global South, these movements come in the form of protest which is essential within its structure to stay alive (Brenner, et al., 2012). This research reflects the persuasion maintained by urban movements in the context of Guayaquil.

Urban movements have integrated within their activism the use of social media. The relationship between social movements and social media is a topic that has been increasing scholars' interest. Connective action is an argument that contrasts the concept of collective action (Bennett & Segerberg, 2013). Connective action is the logic where a self-motivated variety of actors can embrace a specific topic without the need to be physically together (Bennett & Segerberg, 2013). This connectivity allows a larger network, where activists can include digital actors to empower the fight for a specific cause (Leong, et al., 2019). This empowerment is sustained and amplified during a time, where even through rupture and abeyance periods, the participants continue sharing their grievances (Fominaya, 2014; Taylor, 1989; Leong, et al., 2019). The online platforms allow for empowerment and resistance via online activism, especially on social media (Leong, et al., 2019). Social movements are increasing their influence due to the benefits of connective action and its long-term durability (Bennett & Segerberg, 2013; Fominaya, 2014). The urban demands come from joint work online but also on a physical level. This is why I argue that both strategies are necessary to understand the new configurations of social movements.

Social environmental movements have focused on promoting social change through policy advocacy, policy research, and policy reforms (Jamison, 2010; Dunlap & Brulle, 2015). However, environmental movements cannot produce policy and social change due to a lack of accountability from states (Dunlap & Brulle, 2015). One way to be accounted for is when the movements have political representation coming from ecological or green parties. Accountability is beneficial because it promotes political discussion of pro-environmental policies (Knill, et al., 2010). The advantages of having political representation allow these movements to be part of the green-policies debate (Botetzagias & van Schuur, 2012; Grant & Tilley, 2019). In the case of urban environmental movements in Ecuador, there is no such thing as a green party representation. Not having representation then questions what types of mechanisms and strategies they use to express their claims and demands.

In the European case, it has been seen that there is a radical political potential where movements in their daily practice challenge privatization and seek to protect nature and cities (Purcell & K. Tyman, 2015; Apostolopoulou & Kotsila, 2021). In Latin America, I want to contribute by showing how offline and online resistance has allowed urban movements to attain political opportunities. Within Latin America, the indigenous people and social movements highlight the importance of the need for joint work that integrates the state, civil society, and the market (Baud, de Castro, & Hogenboom, 2011). Through dividing Ecuador by the socio-geographic context, I can identify rural and urban environmental movements. The rural movement is mostly categorized by the indigenous¹ population, who through several demands fight against the destruction of the ecosystem (Crespo, 2018). The urban movements are consolidated from different struggles. Having a mestizo background gives these urban movements different conditions to what these activists have experienced. The members of these urban movements base their demands on the realities experienced within the city limits, aiming to achieve environmental justice (Crespo, 2018; Rodríguez-Labajos, et al., 2019). The objective of urban environmental movements is to change the environmental agenda and, through different strategies, make their demands effective.

3. *Right to green spaces*

Due to the continuous privatization of public space, neoliberalism has turned nature into a commodity within the city (Lefebvre, 1996). Urban planning generates a displacement of green spaces, which benefits financial centers and affects neighborhoods unfairly (Dikec, 2001; Dikeç, 2002; Harvey, 2003). Although nature has been gaining legal recognition, there is an accumulation by dispossession where green areas continue to be destroyed (Dikec, 2001; Attoh, 2011). Land appropriation still needs a development model in which flora and fauna are recognized and protected within the urban space. The right to nature works against the neoliberal environmental agenda and encourages activism against the unfair distribution of urban natures (Harvey, 2003; Purcell, 2002; Apostolopoulou & Cortes-Vazquez, 2019). Within its message, it promotes the generation of legislation that includes social participation where nature and its access are protected (Apostolopoulou & Cortes-Vazquez, 2019). Because spaces are being affected by environmental pollution, urban movements seek a fair distribution of

¹ The indigenous movement has the Buen Vivir agenda, which has gained recognition during several years of protests, allowing them finally to become institutionalized with a political party (Mora, 2008; Ortiz-T, 2011; Santillana, 2005; Lalander & Merimaa, 2018).

space (Dikec, 2001). Policymakers with their power and influence can increase social and environmental injustices for which movements enter as containment actors promoting emancipatory urban alternatives (Dikec, 2001; Marcuse, 2010; Brenner, et al., 2012; Teelucksingh & R. Masuda, 2014). The resistance of these movements raises the need to democratize cities and to be included in decision-making (Mayer, 2009). Environmental activism in the city confronts the appropriation of spaces that benefit private interests (Teelucksingh & R. Masuda, 2014). The work carried out by CV and AsF aims to protect the urban flora and fauna of El Paraíso.

The right to the city in the global South also requires an awareness of other problems experienced by these countries. For instance, these cities have a colonial past which affects the division of power and decentralization (Morange & Spire, 2015). The political division and the neoliberalism of the global South have made spaces polarized and unevenly developed (Roshan Samara, et al., 2013). These cities need to be transformed to include the ecological agenda to address social, spatial, and political exclusion (Roshan Samara, et al., 2013). Latin America's demands can be found at the urban level through different types of protests. I now seek to investigate this contention at the online and offline levels of cities and the demand for rights. It has been discussed how there is a degradation of natural resources that have originated in an area of urban and metropolitan conurbation in the case of Guayaquil (Bohórquez, 2020). According to Lefebvre (1996), the right to the city can be reached through an urban revolution focused on reforms that society itself must demand and that is what is expected to be tested.

A green space refers to vegetable land located within rural or urban spaces. This includes parks, gardens, green corridors, forests, among others (Public Health England, 2020). It is of the utmost importance for cities to have urban green spaces, as they have positive effects on public health, psychological well-being, environmental well-being, and can function as an equalizer at a social level (Nutsford, et al., 2013; Jennings, et al., 2012; Wendel, et al., 2012). However, despite all their advantages, these green spaces have been part of a high contestation and face disproportionate distribution. For instance, residents segregated in poor economic neighbors, or minorities with racial or ethnic characteristics have limited access to these areas, generating poor living conditions in comparison to a higher social strata (Dai, 2011; Jennings, et al., 2012; Wolch, Byrne, & Newell, 2014; Rigolon, et al., 2018). Planning that is not focused on social needs leads to an increase in inequalities, in which the elites take the biggest share (Dikec, 2001). Through activism, social movements seek emancipation and justice for an equitable

distribution of green spaces with the necessary maintenance. Countries in the global South lack of urban green spaces are accompanied by other problems. This includes rapid urbanization, informal settlements, the legacy of colonialism, pollution, wealth inequalities, gender disparities, and others (Wendel, et al., 2012; Rigolon, et al., 2018; Hong, et al., 2021). This research intends to prove the existing crossroads in Ecuador, showing the inconsistencies and poor protection of El Paraíso hill and demonstrating how the urban movements with their activism seek to engage resistance in the protection of green spaces.

Research design

This section explains the research design, the data collection, the data analysis, and the ethical issues.

This scientific research is qualitative, as it seeks to understand a certain human action (Blair, 2016). Holistically I want to show the meaning of a phenomenon that groups have generated based on gathered data that numerically cannot be measured (Blair, 2016; Bryman, 2012). This research is focused on a case study, that can be developed through qualitative content analysis. With content analysis, it is possible to process and analyze the Facebook posts and the interview transcripts of AsF and CV.

"Content analysis may be briefly defined as the systematic, objective, quantitative analysis of message characteristics. It includes both human-coded analyses and computer-aided text analysis (CATA)" (Neuendorf, 2017). Throughout the use of content analysis, it is suitable to synthesize a large amount of information from these urban environmental movements. As Blair (2016) mentions, extensive research involvement in the collection and interpretation of data is required, and the desire to understand the phenomena from a participant's perspective. This understanding reduces biases with content analysis. Within this research, there was a process of coding, interpretation, and presentation of results, using the support of Atlas.ti as computer software.

1. Data collection

Based on the literature reviewed, the primary information sources are carefully selected Facebook posts of CV and AsF between 2016 and 2021. Facebook gathers all the data regarding the protection of El Paraíso hill, the statements towards the municipality, and the strategies used by the movements. Additionally, one of the leaders and co-founders of CV and the founder of AsF in Ecuador were interviewed to support the research. The interviews were handled in a semi-structured way along with a guide of topics (Bryman, 2012). An online interview hosted by the Coordinadora de Organizaciones Sociales in 2020 was analyzed and transcribed. In this interview, the representatives of CV and AsF discussed the environmental debt and problems in Guayaquil. This period of 5 years is relevant because these are the latest actions from CV and AsF. In addition, the contrast of the information is also indispensable to analyzing the municipality's responses. I resolve to use data collected from the official website of the municipality, and El Universo's² newspaper. The Guayaquil newspapers show that they have followed up on the different offline interventions from the municipality and the movements on the hill. The municipality website has implemented projects on the Paraíso hill, which were compared with the movement's messages³.

Within the research, offline strategies were represented by actions that demand a physical response from movement members. What was argued is that social movements bridge online and offline activism to achieve their goals. A crucial part of the movement's nature is to show itself outside the digital realm. Although various activities can be done online, they also depend on physical activism to express a statement. Online activism is then used as a tool to facilitate the execution of material actions. Although part of the data was obtained from online sources, it is not entirely focused on digital activism. The research seeks to discover how CV and AsF's online posts effectively become physical.

2. Data analysis

This research has a deductive-inductive nature based on the theory and emerging themes that are applied, contrasted, and related to what has been done by urban movements (Bryman, 2012). In the case of the interviews, the emerged information was transcribed and included

²A leading newspaper in the circulation of Guayaquil (ATDL, 2017).

³ The analyzed data and the interview guide can be found in the Appendixes section.

with the content analysis. To understand the data, it was necessary to analyze it in two phases: decontextualization and recontextualization (Starks & Trinidad, 2007). During the decontextualization, the data was separated from the texts, which were then carefully read and coded. These codes had similar attributes based on my interpretative capabilities. As Blair (2016) mentions, the data must first be organized, and the appropriate coding method selected to give meaning systematically and analytically. A deductive-inductive coding was performed based on the combination of subcategories (Van den Bulck, et al., 2019). Additionally, Saldaña's (2013) coding approaches for qualitative data are considered.

With the support of Atlas.ti software which is Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS), it organized the data and exported it into files. Its functionality permitted us to summarize the texts and to record in an illustrative way, in quotes that were used for the writing process. A label was added to each code, and it was compared with the following statements: what is similar is labeled in the same code, and then segments were generated. (Bryman, 2012; Saldaña, 2013; Van den Bulck, et al., 2019; Blair, 2016).

3. Ethical Considerations

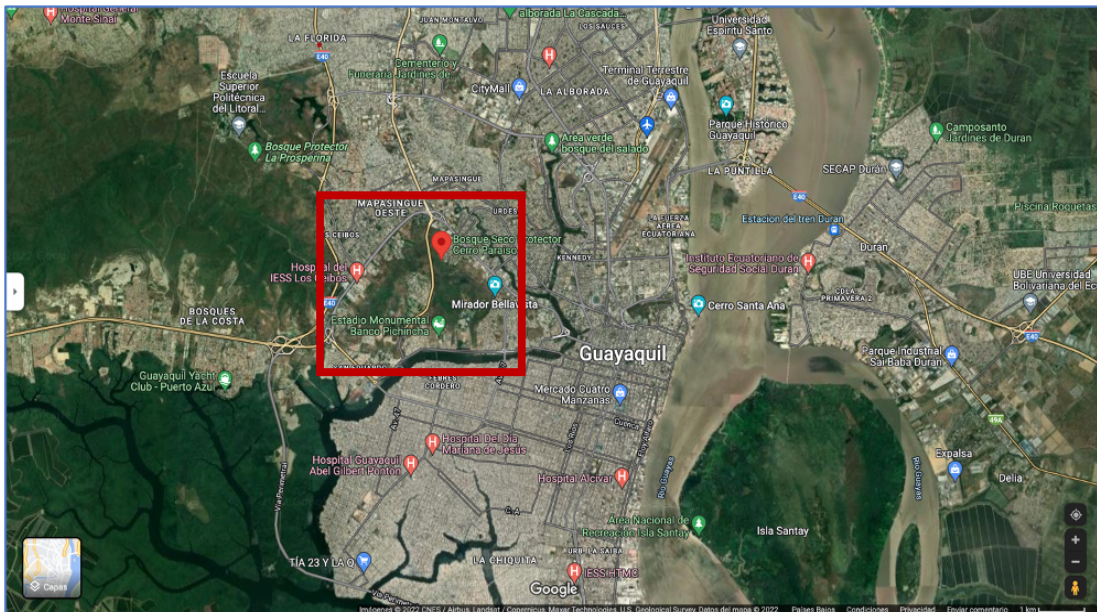
Concerning ethical issues, I relied on the Erasmus University principles (Holland, 2021). The data was handled with guidelines of legitimacy and responsible processing (Holland, 2021). This means that no other data was collected for the sole purpose of answering the research question. In addition, participants were given the necessary consent and all information was handled as transparently as possible. It was explained concisely what the research is about, and no details were omitted. In reference to the information from social media, there were no major problems as it is publicly available information.

Concerning the processing of the information, the sample focused of the research, and proper security was maintained so that only interested parties have access to it. The data was kept for the duration of the investigation and was discarded in order to not affect anyone. The highest levels of confidentiality and integrity were maintained. The interviewees were respected, allowing the research to continue.

Findings and analysis

This section explores the interrelationship between what was stated by the movements, the municipality, and its social media. The main objective is to understand the dynamics for the preservation of green spaces and the attempts to persuade the municipality. The first subsection details the struggle of these movements and their way of thinking. The second subsection focuses directly on the movement's activism. Finally, I examine the municipality's actions and the approaches to AsF and CV.

Image 1
Cerro Paraiso location



Note. By, Google Maps, 2022

1. Raising citizen awareness around environmental protection

These movements arose from dissatisfaction with the urban-environmental policy of Guayaquil. Through the initiative of wanting to propose manners of protecting El Paraíso hill, these representatives produce a message of unity focused on safeguarding the space in which they live. The hill vision is based on complaints on the environmental management, that looks for connections among citizens. Both interviewees focused their academic studies on artistic and cultural issues but then began to be motivated by climate activism and conservation, mixing the cultural element within it. CV was born with the frustration that citizens do not appreciate

Cerro Paraíso's environmental contribution. Additionally, there is a dissatisfaction with the lack of agreement on the objectives of environmental protection and conceptualization of public space. CV mentions that the citizens do not have an identity and are not concerned about Guayaquil's natural wealth, which is why as a movement:

“We manage to consolidate a philosophy, to consolidate a system of management of things, of actions, of militancy... leave a little seed and let this sprout... I believe that some characteristics move us as I believe that we are going to achieve some challenge, to articulate something in the territories, in the neighborhoods... and other spaces” (CerrosVivos, 2022)

The CV representative mentioned the importance of expanding common green principles through collective thinking. For instance, to stand against mining, to propose ecological care, and demand climate debt reparations. The findings suggest that this movement considers being looking out for the welfare of the Guayaquil community, emphasizing environmental changes for the city. CV does not have legal status because they believe that institutionalization is not effective to promote citizen initiatives. On the contrary, they claim that self-management and community work is the best way to make the problems visible in natural spaces. The vision they have implies that it is possible to educate citizens to protect the green areas that the authorities do not take care of. Having moved away from formality is how they guide their passions and generate bonds of unity in which the hill demands are included. The idea of listening to the citizens allows them to act with technical knowledge to criticize the municipal response. The limited capability of the state in Latin American countries influences that civil organizations *“act, otherwise, we are never going to achieve changes”* (CerrosVivos, 2022). Political disinterest is what they understand as a limitation that does not protect the hill, that is why through autogestion these movements confront politicians with their proposals for city design.

The AsF founder passion for activism began when she was in Argentina and met with activists there who told her about the importance of *“environmental education and community reforestation with native species”* (ArbolesSinFronteras, 2022). With the technical education and activism that received, she took to Ecuador. By educating children and youth through audiovisual materials, as well as recruiting volunteers to plant trees she began to promote green-healthy spaces, transmitting social awareness to *“involve and empower the neighbors”* (Facebook Arboles sin Fronteras Ecuador, n.d.). The interviewee stated that Guayaquil’s

population is not sufficiently mindful of the environmental problem. This is because people do not know about their city, lack of education and identity that is caused by the politicians and elites. She seeks to confront them by:

“Networks that work in parallel, from below, from the under... to take ownership, to make it our own to understand it, to be able to conserve it and obviously to be able to benefit from it... That is why it is important to conserve... not only to rescue our identity but also to obtain the ecosystemic benefits and to have aesthetic beauty” (ArbolesSinFronteras, 2022)

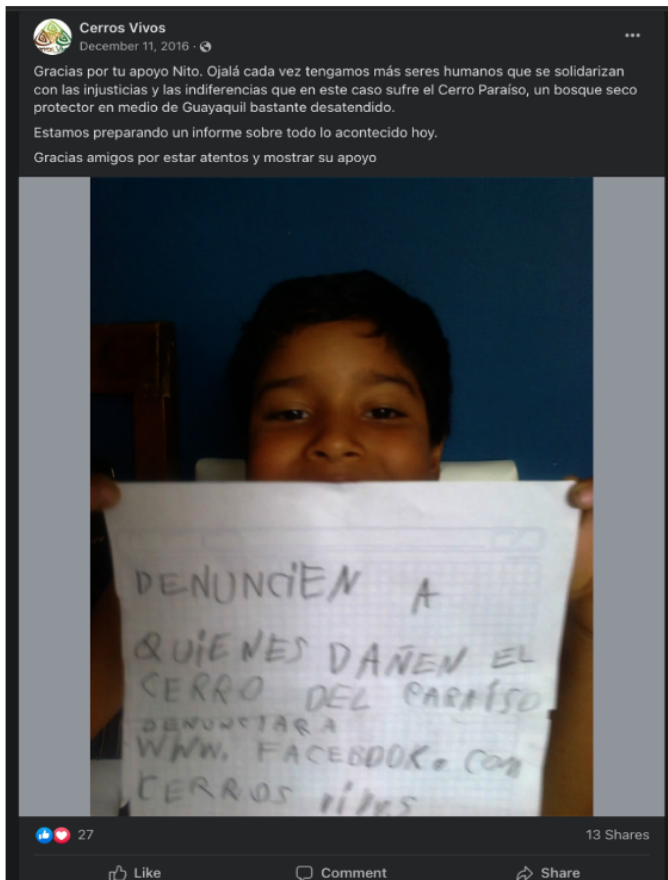
According to the representatives, reinforcing the citizen's identity will fortify the care for nature. Because of the interest that was born in Cerro Paraíso and the need to maintain this protected area, they began to visualize the city differently. They claim that it is imperative to recognize, appropriate, and question the right to live in a healthy environment. AsF questions how the city is being planned and criticizes that:

“We have not understood that we can coexist with these natural spaces... but it is not a delirium, it is something possible and we have to think about where we are standing... in a megadiverse and natural Guayaquil” (ArbolesSinFronteras, 2022)

The representative's statement affirms that natural areas deserve to be honored and included in urban planning. Due to the lack of protection of biodiversity and natural identity, for the interviewee, the citizens should be the ones who then step up to demand environmental benefits. Because they want to protect green spaces, they seek to change people's perspectives through a united message. For instance, in this image, we can see how a child supports CV and pleads to report any damage to the hill.

Image 2

Child inhabitant of El Paraiso who promotes the report of damages to the hill



Note. By. Facebook Profile Cerros Vivos.

The frustrations and complaints of the urban environmental movements about the lack of initiative seek to get citizens to join their cause. Both organizations have complained about the environmental management of the municipality, alleging that decisions are made by and for the elites, who aim to capitalize on the green initiatives. They have identified that the municipality has given a false idea of environmental protection and access to green spaces. For example, CV mentions that the Environmental Department:

“Has the lowest budget... lack a long-term perspective... we are not going to achieve anything... the management plan still lacks coordination and still lacks a budget, so it does not articulate things like research, environmental education, control, and surveillance issues, which are very serious. So you do a project, and you make people happy for a moment, but the long-term perspective is lost. It is not connected with the ecosystems” (CerrosVivos, 2022)

This statement shows the discontent that has led to their interest in carrying out their environmental interventions. Because it is perceived that the municipality does not have adequate environmental management plans, they consider that as a movement they can demand consistency in the project's execution. These movements have created a vision that questions the decision-making of the municipality. For example, they have expressed criticism by addressing the mayor:

“Mr. Mayor, Cerro Paraíso provides you with 3'000.000 m2 of green areas for your statistics. However, what have you done for the green areas of the city in these 20 years? And if we talk about the environmental debt of Guayaquil? from CERROS VIVOS we want to propose organizing a citizen forum that makes an evaluation, reflection, and action on this issue extended to the entire city...for years, official letters have come and gone and there is simply no WILL OR DIRECTION within the Municipality... up to the present date the MUNICIPALITY HAS NEVER EXECUTED A MANAGEMENT PLAN for the CERRO PARAÍSO” (Facebook Cerros Vivos, n.d.)

The constant neglect given to the hill has forced civil organizations to take care of the Paraíso. With their message, they want citizens to oppose the city's management. The vision generated by these movements is characterized by questioning the municipal work, mainly by demonstrating that the urban policies are not considered to be beneficial to environmental wellbeing. Additionally, they have worked to promote a spirit of belonging, so that the citizens feel that the Paraíso hill is still owned by them and that its defense is fundamental. Both ways of addressing the urban-environmental issue in the city are fundamental to configuring an imaginary that seeks to promote citizen activism.

2. Mobilizing support through offline and online networks

The passions and ideologies of these urban movements come from initiatives ruled by what they consider to be urban green space planning. The CV's strategies, according to the interviewees, were for the citizens to achieve their articulation. They have involved citizens and other urban movements through constant networking. Even though physical events were reduced by the pandemic, it was observed that online communications have maintained neighbors' interaction.

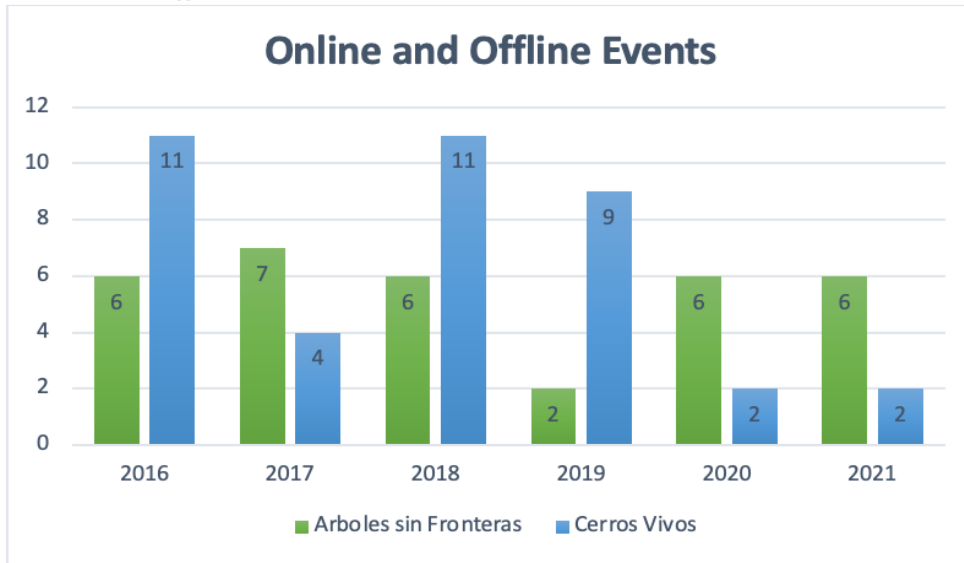
AsF has sought to get coalitions to protect the hill. The movement has criticized the environmental management of green spaces, the lack of political will, and the irregular

settlements within the hill buffer zones. Acknowledging the popularity of the ex-mayor they have tried to generate:

“Ecological coalitions, with Cerros Vivos and other organizations, we have also joined a National Environmental Front... we have sent official letters and tried to propose regulations on urban trees. We tried to use the empty chair in the council, but there has been no real response. Once the ex-mayor gave us an appointment... but for the lack of seriousness that he didn't go... it's like thanks for what you are interested in and for how seriously you take some young people who are trying to make a real proposal... We are hanged by the PSC, by the metropolitans... this city is made for the tourist, for the car”
(ArbolesSinFronteras, 2022)

Since AsF had not received proper responses from the government they decided to reinforce the population's support. By socializing their struggles, they are engaging in environmental discussions to promote the planting of trees by children and youths. The search for volunteers in educational institutions stands out and on Facebook, they post and make visible the planting activities. They have rewarded children that participate in the reforestation programs because of the potential they can generate. They also sell trees and native seeds, denounce fires and invasions, promote a message of environmental awareness, hold sustainability fairs, support environmental causes, and climate protests. AsF has brought assistance from university graduates, architects, and biologists to expose the environmental mismanagement in the city and promote green space improvements. In terms of other events, most of them embrace what CV organizes, supporting the causes that protect El Paraíso hill. The following table represents the number of events from the organizations.

Table 1
Online and Offline Events



Note. By, David Robalino

CV has sought to connect the population through academic, cultural, and social spaces, with the aim to forge a conscious relationship between nature and the inhabitants. On Facebook, the initiatives have been strengthened because of the online publications that have allowed them to organize and disseminate events inside and outside the Cerro. Two of the central and key events of CV are the Cerros Vivos Festival and the Day of the Mountains. These events have been held annually to make the situation of Cerro Paraiso visible. Among the organized activities, there are concerts, clean-up initiatives of the hill, children's activities, and eco-fairs which include a message of protection of green spaces. Facebook is used as a promotional intermediary where activities are held, as well as a mean to seek funds, interact with citizens and denounce fires or illegal settlements. These strategies aim to embrace the connective action of the followers to show that the movement is digitally alive.

Image 3

Cerros Vivos Festival Campaign

 Cerros Vivos is looking for ilustrador-a, diseñador-a.
November 29, 2018

Del 2010 al 2016 como Cerros vivos cada año tuvimos nuestro evento hito celebrando el día mundial de las montañas, por muchas razones dejamos de hacerlo, sin embargo para este 2018 hemos sentido que es necesario volver activar este festival, y aunque no cuenta con ningún apoyo creemos que la pasión por la conservación de nuestros bosques y cerros se vuelve la mejor auto gestión. Si entre nuestros amigxs, existe algún diseñador-a, ilustrador-a que desee colaborar para esta edición con el diseño del afiche, le haremos unas notables menciones en nuestras redes, interesadxs escribannos por interno

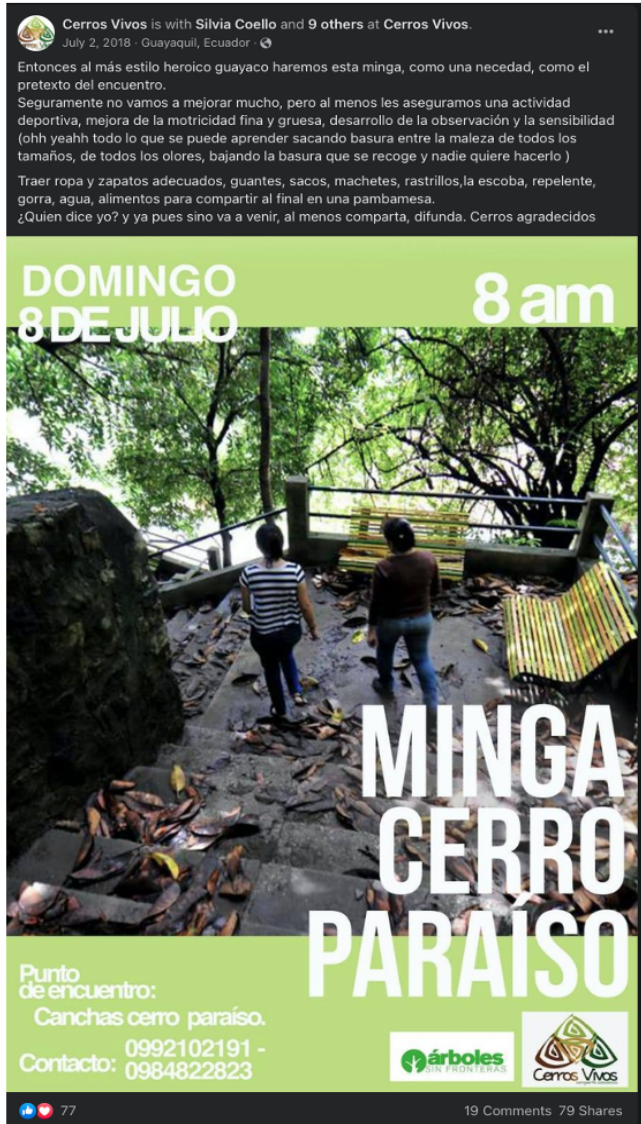


32 3 Comments 22 Shares

Note. By. Facebook Profile Cerros Vivos.

Image 4

Cleaning up the hill campaign with a message that promotes community unity



Note. By. Facebook Profile Cerros Vivos; Arboles sin Fronteras Ecuador.

The events have prompted people to take ownership of the care of this space. They told us that their demands left a legacy where sometimes the community has organized itself with different projections of what to do with El Paraiso hill. According to the representative of CV, social interest has increased and different initiatives have been appearing in the communities. Both interviewees expect that the Guayaquil society will increase its environmental education and strengthen ties of activism for the well-being of the environment. Support mobility has come about through a sense of belonging; the locals living close to the hill have been joining the cause. This activism led to a generation of networks that began to criticize the municipality's

role and the management of its green space. For instance, in a CV's Facebook post, they emphasized that it was necessary to stop:

“Urban projects that run over our landscape, and as is the case of Guayarte are not consistent with its concept, but it is a food court in its largest percentage. It is shameful that this is happening, where do we find harmony and balance? We need natural areas and silent parks that allow the contemplation that is needed in a city... Enjoying clean air and landscapes is healthy” (Facebook Cerros Vivos, n.d.)

In this statement, the ‘Guayarte’ project⁴ was criticized because the municipality destroyed part of the Salado’s estuary. This plan, which is relatively close to El Paraíso hill, was criticized because there was no pollution impact analysis within the estuary (Expreso, 2019). The citizens were upset about the neoliberal perspective in that urban project. Part of the estuary was commodified and privatized to build restaurants. The municipality developed a project that did not satisfy the environmental needs of the communities. This form of planning causes grievances among the citizens and the movements act as intermediaries, persuading the Guayaquil inhabitants to critique the commercial logic of urbanization.

With the interviewees, it was possible to discuss the existing problem in consolidating their organization. Different obstacles limit the mobilization of these organizations, where their message is not always accepted by all. AsF affirmed that some families within the El Paraíso hill neighborhood did not necessarily support them, on the contrary, some promoted new settlements. Achieving social cohesions has been problematic, this is due to the poor articulation, overflow, and disorganization in the management of the projects. Social disinterest led to organizational debilities however confronting the municipality and private organizations mainly causes failed strategies. AsF affirms that the municipal presence and the Junta de Beneficencia de Guayaquil⁵ are the ones who make decisions about El Paraíso hill. The Junta has not received any interference from the movements since they are private owners and have not made any demands:

“One of the most serious things that happen is that all the hills, that is, the hills of Guayaquil belong to the Junta de Beneficencia de Guayaquil. That is, they have an owner, in other words, they do not belong

⁴ An artistic and gastronomic space that was built in the middle of the city.

⁵ Which is the majority owner of the hill.

to the city... it is something very strange that Cerro Azul, Cerro Colorado, Cerro Paraíso, Cerro Santa Ana, Bosquera, Prosperina... belong to the Junta” (ArbolesSinFronteras, 2022)

In 2002, the Junta declared with a ministerial agreement that they were going to maintain their properties as protected areas, but this agreement had a ten-year extension (El Universo, 2002). Since this agreement is no longer in effect, it could change at any moment. There have been some scandals for the Junta, for instance, the Santa Ana hill that for more than 30 years was broken into and sold as lots and since then the inhabitants have not obtained property titles (El Telegrafo, 2022). Until the end of this investigation, when reviewing Junta's website it is possible to observe that within their lots for sale, there are no properties available in El Paraíso (Junta de Beneficencia, 2022).

CV is currently losing faith in what is happening on the hill. With the rise of new organizations that seek to make a profit in environmental projects they believe:

“That the perspective has been lost, some collectives that have more of a tendency towards entrepreneurship and towards a political lobby... they use these spaces for personal interests, they lose the militancy... My only hope is that some seeds will come up again but from the Paraíso neighborhoods... if it does not start from them as an issue of indignation... Everything else will remain a matter of superficiality” (CerrosVivos, 2022).

Constantly, the work they have done has sought to be engaged with the public management where they have denounced the lack of political will and interests that have sought to boycott the protection of nature. The strategies and activities mobilized people who aimed to protect the hill. However, the online and offline difficulties constantly limited their urban green message. The movements are reducing their activism with the Cerro. They hope that their message will continue as a reference for new generations to demand changes in urban management. It is possible to see that years of struggle with maneuvers are not always effective and can cause fatigue for the activists. Social contexts matter because despite the advocacy of its members, the municipality is ultimately the one who decides and drives the interventions in the Paraíso.

3. Claiming rights in an unresponsive political climate

The municipality aims to *"reforest and restore the dry forest ecosystem"* (El Universo, 2021). They prioritize combating irregular settlements and agricultural burning. The Municipal Director of Environment, Sustainability and Climate Change in 2021 stipulated that the citizenry is to blame for the problems experienced by the hill in Guayaquil. Due to the lack of environmental education, the situation has not changed and through reforestation, they claim that they are making substantial changes. We have seen previously that the environmental department was criticized because it has the lowest institutional budget. However, the director speaks of a citizen problem rather than a founding issue. In 2018 the municipality announced a project on the viewpoint of the hill with a liberal message. In essence, the message stipulates that there should be works and services that improve the quality of life of the population through technology and tourist activities. In this logic, resources are conserved as long as they have a utility that generates income. For example, the municipality determined in 2017 that *"the hill needs infrastructure and public access for tourism purposes"* (El Universo, 2017). Currently, visits to the hill are promoted not as a natural space but rather as an intervening place with luminaries, paved roads, and food courts

Guayaquil's Land Use and Development Plan, which is in effect until 2023, recognizes Cerro Paraíso and the importance of its conservation (Municipalidad de Guayaquil, 2021). However, the Director of the Environment mentioned that the repercussions in terms of climate change protection would last until 2050. This was another form of critique within the movements since there was a lack of implementation of the projects because of a short-term perspective. At the discourse level, it is possible to observe a change of mentality on the part of the municipal representatives. However, it would be necessary to wait for the results of the Development Plan to be able to evaluate these statements. The municipality activities on this hill have concentrated some citizen demands. For instance, in 2018:

"due to the efforts of the residents, through letters to the Mayor's Office... a meeting was held with Mayor to discuss this and other issues affecting the neighborhood, said a resident of El Paraíso, who is actively working for improvements in this sector.... the grounds of the courts and the pergola built... more than 30 years ago are in total abandonment, that the area is visited daily by couples who go to have sex, young people who go to consume drugs, criminals, homeless people..." (El Universo, 2018)

Social demands through letters and networking activities have led the municipality to pay attention to the community. Thus, security issues have begun to be considered and the movements themselves recognize that although they do not have forest rangers, at least security

guards are taking care of the hill. The government has included in their activities the creation of signs, socialization of the preservation of green spaces, weeding, and protection from future fires. In terms of reforestation, this is the activity that the municipality is doing the most and it is of relevance that in 2019 the municipality has already declared that it is planting native trees. The lack of planting native trees with technical expertise was one of the major complaints of AsF, and it is already possible to see that the municipality considered these concerns. Other demands have been met concerning illegal buildings. The movements have sent complaints and the municipality has on certain occasions acted to dismantle these types of settlements.

Nevertheless, the local government responses continue to be seen as inefficient. The citizens' criticism has forced the municipality to accelerate environmental protection actions, such as rescuing estuaries, protecting species, and planning a biological corridor between the hills of the city to maintain the environmental patrimony (El Universo, 2021). The municipality has sought private sector investment, however, it has been possible to identify that much of the funding has come from local initiatives rather than from private companies. For example, educational institutions, the Observatorio Ambientalista del Ecuador and Masa Critica Guayaquil were organizations that worked in areas where the municipality had requested support. Concerning the different initiatives of the movements, those that have not been prohibited by the municipality, I did not find any case in which meetings with citizens and movements have been denied. Dialogues have been reached for example when the municipality, AsF, and the organization Ciudad VIVA agreed on the elaboration of regulations.

Image 5

Municipality agreement to prepare environmental laws and tree inventory



Note. By. Facebook Profile Arboles sin Fronteras Ecuador, 2022

Despite the importance of this meeting, the plan did not work out as was manifested by the interviewee. The municipality seeks to show that it is working and that its activities are aligned with citizen compliance. They have created environmental awards such as *'Guayas y Quil'*, which encourages citizens to take care of nature. In 2021 the winner was the project *'Laboratorio Natural'* in the Cerro Paraíso, which created an educational ecotourism tool for Guayaquil's student institutions and international volunteer programs (Municipalidad de Guayaquil, 2021). Despite these actions, there are scandals such as the one that emerged in 2021 when the municipality approved the plan *'Icono Ecologico 200 años Cerro Paraíso'*. This project with a budget of \$2,000,000 would focus on building walkways, viewpoints, playgrounds, rest areas, monuments, installation of checkpoints, and video surveillance

cameras. This activity was joint ventures between the private company Fundación Siglo XXI and the local government. However, the citizens rejected this ecological intervention because the environmental impact plan was not made public. The population overall was skeptical of this program because over the last 10 years there has never been any substantial work in El Paraíso, and suddenly a massive project was announced. Secondly, the plan had such a high budget for issues that the Paraíso neighbors did not even seek attention for (Expreso, 2022). The municipality's actions show that it is not necessarily responding to social needs and therefore community members impede these types of activities.

Conclusion

This study aimed to present how two urban environmental movements in Guayaquil have developed their activism to protect El Paraíso hill and demand their right to green spaces within the city. Due to the lack of green spaces in Guayaquil, CV and AsF decided to demonstrate their discontent with environmental policy management. The collectives are operating to protect the Paraíso as one of the remaining natural spaces in this urban space. Activities, strategies, and tactics that have organized these movements all point to the protection of the hill, demanding changes in favor of nature and the inhabitants of El Paraíso (Escobar, 1992; Clark, 2002; Harvey, 2003). They have shown a critical look at the urban-environmental planning of the PSC. During this period the PSC has overseen the city and has shown how its neoliberal policy sees the environment as a commodity. Part of the investments, at the urban-environmental level come from private sectors that do not meet local interests and, opposingly, deepens the politicization of spaces and the unequal development of the city (Roshan Samara, et al., 2013). This research has revealed emerging activism and how online and offline actions have shaped an identity of belonging to the population. The results validate that these movements appropriate the hill as a space and through collective and connective activism it is possible to embody the struggle for environmental conservation (Purcell, 2002; Harvey, 2003; Bennett & Segerberg, 2013; Teelucksingh & R. Masuda, 2014). However, connective action demonstrates that they cannot be the only way to express urban environmental activism. The low-online response from citizens shows that social movements need constant physical advocacy to remain alive. The online platforms can act as intermediaries to expand an urban message but physical activism is still needed. The provided evidence has shown that social demands want to challenge the status quo however it cannot destabilize the local government

hegemony. Environmental improvements have not been substantial, but population, empowerment, and advocacy have shown these are means to confront power dynamics.

The findings confirm that these urban movements have sought to constrain municipal politics to achieve environmental justice within El Paraíso. From the reviewed data, it was possible to determine that CV and AsF pursue fair access to green spaces. However, the activists are becoming drained to continue with this struggle. I can explain this exhaustion using Dunlap & Brulle's (2015) thesis on the difficulties of accomplishing social changes when there is insufficient support and attention from the municipality. As the movements manifested no interest in institutionalizing, they do not have the necessary political representation to generate green-policies incidence (Botetzagias & van Schuur, 2012; Grant & Tilley, 2019). The authorities' response does not reflect the social demands, on the contrary, the executed projects are merely short-term measures that do not lead to the adequate conservation of the hill. It was corroborated that there is persistent discontent and opposition from the citizens to the municipal interventions. For instance, in the '*Guayarte*' project the inhabitants manifested their disagreement. And with the '*Icono Ecológico 200 años Cerro Paraíso*' project, the people postponed the activities on the hill, as they did not support this intervention. The population itself has been empowered and organized to bring its perspective to the table of the municipality. Citizen awareness has been one of the objectives of CV and AsF. Although they are reducing their activism, their legacy remains in the citizens. One of the demands that the movements have wanting to strengthen was environmental education. Although education remains a deficient target, it has been possible to observe how new climate organizations are participating with an environmental-friendly message.

It is fundamental to mention that part of the exhaustion of these movements comes from the limited access they have to the elites, specifically to the Junta de Beneficiencia of Guayaquil. Although the movements use their work to challenge privatization to protect nature (Purcell & K. Tyman, 2015; Apostolopoulou & Kotsila, 2021), as the Junta is a non-state actor, they could at any time decide to put its properties up for sale. The findings show that although these movements interact with the municipality, it may not be possible for them, in the same way, to deal with private organizations. The fact that the municipality promotes private investing has generated repercussions for social collectives since the benefits will then go to those who have the capital. I can argue that within the political context, the movements studied struggled to reach a consensus and, despite disagreements, they attempted to take advantage of the hill to

destabilize the status quo and shape their idea of urban planning (Laclau & Mouffe, 1987; Mouffe, 2000; Iveson, 2013). At the level of the grievances of neoliberalism, I can still see in this case study that the Latin American response to the environment is weak. Because of social demands, some environmental responses are coming from political leaders, however, they are not enough. Due to the power that governments have, the decision-making is still in favor of particular interests.

This research has qualitatively sought to contribute to the existing gap in the current environmental demands at the urban level and the responses given by Latin American governments. Among the implications that this study can contribute is that political negligence persists and that local authorities show inconsistencies in the management of green spaces. Furthermore, the role of social organization is still crucial in global South countries. The contentious politics in Latin America shows that social activism remains essential to include environmental demands in the political agenda. If CV and AsF wish to continue in this struggle, they must continue advocating but moreover expand their political network. Not working along with political parties may be one of the possible reasons why their message persists to be insufficient to achieving further protection for the hill or other green spaces.

It is valuable to highlight that in Latin American cities, environmental issues continue to be a marginal topic. As other problems stand out for their social relevance, environmental discussions remain a secondary issue. In this research, it was proven that the municipality acted indifferent toward citizens' environmental demands. Although this research has managed to obtain and analyze the proposed data, it was not possible to investigate additional data due to time constraints. Its limitations come from not having a direct response from the municipality, the insufficient online information, and not being able to be in Guayaquil shows where it is necessary to conduct more research and to further investigate the topic. It is proposed that future research should focus on the work done by the new collectives in Guayaquil. Because some movements may have neoliberal perspectives, perhaps these new dynamics may also help the environment and protect its green spaces. The city of Guayaquil has to rethink its green policy whereby it would be adequate to contrast other environmental initiatives that the PSC has with other municipalities in Ecuador. In this sense, it would be enriching to compare what divergent responses give PSC representatives to protect green spaces.

To conclude I would like to underline that albeit the environmental protection in the cities shows inconsistencies, it is necessary to continue research to find compatible solutions for the well-being of the environment and the society.

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Appendixes

- Appendix A: Analyzed data

Facebook
o https://www.facebook.com/cerros.vivos/
o https://www.facebook.com/ASF Ecuador
o https://www.facebook.com/watch/live/?ref=watch_permalink&v=821499668634210
El Universo
· 2016
o Traditional kite flying in Guayaquil
o In Cerros Vivos they work for the conservation of Cerro Paraíso
o In Guayaquil, El Paraíso has its waterfall
o Construction in Cerro Paraíso Protected Forest Rejected
o Mariuxi Avila Manrique and her struggle in Cerro Paraíso
o Art Festival in Cerro Paraíso
· 2017
o Art and nature together in Cerro Paraíso
o Signs will be placed in Cerro Paraíso
· 2018
o Abandonment affects El Paraíso neighborhood
o This Sunday, July 8 there will be minga in Cerro Paraíso
o Municipality of Guayaquil starts reforestation plan
· 2019
o Cerro El Paraíso has 300 new native trees
o Forest fire is registered in Paraíso hill, north of Guayaquil
o Students and firefighters planted 100 trees in Cerro Paraíso
o 1.5 hectares affected by fire in Cerro El Paraíso
· 2020
o Masa Crítica in Guayaquil promoted a cleanup minga in Cerro Paraíso
· 2021
o An inventory of polluting gases generated by Guayaquil, recovery of the Salado and protection of fauna and flora, among environmental priorities, according to the city council
o Masks were found in Cerro Paraíso during a minga and this prompted calls for citizen responsibility in Guayaquil.
o Guayaquil City Council and other entities planted more than 2,400 trees in protected areas and on the coastal road bicycle path.
o These are the ten protected areas that border or are inside Guayaquil
Municipality of Guayaquil
· 2018
o Project Announcement: "Mirador Cerro Paraíso"
· 2019
o Municipality of Guayaquil invites to enjoy free family carnival holiday in water parks
· 2020
o Municipality started in Cerro Paraíso the cleaning of fire cut lines
o Reforestation in Cerro Paraíso. Cab drivers and Municipality planted 200 trees
· 2021
o Environmental Directorate planted 50 trees in protective forests.
o The Department of Green Areas carries out clearing of brush in Cerro Paraíso.
o A fair raises awareness about the importance of forests
o Announcement of the project: "Ecological Icon 200 years Cerro Paraíso".
o 2,000 native trees planted in 7 protected areas of Guayaquil
o Environmental Department closes workshop in Cerro Paraíso

Note: in 2016 and 2017 the Guayaquil Municipality did not publish any information related to Cerro el Paraíso.

- Appendix B: Interview guide

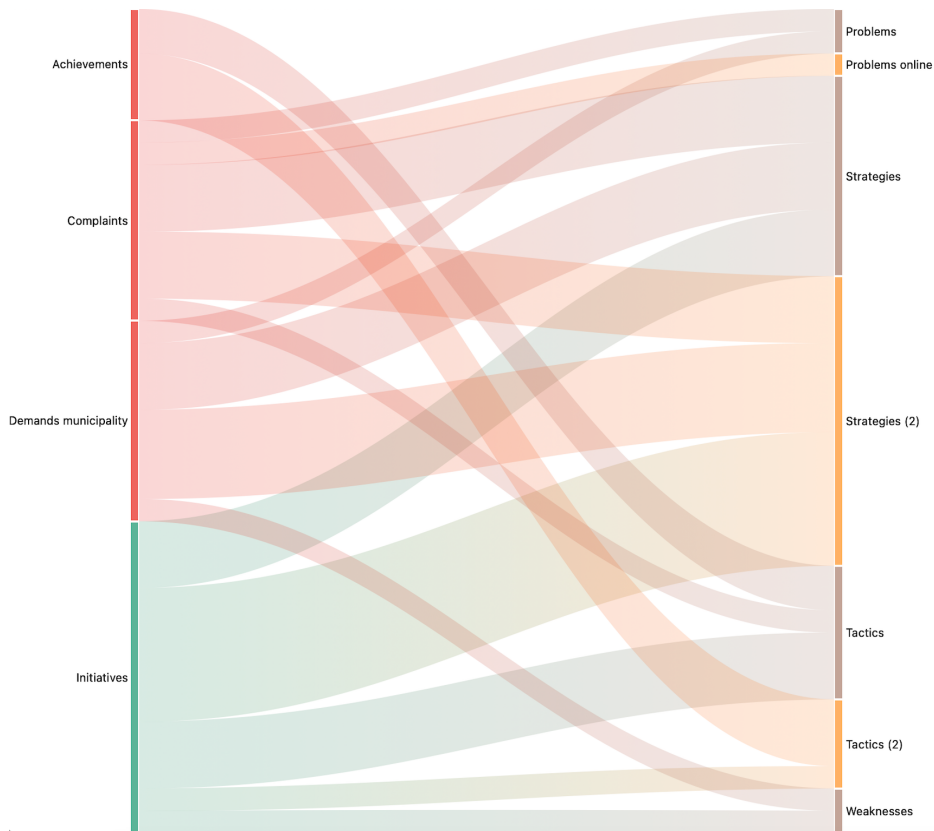
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>General questions</i>
○ At what period was your organisation founded?
○ In what context was your organisation founded
○ How has your organization evolved?
○ What motivated you to demand this for the hill?
○ What do you think are the municipality interests?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Contentious practices</i>
○ Why did you decide to confront the Guayaquil municipality?
○ How has your relationship with the municipality of Guayaquil been?
○ What other state or municipal organizations have worked with you?
○ How has been your relationship with other organizations?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Social movements activities</i>
○ Which tactics have been successful in protecting the hill and which have not?
○ What actions have been successful in protecting the hill and which have not?
○ How do you manage and obtain funds?
○ How have you felt the support of the public?
○ Have you had support from other organizations and how has it been?
○ What online strategies have you used?
○ What physical strategies have you used?
○ What actions have been most successful and why?
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Environmental demands</i>
○ What do you think this green space contributes to the city and why is it important?
○ What do you feel has happened to the city and the people since you started your work?
○ Do you think it will be possible to achieve justice for the hill?

- Appendix C: List of Codes



- Appendix D: Question 1

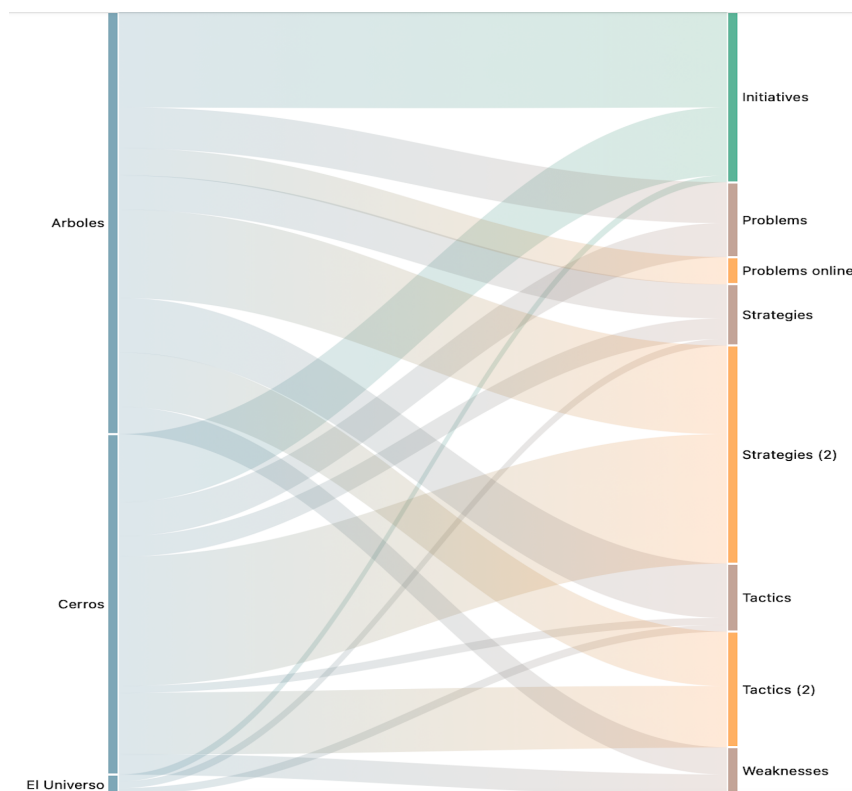
- Co-Occurrence image



- Co-Occurrence table

	● Achievements Gr=13	● Complaints Gr=32	● Demands municipality Gr=36	● Initiatives Gr=25
● Problems Gr=11	0	1	1	0
● Problems online Gr=4	0	1	0	0
● Strategies Gr=9	0	3	3	3
● Strategies (2) Gr=32	0	3	4	6
● Tactics Gr=10	2	1	0	3
● Tactics (2) Gr=17	3	0	0	1
● Weaknesses Gr=7	0	0	1	1

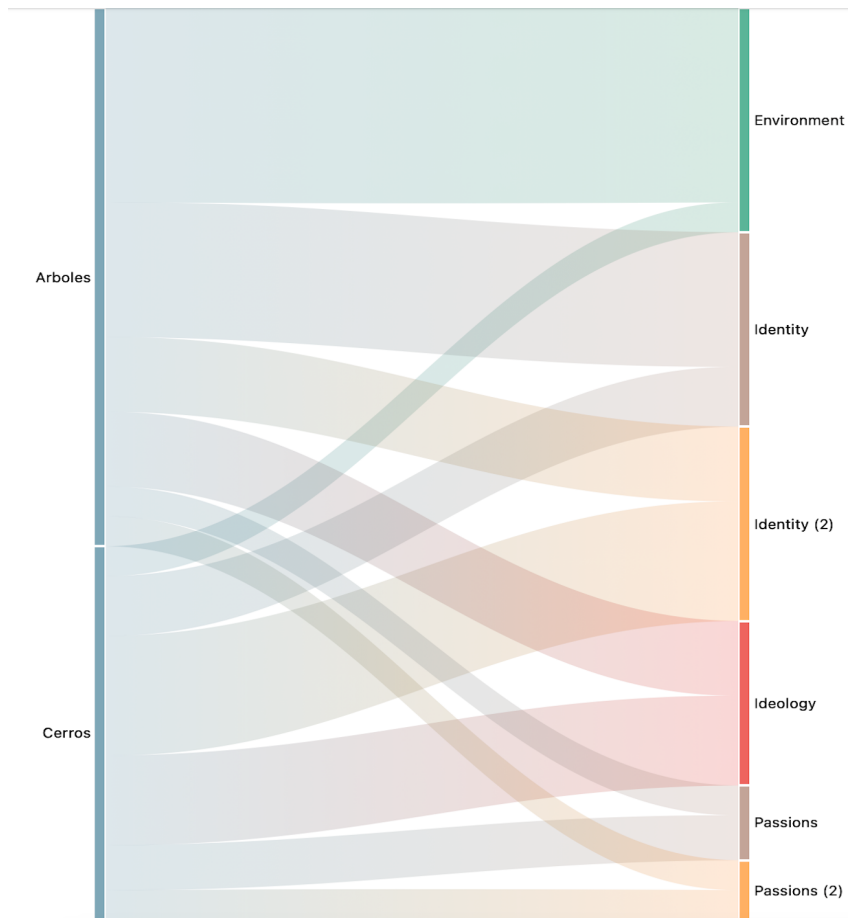
○ Code-document image



○ Code-document table

	Arboles Gr=143; GS=3		Cerros Gr=124; GS=3		El Universo Gr=46; GS=20		Totals
	Absolute	Column- relative	Absolute	Column- relative	Absolute	Column- relative	Absolute
● Initiatives Gr=25	14	22,58%	10	20,00%	1	33,33%	25
● Problems Gr=11	6	9,68%	5	10,00%	0	0,00%	11
● Problems online Gr=4	4	6,45%	0	0,00%	0	0,00%	4
● Strategies Gr=9	5	8,06%	3	6,00%	1	33,33%	9
● Strategies (2) Gr=32	13	20,97%	19	38,00%	0	0,00%	32
● Tactics Gr=10	8	12,90%	1	2,00%	1	33,33%	10
● Tactics (2) Gr=17	8	12,90%	9	18,00%	0	0,00%	17
● Weaknesses Gr=7	4	6,45%	3	6,00%	0	0,00%	7
Totals	62	100,00%	50	100,00%	3	100,00%	115

○ Ideology and positions image

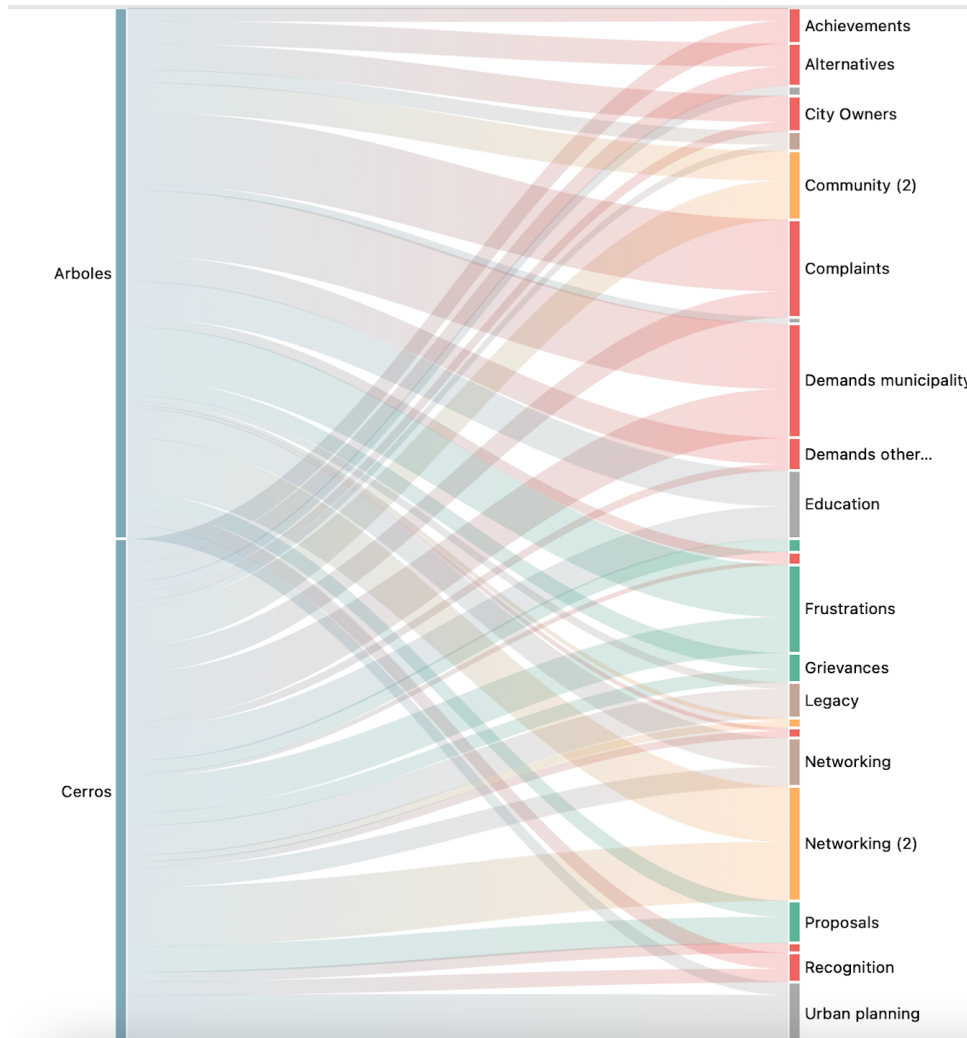


○ Ideology, and positions table

	Arboles Gr=143; GS=3	Cerros Gr=124; GS=3	Totals
● Environment Gr=16	13	2	15
● Identity Gr=13	9	4	13
● Identity (2) Gr=13	5	8	13
● Ideology Gr=12	5	6	11
● Passions Gr=5	2	3	5
● Passions (2) Gr=4	2	2	4
Totals	36	25	61

- Appendix E: Question 2

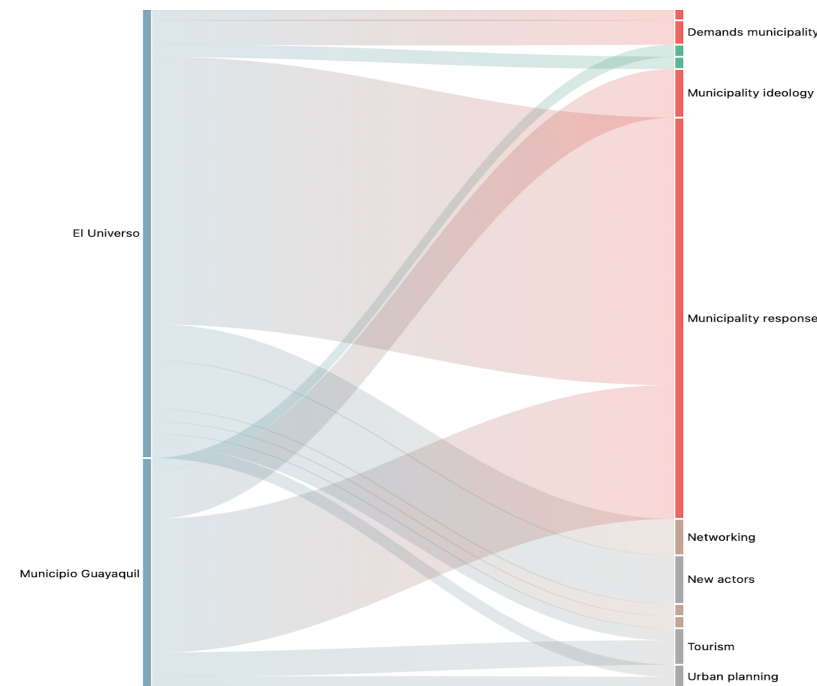
- Code-document image



○ Code-document table

	Arboles Gr=143; GS=3	Cerros Gr=125; GS=3	Totals
● Achievements Gr=13	4	7	11
● Alternatives Gr=13	7	6	13
○ Citizens Gr=8	0	3	3
● City Owners Gr=12	8	3	11
● Community Gr=10	4	2	6
● Community (2) Gr=21	9	12	21
● Complaints Gr=32	22	8	30
○ Dato historico Gr=2	2	0	2
● Demands municipality Gr=37	20	15	35
● Demands other organizations Gr=10	8	2	10
○ Education Gr=24	11	10	21
● Expectations Gr=4	0	4	4
● Fear Gr=4	3	1	4
● Frustrations Gr=28	16	11	27
● Grievances Gr=11	5	4	9
● Legacy Gr=16	2	9	11
● Legacy (2) Gr=3	1	2	3
● Municipality response Gr=36	1	2	3
● Networking Gr=18	9	6	15
● Networking (2) Gr=35	17	18	35
● Proposals Gr=13	5	8	13
● Proyections Gr=3	0	3	3
● Recognition Gr=9	5	4	9
○ Urban planning Gr=21	4	15	19
Totals	163	155	318

- Appendix F: Question 3
 - Code-document image



- Code-document table

	El Universo Gr=46; GS=20	Municipio Guayaquil Gr=16; GS=11	Totals
● City Owners Gr=12	1	0	1
● Demands municipality Gr=37	2	0	2
● Environment Gr=16	0	1	1
● Initiatives Gr=25	1	0	1
● Municipality ideology Gr=4	0	4	4
● Municipality response Gr=36	22	11	33
● Networking Gr=18	3	0	3
○ New actors Gr=4	4	0	4
● Strategies Gr=9	1	0	1
● Tactics Gr=10	1	0	1
○ Tourism Gr=3	1	2	3
○ Urban planning Gr=21	1	1	2
Totals	37	19	56