CREATIVE CITIES AS SELF-MANAGEMENT EXPERIENCES AT THE PARK AUGUSTA AND THE URBAN COMMONS

AS CIDADES CRIATIVAS COMO EXPERIÊNCIAS DE AUTOGESTÃO NO PARQUE AUGUSTA E O COMUM URBANO

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Abstract

A model of creative cities that has been practiced around the world is one of the responses to the industrial capitalism crisis in the face of the process of productive restructuring that has shaken traditional economic foundations. The Fourth Industrial Revolution highlighted the amplification of the market under the auspices of the neoliberal regime and the cultural industry, enhancing the model and leading to significant impacts on the expansion of socio-spatial inequalities. This article aims to demonstrate that, in parallel to such hegemonic processes in the creative cities agenda, other processes can be found that contest their modus operandi and that reinforce the emergence of other values in the intertwining of community interests as opposed to the exclusively privatist interests of the market. It is argued that the ideas and tools for building commons can enable another formulation of the role of culture and creativity in city planning. To this end, the article weaves a trajectory of implementing an urban park in the city of São Paulo, Parque Augusta, which had the direct participation of several civil society organizations in its implementation. As a structural theoretical basis, the article is based on the argument that the social forces that came together in defense of the park are inserted within the scope of the Common, as well as in many other processes that have already been reported in the literature, repositioning the paradigm of creative cities. Using a historiographic method based on documentary sources and the triangulation of data obtained, the narrative was constructed chronologically, considering, through the evidence presented by the documentation, how the organization of the collectives and the activities carried out in the space reversed the privatization process that was underway on the land.

Keywords: creative cities, commons, Parque Augusta, libertarian municipalism, urban planning.

Resumo

O modelo de cidades criativas, que tem sido praticado em todo o mundo, é uma das respostas à crise do capitalismo industrial frente ao processo de reestruturação produtiva que abalou as bases econômicas tradicionais. A Quarta Revolução Industrial evidenciou a amplificação do mercado sob os auspícios do regime neoliberal e a indústria cultural, potencializando o modelo, com impactos significativos na ampliação das desigualdades socioespaciais. Este artigo pretende demonstrar que, em paralelo a tais processos hegemônicos na agenda das cidades criativas, é possível encontrar outros processos que contestam seu modus operandi e que reforçam a emersão de outros valores no entrelaçamento dos interesses comunitários em oposição aos interesses exclusivamente privatistas do mercado. Argumenta-se que o ideário e as ferramentas de construção de comuns podem possibilitar uma outra formulação do papel da cultura e da criatividade no planejamento das cidades. Para isso, o artigo tece uma trajetória da implantação de um parque urbano na cidade de São Paulo, o Parque Augusta, que teve a participação direta de várias organizações da sociedade civil para a sua efetivação. Como base teórica estrutural, o artigo parte do argumento de que as forças sociais que se aglutinaram em defesa do parque estão inseridas no âmbito do Comum, assim como em muitos outros processos que já foram relatados pela literatura, reposicionando o paradigma das cidades criativas. Utilizando-se de um método historiográfico baseado em fontes documentais e na triangulação dos dados obtidos, a narrativa foi construída de forma cronológica, considerando, através das evidências apresentadas pela documentação, como a organização dos coletivos e as atividades praticadas no espaço reverteram o processo de privatização que estava em curso sobre o terreno.

Palavras-chave: cidades criativas, comuns, Parque Augusta, municipalismo libertário, planejamento urbano.

Introduction

Since the writings of David Harvey on the postmodern condition (1994), the discussion about the crisis of the industrial economy in cities has been increasingly effusive. Assuming that the technological transformation of industrial bases and the displacement of production bases had a severe effect on the organization of world cities, thought and intervention on them had to be redirected to obtain new economic results. Thus, in the face of successive crises, created within the scope of capitalism to maximize profits (Mészáros, 2011), a new production system was inserted, combining strategies to redirect the productive machine to the amplification of the cultural industry as a contribution to leverage the economy of cities. In this new creative system, the technological advancement promoted within the scope of the Fourth Industrial Revolution only extended the survival of the market under the auspices of the Internet of things, big data and automation, leading to profound impacts on contemporary urban spaces (Rifkin; 2014; Schwab, 2016).

In this scenario, culture has become a powerful tool in the strategy of immediate consumption from the spectacularization and the production of images, enhancing the attraction of international capital for the expansion of its industrial mechanisms. One aspect of this spectacularization of the world of culture is the transformation of urban spaces into requalified and redesigned areas for a more incisive action of the market (Sanchez, 2001). Transformations can occur anywhere in the city, but in general, they are enhanced by those awaiting renewal (Bernardini; Venitucci, 2016). Faced with the obsolescence of old abandoned industrial areas, functionally decadent port areas and other structures that no longer fit the new demands, regeneration proposals are made under the aegis of culture (Arantes, 1998). Through political agreements, multilateral agreements with multinational agencies and companies, culture appears as the main argument for the requalification and recovery of spaces considered "obsolete", enhancing the sale of places in a wide network of real estate businesses (Colomb, 2012). This spatial regeneration allows both the maintenance of specific characteristics of cities, creating a kind of "museum city"; as well as the rehabilitation of old buildings, equipment and industrial buildings for new uses, making them also suitable for leisure and entertainment (Jacques, 2008).

Many formulas have been developed for this regeneration and they have even gained popularity over the last four decades, which includes formulating and implementing bold urban projects aimed at transforming old industrial warehouses into residences and studios for young people and artists; requalifying seafronts and urban voids as entertainment, leisure and culture complexes; developing large architectural projects (mainly cultural facilities, such as museums and art galleries), signed by internationally famous professionals in historic centers and degraded areas; promoting international mega-events, especially sporting events; among others (Seldin, 2015). Terms such as "creative economy", "creative cities" and "creative classes" were created to support such policies and actions, seen as positive in the economic reactivation of locations. However, the consequences of adopting these policies are not, generally, positive as the literature indicates. In addition to favoring only the wealthiest segments of the population, they exacerbate segregation, gentrification, and expulsion processes, in addition to culture appropriation and its values to make it a market asset (Sánchez Belando; Ruis-Ulldemolins; Zarlenga, 2012).

The "renaissance era" of creative cities was deeply impacted by the 2008 housing crisis. This was fuel for urban social movements to realize that the cultural safeguarding of urban regeneration projects was not inclusive. The movements and popular

insurgencies, such as the various "occupy", that emerged in the early 2010s were responses to these speculative processes and represented an effective inspiration for new local governance, based on network communication, horizontality, participation, contestation, autonomy and emancipation (D'Ovidio; Rodríguez Morató, 2017; Graeber, 2011; Harvey, 2014; Landry, 2012; Miles, 2012; Mould, 2018; Santos Junior, 2014; Seldin, 2015).

These processes open up the possibility of conceiving creative cities from another perspective, collective and community, based on the cultural and creative manifestations of the community itself involved in the planning process by creating and managing commons. This article aims to present evidence that another way of thinking about and producing territory, based on amplifying democratic processes, can result in creating quality public spaces that represent an alternative path to the creative bases of the contemporary city. By considering the concept of "Commons" as a theoretical basis to explain the phenomenon, it is intended to demonstrate, from a historiographical tool, that the creation and implementation of Augusta Park, in São Paulo, in 2021, stemmed from insurgent initiatives on the part of society in reaction to the usual practices of the market. Moreover, this established another modus operandi, different from those established solely by the public authorities or by private initiative.

From a methodological point of view, this article uses historiographical tools as a strategy to compose the network of elements that show the process of conception of Augusta Park, from the movement of contestation of the real estate incorporation that was underway until its effective implementation. In the historiographical context, the article establishes a narrative thread that is constituted from the "traces" and indications guided by several sources that illuminate the trajectory of the Park's construction, revealing clues within the web of narratives that shaped this process (Ginzburg, 2007). Given that this is a case study, we sought to establish a relational analysis between elements derived from various sources, combining them through their triangulation with the literature (Yin, 1994).

The research gathered documents from three main sources: official documents from the Municipal Government, reports and journalistic articles and legal proceedings related to the matter. In addition to these, academic works such as theses and dissertations, as well as papers presented at conferences, were also consulted. Some sources were stored on the websites of the City of São Paulo, the Municipal Chamber of São Paulo, Conpresp, the Public Prosecutor's Office of São Paulo and the Court of Justice of the State of São Paulo (São Paulo (Estado), 2018). Journalistic articles were consulted in the main newspapers in São Paulo and Internet portals between 1900 and 2023. A Boolean search was used with combinations of the keywords: "Rua Augusta", "Caio Prado", "Parque Augusta", "Baixo Augusta", "Urban Common", "Injunction" and "Court Agreement", and more than 300 titles were found that were selected according to their relevance and depth on the reported subjects. Official documents (judicial proceedings, from the city hall and Conpresp) were prioritized to organize the argumentation of the disputes over the land. Academic works support the theoretical construction of the article. The reports support, safeguard the memory and enhance the perception of how these disputes were perceived and transformed by the affected population. The consulted sources are categorized in Chart 1 below:

Chart 1 - Sources consulted

Source	Type
Folha de São Paulo	Newspaper
Estado de São Paulo	Newspaper
Veja São Paulo	Magazine
Carta Capital	Website
O Globo	Website
Tv Gazeta	Website
Portal Uol	Website
Portal G1	Website
Portal Terra	Website
Portal R7	Website
Agência Brasil	Website
JusBrasil	Website
Organismo Parque Augusta	Facebook Page
Amigos do Parque Augusta	Facebook Page
Processo Judicial nº1017163-55.2016.8.26.0053	Digital documents from 1oª VFP/SP
Processo Judicial nº 1009214-14.2015.8.26.0053	Digital documents from 1oª VFP/SP
Processo Judicial nº 0032086-11.2013.8.26.0053	Digital documents from 1oª VFP/SP
Processo Administrativo 2002-0.176.233-8	Digital documents from 13ª VFP/SP
Processo Administrativo 2002-0.176.230-3	Digital documents
Resoluções do Conpresp (1990-2023)	Minutes and digitized documents

Source: the authorsc

The city as a Commons

The Commons, as a philosophical basis for the constitution of principles, concepts and social practices, encompasses the necessary link between living beings and the material base that allows them to live. Insofar as all beings depend on inputs for their survival on the planet, which includes air, water and food, the Commons emerges as a postulate that recovers from human consciousness the meaning of collective expression in whatever social organization is imposed. From this meaning, which seems elementary, ethical problems arise related to the limits of private appropriation of goods within the scope of capitalism (Dürr et al., 2020). This persistent question about the division of material goods and their connection to how they are appropriated reverberates more intensely under the new reasons of the world structured by neoliberalism (Dardot; Laval, 2017). The reification of the meaning of res communes intoned the division that was constituted in the legal and institutional means between common, public and private goods.

Understandably, against the backdrop of the resurgence of neoliberal policies from the 1980s onward, the issue of the Commons has once again been addressed in academic circles and, more than that, observed and recognized in the actions of civil society in response to the impasses caused by the imbalance of power in the relationship between the appropriation of goods by the market (Akçali; Korkut, 2015). In this shift, new conceptions and contributions played a significant role, as was the case with Elinor Ostrom, who, from the perspective of political economy, critiqued the dichotomous opposition between the State and market, identifying a middle ground between the two poles and, more than that, distinguishing the differences among the three spheres (Ostrom, 1990). By identifying common goods, Ostrom empirically demonstrated the viability of establishing the self-management of goods based on the feeling of reciprocity and belonging, encouraging cooperativism and cultural diversity in communities.

Although it is postulated as a collective action, the Commons is not to be confused with the public sphere, understood as the State's field of action, often incapable of absorbing the different forms of interaction in social life.

Often overlooked and kept invisible by the institutional eye, collective actions of the Commons can be structured as emancipatory organizations (Savazoni, 2018) also by confronting the neoliberal order and proposals of state (de)regulation in this area. However, it is crucial to distinguish between processes that are genuinely linked to the Commons from those that are co-opted or institutionalized via the State (Menezes; Nagao, 2020).

The deepening of bottom-up participation instances within the Commons can take on even more radical forms, as seen in libertarian municipalism and democratic confederalism of Murray Bookchin (2010), understood as organizational means to promote the political involvement of local populations in the pursuit of far-reaching measures.

Bookchin's proposal foresees the creation of autonomous districts, cities and local communities interacting in solidarity, capable of opposing the National State and the current economic forces (Bookchin, 2010). If libertarian municipalism involves political action, democratic confederalism provides the administrative means needed to manage the structures shaped at the local level (Silva, 2007). This is what happened in the territory of Rojava, an autonomous region of Syrian Kurdistan that has been experiencing self-government since 2012. Bookchin's greatest contribution lies in the distinction he makes between the "city" - the set of buildings, squares, that is, the physical fact of the city, and the "city", or "civitas", the political body of free citizens. According to the author, urbanization has been deteriorating both cities and citizens' potential for transformation, prioritizing economic interests over political ones. The predominance of the physical restructuring of urban spaces based on bold urban projects (urbs) defines neoliberal practices, to the detriment of the collective construction of these spaces by citizens (civitas). Thus, the political action claimed by Bookchin is not that of participation through voting or that of the taxpayer, but that of those who organize their actions in the civic space by forming groups, assemblies, communities, spaces for free expression and radically democratic decisions based on popular power (Blanco; Gomà, 2019). Bookchin's postulate contributes helps clarify the essence of democratic deepening, free from his perspective through state channels.

Inspired by Bookchin, citizens can constitute commons in decision-making processes based on collective movements that discuss and build spaces consistent with their demands and expectations, using mechanisms for sharing processes and experiences (Sánchez Vergara; Papaoikonomou; Ginieis, 2021) to the so-called prefigurative tactics as experiences of collective action (Minuchin, 2021). There are many territories, on different scales - from gardens to nature reserves, including streets and entire neighborhoods - that allow us to think of the city as a Common, including spontaneous and instantaneous movements such as tactical urbanism (Foster; Laione, 2016; Domene; Saurí, 2007; Elrahman, 2016). However, as well as material results, the Commons is formed by the action of joint construction, and it can be identified in the exchange of knowledge, technologies, skills and practices, that is, in much of what results from social interaction (Hardt; Negri, 2009). The virtual environment and digital tools available enhance the development of collective projects and also give citizens the ability to build prototypes from the so-called makerspaces (Münster et al., 2017; Ibarac; Petrescu, 2017; Diaz; Tomàs; Lefebvre, 2021), although it is important to consider under what conditions and at what costs these processes take place and whether their less obvious consequences are always desirable (Certomà, 2022).

The way public authorities deal with this action by civil society in the real transformation of spaces and the movements that articulate to make it effective reinforces the debate about the essence of the Commons, whether it must necessarily be disconnected from

the public sphere or whether it can, at some point, articulate with it. Participatory placemaking, co-design and location-based digital content are examples of support that local powers can provide in this network system, thus assuming the Commons as a legitimate process (Androulaki; Frangedaki; Antoniadis, 2020). Even the combination of public funding, in the case of civic crowdfunding, open data government or even participatory budgeting, can constitute processes that also recognize the sphere of the Commons in public policies (Shah; Garg, 2017; Bonina; Eaton, 2020; Lee; Min, 2023). Institutional innovation (Hamdouch; Nyseth, 2023) is, in any process, a necessary path to assume its presence in articulation with public power, making these processes visible. Thus, its practices challenge the established concepts of public space regulation and legislation on the territory, especially regarding the possibilities of self-management and self-regulation, according to the Co-City protocol (Foster; Iaione; Nictolis, 2018).

Augusta Park and the Common

The history of Rua Augusta's occupation can be divided into three main periods: the first (1891-1942) marked by the urbanization of the farmsteads that existed in the region; the second (1943-1975), by the verticalization and transformation of buildings into commercial establishments; and the third (1976-2012), by the installation of temporary occupation activities, including hotels, brothels, and leisure and entertainment venues (Pissardo, 2013). It was during this period that young people of different backgrounds and profiles began to meet on Rua Augusta at night, giving it the character of diversity that marks the region today. The so-called June Journeys of 2013 boosted mobilization around the Augusta Park Movement (MPA) from the union of residents, neighborhood associations, collectives of artists and activists who opposed the urban redevelopment projects being proposed for the central region of the city of São Paulo. The land, as show in figure 1 and 2, was destined to receive tall commercial towers, while the Augusta Park Movement (MPA) demanded a park without buildings, 100% public and free of charge to users.

Figure 1 - Location of Augusta Park marked in green
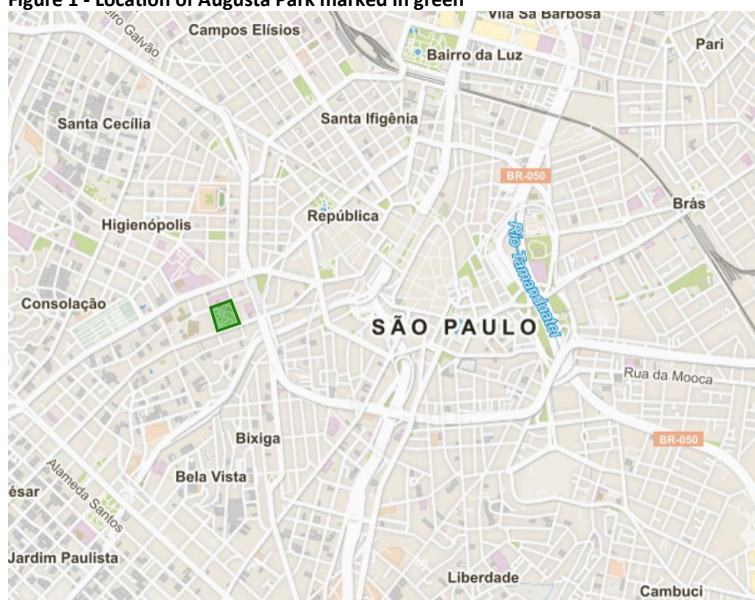
Source: the authors using MapSeed[1]

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[1] Mapseed is a platform that allows anyone to create community-driven maps on the web. These maps allow users to report issues or submit ideas and respond to other people's issues and ideas.

Figure 2 - Aerial photo of Augusta Park in 2022. In the background, Rua Augusta, on the left, Rua Caio Prado, on the right, Rua Marques de Paranaguá

Source: the authors, image extracted from Google Earth.

Originally occupied by the residential mansion of the Uchoa family (1902), the land was sold in 1906 to the Cônegas de Santo Agostinho, who expanded the original project so that it could be used as the Colégio Des Oiseaux (1907-1969). The land (Figures 1 and 2) housed other uses: a pre-university course in the 1970s, a venue for shows (Projeto SP) in the 1980s, and a parking lot, which closed and left the entire area underutilized. At the time of the sale, the nuns had it written in the property deed that the internal woods should be preserved and that access should remain constantly open for public enjoyment (Setin [...], 2013).

The timeline of the land's uses demonstrates, as shown in figure 3 below, that the dispute over its exploitation accompanied the movements and social practices of its respective eras. During the military dictatorship period (1970s-80s), several purchase and sale agreements, which were not very transparent and had various interferences from the public power, took place. Following the sale of part of the land by the nuns and the transfer of the school in 1970, the area transitioned to commercial use for cultural events in the 1980s. This shift led to various proposals to construct commercial enterprises, such as hotels and office towers. These proposals were met with conflicts involving public authorities, property owners and the local community, leading to spurious actions such as the unauthorized demolition of the school building in 1974 (São Paulo (SP), 1970, 1974). The City Hall even decreed Public Utility for the construction of a garden in 1970, complying with the requirement left by the nuns in the deed (São Paulo (SP), 1973), without success. The actions, therefore, were taken in an authoritarian manner, seeking to meet private desires or create megaprojects such as the "largest hotel complex in Latin America" (Corrêa, 2014a ou 2014b).

After the redemocratization in the mid-1980s, the area began to take on more defined commercial contours and was explored as a venue for cultural events. A circus tent was put up on the land hosting musical shows and various artistic performances (Dirani, 2023), which led to a more active engagement of the population, albeit in the role of consumers. The property's commercial designation was further accentuated in the 1990s, with the announcement of several unmaterialized real estate projects, both residential and commercial. They were announced under an empty lot strengthening

the effects of real estate speculation. In 1994, a first petition in reaction was presented to the Municipal Council for the Preservation of the Historical, Cultural and Environmental Heritage of the City of São Paulo (CONPRESP) requesting the listing of the area (Abaixo [...], 1994) and being accepted only 10 years later by Resolution No. 23/COMPRESP/2004. The listing of the tree and shrub species of the land, the remaining buildings of the Colégio Des Oiseaux, the secondary buildings and the gatehouse of Caio Prado Street were defined. This was the first movement of organized civil society in terms of transforming that area into a Commons. In parallel, in 2001, the Society of Friends, Residents and Entrepreneurs of the Cerqueira César Neighborhood (SAMORCC) delivered another petition to the City Council with more than 15,000 signatures, requesting the creation of Augusta Park (Corsi; Abascal, 2022). These processes, related to the commercialization of the area and the interest of private entities in exploring that territory, occurred concomitantly with the opening of Brazil to international markets or the beginning of privatization at a federal level.

Figure 3 - Timeline of the Augusta Park site
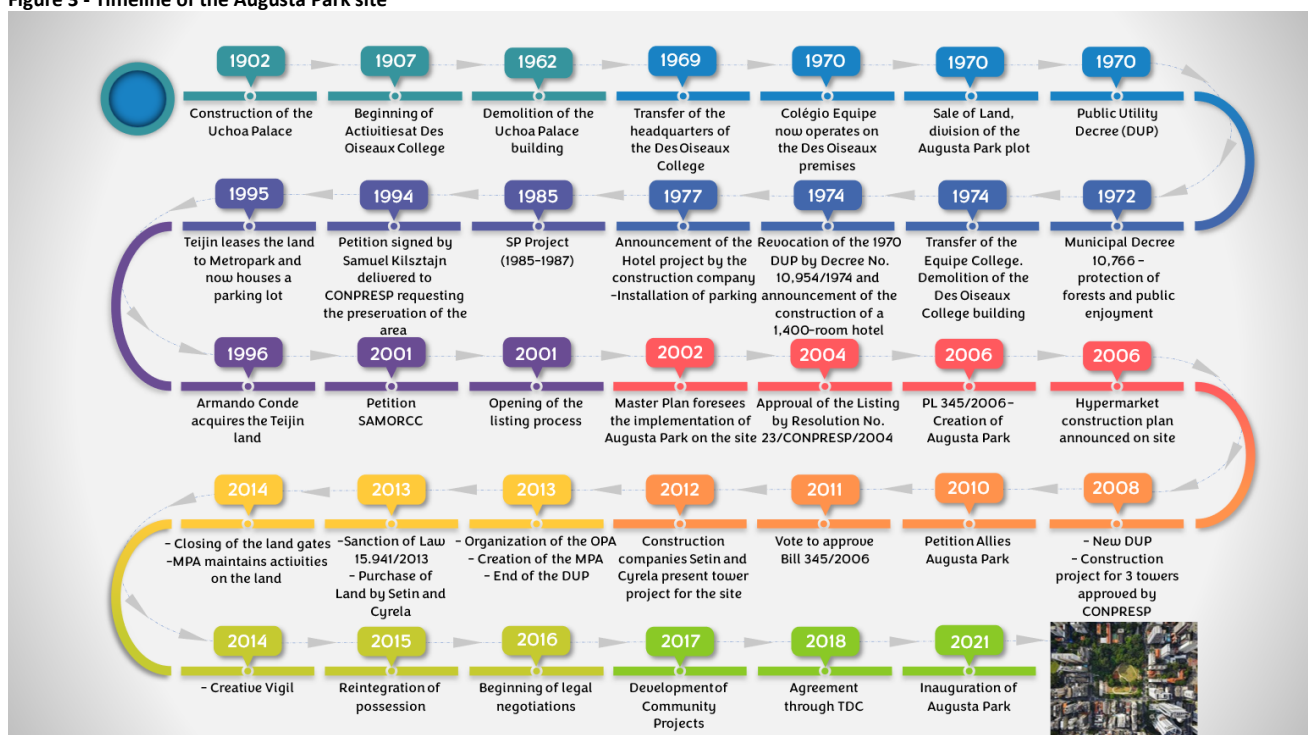
Source: the author based on (Corrêa, 2014; Corsi; Abascal, 2022; Maróstica; Cortese; Nascimento, 2018; Oliveira, 2019; Souza; Peretto; Seo, 2021)

From the 2000s onwards, the population began to play a leading role in the use of the property and to act together with institutional bodies so that their demands would be met. This movement, in a way, dialogued with the federal public policies promoted by Lula's government (2002-2010), to strengthen councils and bodies of citizen participation. PL 345/2006 was added to these two petitions, filed in the City Council at the request of SAMORCC, proposing the creation of Augusta Park in the entire land. Having the petition and the PL, SAMORCC began to direct the participation of civil society (OPA, 2014). In the same year, the "Aliados do Parque Augusta" emerged, a new collective dedicated to the defense of the park. This strengthening of participatory instances caused divisions within the public authorities to the extent that, in 2008, the City Hall again declared the area as a Public Utility (São Paulo (SP), 2008), similar to what been done in the 1970s. At the same time, CONPRESP approved the construction of

three towers occupying 20% of the land, which was another speculative project that was not carried out2.

In 2010, the Aliados do Parque Augusta collective organized a new petition through an online public petition entitled "For the Creation of Augusta Park in the Total Area of 24 thousand m²", gathering 11,416 signatures 3. This movement led the City Council to approve the PL for the creation of Augusta Park in the first vote in 2011, almost six years after the bill was filed (São Paulo (SP), 2006). In contrast, in 2012, the construction companies Cyrela and Setin publicly presented a project to build two towers in the area, even though they were not the land owners (Corrêa, 2014a ou 2014b). From the end of the Decree of Public Utility, in early 2013, the purchase of the land was completed by the construction companies, in September of the same year (Setin [...], 2013). Faced with this advance of market agents, civil society reorganized itself in the Organismo Parque Augusta (OPA), a new agent of mobilization, more open, plural and decentralized than the initiatives existing until then, carrying out its first activities within the park area in the same year4.

The Augusta Park Movement (MPA) then came into existence from the union of three different groups: the "Organismo Parque Augusta (OPA)", the "Aliados do Parque Augusta" and the "Parque Augusta sem Prédios". Other residents' associations and entities that had previously acted institutionally participated sporadically and occasionally and, in some cases, against the interests of the MPA (Correa, 2014a ou 2014b; Oliveira, 2019). This organization cleared and planted vegetable patches, followed by meetings, assemblies, forums and art festivals, widely disseminating and documenting information on websites and social networks5. The manifestos, internal and public documents produced by the OPA were also made available on the Internet, reinforcing the self-management and horizontal character of the movement. It is clear that, during this period, the idea of realizing and establishing the park ceased to depend exclusively on public authorities or the real estate market. Instead, it was structured through the voluntary action of people who, through an occupation movement, began to adopt various activities on the land, strengthening the "commoner" spirit. This included open agendas for all interested parties and the weekly posting of the program on the external wall that surrounded the land.

The strength of the MPA was effective in interfering with the political actions taken next. On December 23, the mayor at the time, Fernando Haddad, sanctioned Law 15.941/2013, which created Augusta Park with its own budget allocation. Despite the supposed victory, the way the law was sanctioned entailed costs for the public power, which contradicted the principles of the Movement. The Pyrrhic victory materialized less than a week later, since on December 29 the gates of the land were closed by the construction companies6 and, the following year, the City of São Paulo announced that it did not have the resources to carry out the construction of the Park (Secretaria [...],

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2 https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/fsp/cotidian/ff2509200818.htm

3 Disponível em https://peticaopublica.com.br/pview.aspx?pi=P2010N4173

4 https://parqueaugusta.wordpress.com/ e

https://web.facebook.com/parqueaugustaja/photos/a.475529212525417/476845532393785/

5 As páginas que ainda mantém memória dos movimentos e permanecem ativas são:
facebook.com.br/parqueaugusta , facebook.com/parqueaugustaja e https://parqueaugusta.hotglue.me/

6 https://catracalivre.com.br/arquivo/um-ano-depois-portoes-do-parque-augusta-continuam-fechados/?fbclid=IwAR1d9_OKznC04taIJEtKZIo1FB5doXrkX3DigsIVE5bmnj7w9rc-7ZL1Sbk

2014). This decision provoked a new reaction from the MPA, bringing together the population in voluntary processes to pressure authorities to reopen the land7.

From 2015 onwards, there was an intense dispute among activists, public power, municipal councils, the Public Prosecutor's Office and construction companies regarding the designation of the area. The latter had already closed access to the park and sought to implement their commercial tower project through judicial measures8, while CONPRESP approved a project to build a private park9. At this point, the activists began to organize the so-called "Creative Vigil" and began occupation in the Augusta Park area with cultural, social, ecological and governance activities10. The occupation lasted 47 days, when a repossession was executed violently by the Military Police11, causing two injunctions for opening the gates to the population, but which were quickly revoked12. The strengthening of the actions manifested itself from the resistance in the programming of collective activities happening uninterruptedly, often in the streets, sidewalks and shops near the area of the land, while actions to ensure the institutional security of the park were carried out13. The meetings were organized, scheduled and publicized through social networks, creating a "virtual and itinerant Augusta Park "floating" in the Center for five years" (Oliveira, 2019, p. 50). In the midst of these movements, the Public Prosecutor's Office of São Paulo filed a Public Civil Action requesting that the gates be reopened incurring a daily fine of R$500 thousand if the gates remained closed14. Until the gates were reopened, 760 days later, it is estimated that the construction companies were fined up to R$365 million15.

In 2016, the Public Prosecutor's Office and the City of São Paulo began attempts to reach an agreement with the construction companies open the gates and purchase the park land16. In the following year, this led to the Department of Green and Environment

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7 https://vejasp.abril.com.br/cidades/moradores-tentam-liminar-parque-augusta/

8 https://noticias.uol.com.br/ultimas-noticias/agencia-estado/2015/01/22/movimento-que-defende-criacao-de-parque-ocupa-terreno-na-augusta.htm

9 https://noticias.uol.com.br/cotidiano/ultimas-noticias/2015/01/27/conselho-de-sp-aprova-projeto-de-torres-no-terreno-do-parque-augusta.htm#fotoNav=15

https://noticias.r7.com/sao-paulo/ativistas-do-parque-augusta-denunciam-que-projeto-aprovado-e-irregular-e-protestam-nesta-segunda-29062022 e https://blogdapaisagem.wordpress.com/2015/08/17/o-parque-augusta-e-a-falta-de-um-projeto-inteligente/

10 https://noticias.uol.com.br/cotidiano/ultimas-noticias/2015/01/27/ativistas-pro-parque-augusta-dormem-no-local-e-fazem-assembleias-semanais.htm

11 https://agenciabrasil.ebc.com.br/geral/noticia/2015-03/policia-cumpre-mandato-de-reintegracao-de-posse-no-parque-augusta e https://noticias.r7.com/sao-paulo/reintegracao-do-parque-augusta-tem-principio-de-confusao-04032015 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CRqyI7CDQU8

12 https://brasil.elpais.com/brasil/2015/04/07/politica/1428429135_598537.html

13 https://vejasp.abril.com.br/cultura-lazer/piquenique-na-augusta

14 https://edisciplinas.usp.br/pluginfile.php/4597240/mod_resource/content/0/Acordo%20Parque%20Augusta.pdf

15 https://outraspalavras.net/blog/parque-augusta-e-possivel-desapropriar-a-custo-zero/

16 https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/cotidiano/2016/10/1819951-eleito-doria-tera-que-negociar-parque-augusta-com-empreiteira-de-amigos.shtml link indisponível, necessário ter assinatura

(SVMA) developing a preliminary study of the landscaping project17. At first, this request was not well accepted by the OPA, which defended the creation of a "Living Garden" within the park, open to all people interested in its construction (Armentano; Bisterzo; Hori; Lavecchia, 2023).

SAMORCC, in turn, developed its own project, which was delivered to SVMA. This action led to an articulation between the OPA and the Aliados do Parque to create a joint project. In addition to these, two other projects were also presented to the public authorities, one developed by the Metro Arquitetos e Associados office and another by Thiago Cesário Gomes, a recently graduated architect, whose Final Undergraduate Paper (TFG) at FAU-USP addressed the park. OPA's proposal included creating a "Living Garden" to ensure that community management could be effective, beyond the physical intervention. In parallel, the SAMORCC project involved the commercial exploitation of the area by installing food trucks and works of art by the wife of the then acting mayor, João Doria (Oliveira, 2019).

These two projects, despite presenting similarities in equipment and structures, differed radically in their genesis. While the OPA project was built collectively, from countless meetings and encounters, the SAMORCC project was developed in a restricted manner, signed by three architects (Oliveira, 2019). While, on the side of citizenship, the MPA sought the implementation of the park and ways to continue self-management, with all the challenges that this implied, on the other hand, the construction companies aimed to enforce their property right using all available tools, from political and commercial agreements to awareness campaigns. Meanwhile, the public authorities mobilized and positioned themselves according to their partisan political interests driven by the repercussion of public opinion. Thiago Cesário and members of Aliados do Parque joined the OPA movement to develop a fifth project, a synthesis of the four previous proposals presented and which was also delivered to SVMA (Maróstica; Cortese; Nascimento, 2018).

With these projects in hand, SVMA conducted its own study and, considering the proposed spirit of construction, aligned the proposals with the necessary technical standards, ordinances, laws and decrees. The preliminary study of SVMA was configured as a symbiosis of the set of mobilizations of civil society. In the final project developed, 27 items, out of a total of 32 that had been defined in the previous proposals were considered, having incorporated 22 items from the synthesis project, 17 from those presented by the OPA, 16 from SAMORCC, 11 from Metro and 10 from the TCC (Maróstica; Cortese; Nascimento, 2018). In other words, most of the items presented and implemented in the park met the demands of the movements active in its defense.

This area of the city is highly valued in monetary terms, but in the case of Augusta Park, the mobilization of collectives managed to reinforce the value that united them in common: the creation of a collective space of citizenship. The disputes, imbroglios and negotiations continued until September 20, 2018, when a ruling was issued that approved the agreement for the definitive implementation of the park. The companies Flamingo - Investimentos Imobiliários Ltda. and Albatroz - Investimentos Imobiliários Ltda. donated the land where the Park is located in exchange for titles of transfer of building rights. The process, which opened in 2015, was terminated by the agreement and the two companies paid compensation of approximately R$10 million. Two thirds of this amount was used to construct the park, while the remaining third went toward

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17 https://www.capital.sp.gov.br/noticia/estudo-preliminar-do-parque-augusta-levou-em-consideracao-propostas-da-sociedade

other public services, including maintenance and the renovation of a Long-Term Care facility for Older Adults. The agreement also allowed for the release of approximately R$90 million that had been obtained in 2015 in agreements between the Public Prosecutor's Office and the City of São Paulo with international banks for the purchase of the Augusta Park area, so that the municipality could expropriate another 22 plots of land that would be used to build municipal daycare centers, seven Municipal Schools of Early Childhood Education (EMEI) and 12 Unified Education Centers (CEU).

The OPA was an organism that agglomerated the Commons, from 2013 onwards, through community actions and instances of participation opened in the horizontal decision-making processes stipulated in assemblies that, in 2015, added vigils and forums, in a living laboratory (Oliveira, 2019). Committees of residents and MPA followed the entire process of execution of the works and, in December 2021, the Park was inaugurated incorporating into the executive project 53% of what had been proposed by the OPA and 72% of the synthesis project (Maróstica; Cortese; Nascimento, 2018).

Discussion and conclusion

In consideration of what the literature recognizes as characteristic processes of the Commons, some elements in the construction of Augusta Park can be identified as belonging to its conceptual basis. From the occupation of the space by the protest movements to the activities promoted that heightened the sense of "collective appropriation" of that space, diverse and creative activities were crucial for implementing the project. This was not without the participation of public authorities, who played a decisive role by deploying resources and urban planning tools to bring the project to fruition.

One possibility of analysis could be carried out according to the classification by Jacques (2008) and exemplified by Seldin (2015), where Augusta Park could be understood only as another project of spectacularization or a phenomenon, following the author's classification, "neo-modernist" of valuing the real estate market in the name of culture. Issues related to the gentrification of the region can also be raised, while the experience in the space seems to point to a continuous overlapping of several realities, instead of just one occupying the place of others (Oliveira; Castro, 2020). The assumptions presented by Landry (2008) that the creative city values cultural resources to promote diversity, economic development, citizen participation and transdisciplinary public policies, in addition to creating creative environments for creative solutions to the demands of the population, were largely achieved in the dispute for the park project. These assumptions did not come from the public power, nor from the market, but were forged in the struggle, sometimes combative, of the population against the other forces. Proposals that aim to establish processes based on culture, and thus expand the meaning it can have in the development of cities, amplify its power in the creation of commons. However, its co-optation or the very dispute between commoners, the market, the public power and the most diverse agents, can lead to a profound contradiction of the resulting results.

In the same period as the MPA's disputes, other movements in defense and/or creation of urban parks in regions of the city of São Paulo, such as Parque do Bixiga, Parque dos Búfalos, Parque da Vila Ema, in addition to 25 other parks that were mapped by the Rede Novos Parques (conceived within the scope of the MPA), including in peripheral areas, also emerged, but did not achieve the same success. New research should attempt to understand the reasons and contexts that enabled popular mobilization, the market and the forms of action of the public power in certain cases to the detriment of others, as

well as point out ways for these to also be successful in their struggle. However, it can be affirmed that the Augusta Park case was effective because it brought together a truly expressive mobilization, bringing together a diverse population, including those better positioned financially, residents or users of the surroundings, who could think and act strategically. In this context, the actions of the MPA were guided by the concepts of sharing, collaboration, openness and transparency of data, shared urban governance and co-management of various cultural, environmental, social and digital resources, and especially by the direct action of the commoners in the implementation of the park. This movement induced the actions of the public authorities, directing the focus of the intervention to a well-established and well-infrastructured region, with good mobility conditions and with high added value in its built environment. The challenge now is to transfer this knowledge and this practice to less privileged regions of the city.

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