

Franklin Roosevelt Square: a public space resistance in Sao Paulo city centre



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SO451 – Cities by Design - Summative Essay 2022

4,957 words

1. Introduction

The public space is shared and democratic, provided and protected by the state, where everybody has the right to access it. However, that sentence is not entirely true due to power relations in urban space (Tonkiss, 2005b, p. 67). Thus, we might consider the management model, groups, institutions involved and their structure to understand decisions made for public space.

In addition, public space design is linked to urban design, planning, architecture, policies, and zoning system and as the social organization and spatial distribution will dictate who belongs or has the right to these spaces. As a global phenomenon, throughout history, the state has rejected care to the public space with the excuse of financial difficulties.

The interest in bringing investments to the city comes together with beautification as a marketing strategy (Madanipour, 1997). It suggests that space renovations through the town will not meet inhabitants' demands or, through a participatory process, the community has to be consulted.

In order to address these discussions, I choose one of the iconic public spaces in the city centre of São Paulo, Franklin Roosevelt Square, as a case study. It results from the transit-oriented urban development of the 1950s, which determines its surroundings and the availability of private land donated to the municipality. In 1969, the square was opened to the public after being designed without community participation. The subsequent lack of use, investment, the interest of different levels of governance and bureaucracy meant years of a degraded space occupied by unwanted citizens. The square was finally renovated in 2011 and re-opened in the next year with a police headquarters and still with conflicts between different users (Yamashita, 2013).

Finally, I would raise the question of what kinds of use of space and the presence of what types of people are socially seen as disrupting public order? There are numerous bars not very far from the square, with mainly young and rich students that similarly show the same behaviour like drug consumption, noise production, and vandalism. However, nothing has been done about it.

2. Methodology and Structure

The methodology selected for this paper incorporates academic literature, newspapers, reports, informal interviews and surveys completed in December 2021.

This paper aims to show how the design of Roosevelt Square affects the everyday lives of people and places. In order to do this, I will first contextualise the Brazilian and Paulista states' role in producing public space together with its production in other global western cities. Secondly, I will discuss urban

design, planning and policies ambiguities. Thirdly, I will explain the administrative structure of Sao Paulo Municipality to understand the designated responsibilities of the agencies in public spaces. Further, I will argue that the elitist Paulista space production in the past had a significant contribution to the current aestheticisation of the city centre. Finally, I will give an overview of the transformations in Roosevelt Square and the social dynamics that play in the space to maintain order and control. The survey held in December 2021 will show users' feelings about this public space. In conclusion, I will consider potential changes in the future, especially after the opening of Augusta Park that attends to most of the demands made for the square and future research suggestions.

3. State and public space

Brazil's history of public space production followed the western model, based on the market-based paradigm logic. Thus, the state intervention in the economy after the Second World War and the large-scale public-sector schemes in urban development (unfortunately excluding public spaces) until the industrial and public sector funds decline in the 1970s. The next stage focused on economic growth stimulation by reducing the state's size, privatisation, and globalisation (Madanipour, 2010). By this logic, if space, now as a commodity, cannot generate profit, public agencies and private investors will eventually lose interest.

At the same time, the absence of social bonds made public spaces reflect urban societies by becoming more fragmented (Madanipour, 2010). Thus, as a global city in a mainland country, the social diversity, in this case, considers foreign groups and internal migrants, generations of migrants that already established as citizens, growing inequalities, gender and race and sexuality diversity and its intersections.

Inequalities, drug addiction, sex work, homelessness are complex issues, and technology accessibility is even far to be achieved in this condition. Public space is still where these considered non-citizens can still find help, create a network to find ways to survive and protest. It is a place of resistance for sociospatial fragmentation confrontation (Madanipour, 1999, p. 886) (Vidler, 2001). Moreover, part of the population does not have access to choose their representant, which consolidates one of the main invisible barriers mentioned by Madanipour (2010, p. 13). Consequently, they are frequently disconnected from the political decisions and city-building processes.

Even though the state has been reduced, it still plays a role. It is seen as an autonomous entity by both theorists and society (Earle, 2017, p. 273), and according to Mitchell (as cited in Earle, 2017, p. 273), it is essential to maintain this distinction of society in order to generate resources of power and maintain social and political order. Consequently, it becomes easier to understand why the institutional mechanisms that connect both are so bureaucratic. The case study will show the communities built to facilitate communication with the Sao Paulo City Hall and their interests in the city centre and Roosevelt square.

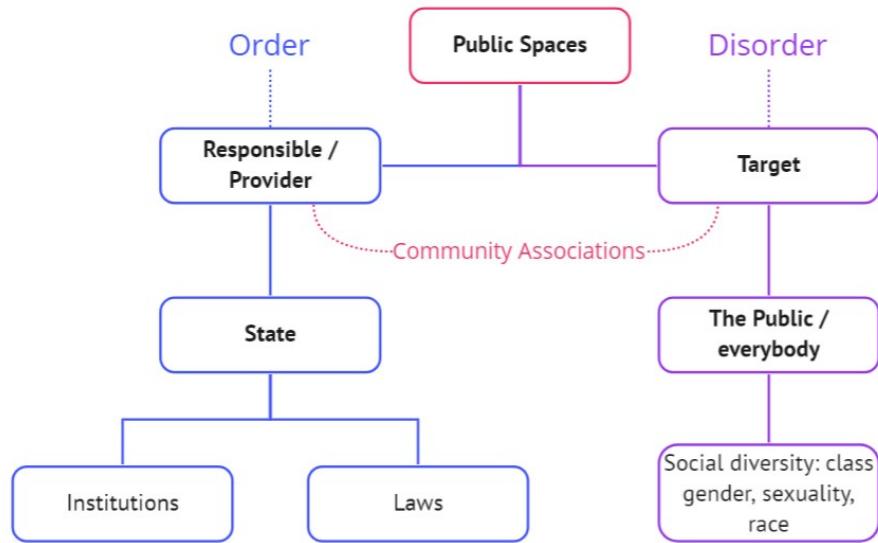


Figure 1: Understanding the relationship between public spaces actors (Author, 2022)

Indeed, social and spatial are connected (Simmel, 1994); therefore, urban design is a spatial management tool that links process and product in different scales. The method includes policies, ideas and images, and its product is the built environment (Madanipour, 1997). As a practice embedded in the economic and political context, its dynamics and interests also change accordingly. Thus, when the reduction of the state mentioned previously and recently led to the privatization of most services, urban design practices were also privatized. The competition changed the profile of their clients, making it profitable to direct their services to the private sector rather than to the public.

Within this logic, everything must be profitable, including all city spaces. However, it is easy to shift the objectives of this practice since the direct client is not the public but an investor that wants to see a return. Furthermore, the design involves other actors such as landowners, planning authorities and politicians that can also direct their interests in the production of space (Madanipour, 1997) (Tonkiss, 2005a). Consequently, it is implicit how unequal the system has become and how difficult it is to attend to other groups' needs.

3.1 The administrative structure of Sao Paulo Municipality

The public open spaces are classified among the road system or the green spaces system, and they can be owned by different government spheres: federal, state or municipal. Furthermore, these space managements and resources are distributed in municipal secretariats and councils that are not directly connected, allowing autonomy and agility to implement policies (Benchimol, Lamano-Ferreira, Ferreira, Ramos & Cortese, 2017). Similarly to other cities' models, the complexity of this system can lead to the

fragmentation of information and discontinuation of projects (Sao Paulo City Hall, 2016) which is frequent since the management team changes every four years. Furthermore, the complexity lies within sections and types of public space infrastructure and phases of a project, making it even more challenging to track their status and prioritise. As a consequence, it contradicts the agility and autonomy secured by the decentralised system.

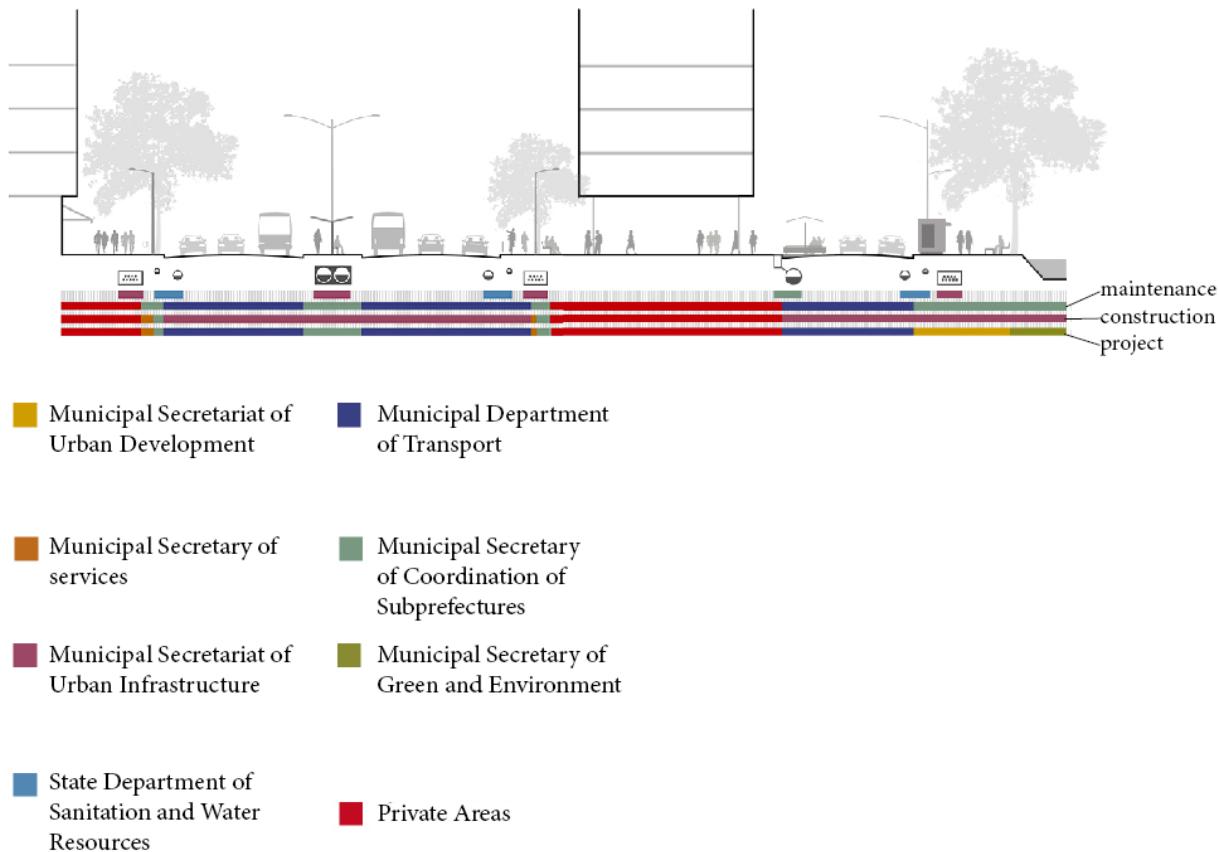


Figure 2: Section of public space and the responsibility of each Secretary in different phases of project, construction and maintenance. (Sao Paulo City Hall, 2016)

All municipal green spaces are managed by the “Secretary of Sports that oversees some Municipal Sports Centers. Secretary of Culture manages libraries and their surrounding areas. The local Administrative Regional Office herein called Sub-prefecture manages the squares. The Secretary of Green and Environment is responsible for managing parks and the remaining urban green spaces. The research of Benchimol et al. (2017) concluded that centralized management is needed, and although squares are considered green spaces (Law 16.050/2014), the Subprefecture manager is responsible for its maintenance.

Additionally, the green space department employees are mostly graduated in Agronomy or Biological Sciences. Hence, it is predictable that most of the square care will be towards cleaning and

gardening. Security is also a concern despite the ecological balance significance when certain plant species can be chosen to avoid impairing light.

Another contradiction appears when some squares have no or minimal contribution to the environment, but their social role is more prominent. In that sense, does it mean that cleaning is what the state can do?

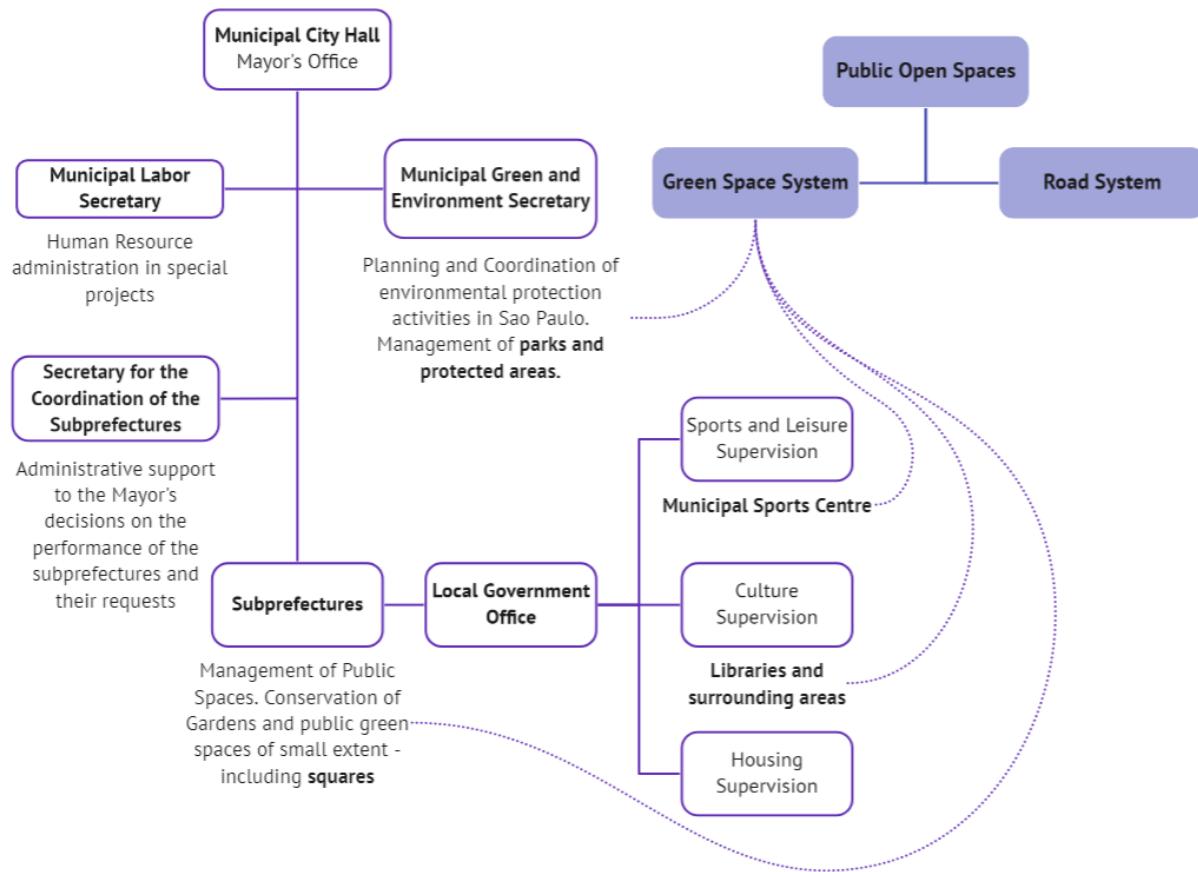


Figure 3: Decentralized municipal management model: Administrative levels and their direct or indirect role in managing the urban green spaces in the Municipality of São Paulo. Diagram model adapted from Benchimol et al., 2017, p. 422 and São Paulo City Hall, 2021.

4. The Paulista history of space production

The history of the Paulista society structure goes back to the beginning of the twentieth century when the city was the commercial and financial capital because of its primary essential production: coffee. It implies that it was also where the political power and the country elite were found. Therefore, the production of space was controlled by these two institutions, the political power through land use and occupation acts to meet the elite interests (Rolnik, 1997).

Additionally, it is common for postcolonial and developing countries to follow the western developing model of modernity, especially when this discourse is embedded in the interests of the elite (Caldeira, 2001). Considering this situation, Houston (2009) discuss the possible future of modernism in which planning was conceptualised as a 'plan without contradiction, without conflict' (Houston, 2009, p. 48) and how it interferes in the process of insurgent citizenship. The point is that modernism did not consider the dynamism of society, new identities and social organisations emerging throughout history and the consequential war-zone represented by segregation, privatisation and fortification. As a result, the collapse of public spaces is the evidence of that process.

I have to agree with Earle (2017, p. 263) when she contradicts Holston (2009) about the process of citizenship in São Paulo by arguing that it is 'a move beyond insurgency and transgression'. Although her work focuses on housing, I reckon that both access to housing and public space are becoming slightly similar. If there is control over a space that should be accessible for all, there is a conflict with the law. Further, "Latin America has a long tradition of ignoring the law or, when acknowledging it, of twisting it in favour of the powerful and for the repression or containment of the vulnerable." (O'Donnell, as cited in Earle, 2017, p. 267). Therefore, the law is messy, and its knowledge is insufficient to protect rights.

From the socio-spatial-economic perspective, for Harvey (1989), there is no choice of area to be occupied by someone, as upper classes are induced to settle in good areas and with provided amenities, the less favoured are left with those areas refused by the elite. Simultaneously to the degradation of the city centre, the growth of the gated communities and shopping centres linked to the transit-oriented urban development took place between 1960-1980. Therefore, the city centre degradation is related to a double movement caused by the elite who moved from the city centre to other neighbourhoods and, at the same time, the working class and poor that found an opportunity to live next to their jobs.

5. The process of São Paulo city centre revitalisation

The reduction of the state size, privatisation and globalisation in the 1970s (Madanipour, 2010) led to the aestheticisation of the cities. The attraction of investments from global markets or the middle classes desires to return to the cities led to the aestheticisation of everyday life (Madanipour, 1997). The politics of aestheticisation are working towards social exclusion in many ways. First, it does not consider its current

users, it is targeting new or part of these everyday users or consumers. Secondly, aestheticisation is directly linked to sanitisation and surveillance.

Similarly, the aestheticisation in big cities such as São Paulo started a decade later, in the 1990s, with the excuse to combat poverty and violence that have been emerged. Since the city centre concentrates lots of cultural facilities due to its historical heritage, it would be very convenient to make it pleasant to commodify the space either for international tourism or for the real state or to change the occupants' profile (Yamashita, 2013). Furthermore, Ferreira (2009) clarifies that this movement does not mean the return of the high society but the middle class attracted by cultural activities. Afterwards, this socio-economic dynamic will recreate disparities, redefining the urban politics of São Paulo.



Figure 4: Location of São Paulo Estate within the Brazilian territory, São Paulo Municipality within the Estate and Se Subprefecture location. (Base maps: IBGE; Overlay: Author, 2022)

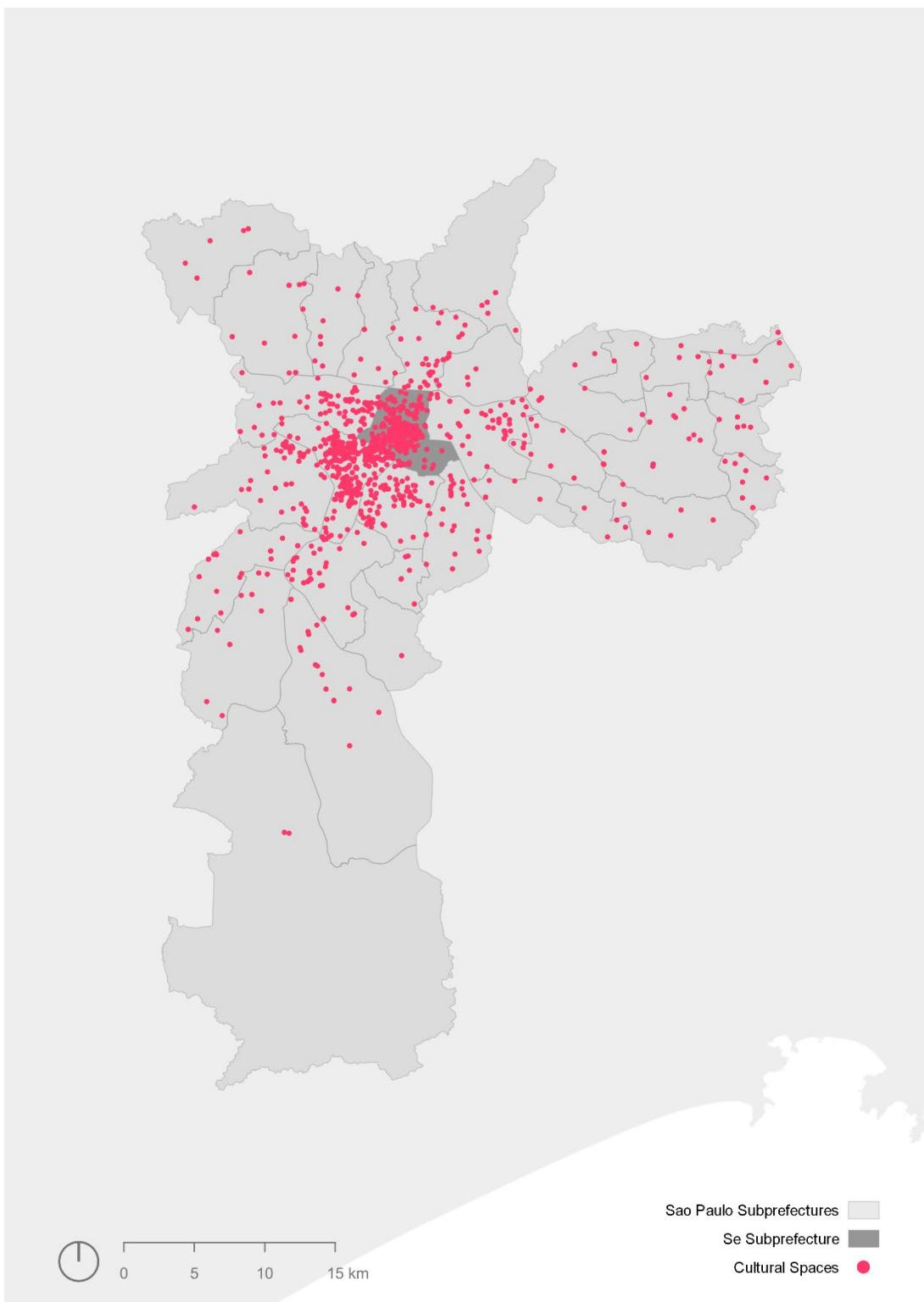


Figure 5: Municipal Culture Spaces (theatres, cinemas, libraries, archives, galleries, multipurpose spaces, concert halls, museums) with emphasis on the Se Subprefecture known as São Paulo city centre. (Base maps: São Paulo Prefecture Open Data and Geosampa; Overlay: Author, 2022)

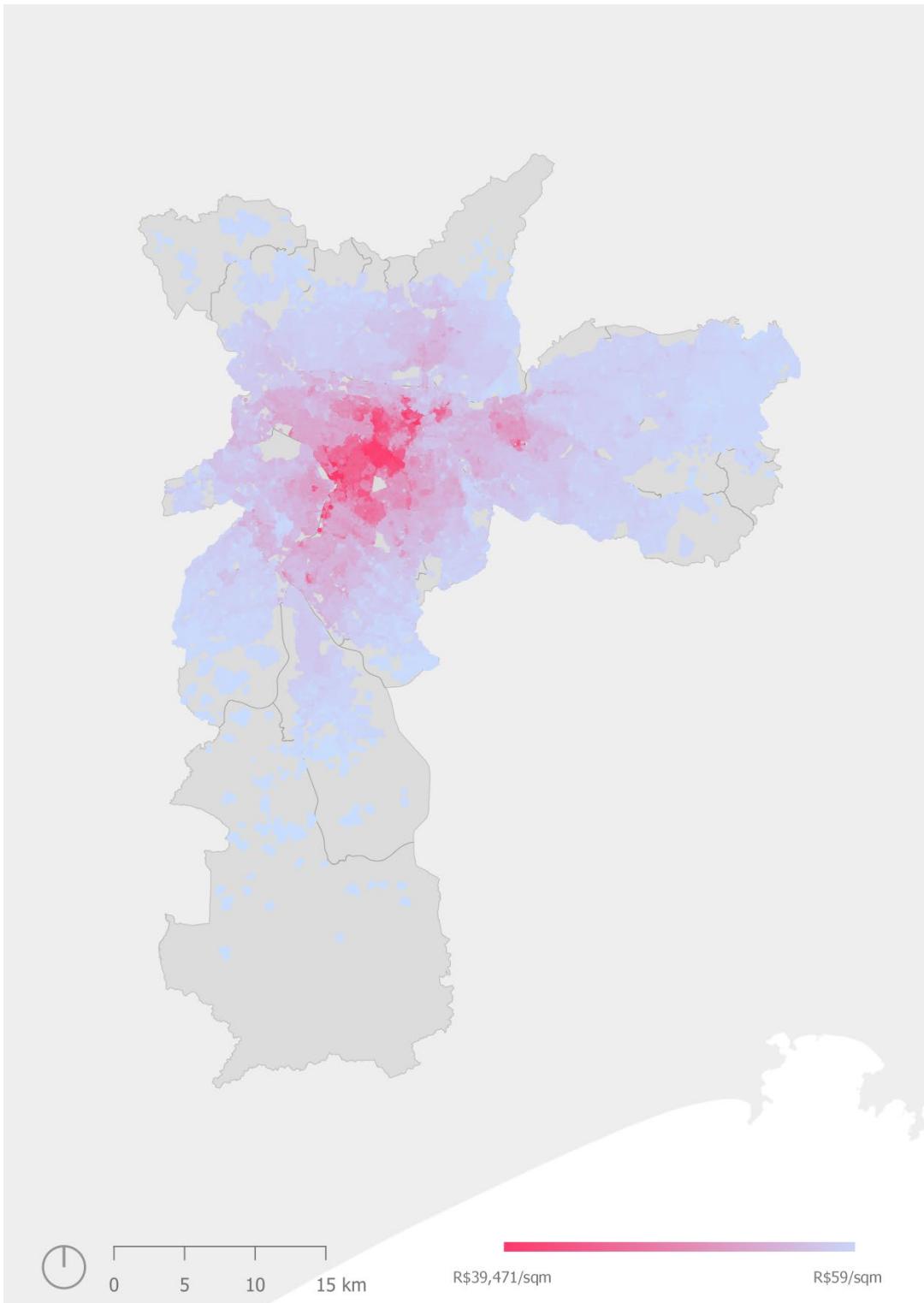


Figure 6: Grant Value through the Municipality of São Paulo. It is an instrument established by the Cities Statute (federal law 10.257/01) that grants the property owner the right to build beyond the basic constructive potential upon payment of a financial consideration that follows the land values. (Base maps: São Paulo Prefecture Open Data and Geosampa; Overlay: Author, 2022)

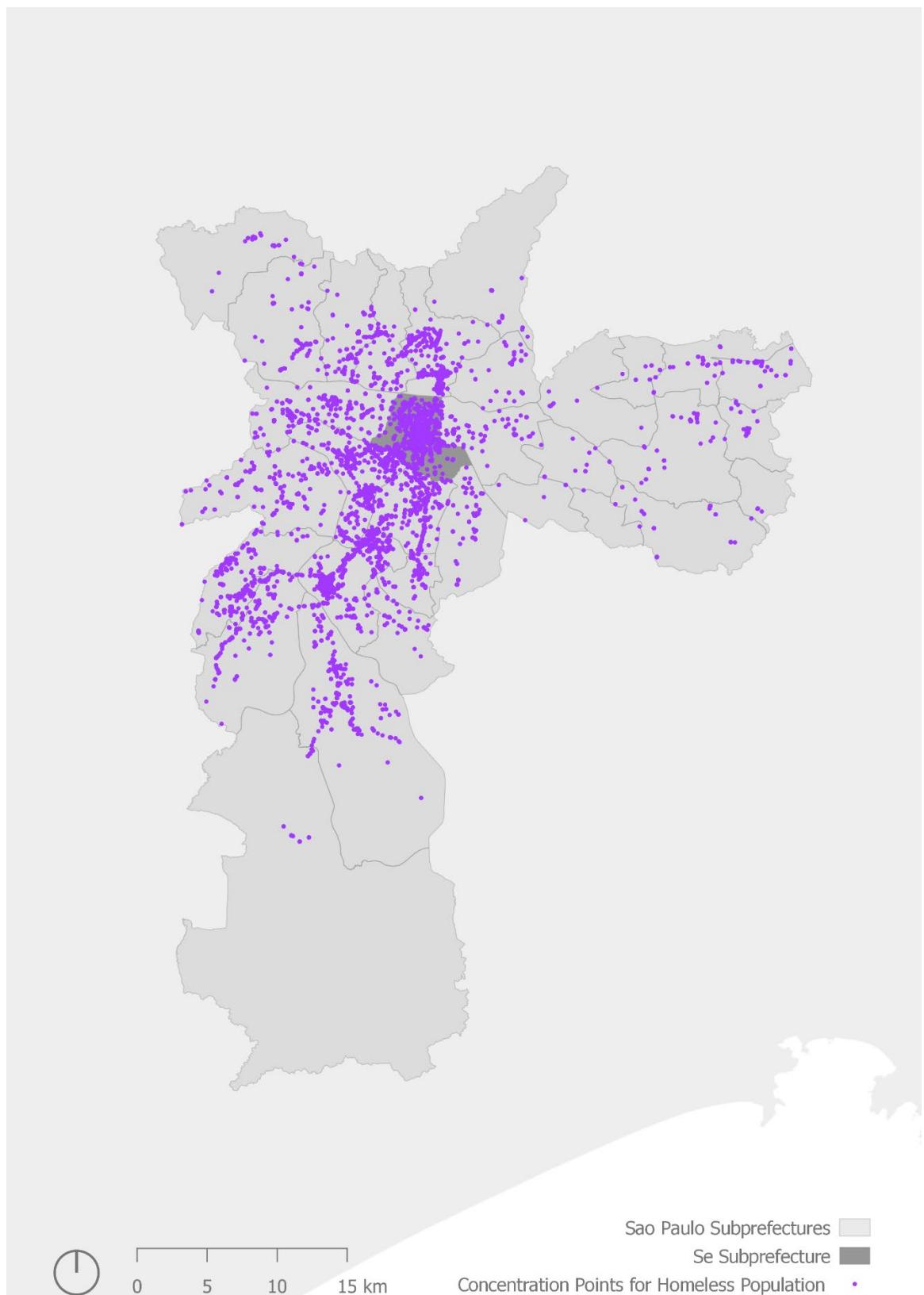


Figure 7: Concentration Points for the homeless population. (Base map: São Paulo Prefecture Open Data; Overlay: Author, 2022)

Before the centralization of public spaces revitalization initiatives, numerous requests from communities for the Sao Paulo City Hall were made, but the lack of care and resources from the municipality and private companies in these spaces just made citizens hopeless. Penalosa (2008) explains that the shortage in funding is associated with priorities that benefit higher-income citizens. This is highly possible due to the historical alliance between the state and the elite from this perspective. Besides, Brazilian politics is also well known for its corruption, so it would not be a surprise if most public funds ended up in private bank accounts.

In 1991, the association *Viva o Centro* (Live the Centre) was created and constituted by civil society sectors, such as residents, owners and professionals in the region, architects and urban designers, planners, and the business class, with significant participation of the Bank of Boston. It aimed to promote the dialogue between the public and the private sector. Once opened to the public, the intention was to discuss proposals for the city centre and make interventions in the central region, initially oriented to produce real estate valuation (Pimentel, 2018). It becomes clear the common interests between the state and these associations.

6. Case study: Franklin Roosevelt Square

6.1 The Development of Franklin Roosevelt Square

Roosevelt Square is located in the central district of Sao Paulo county, in Se Subprefecture. Its land was initially a private property donated to the municipality that for ten years was used as a parking lot (1957-67), according to Ferreira (2009). During this period, the transit-oriented urban development and planning guided the construction of express roads around the square. Following the plan, a massive spatial programme was built for the next three years without community participation (Yamashita, 2013). Consequently, the degradation of this public space happened after ten years of its inauguration linked to the lack of management and conservation. The square attracted unwanted groups such as prostitutes, the homeless, and traffickers.



Figure 8: Tamashiro, M. (2022) Se Subprefecture where Roosevelt Square is found. (Base map: São Paulo Prefecture Open Data; Overlay: Author, 2022)

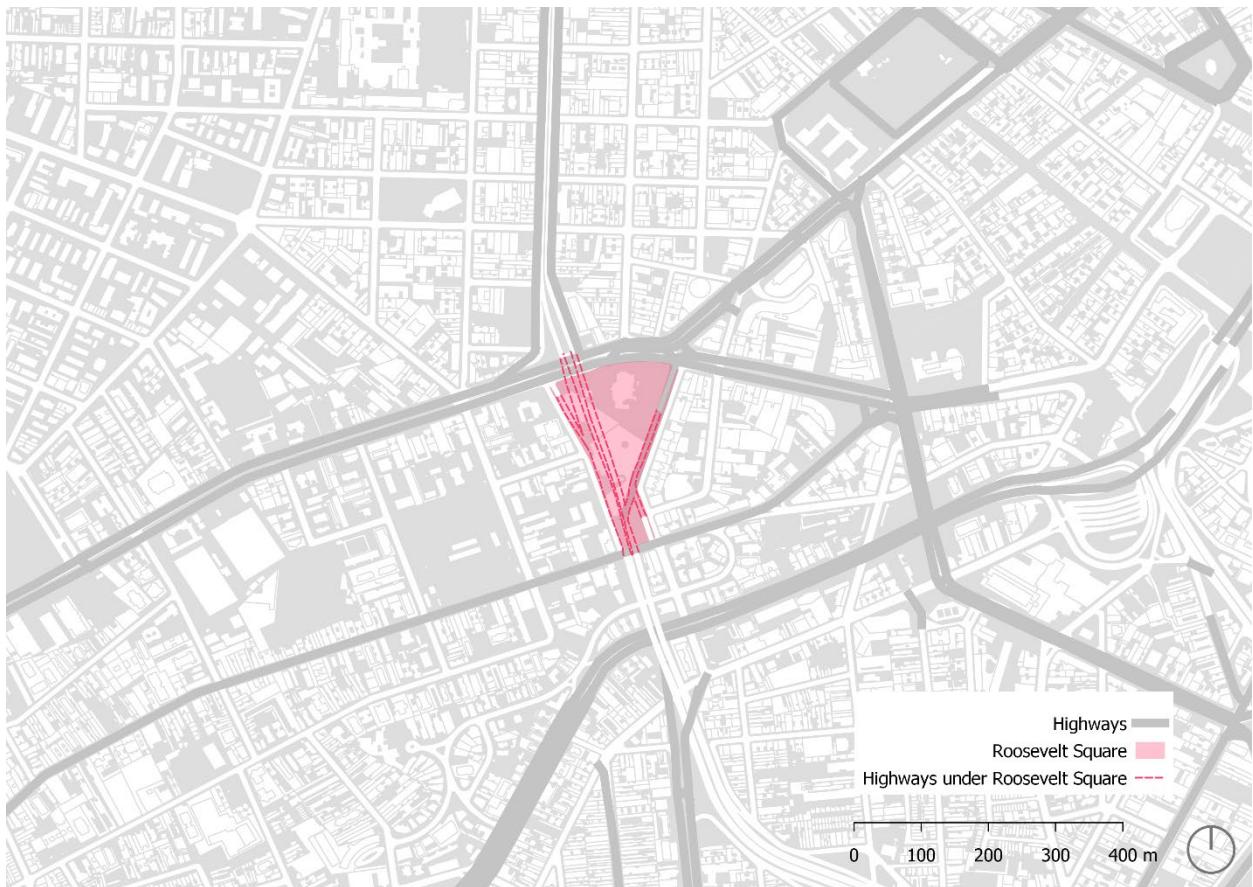


Figure 9: Roosevelt Square location. It is a large slab with highways in the underground. (Base map: São Paulo Prefecture Open Data, Geosampa and GoogleMaps; Overlay: Author, 2022)

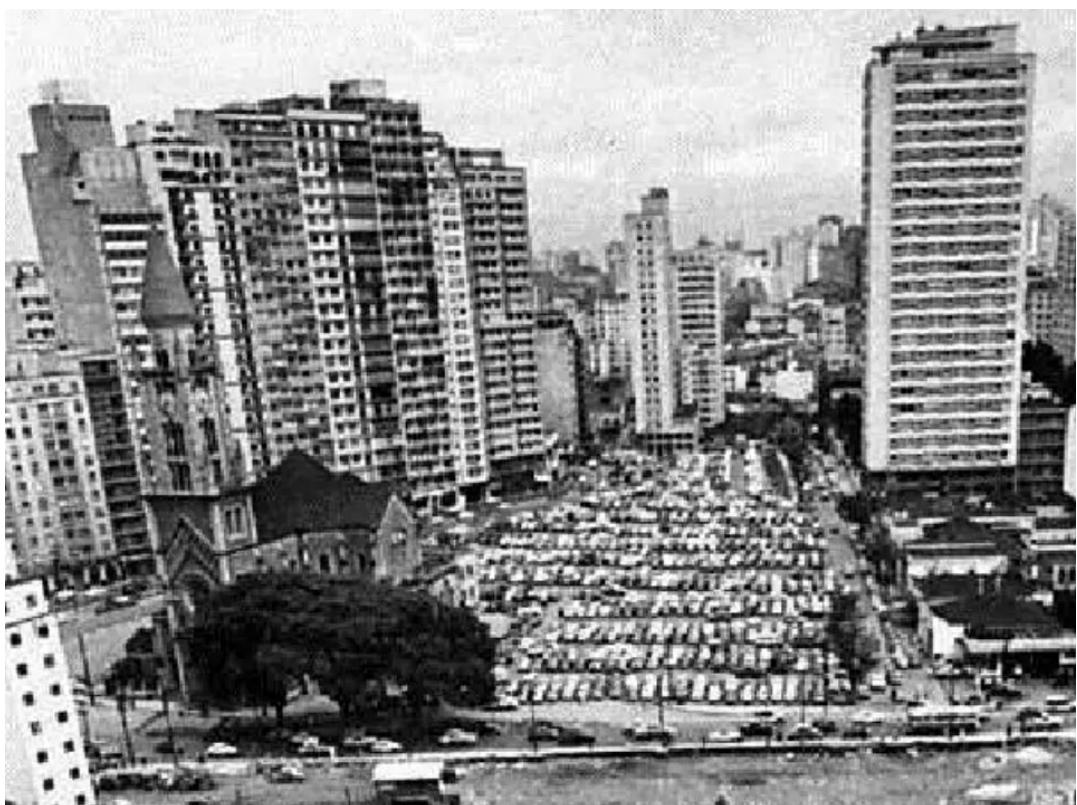


Figure 10: Roosevelt Square in 1957 (Yamashita, 2003)



Figure 11: Roosevelt Square original design project (Ferreira, 2009)

Roosevelt Square finally started to be part of a requalification program of the São Paulo city centre, funded by the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB) to improve social housing, social inclusion, mobility and interventions in public spaces under the Marta Suplicy (2001-2004) management. However, with the change in the city management team, the program was suspended. In 2009, the new project contemplated more oriented needs in the requalification with the participation of entrepreneurs and inhabitants associations. It was even considered to make them responsible for the spatial management, which never happened. Regardless, the requalification project was approved in the same year, and at the end of 2010, the demolition started.

According to Pimentel (2018), the renovation was the most expensive construction among all the interventions in public spaces in the centre of São Paulo. He also points out that because the square is found in a wealthy region, it meant a specific articulation between real estate valuation, encouraging commerce and consumer appropriation and the policing of public squares. Therefore, this information reinforces the aestheticization of the city centre under the responsibility of the state and community associations.

The following map shows the medium income per subprefecture. Although the city centre concentrates more on cultural facilities (Figure 5), and the land value is higher (Figure 6), it is not where the elite is living.

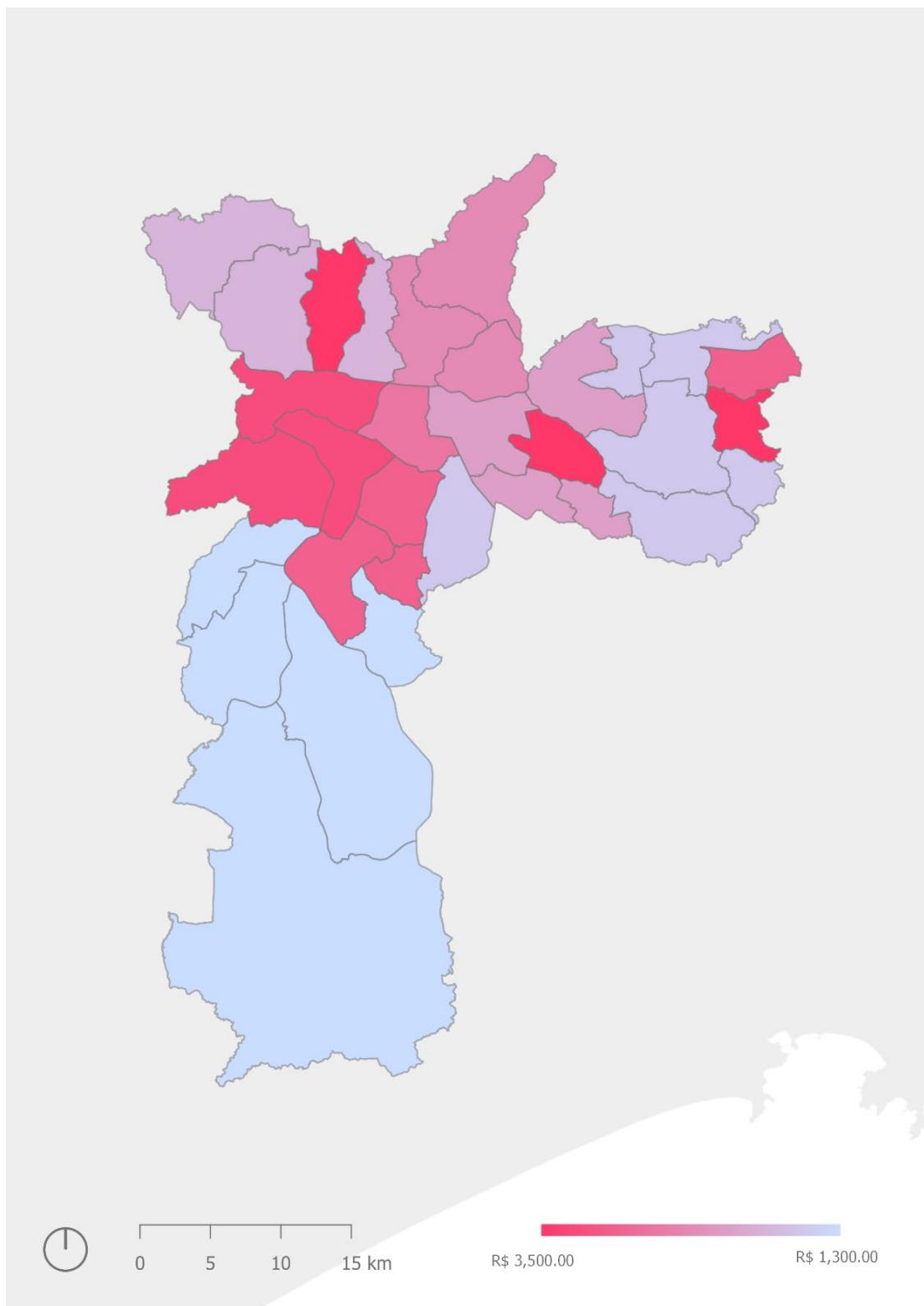


Figure 12: Medium income per subprefecture. The subprefecture of Se has the third higher medium income. (Base map: São Paulo Prefecture Open Data and Brazilian Social Network for Just and Sustainable cities; Overlay: Author, 2022)

An open space for presentations was not considered despite many theatres around the square emerged at the end of 2000, one of the reasons for the expensive renovation (Pimentel, 2018)

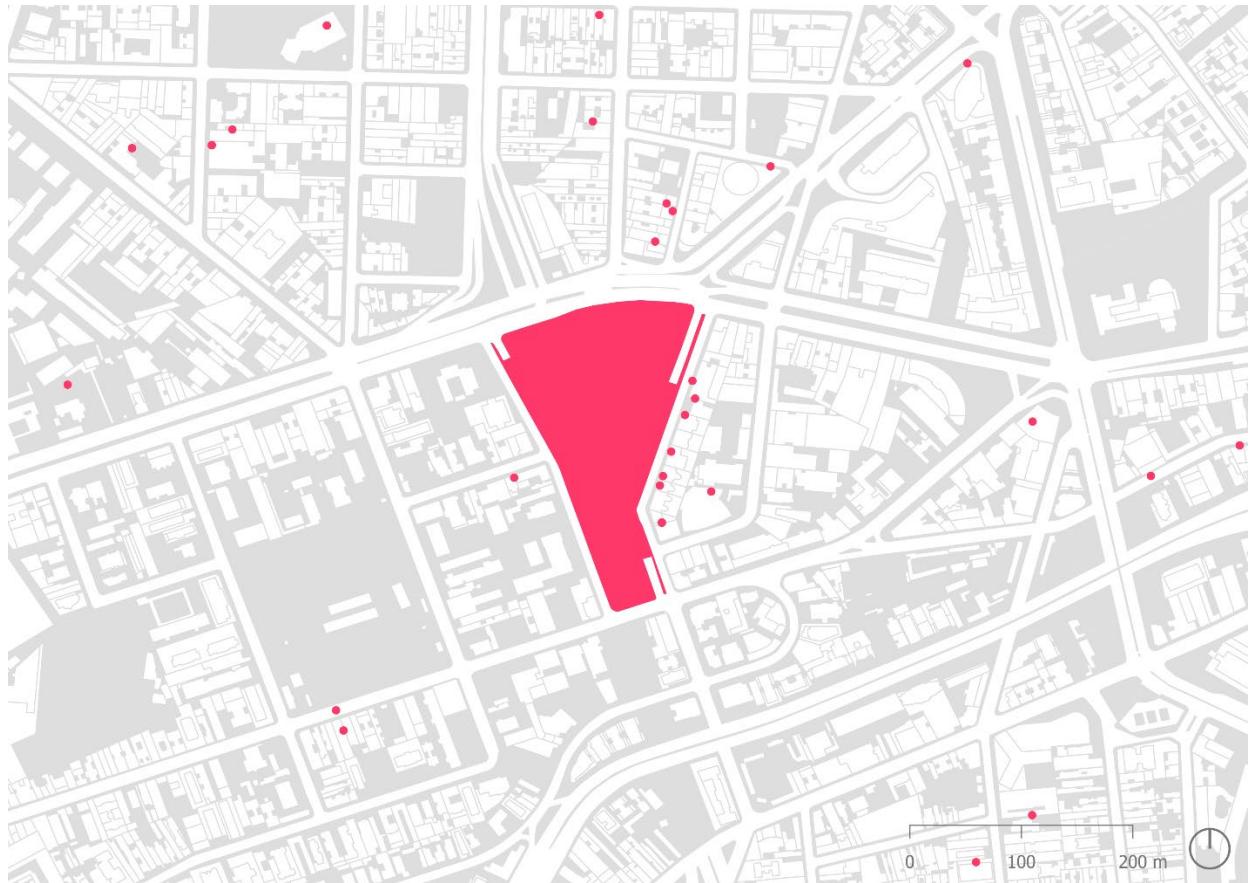


Figure 13: Theatres locations around Roosevelt Square. (Base map: São Paulo Prefecture Open Data and Geosampa; Overlay: Author, 2022)

6.2 The aestheticisation and social control

Reopened on 29th September 2012, Roosevelt Square has been intensely used by skateboarders, which brought a previous social conflict, this time between them and the community, among this group, was AMACON¹ (Association of Residents and Friends of Consolação and Adjacencies) that wanted to transform the space into a park. That way, being under another public administration, it would be possible

¹ AMACON was created in 2014. It is a civil society association made up of residents, landowners and merchants who "resented the lack of an Association that would listen to their demands and seek to help implement solutions" from the region without ties with Viva o Centro. The similarities between these political agents are not restricted to the social profile of those who work with them. They also cover the political positions concerning the square's controversies and other nearby spaces. (Pimentel, 2018, p. 118)

to control the access and close it during certain hours (Yamashita, 2013). Since it has not been possible, some regulations were put in place for the skateboarders to set available places and times for the activity. However, this would bring conflicts with the local police.

Similarly to the city centre revitalisation process, it is possible to understand how the power relations play towards a common interest to the new middle class and the state. Committees and associations were assembled to better communicate with the City Hall and, more importantly, to defend their interests but not the public. Next, I will discuss the presence of the police and design elements chosen to avoid some kinds of people and how they are working together.

6.2.1 Elements of Military Surveillance, Order and Control

The control over Roosevelt Square has its origins in the military regime when the project started. The previous distribution of the gardens and plots functioned as agglomeration dispersers. Also, the change in topography turned out to be a barrier for people that would run from the police repression. The space dedicated for the military and municipal police, in the square corner, still works as surveillance and discipline. Ultimately, this situation shows the paradox between community interests (improvements) and public power interest (control) - both, in the end, are ‘social and institutional devices against public use of the square’ (Yamashita, 2013).



Figure 14: Gardens and plots in the original design project in 1980 (Yamashita, 2003)

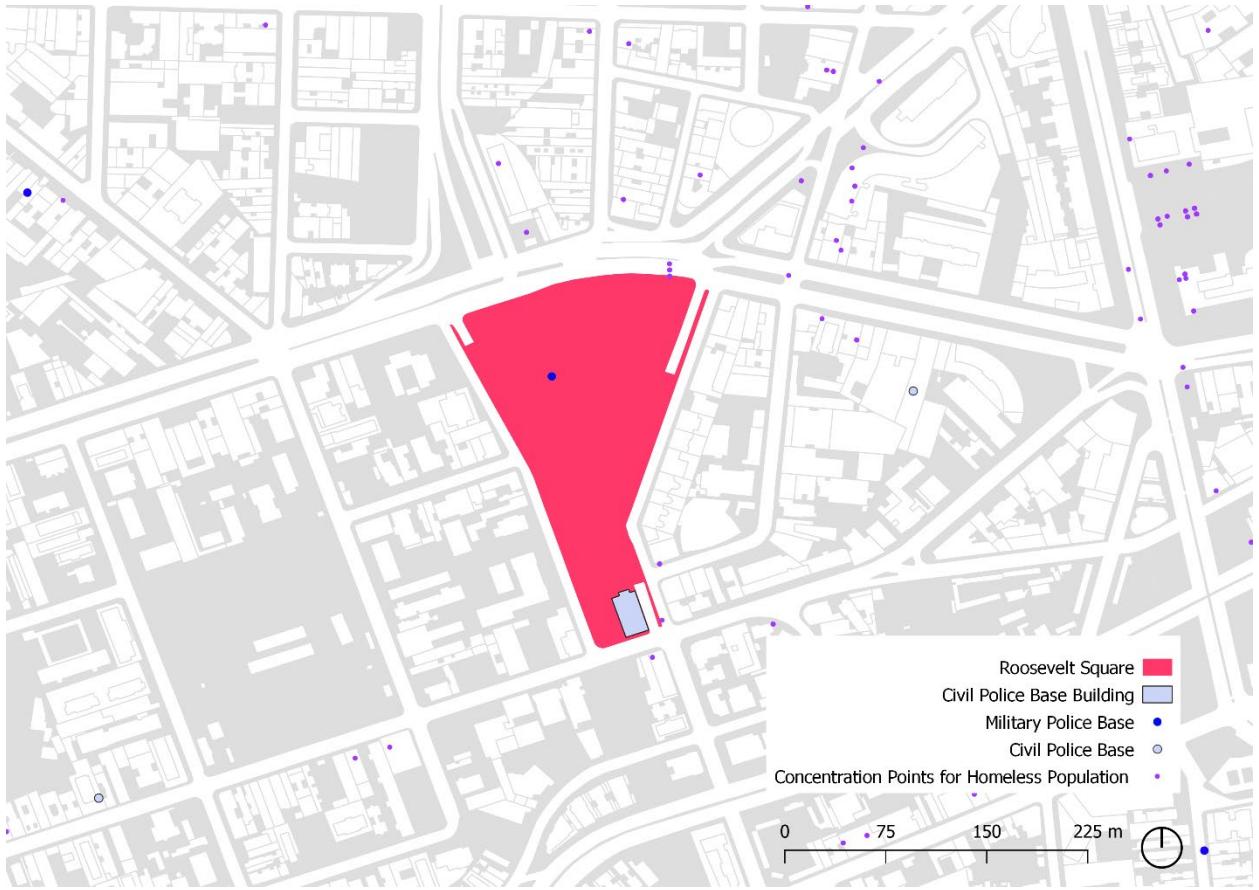


Figure 15: Police base inside and around Roosevelt Square contrasting with the homeless population location. (Base map: São Paulo Prefecture Open Data and Geosampa; Overlay: Author, 2022)

Although the massive presence of police officers, guards in vehicles, motorcycles or as pedestrians that push towards a fortified enclave or cultural consumption, other forces playing in the space (Pimentel, 2018). Because of bars, theatres, or even the skateboarders and protests, the users' behaviour at night has not changed due to police presence. I firmly believe the users' heterogeneity causes this. When a similar operation was held in Crackland, the name given due to the significant number of crack users in the city centre area, it "effectively" dispelled unwanted people.

6.2.2 Elements of non-stay place

As expected, the new design, street furniture, and outdoor sitting seek to avoid homeless people and everyone finding a shelter or sitting comfortably for a moment. These are examples or tactics of exclusion that urban spaces reproduce social and economic divisions (Davis, 1990 as cited in Tonkiss, 2005b, p.74) that unfortunately affects all classes.

Additionally, a popular Brazilian expression says, “you cannot provide anything with quality to people because they will destroy it”, and once the state or private initiatives do, it is complex for them to keep doing regular maintenance. Eventually, everything will need care, renovation, re-painting, but the feeling of not belonging to the public and the other way around that what is public does not belong to anybody it allows some people to destroy it. For example, the playground of Roosevelt square was broken in 2017, and the community pressured the City Hall to repair it. According to the Roosevelt Square for Everyone Association, the playground was still the same one year later. The wood of the benches was removed after being mistreated by the constant and inappropriate use as a skateboard platform. There is no proper gardening, partially resulting from poor landscape design.



Figure 17: Playground in the year of the square reopening and playground with no grass and dirty five years later (Calliari, 2012/2017)



Figure 18: Bench covered with wood and same bench only in concrete (Calliari, 2012/2017)

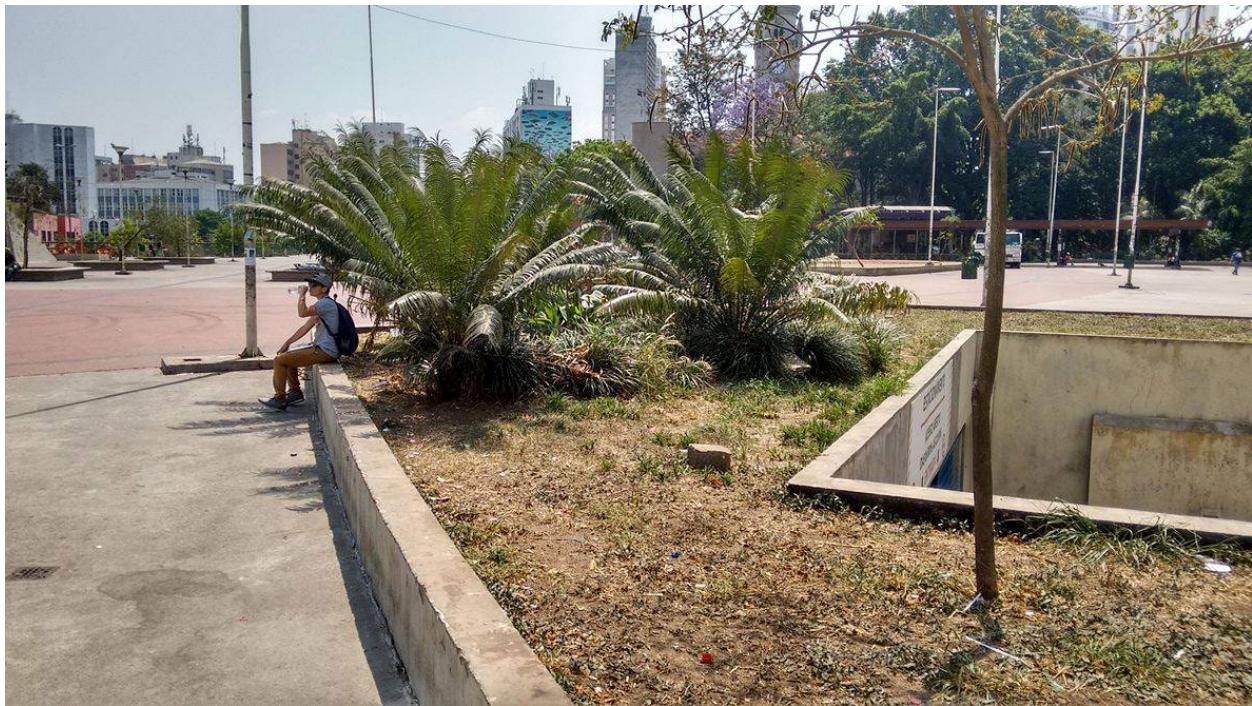


Figure 19: Lack of maintenance of the garden, shaded spaces and proper benches (Calliari, 2017)

Maria, a volunteer for this research, mentioned the absence of toilets, who also understands that providing one would be an issue because it would need constant cleaning and a way to avoid other illegal activities.

6.3 Survey Results

The data was collected by an online survey² adapted from Gehl's Institute Public Life Tools Guide - Participant Survey Worksheet accessed through the institute website³. First, I addressed questions about the interviewee profile: age, gender, colour, income, education and how often and why the interviewees attend the Roosevelt Square. Secondly, I asked them to select how they feel about the neighbourhood, the square, and how safe they feel on a scale from 0 to 5. Finally, the volunteers answered open questions, aiming to identify how the square is being used, what the visitors would like to change and what is required to make them feel safer by walking in this public space.

The survey was open to accepting responses during December 2021 and distributed through Brazil's most popular social media channels, such as Instagram and Facebook groups related to the square, the neighbourhood and universities of its surroundings. Considering that most Brazilians have their holidays and the survey has no incentive for the participants, I still received 36 responses.

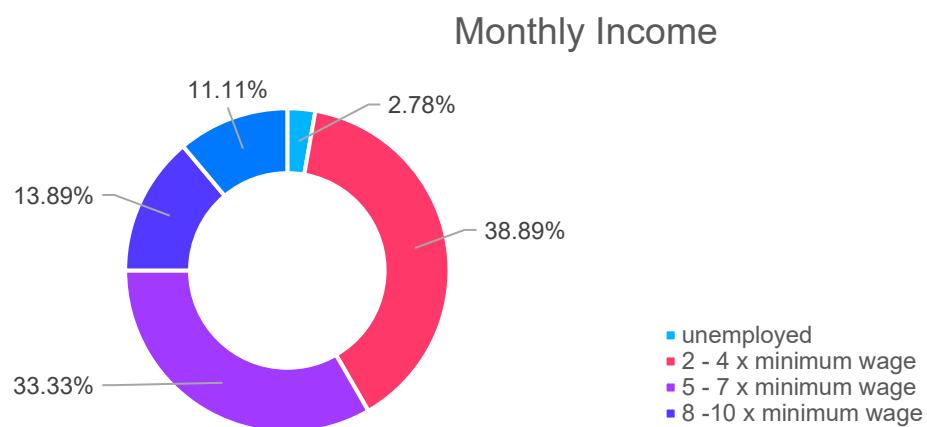
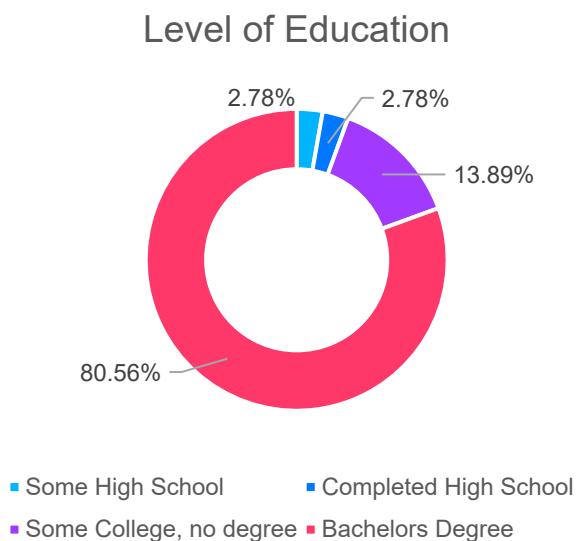
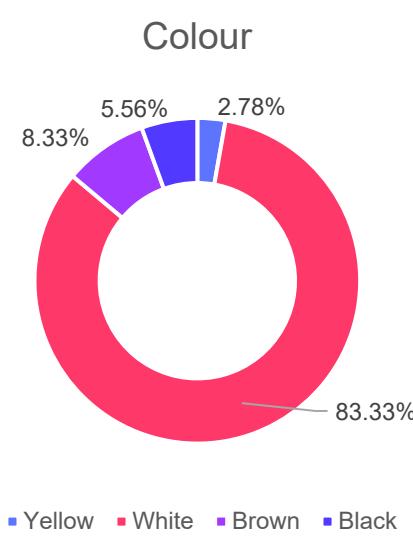
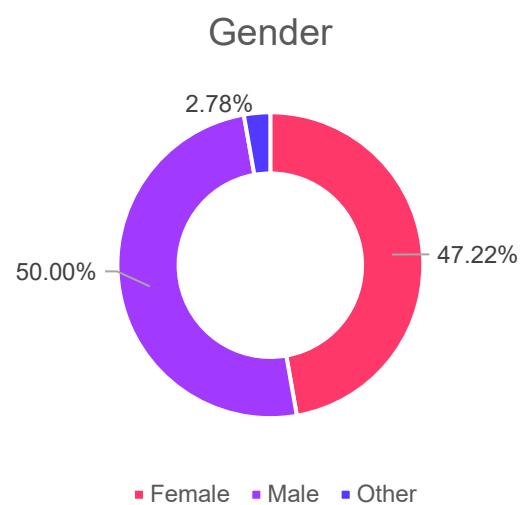
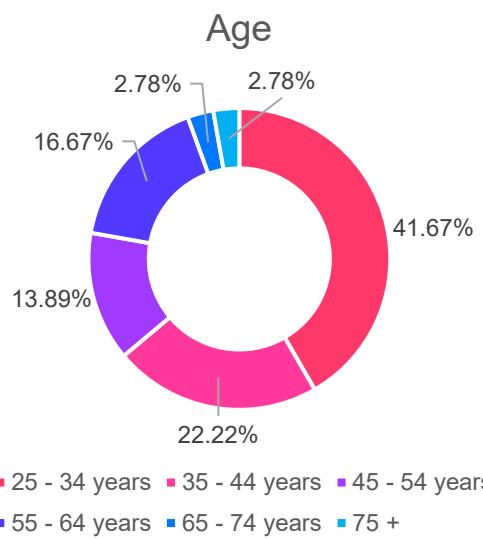
² The survey questionnaire can be found in the Appendix section

³ <https://gehlpeople.com/tools/participant-survey/> Accessed on December 13th

Undoubtedly, the survey shows biased results since it requires internet access, a social media account and access to the survey page, which exclude homeless people and other minorities. I recognise that this research would require more effort, as Gehl Institute advises, to analyse it through an in-person approach to have an accurate amount of data. However, as a Brazilian, I am aware that being strange in a public space would make people feel even more vulnerable not because of the researcher's presence but because losing attention to answer a survey makes people susceptible to theft or other types of crime. Therefore, I would have the same number of responses or fewer.

The majority of regulars are neighbourhood residents, young adults (24-35 years old), white and with a Bachelor degree. In terms of income, most of them belong to the medium-high class⁴. It was interesting to notice the most significant frequencies, 38.89% goes once a month and 36.11% visit the square once a week, which is quite low for someone who lives around the square even if one of the main reasons would be just passing through to go to another public space or workplace. The other two main reasons to bring people to this space are meeting with friends and cultural events.

⁴ According to IBGE - Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics, 2021, social classes are divided into five categories that consider the monthly income. The types are A - receiving more than 20 times the value of the minimum wage, B – between 10 to 20 times the minimum wage, C – considering the interval between 4 and 10 times the minimum wage, D – from 2 to 4 times the minimum wage and E – up to 2 times the minimum wage.



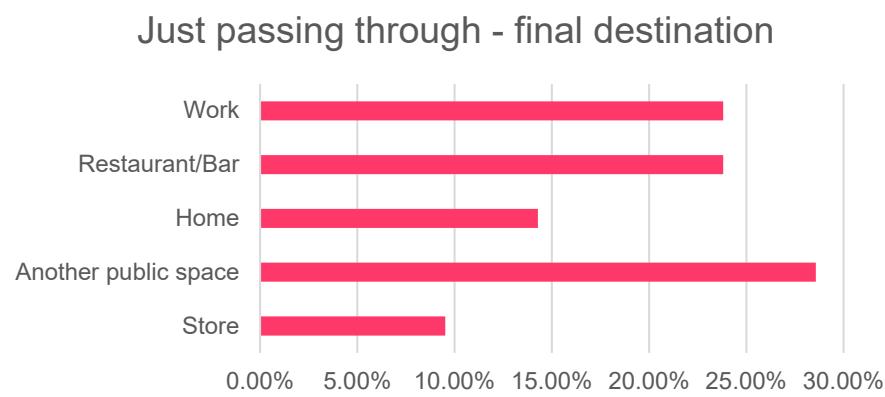
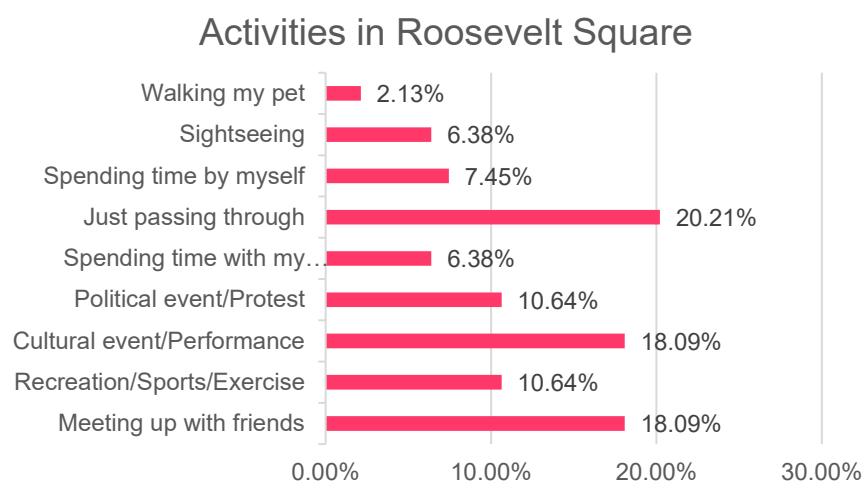
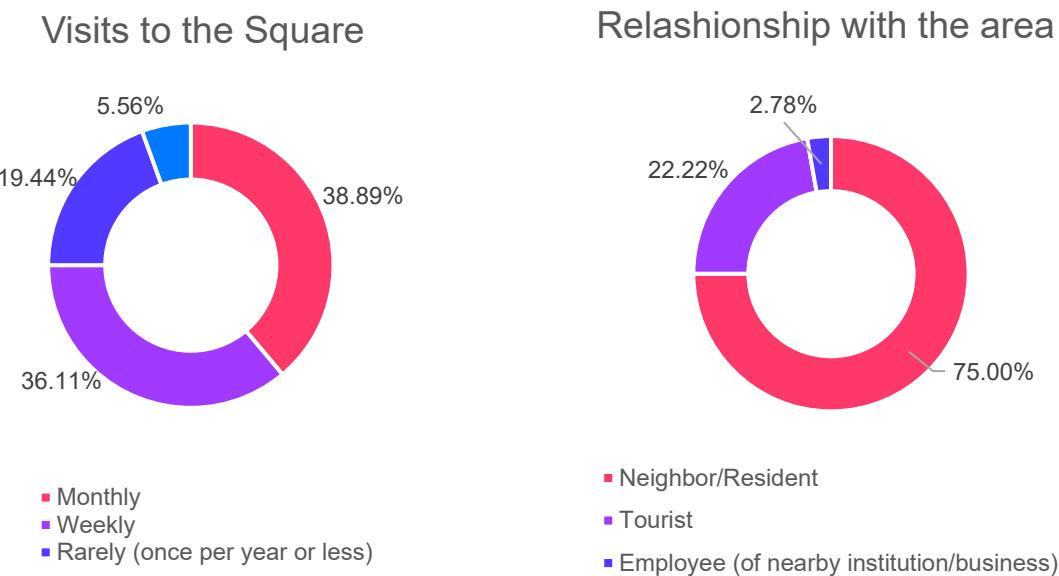


Figure 20: Data about Roosevelt Square users was collected in December 2021 through an online survey (Author, 2022)

The low frequency is justified by the lack of freedom and safety that most users pointed out and the lack of proper furniture, cultural and physical activities.

Positive words	Negative words
socializing	dirt
recreation	skateboard
culture	dogs
wide	underused
freedom	segregated
alternative	a lot of mess at night
fun	chaos
diversity	drugs
resistance	skate
leisure	skateboarder
sports	concreted
good space	elite
hectic	aridity
accessible	abandonment
plurality	cemented
interaction	hot
public	busy
art	noisy
friends	mess
theater	no control
open	danger
busy	
eclectic	
dynamic	
simple	
neighborhood	
essential for protests	
memories	
usefulness	
beautiful	
popular	
inviting	

central	
sunny	
nostalgia	
cosmopolitan	

Table 1: These words were used to describe the square and separated into positive and negative categories. (Author, 2022)



Figure 21: Answers regarding activities users wish to do in the square. The words were classified according to repetition. The more repeated, the bigger are the terms (Author, 2022)

Although the frequency is not too high between residents of the surrounding area, users usually spend one hour or more in the square talking with friends and in a few cultural events. Further, most people feel equally neutral and somewhat well with their neighbourhood, and apart from the complaints, they feel slightly happy about the square.

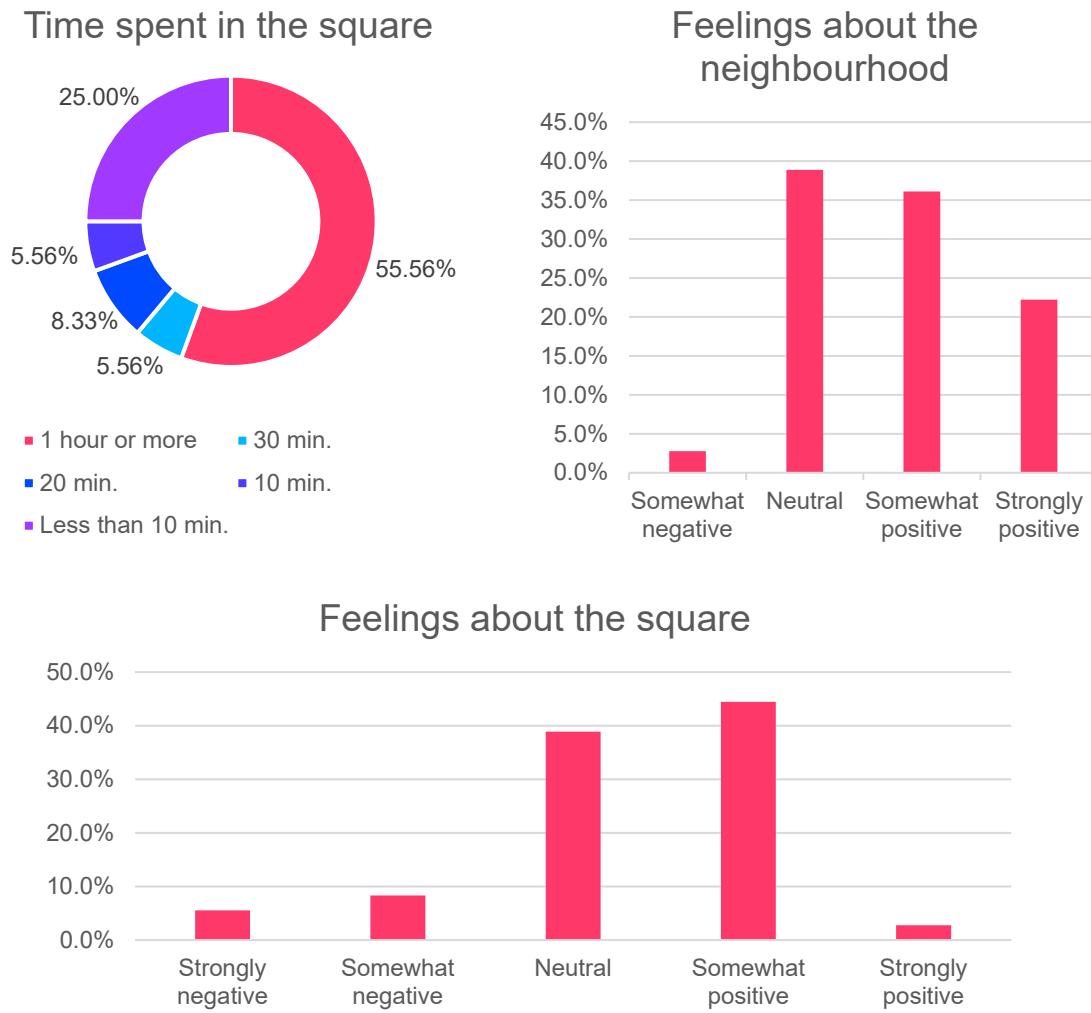


Figure 22: Second part of data about Roosevelt Square users was collected in December 2021 through an online survey (Author, 2022)



Figure 23: Words used to answer the question What would make you feel safer in this place? The words were classified according to repetition. The more repeated, the bigger are the terms. (Author, 2022)

I can interpret these feelings by looking over the answers to the last question regarding what would make them feel more secure in the square. A lot of people mentioned that more police and surveillance is needed. Others said the opposite, that is that presence does not avoid crime. Another topic raised was lighting, I am not sure about the maintenance of the infrastructures of the square, but when it was reopened in 2012 and because it is a dry place as some mentioned, it should be working well, with few shaded areas.



Figure 24: Lighting Design for Roosevelt (Otero, 2012)

The constant presence of people was another consideration made by the group. In that case, they argue that the frequency of cultural events would activate the space. Whereas, Ivers (2018) constantly asked in his book how to make the space interesting, attractive, and usable when there are no events or unique furniture. Moreover, if there will be ‘food truck fatigue’ or table-tennis everywhere, underused amphitheatres and abandoned flexible furniture, in other words, what is actually needed to attract the public? Furthermore, unfortunately, people, proper lighting, and surveillance do not avoid crime in Brazil since the disparities are so extreme, and the law does not work for the unprivileged.

Supplementary, some of the participants understand the security topic connected to social inequalities and one of them stand out, saying that we must change the mayor and the governor. Therefore, they have somehow a good understanding of the structure of power that involves public spaces and society.

But considering the last comment, I would like to remember that the management can make decisions. However, it needs to consider how it will impact if there will be a positive impact.

7. Looking forward

After ten years of the last renovation, Roosevelt Square represents resistance against bordering practices (Tonkiss, 2005a) (Lafazani, 2021). Its location in the city centre and cultural characteristics make this public space a target for the state and community associations to keep with their aestheticisation plan. The police that would help maintain the order seems powerless over such a diverse group that at least will spend a certain amount of time.

The recent opening of another public space, Augusta Park, in October 2021, brings another character for the use of these spaces and perhaps this new park fulfils the remaining needs of the inhabitants.

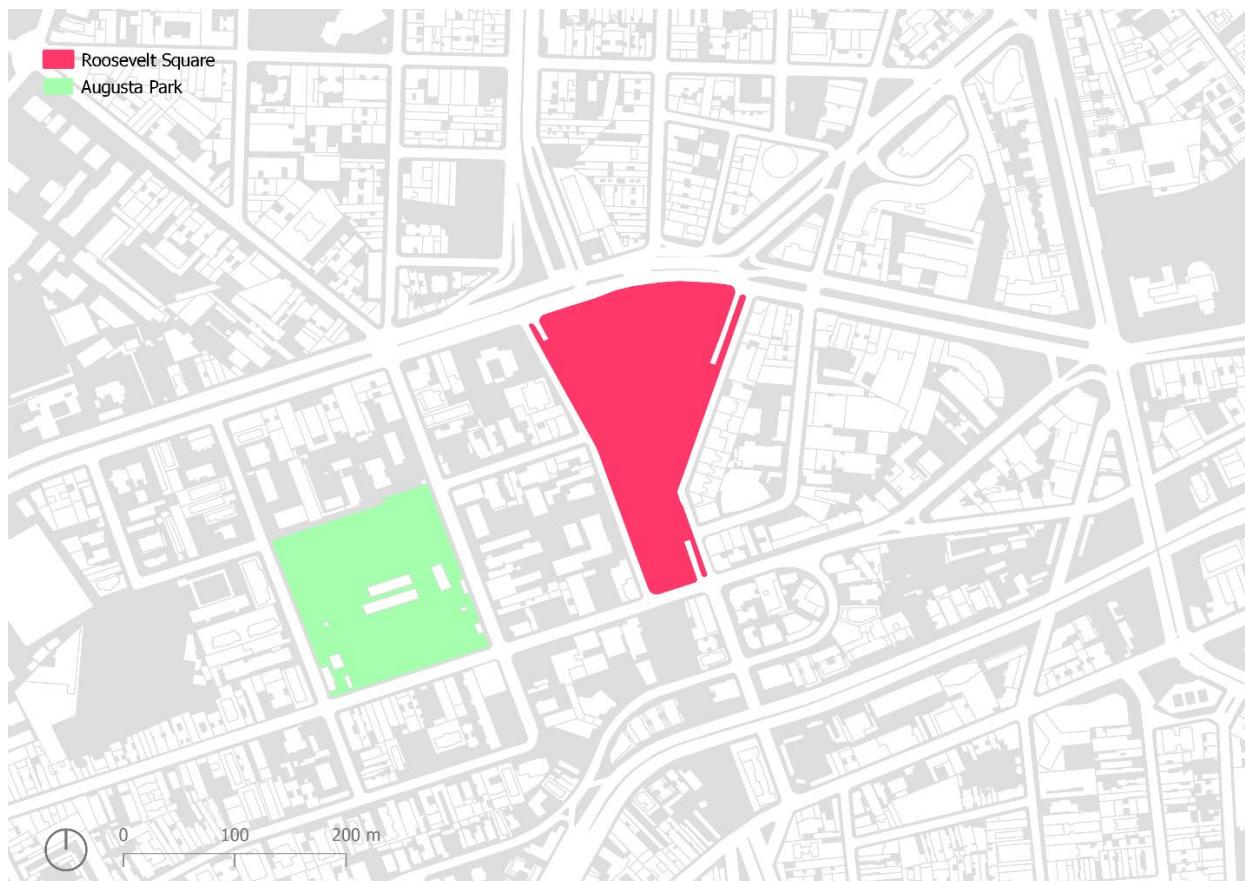


Figure 25: Augusta Park location. (Base map: São Paulo Prefecture Open Data and Geosampa; Overlay: Author, 2022)



Figure 26: People using hammocks (Sato, 2021) and picnics at Augusta Park (Felizardo, 2021)



Figure 27: Aerial view of Augusta Park (Chauvin, 2021)

There is a high probability that the square will decay in the following years since there should be a division between users for each space. Still, I am curious about how these spaces will be in the future as cities are in constant change (Madanipour, 2010).

Finally, I would raise the question of what types of people are socially seen as disrupting public order? There are numerous bars not very far from the square, with mainly young and rich students that similarly show behaviours like drug consumption, noise production, and vandalism. However, there is no police intervention.

I would suggest a closer approach for future research, perhaps an ethnographic study, by attending meetings within these neighbourhoods, square and park associations besides using the square and talking to regulars. In addition, there are other exciting public and private-public spaces in the city centre of São Paulo to investigate significantly how users' feelings changed during the pandemic.

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