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**URBAN MOBILITY, PARTICIPATORY AND INSURGENT PLANNING**  
**MOBILIDADE URBANA, PLANEJAMENTO PARTICIPATIVO E INSURGENTE**  
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## Abstract

The article seeks to analyze spaces of counter-hegemonic struggle and actions in the field of urban mobility: the Movimento Passe Livre — MPL [Movement for Free Fare of Public Transport] and the Conselho Municipal de Transporte e Trânsito de São Paulo — CMTT [Municipal Participatory Council of Transport and Transit of São Paulo]. Starting from the deductive method, the article is based on the literature on collaborative, communicative and participatory planning, which indicates that social participation is not always able to oppose hegemonic power. In many cases, participatory processes reinforced social injustice, as they promoted the legitimacy of neoliberal decisions. The cases of the CMTT and the MPL demonstrate that the State's participatory institutions (invited spaces) have limitations and insufficiencies to contain the hegemonic power and there is also a need for actions outside the institutional field (invented spaces).

**Keywords:** Participation, Free Fare, Social Movements, Urban Mobility, Urban Planning

## 1 Introduction

Events in recent years have given emphasis to the field of urban mobility. The demonstrations in June 2013 across Brazil began with a demand: the revocation of the increase in public transport fares, readjusted every beginning of the year. Such protests highlighted the Movimento Passe Livre — MPL [movement for free fare of public transport]. In the same year, the Municipality of São Paulo established the Conselho Municipal de Transporte e Trânsito — CMTT [Municipal Participatory Council of Transport and Transit of São Paulo], a participatory council. Based on deductive method, the article inserts these cases of the field of urban mobility in the theoretical debate of urban and regional planning. In section 2, we discuss communicative, collaborative and participatory planning, as well as their criticisms and advances. In section 3, we contextualize the MPL and the demonstrations of June 2013, trying to answer if these actions materialize the discussions about insurgent or subversive planning. In section 4, we present some of the CMTT guidelines and the repercussions of the council on the networks of activism for urban mobility. Finally, we return to the literature and the cases presented for final considerations.

## 2 Communicative and collaborative planning and its criticisms

In the field of Urban and Regional Planning, the theory of communicative and collaborative planning stood out in the 1990s and was widely applied in the world with different interpretations, including being recommended by UN-Habitat (Pieterse, 2008)

Healey (2003) developed the idea throughout the 1990s, based on Giddens' Theory of Structuring, although communicative planning is more associated with Habermas's Theory of Communicative Action. According to the author, communicative planning was a path that emerged from her experience as a planner and researcher, from the reference to the quality of interactions by Giddens, in addition to authors such as Forester, Innes, Hoch and Baum – who also developed the theory of communicative planning. The central argument was that all planning involves some interaction relationship and a governance process, and therefore, discussion processes and their translations into institutionalized processes should be considered. This theory, which later became collaborative planning, was inspired, according to Healey, by the perception that planning is an interactive process that takes place in complex and dynamic institutional environments, formed by broader economic and social forces, which structure — but do not determine — these interactions. In addition, communicative and collaborative planning are premised on social justice, cultural diversity and values that exist in local environments. For the author, there are multiple forces and struggles interacting with creativity in local power and she cites Latin America as an example of innovation in these struggles (Healey, 2003)

The proposal brought several criticisms, especially for not opposing neoliberalism. On the contrary, communicative and collaborative planning reinforced the neoliberal context and social inequalities (Miraftab, 2009, Pieterse, 2008, Purcell, 2009,

Randolph, 2007, among others). Mirafteb (2009) argues that citizen participation processes in neoliberal governments ended up legitimizing decisions of the hegemonic power through the perception of inclusion, especially in cities of the Global South. As neoliberalism is an ideological project, it does not act through coercion or force, but with a set of values, policies and rationalities to achieve hegemonic power. In this way, governments prefer to stabilize relations with movements rather than using force against counter-hegemonic actions. As an example of seeking to stabilize, there are international development organizations, such as the World Bank, which have placed citizen participation as part of their institutional mandates and partnerships with NGOs (Mirafteb, 2009).

A large body of literature has documented how such routinization of Community participation depoliticizes communities' struggles and extends state control within the Society. Drawing grassroots movements into NGOs maintains the status quo by stabilizing state-society relations. (Mirafteb, 2009, p. 34)

Pieterse (2008) demonstrates that while the UN-Habitat focused its discourse on combating poverty for social justice, equity and urban citizenship, advocating the involvement of civil society, the World Bank raised issues of strategic urban planning — of the competitiveness of cities, based on industrial, commercial and financial interests, bankability of projects. Strategic urban planning is a line of argument in territorial planning that considers globalization as a decisive factor for cities and focuses investments of scarce resources on critical points, prioritizing urban mega projects. However, it is also based on the formation of consensus through the participation of public and private agents, from the diagnosis to the elaboration of the plan (Borja; Castells, 1997). That became the participation of a small group, in Pieterse's View (2008). Cities in the Global South that adopted the World Bank guide ended up adopting this type of participation. So, communicative planning was widely adopted, however, under strategic planning and under a neoliberal state. Between choosing an infrastructure project that would increase local competitiveness and a project that would meet the most basic infrastructure in the city, the first was chosen. Therefore, despite the argument that communication would be enough to decide in contexts of multiplicity of groups, what Pieterse (2008) observed is that the choice was not combating poverty in cities.

Purcell (2009) also criticized communicative planning for supporting the neoliberal agenda. The author showed how inequalities already exist from the beginning and, then, the process itself becomes unequal. Furthermore, neoliberalism actively seeks to co-opt and incorporate democratic resistances, even if they are not favorable to business, but this action is intended to legitimize the process and create stability. For the author, there is no intention on the part of Habermas or the planners who follow him to reinforce neoliberalism, but this in fact happens. Rarely, business sectors are excluded from a decision process, but there are groups excluded from collaborative processes. As there is an appearance of inclusion, no one questions that groups have been excluded. Purcell (2009) also criticizes the group of planners who move away from Habermas to act in communicative planning. Take, for example, author Judith Innes, who argues that “though deliberation participants inventing new solutions they could not have imagined before engaging each other” and “in order to come to a shared solution, all participants must be satisfied with the outcome”. For Purcell, there is the possibility of legitimizing the dominant. Furthermore, the very idea of “stakeholders” instead of “citizens” is already a neoliberalization, insofar as it places stakeholders with more force than a mere citizen in the process. Against this, Purcell (2009) defends an alternative with radical elements of participatory democracy based on Henri Lefebvre's ideas of the right to the city, and, supported by Laclau and Mouffe, defends a counter-hegemonic mobilization for the emancipation of marginalized groups.

Randolph (2007) also criticizes communicative and collaborative planning based on Brazilian experiences, resulting from popular participation in public policies, especially in master plans. With the Constitution of 1988 and the Statute of the City of 2001, the perspective of more participation of the population rises. However, like the other authors, he observes that the participatory process is a way of giving legitimacy to decisions favorable to the hegemonic sectors. For the author:

[...] the real problem is that most conceptions and realizations of participatory planning remain attached to the traditional instrumental, technical and, sometimes, bureaucratic logic of State (public) planning. It does not significantly and more radically redefine the relationship between State and society (and thus contributes to the perpetuation of the status quo) (Randolph, 2007, p. 4).

However, Randolph (2007) considers that collaborative and communicative planning had achievements, such as opening mediation paths and bringing ways for the accumulation of experiences of “communicative power” to have some influence on some decisions. Even though insufficient, Habermas' communicative model is essential for planning to fulfill its “subversive function”. It should be noted that, although Randolph related his criticism to communicative and collaborative planning based on Brazilian experiences with master plans, these are conceived based on the notion of participatory democracy, in which the participation of citizens in the decision-making process is considered in democratic States. The Orçamento Participativo (Participatory Budget) was a paradigmatic example, among several initiatives in the redemocratization period, which influenced urban policy to be based on participatory processes. Participatory urban planning and communicative and collaborative planning dialogue themselves and are based on the same literature, but they differ in origin and in the paths they followed until their practice in territorial planning. While Healey (2003) formulated communicative planning based on her urban planning experience, the formulation of participatory urban planning that occurred in Brazilian experiences adopted the broader concept of participatory democracy, in the context of redemocratization of the country.

The experience of the participatory process of preparing the Strategic Master Plan of São Paulo, Brazil in 2002 was also analyzed by Villaça (2005), who observed that despite all the effort for participation, only hegemonic groups managed to influence the plan. Either because they attended public hearings called by the government or because they had access and knowledge of the technical content, or because they had access to other forms of pressure such as the media and the City Council. In the same way that Purcell (2009) noted in collaborative and communicative planning, Villaça (2005) observes that from the beginning dominant groups are better able to impose their ideas and thus, the participatory process that had the objective of fighting for social justice fails to promote this due to the inequality in the process itself.

In Brazil, PT governors (Workers' Party governs) increased participation in various public policies at the federal level, especially by the creation of national councils and conferences. Although there are criticisms of how this participation took place (Abers; Serafim; Tatagiba, 2014, Romão, 2021, Tatagiba; Teixeira, 2021), Maricato (2017) emphasizes the importance of participatory instances for urban policy:

Some social control over the State constitutes a fundamental experience for learning by the social movements, as well as it is also important to expand the conquests by social demands. Contrary to what many intellectuals think, who see this as despicable reformism, the conquests of immediate concrete demands are essential feed for any mass demand movement. But it is necessary to understand the State in its complexity, especially in a society like ours, patrimonialist and unequal. Its power of co-optation, and even of corruption, seems immense (Maricato, 2017, p. 70-71).

In addition, the author also highlights the achievements for urban policy resulting from participatory processes in Brazil: the City Statute, the Ministry of Cities, the National Conferences of Cities, the Council of Cities, the National Land Regularization Program, the regulatory framework for Environmental Sanitation (2005), the Public Consortia Law, the National Fund for Social Housing, the National Urban Mobility Policy and the Program for Accelerating the Growth of Housing and Sanitation. However, she recognizes that access to land, the application of the most important instruments of the City Statute and the environmental issue remains without any progress. Thus, it is considered that, following the example of what the researchers concluded regarding collaborative and communicative planning, the Brazilian experience of participation in national institutions also encountered limits of action facing hegemonic power.

### **3 Would the Movimento Passe Livre — MPL be a step towards insurgent or subversive urban mobility planning?**

The Passe Livre Movement (MPL) emerged in 2005 at the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, city in the south of Brazil, inspired by the experiences of the *Buzu* Revolt (2003) in Salvador, city in the northeastern Brazil, and the *Catraca* Revolt (2005) in Florianópolis, city in the South Brazil. The Buzu Revolt was a protest against the increase of the public transport fare, which brought together 40,000 high school students in a decentralized and horizontal struggle process. At the time, the movement was appropriated by other groups, as the movement reports:

[...] student organizations co-opted by party groups positioned themselves as leaders and began to negotiate with public authorities on behalf of the demonstrators. After bargaining for few concessions with the governors, without reaching the revocation of the increase, all possible means were used to demobilize the population” (Movimento Passe Livre, 2013, p. 14).

In this context, the movement that emerges tends to oppose the approximation of the State:

Then, a social movement of autonomous, horizontal and non-partisan transport emerges, whose local and federated groups do not submit to any central organization. Its policy is deliberated from below, by all, in spaces that do not have leaders, nor respond to any higher external body (Movimento Passe Livre, 2013, p. 15).

Any group of activists can become the MPL, as long as they submit to the movement's charter of principles, which basically says about the independence of the State, parties, even NGOs, religious and financial institutions. The movement then differentiates itself from previous formed social movements:

It is in the direct action of the population on its own life – and not behind closed doors, in the municipal councils ingeniously instituted by the city halls or in any of the other institutional tricks -, that the true popular management takes place. (Movimento Passe Livre, 2013, p.16).

However, according to Medeiros (2014), the position of distancing from the State and other organizations is not radical. The movement is related to trade unions, with the Movimento dos Trabalhadores Sem Teto — MTST [Movement of Homeless Workers] (which has relations with the Partido dos Trabalhadores — PT [Workers Party] and President Lula's government), they also rely on parliamentarians who defend their flags or who help free militants from arbitrary prisons. In addition, the movement itself states to be based on the policy formulated by Erundina, mayor of São Paulo, Brazil (1989–1992) (Movimento Passe Livre, 2013). The MPL also differs from traditional movements due to its internal organization:

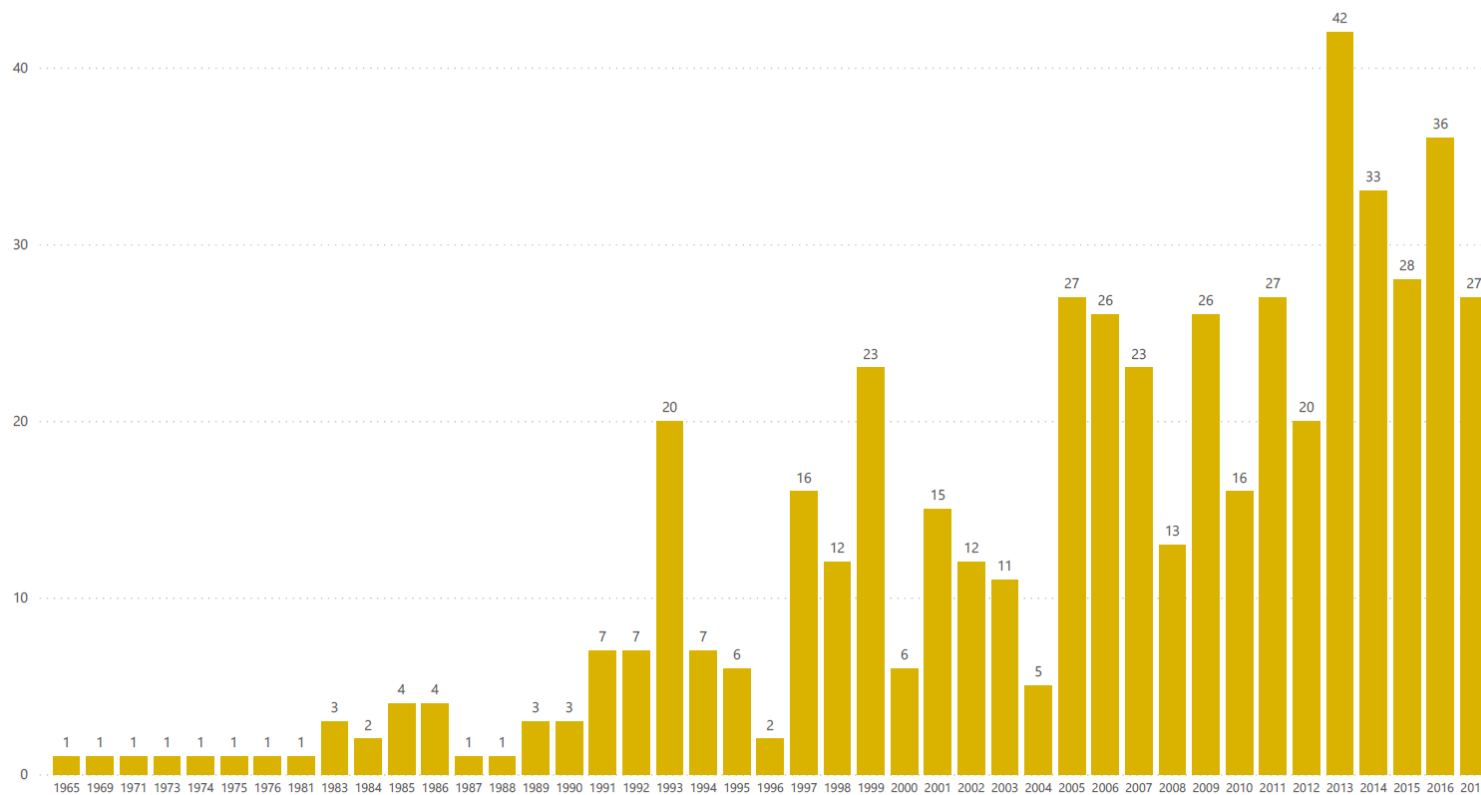
While in traditional movements the action of the militant is subject to the collective will, represented by the entity and/or by the leadership, in the MPL direct action is the dominant vector, which will structure the belonging and identity of the militant through the free pass. (Medeiros, 2014, p. 115).

Although the MPL has been active in the Brazilian cities of São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Curitiba, Recife, Porto Alegre and the Federal District since 2006 with demonstrations every year, it was only in 2013 that the movement gained national prominence. For Medeiros (2014), the movement gained momentum due to a combination of the occasion when the city halls decided to increase the public transport fare with the viralized images of police violence in the protests. According to the author, every year the readjustment of public transport fare was given between December and January since students are on vacation at this time and demobilized because they are not in the same space. That year, as a request of the federal government, city halls postponed the readjustment of public transport fare until the end of May and beginning of June, which created the ideal scenario for the growth of demonstrations. In addition, explains Medeiros (2014), images of gratuitous police violence suffered by young people were widely disseminated on social medias, which generated commotion and solidarity.

The first demonstrations of 2013 started on May 27<sup>th</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup>, but the first protest that gained a larger dimension was on June 6<sup>th</sup>. On June 17<sup>th</sup>, the movement gained national dimension, with protests in at least twelve states. On June 19<sup>th</sup>, the mayors of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro revoked the readjustments. On June 20<sup>th</sup>, the biggest demonstrations took place. From June 21<sup>st</sup>, the demonstrations continued, however, with different agendas (Medeiros, 2014).

In addition to the repeal of the readjustment of public transport fare, São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and another forty municipalities established participatory transport councils. It was the peak of creation of these councils in Brazil, as we can see in Figure 1 below.

Conselhos municipais de transporte criados por ano



**Fig. 1:** Municipal transport councils created per year. Source: own elaboration with data from IBGE (2017). Available at: <https://www.ibge.gov.br/estatisticas/sociais/protecao-social/10586-pesquisa-de-informacoes-basicas-municipais.html?edicao=18195&t=downloads>. Access 12/11/2021.

However, the MPL refused to be part of these councils. For more traditional social movements this would be an opportunity, for the MPL the councils represented the antithesis of popular management and of the possibility of mobilization.

Indeed, the MPL had reason to doubt it. The first readjustment after the creation of the Conselho Municipal de Transporte e Trânsito (CMTT) [Municipal Participatory Council of Transport and Traffic] was decided without consulting the councilors (Gomes, 2015).

These events corroborate with Romão (2021) and Tatagiba and Teixeira (2021). Presidents Lula’s and Dilma’s governments had in their structure openness to social movements, promoting national conferences and receiving in the government’s technical staff to participate of the formulation of public policies. However, this greater openness was not enough to expand rights and reverse the neoliberal logic. On the contrary, it gave legitimacy to what the government proposed, while serving social movements on a sectoral basis. This reading was also done by the MPL already at the same time of the events.

The answer given by the forty-two city halls, with the creation of participatory councils, came to stabilize the neoliberal hegemonic power. Action that did not work to guarantee control over future protests, since the MPL refused the discussion in the institutional field and since the demonstrations of June 2013 gave voice to conservatism, which started to lead protests in the following years.

Romão (2021) states that the openness to social movements promoted by the Lula’s and Dilma’s governments would have generated an “over democratization”, not controlled by the pact of lulism. Lulism is the political phenomenon of the left government of Brazil, which sought transformations without confronting capital, running a government of class reconciliation. New movements, which originated because of the maintenance of precariousness, were no longer in this pact. Among these new movements are the MPL, the World Cup Popular Committees [popular movements against forced removals of communities by World Cup works] and the movements against the construction of the Belo Monte and Santo Antônio hydroelectric plants. From 2013, the Movimento Passe Livre — MPL continued its activities at each announcement of fare adjustments in São Paulo, without ever having participated in the CMTT.

These events also corroborate the arguments of Miraftab (2009), Pieterse (2008), Purcell (2009), Randolph (2007) and Villaça (2005). However, unlike the MPL, it is not possible to say that the authors refute the participation of civil society. The authors attempt to the limits of participation facing social injustices within a neoliberal State. Miraftab (2009) makes clear the importance of institutionalized spaces. The author coined the concepts of invited spaces and invented spaces, based on experiences in the Global South, to advance in the fight for social justice:

‘Invited’ spaces are defined as those grassroots actions and their allied non-governmental organizations that are legitimized by donors and government interventions and aim to cope with systems of hardship. ‘Invented’ spaces are defined as those collective actions by the poor that directly confront the authorities and challenge the status quo. The two sorts of spaces stand in a mutually constituted, interacting relationship, not a binary one. They are not mutually exclusive, nor is either necessarily affiliated with a fixed set of individuals or groups or with a particular kind of civil society. (Miraftab, 2009, p. 38-39)

Miraftab's formulation (2009) differs from the MPL's proposal, as the author recognizes that formal instances are also tools of struggle for social movements. For the author, the insurgent practices are fluid between the invited spaces and the invented spaces of participation, being able to carry out combined actions between them.

If the MPL diverges from the insurgent planning of Miraftab (2009), we find convergences within the subversive planning of Randolph (2007). In recent activities, the MPL developed another direct action: the provision of free buses from São Paulo downtown to Cidade Tiradentes (São Paulo's urban fringe neighborhood) for about fifty people, with the same route as a free bus that existed in the 1990s. As presented in Figure 2, the action was taken on October 26<sup>th</sup>, 2021, National Day of Fight for the Free Fare of Public Transport in Brazil, a day that recalls the Catraca Revolt that happened in Florianópolis, city in the south of Brazil (LINS; LINS, 2021).



Passe Livre São Paulo

27 de outubro de 2021 · 🌐



::: UM GOSTINHO DA VIDA SEM CATRACAS - O BUSÃO TARIFA ZERO PRA CIDADE TIRADENTES

Ontem, no dia 26 de outubro, dia de luta pela Tarifa Zero, a volta pra casa depois do trabalho foi diferente. Pelo menos pras 50 pessoas que pegaram o Busão Tarifa Zero que saiu do Terminal Parque Dom Pedro e foi até a Cidade Tiradentes.

Foram dois mini-ônibus, em que todas as pessoas puderam ir sentadas com conforto e sem superlotação. Quem precisava, recebeu máscaras de proteção, quem queria descansar, teve espaço pra isso. E entre quem se animou mais, ficamos conversando sobre porque o transporte não funciona desse jeito todos os dias e como é com luta que a gente pode conquistar mudanças concretas!!

Foi um gostinho da vida sem catracas que queremos construir, uma prova de que outro transporte é sim possível. E ficou na cara que os governantes só não assumem isso porque preferem agradar os seus amigos empresários do que atender às nossas necessidades e desejos.

Foi pelo nós por nós que a Tarifa Zero voltou à Cidade Tiradentes 30 anos depois. Foi só um gostinho, mas saímos dessa experiência com mais ânimo e mais vontade pra seguir lutando até o fim de todas as catracas!

[#TarifaZeroJá!](#)

[#26Outubro](#)

[#CidadeTiradentes](#)

[#BusãoTarifaZero](#)

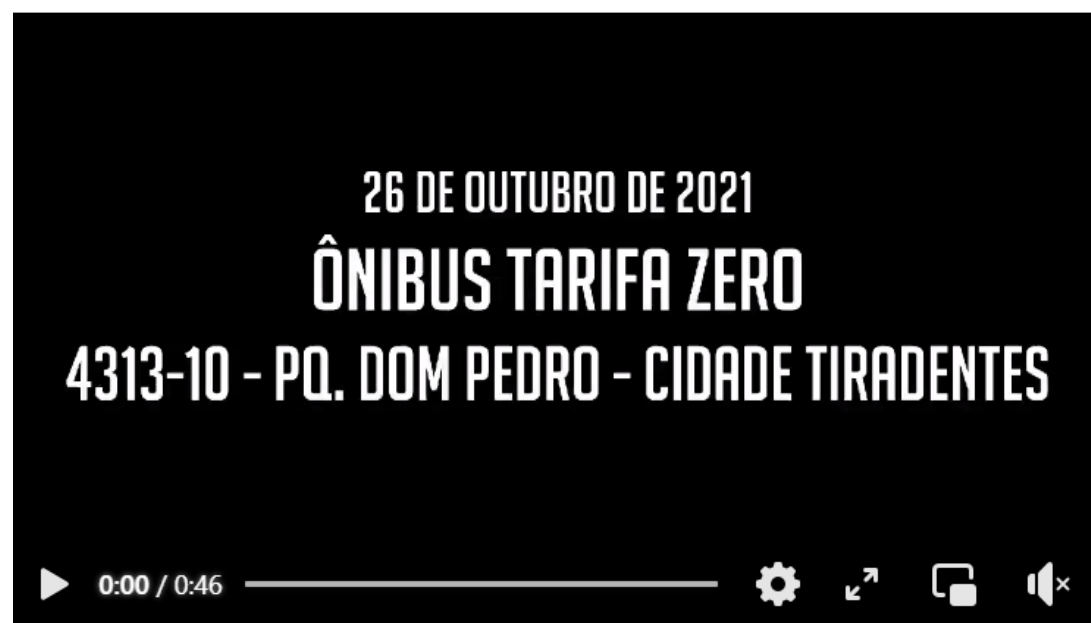


Fig. 2: Post from Movimento Passe Livre São Paulo about the action. Source: MPL, 2021. Available at: <https://fb.watch/gxZeGeeeNc/>. Accessed on: 01/30/2022.



The process of subversive planning needs to be understood as one of the ways to achieve, in practice, the expansion of the domain both of social experiences already available (through the sociology of absences, increasing the present), and of possible social experiences (through the sociology of emergences, retraction of the future). (Randolph, 2007, p. 10)

The movement put into practice the possibility of Free Fare to show through its own experience what is intended (possible social experiences) to overcome a current issue – the high fare of public transport (social experiences already available). Randolph (2008) also argues that there is a possibility of carrying out the proposal of subversive planning through:

[...] the search, from part of the inhabitants of the big cities, for the use value of their lived spaces and their defense against the effects of abstraction that (financial) capitalism tries to progressively impose as it advances in the production of the social space (Lefebvre) (Randolph, 2008, p. 11).

As the movement defends the right to transport as a right to the city, it is fighting the abstraction effects of financial capitalism. It questions the rationality of transport planning, which places fares as essential for its viability, questions the logic of cities, which are structured on inequality to promote accessible and non-accessible spaces, barred by turnstiles, and it questions the logic of the increasingly intense financialization of the transport sector, which is currently moving towards privatization (between public-private partnerships and concessions).

On the other hand, this action was carried out with a limited scope, on only one bus line against millions of daily trips made in São Paulo. To transform it into a public policy, it is necessary to debate budget and planning, do its monitoring — a debate that should have taken place in participatory forums, but the MPL refused to participate. In this sense, there is also a limit to this counter-hegemonic action, which does not take place beyond questioning social injustice.

### **The Conselho Municipal de Transporte e Trânsito [Municipal Participatory Council of Transport and Traffic]**

The Conselho Municipal de Transporte e Trânsito de São Paulo (CMTT) was established in 2013, as one of the answers to the demonstrations of the so-called June Days, during the Haddad administration of São Paulo, Brazil, from the Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT) [Workers' Party]. This is a council made up of civil society (including associations, NGOs and trade unions), public authorities (direct and indirect public administration) and transport operators (companies' and workers' unions). From 2013 to 2021, fifty-seven ordinary meetings and five extraordinary meetings were held, of which minutes of meetings are available on the council's website (CMTT, [s.d.]).

Some topics call attention due to the rarity of the debate. The budget, an essential issue for carrying out public policies, was only discussed at the November 2017 meeting (CMTT, 2017), mentioned at the August 2019 meeting as a demand for a municipal mobility fund (CMTT, 2019a), in July 2020, when subsidies to the SPTrans system [public company of public buses of São Paulo] were discussed (CMTT, 2020a), in December 2020 in an extraordinary meeting about public transport fare (CMTT, 2020b), in October 2021 in the presentation of the execution of FUNDURB [Urban Development Fund] resources (CMTT, 2021). The “zero tariff” or “free fare” is only registered in the minutes of the meeting of December 2019 (CMTT, 2019b). It draws attention, because Barbosa (2018) had already detected that although the MPL did not participate in the CMTT, there were supporters among the councilors who could put the topic on the agenda.

Despite these problems and all the issues presented in the literature about participation problems, there are advances promoted by the CMTT. Themes of sustainable urban mobility, such as road safety, walking, cycling, universal accessibility and public transport by bus were highlighted in the meetings of the period.

For Barbosa (2018), the demonstrations of 2013 and the creation of the National Urban Mobility Policy (in Brazil) in 2012 brought out many collective groups in defense of sustainable urban mobility, since most councilors had participated in the demonstrations of 2013. The author also showed that the council encouraged the creation of an association for walking, called *Cidadeapé*, formed from councilors who was participating individually. Thus, the Council “created representation and organization experiences, producing leaderships that recognize the groups and demands they represent in the institution”

(Barbosa, 2018, p. 210), since the councilors had participated in the demonstrations of June 2013 without ties to social movements or entities, but within the Council they started to represent collectives.

The events that follow confirm the observation. Walking and cycling (active mobility) won a Thematic Chamber at the request of the councilors, where the groups' possibilities for political advocacy on these issues were expanded, with regional representatives and specific meetings. Within these Thematic Chambers, networks were strengthened and the formation of new activist groups was further encouraged, such as regional cycle activists: Bike Zona Oeste [Bike West Zone of São Paulo] and Bike Zona Leste [Bike East Zone of São Paulo] — created in 2015 — and Bike Zona Norte [Bike North Zone of São Paulo] — created in 2019. The Bike Zona Sul [Bike South Zone of São Paulo] group has existed since 2010. It is also possible to say that the existence of the CMTT fostered the organization of a network of entities, which began to act together, as in the Active Mobility Campaign in the 2018 Elections. The campaign aimed to promote urban mobility in the state elections of São Paulo with a letter of commitment that could be adhered to by the candidates for the Government of the State of São Paulo. Some of the entities that participate in the CMTT made up the network: Association of Urban Cyclists of São Paulo (Ciclocidade), Association for Mobility on Foot in São Paulo (Cidadeapé), Institute of Consumer Defense (IDEC) and SampaPé! (Rede Paulista de Entidades e Associações de Mobilidade Urbana, n.d.).

Also in 2018, the Association of Urban Cyclists of São Paulo (Ciclocidade) and the Association for Mobility on Foot in São Paulo (Cidadeapé), held the Active Mobility Panel, which brought data on injuries and deaths in traffic. Public data were disclosed to support the articulation of civil society for public hearings on traffic safety (Associação de Ciclistas Urbanos de São Paulo and Associação pela Mobilidade a Pé em São Paulo, 2018).

As Maricato (2017) had observed for national urban policies, there are social achievements in participation. Otherwise, the Council would not suffer from emptying, as Barbosa (2018, p. 208) stated: “If it were not for the persistence of the councilors and their entities, committed to fighting for improvements in public policies for urban mobility, the Council would not have meetings in 2017”. These emptying follow the events in the country of crisis of democracy and dismantling of institutionalized spaces of participation. With the departure of President Dilma Rousseff from Workers’ Party in 2016, national council meetings decreased, and national conferences did not take place, until in 2019, the National Policy for Social Participation was revoked by the president Jair Bolsonaro. The resistance of the councilors to the continuity of the CMTT meetings was, therefore, a counter-hegemonic action, because it did not allow its dismantling, despite all the context favorable to it. In this sense, it is possible to state that, despite their lack, participatory processes can oppose some of the hegemonic actions.

#### 4 Final Considerations

Criticisms of collaborative and communicative planning, as well as the thoughts on the participatory process, bring a set of arguments that could deny participatory practices. The construction of direct actions outside the State can be an overcoming of the limits of participatory practices, as demonstrated by the Movimento Passe Livre in its activities. The availability of a free bus to demonstrate that “Free fare is possible” promotes the experience of a different policy from what is defended by the hegemonic power, of increasingly privatization of transport. We can consider these actions as practices of subversive planning, in the conception of Randolph (2007). However, the MPL invalidates participation in institutionalized spaces because they do not believe that institutionalized spaces are, in fact, counter-hegemonic spaces.

But it is important to emphasize all the social achievements that institutionalized participatory processes have brought, as highlighted by Maricato (2017). The Municipal Transport and Traffic Council of São Paulo encouraged the organization of groups and entities for sustainable urban mobility and created networks of political advocacy. In this sense, participatory practices may not be enough to combat social injustice, but there are achievements even in a neoliberal context. Therefore, theories of collaborative, communicative and participatory planning should not be invalidated, but rather recognize that there are limitations and avoid “illusions” – as Villaça (2005) argued about the participatory process of the 2002 Master Plan. In the same way, there are limitations on counter-hegemonic actions that deny institutionalized processes like MPL action. Future research should stress these limitations, also mobilizing literature on repertoires and action tools of social movements.

When moving between the “invited spaces” and the “invented spaces” of insurgent planning, we recognize the limitations of institutionalized spaces, while we recognize the actions created by social movements as a way of planning. We agree with Miraftab (2009), counter-hegemonic struggles take place in both spaces.

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