Cultivating the Fourth Sector: Active Citizenship and Governance in the Urban Change Process

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Abstract The rapid generalization of a community based on sharing, collaboration, co-decision-making, and cooperation has given greater visibility to a range of activities and even social mechanisms in a paradigmatic transition toward what is becoming known as the fourth sector.

Active citizenship and the forms it has adopted fall into this new category. The renewed dynamism of civil society, led through properly organized citizen groups and inorganic and conjunctural social movements, can be interpreted in a number of ways, but perhaps that which fits best is the increasing delegitimization of formal power or, at least, the need to deepen the democratic system in an urban context. It is this dynamism that seems to transform collaboration as an emerging form of democracy, thus inscribing it within the set of dynamics that characterize the "collaborative society."

All these urban transformation mechanisms become condensed in the transfer from a context of government, i.e., a formal system of articulation of actors in the public sphere, to a context of governance, i.e., an informal system, with variable geometry both in terms of scale and the nature of the actors involved. This is oftentimes a troubled process because it means an effective redistribution of power, something that is almost never peaceful or easy.

The discussion of the emergence of these new values is reflected in the narrative for the formation of, and the activity carried out by, the "Caracol da Penha" movement. The related challenge was based around a demand that a green space be built instead of a car park, which is equipped to serve not only the locals but also the entire city of Lisbon, Portugal.

Popular mobilization, the reversal of the decision by the Lisbon City Council, the use of participatory budget mechanisms, and the ability to produce and organize information and communicate it, to name just a few of the many other aspects, make

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this case emblematic for many other participatory processes and appear to have been a learning ground for all actors involved.

This process of reversing a unilateral decision already taken by a local power, thanks to the structured and dynamic mobilization of the local community, makes it possible to see in practice how the change of values in the power system is tending toward a more collaborative democracy in an urban context.

Keywords Active citizenship · Public participation · Public spaces · Urban policies · Urban governance

1 Introduction

1.1 The Revolution in Power Values

Camagni and Capello (2017) have pointed out that when wishing to correct the levels of efficiency, equity, and effectiveness that are involved in public policies, decision-making, and territories, the solution may indeed lie in a redistribution of power and, oftentimes, even in rethinking the modes in which the said power is exercised (Fainstein 2001; Charbit 2011). The new rationality in territorial management is marked by a persistent reduction in public resources and, perhaps precisely for this reason, by a search for greater efficiency and competitiveness through investment in a renewed look at endogenous development, innovation, and, in particular, the modalities of growth and governance (Camagni and Capello 2017).

The traditional model of exercising power in urban areas is characterized by formal and institutional governance; competition, exclusivity, and appropriation of resources; confidentiality and separation of the public and private spheres; specialization and professionalism; long-term affiliation and loyalty; and legitimization through representative democracy (Heimans and Timms 2018). These characteristics and their consequences justify the fact that the neoliberal system has seen in formal government an obstacle that penalizes economic growth (Krugman 1994). The legitimacy thereof was thus called into question.

Neoliberalism, in the context of urban territorial management, has always emphasized the need for international competitiveness, widespread commodification, and the city as a pivotal area for economic development and financial investment (Krugman 1994). These demands have far-reaching consequences for metropolitan management and the built environment. With the consolidation of neoliberalism, other topics of discussion also emerged, such as de-industrialization, entrepreneurship, smart city, global city, gentrification, socio-spatial fragmentation, creative city, and active citizenship (Larner and McLean 2020).

Proceeding from these new debates, and from the criticism of the welfare state that emerged during the post-war period, a new governance model was put forward in the 1980s, where the focus was placed not only on the issues of democratic representation, power, and decision-making but also on the regulation and control

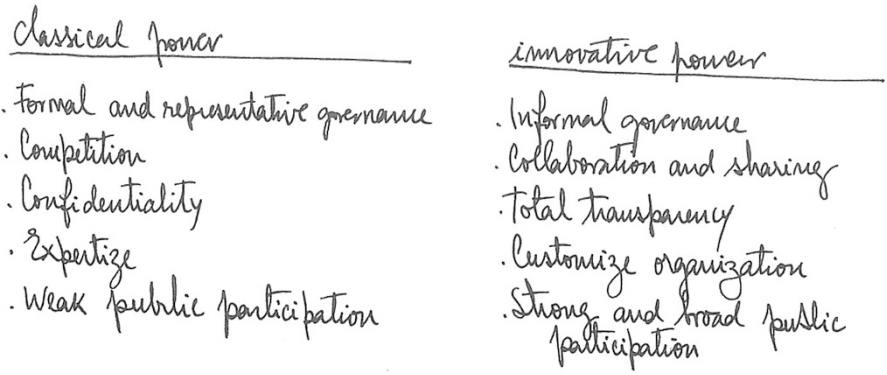

Fig. 1 Transformations in the power value system

systems of the economic and social system (Raco 2009). The widespread adoption of these principles fostered the idea of a minimalist state that favored public-private partnerships, active citizenship, and the gradually increased use of digital governance channels (Raco 2009). While representative democracy ceased to explore the universe of possibilities for democratic intervention, new and innovative forms of participatory democracy were proposed and tested.

However, these changes, while celebrated by many, are criticized by others. Advocates present these reforms as a vehicle for empowering communities and individuals. The classic hierarchies are being dismantled, and a virtuous circle emerges through active citizenship oriented toward participation and aimed at achieving autonomy from the state. Heimans and Timms (2018) propose a comparative framework that helps to understand what changes in the redistribution of the value system have started to affect power (Fig. 1). These new forms of exercising power are seen as confirming the emergence of participatory democracy, creating new space for the formal mechanisms of representative democracy (Ferrão 2013).

Critics, however, note that in this process of migration of values, while seemingly seductive, the emphasis on active citizenship has succeeded in transferring a share of the responsibility for solving economic and, sometimes, even social and urban problems to new interest groups but has failed to attenuate social inequalities and has even perhaps further distanced those who are almost always disenfranchised in terms of their ability to influence political agendas and challenge existing inequality relations. There may be a sense of false "greater representation," but it is one that is mostly accessible to those who are the most socially mobile or connected (politically and socially). The sometimes-false perceptions of greater "democracy" or overarching inclusiveness can paradoxically render the excluded even more invisible and powerless. Those that cannot or do not wish to adopt new participation platforms, which are often controlled by private parties, can be prevented from taking an active role in collective decision-making and action. Swyngedouw (2005) has stated that in this unfulfilled promise of inclusion, he sees the double face of Janus.

At its best, though, this transformation of traditional power relationships through participation can have very positive results. Heimans and Timms (2018) use the interesting metaphor "The classic value of Power works like a currency. It is held by a few. Once acquired, it is jealously guarded, and the powerful have a substantial reserve to spend. It is closed, inaccessible, and oriented towards the leader" (Heimans and Timms 2018:6). The New Power "works differently, like a chain. It is done by many. It is open, participatory, and oriented by peers. Like water or electricity, it is more energetic when it goes up. The objective in managing this new energy is not to accumulate it, but to channel it" (idem, ibidem). This is the context that one considers to be the most appropriate for framing the most recent actions of opening up to models of urban governance, seeing them as a legitimate tool for encouraging competitiveness and active citizenship and for correcting inequalities and making better use of public resources. The best way seems to be to call on a civil society to collaborate with the state in this task. For this to work though, the risk of certain interest groups being able to hijack the decision-making process and, with it, the collective interest is something that has to be considered with great care and addressed.

1.2 The Production of Urban Green Spaces: A Barometer of Governance Quality

Urban public spaces have long been explored not only as a means to understanding the functioning and transformation of cities but above all to the functioning and dynamics of the communities living there. For this reason, authors such as Brandão (2002); Brandão and Brandão (2017), Madanipour (1999, 2003), Gonçalves (2006), and Gonçalves et al. (2015), among others, have explored and broadened the field of knowledge concerning urban public spaces with interesting viewpoints for urban reflection. Brandão and Brandão recall that

> In both normative and prevailing practices, the needs covered by the space and the services it provides are not highlighted, and its evaluation is centered on the scope of "quality", an attribute it must possess if it is to be successful. However, although the attention given to public space has positive effects, the predominant notions narrow the representation of the values in question, leading to an idea of public space focused on the primacy of its exceptionality and less on the perception of the factors relating to its production, use or meaning—(Brandão and Brandão 2017:9).

Indeed, concerns about public space have had more to do with the transformations that the city itself was undergoing and with the urban population itself. Madanipour (1999) warned two decades ago that a number of serious threats were endangering the notion of public space and seemed to indicate that it could be key to social integration:

> Cities are threatened by social polarization and segregation, which are expressed in suburbanization and inner-city decay. As the state's sphere of control has contracted over the past three decades, as part of a general trend of societal change, the balance of control and

> production of urban space has favored private interests. Combined effects of privatization of space and the threat of social fragmentation pose a serious threat for the future of the city. The contribution of urban design to this problem has been the promotion of urban public space as nodes for social integration (p. 890).

Throughout history, urban public space has always played a central role in the social life of cities (Gonçalves 2006). But the advent of new urban models has also meant a weakening of their meaning, and they are no longer the main nodes of all social networks. Technological innovations and the hyper-specialization of uses and activities have led to a fragmentation of functions and an "un-spatialization" of the public sphere (Madanipour 1999).

The view of urban space as a commodity and the stratification of society have gradually led to socio-spatial segregation and the privatization of space. Treating urban design as a tool for an aesthetic experience and attracting more investments and tourists is in line with the recent marketing of cities. Nevertheless, public space can once again play an active role in urban life. Urban planners promote new spaces that accommodate a mix of people and activities. The creation of these inclusive territories can be a positive step toward reducing potential conflicts arising from different interpretations and expectations of urban space and promoting an urbanism of tolerance and social cohesion (Madanipour 1999).

It is, however, a challenging process. As Brandão and Brandão (2017) put it:

> There is now a degree of some consensus in theory possible on the issues and problems that are important to discuss: What are the current motivations and models in the production of public space? What approaches and interactions can the public purpose of space reflect? How can the variability of contexts, the subjectivity of values and the multiplicity of actors and their interests be addressed? (p. 9).

1.3 Values of Power and Public Space

One is thus experiencing times of change in various dimensions, including that of the exercise of power and that related to the way urban public spaces are viewed. But, as with all paradigm shifts (Kuhn 2020), these are times of transition rather than times of disruption. And in the case of urban governance, the situation is no different, as change is pressured by the demand for greater protagonism on the part of those who are traditionally neither seen nor heard. Such demands are made only when there are elections at the end of each political cycle.

This society, which is mobilized around concrete projects, has devoted ample attention to its daily spaces and, in particular, to public spaces. In Portugal, this valuation has not always been present (Gonçalves 2006), but it should be recognized that the provision of public spaces has now become an important battlefield onto which social movements have now moved, arguing for the use of funding from participatory budgets or through other programs to speed up citizenship (such as the BIP/ZIP program in Lisbon).

It is precisely where these two dynamics meet that this text positions itself and reveal the deep connections between the two, so as to contribute to the formation and even strengthening of the fourth sector.

2 The Increase of the Fourth Sector

2.1 Factors Encouraging Active Citizenship

The concept of citizenship in modern societies has its origins in the understanding that individuals are members of a community, enjoying the legal and practical ability in a democracy to participate in the exercise of political power through electoral processes.

Dahrendorf (1994) considers that citizenship rights should not be seen so much in evolutionary terms as a pattern of concentric circles in which new rights come to the fore over a certain core of already established fundamental rights. On the inside, one has the civil rights, political rights, and social rights; on the outside, one has the emerging rights, the new rights that have been granted to citizens since the 1970s.

One can define these new rights as a set of measures on which public administration reforms and the modernization of services have been based; they can be grouped into four main aspects:

- Administrative simplification, which aims at optimizing the relations between the public administration and the citizens.
- Improving the qualification and motivation of the agents involved in the whole process.
- Changes in the structure of power and its organization, e.g., through decentralization and delegation of powers.
- The creation of mechanisms for citizen participation in public administration, providing greater proximity and an appropriate administrative response to certain problems. The individual thus acquires the ability to influence the diagnosis, the decision-making, and the way in which administrative measures are implemented (Mozzicafreddo 1997).

These changes can be seen as an extension of citizens' rights in a modern democracy. One is dealing with a more active citizen, with a more diverse range of participation rights, which could translate into the achievement of new citizenship rights (Dreyfus 1999).

This whole debate focuses on the idea of a fairer city which, beyond matters of living and other inert matters that serve as resources for urban development, requires governance that actively promotes citizens in the act of achieving their destinies. The aim is to reach a level where policies must promote social sustainability and respond to the inclusion challenges that are common to most cities, with successful communities even being expected to reinvent local citizenship (Ferreira 2015).

Araújo (2003) is of the opinion that the traditional conception of bureaucratic organization and hierarchical coordination is defined by the characterization of areas of action, relationships of the superior-subordinate type, and control and centralization of processes. Included in this model is the idea of power and authority, the amplitude of which varies and is distributed along the hierarchical chain. This set of ideas, common in modern societies, is called into question by the difficulties it presents:

- The reduced flexibility in the decision-making process
- The absence of incentives to control costs
- The lack of transparency
- The virtual absence of accountability and innovation associated with the development of a culture more concerned with procedures than with performance

Recent developments in public administration organization show, however, concern with adopting alternative models of organization of activities and provision of public services.

There are three reasons for this change:

- Firstly, the strong influence of neoliberalism and economic currents that privilege market solutions, seeking to promote the efficiency and effectiveness of the economy, of which the multiple forms of outsourcing of services such as privatization are examples;
- Secondly, the increasing involvement of the individual citizen or organized citizen in the activity of public organizations. Citizens' access to culture and information has influenced their attitude to problems, with them seeking to participate in decisions, especially those that have the greatest influence on their daily lives;
- And finally, problems that are increasingly diverse, requiring more resources, new skills, new knowledge, and the pooling of efforts (Ferreira 2015).

But what has public participation got to offer in the current situation in which one finds oneself? Nunes da Silva et al. (2009) offer a means of integrating citizens' values, interests, perspectives, aspirations, and needs into decision processes that affect them; this helps to understand more comprehensively both the problems and the opportunities or possible options/alternatives in the urban space and improves the decision-making process—sustainable decisions require consensus and integration of the different facets of a problem—as it is not enough that the solution is technically feasible, but it must also be feasible from an environmental, economic, and social point of view. Public participation in its various modalities (Fig. 2) creates the conditions for a shared understanding of urban sustainability issues, as well as revealing the development alternatives that can be adopted.

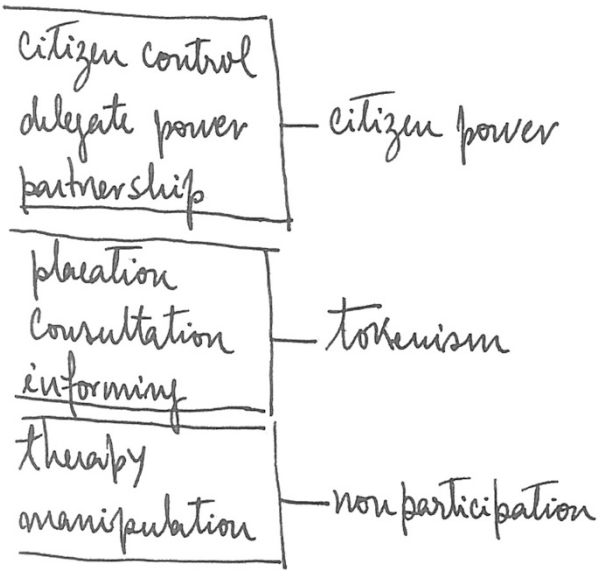

Fig. 2 The different levels of public participation

2.2 Dynamics and Collaborative Processes

Today, it is impossible to avoid the trend toward having a greater number of actors present in decision-making processes related to urban space and, in particular, to public space, as a result of its growing importance among citizens. Of course, there is a huge gap between the acceptance of such changes and their realization, as it is still very difficult to surmount today. It is clear that this great difficulty still has to do with the inability of legitimately constituted formal powers to deal with the voices that want to be heard (Fung 2006). Fung (2006) also highlights the issue that, in the midst of the interests that want to be expressed, risks of manipulation of the collective interest arise if the state steps back from its role of arbitrator and democratic guarantor.

The need to involve citizens and to put the concept of governance and active citizenship into practice has been pointed out in several landmark documents and guidelines in recent years, at both national and international levels (OECD, UN, World Bank, and others).

This is why the need is felt for a change toward more stimulating governance, which takes advantage of the transformative potential of active citizenship. In the specific case of public spaces and more precisely green spaces, their physical diversity, the cultural diversity of citizens, their way of using and valuing these spaces, and the diversity of how they organize themselves are not compatible with generic policies of the "one-size-fits-all" type (Koontz and Johnson 2004).

In this construction of the new reality, the fourth sector—that of the active involvement of actors linked to the civic movements—there are contributions coming both from the side of the formally elected political power (Thomas 1995),

which seeks to systematize the various types of participation and public involvement, and from the side of active citizenship in the form of pressure.

Thus, collaborative processes manifest themselves in two different ways:

– The first is in the relationship that is established between citizens and their existing or trained organizations in order to address a specific topic. This plane could be called horizontal, as no hierarchical relations between its elements can be identified. Indeed, this seems to be the major asset for the success of such movements.
– The second is in the relationship between formal (elected, democratic, and also bureaucratic) power and the citizens and their representative movements. This can perhaps be referred to as the vertical plane, as the status of power of one of the parties almost always manifests itself (even if only through the ability to impose and finance). However, as will be shown below, this relationship may be more tenuous through processes of delegation of power from one party to another while maintaining supervisory responsibility.

2.3 The Place of Urban Green Spaces in Urban Governance Processes

This whole environment of change that is felt not only in politics but also in society, the environment, and even the economy has had implications for the way territories are organized and managed, which of course includes urban green spaces. Daniel Innerarity (2016:2) puts forward two reasons why there is a crisis in politics:

– The first is that the policy is not playing its role well. At the most elementary level of unease, we are referring to a shortcoming, which can be corrected, and which does not question our vital orientations. Here are the reforms that improve existing policy and make it more effective;
– More complex are the problems resulting from a lack of suitability for the presence of new formats, unprecedented problems, common assets for which the public administration does not have an adequate or legitimate level of institutional decision-making.

And it is from here that, again according to Innerarity, the derivation of government (as a traditional way of dealing with problems, very hierarchical, very closed, etc.) to governance is born, the concept of which serves to "refer to the new ways of governing within and outside the state" (2016:6).

That is why one agrees with and adheres to the idea of Innerarity (2012) when he argues that

> A reticular world demands relational governance. Networks require more complex instruments, involving trust, reputation, and reciprocity. These new constellations require institutional innovation in governance processes and go beyond classic administrative routines. The new governance aims for a form of coordination between political and social actors characterized by regulation, cooperation, and horizontality. In complex societies, the models and procedures for governing cannot claim a form of unity that annuls diversity; governing is managing heterogeneity (pp. 10–11).

Green spaces should be directly included in this discussion because, for various reasons, they have been the focus of many of the controversies in the urban context and have given rise to many of the initiatives and actions originating from civil society, either for social reasons (green spaces as places of leisure, conviviality, etc.), or for environmental reasons (green spaces as a strategic place for combatting the effects of the climate and its changes, an especially serious issue in an urban environment), or for financial reasons (since such spaces are almost always associated with an improvement in the urban image and the business of real estate development).

These aspects have led to the formation of several civic movements documented by the media and social networks that have gradually given visibility to these new dynamics. The creation of a number of gardens, the regeneration of others, the proposal of innovative green spaces, and the networking of these spaces, among other justifications, have so far had an important influence on this changing environment, materialized in what Heimans and Timms (2018) refer to as the transition from "old power values" to "new power values."

This change, which is by no means easy, as manifested by the tension and polemics between those who wish to be heard and those who have the power to decide, is being intensified in many cases by the demands that the population is making for new public green spaces.

The transformation of an old power (authoritarian and closed) into one that recognizes people's right not only to vote but also to participate in the decisions that affect them in their daily lives is slowly beginning to emerge. In other words, governance and green spaces have been a central tool for these achievements, which now involve new actors that previously were hardly to be seen. Molin (2014) illustrates well in Fig. 3 the complexity that can be seen today in dealing with urban public green spaces.

However, as Molin also points out, the inclusion of new actors in urban space matters cannot only mean demands for more and better; however, their accountability must also be integrated into the decision-making process, the solution found, and even in the eventual maintenance and management. This is what can truly be called a collaborative process, based on co-responsibility and co-decision, which are central aspects to the discussion of the role of the fourth sector.

3 Caracol da Penha Garden: An Exemplary Case of Contribution to the Fourth Sector

3.1 Justification

The Caracol da Penha, or rather the Caracol da Penha Garden (Penha de França civil parish council, Lisbon), is a perfect example of the subject matters that have been discussed in the previous sections (participatory citizenship and governance of public green spaces, among other aspects). It is also a very recent case and not yet

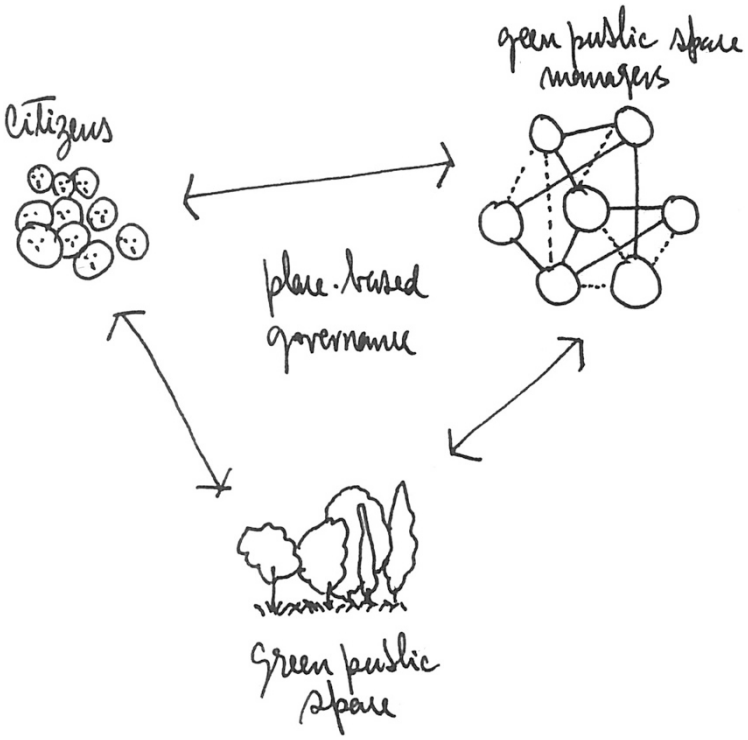

Fig. 3 The growing complexity in the governance of green spaces

completely closed, so there are some restrictions in terms of the description of the story behind the case; it can really only be told more impartially and with assuredness when there is greater historical distance.

Figure 4 shows the peaks of interest that the subject matter has triggered online since June 2016, when the EMEL parking dispute was first reported.

The popular mobilization, the reversal of the decision by the Lisbon City Council and Lisbon's Municipal Mobility and Parking Company (EMEL), the use of participatory budget mechanisms, and the capacity to generate news and to organize information and how to communicate it, among many other aspects, make this case emblematic and an example for many others. It would also seem to form a learning curve for all the actors involved.

3.2 The Location

The plot of land where it all took place is located in Lisbon, near Avenida Almirante Reis, one of the city's structural thoroughfares that leads directly to the city center—

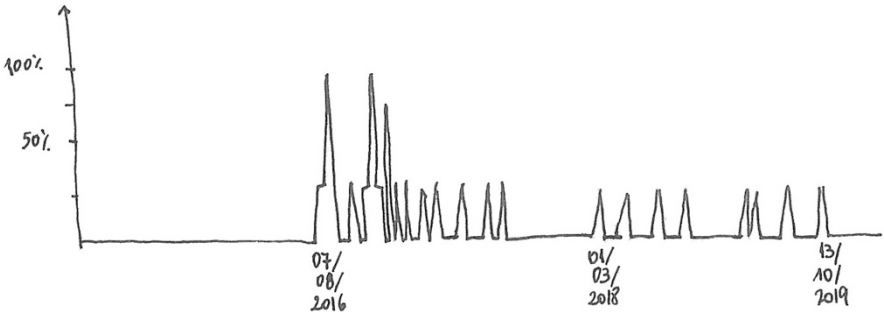

Fig. 4 Web searches for the term "Caracol da Penha" since June 2016

Martim Moniz and Praça da Figueira—where there used to be an important market. By the way, this avenue served as an entrance channel for produce coming from the rural periphery to the market at Praça da Figueira and has therefore had, until this day, a more popular profile than the other structural route in and out of the city center, which is Avenida da Liberdade.

Avenida Almirante Reis can be divided into three different parts: from Largo do Intendente to Praça do Chile; from Praça do Chile to Alameda D. Afonso Henriques; and between Alameda D. Afonso Henriques and Praça do Areeiro.

The plot of land that generated the discussion is located near the first section of Avenida Almirante Reis, which was laid out in 1892:

> It is the oldest part of the avenue, arising in an area that was a stream valley, tight and already full of pre-existences that conditioned the subdivision of the land into individual plots, which gave rise plots of irregular and differing geometry. The avenue was designed to replace an old access road into Lisbon. Thus, unlike the other avenues that today constitute the main thoroughfare in the center of the capital, Avenida Almirante Reis was designed with an essentially functional and practical objective in mind—(Appleton 2018:92).

The plot is owned by the Lisbon City Council and is located within a block. In terms of size, it is roughly 10,000 sq., m large; it is accessed, with difficulty, from Marques da Silva Street (Fig. 5).

3.3 Beginning of the Process

Using Google Earth's "Chronology" tool, it was possible to reconstitute the history of Caracol da Penha from the year 2001 until the last day of 2019; there were no major changes over these two decades. The only exceptions were the demolition of a number of precarious structures located on the plot between 2007 and 2014 and some buildings that appeared to be more solid in structure, with the image of the site from 2016 giving the idea that its "clearing" was carried out very recently.

This minor change in 2016 was a sign that things were about to change for this historically neglected piece of land. The news on parking in Lisbon helps to explain

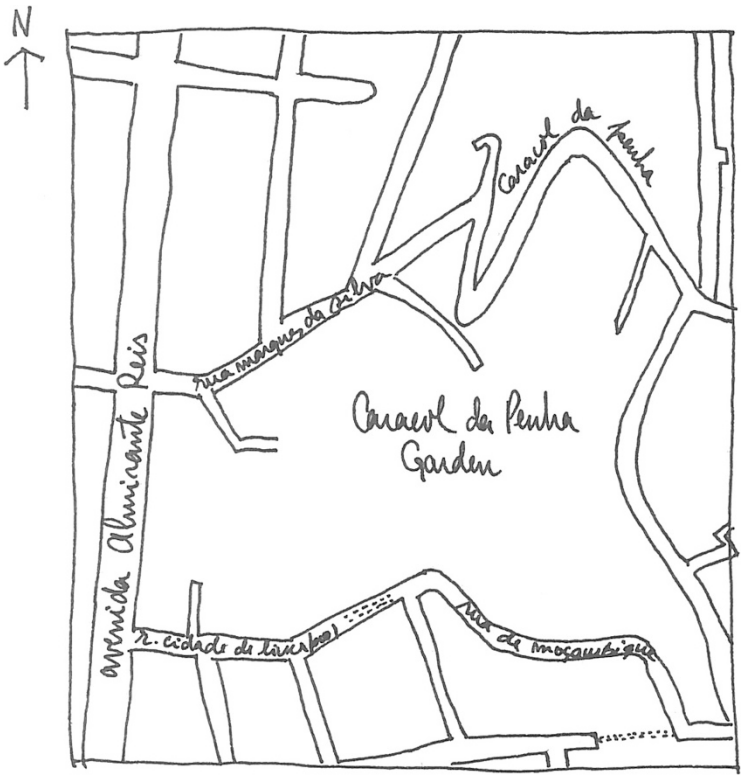

Fig. 5 Avenida Almirante Reis and the Caracol da Penha garden plot

the changes on the lot: "In 2017 the Lisbon City Council (CML) wants 30,000 more paid parking spaces on the public highway than there were at the end of last year" (EMEL).

There are two separate but complementary documents. The first provides for the number of parking spaces in the city of Lisbon increasing from 51,986 to 81,986 from the end of 2015 to the end of 2017. The second document implements the amendment, which had already been in public consultation, of the general regulation on parking and roadside assistance, making it possible to delimit paid parking areas anywhere in the capital, by means of public consultation, the opinion of the parish council in question, and Lisbon City Council's (LCC) acceptance. According Diário de Notícias (DN) newspaper (April 13, 2016), any of them clarify in which areas this was to take place, but in January, when the amendment to the regulation for the area was submitted to public debate, Alvalade, Arroios, and Penha de França were some of the districts indicated by both Manuel Salgado, alderman for Urbanism and the designer of the project, and EMEL.

In April 2016, the parish of Penha de França was already referred to as a prime area where EMEL would extend its activity at the request of the residents. This

justification for the profound change in the parking management policy was also described in the news*:* "EMEL and LCC have had frequent requests from the resident population and parish councils to intervene in areas that are not covered by the current regulation," explained the municipal company, pointing out that "the residents are the ones who suffer the most from the parking disorganization in areas that are not included in EMEL's concession" (DN, 13 April 2016).

The clearing of the land (which was visible on June 19, 2016, in the satellite images) can now be better understood in the light of this news; the idea was to increase the number of regulated and priced parking spaces in some parishes, particularly in Penha de França. Once again, one can turn to the DN newspaper to better understand what contribution to the volume of regulated and paid parking in Lisbon Caracol da Penha would make:

> The project in progress—which is the responsibility of the City Council, but will be implemented by the Lisbon Municipal Mobility and Parking Company—foresees the existence of three 'levels' on the street incline, where the slope is rather steep. The highest level one will be home to a crèche, a children's playground, a kiosk, and a belvedere with café terrace. The lower two will be occupied by a car park, which will have a total of 86 places (initially 99 were planned). Also, according to EMEL, the new parking spaces should be available by the end of the summer 2016— (DN, 27 June 2016).

Albeit with some minor differences (e.g., the nursery school has disappeared), that is exactly the features in the report on October 21, 2016, drawn up by the Lisbon City Council that defended the project in response to the residents' petition 14/2016 entitled "A garden is what we need."

At this time, the project was still not contested by the two parish councils affected – Penha de França and Arroios. The DN noted that "on the part of the two parish councils covered by this project, there were no amendments to be made. The chairman of Penha de França parish council argues that the intervention rehabilitates an area that was 'totally abandoned, and completely no longer in public use.'" And if there were residents who contested the project, the mayor argued that "there are also many who prefer more parking." This is a "compromise solution" for a space "that currently cannot be used by anyone."

The president of the neighboring parish of Arroios also looked favorably on the changes to be introduced, which were to transform a "quiet zone, a land that was kind of being used as a garbage dump," into a leisure space for the residents of both neighborhoods. "I was in favor of the project," he told the DN, adding that he only asked the council for the space to be "closed at night" to avoid vandalism (DN, June 27, 2016).

Thus, based on what was said in the news, there was already a complaint from some residents. Nevertheless, the parish councils preferred to see value in what they said were the interests of the residents who demanded more parking spaces. However, no data was presented to support the importance of either.

For its part, the Lisbon Municipal Assembly, while recognizing the healthy exercise of active citizenship, recommended in its report on October 21, 2016, the rapid commencement of the building works in order to "satisfy the need for parking for residents and visitors."

The strategy followed by LCC and EMEL and announced at the beginning of 2016 was the backdrop to the urban intervention carried out that June with a view to creating, with the support of the parish councils involved (and subsequently, as has been shown, Lisbon Municipal Assembly), 86 more parking spaces on an abandoned plot of land in Penha de França, which ended up triggering a local protest and the whole residents' movement for the Caracol da Penha Garden.

The lack of discussion of this project results in the inclusion of this beginning of the process within the scope of what one has designated above as "old power values." There were limited information available, an absence of discussion, and no consideration for the demands of the residents (as was clear in the report of the Municipal Assembly). It was the typical top-down imposition, where only government and no governance is observed. This situation thus triggered the Caracol da Penha movement and definitely made one more solid contribution to the implementation of the fourth sector.

3.4 The Dispute

An action is often opposed to by a reaction. On the movement's website, the group justifies its existence as follows:

> The Movement for the Caracol da Penha Garden arose from the desire of the residents of the parishes of Arroios and Penha de França to see the birth of a real public garden in a green space that they already knew well, looking out through their windows (...). The Movement, as soon as it was born, grew. And it continues to grow! It brings together neighbors and friends, friends of neighbors and neighbors of friends! Now, people who didn't know each other, but walked the streets daily, are coming together to achieve a common goal for the community: they want a real public garden in an existing green space! They want the regeneration of this space and its opening to the public, for collective enjoyment.
>
> The Movement for the Caracol da Penha Garden reflects the sum of people of all ages, from all levels of education, all professions and all walks of life. We are men, we are women, we are people of all genders, we are children, youths and old people; we reflect diversity as a whole.

The fact that less than one-fifth of the whole project area was dedicated to people, who lacked open spaces in a heavily densified and consolidated area, was enough to give rise to the challenge described on the Caracol da Penha movement webpage: "The LCC/EMEL project's mistake: only 17.81% of the existing space is reserved for people's enjoyment!" In a parish like Penha de França, where there is only 0.8 sq. m of space per inhabitant and Arroios where the ratio is 1.2 sq. m per inhabitant (they are two of the worst-off parishes in Lisbon in this respect), such a mistake could be fatal.

The following description details this "mistake" which would lead to the triggering of the whole process:

> The sloping area at the top (...) has a very steep inclination (66%), which qualifies it as an ecological reserve; it indeed features retaining walls in the LCC/EMEL project (and is inaccessible to people). The upper level (A2), the narrowest part, is the space for people's

> enjoyment: the design provides for a kiosk (Q) and a playground. For the garden area, on the top right, a kindergarten was planned. The intermediate level (A3) is, in the LCC/EMEL project, reserved for parking. The sloping strip between the parking levels (A4) is quite steep and the green area also features retaining walls in the LCC/EMEL project (and is inaccessible to people). The lower level (A5) is, in the LCC/EMEL project, reserved for parking. In a 2nd phase of the project, a small plot in the lower part of the land (A6) could eventually also be for use by the people—(in Caracol da Penha movement webpage) (Fig. 6).

While the fundamental reason for challenging the project was the creation of 86 parking spaces, the arguments advanced by the planners using the guidelines imposed by the Municipal Master Plan (PDM) in force in Lisbon for this land were quite different:

> With the growth of the city there is an increase in the surface area that is impermeable to water, which in turn leads to an increase in the run-off of surface water and, subsequently, the overflow of the drainage system, causing rupture and increasing the risk of major floods. These waters, which are then carried to the Tagus River—the closest open-air water line—are wasted: they are neither reused nor filtered and carry with them all the pollutants produced by human activity (such as car use). Another risk of impermeability is soil erosion and compaction, as the groundwater tables are no longer recharged, leading to the rupture of the soil, opening holes in the streets and causing landslides. Land and vegetation are the optimal solution to naturally retain and delay waters and to stabilize slopes—(idem).

This analysis concludes that "the terrain of the LCC, with its steep inclines, is classified as having a 'moderate to high risk of mass movements'" (idem).

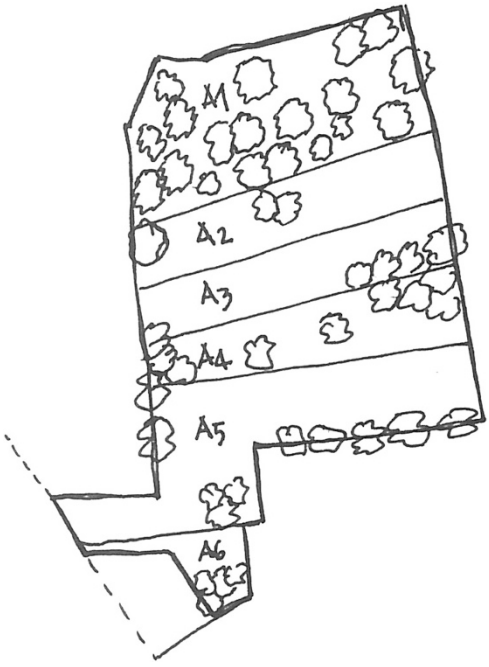

Fig. 6 Initial design for Caracol da Penha car park

Further to this issue of unstable slopes and soil sealing, the ecological structure was analyzed, as a natural way of combating these phenomena. Residents argued that

> In the current Lisbon Master Plan, besides registering areas of vulnerability to flooding and areas of susceptibility to mass movements on slopes, other areas are also identified that can help to manage these risks, with the aim of reducing the opportunity for these occurrences.
>
> This category includes the permeable green areas to be preserved and the green spaces (especially those that coincide with the areas of greater risk of mass movements on slopes, such as the green areas around the church and monastery of Penha de França, Monte Agudo, Nossa Senhora do Monte and the slope of the Monastery of Graça which, in an intelligent decision, was transformed into a new public garden for the city)—(idem).

Finally, a look at the PDM's Land Qualification Charter confirmed that the site was classified as a "Green Space for Recreation and Production." Indeed, as the residents argue,

> There are photographic records, from the early twentieth century, showing intensively and orderly cultivated land here. Today, one can see, in other ways, that it remains a space of produce: besides the various existing fruit trees (plum trees, vines, peach trees, lemon trees, avocado trees, olive trees, banana trees, among others), there are still some vegetable garden spaces maintained by residents of the surrounding neighborhoods. The future, thus inscribed in the PDM, should protect this abundance and enforce this plan: to maintain the land as a true "green space for recreation and production—(idem).

While these were tools for contesting the 86 parking spaces and the little attention given to the people, it was, however, never clear how the protest started, when and by whom. The protesters were certainly residents, not only supported by an excellent strategy for communication and dissemination of their initiatives, but also, as one has seen, supported by documents of good technical quality, which they used to present and defend their convictions.

3.5 The Reaction (Or How to Find Alternatives)

3.5.1 Proposal 180 of the 2016 Participatory Budget (PB)

Following the dispute, i.e., the announcement that the residents did not accept the project being imposed on them by LCC, EMEL, Penha de França, and Arroios civil parishes and even, later, by the Lisbon Municipal Assembly, an alternative proposal had to be arranged that would be viable and would serve as a basis for negotiation with LCC and not just as a means of continuing the dispute.

The petition "A garden is what we need" (14/2016) sent to the Lisbon Municipal Assembly on September 13, 2016, with more than 2600 signatures already contained not only a criticism of what the CML/EMEL intended to do on the site but also laid the foundations for the proposal of what the future of that space in the opinion of the residents should be. Basically, they wanted to replace a landscaped car park with a real garden. There were seven reasons for this:

(i) *Because the green space already exists*
It only needs to be regenerated and opened to the public.
(ii) *Because there is no real garden in this area anymore*
This is one of the most densely built areas of Lisbon and also one of the areas with the least green spaces, with no public garden that is set away from roads.
(iii) *Because it is the last chance*
There are no other large green spaces in this part of the city still free, and we do not want to miss this last opportunity to have a great public garden.
(iv) *Because the space already belongs to everyone*
The land in question belongs to the Lisbon City Council, so the process of creating a public garden is simplified and the costs are lower.
(v) *And nature is fundamental*
Contact with nature is fundamental to health and well-being. We want a space where children can run, play, and have fun in safety, youths can do sports in a relaxed atmosphere, and older people can spend some good free time and be close to home.
(vi) *Because imagination is the limit*
This part of the city has few public spaces that allow for outdoor living. This garden will enable residents—and not only residents—to think up new ideas and let their imagination run wild: community gardens, tai-chi exercises, sports competitions, swings, multipurpose spaces, terraces, picnics, trees, shade and birds, small concerts. . . .
(vii) *And a garden prevents flooding*
Flooding is a recurrent problem in Lisbon. A garden mitigates this (Petition 14/2016—"A garden is what we need").

In addition to the arguments for a garden instead of a car park, the residents also attached weight to the results of previous editions of the Participatory Budget, as one can read in Petition 14/2016 "A garden is what we need" to the Municipal Assembly:

These arguments already heralded the strategy of submitting the Caracol da Penha Garden proposal to the Participatory Budget for 2016.

The "Caracol da Penha Garden" proposal, as an alternative for the regeneration of an abandoned space, was also accompanied by an intense promotion campaign for the participation of the population in the voting process. One of the standout examples of this took place on October 27, 2016, when residents and artists gathered for a cultural tour of Caracol da Penha Garden—"To the Caracol! - Cultural Roadmap for a Garden," a program that included about 20 different performances during the afternoon and evening of that day. Street theater, yoga, music, and dance filled an afternoon, with programming for all ages.

As Público newspaper reported:

> Those who want to sit in a café and practice creative writing are now invited to do so, or even listen on the steps of Rua Cidade de Manchester to the stories of Pedro Giestas. There is a drawing, serigraphy, and painting workshop in the street, open workshops, and various other facilities (. . .).

> After the submission of a petition with 2600 signatures to Lisbon Municipal Assembly, the Caracol da Penha Garden project was included in the Lisbon Participatory Budget. Besides making the space known, the call to vote on project 180 is one of the objectives of this project—(Público, October 27, 2016).

And the positive result came with the additional fact that it was the most voted-on project ever in the Lisbon Participatory Budget (PB) scheme, totaling 9477 votes.

One of the most important aspects of the success story that is the movement for the Caracol da Penha Garden was its detachment from all political exploitation that political parties tried to make of it. The most obvious example was the reaction to the mural painted by the Bloco de Esquerda party at one of the entrances to the space; the party even sent its only LCC councilor at the time.

The collage was denounced on the Facebook page of the movement: "We feel that this action of the Bloco de Esquerda party constitutes an attempt to appropriate the movement in order to obtain greater media projection and electoral gains; this weakens us and therefore we repudiate it," the group of citizens said in a message. They also added: "We are involved in politics because we defend a vision for our neighborhood, but we are not guided by any party-political calendar. Render unto the social movements what is of the social movements. Render unto the political parties what is of the political parties."

The winning project for the Caracol da Penha Garden movement had raised 500,000 euros and was to stay in existence for at least months.

The next step was, of course, to define the landscape design that would meet the expectations of all those who voted and mobilized in favor of the garden. For this reason, the movement for the garden of the Caracol da Penha launched a participatory process to define the future space. They asked, "How do you imagine the garden of the Caracol da Penha?" and everyone could send in suggestions in images, documents, or links that would clarify what they wanted.

The idea was that after gathering these contributions through the Facebook page or in "suggestion boxes" which were spread throughout the shops and schools of the parishes of Arroios and Penha de França, the design team would propose an initial version of the garden, which was then to be discussed publicly (in https://www.caracoldapenha.info).

It is interesting to note that on March 3, 2017, just over 6 months after the petition was submitted to the Lisbon Municipal Assembly, it was still possible to see gatherings of both many of those who fought for the garden and many of those who resisted the idea of the garden and favored a gardened car park. The website of the Lisbon City Council reported:

> Caracol da Penha Garden—citizens called to decide. The process of popular participation to define what the future Caracol da Penha Garden will look like commenced in an initial session that took place on the site, on March 3rd, with the presence of the mayor, Fernando Medina, the Aldermen Duarte Cordeiro and Manuel Salgado, the chairpersons of the parish councils of Penha de França and Arroios, and the representatives of the citizens' movement that fought for the creation of the garden—(LCC, March 3, 2017).

The organization of the participatory process for the definition of the Caracol da Penha Garden project sought to:

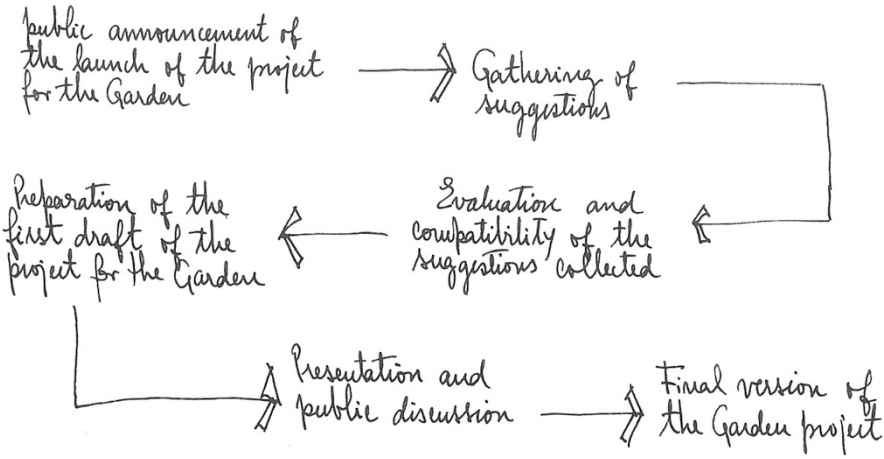

Fig. 7 Stages of the process of participation in the definition of the garden project

> Involve the population in the final definition of the garden project and listen to the community so that the public garden that is to be created can be a garden for all: inclusive and cheerful. Any person or organization can participate in this process, and all suggestions will be considered. The suggestions submitted may or may not be accepted, and if accepted, they may be adapted or integrated with others in order to build a coherent project. All suggestions submitted, as well as the documents attached to them, become the property of LCC. The movement for the Caracol da Penha Garden will act in this process as a mediator between the aspirations demonstrated by the population and the design team. The final decision on the project lies with LCC (Fig. 7).

The process of governance was thus crystallized by involving citizens in a participatory process, the movement bringing together and systematizing suggestions by promoting dialogue with the designers (another element of governance) of the garden. The Lisbon City Council was another relevant actor as it was not only to finance the design project and the works but also to validate the solution found within the framework of the collective and more global interests of the city of Lisbon.

4 Conclusion

This section is not intended to add much to the reflection made at the beginning and to the description of the emblematic case of the movement for the Caracol da Penha Garden. It is worthwhile, however, to underline the mechanisms by which the change of values in the exercise of power took place.

In this case, the decision to assign a certain use to a public lot was taken in a conventional way, i.e., top-down, arguing in such a way that it turned out not to be

completely serious, as it was never shown that it even arose out of requests from residents for more parking space (at least throughout the process, these never manifested themselves).

This classic form of decision-making was challenged by residents who questioned the use attributed to the space by suggesting another use. At first, the local administration rejected this suggestion, and an organized, creative, dynamic, and constructive civic movement was needed to reverse the initial decision.

What this chapter also intended to demonstrate is that the paradigm shift in the exercise of power identified by Heimans and Timms (2018) and discussed herein at the beginning, in the demonstration of importance given today to public spaces, and in the emergence of governance processes in land disputes, with greater protagonism for the classic formula of territorial governance, is already quite visible in the urban and metropolitan context in cases associated with public spaces or even associated with urban transformations derived from urban redevelopment and regeneration processes that still appear as disruptive to the dominant framework.

But this contribution also makes it clearer that there is a process underway toward a more collaborative and, at the same time, more accountable and involved society, as Heimans and Timms (2018) describe it.

The enormous energy needed to reverse a decision already taken, driven by a community-based domain normally excluded from decision-making processes, shows how much one is still at a stage where the classic system of power only accepts that it should revise its positions under great pressure. However, each time it does so, it brings us close to the citizen power rung on Arnstein's Ladder of Participation (1969).

Far from revealing the political crisis of which Innerarity (2016) speaks, these spontaneous, temporary, and focused movements could be key to tackling and fighting the negative externalities generated, in the form of abstention or populism. But while a catalyst for this movement has been technology—the use of digital platforms, social networks, etc.—it can also be used in a pernicious way, so it is important to continue to study how smart governance can be a fundamental process for the survival of collaborative democracy in the future.

In other words, what one must take away from this process is that the construction of the fourth sector does not follow a ballistic trajectory that is free of difficulties, and advances and setbacks, largely arising from the inertia that exists in formal political and administrative structures.

The final configuration of the fourth sector is still unknown, but it is with cases like the Caracol da Penha Garden that one can help it to achieve greater protagonism.

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