

Concepts On Strategies And Tactics In Social Practices And Urban Transformations In Oscar Freire Street, Sao Paulo, Brazil

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Abstract—This article evaluates the quality's standard of the Oscar Freire street public space located in São Paulo, Brazil. In 2006, the street has had the public space 5 blocks commercial predominance reconfigured through a public-private partnership. To analyze the quality of the public space of Oscar Freire Street are used twelve quality criteria proposed by Jan Gehl in his book "Cities for People" related to comfort, safety and pedestrian pleasure. The study shows that the street already served some urban quality criteria, even before the urban intervention and passed to fill other quality criteria, in addition to enhancing existing from the implementation of urban intervention. Finally, the conclusions are presented in tables, and text which shows significant improvement of urban performance, demonstrating the validity of the methodology employed.

Keywords—: *strategies and tactics; Michel de Certeau; public life; social practices; urban diversity; urban requalification*

I. INTRODUCTION

This article presents urban and social practices related to recent socio spatial transformations in Oscar Freire Street, Sao Paulo, Brazil, that occurred in the early twenty-first century. The aim is to identify, to paraphrase Michel de Certeau [1], the main actions in space "tactics and strategies" that emerged from the confrontation between the users of the city and its designers. A shopping street, historically focused on the AAA public and located in an elite high income neighborhood, began to show changes in public space from a significant substitution of targeted stores for high income by shops for more differentiated income classes, attracting a more diverse audience [2]. Ironically this change takes place only a few years after the street passed through an urban requalification of its open street spaces, which in the words of the president of the Association of Street Traders, Rosangela Lyra, aimed to consolidate its position for the elite i.e. the AAA classes. This article proposes to understand what factors led to this change using the concepts of Michel de Certeau explained in his book "The invention of daily

life: arts of doing." The article also provides criteria to assess whether this expansion of the diversity of trades and also frequenters income class. As a result, it is intended to verify whether there are sufficient elements, or not, to observe an improvement in the quality of public space, considering that several authors point out the diversity as a strengthening element of urban life street, such as, Jane Jacobs, in the 60's; Christopher Alexander, in the 70's; and Jean Gehl, in the 80's. The studies are prepared based on selected articles of the Estado de São Paulo newspaper, data on urban requalification, that took place in 2006, provided by the executing office of the redevelopment project, as well as on empirical observations of the street and its visitors and street vendors.

II. METHODOLOGY

The work is in the interpretation of a case study of Oscar Freire street. The analysis of the actions that took place in the street space, in the study period, are made from the perspective of the everyday practice of urban life, involving strategies and tactics, as proposed by Michel de Certeau. Thus, the development is, first, the presentation of Oscar Freire Street; the shopping streets requalification program of São Paulo city; the requalification project effectively deployed on the street, as well as some transformations that happened on the commercial dynamics. The information for the preparation of this part of the article is based on empirical observations and photographs of the street, newspaper articles, especially the State of Sao Paulo newspaper. Secondly, presents Michel de Certeau concepts on actions in public space, social practices, called by him "tactics" and "strategies" as well as some definitions of public life and urban diversity based mainly on Jean Gel, Jane Jacobs and Christopher Alexander ideas. The Michel de Certeau vision is used to understand the game action on the public space of the street and the results that occurred. The concepts of public life and urban diversity will be used as a way to analyze the quality of the resulting public space on the street.

III. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

A. The Oscar Freire Street

Oscar Freire Street is located southwest of the historical center of São Paulo city, in a high-and middle-income area. Since the late nineteenth century, with the advent of the railroad along the floodplain of the Tamanduateí River on the east part of the historical center, elite neighborhoods began to follow the opposite direction, i.e., the west sector. This choice was justified by the search for land with faster access to the center, as well as, the higher ground and therefore not subject to flooding.

The street was originally named Santo Antonio Street, with half a kilometer in length, starting at Doutor Arnaldo Avenue and ending at Rebouças Avenue. In the 1914 map (figure 1), Oscar Freire Street was significantly enlarged, extending to the proximity of Nove de Julho Avenue and measuring approximately three kilometers.



Figure 1: São Paulo city in 1914.
Source: Arquivo histórico da cidade de São Paulo

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Figure 2: Oscar Freire Street.
Source: Google, 2016

Oscar Freire Street is located in the Cerqueira César District, Jardins region, in the West Zone of São Paulo city (figure 2). As the Pinheiros Sub-prefecture Strategic Master Plan (Law No. 13,885, 2004) is fully inserted in the mixed zone of high density ZM3. The street is internationally known as a major shopping street sporting restaurants, hotels and 220 shops of the most important brands of Brazil and from the world. Even before undergoing the redevelopment process, it was considered one of the eighth most luxurious streets in the world.

News and articles on Oscar Freire street appear in the newspaper Archives of São Paulo from 1880. But it is only in the 1950s that the street begins to stand out as a meeting point for leisure and sophisticated trade in São Paulo showing the intense transformation that occurred in both day and night time use:

In 1959, even paved only with cobblestones, the street has seen crowded shops. In the early 70s the city government wanted the area to become strictly residential, but traders resisted. As a result, Oscar Freire ended up stealing the Glamour of Augusta Street. The nightclubs that lived their glory days in the Centre also migrated to Oscar Freire Street where now stays busy day and night. The old facades of the 50s gave way the windows of famous brands, transforming Oscar Freire Street in one of the fashion runways in the Jardins. At night the street is one of the busiest points of the region. [3]

In the 60's, there is the beginning of a change in the high fashion venue from Rio de Janeiro to Sao Paulo, caused by the creation of FENIT, a traditional textile trade show for industry professionals, as well as the Rhodia fashion shows. Alongside the opening of Iguatemi mall, in 1965, there is a new trend of the spreading of fine apparel trade in the São Paulo neighborhoods. Thus, in addition to the revitalization of the surrounding Oscar Freire Street, also occurs the dispersion of new malls in high and medium class neighborhoods in São Paulo [4].

In the 80s, the Oscar Freire Street affirms itself as the most upscale fashion shopping street of the city, consolidating an international relevance address of the economic and social elite:

With the opening scheduled for the end of the month, the boutiques Giorgio Armani and Hugo Boss promise to further refine a colorful street of the Jardins that already hosts the most elite consumption rate per square meter in the city: Oscar Freire Street. "It does not seem that there is a crisis in Brazil," says the architect José Antonio Henrique, responsible, alongside Wanderley Collange, for the project of the first Hugo Boss in São Paulo. [5]

In 2006, Oscar Freire Street underwent a rehabilitation of public physical space within the requalification program of commercial streets in São Paulo city, which will be seen in more detail in the next section. The intervention spanned over 5 blocks and changed, significantly, the street landscape.

B. Commercial Streets Rehabilitation Program in São Paulo city

In order to achieve the strengthening of the main commercial streets of São Paulo city, through urban interventions in partnership with the private power, the municipal government created the Rehabilitation Program Streets in the city of São Paulo. In 2002, the Decree-Law 42,228, during the government of Marta Suplicy, instituted the COMIRC - Implementation Committee of Assistance in Commercial Streets of São Paulo. The justification in the decree cited: the intense commercial activity in several locations of São Paulo city, especially tourism flow for shopping, of paramount economic importance to the municipality; the need to boost commercial centers in order to approximate the activities that generate work in residential areas, inclusive by establishing appropriate partnerships.

João Cachoeira Street, located in the Itaim Bibi District was the pioneer. In fact, the initiative came from the traders themselves established in the street who were facing an increasing competitiveness, especially from Shopping Centers. The decree was designed to operate a practical situation arising due to the initiative of the tenants of the João Cachoeira Street, led by its chairman Felipe Naufel, to carry out infrastructure works and improve the visual appearance of the street. It was created a technical committee, whose coordinator came to be later Felipe himself, by the invitation of the Municipal Government, which, motivated by the idea, believed that the same model could be extended to other commercial streets of the city [6].

According to Rodrigues [7], the justification of the municipal government understood that it was an objective action in order to enable the execution of infrastructure works, especially because they would be accomplished in partnership with tenants and other stakeholders, already organized, and involved public urban spaces.

The COMIRC was responsible for the development of the intervention plan in commercial streets of São Paulo city, establishing parameters and guidelines for

its implementation throughout the city; and also, technical analysis of specific projects for each commercial street, relating the requirements to be met in order to be approved, by the competence, by technical bodies of City hall (Article 1 / Decree 42,228 / 2002).

In 2003, the program was finally established by municipal ordinance 42,834/2003 subsequently replaced by Law 14,003/2005 and Decree 46,368/2005. As to the objectives, the streets Revitalization Program Commercial São Paulo is for the execution of works and services necessary for the rehabilitation and redevelopment of commercial streets, for which specific projects should be prepared for the following works and services (Article 4. Decree 46368/2005):

- I - streets and sidewalks configuration;
- II - rainwater drainage;
- III - works of overhead and underground infrastructure networks operated by dealers and licensees;
- IV - services of paving of the streets;
- V - urban furniture installation;
- VI - Installation of urban equipment;
- VII - public lighting;
- VIII - adequacy of street signs;
- IX - adequacy of transit and transport;
- X - landscaping;
- XI - development of public space;
- XII - infrastructure for shopping tourism;
- XIII - adequacy of marketing and commercial facades;
- XIV - recovery of historical heritage.

The results achieved under the Commercial Street Revitalization Program of São Paulo were variable, depending on the organization level of the trade association of each of the participating streets. From the 69 streets analyzed by COMIRC, just 7 had developed urban projects and underwent works for rehabilitation of urban public space, as follows: 1. João Cachoeira Street, 2. Av. Handava Street, 3. Oscar Freire Street, 4. Joaquim Nabuco Street, 5. 25 de Março Street, 6. Benedito Andrade Street, and 7. Mateo Bei Street.

C. Description of the Oscar Freire Street Project

Through an initiative of Oscar Freire Shopkeepers Association, in partnership with the Municipality of São Paulo, 13.000m² of public space has been revitalized, involving five blocks from Oscar Freire Street, increasing accessibility, burying the electrical wiring and equipping sidewalks with street furniture, lighting and appropriate landscaping.

The beginning of the process took place due to the bad state of the sidewalks of Oscar Freire Street, when a group of 20 retailers took an initiative: to enable the Association of Shopkeepers of Oscar Freire to hire an urban project, aimed at upgrading the street. The association conducted an internal bidding, choosing four architectural firms for the development of a preliminary proposal for the redevelopment of Oscar Freire Street. Among the analyzed projects, the architect's office Vigliecca Hector was the winner, being hired by the Association. The project was awarded by the magazine Architecture and Construction in 2008 in the category Urban Intervention.

The project started with the development of the study of the intervention area (figure 3), which guided the projective settings. Next, it is pointed out the steps of the studies of the intervention area, developed by the office, consisting of analysis of the situation, analysis of incident legislation, topography surveys, cadastral per lot and land use, and research of best practices references of redevelopment public spaces in Brazil and worldwide.

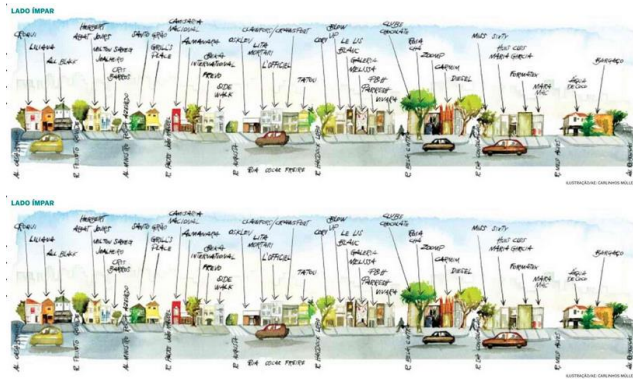


Figure 3. Illustration of the two sides of Oscar Freire Street.

Source: C.Muller. *Estado de São Paulo Jornal*.

D. The actions in the space according to Michel de Certeau

To what extent the territorial changes are the product of social actions? As territories change under the influence of social actors practices that act on this territory (the local level) or acting on it from outside (global)? These are some of the most important issues raised by Michel de Certeau.

According to Michel de Certeau social practices can't be controlled by the urban planning. Urban societies change socially and spatially, under the direct influence of the individual and the collective. The community practices cannot be planned by the government, and can often contradict their decisions and actions. Indeed, there is a gap between what is "decided" and what actually happens because society has the creative capacity. Through new social practices many social changes can occur, sometimes addressing the practices of those with power. Currently craftsmen, bike foods, truck foods, kiosks and even a shopping center consisting of mini-shops compete and transform the public space of Oscar Freire Street. Space, urban or not, is always a place of power; and is defined by natural resources, human or material it contains. Occupying a space is synonymous to make use of its resources. Social practice can be considered an act of territorial conquest. Even if it is a small action, and regardless of whether it is consciously shared or not by a whole organized group, the social practice has a such a strong significance that, today, it has already redefined the meaning of urban. If in "the twenty-first century appears the concept of the city, in the contemporary historical period we see the transformation of the urban concept in concept of urban practices." [8]

Urban planning and the power structure of which it depends are related to the ability to manipulate and control some perfectly identifiable ideal arrangements. However, as indicated by Certeau [9], urban phenomena are far from being predictable in their organization and their social organization and space has a random nature. To enhance the role of social practices, such as transformative practices of space, Certeau aligns the Henry Lefebvre's view, according to which the social production of the city, urban space is often the result of small invisible actions [10]. Social practices would thus be a way to free a person from the political domain?

From the confrontation between what Certeau calls the users of the city and its designers, come two actions in space, called strategies and tactics. Strategy would be:

A distinction between strategies and tactics appears to provide a more adequate initial schema. (...) I call a strategy the calculation (or manipulation) of power relationships that becomes possible as soon as a subject with will and power (a business, an army, a city, a scientific institution) can be isolated. It postulates a place that can be delimited as its own and serve as the base from which relations with an exteriority composed of targets or threats (customers or competitors, enemies, the country surrounding the city, objectives and objects of research, etc.) can be managed. As in management, every "strategic" rationalization seeks first of all to distinguish its "own" place, that is, the place of its own power and will, from an "environment." A Cartesian attitude, if you wish: it is an effort to delimit one's own place in a world bewitched by the invisible powers of the Other. It is also the typical attitude of modern science, politics, and military strategy. [11].

The tactics are developed movements that strike strategies and modify the space. While the strategies are organized from a power postulate, the tactics are the absence of power. The city is also made of a disorganized set of tactics, a plurality of actions, diluted in daily practices; in simple actions. The tactics make the city the place by excellence of diversity and often the improbable and inaccurate [12]

[...] a tactic is a calculated action determined by the absence of a proper locus. No delimitation of an exteriority, then, provides it with the condition necessary for autonomy. The space of a tactic is the space of the other. Thus it must play on and with a terrain imposed on it and organized by the law of a foreign power. It does not have the means to keep to itself, at a distance, in a position of withdrawal, foresight, and self-collection: it is a maneuver "within the enemy's field of vision," as von Billow put it, and within enemy territory. It does not, therefore, have the options of planning general strategy and viewing the adversary as a whole within a district, visible, and objectifiable space. It operates in isolated actions, blow by blow. It takes advantage of "opportunities" and depends on them, being without any base where it could stockpile its winnings, build up its own position, and plan raids. What it wins it cannot keep. This nowhere gives a tactic mobility, to be sure, but a mobility that must accept the chance offerings of the moment, and seize on the wing the possibilities that offer themselves at any given moment. It must vigilantly make use of the cracks that particular

conjunctions open in the surveillance of the proprietary powers. It poaches in them. It creates surprises in them. It can be where it is least expected. It is a guileful ruse. [13]

E. Public life and urban diversity

Public life is the result of urban vitality and can be understood as a rich social interaction. The word public is an adjective that comes from the Latin *publicus* and has several meanings that clearly demonstrate the relationship between the people and the state, as well as its opposition to the private:

1. Belonging or relating to a people or to the people.
2. What it is for everyone to use.
3. that all have the right to attend.
4. Common.
5. As far as the government-general of a country and its relations with all citizens.
6. What is being done in front of everyone.
7. What is known to all; notorious, vulgar.
8. Universally spread [14].

Jan Gehl describes the type of social practices that occur in free public spaces or "life between skyscrapers" and highlights its importance:

(...) Consists primarily in the low intensity contacts (...) may seem insignificant compared with other forms of contacts, but are valuable as independent forms of contact, as well as prerequisites for other, more complex interactions [15].

Social practices that take place in the public space are mostly predominantly of passive character, that is, the individual observes people, conversations, behaviors, windows, climate. However, as "(...) is present, participates in small measure, but definitely participate" (emphasis added). [16] This factor is a significant attraction for people in general, regardless of income, "(...) many rich or almost rich cities seem to enjoy life in the streets as much as anyone. They do everything to pay for fabulous rents, to move to places with lush and varied life "[17]. Michel de Certeau does not make a specific point on public life because his main objective is the day to day life of an individual, be it more public or more private, and follows a peculiar logic when analyzing the day to day action in aspects which he considers particularly conflicting:

I am not concerned directly here with the constitution of such a semiotics, but rather with suggesting some ways of thinking about everyday practices of consumers, supposing from the start that they are of a tactical nature. Dwelling, moving about, speaking, reading, shop-ping, and cooking are activities that seem to correspond to the characteristics of tactical ruses and surprises: clever tricks of the "weak" within the order established by the "strong," an art of putting one over on the adversary on his own turf, hunter's tricks, maneuverable, poly-morph mobilities, jubilant, poetic, and warlike discoveries. [18].

Certeau refers to social practices as common practices, ways of doing or even "art making", a focus that favors the understanding of the relationships between social practices and social space, and also raises the question of power. For Certeau [19], social practices are an effective way to escape the power and the dominant culture, namely: strengthening social practices can contribute to cultural diversity.



Figures 4, 5 and 6. A large diversity of regulars and them social practices in Oscar Freire Street.

Source: The author

Diversity is, in the social, cultural or commercial aspect, an important factor for the enrichment of public life. Jane Jacobs states that "commercial diversity is itself immensely important for cities both socially and economically" [20]. In this sense, the installation of shops oriented to a broader market, small kiosks and craft vendors, can promote the strengthening of the diversity of Oscar Freire Street. New regulars attracted by more affordable value purchases can provide, at first, greater social diversity, and in the future also higher cultural and population diversity, because in a district with an urban trade exuberantly varied and abundant, there will be many other types of diversity, such as varieties of cultural options, variety of landscapes and wide variety in the population and regulars. The same physical and economic conditions that generate a

diversified trade are closely related to the creation, or the presence of other types of urban variety [21].

According to Christopher Alexander, when the stores become too large or controlled by absentee owners, consequently become artificial, bland and abstract. The franchise would also be doubly harmful to offer even more services artificial, bland and abstract. As the administration is highly centralized; the personal spirit individually owned stores is totally destroyed. The spirit of the place can be redeemed as long as the place avoid the excess of the forms of franchise and chain stores, there are limits to the local shops and sizes, and is not allowed shops with absentee owners [22]. As seen Alexander's vision poses serious limits to the free development of economic activities. In his vision the city government should favor small shops, because the failure of a single enterprise can have catastrophic consequences for the individual and, in large part, is because he can't afford the rent. The existence of hundreds of tiny dimension shops reduces the maximum initial risk for a novice trader [23].

F. The strengthening of public life in Oscar Freire Street

The mix of social classes has been identified by several authors as meaningful for urban quality of public space (Jacobs, 2014; New Charter of Athens 2003; Charter of the New Urbanism, 1989) According to Rosangela Lyra, president of Timberline Lodge (Tenants Association of the Jardins), the commercial positioning of the region undergoes a makeover following a global trend. "We see this plurality with good eyes because it is a very organic behavioral change, for which the whole world is going through. The Jardins are becoming more democratic and uncomplicated" [24].

In general, commercial street users, with respect to the place of residence, can either be neighborhood residents, heading on foot, as people from other regions who access the neighborhood by various forms of transport: private motor vehicles, buses, subway and also bike. It can also be distinguished "strangers" users from "known" users. The latter, which at least in theory ought to know, are the neighborhood residents, as well as traders that can be configured as employees or entrepreneurs.

In the public space of the street they catch up with numerous contacts trivial and commonplace among its regulars (figure 4, 5 and 6). The sum of these contacts promotes a network of mutual respect and trust, essential for strengthening public life and citizenship. The sum of these casual public contacts at the local level results in the understanding of the public identity of people, a relationship of mutual trust and network and possible support in personal difficulty or neighborhood. The absence of such trust is a disaster for the street. Its cultivation can't be institutionalized. And above all, it does not imply personal commitment.



Figures 7 and 8: Craftsmans expose them arts in requalified stretches of Oscar Freire Street.

Source: The author

IV. RESULTS

Based on concepts introduced by Michel de Certeau, the requalification of Oscar Freire street can be understood a "strategy" of the government associated with the private power, in case, the Association of Shopkeepers of Oscar Freire Street, to improve the quality of public space and consequently intensify public life.

It is observed that both strategies, by the government or by the association of shopkeepers, have in common the intention of strengthening the central role. However, the government's strategy and the shopkeepers were not exactly the same

A. Strategies and tactics on Oscar Freire Street

For the government, the substantial focus was to achieve the strengthening of the main city streets and the identity of its neighborhoods. These intentions can be observed through the partial reading of the decree that created COMIRC, which has been discussed previously.

On the other hand, the main focus of the association of shopkeepers was to consolidate the region as consumer center for AAA class, making it more "nice to meet standards set by international agencies that assess the profile of the luxury shopping streets around the world "[26]. In 2009, research prepared by the Excellence Mystery Shopping International, on the ten most luxurious streets in the world, Oscar Freire Street occupied the ninth position.

The specialization of commercial centers is an observed trend as much in the history of São Paulo as several other urban centralities. Commercial centralities may specialize in serving specific market segments bands ranging from A to D, as well as by product type, as is the case of Teodoro Sampaio Street (furniture), Consolação Street (chandeliers), etc.

Some indicators show that this consolidation strategy as consumer center for AAA class failed to achieve success. This fact can be seen from the observation of the emergence of 'tactics' from many tenant owners' AAA shops, until then located at Oscar Freire street who have passed to transfer their stores to the space of Shopping Cidade Jardim since its creation in 2008. In fact, the new shopping advertisement that had the fundamental purpose to attract the AAA class began in March 2005, coinciding with the implementation of the requalification project of Oscar Freire Street. The promoter group, responsible for the "strategy" of implementation of a new commercial hub for AAA shopping center class at the time, promised to bring 10 new international brands to Brazil, and also promised to invite international brands stores that were not located in malls. The case of shops AAA located at Oscar Freire Street.

There is controversy about the real reasons that led to strong migration of stores such as Cartier, Tommy Hilfiger and Dryzun for example, to the space of Shopping Cidade Jardim. The news published in the media, seek to highlight the increase in the value of rent, because of urban renewal in which the street had passed:

Seven years after the requalification which gave Oscar Freire Street a Boulevard appearance, the prime stretch of the fashionable Oscar Freire Street suffers the consequences of a sudden real estate valorization: It has not been easy to find tenants willing to pay rents of up to R \$ 00 per square meter – not considering 'gloves' fees. Signs indicating will sell the commercial point "or" for rent ", amounts, according to the report, 7 properties over the last two weeks, considering only 5 blocks with underground wire and wider sidewalks, between Dr. Melo Alves and Minister Rocha Azevedo streets. In other words, any watchful observer walking on the starred Oscar Freire has noticed that, increasingly, real estate office signs coexist with the signs of expensive and exclusive designer shops that mark the space there. [27]

The advertisement campaign on the new shopping mall, fundamentally oriented to the AAA class, began in March 2005, coinciding with the implementation of the

rehabilitation project of Oscar Freire Street. The promoter group, responsible for the "strategy" of implementation of a new commercial hub for AAA shopping center class, at that time, promised to bring 10 new international brands to Brazil, and also invited international brands stores that were not located in malls.

Some reports of criminal activities on the street did not have a positive effect on the street's image either. An attack prepared by 10 armed robbers in residential Oscar Freire Street in 2010, only a few years after the occurrence of a heinous crime, also in a residential condominium, may have been the elements that favored the perception of the street as a public space without security.

Some traders and residents of the region point out the 'security' factor as very important. "International brands are already established, have value, and simply do not feel secure on the streets"[28]. The probability of being robbed is more certainty in stores located in the public space than confined to the private area of a shopping mall. The space of a shopping center, despite being open to public uses, is private, which gives it the right to lay down rules on who can or can't use the space. Unlike in the public space of the streets and squares of the city, everyone can circulate. Buskers, street people and beggars are part of everyday life of the city. The issue of security is inherent to the contact if we consider that it will always be more or less problematic, because the possibility of confrontation is there. "When we confront somebody, three, and only three things may happen. We either exchange something with him, or avoid having him/her as a partner in this operation, or engage into a conflict" [29].

Nevertheless, the government's strategy of the Municipality of São Paulo achieved significant success, as mentioned above, because the Oscar Freire street strengthened significantly its identity, starting to attract more visitors, including shop owners throughout Brazil, who made a point of knowing the street and the requalification it went through. It's Interesting to note that the Oscar Freire Street, despite being a public space for public use, has a very insignificant informal trade (see figures 7 and 8). The few street traders that can be observed along the sidewalks shows that, yes, there is a 'tactic' of appropriation of public space for trade, certainly quite timid when compared to other commercial streets of São Paulo, such as Teodoro Sampaio Street and Cardoso Almeida Street, for example. The only kind of street commerce allowed on

Oscar Freire Street is the craftwork.



Figure 9 - Chilli Beans façade on the Oscar Freire street.

Source: The author

It shows in the 'business' scale another 'strategy' by large national groups, such as Havaianas and Riachuelo. The idea to recycle its own image in the domestic market. These chain stores commonly seen as shops for C and B classes and even D, want to acquire the status of designer shops and to achieve this goal choose to establish themselves at Oscar Freire Street, which enjoys prestigious "chic" and refined commercial spaces. Stores like Natura, Melissa, Chilli Beans (figure 9), Riachuelo, Lupo, Arezzo, Havaianas, Luz da Lua, settled there in recent years.

It is of interest, in this case, to present both sides of the same reality. The evasion of large number of upscale stores towards the Cidade Jardim shopping mall, associated with the arrival of commerce stores traditionally more popular on Oscar Freire Street provided a greater variety of social classes of users.

It should be noted, however, that the new stores located on Oscar Freire Street, are not from individual owners, but from large national brands already established on the market, but seeking the title of national brands, that is, to reach the AAA classes. Christopher Alexander alerts, as already pointed out in the present paper, to the fact that chain stores do not contribute to the strengthening of the identity of the neighborhoods and that the government should have policies for individually owned stores favoritism. [30]

B. Strategies and tactics on Oscar Freire Street

The mix of main economic activities and residential units generates diversity of residents and diversity of users. "Integration implies that various activities and categories of people can work together, side by side"[31]. The integration of several activities and functions in public spaces allows people involved to act together which encourage and inspire each other. Moreover, the mixing of multiple functions and people makes possible to interpret how society is composed and how operates around us [32].

Gehl also highlights that "urban policy should evaluate, function by function, which social relations

and practical advantages they offer, in such way that separation of functions is only accepted when the drawbacks of the group clearly outweigh the advantages" [33]. In Oscar Freire Street, the expansion of social classes covered by the trade of the region can be considered a significant gain for citizenship and public life of São Paulo city as a whole.

Surely, the fact of merging various social classes will generate new conflicts - which is a normal feature of public space - such as recently occurred in April 2015. At the time, a saleswoman prejudicially expelled a black color boy walking with his family and had just bought an ice cream. Because she thought the boy was selling some sort of merchandise, the salesperson of the Animale store told the boy's father: "He cannot sell these things here" [34].

V. CONCLUSION

The use of Michel Certeau's concepts contributed significantly to explain the production of space on Oscar Freire Street in the early twenty-first century. The Oscar Freire street urban requalification was an "strategy" of the government associated with the private sector - the Association of Shopkeepers of Oscar Freire Street, to improve the quality of public space and consequently intensify public life.

However, there were also some different motivations between them. For the government, the focus was to achieve the strengthening of the commercial street and the identity of its neighborhood, as we already seen. On the other hand, the main objective of the association of shopkeepers was to consolidate the region as consumer center just for AAA class. This last intention failed to achieve success. Several AAA shops, until then located at Oscar Freire street, transferred their stores to the space of the new Cidade Jardim Shopping center, which had a concurrent strategy, i.e. to create a new strongest pole for the AAA class.

The migration of a representative number of stores to Shopping Cidade Jardim was a *tactic*. This group of traders cunningly used an arisen opportunity: the new shopping space in Shopping Cidade Jardim as a way to overcome the security problems that plagued Oscar Freire street, added, as we have already seen, to a large increase in rents generated by the requalification of that street.

At the same time, big national chain stores for C, B and even D classes, that wanted to recycle its own image in the domestic market, moved to Oscar Freire Street, which enjoys the prestigious "chic" and refined commercial spaces. Stores like Natura, Melissa, Chilli Beans, Riachuelo, Lupo, Arezzo, Havaianas, Luz da Lua, settled there in recent years.

It is of interest, in this case, to present both sides of the same reality. The evasion of large number of upscale stores towards the Cidade Jardim shopping mall, associated with the arrival of commerce stores traditionally more popular on Oscar Freire Street

provided a greater variety of social classes of users. Also the craft trade on street public space appeared as a tactic that directly contributed to strengthen cultural and commercial diversity in the street.

Urban societies change socially and spatially, under the direct influence of the individual and the collective. The community practices cannot be planned by the government, and can often contradict their decisions and actions. Indeed, there is a gap between what is "decided" and what actually happens because society has the creative capacity.

The study addressed a larger number of strategies over tactics, which to be studied need a stronger empirical approach of the street and its users and residents. In other words, this study allowed us to elucidate more clearly the strategies linked to economic activity in the street and not on the dynamics of the residents. This can be explained, because it is a commercial street, national centre for clothing trade in São Paulo city, where strategies have clearly showed a predominant character in the transformation of this space. However, the inclusion of the residents and street users universe will certainly contribute to the enrichment of this study.

One wonders whether the replacement of the group AAA class shopping by more popular characters would have actually been a positive aspect or not. Such replacement, on one hand, favors the economic diversity, but on the other hand, opens up the possibility of weakening the local identity of the street, since the substitution is given by large national chains stores. Despite the eventual loss of identity as a local community, it could be said it caused the strengthening of existing national identity, as garment trading hub.

Finally, the visions of Jan Gehl and Christopher Alexander contributed to consider the issue of microscale planning in a commercial street. The mix of residents of different income groups, age groups, as well as the mix of economic activities is essential for urban diversity. It can be measured by means of economic activities, as well as standard, size and age of the property. In this regard, it is noted that it was the larger size stores and brands that migrated to the mall and, in return, the emptied buildings received large national networks, seeking to incorporate the status of Oscar Freire street. Also, the socioeconomic changes of national character, favoring the middle and C classes, consequently expanding the domestic market, that led to the expansion of national networks and the adaptation of international ones. It is questionable to what extent the urban vitality may be less favored in the case of large stores and networks.

Additional studies can be made by aggregating data on the expansion of street accessibility in light of new subway stations, and cycling. In this case, although the main focus will be mobility, it will also contribute to explain the strengthening of diversity and public life.

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