Commons, cosmopolitics and aesthetics of sustainability

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Abstract
When Turkey and Brazil joined the cycle of global revolts in 2013, it brought about a social ecosystem of resistance based on the defence of the urban and natural commons, with green spaces as the main field of action. The Brazilian protests went from an initial demand to lower public transport fares, to a call for an expansion in the right to the city, denouncing the unsustainability of the main cities and the country's low quality of democracy. The occupations by the Movimento Parque Augusta in São Paulo, and the Aldeia Maracanã in Rio de Janeiro, among others, echoed the cosmopolitics that challenges narrow-minded thinking and seeks to reverse the division between culture, nature and politics. In both Brazil and Turkey, the aesthetics of a new eco-communitarian sustainability were developed, which simultaneously preserves social and environmental balance. The Brazilian struggles put forward a new approach to the commons, from indigenous cosmopolitical perspectives.

Keywords
commons; indigenous; cosmopolitics; park; sustainability; occupation; Turkey; Brazil.

1. Introduction

During the protests that demanded the conservation of the Gezi Park in Istanbul, a site under threat from the construction of a shopping centre, one of the images that went viral (Figure 1) contrasted two photographs. The first showed a clean Gezi park with neat rubbish bags; the second, all the trash left behind on Istanbul's Kazlicesme Square after a rally in support of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, the Prime Minister of Turkey. The act of cleaning the park was associated with the collective action of the occupiers,[1] whom Erdoğan had defined as çapulcu, i.e. "thieves" or "vandals". The ecosystem of the Turkish protests soon appropriated the term çapulcu and turned it into a positive identity marker.

Figure 1.

Framed as visual responses to the government's stigmatisation of them, the images of the "vandals" were acts of resistance, but above all they showed an alternative way of inhabiting the public space. *The Aesthethics of Protest*[2] project revealed that the images of the day-to-day life in the Gezi Park campsite were more significant than any of the iconographic elements.[3] While the media focused on police violence, many images taken by the occupiers themselves portrayed activities like eating, sleeping, cleaning, reading or gardening. The images that captured the non-action of the protest, those between-times and intervals, at the same time constructed the aesthetics of the sustainability of green space, and of the movement itself. Although images of the camp's day-to-day life had been recurrent in the movements in Egypt, Spain or the United States (Figures 2 and 3), the occupation of Gezi Park was inscribed somewhat differently, given that this was an environment that included biodiversity. Firstly, the Diren Gezi ("Resist Gezi") movement introduced the defence of "the commons" or "common goods"[4] into the cycle of global revolts. The occupied park was not a mere stage for the movement, but its main *raison d'être*. Diren Gezi triggered, all across Turkey, similar struggles in defence of the "urban commons" (Gidwani and Baviskar, 2010). Secondly, the visual output of the Diren Gezi movement was largely inspired by plant life, and it formed a peculiar hybridisation of human bodies and trees, suggesting an eco-communitarian kind of sustainability that went beyond the physical space they were defending. In Diren Gezi's visual universe, people do not occupy the world, but rather they inhabit it, weaving their own paths and bodies into a constantly evolving fabric of life.[5]

Figure 2. Cleaning in Tahrir Square in Cairo (02/24/11, Caravan), Madrid's Puerta del Sol (06/12/11, Juan Plaza) and Istanbul's Taksim Square (06/02/2013, Nar Photos).
Figure 3. Left: Recycling point at the campsite in Sol, Madrid. Photo: Virginia Dorta. Right: Allotment at the campsite in Sol. Photo: Santi Vaquero.

Brazil connected with the Turkish revolts like no other country. In June 2013, a few days before the protests by the Movimento Passe Livre (MPL) that called for the reduction of the urban transport rate, the Fica Ficus collective from Belo Horizonte held an online debate with the campers at Gezi park. From that point on, the Turkish-Brazilian relationship became increasingly close. The connection between the Movimento Parque Augusta de São Paulo and Diren Gezi was especially fruitful. The movements co-released the manifesto *Reclaiming Our Parks*,[6] and they promoted a global alliance in defence of the "urban commons" and the community management thereof.

The aesthetics and narratives in defence of the "urban commons" of Brazil's cities included worldviews of indigenous peoples. The Aldeia Maracanã in Rio de Janeiro, an indigenous occupation attached to the Maracanã football stadium, introduced indigenous peoples' ways of doing things into the cycle of protests. In turn, this facilitated an evolution in "cosmopolitics" (Stengers, 2007), understood as a politics in which the "cosmos" refers to the unknown, made up of multiple and divergent worlds. "Cosmopolitics", in Latin America, subsequently appeared as "cosmopolitical discourse" (Kopenawa and Albert, 2010; Sztutman, 2019), "indigenous cosmopolitics" (Schavelzon, 2013), "cosmopolitical communities" (De la Cadena, 2017), "cosmopolitical struggles" (Tible, 2010), "cosmopolitical performance" (Viveiros de Castro, 2015) and "cosmopolitical territory".

This article seeks to draw connections between the images and imaginaries that arose from the protests in Turkey and Brazil. On the one hand, we will analyse how the defence of "the commons" brought about an atmosphere for protest in Turkey, as well as the aesthetic and narrative complicity with the Brazilian movements. In the case of Brazil, we will see how the cosmopolitical universe facilitated articulations between global "populist citizenship" (Gerbaudo, 2017) and other worldviews. In both Brazil and Turkey, the emerging aesthetics of eco-community sustainability went beyond protecting the environment.

As a way of defining the collective subject of the occupations and social action of the 2011-15 protest cycle, I will borrow the concept "global crowd" from Susan Buck-Morss (2013). The "global crowd" does not place the crowd's focus (Negri & Hardt, 2004) upon the multiplicity of experiences and multicultural identities, but rather on a certain synchronicity of heterogeneous practices. The "global crowd" is associated with the concept of "translocal commons", which has to do with a local and global production of the commons.

2. Urban commons, natural commons

Figure 4. A still from the project *Mapping the Commons Istambul*, Pablo de Soto & Hackitectura, 2012.

Scene 1. A grey-haired woman speaks in a circle, in Gezi Park: "There is one condition for them to build a building: the park to be empty. So, friends, occupy it!", she concludes.

Scene 2. The trunk and branches of a tree in Gezi Park, covered by multi-coloured fabrics, resemble a person. Superimposed onto the audiovisual image of this tree is a phrase: *We have a common space at the heart of the city*.

These scenes are from the video *Taksim Square (Istanbul Commons)*,[7] one of the audiovisual pieces produced during the *Mapping the Commons* seminar, directed by the architect Pablo de Soto in late 2012. *Mapping the Commons*[8] uses the antagonistic conception of the "common" put forward

by the philosophers Antonio Negri and Michael Hardt (2009). For these authors, the "common" intertwines the material world (air, water, land, forests) with the social production necessary for human interaction. The "common" is everything that belongs to everyone and no-one at the same time, but it is also a successful strategy for building up a human collective's skills (Lafuente, 2007).

The theoretical hypothesis of *Mapping the Commons* is committed to enriching the field of the "urban commons", a field which is less prolific than that of "common goods". David Harvey (2012) considers that when people occupy squares, parks and streets to make political demands, public space becomes an "urban common good". Ana Méndez de Andes uses the term "urban commons" to refer to the emerging systems of organisation and management that combine "material and immaterial elements, which resemble traditional communities of production and care, as well as those communities dedicated to knowledge and socialisation, and which are situated halfway between autonomy and institutionalisation".[9] For their part, Vinay Gidwani and Amita Baviskar consider that the "urban commons" include:

> Air, parks and public spaces, public transport, public health systems, public schools, waterways. But also wetlands, bodies of water and river beds; streets where people work, live, love, dream and disagree; and bazaars.[10]

The Istanbul edition of *Mapping the Commons* took place just as the city was undergoing sweeping privatisations and gigantic construction works. The Turkish documentary *Ekümenopolis*[11] denounced, since 2011, a neoliberal urbanism that had caused Istanbul to exceed its ecological, economic and population limits. Half a year before the Gezi Park protests, *Mapping the Commons* thought up, acted, and created an audiovisual language to reclaim the "urban commons". The video *Water (Istanbul commons)*[12] is about the privatisation of water. *For-rest,*[13] meanwhile, denounces the fact that the construction of a third bridge over the Bosporus Strait would mean the disappearance of the Belgrade Forest.

Although various different complaints against the Erdoğan government led to the occupation of the Gezi Park, the defence of the park itself was always the central issue. Unlike other outbreaks of the "global crowd", which turned into multifaceted revolts, the defence of the "natural commons" was the great Turkish mantra. The visual artist Edam Acar argues that it all started with a tree:

> It all started with a tree. When those protecting the trees were attacked with tear gas, we saw it on the Internet and we couldn't stay at home. It all started with a tree. Sensitive people who went to Gezi Park started pitching tents. We all had different worldviews, but the same goal: the right to live.[14]

Figure 5. From left to right: posters by *Hummus for Thought*, Ozde Cayir, Everywheretaksim.net, OccupyDesignUK, DeniseMartins, Gabriel Soares and Ster Farache, Ozg and Adbusters.

During the camping, Gezi Park became a self-proclaimed Republic of Gezi,[15] a world of worlds where Kurds, gay people, anarchists, communists, environmentalists and football fans could share the same space (figure 6). In the middle of the park, fine arts students erected a "vandal tree" (figure 7), made from pieces of fencing and tree trunks that had been uprooted by bulldozers, so that the campers could nail their wishes to it.[16] The vandal tree was not an ornament, but rather a symbol and strategy for the construction of a place to "live-in" the trees, configuring a "being-between" identities, worlds and dissensions.[17] The raised fist, historically related to popular struggles, was transformed into a tree trunk, or into something taking root (figure 5). The tree trunks were humanised, becoming visual elements of a pro-park and pro-community resistance. Some of the images associated with the *kirmizili kadin* (the "woman in red"), one of the great icons of the revolt, depicted her with branches for hair.

The so-called "spirit of Gezi"[18] spread to other neighbourhoods and cities in Turkey. The images and graphics produced by the Gezi camp inspired actions of resistance and the birth of groups in defence of parks and forests. In turn, the narrative of defending the "natural commons" led to Diren Gezi forging liknks with specific collectives engaged in ecological struggles, especially in Brazil. On 9th June 2013, a few days before the riots broke out in Brazil, the Fica Ficus collective[19] held the *Ato Turquia Libre* meeting that included a digital debate with some Gezi campers. After months of trying to prevent the trees on an avenue in Belo Horizonte from being uprooted, Fica Ficus got involved with global struggles. Meanwhile, in the streets of Rio de Janeiro people shouted "acabou a modormia, o Brasil vai veir uma Turquia" (the good life is over, Brazil is going to become Turkey). Why was the spirit of Gezi a reference for the Brazilian protests? What specificities did Brazil contribute?

Figure 6. Gezi Republic. Image: postvirtual.wordpress.com
Figure 7. Çapul tree. Thomas Campean/Rex Features.
Figure 8. Left: Activity at Aldeia Maracanã. Photo: Vírus Planetário. Right: urban gardens. Photo: Catalytic Communities.

3. An indigenous village in front of the Maracanã football stadium

During the second eviction of the Aldeia Maracanã (i.e. the "Maracanã Village") occupation in Rio de Janeiro, the indigenous leader José Guajajara perched on top of a tree. For twenty-six hours, his wife, Potira Kricati, along with a group made up of indigenous people, punks, black blocs and activists in Anonymous masks (figure 9) tried to circumvent the police siege in order to take him water and food.[20] That ascent to the top of the tree was, for the visual artist Flávia Meireles, the "action with the effect of a performance" of Ocupa Árvore[21] (i.e. "occupy the tree"), and it would inspire future actions from treetops.

The Aldeia Maracanã was born in 2006, when seventeen ethnic groups came together to occupy the old Museum of the Indian, located next to the

Maracanã football stadium. Having been abandoned three decades beforehand, the building was in ruins: plants and moss covered the walls, and humidity had corroded the floors and tiles.[22] Since the building's occupation, Aldeia Maracanã served as a space for coexistence between indigenous people from all over Brazil and urban youth who joined "that singularity, that way of seeing reality that differs from the material and financial search".[23] The monthly event of songs and dances, *Contação de histórias indígenas*, was frequented by the neighbours. The prayer house of Iara, the healer, became a kind of sanctuary, attracting people from all over Rio de Janeiro.[24]

Figure 9. From left to right: posters by Sedat Geber, Anonymous (Devian Art), Titi Carnelos and OccupyDesignUK.
Figure 10. Encounter at the Aldeia Maracanã. Jõao Lima, 20/01/2013.

In March 2013, the Government of the State of Rio de Janeiro ordered the first eviction of the Aldeia Maracanã. Against the backdrop of the 2014 World Cup, the entire Maracanã stadium complex was passed into the hands of a private consortium. From the outbreak of the Brazilian protests in June 2013, the cries of *o Maraca é nosso* ("Maracanã is ours"), against the privatisation of the Maracanã stadium, got louder and stronger. In the article "Nem do estado, nem do mercado, or Maraca é nosso!",[25] Alexandre Mendes argued that the fight against the privatisation of the Maracanã was articulated with the "affirmation of the indigenous difference and its territorialities and with the ways of life of the users". The author defines

Maracanã as a "common" not reducible to public management, but rather from the infinite fabric itself that produces worlds and lives, wealth and social multiplicity.

After the first eviction in March 2013, the Museo do Índio was occupied again. In the Aldeia Maracanã, the indigenous people held open assemblies, poetry events, cinema, Tupi language classes, women's conversation rounds and gardening sessions to replant the building's surroundings.[26] The asphalt that surrounded the old Museum of the Indian had become cracked, giving way to urban gardens (figure 8) and bamboo structures. Through the exchange of learnings, and open sessions, the Indigenous Intercultural University was born, run by indigenous people, thus breaking with five centuries of state tutelage over them. The indigenous movement of the Aldeia Maracanã sought a "speaking place" to express their demands.[27]

The Aldeia Maracanã had links with new occupations in Rio de Janeiro such as #OcupaCabral. The images of Aldeia members in political demonstrations or assemblies reinvigorated the so-called "June movement" (figures 11 and 12). The ways of doing of the Aldeia entered into dialogue with the imaginaries, practices and governance mechanisms of what Paolo Gerbaudo (2017) calls "populist citizenism". However, the Aldeia contributed its own visions and ways of doing. One of the Aldeia's most visually enduring slogans, "the management is indigenous" (figure 13), provides clues. The "indigenous management" of the Aldeia would be a kind of self-government that comes from a community's manual use of the elements in the surroundings, such as objects, instruments, spiritual rites, personal relationships or plant/animal matter.

Figure 11. Indigenous people from Aldeia Maracanã in front of a banner with the slogan *Aldeia Maracanã Resists*, in Rio de Janeiro. Photo: Diego Felipe.
Figure 12. An indigenous leader poses with Batman da Baixada, a character who became popular in the wave of protests in 2013. In 2015, Batman da Baixada disappointed social movements by supporting the impeachment against Dilma Rousseff.
Figure 13. Left: picture from Mônica Lima's Facebook profile, from Resistência Aldeia Maracanã, 28/06/2014. Right: Maynymi Guajajara's Facebook profile, 29/05/2014.

3.1. The cosmopolitical performance

Figure 14. Montage, #IndioResiste (anonymous), activists in the evictions of Parque Augusta , São Paulo (Danilo Verpa / Folha Press) and Fernanda Silva's performance in Rio de Janeiro (Coletivo Clap).

Ever since the French anthropologist Bruce Albert and the Yanomami shaman Davi Kopenawa published *La Chute du ciel: Paroles d'un shaman yanomami* (2010), the concept of "cosmopolitics" has taken new directions in Latin America. Various authors developed Amerindian becomings and narratives for the "cosmopolitics" that the philosopher Isabelle Stengers (1997) had coined as a politics of a cosmos in which multiplicity and divergence manage to be articulated. Stengers' "cosmopolitical" proposal is to slow down reason and awaken a different consciousness. "Cosmopolitics" aims to include both the world of the non-human and so-called nature in the struggle.[28] "Cosmopolitics" politicises nature, since the cosmos embraces everything, including non-human entities that make humans act.[29]

Before the 2015 translation of *La Chute du ciel* into Portuguese, several Brazilian authors highlighted the cosmopolitical character of the Yanomani leader's speech. Jean Tible linked Davi Kopenawa's "cosmopolitical discourse" with the "cosmopolitical struggles"[30] of indigenous peoples. In his book *Marx Selvagem*[31] (2013), Tible reviews how "indigenous cosmopolitics" cultivates social relations beyond the dualism of nature/ecology and culture. For his part, Renato Sztutman, also from Brazil, highlights that Stenger's "cosmopolitics" proposes a reactivation and resumption of links, of ways of bringing about connections and resisting the imposition of a univocal ontology.[32] In turn, other Latin American voices are opening new doors for "cosmopolitics". The Argentine Salvador Schavelzon speaks of "indigenous cosmopolitics" and "cosmopolitical communities", and he asserts that "[cosmopolitics] opens the possibility of thinking about the world without a

vision based on the opposition culture/nature, anthropocentric and oriented to economic growth and the constitution of a centralized political power separated from the community".[33] The Peruvian Marisol de la Cadena[34] describes how Andean indigenous civilisations invoke a culture that includes both nature and the "earth-beings" (mountains, rivers, rocks, lagoons) who have no voice in political language.

In the introduction to the Brazilian version of *La Chute du ciel: Paroles d'un shaman Yanomami*,[35] the anthropologist Eduardo Viveiros de Castro considers the words of the Yanomami shaman as an authentic "cosmopolitical performance". Kopenawa's speech is a performance in which the description of the Yanomami universe portrays white people as "people of commodity", and also depicts their unhealthy relationship with the land. The "cosmopolitical performance" is, for Viveiros de Castro, a shamanic session, a political treatise and a compendium of Yanomami philosophy that make up a very strong speculative oneirism. In "cosmopolitical performance", images have all the force of concepts, and the extrospective experience of the hallucinatory journey takes the place of the meditative introspection of enlightened modernity. Kopenawa's mental images burst forth like a torrent, able to activate bodies, relationships, desires, and images of resistance.

José Guajajara's "action with the effect of a performance", at the top of a tree in the Aldeia Maracanã, was part of a "cosmopolitical performance" of speculative visions. José Guajajara there in the treetop made visible a multiple world, a way of inhabiting the earth, an "other relationship" with the cosmos. José Guajajara's "cosmopolitical performance" would inspire different actions. One of them occurred in November 2016, when the transgender actress and theatre director Fernanda Silva began her performance *Somos involuntários da pátria porque outra é a nossa vontade* ("We reject our homeland because we want a different one")[36] from the top of a tree, in a cultural space in Rio de Janeiro. The choice of the tree as a frame was a rereading of José Guajajara's performance, to guarantee "the memory and the right to space of a large part of the Brazilian population".[37] The text that was read/performed, the *Involuntários da pátria* discourse in which Eduardo Viveiros de Castro considers all the natives of Brazil to be indigenous, was no accident: "Indians are the members of peoples who are aware of their historical relationship with the indigenous who lived in this land before the arrival of the Europeans. Considering all Brazilian Indians, Viveiros de Castro pointed to a broad cosmopolitical alliance of resistance: "We here feel like the Indians, like all the indigenous people of Brazil." Fernanda Silva's "cosmopolitical performance" reaffirmed that "the Earth is the body of the Indians, and the Indians are part of the body of the Earth".[38]

Figure 15. Distance markers to other parks or spaces of resistance placed within the Parque Augusta de São Paulo during its occupation. Left: Bernardo Gutiérrez. Right: Ricardo Matsukawa.

4. Living well, producing the commons and existential territories

During the occupation of Augusta Park in São Paulo, signs attached to a wooden post pointed the way to the emblematic places of the Movimento Parque Augusta.[39] Other parks in Brazil that were experiencing resistance processes appeared on the signage, such as the Gomm Park in Curitiba or the Cocó Park in Fortaleza, as well as iconic campsites like Cinelândia in Rio de Janeiro or Taksim Square in Istanbul. One of the arrows pointed towards the Santuário dos Pajés, an indigenous space in Brasilia in which indigenous people share their experience with urban youth. The practices and imaginaries of the cycle of revolts of the "global crowd", 2011-15, and the "indigenous management" and "cosmopolitical visions" of the Santuario dos Pajés or the Aldeia Maracanã, were all present in Augusta Park.

The main objective of Movimento Parque Augusta was the conservation of Parque Augusta, a private park with the city's last virgin forest of the Mata Atlântica. The threat of construction in the park triggered a collective resistance that was also fighting for alternative ways of managing space and thinking about the city.[40] The Movimento Parque Augusta claimed that "a public park constitutes a common good, belongs to the social fabric of the city and cannot be at the mercy of private and speculative interests".[41] During its occupation, inside the park there were tents, reading areas, a recycling area, tents for political debates, bamboo constructions, yoga classrooms, temporary swimming pools and exhibitions of photographs and posters. The images of a collective daily life (figure 16) pieced together an aesthetic of living in tune with the world's other occupied spaces. In an open assembly, one of the rotating spokespeople emphasised that horizontality, pluralism, public space, permaculture, direct democracy, respect and generosity were the key values of the movement.[42] The Movimento Parque Augusta, as well as the diverse ecosystem of movements that emerged after the June 2013 revolts, dialogued with the cycle of global protests. Despite this, it still had a strong indigenous character.

Figure 16. From left to right (top to bottom): Adriano Vizoni / Folha Press, Bernardo Gutiérrez, Movimento Parque Augusta and Ricardo Matsukawa.

To define Augusta Park, the anthropologist Alana Moraes borrowed Félix Guattari's concept (1989) of "existential territory". An "existential territory" enables the ethical-political articulation between the three ecological registers (environment, social relations and human subjectivity) that Guattari called "ecosophy". Augusta Park has been a "witching territory" in which to think about "the body and the possibilities of producing a collective body with our differences",[43] a precarious and singular "existential territory" capable of bifurcating life based on praxis that make it habitable for a human project. The word "ecology", for Guattari, is no longer linked to a minority of nature lovers, and instead is an eco-logic of daily social life. The "existential territories" are governed by the multipurpose logic of mental ecologies and by the "group Eros principle of social ecology".[44]

Hybridisations of human bodies and vegetation abound in the posters of São Paulo's Movimento Parque Augusta (figures 19 and 20), as well as the humanisation of leaves, trunks and branches. In the daily life of the Augusta Park occupation, bodies are entangled with vegetation and natural elements in multiple ways. Looking for the current of the underground rivers in São Paulo (figure 21), one of which passes under the Augusta Park, community is rescued and built around water, because "water connects us to bodies, which are water".[45] In April 2014, during one of the activities of the FestiATO festival, hundreds of people hugged the park's centennial rubber mill (figure 16), a gesture in support of indigenous peoples. In the "existential territories" of the Brazilian parks, the indigenous approach to "living well" articulates and shapes «the commons that give us life and allow us to conserve what is alive" from a plurality of life forms.[46] The "living well" (figure 22) of the Brazilian communal parks is the basis of

an ecosophy that is practical and speculative, ethical-political and aesthetic.[47]

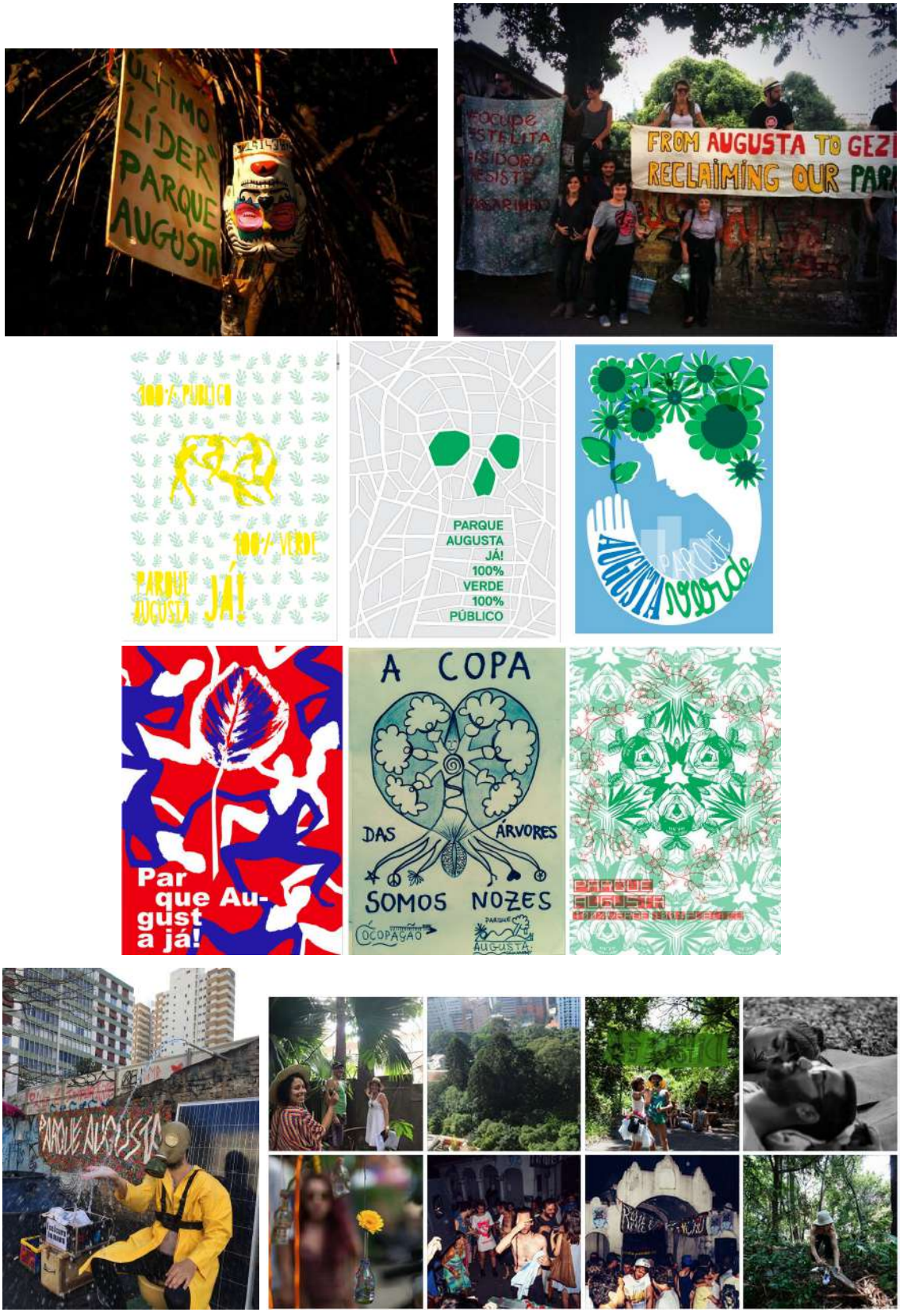

Figure 17. Photo: Bernardo Gutiérrez.
Figure 18. Visit to the Augusta Park of São Paulo by activists from Diren Gezi (Istanbul), Ocupe Estelita (Recife) and Isidoro (Belo Horizonte) Photo: Movimento Parque Augusta.
Figure 19. Left and centre: Denise Martins, Gabriel Soares and Ster Farache. Right: Lorena de Paula.
Figure 20. From left to right, posters by Manuela Eichne, Letícia Mourão and Guilherme Laureate.
Figure 21. Mobile Aquatic Park of the SeCura Humana collective. Community performance of the extraction of water from below the water table of Augusta Park (July 2018).
Figure 22. Everyday life in Augusta Park. Source: @TakeTheSquare (Twitter).

It would be somewhat forced to claim that the indigenous struggles were closely related to the Movimento Parque Augusta. Even so, there was a growing synergy with indigenous causes and views. At the first edition of the Parque Augusta's Forum, the Guaraní leader Sônia Aramari shared the problems and self-organisational forms of the Terra Indígena Jaraguá. During the 2014 FestiATO, *indio é nós* ("we are Indians") was the common cry. The "cosmopolitical connections"[48] of the Movimento Parque Augusta would gain clout from 2017. The Parque Augusta Forum for Environmental Ecology[49] linked "cosmopolitical" theory and practice with the resistance of São Paulo's green spaces.

During this Forum, the anthropologist Renato Sztutman stated that the struggle of the Guaranís in the São Paulo context is necessary if the city is to continue to exist. Sztuzman insisted on the need to "reactivate connections with the land in cities to protect themselves from the curses of capitalism". Djera Mirim, chief of the Jaraguá village, suggested a union between the Guaraní and the Movimento Parque Augusta. In turn, Yakuy Guarani Tupinambá established similarities between the struggle of the park and that of the Tupinambas of Bahia, highlighting the importance of "conserving a space with a social and spiritual relationship with nature." The urban walk organised by the collective Cosmopolitical Territory, to receive the witch Starhawk[50] (figures 23 and 24), travelled through a territory in which politics is demanding to be thought with "the cosmos, in a world in which many worlds fit, as say the Zapatistas".[51]

Figure 23. Fica Ficus movement, Belo Horizonte. Photos: O Tempo (left) and anonymous.
Figure 24. Walk with Starhawk "the witch", São Paulo, 21st May 2017.
Figure 24 (b). Tour with the "witch" Starhawk in São Paulo, 21st May 2017. Photo: Salvador Schavelzon.

5. Conclusions: Towards a cosmopolitical aesthetic of sustainability

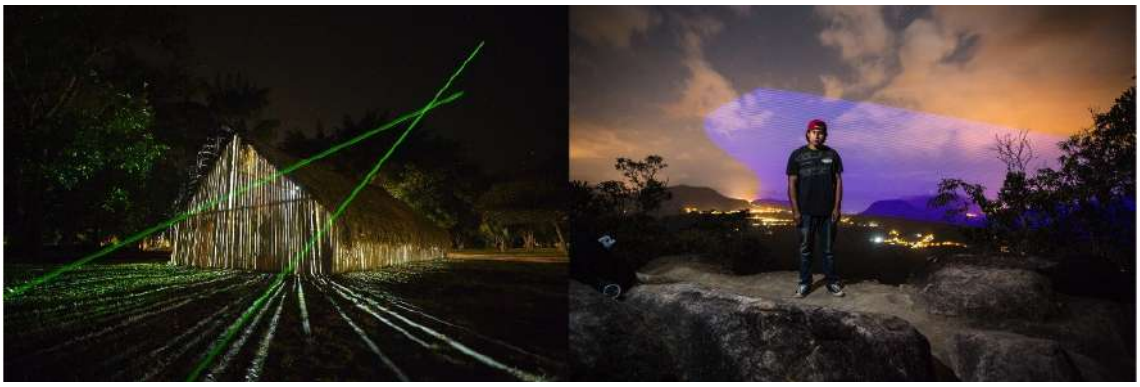

Figure 25. Interventions by LabLUXZ_ in Terra Indígena Jaraguá (São Paulo). Photos: José Moreau.

On the day of the police eviction of the Augusta Park occupation, a group of people resisted in a treetop. One of them was the visual artist Paulinho Fluxus, who, dressed in pink, was symbolically fighting against the police forces. From the top of a tree, resisting in an act of non-combat, a new episode of the performance Occupy Árvore made visible the non-urban sphere of the São Paulo megalopolis and its cosmopolitical sensibilities. Fluxus[52] maintains that the idea of a life in the trees came from conversations with Korubo, an indigenous person in the Santuario dos Pajés in Brasília. Korubo, who had spent part of his life above the treetops and ended up moving to the Aldeia Maracanã. After the eviction, the "existential territory" of the Augusta Park lived on in a deterritorialised way, producing subjectivities, shaping relationships and worlds. Four years after the eviction, the São Paulo City Council made the Augusta Park property public again.[53] The world deployed[54] by the Movimento Parque Augusta for years anticipated the legal protection of many green spaces of the Rede Novos Parques SP. At the same time, it made other ways of life visible, and it fostered connections with different indigenous movements, especially with the Jaraguá indigenous land.[55]

The LabLUXZ_, in which Paulinho Fluxus participated, used "nomadic guerrilla technologies" to carry out light-based interventions in support of the Guaraní Mbyas tribe of Jaraguá (figure 25). By placing high-tech technology at the service of ancestral Guaraní visions, LabLUXZ_ "reinforced the shields and strengthened the arrows of a symbolic-spiritual war".[56] The rays of the LabLUXZ were aesthetic shots, skins of images of age-old wisdom, cosmopolitical flashes, extrospective images to combat the world of the "commodity man".

The Turkish and Brazilian struggles over the "urban commons" went beyond the goal of protecting green spaces. The day-to-day visualisation of the Turkish and Brazilian communal parks had a performative "world-building"

function, which extolled the pleasure of social ties and connections between people.[57] The images of the day-to-day life of the communal parks reinforced the sustainability of the new collective subject/body, and built a new architecture of the imaginaries.[58] The "being-between" during the occupations helped form "communities of feeling" (Appadurai, 2001) and "land-practices" right in the heart of the megalopolises.

In the case of Brazil, the existence of the Aldeia Maracanã in Rio de Janeiro revealed that any policy can be included within a cosmic or cosmopolitical policy that takes into account non-human actors. In the Brazilian protests, cosmopolitics was present as a "politics open to the cosmos that sees the world as necessarily populated by worlds".[59] From the practices of resistance and the creation of the common good of the rebellious parks in Brazil, a possible broad alliance arises around some "cosmopolitical common goods" that reactivate magic and retake the land, nourishing social relations and making new subjectivities blossom. From this alliance the aesthetics of a new (cosmopolitical) sustainability is born, connecting indigenous prophetism to urban struggles, connecting the spirit-inhabited jungle-land to new calls for resistance, in order to break the curse of capitalism.[60]

The "cosmopolitical aesthetic" outlines a new narrative, a new script, a new tone, style, feeling, a new way of being in the world. The new "cosmopolitical aesthetic" is a spiritual insurrection that sparks a new sense of beauty.[61] If the environmental concept can be considered by some to be a mistake that ignores earth-beings,[62] artificially separating the human species from the natural world, then the environmental movement should do more than just defend nature. The environment is not that idealised wilderness, the natural world that marked a radical separation between nature and a problematic human being.[63] The environment is not *The World Without Us* (2007) as claimed by Alan Weisman – it is not a planet that will be reborn, in good health, after the near-extinction of the human species. The environment is a world-with-them, with all non-human actors, and a politics that articulates their relationships and shapes worlds. The "cosmopolitical aesthetic" does not deal only with the defence of nature, but also with "a politics focussed on the destiny of humanity".[64] Why invent new words such as ecology, as David Kopenawa would say, if we are all indigenous people who "were born in the center of ecology and there we grew up".[65]

Figure 26. Action *Copa nas copas*, in Porto Alegre, 16th Feburary 2013. Photos: Elenita Malta Pereira.

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Notes

[1] The occupation in Gezi Park took place between 28th May and 15th June 2013.

[2] http://www.aestheticsofprotest.com/ (accessed 10th October 2020).

[3] Their project talks of icons, referring to the multiple graphic icons that arose, during the revolt, based on photographs or other images. See Figure 5. Aidan McGarry et al. (2019): "Beyond the iconic protest images: the performance of "everyday life" on social media during Gezi Park", in *Social Movement Studies*, 18(3), pp. 284-304: p. 292.

[4] The commons are something that exceeds the public and the private and belongs to everyone. The commons encompass the governance mechanisms of these common goods, as well as the communities that guarantee their existence.

[5] Tim Ingold, *Being Alive: Essays on Movement Knowledge and Description* (New York: Routledge, 2011), p. 10.

[6] Bernardo Gutiérrez, *Saudades de Junho* (Porto Alegre: Liquid Books, 2020), p. 162.

[7] Taksim Square (Istanbul Commons). Accessed 22nd May 2020 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1EwdMmnS_k8

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[24] Rebuzzi, "A Aldeia Maracanã", p. 75.

[25] *Mapping the Commons*, in its Rio de Janeiro edition, republished the article, adding a question in the introduction: "Is Maracanã our Taksim?" Accessed 4th June 2020 http://mappingthecommons.net/en/blog/2013/08/03/estadio-maracana/

[26] Meireles, "Ocupa árvore", p. 68.

[27] Rebuzzi, "A Aldeia Maracanã", p. 72.

[28] Renato Sztutman, "Reativar a feitiçaria e outras receitas de resistência – pensando com Isabelle Stengers", (São Paulo, *Revista do Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros*, n 18, April 2018, 338-361): p. 340.

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[35] Eduardo Viveiros de Castro, "O recado da mata", in *A queda do céu: palavras de um xamã Ianomami* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2015), pp. 11-42.

[36] "Involuntários da Pátria" is in fact a play on words with "voluntários da pátria", i.e. the "volunteers", mostly indigenous and black, who went to war in Paraguay (1864-1870). Accessed 22nd May 2020 http://www.ihu.unisinos.br/185-noticias/noticias-2016/554056-povos-indigenas-os-involuntarios-da-patria

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[38] Viveiros, "Involuntários da Pátria".

[39] The Movimento Parque Augusta brings together different actors, some of whom were already working for the protection of Augusta Park, such as the Augusta Park Agency (OPA). The occupation took place between 22nd January and 4th March 2015.

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[41] Gutiérrez, *Saudades de Junho*, p. 172.

[42] Ibid., p. 171.

[43] Silva de Oliveira, "Parque Augusta na luta pelo comum", p. 160.

[44] Félix Guattari, *The Three Ecologies* (London, New Brunswick: Athlone, [1989] 2000), p. 67.

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[46] Oscar Vega, *Errancias: apertura para vivir bien* (La Paz: Muela del Diablo Ediciones, 2011), p. 83.

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[48] Silva de Oliveira, "Parque Augusta", p. 162.

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[64] Guattari, *The Three Ecologies*, p. 67.

[65] Viveiros, "O recado da mata", p. 15.