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Rio de Janeiro's Cultural Landscape: New Conceptual Image, Old Social Problems

Krajobraz kulturowy Rio de Janeiro: Nowy wizerunek koncepcyjny, stare problemy społeczne

Introduction

Rio de Janeiro landscapes are one of the main international tourist attractions and are considered the gateway to Brazil. Nevertheless, only after its patrimonial process by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 2012, the government of Rio de Janeiro has invested in landscape protection and the “cultural environment” policies in

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an attempt to keep its visual authenticity (UNESCO, 2012). The main actions aim at the sustainable economic development, the tourism revival and a new international image of Rio de Janeiro as an Atlantic South America beach resort.

In an attempt to promote a new urban image with a world heritage seal, public authorities, in partnership with private investors, carried out a series of urban interventions in strategic regions. Public spaces of the “Zona Sul” (South Zone) already recognized internationally as symbols of the “Carioca” identity and lifestyle were redeveloped to enhance its Central and Port Zones, aiming to increase the tourist flow. The gentrification process in these localities extended even to some slum hills, the *favelas*. These areas usually have an impressive view of the Bay of Guanabara, although they lack security and infrastructure. They were, until the recent past, excluded from government actions.

It is important to understand that the purpose of patrimonialization policies is the valorization of material and immaterial cultural assets, places and landscapes associated with spaces capable of adding cultural, visual and symbolic value, and also of being able also to attract private sector investments. In this sense, Leite (2015) identified a trend of growing participation of the private sector in the management of areas and patrimonial assets. Brazilian private investors have longed for lucrative business opportunities and have driven a complex conceptual change of heritage and cultural landscape, adapting it to the new market strategies. That is, using this heritage no longer as “symbolic” but as a “cultural commodity.” In practice, this “process implies the recognition of forms of interaction based on consumption and presupposes [...] selecting assets that could potentially correspond to the expectations of the financial return of high private investments.” (Leite, 2015, p. 176)

The new image of Rio de Janeiro was intermediated by tourism and cultural consumption practices and included the association of the symbolic and representational elements as potential resources to sustain the local economy. Based on the current debate about Rio and direct observations made in the city since the site’s nomination in 2012, it is understood that the notion of the cultural landscape within the market strategies used by private investors has intensified a process of “intracity competition” (Malta, 2017). This concept refers to the competitions between private investors for tourists, especially for services related to experiences, which range from getting to know the landscape hills, the Atlantic shoreline to the most exotic places, such as visiting

favelas, which are called carioca “counter-voyages” experiences. They are now conceived as places of lodging, adventures, emotions and tourist exoticism (Fortuna, 2012).¹

This article also critically discusses the concept of gentrification used in the process of redesigning of Rio's Cultural Landscape with the main objective of analyzing the recreation of landscape appreciation and tourism experiences of the city. In that perspective, Zukin (2010) conducted studies in New York neighborhoods such as Lower Manhattan and Brooklyn, and noted the urban policies pursued by local authorities aimed at “recreating” the “authenticity” of cultural assets, landscapes, practices and traditional spaces exposed to the visiting public on the grounds that the city had lost its “soul.” The political and media rhetoric on the conservation of the New York “soul” and its urban historical context is based around the visual consumption as a form of reordering and social control of the uses of the old spaces, which reinforces the processes of gentrification that proliferate also on a global scale in a similar way. In Brazil, gentrification has been one of the consequences of patrimonialisation policies, since the areas that are objects of these policies are strategic for economic development and encourage tourism.

However, it is not only through the financial and political power that the gentrification process is expressed. It is also a form of “cultural power”. That is, this analytical formula considers that cultural consumption policies must, on the one hand, be studied from a structural and materialist perspective, and, on the other, under the understanding of how cities use culture as the basis of their economy. First, it conveys to analyze the cultural dimension of the economy, the symbolization and uses of urban centers as attractions and urban-cultural images. Secondly, the analysis should focus on economy of cultural goods, expressed by supply, demand, capital accumulation, competition and monopolization of the uses of certain spaces by markets for cultural goods and tourism, as well as the power of culture related to aesthetics effects of cities (Zukin, 1995; 2010).

The authors' main objective in this article is to analyze the notion of cultural landscape as an innovative technical and conceptual instrument of

¹ The recurrence of news items such as “Brochures distributed to tourists arriving in Rio do not show the *favelas* [Folhetos distribuídos a turistas que chegam ao Rio não mostram favelas]”, published on Jornal O Globo, on 9/11/2017, reveals Rio's government actions in hiding the *favelas* of the tourist maps. Although this is a political decision, the allegation is that it was a decision based on technical criteria.

patrimonial and environmental preservation. The authors also present the intervention policies that have emerged in the city since the 1980s, the new projects that were created to change Rio's international image, and also debate the necessity of educational projects that can assist the population to overcome the city major social problems. In the first section of the article, the authors' discussions analyze strategies for increasing the touristic flow to landscape and cultural heritage in Rio de Janeiro. In the second section, the authors' analysis gentrification as a theoretical concept, followed by an analysis of the side effects of the city's gentrification that aimed to increase the tourist flow, especially in south and port zones. Last, in the fourth section, the authors present the city's educational necessities related to the modification in urban development and its social justice challenges. In sum, this article aims to analyze the new image of Rio de Janeiro created to attract new tourist to this globally known city and offers recommendations to policymakers about how to deal with the city's social constraints.

From the South Zone to the Port Zone: The New Strategies for Increasing the Touristic Value of Landscape and Cultural Heritage

In Brazil, since the 1980s, the strategies used by National Historical and Artistic Heritage Institute (IPHAN) to preserve Brazil's landscape and cultural heritage have prioritized the patrimonial process of ancient cities and colonial historical centers of Luso-Brazilian political and religious past. A perfect example is the cities of Minas Gera is state that during Brazil Colonial age was involved in gold exploration. Only in 2009, the IPHAN created a new policy instituting the seal of the Cultural Landscape(policy n. 127/2009), as a new instrument for the preservation of the Brazilian patrimony that would allow technical, methodological and conceptual innovation regarding what the country should pursue as objectives in landscape and cultural heritage.

These new cultural landscapes concepts try to put an end to the debate in Brazil about the antinomy of materiality and immateriality, and also between cultural and natural patrimony. It also anticipated the institutionalization of intangible heritage. The concept involves different consolidated meanings about the notion of patrimony, environmental concerns and with preservation of life. Notions of nature, societal memory, and cultural and territorial identities

were linked to patrimonial policies so that the seal of the cultural landscape became an important strategy of integration between daily life, cultural assets and the environment (Ribeiro, 2011; Costa and Serres, 2016).

Rio's landscape became the first urban area to be designated Cultural Landscape by UNESCO's Heritage Convention². The actions foreseen by UNESCO (2012) should revolve around the newly created Master Planning and Sustainable Urban Development (Plano Diretor de Desenvolvimento Urbano Sustentável [PDDU] 2011), established by complementary law number 111/2011. This law reviewed the city's 1992 Master Plan and provided new urban and environmental policies. The three principles formulated in the PDDU are: (a) the notion of sustainable development to promote economic development, environmental preservation and social equity; (b) the notions of social function of the city and urban property; and (c) the policy of valorization and environmental sustainability, landscape and patrimonial in the process of development of Rio's urban planning.

It is important to notice that the notion of sustainability was not, clearly, at issue in the intervention plans prior to the PDDU (2011), nor was it allied with the prospect of economic development and landscape enhancement. This notion was conceived in the policy of urban planning associated with patrimonial, environmental protection and landscape visibility. It is against excessive visual interferences and regulates the construction of large urban projects. The comprehensive urban and environmental restructuring plan brings together the sustainability component to reverse, on the one hand, the irregular occupation of the *favelas* and, on the other hand, its rationalization that had occurred in urban intervention plans between the years of 1920 and 1950³.

Although it is an innovative concept, the cultural landscape does not define a specific profile of the assets because it has generic coverage and multiple

² After the title of Rio de Janeiro in 2012, in 2016, Unesco declared the *Conjunto Moderno da Pampulha*, in Belo Horizonte (MG), Cultural Landscape of Modern Heritage. Such a consideration it is a concern, due to the patrimonialization of Brazilian modernist assets. In addition, the *Sítio Arqueológico do Valongo* in Rio de Janeiro was declared Cultural Heritage and part of the Brazilian Slave Route by Unesco in 2017 and represents the first African historical site recognized in Brazil.

³ One of the examples of these interventions was the demolition of *Morro do Castelo* between 1920 and 1922, under the justification of combating the precarious conditions of hygiene and degradation in the favelas of Rio's downtown area. In the late 1950s, the dismantling of the *Morro de Santo Antônio* also occurred for the construction of the *Aterro do Flamengo*.

possibilities. This broader approach poses its greatest risk, given the pressures of private investors (Ribeiro, 2011). It also allows the state to use a strategy based on identifying and managing assets in a decentralized and flexible way. An example of this strategy is that the official policy documents do not include the Central region and the Port Zone within the initial boundaries of Rio's new cultural landscaped organization. However, due to mega-sporting events, such as the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympics Game, these two areas were targeted and were intervene to be gentrified by Rio de Janeiro City Hall (PCRJ).

After this turn on policies directions, and the inclusion of the Central region and the Port Zone within the initial boundaries of Rio's new cultural landscaped organization, the PCRJ created the Rio Heritage Institute for Humanity (*Instituto Rio Patrimônio da Humanidade* [IRPH]). This new institutions manage the actions of urban gentrification and protect the visual image of strategic zones of cultural and landscape interest. The Support Program for the Conservation of the Built Cultural Patrimony (*Programa de Apoio à Conservação do Patrimônio Cultural Edificado*[PRÓ-APAC]) was instituted. In its core actions, this program has a strong role in the delimitation of special areas of landscape interest and protection of the cultural environment in order to financially support conservation projects and restoration of properties, preserved or protected by the municipality (PCRJ, 2012). The APACs is the main instrument for the management and protection of cultural heritage and delimits the "strategic zones of special interest" for urban policies of landscape enhancement and promotion of cultural policies⁴.

Through this program, the IRPH began to design projects and intervention policies in partnerships with private institutions and national and international multilateral agencies. The implementation of the main urban, environmental and cultural policies of the city take place around the identification, the tipping of assets and the registration of intangible heritage in the APACs, which overlap the zones and subzones of the city. Priority is given to spaces, public or private, that are characterized as a set of relevant cultural interest for the memory of the city, for the diversity of urban occupation, and, also, that can be elective to attract investments. The main argument for this strategy is that it enables to promote sustainable development, to protect the visual and the "atmosphere"

⁴ Created by decree no. 35,879 of July 5, 2012, after the appointment of the city as a World Heritage Site.

of the cultural landscape, thus avoiding the potential loss of its “originality” (Carlos, 2008).

During Rio's World Cup and Olympics Game, the city government concentrated the investments in sports areas and infrastructure in *Barra da Tijuca* and in *Jacarepaguá*, in the west zone of the city where the events were primarily held. Nevertheless, the IRPH has focused mainly on the Central region and Port Zone. This movement stems from a strategy with a double objective. First, it aimed to attract people, consumer services, tourism, and investments to promote economic restructuring in these neighborhoods.

The second objective stems from the process of patrimonialisation of the South Zone, a space that concentrates Rio's imaginary of life, its beach culture and the modernist ideas and cosmopolitan constructions, widely publicized as Brazil image in other countries.

This area was built with a Haussamanian inspiration and also influenced by Adolphe Alphand style. Plastic artist and landscape architect Roberto Burle Marx designed some of these spaces, as, for example, the mosaic in waves that form the sidewalk of the Copacabana waterfront. Since the expansion of the South Zone, urban life and socio-cultural practices in Rio have been linked to cultural consumption. With the mega-events, real estate speculation proliferated around neighborhoods included on the landscape new policies, putting pressure on residents, especially in low-income working families. As Guimarães (2016) wisely points out:

The patrimonialisation of the Southern Zone thus had the function of indirectly driving urban development, with the advantage to the City Hall, counting on the adhesion of some residents' associations, who realized to the extent the possibility of maintaining the architectural and environmental characteristics of the neighborhoods, and to avoid the arrival of a large number of residents [...] From an urban point of view, however, this action fulfilled its strategic function: the developers actually found it more difficult to operate in the South Zone and transferred its investments to other regions of the city, including the port region (p. 162–163).

In sum, among the objectives and actions planned for sustainable development, they primarily sought to regulate the uses of urban assets, to recover architectural complexes, to promote cultural heritage and attract investors to create new urban sustainable plans. This strategy shifts the flow of real estate investments to the Port Zone, which since the beginning of the Porto Maravilha project, in 2009, has been intensifying private initiatives through

public-private partnership (Pio, 2013; Broudehoux and Monteiro, 2017). This strategy also allowed the protection of the residential area and restricted new constructions that could jeopardize the landscape authenticity of the public spaces and the quality of life of the residential communities of that zone.

For Rio's historical central, downtown, area, the "Center for All" program was established in 2015. The main objective of policies intervention in this area was to reorganize the development planning for the area, its security, and public lighting. These are recurrent actions made during gentrification of historical areas. This program divided its actions into nine areas: *Praça Tiradentes*, *Centro Financeiro*, *Praça XV*, *Cinelândia*, *Lapa*, *Cruz Vermelha*, *Saara*, *Castelo*, and *Campo de Santana*. The work was done to promote residential reoccupation, mapping "urban voids", to promote sustainable transport, such as bicycles and Light Rail Vehicle (VLT), and to attract sectors of the creative industry, etc. These actions aim to reoccupy and revitalize the Rio downtown area as a place of housing, leisure, and cultural consumption⁵.

It is clear that the policies intended to promote a strong action of gentrification based on the notions of order, cleanliness, and safety. This scenario allowed not only the expansion of urban patrimonial policies for the Port Zone and Central region but also gave way to the policy of encouraging housing and investment in these areas as a place of consumption, bohemia, nightlife, and cultural tourism. Therefore, it is important to understand the process that enabled tourism attraction to the area delimited as Rio's Cultural Landscape.

Gentrification: a Theoretical Concept Put Into Practice

The processes of gentrification, as a theoretical concept, are directly linked to the initiatives of occupation by the middle classes of old neighborhoods and industrial areas of highly populated European and North American cities. These areas are transformed, through initiatives of urban revitalization, in spaces of symbolic and cultural consumption. Gentrification occurred in different waves. This strategy was initially driven by private investment, in the

⁵ The walkability index created by the Institute for Transport and Development Policies (ITDP-Brazil) in partnership with the IRPH. More details at: <<http://itdpbrasil.org.br/indice-of-caminhabilidade/>>. The mapping of urban voids is a census carried out with the identification and characterization of empty and underused properties. More details at: <<http://www.rio.rj.gov.br/web/irph/exibeconteudo?id=6588530>>.

1960s and 1970s, followed by public-private partnerships in the 1980s, and, in Brazil, by international capital from 1990. In Rio de Janeiro the main ideas for using the gentrification concept was based on the urban ennoblement of the public spaces of historic cities and old metropolis (Smith, 2006; Zukin, 1995, 2010; Cardoso, 2013).

Zukin (1995) argues that the processes of gentrification in the displacement of the original population of a neighborhood or areas due to the action of the private market and not to the planning of the State. This process differs from specific urban revitalization projects planned by the local government, which proposes to preserve the patrimony with education programs and daily evaluations of the uses of cultural assets. According to the author, even when these interventions do not aim to expel low-income families, the interests of the real estate market around the 'area' of socio-cultural diversity reveal that the re-composition, or re-development, of the urban landscape, as a cultural appropriation directed to new residents, tourists, to artists, cultural producers, etc., is a category in which it is constructed to establish new uses of these areas. This has been referred to in scientific literature as the "landscape of power".

Besides reformulating the landscape, other strategic points have become fundamental to understand this process. The most concerning is the use of visual consumption that leads to the encouragement of new social practices that acts as a means of social control and "social eugenics". Gentrification is a type of urban intervention that modifies the urban landscape with architectural transformations of strong visual appeal. This process meets the demands of the markets of real estate valuation, security, strategic planning and social sanitation of the urban space. In general, the interventions in the old urban areas retain a patrimonial value, with a strong visual appeal, mainly historical monuments – civil and religious – that are transformed into museums, art galleries, cultural centers, luxury hotels, restaurants, pubs, cafes, cinemas etc. It has as a consequence a high degree of segregation of the uses of the public space that reinforce the socioeconomic asymmetries, since they focus on attracting a well-to-do tourist population and new residents of the middle and upper classes (Zukin, 1995; Leite, 2015; Cardoso, 2013).

The relationship between heritage, sustainability, and economic development has been associated with urban policies aimed at the revitalization of historic centers, port areas, and landscape interests. The city of Rio de Janeiro has suffered a wave of gentrification guided by cultural consumption and

tourism practices. There were re-developments at important areas such as the historical downtown (Lapa), Rio's port (Port Zone) and Atlantic beaches (Copacabana), and, also, in areas where the most economic disadvantaged families lives, such as the favelas located in Rio' scenic hills (Freire-Medeiros, 2006; Williamson, 2012).

Rio's Cultural Landscape: Tourist Attraction and Gentrification

The cultural landscape reinforces the material and symbolic image that translate the result of the interaction between man and nature. Rio de Janeiro is a city that has its own particularities regarding urban development, as the design and the development of a modern city compete with its own social problems and technical difficulties, which is developing urban areas that have already a considerable population and are located between the sea and the city's hills. Its uniqueness is, according to IPHAN (2012), intentionally designed to be a Brazilian postcard. Its images are presented to the world like a brand, identified easily by its architecture and urbanism essential elements.

These characteristics are claimed as "Rio brand", which is the result of the internationalization of Rio's cultural image and the "carioca" lifestyle. Mostly, they are represented in the international tourist imaginary by Rio's urban spaces and landscapes, such as *Copacabana* and *Ipanema* beaches, *Corcovado* and *Pão de Açúcar* hills, and also by its cultural heritage such as *Samba* and *Bossa Nova* music. However, the new process of tourist attraction and gentrification created its own new narrative and conceptual image. This process generated a double movement of identity transformation.

First, the *Floresta da Tijuca*, the *Jardim Botânico*, the *Corcovado* and the *Pão de Açúcar* hills, were consolidated as the international image of the "Cidade Maravilhosa" [Marvelous City]. These assets and spaces are among the main icons that make up the international image of urban life in Rio de Janeiro. However, in order to continue to represent the image and advertising branding of Rio and, to some extent, of Brazil, they were also patrimonialised, so that the narrative could be also changed. The narrative transformation of these cultural and natural assets associated with the new gentrification process of Rio acts in its symbolic, sociocultural, political and economic meanings (Jaguaribe, 2011).

Second, this research indicates that interventions on the Copacabana and Port Zone, for example, delineate a transformation of the modernist city's image and architecture into postmodernist image and architecture, focused primarily on technology, entertainment and a new sense of tourist experience.⁶ While the central argument is the conservation of urban and natural areas to enable the environmental and cultural sustainability of the neighborhoods, investments in tourist landscapes become a common initiative and are constantly present in the political rhetoric. According to van der Duim (2007), the new tourist landscapes constitute a network of actors that includes people, cultural assets, and cultural and digital media enterprises. This notion of landscape crosscuts the uses of new services offered in the spaces destined to visitation. They extensively use connected devices for urban mobility, for creating and sharing photos in real-time in social media, and for highlighting travel guides, brochures, and maps. The new tourist landscape comprises a social relational space and it constitutes itself as "places in network". Users and consumers are actors of an integrated network.

Due to the patrimonialisation of the South Zone, done with great incentive from UNESCO, Copacabana was considered a cultural asset. This decision was made especially because of Copacabana's mosaic of Portuguese stones, designed as waves, on its beach's sidewalk. The urban landscape of Copacabana beach is comprised by diverse buildings and by hotels located in the Atlântica Avenue. They have a diverse architecture. The most recent project that will allow a massive visual change in Copacabana beach is the *Museu da Imagem e do Som* (MIS). Its modernistic architectural project is based on the mosaic designed of Copacabana's sidewalk and represents the new trend of architecture and urbanism in Rio de Janeiro.

The MIS museum promises to offer to its visitors a technological and interactive experience, mixed with visual consumption experience of the Copacabana beach. Nevertheless, the *Museu do Amanhã*, located on Rio's port zone at *Pier Mauá*, was built using sustainable technologies to capture water and solar energy. This new museum represents the new Rio international image, representing also a new narrative for the city's creativity, sustainability, and cultural heritage. In addition to its distinctive modernistic architecture, the *Museu do Amanhã* proposes a new paradigm for the social uses of

⁶ This is a reference to the imaginary of Brazil "Modernista" of the early twentieth century, when the landscaped scenery of the already traditional image "Marvelous City" and its landscapes and public spaces like the Copacabana beach and Flamengo Park were projected.

cultural spaces through consumption, media, and creative technologies. The photography below presents the constant social constraints that the Rio's government face while trying to modernize and modify the international image of a city without minimizing its serious social problems.



Photography 1 – *Museu do Amanhã*

Note: Cleaning of the Guanabara Bay for accumulated daily garbage disposed near to the “sustainable” *Museu do Amanhã*. Photo: Sayuri Dantas, 4/29/2016.

Regarding Rio's Central Region and Port Zone, besides the incentive to housing and commercial investments, the IRPH sought to revitalize these areas for tourism and cultural consumption purposes. Some of these spaces were denominated areas of scenic interest and received special attention to be incorporated, as a cultural landscape experience, into the tourist route during the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympics Game. This strategy articulated, therefore, the gentrification policy to the tourist attraction, and assisted in creating new international urban images for the city of Rio de Janeiro.

The most important actions of the *Porto Maravilha* project until the Olympics games took place with the construction of the Museu de Arte do Rio (2013), the gentrification of the *Praça Mauá* and the construction of the *Museu do Amanhã*, at the end of 2015, under the slogan of innovation, creativity and sustainable technologies. It was also created the road planning for sustainable mobility with VLTs and cycle paths. According to Pio (2013), *Porto Maravilha*

project operated in four strategic areas: (a) improvement of infrastructure; (b) stimulus to the development of new housing areas; (c) commercial and industrial investments; and (d) culture and entertainment. Although the project aims at comprehensive actions, “it is possible to note that cultural activities are seen by politicians and public opinion as central and determinant of the success of the economic and social gentrification of ‘degraded’ urban spaces” (Pio, 2013, p.10).

Regarding cultural activities, the port communities, such as *Pedra do Sal*, has become a place for tourist experiences and nightlife in Rio. The scopes of gentrification policies are not limited to the construction of urban spaces. The government also promoted spaces on the surroundings of *Pedra do Sal*, known as *PequenaÁfrica*, as strategic points to promote culture. The *PequenaÁfrica* is considered an ethnic territory of Afro-Brazilian culture, officially recognized by the State Institute of Cultural Patrimony (INEPAC). Among other things, there the tourists are attracted to experience the *Samba de Raiz* and the Carnivals’ groups that are part of the daily life of Rio de Janeiro, assisting in consolidating the Carioca lifestyle image internationally (Oliveira et al., 2012; Guimarães, 2012).

Although patrimonial and environmental preservation contributes to the urban and economic development of the city, there are significant side effects to these actions. The removal of families was intensified in the *favelas*. The public authorities rhetoric emphasized an “urban order” strategy, on which the public security, especially fight against violence and drug trafficking, were prioritized. Peacekeeping Police Units (UPPs) were installed in these areas. According to Diniz (2014, p. 13), “the principles of order, rationality, rule of law and functionality in urban gentrification policies have sustained interventions that, according to their critics, have neglected the historical attributes of urban spaces and the ways of life associated with them”.

The *favelas* have returned to media attention since 2010 after Rio was elected as the host city of the 2016 Olympics games. The public authorities began to use the environmental rhetoric regarding the Favelas, reaffirming the necessity of creating sustainable ways of preserving Rio’s hills in the city’s South Zone. This perspective involves the idea of de-urbanization, as demonstrated by the studies of Mattos (2014) and Steiker-Ginzberg (2014). As an example, the program *Morar Carioca* Program (2010) was created as an extension of the *Favela-Bairro* Program, which promised to become the Rio’s *favela*

urbanization program through modernization, infrastructure, and integration among the city's favelas by the year 2020. According to Mattos (2014, p.173), "it is in course in the city of Rio de Janeiro the legitimization of de-urbanization of favelas as a permanent policy, which can lead to dismissing the idea that was built in the last 30 years about the city's urbanization.

Photography 2 – *View of the Parque das Ruínas, Santa Tereza*



Note: Vila Santo Amaro, Rio de Janeiro, 2012. Source: Leandro Neumann Ciuffo.

According to Zukin (2000), the landscape is "largely a material construction, but it is also a symbolic representation of social and spatial relations [...] is a powerful expression of the structural constraints of a city" (p. 106). It is in the landscape that it is possible to observe what was built, hidden and what resists the city's changes during time. The landscape, in its socially and spatially characteristics, orders the urban structure. They also contribute to the development of social relations, for political and economic power, and for cultural differences. Its symbolic and material representation constitutes a "landscape of power".

Based on the Zukin's (2000) landscape concept, it is possible to infer that the *favela* is the Rio counter-landscape (Malta, 2017; 2018). That is, the favelas can be understood as a space of inversion of the urban planning, and also as a symbolic representation of political power, which contributes to perpetuate social tension in the city. The favelas constitute the Carioca anti-symbolic representation and, as a counter-landscape, are commonly characterized by the

social representation of degradation of the landscape hills (Barbosa, 2012). In contrast, from the South Zone to the Port Zone, several lower-income families that lived in areas considered with privileged landscape view and where UPPs were installed, such as *Pavão-Pavãozinho*, *Vidigal*, *Rocinha*, *Morro da Providência* e o *Morro do Alemão*, saw their daily spaces being appropriated by tourist, who sought to have their “carioca” lifestyle touristic experience (van der Duim, 2007).

The *favelas* have been transformed into one of the tourist destinations of Rio de Janeiro, through a practice called favela-tour. A double condition is associated with this tourist experience. First, the de-urbanization that led to the expulsion of residents on the grounds of irregularities. Secondly, the continued investment in tourism, especially by privileging certain places of visitation within the *favelas*. As Fortuna (2012) notes, this condition incurs an “unconvinced voyeurism” in visiting “tourist poverty”.

This relationship between heritage, sustainability, and economic development has been associated with urban policies aimed at the gentrification practices of historic centers and port areas. However, it is important that the concept of cultural landscape adopted do not lose sight of the areas of interest for landscape appreciation. The economic interests link the processes of change of urban areas to the innovations of cultural assets that are offered to locals and tourists alike. It can be ethnic communities, historical centers or simply cultural landscapes, in which the new carioca identity are used as resources for branding where daily life and rhetoric attributed to heritage assets seem to merge, with constant reproduction, modification, and appropriation for new uses (Jaguaribe, 2011). Jaguaribe (2011) points out that:

From the ideals of cosmopolitanism and modernity expressed by the celebrations of the Centennial of 1922 to the preparations for the 2016 Olympics, Rio de Janeiro has transformed itself from a peripheral city into a metropolis in search of a new configuration. The *favela* became a trademark, the popular culture and media culture supplanted the ideas of the literate city of the Belle Époque, and the cinematography uses of public space is no longer a civilizing task or national scenario, but it is a cultural offer in its global consumption forms. (Ibidem, p. 345).

The Rio new urban policies were structured by and for cultural consumption. The interventions took place through the attribution of the consumption value of cultural assets. According to Featherstone (2007), this covers the processes of change in the material and immaterial dimensions of daily life, increasingly

mediated by the culture of consumption. In this sense, the gentrification of the South and Port areas of Rio de Janeiro generated a cinematography use of public spaces and Brazilian culture, both in patrimonial spaces and favelas areas (Leite, 2015).

Rio's New Cultural Landscape and Its Educational Necessities: A Social Justice Challenge

It is not possible to conceive a project of re-urbanization of historical areas such as those of the city of Rio de Janeiro without long-term educational actions that can directly involve the entire population of the city. Changing the landscape of the city to create a new modernist conception to attend the necessities of revitalizing the city's international image without, at the same time, creating spaces and projects of long-term for education, Brazilian policymakers neglect the city's population, whom should be the biggest beneficiary of these innovations (Nery, 2018; 2018).

The mega-projects designed to modify Rio's international image, such as the *Museu do Amanhã*, coexist daily with the old social problems. The most serious is the violence and the drug traffic that year after year continues to promote terror in the *favelas* of the city. Since 2018, Rio de Janeiro State Government is under federal intervention due, mostly, to Rio's violence and social problems. Simply excluding this reality or making it part of a tourism experience does not help minimize the social problems faced by the population on a daily basis. Revitalization projects should be thought of as conduits for broad social transformation and not simply tools for the motif of the city's narrative and international image.

Dealing with these problems is also a social justice action. Rethinking public spaces without depriving the population of their use or de-characterizing them through tourist farms is an objective that the social policymakers of the city could aim for in the near future. Among the initiatives that could be considered are extensive education projects that appropriate the technologies and innovations proposed in museums to generate new e-learning spaces with broad participation of the population. It is about changing the focus of advertising to the educational process, making the population part of the innovations and transformations of the city.

These actions and the new urban spaces should connect education to the work of social transformation. It is precisely in thinking about social reality

through the need to modernize public spaces and not simply relegating people to social exclusion because of the need to reinvent a narrative and a new international image for the city.

Final considerations

Competition within the city does not escape the global pressures of changes in the world of consumption. The reordering of the city's most imminent problems has been envisaged by the opulent policy of landscape enhancement, urban revitalization, and creation of new tourist landscapes in the central area and the Port Zone. These issues deserve critical attention, as they express the problematic about the urban future of Rio de Janeiro, as well as the desire to make the city a world heritage. Disconnecting it from educational projects and its social justice challenge will eliminate the possibility of a broader transformation.

The Rio de Janeiro City Hall has established partnerships with the national and international private sectors and sought high financial investments to consolidate sustainable policies. These investments, in spite of the definitions of APACs, promote strong speculation in the expansion or real estate renovation of areas considered as scenic. For city administrators, hosting the Olympics, for example, became the opportunity to demarcate, in the course of urban planning in Rio, a legacy of urban transformations, while confirming the heritage value of the cultural landscape as the result of actions and of social practices of urban development.

These processes become forms of intervention in which the central features are the urban revitalization policies. In specific cases, they aimed at the touristic experience of everyday life. These practices reinvent urban images and are geared towards the tourist attraction to promote business, television media and social networks, without any educational purpose or wide strategies that could assist in evolving the population quality of life. In the core of this conflict are actions to de-urbanize favelas, to exclude their areas of the tourist and social map of the city, or to transform the counter-landscape into a tourist landscape. This vision should be overcome by a broader education project connecting the urban development with the populations necessities to survive its social problems.

Abstract: This article aims to analyze the patrimonialisation process that led to the development of a new international image of Rio de Janeiro. Mainly, this process was

developed to attract new tourist to this globally known city. A specialized literature review was conducted and observations were made in the city since its patrimonialisation process begun. Many public-private actions were implemented in order to appreciate cultural assets capable to add consumption value. The *favelas* became a counterpoint, or a “counter-landscape”, sometimes inserted in the touristic map, other times threatened with de-urbanization by Rio’s government. The authors aim to analyze the strategies used to implement Rio’s new cultural landscape, such as urban policies of landscape appreciation and protection, gentrification of historical areas and touristic attraction. Also, the authors present the city’s educational necessities related to the modification in urban development and its social justice challenges. In sum, this article offers recommendations to policymakers about how to deal with the city’s social constraints.

Keywords: cultural landscape, patrimonialisation, gentrification, and education

Streszczenie: Celem artykułu jest analiza procesu patrymonializacji, który doprowadził do stworzenia nowego międzynarodowego wizerunku Rio de Janeiro. Proces ten został opracowany głównie w celu przyciągnięcia nowych turystów do tego znanego na całym świecie miasta. Przeprowadzono przegląd literatury specjalistycznej i dokonano obserwacji w okresie od początku procesu patrymonializacji miasta. Wdrożono wiele działań publicznych i prywatnych mających na celu docenienie dóbr kultury, które mogą zwiększyć wartość konsumpcyjną. Fawele stały się kontrapunktem, czyli “kontr-krajobrazem”; niekiedy są umieszczane na mapie turystycznej, innym razem zagrożone deurbanizacją przez władze Rio. Celem autorów jest analiza strategii wdrażania nowego krajobrazu kulturowego Rio, takich jak: polityka doceniania i ochrony krajobrazu miejskiego, gentryfikacja obszarów historycznych i atrakcji turystycznych. Autorzy przedstawiają również potrzeby edukacyjne miasta, związane z modyfikacjami w rozwoju miasta i wyzwaniem sprawiedliwości społecznej. W artykule zawarto rekomendacje dla decydentów dotyczące sposobów radzenia sobie z wyzwaniami społecznymi miasta.

Słowa kluczowe: krajobraz kulturowy, patrymonializacja, edukacja

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