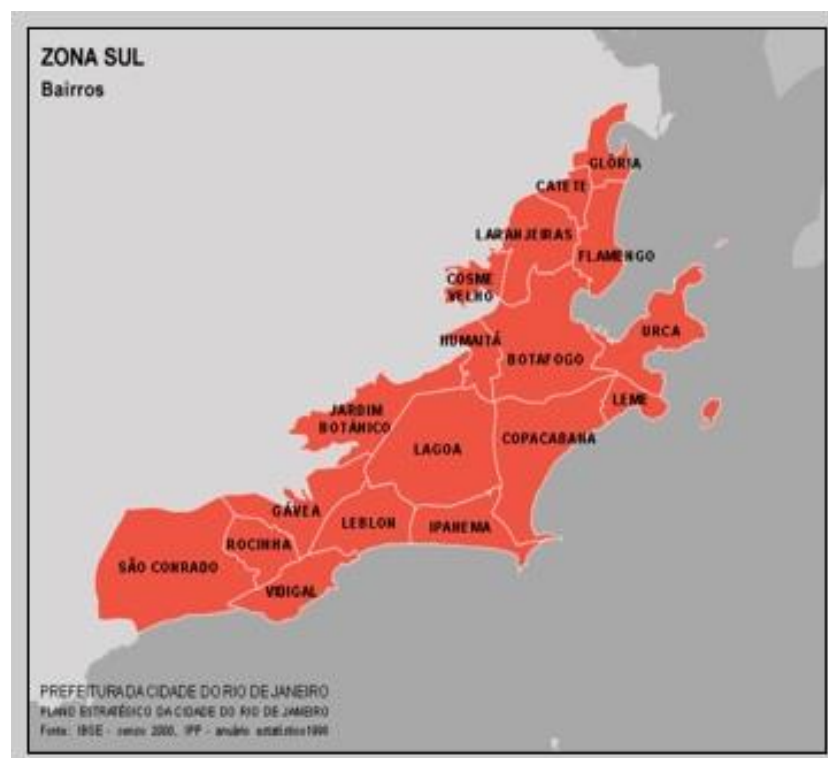

The gentrified version of the Bossa-Nova dream – the process of change of the beach environment in Rio de Janeiro

REIS FILHO, P.; da ROCHA E SILVA, A. The gentrified version of the Bossa-Nova dream - the process of change of the beach environment in Rio de Janeiro. In: *Resorting to the coast - tourism, heritage and cultures of the seaside*, 2009, Blackpool. Leeds: Centre for Tourism and Cultural Change, Leeds Metropolitan University, 2009. v.1.

INTRODUCTION

Rio de Janeiro's seashore has a crucial importance to the tourism industry in Brazil. The city's peculiar culture, lifestyle and, of course, natural beauties consolidated its status as an exotic, sunny and fashionable destination worldwide. Indeed, Rio's fame as 'festive place' crossed the Atlantic ocean, making the city the 'object of desire' for many tourists across the globe. Rio's 80km of seashore is formed of several beaches, which have developed a symbioticⁱ relationship with their public. The sea, the sun, the sand and the wind create a quite lively and unique sort of microcosm composed of a diverse range of people with different socio-economic backgrounds and age groups. The mixture of people and their behaviour contribute to consolidate specific 'codes' that differentiate one beach from another.



Rio de Janeiro's Zona Sul (South Zone) seashore and its beaches –
the Atlantic Ocean front is in dark grey
<http://www.rio.rj.gov.br/planoestrategico/>

In fact, these 'codes' are well represented in routine activities and fashions, which resulted in a quite symbolic image of Rio's lifestyle. For example, from typical beach pastimes (such as building sand castles and walking on the seashore promenade), to sports (such as football, volleyball or surfing); from the quite specific beach 'tribes' and beachwear (the famous 'bikinis', trunks and flip-flops), to the beach 'scene' made of towels, parasols, beach-chairs, straw mats and ambulant vendors: all these activities and social practices are translated into codes that are unique to each beach.

In this sense, Rio's beaches, particularly the stripe that comprehends Copacabana, Ipanema and Leblon, are perhaps what better encapsulates the Carioca's distinctive lifestyle, promoting this sort of sexy, sunny, fashionable and festive 'image' to audiences both locally and beyond.



The sand stripe comprises distinctive beach environments -
image 1: Leme (a small extension on the top, close to the Pão de Açúcar mountain); Copacabana (the whole 'C' section in the middle); and Arpoador (a tiny extension on the bottom right) beaches
Arpoador is the physical/ symbolic division between Copacabana and Ipanema
image 2: Arpoador (on the top right), Ipanema and Leblon (the sand stripe on the right) beaches
The canal that connects Rodrigo de Freitas lagoon (in the centre) to the Atlantic Ocean is the physical/symbolic division between Ipanema and Leblon
<http://www.rio.rj.gov.br/planoestrategico/>

Seaside tourism on a global stage: 'Resorting to the coast: tourism, heritage and cultures of the seaside', Blackpool, UK, 25-29 June 2009



The beaches and their distinctive environments – the promenade (on the top) and the seashore (on the bottom) Leblon (on the top and bottom left), Ipanema (on the top right) and Copacabana (on the bottom right) images by the author (april 2009)



The beaches and their distinctive 'actors' – ambulant vendors, visitors and habitués Leblon (the top row and on the bottom left), Ipanema (in the centre on the bottom) and Copacabana (on the bottom right) images by the author (april 2009)

It is not that other coastal cities do not have their own distinctive environments and 'tribes', but what differentiates Rio's beaches from other famous ones, such as the French Riviera or Greek Islands, for example, is the actual involvement of the local population in the shaping of the 'beach scene'. Whereas at other beaches local populations may have been drifted away due to the increasing agency of external factors and figures, such as developers or tourists whom potentially transform the original 'genius loci' into something else, in Rio such agency is still minimal. In short, whereas other famous beaches have been suffering the transformation of their former character due to the logic of profitsⁱⁱ, in Rio this transformation has been operated mostly by local factors and actors. However, this is something that is changing quite recently.

THE PROCESS OF GENTRIFICATION OF THE BOSSA-NOVA DREAMⁱⁱⁱ

Rio's seductive ambience, human and natural beauties and, of course, its famous beaches were described in verse and prose by the Bossa-nova movement in the late-1950s and the 1960s, elevating the beach-scene to the status of Rio's 'official' identity. It seemed that in this sunny microcosm, social barriers and differences could be put aside and everyone could co-exist peacefully, as if the seafront was a neutral territory. In fact, social relations did benefit from this relaxed atmosphere and a quite compelling example is the sort of first commercial activity that emerged spontaneously on the beaches. It was performed by individuals who either settled their commodities (usually food and beverage, or indispensable beach gear, such as sunglasses, suntan lotions, parasols etc...) under tents on the beach promenade, or who walked up and down on the hot sand selling these commodities – something that is quite characteristic of Rio's beaches and still happen to this day.

In the late-1950s, and perhaps due to the then recent glamour of the beach scene associated to the Bossa-Nova movement, the first pushing carts selling hotdogs, fizzy drinks and ice-cream emerged, exploring this new niche. These informal vendors, their commodities and their location were adjusted according to public demand. Actually, on the beach this sort of basic labour division translates a symbiotic relationship: by playing their roles, these social actors help to consolidate the local culture and lifestyle^{iv}. The integration between these forces, i.e. the logic of demand-consumption, was based on quite convivial terms, where the consumer acquired the status of 'habitué' and the vendor, of 'friend'. The whole scheme was (and still is, to some extent) characterised by informal and, therefore, quite oscillating circumstances. For example, the relationship between consumers and vendors is based on quite subjective factors, like charisma and empathy, and depends, of course, on the sort of product/commodity available for purchasing.

Another fact that contributes to the oscillating character of the scheme is the location where these vendors settle their trailers, vending charts or, in the case of ambulant ones, how they approach the consumer. Another important, yet also unpredictable fact is how the clientele is composed, which can be quite diverse in range. In any case, it is precisely in how these social-webs are constructed and maintained that deserves attention: the impressive adaptability and flexibility of the scheme, and the

interrelations between the social actors (which will be referred here as 'critical actors and factors') are indeed characteristic of a symbiotic process.

However, this sort of informal relationship between vendors and their public started to change in the late-1970s, when trailers gradually replaced the former vending carts creating, therefore, a more 'static' visual identity on the beach scene. However, it was during the early 1990s, when the City Hall decided to implement the first purpose-built kiosks in Rio's Zona Sul and Zona Oeste (South and West zones) ocean front, from Flamengo to Recreio dos Bandeirantes, that this informal commerce suffered a substantial change. ^v



Changes on the beach environment - different spatial configurations and visual identities
The 1970s trailers, the still present tents and the early-1990s kiosks
http://orlario.net/index_site_html.shtml (trailer), other images by the author (april 2009)

This new urban equipment was designed to be a self-sufficient cell, where electricity, water and storage space were supplied, providing safest and more hygienic conditions for vendors and consumers alike. Although they can be arguable aesthetically, logistically these new units were quite convenient. Within the kiosks, enough space for two people to work was provided, which speed up operational procedures. In the immediate surroundings, a relaxed ambience could be staged by placing foldable/stackable chairs and tables for customers convenience. In terms of design and visual identity, these kiosks created a new ambience within the former unofficial, yet clearly defined, spatial configuration. These new urban structures acted more in the sense of consolidating the territory where these practices were already happening, rather than altering them. The former informal social relations between consumers-vendors remained basically the same. In fact, these new urban equipments were provided in order to organise a previous erratic situation.

However, in the early 2000s, this first generation of purpose-built kiosks was supplanted by a certainly more gentrified type. These new kiosks, designed by Indio da Costa, an international award-winning design practice from Rio de Janeiro, attempt to improve the spatial organisation on the beaches promenades and, more importantly, to create a new visual identity. These improvements were certainly more tourist-oriented and the kiosks themselves were designed to target a more refined clientele. As part of a major process of 'identity shift' and due its notorious fame worldwide, the City Hall, via its Department of UrbanPlanning, decided that the intervention on the beach-scene should start in Copacabana.^{vi}

Copacabana, with its 4.5km is the most famous Brazilian beach. Since the 1920s, when Copacabana Palace, a 5-star hotel facing the beach was inaugurated, Copacabana became associated with glamour and exoticism^{vii}. Presently, pop-concerts, open-air film festivals and sports competitions, notably soccer and volley tournaments, are part of Copacabana beach calendar. Certainly, the most famous event is the New Year's Eve celebrations and fireworks, which attract millions of people every year^{viii}. Actually, the Carnival parades at Marquês de Sapucaí and the New Year's Eve celebrations in Copacabana are, indeed, the main tourist events on Rio de Janeiro's calendar.

In this sense, it was not a surprise that the process of renovation of Rio's seafront visual identity and the gentrification of the beaches promenades started in Copacabana. The opening of the new kiosks, in 2005, was part of an extensive urban regeneration policy that started in 2000, which intended to prepare the city to host the 2007 Pan-American Games.^{ix}

Form, function and aesthetics: design matters

Despite the sort of 'operational' problem with the kiosks' older version, which had a quite restricted storage space (both for goods and for foldable/stackable chairs and tables), it was rather their design/aesthetics that became 'old-fashioned'. Aiming to solve these two fundamental complaints, the lack of storage and the 'dated' aesthetics^x, a new version was commissioned, approved and subsequently implemented by the City Hall. But differently from the earlier version, where the main purpose was to spatially and formally organise an ongoing informal and temporary situation (i.e. where vending carts, trailers and tents were the praxis), these new kiosks aimed to gentrify the beach microcosm. But instead of considering the particularities and the historical context that characterise this microcosm, the notorious investment-profit rationale was the one adopted.

The new design itself is more visually appealing due to its 'contemporary' aesthetics (e.g. curved glass panels, metallic structures, shiny billboards, lighting design, etc..), although these new kiosks would be more suitable in an environment where sand, sun and principally ocean breeze were not present. The combination of these natural elements do cause oxidation in metallic structures and tend to scratch shiny and glazed surfaces. Besides, metallic surfaces and glazed panels exposed to direct sun tend to heat, making working conditions within these cells quite uncomfortable. Ocean breeze and high tidal waves are frequent in Rio de Janeiro's seashore, which

can affect these new structures occasionally. In this sense, not only the materials are inadequate; they will reduce considerably the lifespan of these kiosks too. ^{xi}



Changes on the beach environment - different spatial configurations and visual identities
The 2000s 'gentrified' kiosk - more contemporary aesthetics and improved facilities
images by the author (april 2009)

Although following contemporary lines, these new structures were neither designed to be a sensible 'green' option to replace the existing ones, nor aimed to improve the pre-existed socio relations, and nor intended to reduce the environmental impact ^{xii}. On the contrary, the construction of these structures depend upon a series of vast infrastructural works, such as drainage and soil/sand removal, as decks and platforms on the border of the promenades were projected onto the sand stripe. Besides, these new kiosks were designed in two levels, inflicting in structural provision costs: on the ground level is the kiosk itself, whereas storage, maintenance shafts and toilets are placed on the underground, accessible by a platform-lift and stairs.

In fact, it can be said that one of the reasons for designing these new, shiny structures was to target the tourism industry and a gentrified audience. Some of these new kiosks are small-units of famous restaurants, selling their signature-dishes and expensive drinks inspired by the famous scenario. Whereas in the old kiosks you were likely to find typical summer beverages and nibbles, such as coconut water, beer, lollies, seafood, pastries, etc.,, in the new ones you may find some nouvelle-cuisine inspired food, served by waiters in uniforms, targeting a more refined clientele. ^{xiii}

However, the implementation of the new kiosks will be a gradual process, mostly due to infrastructural works, which reportedly cost circa € 600,000 to Orla-Rio concessionary – whom got a 20-years concession deal in return ^{xiv}. In this sense,

tourist-wise the location where these kiosks should be placed is paramount as ultimately it would generate profits to carry on the gradual implementation process.

And precisely because it is a gradual process, it enables the coexistence of diverse visual identities, spatial configurations and social practices performed on the beaches promenades. Although the new kiosks could easily overshadow the older ones, due precisely to their clean, shiny and contemporary aesthetics, the co-existence between old and new has been harmonic and the interaction between the different types of customers has been somewhat balanced.



Changes on the beach environment - different spatial configurations and visual identities
The 2000s 'gentrified' kiosk - the co-existence with previous models and commercial practices
images by the author (april 2009)

Whilst one may argue that problems such as infrastructural unsuitability, 'dated' design and the poor working conditions of the old kiosks – problems which were highlighted during the consultation process^{xv} – were solved by the 'gentrified' kiosk, major issues related to the implementation of these new structures were overlooked, such as:

- how the main actors (such as local communities, frequent and/or occasional visitors, local working force, etc) would interface with the new urban element? What would be the consequences of this action on the beach environment? To what extent these new kiosks would change the identity of the place?
- how the previous kiosks would relate with the new ones? Where the new kiosks would be settled, what is the criteria for selecting the place? What

would be and how to minimise the potential conflicts between the older and the newer versions?

- how consumers would related to and interact with the dichotomy old-new? Would consumers, including regular/occasional visitors and the local population, be compelled to visit the new kiosks or be intimidated by them?
- to what extent the implementation of these new kiosks would interfere in the spontaneously, yet consolidated, social practices that happen in such environments? How the local workforce, mostly composed of ambulant vendors, would be affected?

By replicating these kiosks throughout the beach promenade, thus shifting the visual identity and completely replacing the old version for the new one, we believe that former social relations would suffer serious consequences. The main actors and factors, which constitute an important part of the environment have not been clearly identified and, therefore, may be excluded from the gentrification process. In this sense, we suggest that they must become part of the process, where the applicability of cognitive analysis and strategies would help to find out the best possible solutions, balancing pre-existent factors and the need for innovative approaches.

SYMBIOTIC PROCESSES: THE BALANCE BETWEEN PRE-EXISTING FACTORS AND INNOVATIVE SOLUTIONS

Our intention here is to discuss to what extent the gentrified version of the Bossanova environment has been influenced by a tourist-oriented agenda – which has been largely influenced by the logic of profits and the commodification of cultural values – and how this agenda is affecting (or not) previous symbiotic socio-relations and unique traditions.^{xvi}

The significant issues overlooked by Orla-Rio research-poll, as posed above, indicate that some crucial points cannot be answered under the profit-oriented logic that usually characterises urban interventions. Whilst a set of planned initial actions focusing on profits are based on quite optimistic ideas, they sometimes lead to wrong interpretations, compromising, therefore, the evaluation of the intervention itself. In fact, transformations on the urban fabric (including regeneration policies) comprise a series of issues concerning decision-making processes and their intimate relationship with the so-called 'critical actors and factors' – a somewhat wide range of people and elements which are essential for a deep and complex understanding of the gentrification phenomenon^{xvii}. Due to its strategic character, the analysis of these 'critical actors and factors' (and the awareness of their importance in the dynamics) should permeate all phases of the project, from its initial ideas, to its development, implementation and afterlife.

It is essential to characterise the profile and agency of the several 'critical actors and factors' involved in the process and also their influence on the proposed set of actions/strategies that would compose the urban intervention. Once these factors are identified and defined, they must be categorised according to the importance and influence in the elaboration of the strategies and methodologies to be adopted,

outlining, therefore, the framework of the project. This initial concern minimises risks and costs and, at the same time, it configures several strategic possibilities, including how these factors could overlap, interact or annihilate each other, or how different spheres of interest (political, socio-cultural, economic, etc..) may or may not co-exist and cooperate.

Ideally, these main actors and factors would participate in a multidisciplinary and multidimensional group, alongside with specialists, investors and the public sector, in the different phases of the process. The effective participation of such crucial individuals and the comprehensive understanding of the main factors, which compose and exercise power on the environment, would help in anticipating potential conflicts, how to manage them and what would be the course of actions to be taken.

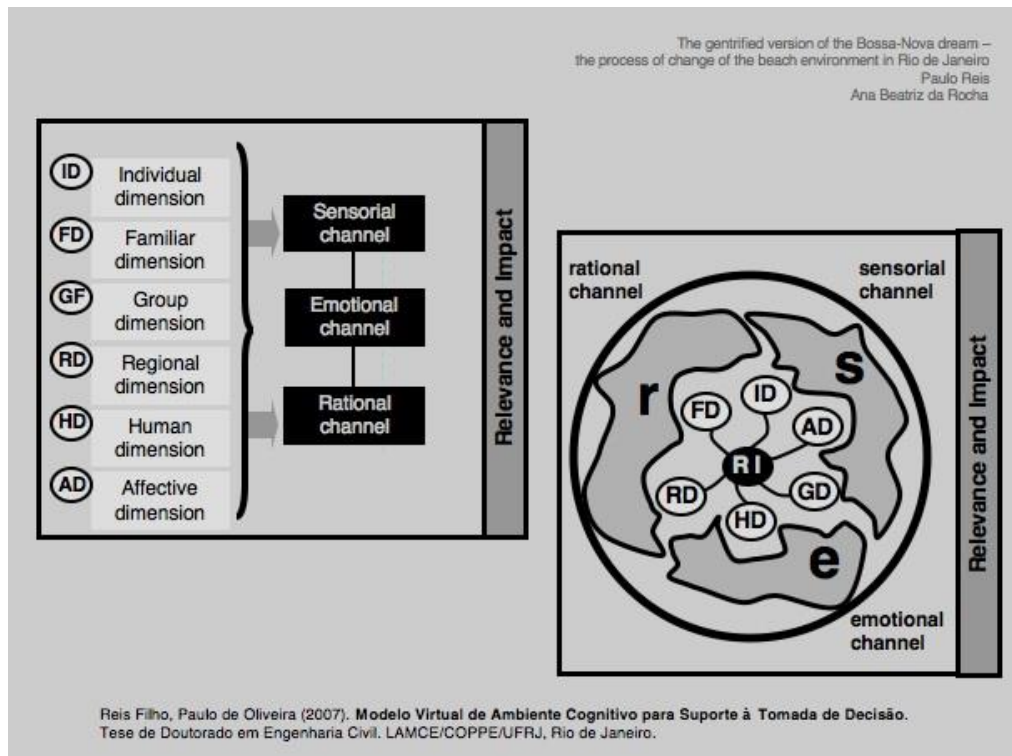
Strategic cognition: a process and its applicability

Cognition, as broader concept, means the process of acquiring knowledge, which varies from one person to another, and which inevitably involves complex historical, socio-cultural, religious and geographic characteristics, amongst other relevant factors. In short, it is the individual perception and the codification of the surroundings (and not necessarily the immediate one) with which he/she relates to. And when this process of perception and codification is led in order to achieve pre-determined goals, or when it is oriented to solve a specific situation – for instance how to balance the coexistence between old and new forms of cultural manifestations, as the case of the kiosks on Copacabana beach promenade suggests – , it characterises a strategic-cognitive process.^{xviii}

In order to assimilate and better visualise the 'critical actors and factors', how they interrelate and what are their demands and wishes, the use of visual material, such as maps and diagrams, is highly encouraged, particularly when discussing with multidisciplinary groups. By inputting abstract concepts, or compiling the data from the matrixes, graphs and/or diagrams would illustrate better what are the major components in the process. This is quite helpful when presenting the project to diverse and/or non-specialised audiences, which do not necessarily share the same expectations and convictions. This visual material would help in the understanding of not only the problems and the main concerns related to the specific situation, but it also highlights who/what are the main agents in this scenario.

Such visual material would highlight the cognitive profile of the main actors, providing a clear understanding of the impact and relevance of different aspects in the process. Certainly, the inclusion of subjective issues, such as emotional and sensorial aspects, which inevitably affect the way individuals understand and relate to a given situation, would generate far more interesting and complex patterns to be analysed.^{xix}

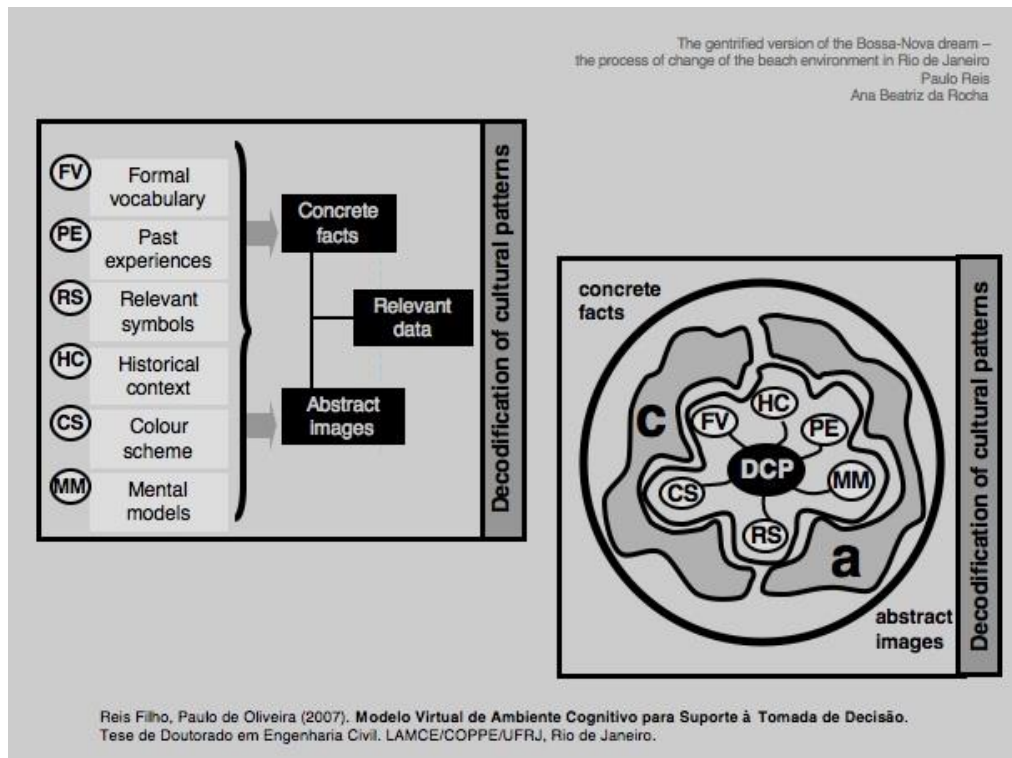
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diagrams: relevance and impact (left) and cognitive profile of individuals (right) – an efficient tool in understanding the main actors and factors and their agency in a given situation

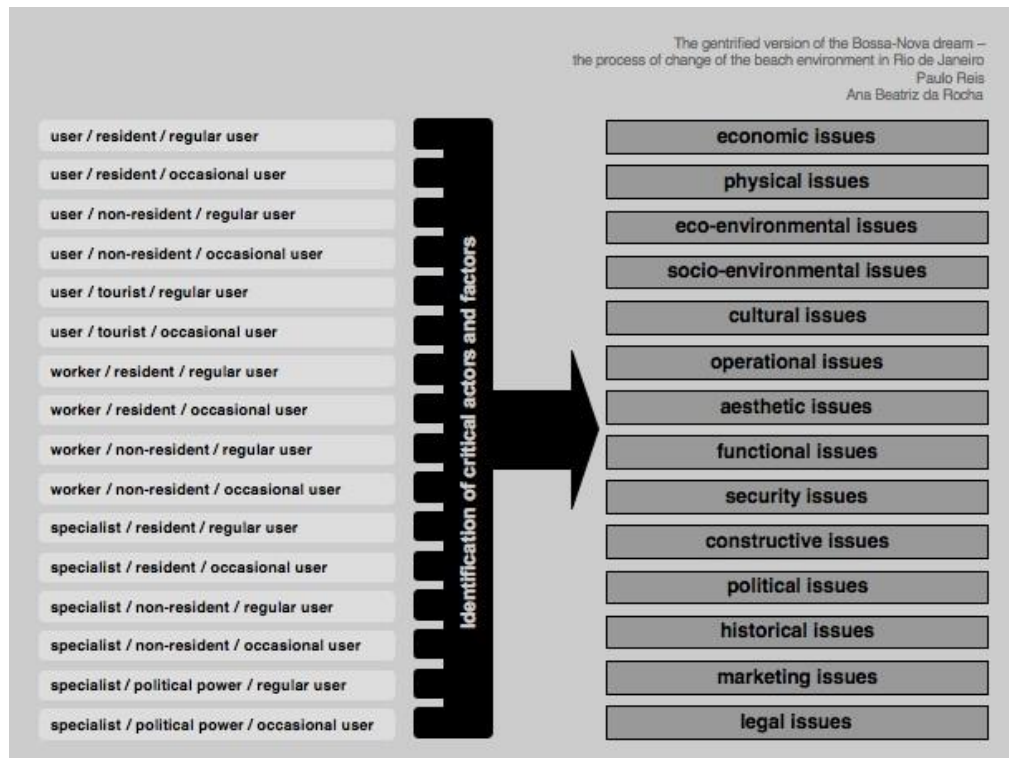
The intention is to generate visual material – a map, a matrix, or an image – as frequent as possible as they could potentially illustrate what are the ‘cognitive profiles’ and their agency in the process. It is expected, however, that a large amount of visual material emerge from such complex process of analysing and cross-referencing data inputs, particularly if the team of analysts is composed of people from different specialisms and backgrounds. Thus, compiling this information in order to build a database of images and facts would generate more and more specific information regarding the analysed situation. The decodification of relevant data could potentially indicate the best course of action to be taken in posterior phases.

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diagrams: database (left) and cognitive profile of individuals (right) –
an efficient tool in understanding the main actors and factors and their agency in a given situation

The main purpose of building such specific database is to relate the importance of cognitive processes (both in individual and collective levels) and how concerns, wishes and actual facts intertwine, generating, thus, increasingly more interesting, yet, complex, data. Whereas the focus is given to the cognitive processes of the 'critical actors and factors', it cannot be ignored how valuable is the team of analysts' personal experiences as they could potentially contribute to different ways of investigating data, through different angles and broader perspectives. In this sense, cross-referencing individual demands, wishes and perceptions, and the actual set of interventions that are part of the strategic decision-making process, highlights the importance of a multidisciplinary team in analysing data. The following graph illustrates such approach:



the transformation of abstract data into potential guidelines – understanding the relevance of each component in the decision-making process
image: Reis Filho, (2007)

This graph illustrates how to combine the information provided by the visual material, particularly regarding the relevance and impact of facts/actions and the decodification of relevant (cultural, symbolic, political etc..) aspects, and the data generated by cross-referencing personal/group demands and the set of planned actions. The results are increasingly more specific set of guidelines or potential actions, which are tailored to respond to the problems initially posed by the actors involved in the process. For example, this graph could indicate: 1) who were the 'critical actors and factors' involved in the process of implementing the new kiosks on Copacabana beach promenade (users and their relation to the environment); 2) what were the expectations, demands and concerns involved in the process (identification of some sort of pattern or consensus amongst 'critical actors and factors'); and 3) how these two forces interrelate and how they could be handled (the solution of their issues).

Certainly, a large amount of information is left behind when analysing data, preparing matrixes and visual material, or building up database. It is crucial to refine, balance, adjust and reevaluate the sort of vague and occasionally irrelevant information initially gathered and what really matters in the given situation. Using the example of 1999 Orla-Rio poll, more than 90% of the interviewed people affirmed that new kiosks would attract more tourists, whereas more than 70% of the people were concerned that the prices of commodities available for purchase would raise considerably. Isolating these entries and analysing their significance under the logic of profits and investment, one may argue that there is a quite compelling

evidence indicating that 'attract more tourists' equals 'they are better', i.e. the new kiosks would generate more profits because they would attract more investment and tourists.

However, when analysing these inputs under the logic of cognitive processes and their applicability, these rather unrelated information could become a quite meaningful data. For instance, if considering the importance of local cultures and populations in the process of decision-making and the implementation of urban interventions, which characterises the cognitive strategic process, the indication that focusing on a profit-oriented agenda, symbolised by tourists and investments, may lead to the gradual segregation of former visitors, pushed away by the rise of the price of the commodities available for purchase in these new kiosks. This sort of broader perspective may only become evident if and when multidisciplinary groups are involved in the data analysis and when cognitive strategic processes, either on design or implementation levels, are fostered.

CONCLUSIONS

The aim here was not simply to highlight the problems related to design strategies and decision processes, but to include this particular case in the discussions regarding the importance of incorporating cognitive strategic approaches when proposing urban interventions.

As a pilot experience, the 'gentrified' version of the kiosks aimed to shift the identity of the beach scene on quite specific settings on Copacabana beach promenade. However, the rationale behind this political strategy was to attract a wider number and more diversified group of tourists, and not to promote a sustainable and balanced socio-economic growth, particularly when considering the case of the ambulant vendors on the beaches. In this sense, the adopted solution reinforced the lack of a more 'symbiotic' approach in favour of a profit-oriented praxis. Usually, such urban renovation set of actions tend to focus on creating projects of great prestige within the media and highly appealing to potential investors.

By imposing a new identity and spatial/visual organisation, these new kiosks are shifting the local culture, which is widely known for its informality and friendly socio-relations. We do not have the pretence to ignore that some immediate actions, particularly concerning economic motivations, are vital in the process of consolidating and, to some extent, modifying the dynamics of the cultural patterns. These immediate actions inevitably promote substantial changes on the urban fabric, which may result in the shift of identity of a given place.

Whilst we may have briefly commented on the case of how characteristic is the sort of spontaneous forms of social relations in Rio de Janeiro, we do not have the pretence to ignore that some immediate actions, particularly concerning economic motivations, are vital in the process of consolidating and, to some extent, modifying the socio-cultural dynamics and its representation on the urban fabric. However, in our opinion, some official interventions, like the case of the gentrified kiosks mentioned here, are characteristic of rather imposed solutions with no concern

whatsoever for the previous forms of social interactions. Our criticism is to the sort of imposition and disregard that generally characterise these actions, and not at all to the creation and/or implementation of political actions per se.

What is expected from public policies, especially when significant urban interventions are planned to happen in highly culturally mixed environments, such as Rio de Janeiro's beaches, is a deep regard/understanding of the dynamics of the local social interactions and their symbiotic processes. In Brazil, and mainly in Rio de Janeiro, the coexistence of many different 'social actors' is what constitutes the essence of the city's identity. Therefore, it is quite relevant to incorporate vernacular components that could contribute to a more complex understanding of traditions and social relations. In this sense, whilst they may increase short-term profits, actions that underestimate such essential issues will add, to some extent, little impact on socio-economic development in medium and long terms. And this is precisely why it is primordial to focus on how symbiotic and cognitive processes happen: they would give a richer and far more comprehensive background for further analysis.

Moreover, analysing urban regeneration and gentrification processes under social cognitive perspectives could help in the elaboration of better tailored interventionist political actions – i.e. actions which focus on the population well-being rather than immediate (personal) profits. But unfortunately, the profit-oriented rationale has been preponderant. Cashing on cultural manifestations has been the praxis. Cities (and governments) have been focusing on promoting their cultural attributes as commodities to an increasingly wider number of tourists: they are more concerned in flagship cultural developments which could foster their economies, rather than promoting a balance between the commission of such media-oriented new developments and the sustainability of their vernacular traditions.

Regarding vernacular traditions, what still makes the case of Rio de Janeiro's beaches so distinctive is, perhaps, the possibility of experiencing more the city's lifestyle rather than simply consuming cultural commodities. Nevertheless, by proposing a gentrified version of a once symbiotic microcosm, these political actions are provoking a clash between these once symbiotic forces and the new gentrified commodities offered. More importantly, such political agenda is certainly ignoring what would be the main reasons that attract tourists to Rio de Janeiro's famous beaches in the first place. Thus, politics which combine gentrified solutions and the preservation of vernacular traditions, bearing in mind the subsistence of symbiotic relations, must be the focus of a sustainable agenda.

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ⁱ By 'symbiotic' it is meant the process where actions and reactions are in balance, as a mutually beneficial arrangement. Initially adopted in natural sciences disciplines, such as biology and botanic, in the 1850s, the concept of symbiosis (and its derivations, parasitism, mutualism and commensalisms), has been largely used in other disciplines, mainly in social sciences, such as economics, geography, cultural and urban studies, business and marketing, environmental studies, etc.. See Chertow, M. R. (2000) Industrial Symbiosis: Literature and Taxonomy in Annual Review of Energy and Environment, n^o 25: pp 313-337; Beatley, T. (2000) Green Urbanism — Learning from European Cities. Island Press; Huybrechts, D (et all) (1996) The role of ecobalance

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ⁱⁱ For a critical view of such limited perspective see, for example, Bianchini, Franco; Parkinson, Michael eds.(1993).Cultural policy and urban regeneration. Manchester: Manchester University Press; Gaffikin, Frank; Morrissey, Mark (ed) (1999). City Visions: Imagining Places, Enfranchising People. London: Pluto

ⁱⁱⁱ Gentrification is a term that, initially, was directly associated to middle-classes lifestyle and modes of consumption. Here, the term is associated to the agency of the gentrifiers in the process of changes in social and urban features. See, for example, Hall, Peter Geoffrey (2002). Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design in the Twentieth Century. London: Blackwell; Harvey, David (1997). The condition of postmodernity: an enquiry into the origins of cultural change. London: Blackwell; Rocha e Silva, Ana Beatriz Ferreira da (2008). ... and the TATE became Modern: discourses of urban regeneration and cultural tourism as agents in shaping a new identity. Chapter 1 and 2. MPhil Dissertation. London: Royal College of Art; Smith, Neil (1996). The new urban frontier – gentrification and the revanchist city. London: Routledge; Zukin, Sharon (1995). The culture of cities. London: Blackwell

^{iv} Milton Santos suggested that this basic labour division and the solidarity that emerges from it are product of a quite particular environment, where territory and local culture play a decisive role. Santos, Milton. O período demográfico: as condições empíricas da mutação in http://www.unb.br/unb/titulos/milton_santos.php (Nov/2008)

^v As part of the City hall programme of urban improvements for the ECO-1992, held in Rio de Janeiro, the City Hall commissioned and developed a new comprehensive urban plan for the city, targeting different aspects and areas, such as the provision of new urban equipments, redesign of street furniture, de-pollution of the Guanabara Bay, re-urbanisation of derelict areas and favelas (shanty-towns), a renovated heritage politics, etc.. (See www.rio.rj.gov.br/ipp/top_quem.htm; <http://www.armazemedados.rio.rj.gov.br/>). See also Pinheiro, Augusto Ivan de Freitas (2008). Políticas públicas urbanas na Prefeitura do Rio de Janeiro. Rio de Janeiro: Secretaria Municipal de Urbanismo, nº 2008-1101, Novembro.

^{vi} This process of 'reinventing' a place, or 'reshaping' their identities, has been adopted now and then in order to revitalise not only the urban fabric, with new architecture and new uses, but also in an attempt to change the socio-economic profile, aiming to attract the 'gentrifiers'. If this practice tended to focus on elitist financial and residential districts in the past, presently, tourism has been the main agent in revitalisation policies. For example, it can be mentioned the differences that characterise the urban regeneration process that happened in the 1980s, in cities such as London or New York, which was more profit-oriented, and the one which happened in cities such as Paris and Barcelona, which focused on the provision of cultural elements and public spaces for a wider segment of the society. See Bianchini, Franco et al. (1988). The Role of the Arts in the Revitalisation of Towns and Cities. Manchester: Centre for Local Economic Strategies; Foster, Jane (1990). Docklands: cultures in conflict, world in collision. London: Routledge; Hall, Stuart; du Gay, Paul (2000). Questions of Cultural Identity. London: Sage; Miles, Malcolm (2004). New Cultural Identities: redevelopment or regeneration?

in http://www.bergen.kommune.no/planavdelingen/Malcom_Miles.pdf; Rocha e Silva, (2007), Chapter 2.

^{vii} Hollywood films such as the 1933 Flying down to Rio, starring Fred Astaire, Ginger Rogers and Dolores del Rio, the 1943 Saludos Amigos – Watercolour of Brazil (Alô amigos – Aquarela do Brasil'), starring Joe Carioca and Donald Duck, or the 1947 Copacabana, starring Carmem Miranda and Groucho Marx, amongst many others, emphasise the nightlife and entertainment, the beaches, and the natural beauties of the city.

^{viii} See RIOTUR, Rio de Janeiro's City Hall Tourism Board (<http://www.riodejaneiro-turismo.com.br/en/>)

^{ix} As part of a somewhat new trend, i.e. the complete renovation of sites and cities to host large-scale events, such as the Olympics, the Pan-American Games or even political summits, such as the Eco Rio-92, for example, regeneration policies are focusing on 'prestige projects' which would attract not only media attention but, and foremost, investments. See Landry, Charles (1995). The Role of Culture on Remaking Cities in Gaffikin, Frank; Morrissey, Mike (ed) (1999). City Visions: Imagining Places, Enfranchising People. London: Pluto, p 151-164; Loftman, Patrick; Nevin, Brendan. Prestige Projects. City Centre Restructuring and Social Exclusion: taking the long-term view, in Miles, Malcolm; Hall, Tim. (2001), Urban Futures: Critical Commentaries on Shaping Cities. London: Routledge, pp 76-91

^x According to a poll and a feasibility study developed in 1999, by Orla-Rio concessionary, who manages the kiosks, these were the main reasons for changing the design. The research also indicated that new types of services and products were demanded by an increasing public, and therefore the kiosks needed to revamp not only their image, but also expand the scope of their services. Another factor was the substantial change in Rio's urban scenario since the early 1990s. The Rio-Cidade urban renovation programme in specific neighbours, developed and implemented by the City Hall's Department of Urban Planning, and the commission of award-winning urban equipment were mentioned as a highly appealing factor for renovating the beach scene. Consequentially, the presence of old kiosks in the beaches and the new gentrified urban renovation policies were in dissonance. Of course the increase in tourist activity and the 'refinement' of the kiosks' public were quite convenient factors to sustain the 'need of change', particularly because it involves profitable sectors of the (cultural) tourism industry, like festivals organisers, tourism boards and agencies, hotels, etc... The sort of symbiotic process (which might have been considered in such environments) was certainly not part of the adopted strategies. (See http://orlario.net/index_site_html.shtml)

^{xi} The use of more adequate, yet not too 'fashionable' materials such as natural fibre (like coconut, corn straw etc..) is not only part of the local culture in many coastal towns in Brazil, but also reflects a more sensible attitude towards recycling materials and the use of renewable resources

^{xii} Even though commissioned by the Secretaria Municipal de Urbanismo – SMU (Department of Urban Planning) at the City Hall, and at the time directed by Alfredo Sirkis, a founding member of the Green Party, these new kiosks did not have an in-depth specialised consultancy in environmental impact, which has been largely criticised by specialised and ordinary public.

^{xiii} Reportedly, the sumptuous costs of R\$1,5 million (circa €600K) did represent a considerable rise in the prices of the products available for purchasing in the kiosks. However, the effects were also felt by the consumers who tend to buy products sold by ambulant and pushing cart vendors. These vendors did increase their prices targeting the 'gentrified' public, aiming to cash more.

^{xiv} See Marques, Andreza Cristina de O Silva; Moreira, Angela (2007). Políticas Públicas de Requalificação para o Rio de Janeiro: três momentos de intervenções locais in Licere, Belo Horizonte, v.10, n.2, ago. pp 24-32 (www.eeffto.ufmg.br/licere/pdf/licereV10N02_a1.pdf)

^{xv} According to the already referred research-poll led by the concessionary Orla-Rio, more than 90% of the people interviewed agreed that the new kiosk would be 'more suitable for tourists' or 'more pleasant', whereas more than 70% indicated that they would be a potentially 'more expensive' place to buy commodities. More than 90% liked the 'new aesthetics' and the 'new services' provided by the new kiosks, and almost 70% answered that they 'certainly would visit', whereas 20% said that 'they may visit' the new kiosks. Quite compelling number if analysed alone, however, when relating these figures to the real universe of interviews, things become slightly inconsistent. For example, Orla-Rio interviewed only 500 people, between 21-29 of August, 1999. This number is far from a realistic amount of visitors during the high season which, unlike in Europe, is between December-March. In fact, after a brief winter holiday in July, schools are back on business in the beginning of August, making it an unlikely month to enjoy the beach and its pleasures.

(see <http://www.orlario.com.br/ibop1.shtml>)

^{xvi} For critical debates on the subject see, for example, Richards, Greg (ed). *Cultural Tourism: Global and Local Perspectives*. New York: Haworth Press, 2007. pp 1-19; Rojek, Chris; Urry, John (1997). *Touring Cultures – transformations of travel and theory*. London: Routledge; Crane, Diana; Kawasaki, Ken'ichi; Kawashima, Nobuko (eds) (2002). *Global Culture: Media, Arts, Policy, and Globalization*. London: Routledge; Kearns, Gerry; Philo, Chris (eds) (1993). *Selling Places: City as Cultural Capital, Past and Present (Policy Planning & Critical Theory)*. London: Architectural Press

^{xvii} In a matrix containing several categories, 'critical actors and factors' is the one which explores the agents' characteristics and exposes their cognitive components. See Reis, P. O. (2007). *Virtual Cognitive Environment Model for Decision Making Support*. PEC/COPPE/UFRJ – Brasil.

^{xviii} Cognitive processes influence organisational strategic behaviours by guiding the perceptions of key decision makers in order to achieve a more balanced solution, where the principal 'actors and factors' views and requests are taken into consideration. (See, amongst others, Schwenk, Charles R (2002). The cognitive perspective on strategic decision-making in Salaman, Graeme (ed). *Decision Making for Business: a reader*. London: SAGE/The Open University, pp 179-192; Pettigew, Andrew (2002). *Decision Making as a political process* in Salaman (2002), pp 97-107; Schwenk, Charles (1988). *The essence of strategic decision making*. Lexington Books)

^{xix} The graphs and visual material on this work was developed by Paulo Reis (see Reis Filho, Paulo de Oliveira (2007). *Modelo Virtual de Ambiente Cognitivo para Suporte à Tomada de Decisão*. Tese de Doutorado em Engenharia Civil. LAMCE/COPPE/UFRJ, Rio de Janeiro.