



Contemporary Consumption Spaces: when marketing replaces urban planning

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ABSTRACT

Urban marketing has been establishing itself as an urban planning technique for integrating cities into global consumption spaces. To achieve this, it relies on a set of emblematic urban projects, often within a public-private partnership management model. The organization of large international events motivates cities to compete with each other, using a discourse to boost their development. This article discusses the relationships between marketing and urban planning and the differentiated impacts on the legacies of this model between cities in the global north and those with uneven urbanization, such as Brazilian cities. To demonstrate the theoretical points, the urban operation of "Porto Maravilha" in Rio de Janeiro is discussed, comparing it with the emblematic case of Barcelona. The conclusion is drawn that not everything beneficial for Barcelona is necessarily beneficial for Rio de Janeiro.

KEYWORDS: City attractiveness. Consumption space. Urban marketing.

1 INTRODUCTION

The current period is characterized by competition among territories: all cities, regions, and nations are urged to redefine their relationships by asserting their economic, cultural, and image differentials compared to others. As Ascher (1999) points out in his book "The New Principles of Urbanism," territorial competition is based on flexibility, variety, quality, and innovation that now guide the urban and economic system. In the wake of this change, the focus on discussing the living conditions of the population takes a back seat, and the vision of the city as a consumption space is exacerbated, with culture, urban sites, and built space turned into business opportunities through strategic marketing.

The term "city attractiveness" is widely used to designate new ways of thinking about international economy - capital flows and investments - which require the creation of specific spaces that necessitate urban strategies for shaping the local image in favor of attractiveness¹. However, how does this concept of consumption space manifest physically in a real and complex territory? What is the role of activities and spaces dedicated to consumption in the promotion strategies of cities in relation to the needs of local residents? How does meeting the demands of local urban planning fit into the dynamics of territorial development centered on the image-marketing-attractiveness relationship?

Indeed, these are current and challenging questions to perceive and define due to their recent nature and involvement with different decision-making spheres. This work will highlight some contradictory aspects between local and global dynamics that are essential for a better understanding of the peculiarities of contemporary consumption spaces that can have direct effects on the attractiveness of territories, with repercussions not always clear for their inhabitants. The topic has already been extensively discussed, but it is hoped to contribute to the discussion on the effects of this approach in cities with uneven urbanization, a term coined by Milton Santos (2021). Additionally, there is a need to discuss the limits of this urban marketing model, even in central cities, using Barcelona as an example. This case is often highlighted as the

¹ The following text is primarily based on the thesis of INGALLINA, P; PARK, J-Y. City marketing et espaces de consommation. Les nouveaux enjeux de l'attractivité urbaine. In: Urbanisme, [s. l.], ed. 344, 2005.

most successful model, although there is current debate about its success translating into overwhelming tourism for local residents.

2 THE CITY AND CONTEMPORARY CONSUMPTION SPACES

The concept of consumption space can be approached through different aspects², and from the perspective of contemporary consumption, it expands beyond the basic idea of trade and services, becoming more complex. It involves economic issues such as production and consumption, functional aspects like leisure, culture, tourism, or aesthetics, where architectural attributes can elevate consumption spaces to the status of city landmarks. The city becomes part of global consumption due to its symbolic aspect that suggests its economic potential.

Based on Urry's (1995) concept that combines the two dimensions of space and consumption into a single concept called "Consuming place," the notion of consumption space better expresses contemporary city consumption. This differs from the more conventional sense of structuring consumption centers in cities, where products and services are compared, evaluated, and used. The city now is visually and symbolically consumed, becoming a space of consumption associated with tourism, as emphasized by Gottdiener (2000): "Tourism involves the flow of circulation in specific places where users consume the environment, as well as the functions offered by these spaces (leisure, facilities, sports, entertainment, nature, history)."

Spaces become "all-consuming places," consuming the identity and way of life of the people in a particular place. Visitors consume a virtual and ephemeral identity of the local residents while staying in that space. In turn, local inhabitants increasingly dissociate from their city and culture in a process of transfer. Designers and architects often exploit this characteristic when designing consumption spaces to enhance the marketing effect, a technique initially developed for traditional consumption spaces that becomes part of marketing urbanism.

These reflections indicate an expansion of the definition of consumption space, moving beyond traditional shopping spaces to encompass the entire city. However, similarities exist between city consumption and consumption spaces within the city. Regarding the latter, in the 1990s (HARVEY, 1994; SACK, 1992; SORKIN, 1992), it was highlighted that the main characteristics of contemporary consumption are defined by its playful and aesthetic aspects. The contemporary consumer demands not only product quality but also the quality of the space, seeking a favorable environment for their consumption activities. Hence, the most representative feature of these spaces is the importance of the ambiance created, capable of providing an exceptional view in contrast to everyday life.

The visually appealing yet homogeneously diverse appearance of these spaces (whether permanent or temporary) can create a powerful image for a locality or parts of a city, exerting a strong attraction to consumers or urban visitors. The consequences of these

² For the analysis of the urban functions performed by consumption spaces, we adopt as a reference the spatial performance aspects proposed by Holanda (2013): functional, economic, topoceptive, sociological, bioclimatic, symbolic, aesthetic, and affective.

pleasant yet artificial staging strategies in traditional consumption spaces find their best example in shopping malls and have been extensively studied regarding their gradual privatization of public space, the exclusion of social categories by localities, and the consequent weakening of diversity, contradictorily what territories of consumption aim for but end up eliminating by exaggerating their marketing techniques.

2.1 Territorial Attractiveness: Local Identity and Global Standards

Applying methods borrowed from the business world, urban marketing strategies are used to differentiate a territory from its competitors. The territory is conceived as a space to be consumed, and it becomes crucial to identify the best strategy for urban marketing³ promotion. Thus, it is necessary to outline a clear framework of the main effects of this territory in terms of attractiveness and the marketing concepts that can be employed, such as cultural clusters, flagship projects, etc. Even though it is necessary for study purposes to divide them, these are interrelated themes associated with types of territorial strategies to achieve attractiveness through consumption.

According to Ingallina and Park (2005), territorial attractiveness is necessarily based on two foundations: (i) a global pattern base where a territory must be compatible or homogeneous with the requirements of global standards demanded by investors and global consumers; and (ii) a local identity base that distinguishes a territory in order to generate attractiveness, also possessing a differentiated local identity for promotion on the national and international stage. Both conditions must be met to be explored by urban marketing. This highlights a paradox between the importance of local identity for its differentiation and distinction function, and certain territorial logistics services that must adhere to global standards.

However, the first question to apply the marketing approach is the brand image, called branding, meaning a territory must be defined by a single identity to be promoted as a commercial product. The multi-identity of a territory is one of the fundamental aspects in defining its consumer, and it is crucial to focus on the target consumer audience and answer the question: a territory, for whom? It is clear from the outset that this territory is not for the local inhabitant, just as a store is not made attractive for the enjoyment of its employees.

In an attempt to focus on a positive image and erase the negative points, territories use trendy slogans and seek to imprint an image as a commitment, for example: dynamic, cosmopolitan, diverse, or cultural cities. This is why many branding strategies end up generating a substantial degree of homogeneity, becoming paradoxical because the strategy is based on the goal of creating 'differentiation'.

To exacerbate the challenge, urban planning proposals supporting urban marketing strategies tend to incorporate models from other areas that have already achieved great commercial and media success. It is a kind of automatic transposition of model projects, which only increases the risk of loss of local identity or authenticity. This fact, combined with the other necessary aspect for creating global consumption spaces, namely, adhering to global standards of quality and service provision, makes the compatibility between local specificity and global

³ In the literature, there are also terms such as territorial marketing and city marketing

attractiveness more difficult. All of this without yet factoring in the needs of local populations and the risks to their own identity, the object of sale.

3 Iconic Projects as the Emblem of Urban Marketing Strategies

For the promotion of urban marketing, the assumption is the development of an emblematic project, commonly referred to as a flagship – a significant urban investment that will attract attention to the locality where it is situated. These projects are based on the assumption, not always verifiable, that they will be capable of generating a subsequent radiating effect, producing positive urban and economic outcomes across a broader region.

This effect is known as a spill-over effect, and it is not automatically guaranteed; success will depend on the connections between local and global interests, such as: are they more structuring investments (inducing capacity building and/or generating investments in basic infrastructure) that can have a long-term economic impact and urban regeneration? Are they generators of skilled or low-skilled jobs, and are they permanent or temporary?

3.1 Urban Revitalization through the Concept of Cultural Clusters

Urban revitalization through the consolidation of clusters can constitute a flagship. However, today, it is approached differently from what happened with traditional, spontaneous cultural clusters that emerged in Montmartre in 1900, Rive Gauche in 1960 in Paris, or SoHo in the 1970s-1980s in the USA. Nowadays, cities are motivated to create their clusters as part of their urban planning, aiming for international promotion, stimulating production activities, and enhancing the quality of the urban landscape.

The cluster represents the current trend in consumption spaces: versatile, with strong economic power, and an impact on the urban revitalization of a neighborhood. Emerging as a new hub to attract cultural consumers, cultural clustering has been increasingly successful among urban decision-makers. It can also play a significant role in residential attractiveness, meaning that the local cultural infrastructure is appealing to certain segments of residents, with an emphasis on the younger audience. This allows distinguishing a cultural cluster from a common tourist attraction, which often does not resonate well with local inhabitants.

3.2 The Reclamation of the Waterfront: The New Showcase of the City

The resurgence of the relationship between the city and its waterfront gains momentum with discussions on urban sustainability, leading to a new way of thinking about urban planning actions. Port neighborhoods, industrial brownfields, or the reconquest of urban centers, severely impacted by the decline of traditional industrial fabric and the middle-class migration towards suburbs, constitute a focal point of urban sustainability policies. From the perspective of urban marketing, these areas have been well-explored in cities such as Barcelona, Buenos Aires, Sydney, or Cape Town.

These spaces gain competitive advantages through urban revitalization, incorporating improvements such as infrastructure upgrades and the restoration of deteriorating urban fabric.

They become new urban focal points that encourage the development of the "green" economy, thereby solidifying their position in the competition between cities. By combining the attraction of capital flows in productive investments, executive ventures, and tourist-friendly spaces, urban intervention projects on waterfronts have risen to a 'product' of competitiveness among metropolises.

3.3 Attraction through Labels: Titles and Slogans

Another urban marketing strategy that has labeled attractiveness in cities is the case of international institutions that confer titles, such as UNESCO and its Creative Cities Network program. This initiative is based on establishing a network of public and private partners to promote various cultural vocations found in specific cities.

Thus, distinctions such as: Montreal, the city of design; Lyon, the technological city, can be found. These international labels aim to create a positive image. They often use trendy slogans and seek to imprint an image as a commitment (JULIER, 2005; SACK, 1992).

3.4 Promotion of Mega Events Aimed at Urban Attractiveness

Hosting major international events is increasingly widespread as a lever for creating a global consumption space. Local decision-makers see economic opportunities in organizing large events, both in the immediate term and for promoting the urban marketing of their cities, as they will attract the attention of media and people worldwide for some time. In the case of events, the various conditions of cities, whether the reconversion of historically significant central areas or port areas, can be added to the interest and needs of the event at hand.

3.5 Mayoral Managers and the Power Game

In the discussion of urban marketing, as important as considering its conceptual foundation and strategies is understanding the context of its emergence, which, in this case, dates back to the 1970s in France when the central government transferred a significant part of territorial management responsibilities to the local and regional level. As a result, a kind of competitive urbanism subject to the best offer among local institutions emerges (CHAMARD, 2014), where each mayor strives to leverage the image of their city and attract investments.

Thus, the political dimension is an intrinsic component of urban marketing and depends on the elected decision-makers and their degree of communication with the local community. There is a distinction and similarity here between urban marketing and political marketing. In the former case, it represents an approach based on an offer localized in a given geographical area and depends on the politician's ability to convey the conviction that this is the best path for the city. In the latter case, what the project can bring to the politician in terms of expanding their personal image as a public manager takes center stage.

In another vein, there is also the ability of urban marketing to establish relationships between the interests of the public sector and the private sector since a project for the global attractiveness of cities does not exist without private sector investments.

4 STRATEGIC PLANNING AS THE BASIS FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF URBAN MARKETING

The urban marketing approach requires taking into account certain political and planning aspects to structure itself. In the perspective of organizing these steps synthetically, we consider what Chamard (2014) presents on the subject.

Therefore, the first phase consists of all the stages preceding the actual implementation of urban marketing, requiring strategic planning that explores territorial potentialities and organizes them in line with the intended strategic objective. Depending on the context, it can be short or long term but must have a global approach because all fundamental decisions are made in this phase. Also, in this stage, as a result of identifying territorial potentialities, actors are identified, both those who should be the protagonists of the project and the target audience to be reached. The establishment of public-private partnership mechanisms and the construction of discourse between political power and the local community must be established in this phase, which is concluded with the creation of the brand for the project.

The second phase is the implementation of the urban marketing project, that is, the development of the urban/architectural project with the definition of emblematic works and their various impact assessments to measure the achievement of objectives. This constitutes the territorial offer that seeks to add the territory's differential with goods and services to the public one wishes to attract. Finally, urban marketing itself would then be the promotion, convincing of how the project will meet the needs of various audiences: tourists, residents, associations, companies, investors.

4.1 Differences between Urban Planning and Urban Marketing: The Issue of Legacy

From what has been presented, the goals and strategies of urban marketing planning differ from those traditionally applied by urban planning, which, even considering its various currents, aims at the socio-economic development of the local population, the territorial planning of the city, and the provision of basic services and facilities for all social classes. What they have in common is the action on the same territory and the fact that urban marketing assumes that its intervention would have a radiating effect to other areas of the city, which is commonly discussed as the legacy of major urban interventions.

Therefore, there is now a field of study related to the urban legacies that a particular urban marketing project can generate. Ultimately, it would be to identify what can be appropriated by local residents from the investments made to insert the city on the global stage. However, most studies that analyze urban legacy, especially those resulting from mega-events, do so with a marked sense of propaganda and/or political interests, where objective issues are mixed with desires and ideological discourses.

The theme of legacies from a specific urban intervention is a complex issue, and its measurement depends on effects of different natures with repercussions on different interest groups with unequal appropriation among them. On the other hand, if measuring legacies is difficult, there is ample literature that seeks to define them. Chappelet (2006) understands legacy as the material and non-material effects produced directly or indirectly by urban

intervention, planned or not, that transform the city in a lasting way, in an objective or subjective manner, positive or negative. On the other hand, Gratton and Preuss (2008) define legacy as: “structures, planned and unplanned, positive and negative, intangible and tangible, created through a sports event that remain after the event”.

Thus, the legacy refers to impacts (positive or negative) of an economic, socio-cultural, environmental, physical, political, and psychological nature related to different urban activities such as mobility, sanitation, environmental improvements, or income. The concept of legacy transcends the concrete legacy of the triggering event (for example, a mega-event) and extends to a broader conception that includes the subjective appropriation of costs and benefits by the community participating in this organization (RUBIO, 2005).

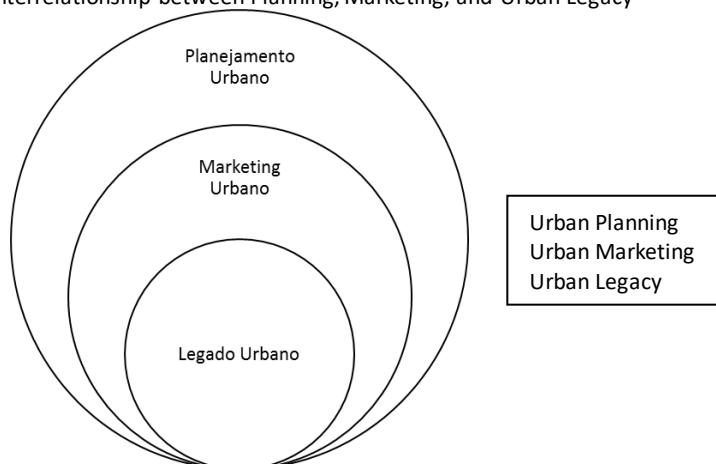
Legacies affect the city in various aspects and can be defined as 'tangible' and 'intangible'. Tangible structures are more easily measurable aspects with the works and equipment themselves that served the city (when they serve) and the intangible ones are composed of knowledge, network formation, and cultural assets. Kaplanidou and Karadakis (2010) cite examples of intangible legacies such as increased international reputation, the production of cultural values, emotional experiences, and increased knowledge.

In this way, there are common characteristics between discourses about legacy, which is a sequence of effects arising from tangible and intangible factors that include equipment, services, and social capital, which, to be understood as such, demand governance structures, efficiency in integrating networks, community support from the city's managers and its population for them to materialize.

In an ideal context, the legacy left by an urban intervention, the object of a marketing project, would be a subset of fundamental urban projects for the city, covered in the city's master plan. The infrastructure developed specifically for the marketing project of an event should guarantee the appropriate means of transportation (roads, railways, access, airport, public transportation), facilities (hotels, hospitals, sewage stations, etc.), and the depollution of a watercourse or the construction of buildings that would serve the event but would meet demands already defined by the master plan.

From another perspective, it can be said that the urban legacy itself should be one of the goals of urban marketing if it aims to think of its products within a larger-scale planning process.

Figure 1 – The Interrelationship between Planning, Marketing, and Urban Legacy



Source: Laysa Abchiche Lima.

The international scenario already has a set of experiences in the use of urban marketing, both in cities from developed and developing countries. These experiences encompass various typologies of marketing mentioned earlier, all used as tools for global integration. The most commonly used projects involve the organization of mega-events, always with a dual purpose: to promote themselves on the global stage and take advantage of this opportunity to stimulate urban redevelopment that their cities have already identified as necessary.

4.2 Unequal Urbanization Cities and the Legacies of Urban Marketing

Initially used in developed cities as opportunities for revitalizing the urban landscape and economy with the reinforcement of traditional cultural traits, these strategies take on new contexts when adopted in cities with unequal urbanization, such as in Brazil, where the need to prioritize investments in consumption over basic needs of local residents can challenge the very existence of the urban marketing project.

This occurs because the legacy has a strong component that arises from the city's ability to incorporate the investments from urban intervention into its socioeconomic dynamics for the improvement of quality of life. This implies a capacity for urban management that most cities with unequal urbanization lack. This institutional and social participation scope would give substance to the principle of articulation between the marketing project and urban planning. This always occurs in the context of the challenge of mediating the contrast between the local needs of the majority of the population and the global quality standard that urban marketing projects aim to meet.

In practice, what happens is that in cities of developing countries marked by social inequalities, spaces of high attraction in consumption tend to create a centrality with a privileged urban landscape, services, and commerce that not all residents will have access to. It results in social segregation, which is initially contrary to the original intention of the marketing project.

Another relevant aspect concerns the populations located around these places, who, not having consumption conditions compatible with the new space, will be excluded, sometimes directly but almost always indirectly, as their housing appreciates and they gain income. The contradiction lies in the fact that all this is the result of the success of the attractiveness and consumption space generated by the urban marketing project. Thus, despite being in the manual

of business strategies for these projects that they will be a diffuser of requalification and city development, this goal is hardly achieved.

This entire process described is well-documented in the literature on gentrification⁴. Social balance is difficult to achieve because a consumption space develops in a territory articulating the business logic for customer-consumers, and the logic of the urban project must favor the general interest of all citizens. It should be added that the more unequal the urbanization process, the more serious the negative effects can be for the local population.

In any case, urban marketing has in its DNA the possibility of creating or exacerbating urban conflicts the more unequal the society. According to Hofstede (1981, in Chamard, 2014), these conflicts can take various forms: coalitions between the interests of actors, difficulties in delineating boundaries between the public and private sectors, difficulty in legitimizing large-scale urban interventions in the territory, exaggerated advertising programs that hinder the creation of an inclusive territorial strategy that can respond to the city's real demands.

As an example, one can refer to the most emblematic case in recent years in Brazil, the Porto Maravilha implemented in the city of Rio de Janeiro on the occasion of the 2016 Olympic Games. For this, it relied on an urban marketing project carried out in a public-private partnership, as has been the case with the vast majority of redevelopment interventions around the world and that Brazilian legislation began to contemplate after 2001.

4.3 Brazilian Experience in Promoting Global Territorial Attractiveness

The "Porto Maravilha," a Rio de Janeiro marketing project, was conceived as part of the city's preparations to host the 2016 Olympics. It constituted a set of actions aimed at integrating the metropolis into the global network of cities by creating a global consumption space, complementing other cultural attractions that the city already possessed.

Nelson Diniz (2014) highlights the discourse given by the mayor of Rio de Janeiro at the time, referring to the model as follows:

"How to prepare Rio to host the biggest sporting event on the planet and seize this opportunity to transform the living conditions of Cariocas? We are strictly following what Pascal Maragal, mayor of Barcelona at the time of the 1992 Olympics, told me, and whose organizational model is an inspiration" (p.77).

The Catalan influence is evident in the symbolic architectural project: the Museum of Tomorrow by the Spanish architect Calatrava.

To attract investors, the municipality worked on two fronts: the flexibility of land-use rules, generating building rights and allowing the appropriation of urban surplus value within a project of associated urban operations according to Law 10.257/2001. A system of selling bonds to developers interested in building taller buildings than the urban legislation allowed at the time was developed. This is part of the local government's changes aimed at attracting investments to the region and capturing resources for its own investments in the area.

The municipality's investments include both striking architectural elements, such as the Museum of Tomorrow, and improvements to public spaces and mobility. The demographic density (building potential transferred to the real estate sector) aimed at promoting economic

⁴ Neil Smith developed a broader sense of urban transformation based on the experience of New York. Defined as a return on capital investment, this interpretation encompasses new changes in construction, planning, and tax code, shifts in urban political governance, new forms of consumption, and broader cultural changes related to neoliberalism.

development in a global fashion with the installation of service companies, state administrations, hotels, and commerce. In this way, there is no alignment between the investment properties of the Master Plan and those made, with the aggravating factor of the inclusion of favela communities residing in the vicinity of the Project area (Favela da Providência) RODRIGUES (2014); LUZ (2014).

Among the pointed aspects of the lack of interaction between marketing and urban planning, the gentrification process in the area was undoubtedly the one that had the most impact on the technical field and part of the media, but it is part of a larger whole, as pointed out earlier. However, the force of urban marketing overrides these contradictions that, as mentioned, occur in cities with unequal urbanization. To legitimize the intervention, the sentiment of Rio de Janeiro as the gateway for foreign tourists, the "postcard" of Brazil worldwide, was emphasized, suggesting that the city was experiencing a new cycle of economic development. At this moment, it is not the buildings resulting from the increase in constructed areas that are exalted but the symbolic architectural elements built, such as the Museum of Tomorrow, and the history and local culture represented by the Museum of Art of Rio.

On the other hand, the rescue of local identity, through the valorization of cultural attributes and material heritage, constitutes a marketing strategy to position itself as an international tourist destination and as a visiting space for the city's inhabitants. Thus, the "differences that attract" are also considered a way to mitigate potential conflicts in an area undergoing a profound restructuring of its social fabric.

Today, those who pass through Rio's port area tend to evaluate positively the result of the changes that have occurred. It is challenging not to recognize the transformations in the area and its embellishment, making cultural facilities visible with paved, tree-lined, and illuminated streets, drainage system, bike lanes, and a stretch of international standard public transportation. However, this embellishment ends up producing large shaded areas that lead to a discussion of its integration into the urban functions of the city as a whole and not just a specific reading of the Porto Maravilha project area.

In addition to the logic of urban marketing projects themselves and their relationship with urban planning, it highlights another issue in unequal cities concerning the local management's inability to capitalize not only on possible urban improvements as legacies but also on the city's global insertion, the *raison d'être* of the project. The immense amount of constructed area transferred to the real estate market was not reversed in the services that should have attracted, resulting in the maintenance of a stock, now in private hands, to be used when it is in the interest of its owners and not the city.

5 DOES THE CONSTRUCTION OF CONSUMER SPACES PROVIDE LEARNING FOR CITY PLANNING? DE ESPAÇOS DE CONSUMO GERA APRENDIZADOS PARA O PLANEJAMENTO DAS CIDADES?

Considering all the points exposed, it becomes clear that consumer spaces (mega-events, cultural clusters, flagship projects) provide an opportunity to rethink the city's image. However, can we learn how to articulate practices of creating consumer spaces with legacies for urban planning in cities with uneven urbanization? There are successes to be leveraged and mistakes to be avoided.

The use of the Urban Operation instrument, which focuses precisely on urban regeneration interventions, should be viewed within the perspective of its adoption in different contexts of developed and developing countries. There is a structural difference that prevents a simple comparison between results obtained in the United States and Europe with what happens in Brazil. In developed countries, when talking about the market, it refers to the majority of the population, as the income gap is immensely smaller than in Brazil. Therefore, public policies that work in partnership with the private sector, ensuring gains in exchange for countermeasures that drive the market, will be reaching, even if to varying degrees, a representative portion of the population with access to strategies within the urban market.

One cannot simply bring such examples to the Brazilian reality. Here, the case of Barcelona is recalled when preparing for the 1992 Olympics, implementing an urban regeneration project and projecting the city globally with significant repercussions on its economy due to tourism. But to highlight the differences, Barcelona had not only great urban management capacity preceding the Games, but its project was a result of this installed planning process that continued in the management of the legacy. Today, even this legacy is beginning to be questioned due to the negative effects of a global territory that attracts intense tourism, jeopardizing not only heritage but also local culture. This is a topic that is starting to be well-studied but is not the focus of this work.

In Rio de Janeiro, where a large part of the population lacks access to even basic services, actions associating with the private sector to promote market dynamics as a lever for urban revitalization will inevitably only reach a portion of society. According to Maricato (2000), it is a structural issue, although it does not mean that public-private partnership operations cannot or should not exist in Brazil. However, it is necessary to relativize their role as an instrument for democratizing urban space, especially when they are understood only as a form of partnership and exchange of countermeasures with the private sector.

Thus, the legacy regarding the lessons learned from marketing projects carried out in public-private partnerships can be summarized in some highlighted points here:

- Integration of investments with long-term planning (master plan) is a key point in successful experiences.
- Urban regeneration projects should be structured in accordance with urban planning instruments on the metropolitan scale.
- Evaluate the complexities of interventions on existing urban fabrics to ensure socio-economic and environmental impacts for the majority of the population.
- The opportunity to establish public-private partnerships must take into account the city's needs and not just the market, requiring good urban management.
- Projects should prioritize consultation and citizen participation.

6 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Urban marketing projects have become integrated into urban discourse anchored in the model of business strategic planning. At the level of discourse, it attempts to articulate socio-economic, physical-territorial, and environmental aspects with a focus on specific proposals for the improvement of urban fractions that would radiate their legacy to a more extensive area. However, when they shift from the priorities of urban planning, they expose their displacement from the social to the economic and political axis, revealing the foundations of both disciplinary fields.

Key findings from the research include:

- The power of private groups over the production and appropriation of the city does not change merely by calling for the participation of all social segments. It is necessary to explicitly state and negotiate conflicts of interest between segments from the beginning to ensure that urban interventions occur within an environment of transparency and ongoing negotiation space. Failure to articulate conflicts allows the false impression that all social segments will benefit due to the definition of generic guidelines. This does not happen, especially in cities with unequal urbanization.

- The execution model of the Consortium Urban Operation detached from the objectives of the Master Plan tended to exacerbate socio-spatial segregation in the city.

The study concludes that the marketing discourse, in general, and particularly in the case of cities with unequal urbanization like Rio de Janeiro, propagates a reconciliation of interests, leading to the belief that it is a game of winners. However, in practice, actions are closer to the interests of the real estate market than to the globalization of the urban economy or, much less, to meeting social demands.

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