

# Urban design and conflicting city images of Brazil

## Rio de Janeiro and Curitiba

### Vicente del Rio

*Imageability of places, cities and countries is strongly influenced by tourist and political portraits in the media. As human cognition relies on inferential perception and contrasting categories, marketing strategies exploit partial truths and conflicting city images to direct public perceptions. This article addresses the relationship between international perception, image building and urban design in the case of Brazil and the cities of Rio de Janeiro and Curitiba. Their contrasting images as exploited by the international media expose only partial truths. In fact, these images represent complementary development contradictions that co-exist in any major city today.*

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*'Cities, like dreams, are made of desires and fears, even if the thread of their discourse is secret, their perspectives deceitful, and everything conceals something else'*  
Italo Calvino, *Invisible Cities*, Harvest, New York, p 44.

People perceive reality through an active cognitive process using an array of collected and inferred information. Quite often, they simply construct this reality and its objects by contrasting categories – good and bad, pretty and ugly, hero and villain – without noticing that their readiness to apply simplistic inferential categories beyond the appropriate limits often leads them to mistaken judgments.<sup>1</sup>

Imageability of places does not depend solely on their intrinsic qualities. Recently, images of places have also been strongly influenced by the way they are portrayed in the media. In the USA, huge metropolises and industrial cities, such as New York and Los Angeles, once referred to as symbols of prosperity and modernity – paradigms to be pursued – have become examples of chaos and decadence. On the other hand, several medium-sized cities such as Seattle and Saint Louis have topped place rating systems and are promoted by the media as ideal

places in which to live and do business.<sup>2</sup>

From the conflicting city realities suggested by images in the media, this essay discusses the important relationship between urban design, image building and world perception, by addressing the case of two Brazilian cities, Rio de Janeiro and Curitiba.

#### *Conflicting city images and urban design in Brazil*

Since the seminal work of Kevin Lynch, it has been common knowledge that the imageability of an urban environment is fundamental for its cognition – basically for the formation of our images, judgements and expectations concerning that place.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, geographers and tourism experts have showed that urban design can play a fundamental role in determining a city's and, consequently, its country's image abroad.<sup>4</sup> To a large degree, most urban designers are aware of this but, unfortunately, the majority of city officials and politicians seem to ignore this fact and its wide repercussions – ranging from its status as a tourist attraction to the nation's economic credibility abroad.

For the last few years Brazil and its

major cities have suffered from a poor image and reputation abroad. Those watching US television during the recent Mardi Gras were able to see a short news story on the carnival in Rio de Janeiro. In its three or five minutes only about a third showed the *samba* schools parade with its beautiful costumes, while the rest explored city violence, street boys and images of poverty. For Brazilians this was outrageous, the equivalent of using the major part of the annual Oscar Awards transmission to show images of street gangs, crack dealers and living conditions of the poor black and Hispanic population in any major North American city.

As Gertner has pointed out, the large majority of Brazilians – certainly those who can afford to travel to Miami or any major US city – share an image of a pleasant, clean, desirable and modern USA. They do not know about the very different USA revealed by statistics: that more than thirty million people live below the poverty level, that in Chicago a crime is reported to the police every 12 minutes (60% at gun point); and that in Portland, Oregon one out of 86 cars was stolen in 1990. By comparing Brazil to such a different country as the USA, where income distribution is reversed (80% of the population is poor in Brazil as opposed to 20% in the USA) only the obvious can be exposed: the quality of life is higher and there are more opportunities available in the USA.

Nevertheless, the media helps in forming these pre-conceptions and images of cities and countries, so that most Brazilians only perceive one 'side' of the truth: we can only see the good side of the USA as opposed to most foreigners who can only see the bad side of Brazilian cities. From 1987 to 1990, the total of visitors to Brazil dropped nearly 50%, and visitors to Rio dropped from 66.4% to 51.1% of these figures.<sup>6</sup> There are a number of reasons why this distorted perception is encouraged. Suffice to say that they may range from political (competing trade policies at governmental level) to economic (tourist industry directing clients to other places) or pure fashion (global cultural trends).

The perception of Brazilian cities in the international media appears to concentrate on two groups of conflicting images that concern Rio de Janeiro and Curitiba. The former is the best known and second largest city in Brazil: once praised for its natural beauties, today it stands for all the malaise related to drug crimes, marginality, poverty and pollution. A city that potential international tourists are advised to avoid – metaphorically seen as 'The Beast'.

However, an interesting phenomenon has occurred in which the same international media recently elected Curitiba as 'The Beauty'. The capital of the southern state of Parana, it is highly praised for its urban development projects and is regarded as a 'Mecca for urban planners and environmentalists'. In the words of the media, Curitiba is the only Third-World city that 'works' in the midst of generalized urban chaos – 'it does not even *look* like it is in the Third-World'.<sup>7</sup> Unfortunately, the same media ensures it is seen as an exception to the rule, resulting more from the work of an inspired politician – its mayor – and that it does not stand for the country as a whole, which for them continues to epitomise The Beast.<sup>8</sup>

We are not implying that Rio's past images were correct and the present ones are incorrect. Neither do we imply that Curitiba's images are misguided. We make the point that they are all wrong *per se* while, at the same time, they express only partial truths, a complex and contradictory reality typical of a Third World nation in which urban design has an important role to play.

#### *Rio de Janeiro: between Beauty and Beast*

The city of Rio de Janeiro is Brazil's second largest city with a population of over five million. The country's recession-hit economy during the last decade, together with the somewhat complicated return to democracy, added to an explosive situation normally associated with a large metropolis (criminality, pollution, poor living conditions, etc) resulting in a situation far beyond the control of any normal planning and urban design process.

#### *continued*

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<sup>1</sup>See R. Nisbett and L. Ross, *Human Inference: Strategies and Shortcomings of Social Judgment*, Prentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1980.

<sup>2</sup>Some examples of popular place ratings are Rand MacNally's *Place Rate Almanac* and other rankings such as those published by *Money*, *Newsweek*, *Fortune* and *Savvy*.

<sup>3</sup>Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City*, MIT Press, Cambridge, MA, 1960.

<sup>4</sup>See, for example, Brian Goodey, *Perception of the Environment: An Introduction to the Literature*, Center for Urban and Regional Studies, University of Birmingham, 1971.

<sup>5</sup>David Gertner pursues comparative studies of country images for tourism for his doctorate in marketing at Northwestern University. See his articles 'O Brasil de Outro Ponto de Vista', *Jornal do Brasil*, 20 January 1992 and 'Imagens do Brasil com Z', *Visao weekly*, 22 January 1992.

<sup>6</sup>According to EMBRATUR (Brazil's national tourism authority), quoted in 'Fewer are flying down to Rio', *Chicago Tribune*, Travel Session, 26 April 1992.

<sup>7</sup>This is the tone of international media coverage of Curitiba. see for example Thomas Kamm, 'Model city: urban problems yield to innovative spirit of a city in Brazil', *The Wall Street Journal*, 10 January 1992 and Marc Margolis, 'A Third World city that works', cover story for the *World Monitor*, Vol 5, No 3, March 1992.

<sup>8</sup>For the media, mayor Jaime Lerner is a city fixer ... (that) tackles with the urban mess' (see Margolis, *ibid*).

**Figure 1.** Special city regulations are being issued to protect natural landscapes and view-corridors, such as those around the lakefront in Rio.



With the move of the country's capital to Brasilia, Rio lost a major source of public financing. São Paulo has been more effective in attracting major industrial development since the middle of this century and from the 1960s it also started to be preferred for the headquarters of large corporations and financial institutions. Thus, local economics in Rio were hard on city management, organizational capacity and capital investments. Attempts to rely on the tertiary sector, mainly in services, tourism and culture, could never produce planning and marketing strategies aggressive enough to be successful. This situation worsened from the early 1980s with the nation's economic crisis and a succession of mayors and state governors who did little for the city except for populist programmes and party politics. So, a number of socio-economic problems, both national and local, generated a low quality of urban life, typical of the Third World, with the consequent 'bad' city images now exploited by the media.

Nevertheless, in the last few years specific efforts have made to improve living conditions in Rio, some within the realm of urban design. Community, preservation and environmental groups have been active and traditional values in the planning professions have changed towards broader concepts including historical preservations and adaptive re-use of old buildings, protection of natural landscapes, new land use zoning and building

codes and specific upgrading for public areas (Figure 1).

In the field of low-income housing, city agencies have been upgrading some of the 450 existing squatter settlements, with a total population of over a million people, installing basic services and complementary public works to improve accessibility and living conditions. Nevertheless, a far more complex situation exists in the poverty rings around the city, a typical situation in Third World metropolises.<sup>9</sup> Because of clandestine or illegal subdivisions, they either lack city approval or never had the basic services installed by the developer. The periphery constitutes major legal and physical problems. In 1987, the city identified more than 400 of these subdivisions and large numbers of these have only part of the plots occupied. They are a legal problem because families, legally and in good faith, bought plots in a subdivision considered illegal by the authorities. They constitute a physical problem due to the large tracks of empty land resulting from this piecemeal development and the consequent costs and difficulties involved in installing infrastructure and services.

An important urban design experience in downtown Rio concerns the implementation of a historic preservation district, the *Corredor Cultural* (cultural corridor). In the late 1970s a group of city planners attempted to get the project approved but only succeeded when the small-business com-

<sup>9</sup>Here the images of the North-American 'burbs' and 'edge cities' are literally reversed.



**Figure 2.** The *Corredor Cultural* establishes a preservation district, fosters revitalization and requires specific design guidelines in downtown Rio, as exemplified by the new infill building in the photograph.



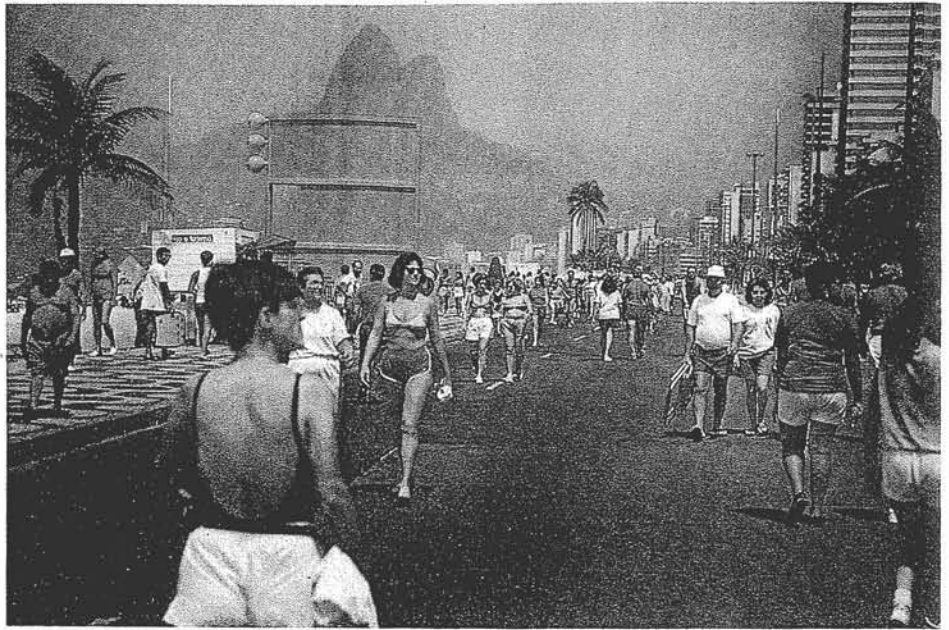
munity of a traditional shopping district joined them, realizing that this was the only way to avoid being displaced by larger businesses. The project has been successfully implemented not only in the original district, but has now been extended to a much larger area. Revitalization is achieved within a broad approach towards preservation, small scale beautification, special zoning recommendations and design guidelines (Figure 2).

The city developed an overall planning system with potential for fostering good urban design. The basic Development Plan (*Plano Urbanístico Básico*) of 1977 established the idea of district planning, as an attempt to integrate compartmentalized actions of different city agencies. Although the city never established full procedures for this system, it did start a tradition of *projetos de estruturação urbana* (urban structuring projects) that re-addressed zoning and land use patterns of neighbourhoods, mostly with the participation of local community groups. Unfortunately, given governmental bureaucracy and agency politics, these local urban design projects were never able to fully address the whole spectrum of the public dimension, such as local traffic issues, but concentrated on building envelopes, land coverage and land use zoning.

For the last five years, the city has

been involved in a political struggle between local legislators, the economic community and neighbourhood associations concerning the approval of a master plan. The plan aims to integrate current sector planning and to establish a planning procedure which would include public participation, general basic development strategies and guidelines, major transportation and infrastructure spines, as well as a land use and density plan. Local urban design specificities should then be established by city recommendations as defined in district plans (the *projetos de estruturação urbana*). Strong political and economic interests at play were not successful in blocking the most progressive planning instruments within the plan such as the transfer development rights and incentive zoning.

Finally, two recent urban design city programmes are worth mentioning. The first is simple and consists of closing certain major streets to vehicular traffic during Sundays and holidays. It has been very successful over the past few years not only as a way of generating extra recreational areas in dense inner city neighbourhoods, for example, but also by stressing some recreational facilities by closing lanes to traffic along all the beaches and through an existing parkway downtown. Many people are attracted to these temporary 'pedestrian' streets



**Figure 3.** Closing one of the seafront lanes to traffic on Sundays and holidays has been an effective and popular design intervention.

to stroll, jog, ride bicycles, to watch specific events, or, simply, to socialize (Figure 3).

The other recent urban design effort started in 1990 under the current city administration. With the United Nations Conference on the Environment (known as the Earth Summit) hosted in Rio in June 1992, significant efforts have been devoted to city beautification. Evidently, both federal and city governments saw the event as an ideal opportunity to rebuild an international image and they eagerly prepared the city for participants of all festivities and activities involved. Two major city programmes were set with such objectives. One aims at providing squares and open areas, especially those in tourist areas, with new landscaping that includes enclosing them to protect against vandalism and vagrancy. The second recent programme consists of major beautification of the beaches. Originating from a design competition and encompassing 30 miles of beachfront, the project calls for a new streetscape, bicycle tracks, landscaping and homogenizing the design of food stands.

This last programme has generated much public controversy against the mayor. Community rallies questioned the social priority of such expenditures as well as the need to upgrade a waterfront which was not really in need of betterment, as is the case of Copacabana and Ipanema beaches, to

serious criticisms about the quality of the final design itself. For example, the new bicycle track is a threat to pedestrians and it substantially decreased available parking. The mayor dismissed such criticisms and responded to political pressures to 'clean the house' for the Earth Summit, thus setting the pace for a new image to be generated by these projects. Only time will tell whether they are effective and receive public acceptance in the long term.

Thus, regardless of the international media, Rio has implemented interesting urban design projects, particularly if considered within the specific and restrictive developmental context of resources for such a major metropolis. It is also clear that most socio-spatial manifestations in the public realm of a city like Rio expose the developmental contradictions of a Third World economy. Furthermore, because city images generally figure strongly in most foreigners' perceptions, the images of Rio still stand out from the rest of Brazil.

#### *Curitiba: between myth and model<sup>10</sup>*

Capital of the southern state of Paraná, Curitiba is the eighth largest city in Brazil with a population of over 1 200 000. Historical aspects of local colonization together with relatively modern capitalist patterns in agricultural and regional development have produced a unique situation in

<sup>10</sup>This section relies on arguments kindly provided by Fernanda Sánchez García, who is currently studying the relationships between planning and image building processes in Curitiba for her master's degree at IPPUR/UFRJ.

Paraná and in Curitiba in particular.<sup>11</sup> The resulting productive agricultural sector gave birth to a more progressive capitalist regional economic system.

Curitiba is perhaps the only major Brazilian city where growth and expansion processes have been tackled by comprehensive planning in the last two decades. One of the recommendations in the original plan, drawn up by consultants from São Paulo with a local team, was for the creation of a specific city implementation agency. The *Instituto de Pesquisa e Planejamento Urbano de Curitiba-IPPUC* (urban planning and research institute) was created at the end of the 1960s 'as a political means towards flexibility and dynamism, bypassing the bureaucracy of city departments. Born at the peak of the military regime when there was a strong belief in functional 'technocratic' planning, one of the objectives set for IPPUC was to 'change the looks of the city and to prepare it for the future'. Having survived the vagaries of politics, it became the most important agency in Curitiba as a laboratory for new urban projects, praised for originality and effectiveness but whose success has yet to be critically appraised.

This success is significantly due to architect Jaime Lerner, who has been mayor for three terms of office. During his first term he was appointed by the state governor, with the approval of the military, at a time when direct elections were still forbidden. With his small and innovative team based at IPPUC, Lerner succeeded in implementing simple and workable ideas that depended, to a large extent, on his popularity and political gamesmanship. Part of this popularity was created from projects and programmes during his first mandate, many of which had been recommended in the original master plan. Now they cover a wide range including special zoning for industrial districts, public transportation systems, preservation and image building, community participation, environmental programmes for recycling garbage, among many others.

During recent years, following implementation of these projects and intense publicity, Curitiba has asto-

nished the entire country and is now unanimously praised as a new 'urban myth'. Wide press coverage and an efficient marketing structure guaranteed that the urban design solutions became new urban symbols of modernity, hallowed and divulged both nationally and internationally. In fact, the city managed to realize all urban projects in creating its own version of an urban 'utopia'.

Curitiba's physical solutions, particularly those related to transportation, became 'planning standards' and have been copied in the most remote towns in Brazil without any critical appraisal. Lerner has been invited to advise many other cities. However, we must not be misled by the paradigm and consequent mythology of the Curitiba projects but aim at a more accurate understanding of causes and consequences. Below we comment upon those projects which have had the strongest impact.

Planned urban growth was defined along major *eixos estruturais* (structural axes) that cross the city and define linear vectors for development, discouraging further intensification of the traditional downtown area. Mandatory patterns along these axes define an architectural typology of high-density residential tower blocks, commercial and service uses, together with an integrated mass transportation system. The articulation between this road system, land use and public transportation, not surprisingly, became the major footprint for the new urban design.

Design succeeded in providing faster and safer vehicle circulation, by means of a three-lane system with discrete lanes for buses and cars. This system, effective in achieving its goals, integrated new bus lines as an alternate direct connection between downtown and the neighbourhoods. The *ligeirinho* ('speedy') buses collect passengers from special reinforced-plastic tubular sheds, whose architectural design, though far from perfect, makes boarding and exiting faster and more comfortable with higher efficiency at much lower costs than more sophisticated public mass transit systems (Figure 4).

Developmental patterns along these

<sup>11</sup>In Carlos Nelson F. dos Santos, 'Para Cada Forma de Dominação a Utopia que Merece', *Arquitetura Revista*, Vol 3, No 3, Faculdade de Arquitetura e Urbanismo, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, 1985.



**Figure 4.** Curitiba's popular bus system uses exclusive express lanes and especially designed stops for faster and more comfortable boarding.



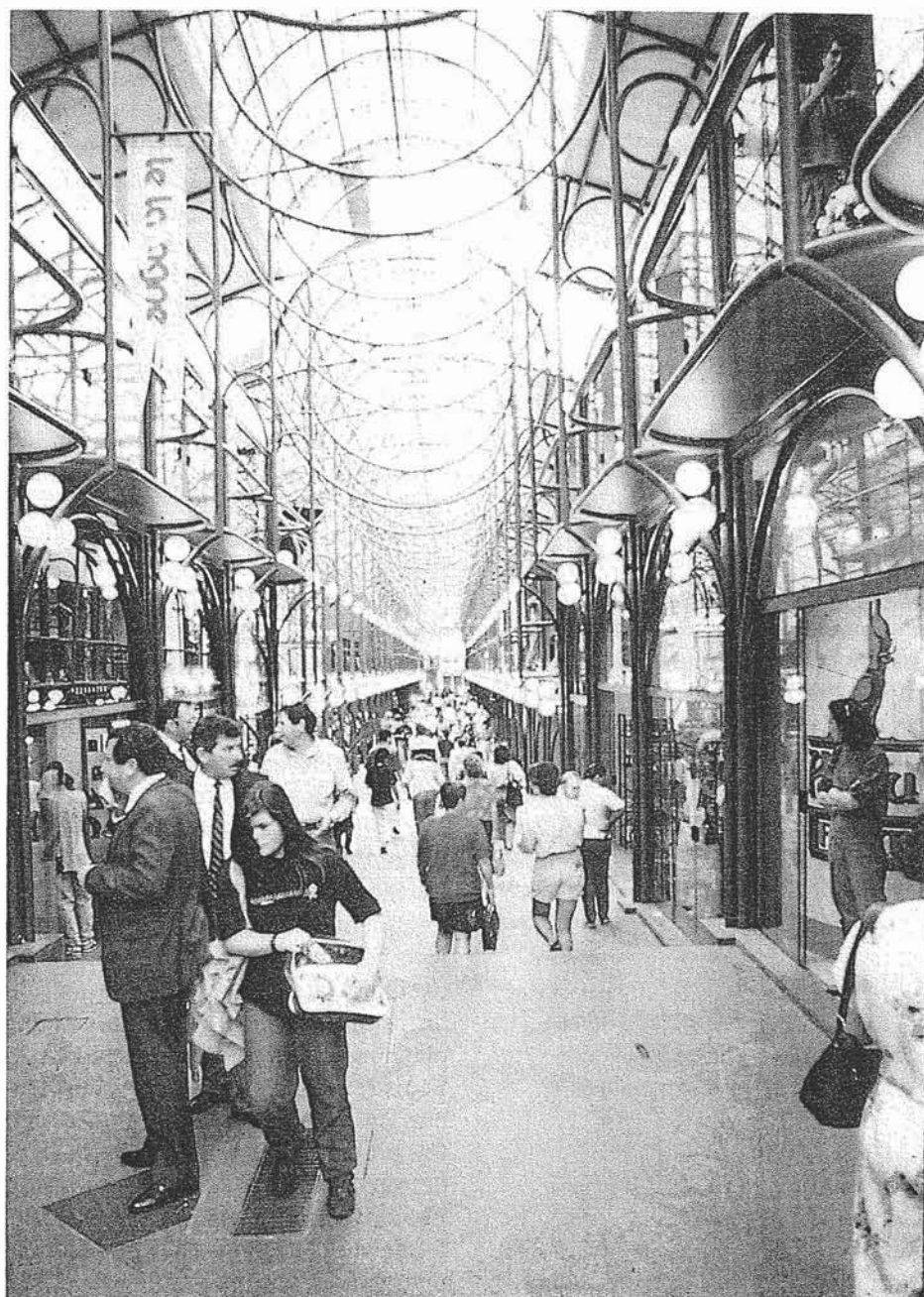
structural axes cut through fragments of very different urban fabrics and are rigidly standardized by the mandatory architectural typologies and resulting morphologies. Curitiba's transformation over a few years allowed the city to embrace definitively a 'world of expressways' as a symbol of the new urban form announcing a metropolitan future to come. In the early 1970s, territorial homogeneity and uniformity seemed a perfectly valid option as an emerging 'modernity'. Thus, following the functionalist model originated in the 1970s, these interventions did not consider aspects of the historical process and the variety of neighbourhood patterns through which the axes were cut. Today we know this model is a straitjacket for the growth process, with a strong influence over the resulting townscape; a side effect of expressways that is not always clear in the images of Curitiba.

Curitiba was seen throughout Brazil as an *avant garde* city in the early 1970s, when it decided to create pedestrian precincts downtown with complementary landscaping. The *calçada* ('big sidewalk') of *Rua das Flores* quickly transformed into a lively meeting place with cafés, shops, cultural activities and colourful flower stalls. Shoppers could leave their children in the care of city recreation officials in a converted old street tram that would also offer special educa-

tional programmes at weekends. With pedestrianization, IPPUC also started a programme for revitalization of the historic district through protective legislation, special design guidelines and by encouraging the restoration of several old buildings. Recently it has developed a memorable city streetscape project with a 'red line' delineating footpaths.

Next to *Rua das Flores*, another recent urban intervention is the *Rua 24 Horas* (twenty four hour street) which occupies the heart of an inner-city block and was acclaimed as an exciting innovation, the first of its kind in Brazil (Figure 5). A pedestrianized street with shops and cafes was covered by a cast-iron and glass arcade and stays open day and night. With no intention of discrediting the original idea, we should note, however, that morphologically it is nothing but a simple shopping arcade like those so common in cities like Rio and São Paulo. Nevertheless, this new model is already regarded as essential to modern cities and it will not take long before it is reproduced in other Brazilian cities.

Last but not least, having embraced the environmentalist discourse, in a new and skillful marketing strategy by Lerner, Curitiba now also serves as a model for First World cities. It has recently received the title of 'environmental capital of Brazil' owing to its



**Figure 5.** Shops, cafes and entertainment in an inner city that is encased in a glass arcade and stays open round the clock.

50m<sup>2</sup> of green space per capita and for its programmes for collection and recycling of urban waste. There is special emphasis in the *favelas* (squatter settlements) where squatters get bags of food or bus vouchers in exchange for their garbage. Admired by visiting journalists, cited as an example by UNESCO and visited by officials of other metropolises, Curitiba was a highlight of the United Nations International Conference on the Environment which was held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992.

Urban design interventions in Curitiba must be understood as communication and action at the symbolic level: each generating a new system of

requirements that end up being accepted by the population, transforming the smallest experience into an irresistible adventure towards utopia. In the early 1970s the paradigm adopted by the city was for a comprehensive, globalizing, and creative way of achieving urbanism. Modernity was then associated with an efficient and comfortable daily life. From the early 1980s a strong cultural influence could be perceived which stressed a more humane urban landscape, particularly in historic districts. The environment is still, nonetheless, associated with the rational/functionalist trend which informed the original projects.

There is no doubt that Curitiba



knew how to take advantage of each project it managed to realize, both materially and symbolically. While the city knew how to pursue its image, promulgating the necessity for copying its urban solutions, it also learned how to rejuvenate this image, by adopting new strategies. 'With the right touches, any city can be a Curitiba' states Mayor Lerner in his evolutionary perspective.<sup>12</sup> Recognizing the merit in many of these projects and the strength of their image should not keep us from a critical appraisal of the imposed perception – an understanding of the real city. So far, the relatively small scale of Curitiba, its specific socio-historical patterns and efficient political propaganda have helped the efforts of Mayor Lerner and the quality of some of the projects to disguise images more clearly associated with real socio-economic contradictions such as those so evident in Rio.

As observed by late Carlos Nelson dos Santos, one of Brazil's most important urbanists, 'miracles' in the Curitiba version and the mystical treatment bestowed on all urban projects generated there seem to demerit, dequalify and even to erase all the historical richness of the remaining planning and urban design in Brazil.<sup>13</sup> In his revealing analysis of urban 'utopias' in Brazil, Santos concluded that few people realize the relationships between the development process in Curitiba and its historico-spatial framework. In the eyes of the leading bourgeoisie, Curitiba embodies a perfect counterpoint to our 'backwardness' because it allows for the creation of a 'stage set', a model for a possible and desirable future for the nation when it 'whitens and becomes more civilized', in the ironic words of Santos.

#### *Which image is more real?*

Clearly, there is a strong relationship between urban design, image building and world perception, which I have tried to illustrate in the case of Brazil, with the cities of Curitiba and Rio de Janeiro playing the leading roles of *The Beauty and the Beast*. There are two major lessons to be learned from the previous discussion.

The first lesson is twofold. On the

one hand, we learn that urban design can effectively be used for international imageability. This is of particular importance for countries like Brazil, in which the Curitiba experience is an outstanding model. Not simply by developing model projects, but by adopting a model strategy for advertising and mythifying processes and results, with the right marketing of the right images – the 'urban utopia'. Curitiba makes sure that its urban programmes and projects do their job in moulding foreigners' cognition and in directing them to a *positive* evaluation. Meanwhile, Rio still is not able to redirect the prevailing bad images imposed by the world media.

On the other hand, Curitiba's experience also teaches us the importance and the feasibility of simple – not simplistic – urban design. Recently, Mayor Lerner of Curitiba stated that 'the city of the future will not be a scene from *Flash Gordon* . . . it probably will look a lot like cities of today. We have to get grandiose solutions out of our heads'.<sup>14</sup> He is right in that the time of grand schemes seems definitely to be over. There is insufficient money for one thing and full democracy should guarantee effective and widespread public expenditure. Curitiba is 'Small is beautiful' revisited, where good political sense and the maximization of the spiral effect of small actions are fundamental.

This leads us towards the second lesson to be learned. We have strong indications that in all world metropolises – Rio, São Paulo, Mexico City, New York or Los Angeles – the most probable future scenarios are already present and they certainly do not look like a naïve *Flash Gordon* scenario, but more like the dystopias suggested in *Bladerunner* and *Boys 'N the Hood*. Planning and urban design in such contexts may have to operate increasingly by aiming at grand *objectives*, since we will be dealing with the complex transformation of society as we know it today. Within this major urban trend, we will have to deal with strongly contrasting developmental factors.

The second lesson is the inevitable realization that the media is mostly responsible for world perceptions and

<sup>12</sup>Margolis, *op cit*, Ref 7.

<sup>13</sup>dos Santos, *op cit*, Ref 11.

<sup>14</sup>Kamm, *op cit*, Ref 7.

preconceives us towards partial truths. This is not, as we understand it, necessarily good or bad. However, it is often misleading and can generate a strong prejudice against a country or a city. Do Curitiba and Rio de Janeiro deserve the metaphors 'The Beauty' and 'The Beast'? Which of them should be used as a fair representation of Brazil? The media shows two very different cities which are worlds apart, this is true as far as their different sizes, specificities of their evolutionary and political determinants are concerned.

The importance of place marketing and strong international competition lead some to say that Brazil should be more aggressive and should fight against the current prevailing conception and images dramatized and de-contextualized by the media. Different strategies could be adopted. Some say we should be aggressive and divulge comparative data on criminality between major cities in Brazil and the USA. Others say that, not unlike the successful strategy of Curitiba, 'counter-marketing' should concen-

trate on divulging strong and good images of how we want our country and cities to be recognized. However, then we would be joining in the same simplistic game played by the media of contrasting cognitive categories and we would still only choose the Beauty to display, again divulging only parts of the truth.

Rather than undertaking a purely commercial tourist strategy, we should take a more truthful and culturally correct marketing standpoint in exposing the existing contradictions in Brazil as a Third World nation and allow the world and potential tourists to decide, totally aware of existing conditions. Foreign imageability of Brazil should create an understanding that The Beauty and The Beast metaphors are complementary developmental factors of co-existing realities in any major capitalist city, realities that we all share and are partly responsible for. As Italo Calvino has written, we must accept that it is the interweaving thread of desires and fears which makes dreams and cities come true.