

Digitization as a Means of Social Inclusion? The Museu do Amanhã in Rio de Janeiro

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Introduction

Since its opening in December 2015, the Museu do Amanhã (Museum of Tomorrow) in Rio de Janeiro's port zone has sought to present itself as a space for "inclusion". The buzzword, along with the somewhat fuzzy concept of "diversity", which is also high on Rio's official cultural agenda (Rio Prefeitura 2010, 6), is repeated several times in all in-house publications of the museum. According to its website,¹ more than four million people have already visited the museum. This makes it one of the most visited museums in Brazil.

Digital inclusion and social inclusion, ideally to be achieved by the Museu do Amanhã, are both closely related. They are also conceptually described as "info-inclusion" (Santos *et al.* 2019, 3), as a set of public affirmative actions in informal educational spaces such as museums. Nevertheless, social inclusion is certainly not reducible to digital inclusion. In today's information society, however, digital inclusion is indispensable. Given the educational inequality in Brazil, a high rate of functional illiteracy and a lack of financial resources for the acquisition of computers, the info-inclusion sought by the museum specifically targets the social classes that have little access to digital technologies and aims to promote critical-reflexive participation through the use of digital services in vital areas such as health, work or mobility and, in this case, culture and education.

The museum's mission is to promote both digital and social inclusion through its offerings inside and outside the exhibition spaces. This is important to know because it means that the museum—at least in theory—is committed to a social mission that does not simply cease at the museum entrance or exit. With the goal of improving educational opportunities for disadvantaged social groups, it has launched the Programa Vizinhos do

1 <https://museudoamanha.org.br> (January 10, 2022).

Amanhã (Museum of Tomorrow's Neighbors Program), which promises free admission for the immediate neighborhood.

But whether social inclusion can be achieved via digitization is a question that is not easy to answer. The issue is complex and contradictory. Although a slight majority of Brazilians has access to digitized services and the corresponding end devices, a predominantly poorer and Afro-Brazilian section of society hardly comes into contact with the digitized presentation of educational content in a museum, such as the Museu do Amanhã. While the digitization of many areas of life in Brazil seems to be well advanced, there still exist barriers for a significant part of Brazilians to learn about complex issues such as the Anthropocene through digitally mediated content as presented by the Museu do Amanhã.

Six months of field research in Rio de Janeiro between 2018 and 2020 form the basis for this paper. Collaborative, open and participatory observations and interviews with port residents as well as city officials were conducted. In addition, official documents related to the current Porto Maravilha urban transformation project were analyzed and specialized literature was studied. The theoretical input comes from the fields of cultural studies, history, social and political sciences, and urban studies.

The article is organized as follows: The first chapter discusses the thesis that a Museum of Tomorrow must not forget the past; or rather, that engagement with the past must be a central component of an inclusive tomorrow, as propagated by the museum narrative of the Anthropocene. This thesis is related to the overarching research context of "urban ethics" (Dürr *et al.* 2020). The connection has been suggested by the fact that the questions raised by the museum have, at least superficially, an ethical framing and could therefore be termed an "urban-ethical project" (Ege and Moser 2020, 8). In addition, an attempt is made to distinguish the concept of "inclusion" from the idea of "diversity", which points in a similar direction but has a more appellative character.

In the second chapter, the relationship between the museum's values and its urban environment is examined in more detail in the context of Porto Maravilha's "revitalization" project.

The third chapter deals with memory work in the setting of the Museu do Amanhã, with the attempts to negate the memory of yesterday, but also with a specific digital counter-strategy to keep this memory alive. It also introduces the concept of "urbanophagy" to make urban change processes

visible in a decolonial way (Loyen 2023). The last chapter brings together the findings.

A Context Shaped by Ethics

The thesis is that social inclusion in a country marked by so many phenomena of racial inequality (Schwarcz 2019, 126) can only be achieved through genuine participation of the primarily poorer and Afro-Brazilian population. This also requires a historical sensitivity that includes, not least, dealing with the indigenous past, the transatlantic slave trade and the impact of slavery on contemporary Brazilian society. A Museum of Tomorrow that, in line with its educational aspirations, points the way to a more equitable, inclusive future and strives for stronger ties with its environment and poorer surroundings under the slogans of “sustainability” and “conviviality” should also take a look at the past.

Five major existential questions are addressed in the museum’s exhibition: Where do we come from? Who are we? Where are we? Where are we going? How do we want to live? In terms of the pedagogical concept and didactic methodology, the design is based on the tripod of diversity, equity, and inclusion. But how is it possible that a museum that wants to lead the discussion about a better “tomorrow” is so careless about its “yesterday” and does not mention the spaces of slavery?

The question “How do we want to live?” is ethical in nature, insofar as it resonates with the request for justification for our previous and future actions. However, it is not conclusively formulated and does not intend to prescribe a path, but rather to stimulate reflection on the possibilities of “good” coexistence at the local, but also at the global level. The museum is thus intended to become a place of debate and reflection, without committing itself politically, socially or religiously. It is this particular “unlabelledness”—induced by the vague concept of “tomorrow”, which in turn recalls the well-known never-redeemed epithet of Brazil as a “country of the future” (Zweig 1997)—that makes the museum a field and case for urban ethics.

But precisely because the museum places such an ethical question at the center of its exhibition on the Anthropocene, which is admittedly completely open in its outcome, and because it also wants to present itself as an inclusive space vis-à-vis the public, it should also deal with Rio’s past. However, this past is not just a local matter for the city, but relates

to global events such as the transatlantic slave trade between the 17th and 19th centuries. It is therefore all the more surprising that the “stepped stones of the [Valongo] wharf” are not mentioned at all in the exhibition. “Rediscovered” in 2011 with great media attention in the course of urban planning measures in the port transformation process of Porto Maravilha, these stones refer to Rio’s slavery past but also to the post-abolitionist revolts led by black personalities in the port area in the early 20th century.²

Following Claudia Zilla (2013, 101), “inclusion” is understood as a socio-political governance strategy that strengthens the collective participation rights of the vulnerable, socially, culturally and economically marginalized classes. This conception of inclusion goes hand in hand with Henri Lefebvre’s idea of the “right to the city” (1968), which is legally enshrined in the 1988 Brazilian “Civil” Constitution and the 2001 City Statute (Earle 2017, 42). The question thus becomes: Who is the city for, or in the case at hand, who is the Museu do Amanhã for?

The term “inclusion” was also often used by the “non-conflicting voices” (especially by the media and press of the O Globo Group) as well as government discourses that referred to the museum in their description of the official project of cultural urban renewal and its alleged multiple improvements for the local dwellers (Rio Prefeitura 2011, 7). Then it was used together with other euphonious keywords, in line with the images produced by the official tourism campaigns about the *Cidade Maravilhosa* (Wonderful City), which aim to level social inequalities. At that point, the idea of inclusion has the task of selling Rio as a harmonious “melting pot” (Schwarcz 2011, 143) and encouraging the patriotic feelings of the already well-off citizens. Drawing on the national imagery of *ufanismo* by the Brazilian author Afonso Celso, whose book *Porque me ufano do meu país* (Why I am proud of my country) (1901) provided a patriotic toolbox for the emerging republican elite, one could even speak of “urban ufanism” in the case of Rio’s urban transformation. At the forefront of such an ethical evocation of the city as “the best of all cities” is the emotional attachment

2 According to the historian Martha Abreu (interview on March 10, 2021), there can actually be no talk of a rediscovery of the stones of the Valongo Wharf. The fact that the Valongo Wharf was hidden in this area was also known to those responsible for the port project. For Abreu, it was mainly due to the “shame” of the crimes against humanity that the wharf was deliberately forgotten. Although historians knew about it, the wharf was not mentioned in school textbooks.

of the city to its citizens, which is intended to generate irrational pride for the city and civic consensus about the processes of change that lie ahead.

A veritable “*Carioca*³ ethos” (Sánchez *et al.* 2019a, 120) is invoked in marketing publications. For example, regarding Porto Maravilha some newspapers say that a formerly morally and physically “degenerated” zone of the city is being developed for the *Cariocas*, much like Copacabana in Rio’s South Zone in the 1930s.⁴ The comparison with Rio’s most famous district shows, which part of the population is to be addressed by the museum and the ongoing urban transformation process, namely the affluent white middle-classes. In doing so, a contrast is discursively established between the supposedly “real” *Cariocas* and the low-income dwellers of the port, a large part of them classified as *favelados*: mostly non-white people with poor access to public services who share adverse characteristics associated with extreme poverty (Keivani *et al.* 2020). Consequently, it would be only the well-off *Cariocas* who discover the port zone through the museum, as if the ancient residents were only extras in this “wonderful” scenario. Such a separation does not necessarily make inclusion easier. Rather, it becomes clear that a consumerist ethos prevails in this form of urban appropriation, which, from the onset, excludes all those who do not have the necessary financial means.

Until recently, the so-called *Carioca* ethos and its cosmopolitan, casual habitus had been largely confined to the city’s wealthier South Zone. With the advent of the port redevelopment in Rio’s center, territorial affiliations have shifted. Large numbers of South Zone residents flock to the port zone, especially on weekends, contributing to what the city government aggressively seeks to promote as “diversity” (Rio Prefeitura 2009, 134) among economically unequal people under the unifying directive of “culture”.

In Cultural Studies terms, “diversity” is thereby the modern, hipster sibling of “inclusion”, a term so ambiguously labeled that it obscures more than it reveals. While “diversity” suggests ease, openness, and tolerance, and is advocated especially by a young audience, the concept of “inclusion” has something heavier attached to it: something that must be fought for, as it can always be undone. It points to a historically “differentiated citizen-

3 *Carioca* is the Brazilian term for the inhabitants of the city of Rio de Janeiro.

4 One headline, for example, is: “Future Express leaves the port area. Completion of the revitalization project will return a forgotten area to the *Cariocas*, equivalent to a Copacabana” (*O Globo*, October 19, 2012, p. 37).

ship” (Holston 2008, 19) that is supposed to be broken up, for example, through affirmative policies for Afro-Brazilians, which are now just being threatened again.

However, the concept of “inclusion” is also viewed very critically by some social activists in the port zone. They consider this concept to be misguided. In their view, it goes hand in hand with de-politicization and co-optation of activist engagement, which runs counter to genuine mobilization and critical consciousness-raising. Finally, “inclusion” would lead to an emulation and adaptation of neoliberal thinking, which they see as unjust and wrong. Following Adorno’s famous sentence “There is no right life in the wrong one”, they reject inclusion. For many of the disadvantaged, mostly Afro-Brazilian groups, this resistance to fixed national identities feeds on the historically gained knowledge that both acts of inclusion and exclusion are controlled and thus granted in the first place by politically hegemonic actors of the state (Almeida 2019, 63). Paradigmatic of this is the abolition of slavery in Brazil on May 13, 1888, which for many Afro-Brazilians is neither an act of humanity nor a reason for celebration, but merely the beginning of inclusion into an equally exploitative capitalist system (Nascimento 2019).

The Museu Do Amanhã and Its Contested Values

The Museu do Amanhã, opened in December 2015, represents the first public-private partnership project in Rio de Janeiro’s redesigned port area. As early as July 2009, a cooperation agreement was signed for this purpose between the city government of Rio de Janeiro and the influential Roberto Marinho Media Foundation, which includes Brazil’s largest television station O Globo and the most widely read national daily newspaper of the same name. According to Rio’s urban strategic plan⁵ of 2009 under the name “For a more integrated and competitive Rio”, the museum building is about a “revitalization of the port area that aims to improve the living conditions of the local population” (Rio Prefeitura 2009, 92).

5 Urban strategic plans have been a common urban planning tool in Rio de Janeiro since the 1990s. Formally modeled on corporate strategic plans, they focus on competition and selective urban beautification in specific profit-promising regions of the city—these areas are often associated with the hosting of major international events such as the Olympics or the FIFA World Cup. In Rio, they have largely replaced the ten-year master plans and thus almost completely eradicated the social component in urban planning.

A year late, but still in time for the start of the 2016 Summer Olympics, the museum was ceremoniously opened in December 2015. Whether it could sustainably improve “the living conditions” of the local population seems to be more of a rhetorical question in view of the current situation in Rio de Janeiro. However, since the beginning of the pandemic, it has been doing some educational work around the present social and epidemiological situation in Rio with videoconferences and has curated a temporary exhibition under the name of “Coronaceno”, with reference to the Anthropocene now marked by the coronavirus.

Instead of remaining within the propagated self-image of the Porto Maravilha port transformation process, which sees “transparency”, “citizenship” and “participation” as ethical principles of action,⁶ the Museu do Amanhã was handed over without a public tender to the Marinho Foundation, which was also allowed to select the appropriate architects as well as manage the financing of the project, together with Banco Santander and BG Brasil, a Brazilian offshore company, as the largest private partners besides the public sector.

Over the years, the museum has found other financial supporters, including some from the energy and petroleum sectors. Shell and the Franco-Brazilian group Engie are now among the museum’s broad supportive financial portfolio. Patrons of the museum include major tech companies as well as those in the petroleum industry. Given their sphere of influence, it is easy to understand why it is primarily such multinationals that are especially favored as sponsors by the Museu do Amanhã. They use the museum as a multiplier of their social responsibility and give themselves a clean record in the implementation of environmental regulations via the values of “green” sustainability and “harmonious” coexistence represented by the museum. The fact that the surrounding Guanabara Bay is bursting with garbage and sewage is just one more contradiction in the realization of the highly praised values.

Guanabara Bay was the first and most memorable impression of the city for most Rio travelers arriving by boat or plane. It is therefore all the more important to briefly describe the location of the museum and the urban-symbolic context in which it is situated. The Museu do Amanhã is

6 At least the Porto Maravilha advertises itself superficially (digitally) with these principles. They immediately stand out when visiting the official homepage <https://www.ccpa.rio/projeto/porto-maravilha/> (January 10, 2022).

located at the far end of the central plaza of Rio's waterfront, named Mauá Square, which is accessed via Rio's financial boulevard, Rio Branco Avenue. Just a few hundred meters from the square is the Valongo Wharf, part of the Unesco World Heritage since 2017. The wharf has become a symbol of the inhumane transatlantic slave trade. The so-called Slave Wharf can be reached by walking from Mauá Square in a northwesterly direction along Olympic Boulevard, opened in 2016, another attraction that is slowly losing its appeal as it leads into the less glamorous part of the urban renewal project. Also for these reasons, the Mauá Square is considered the flagship of a "renewed" Rio.

The city yearns for recognition to overcome its complex of "abandonment" (Vidal 2011, 21). Throughout its rich urban history, Rio was the former capital of the Portuguese Colonial Empire (1763-1822)—for some time even of the entire Portuguese Empire—then of the independent Brazilian Empire (1822-1889) and finally of the Republic (1889-1960). To this day, Rio suffers from its loss of its capital city status and attempts to compensate for this complex through architectural superlatives, urban renewal projects and the hosting of international mass and mega events. In order to survive in the global competition between cities, places are needed that also appeal to a younger, affluent and event-oriented audience. The Museu do Amanhã meets these requirements with flying colors by profitably combining its expressive architecture and urban setting with an exhibition that, although very ambitious in principle, is easy and quick to get through in practice.

Most Brazilian museums see themselves as "traditional museums" (Brulon Soares 2009, 144) with their own inventory and objects that are replaced from time to time. Rio's Museu do Amanhã, similar to the Museu da Língua Portuguesa (Museum of the Portuguese Language) or the Museu do Futebol (Football Museum), both in the city of São Paulo, was conceived as an experiential and experimental museum, with many digital interactions and offerings. The museum emphasizes the dimension of performativity and happening. It considers the visitor as a client whose loyalty is gained through a supposedly personalized experience within a consumption context, similar to a consumer who assembles his or her very own "individual" sandwich in an American fast food chain. In this way, the Museu do Amanhã also meets the current *Zeitgeist*, which seems to focus more on fast-moving and frequent updating than on permanence.

According to urban researcher Fernanda Sánchez (Sánchez *et al.* 2019b, 6), an organic connection to digitization is evident in the Museu do Amanhã and the space newly created around it. The Museu do Amanhã, its expressive façade and spatial body, serves as a paradigm for a new superficial form of urban exploration and tourism. Along with other architectural and natural landmarks of the city of Rio, it has turned into a place of self-expression via selfies, of digital location sharing via Facebook and Instagram.⁷ In this way, the museum's visitors not only reproduce their own privileged position in a city strongly marked by inequality. Simultaneously, they impose their "colonial gaze" on the historical sites and create expectations for future tourists as to how they should interact with these spaces (Worms and Gras-Velázquez 2020, 68).

At the time of the 2016 Summer Olympics, when the digital hashtag and bestseller "Olympic City" was sculpted in letters outside the museum's entrance, the museum already served the purpose of self-promotion. The digitally shared snapshot is only a reference to a moment, caused by the coincidence of the two extraordinary events: Rio as the site of the Summer Olympics and the construction of the Museu do Amanhã. Numerous urban researchers have already proven that these events are not rare in terms of a neoliberal marketing of the city (Ferreira 2013). But this is clearly not what the term "inclusion" means. A lasting strategy for turning people into responsible, participating citizens via digitized offerings on complex topics, such as those the museum should address, must therefore take completely different paths.

Inclusion goes far beyond simply making things visible. It calls for public policies that transform society. And in the particular case of the Afro-Brazilian population on whose historical territory the museum was built, it is about access to job opportunities, improving their housing conditions and educational opportunities in the city. This would be the redemption of what Lefebvre had demanded in his expression of "the right to the city" as urban appropriation within the "lived space", but which could only be accomplished in a society other than the capitalist one (Souza 2012).

7 In Rio's daily newspaper *O Globo* (December 18, 2015, p. 16), Rio's mayor Eduardo Paes talks about the Museu do Amanhã as a "champion of selfies". This shows that he is less concerned with the ethically charged content of the museum and possible debates than with the superficial character, the spectacle and the flood of images that is sent into the global ether via selfies.

Beyond that, of course, there are attempts at inclusion in the Museu do Amanhã, in certain events on Afro-Brazilian history or the African diaspora. However, such attempts are modest compared to the coverage of the permanent exhibition on the Anthropocene where historical and social questions on slavery, racism and inequality should also be addressed. Moreover, these rare events are often only attended by black people. In the course of the field research and attendance at Afro-Brazilian seminars, it was noted that, in addition to numerous students of white origin, it was always the same “engaged” people who were interested in Afro-Brazilian topics. Still, more and more Afro-Brazilians can be found working in the museum. However, they tend to have minor positions compared to their white counterparts, working, for example, in the security sector or as educational staff to the exhibition.

Even though the Museu do Amanhã has set up an ambitious visitor program for the underprivileged Afro-Brazilian population in the port area (Programa Vizinhos do Amanhã), according to many members of the intended target group, implementation is proving difficult. The problem is that registration for the program requires proof of residence, which some of those living in the port’s favelas do not have because their legal residential status is unclear or informal. Another reason why Afro-Brazilians are less likely to visit the museum is that they feel ethnically underrepresented in the museum. After several visits, it became clear that the museum is visited primarily by members of the white middle-classes. This is all too understandable, since the entrance fee is now 30 Reais, in a country with a government-set minimum income of currently 1320 Reais (about 250 Euros), which in many cases is still undercut.⁸

Negated Memories

In the words of Afro-Brazilian geographer Milton Santos (2006, 209), the territory of the new museum characterizes what, in his critical globalization research, stands for the “bright spaces” of the city. These are capable of outshining all social and cultural contrasts and, in a sense, consuming them “urbanophagically”, turning them into whitewashed enclaves and

8 By way of comparison, the German Future Museum, the so-called Futurium in Berlin, which cooperates on an institutional level with its Brazilian dependency, is free of charge. <http://www.idg.org.br/pt-br/assinatura-mou-futurium> (January 10, 2022).

islands of the South Zone in the midst of a historically African influenced environment.

To better understand this process of urban change in a decolonial way and from a Brazilian perspective, the concept of “urbanophagy” was developed from the word anthropophagy. Urbanophagy is derived from the cultural metaphor of anthropophagy based on Oswald de Andrade’s *Anthropophagic Manifesto* (1928). It traces a performative movement of thought that also has a physiological, material component in its execution, with a strong emphasis on inversion and reinterpretation. Rio’s urban orientation toward a European- and globally-influenced cityscape can be read “urbanophagically” (i. e. as a dialectical process of destruction and re-creation) as the devouring of colonial history. History materializes not least in spaces, monuments, and buildings, but also in practices, ways of thinking, and cultural and religious expressions. In the “urbanophagic” processes within the port transformation of Porto Maravilha, there are territorial reinterpretations and reorderings as well as new usages of space, which in this case are also ethnically marked, and refer to phenomena of social displacement through gentrification up to racism.

The Anthropagic Manifesto “brushes history against the grain” (Strasser 2021, 45). Andrade writes against the “importers of canned consciousness” (Andrade 2011, 68) and questions the supposedly objective, the supposedly true, and thus the “history of the victors”, that is, that of the white colonizers. They are the ones who have taken their views to the National Museums around the world and have not allowed alternative perspectives to arise in the first place. However, in the course of a dynamic historiography as proposed by urbanophagy, which opposes a museumized memory, memories are permanently constructed but also contested and renegotiated in a territory disputed by many different actors. Following on from this, it can be stated again that the Museu do Amanhã is in the process of negating African memory while producing a world-class “bright” space (Sánchez *et al.* 2019b, 3). This is evident, not least, in the precarious financial support provided by public or private donors to Afro-Brazilian institutions working on cultural heritage issues (Honorato 2018, 55).

Against this backdrop, the question of a “just” form of remembrance arises. In Sánchez view (Sánchez *et al.* 2020, 201), Rio’s major museum should be dedicated to African memory, also as part of a humanistic project of reparation. The museum speaks of a generic future through its exhibition worlds. Nevertheless, by referring to the past, it could show at what

social and human cost wealth was generated in the city of Rio de Janeiro during its main economic cycles (Costa and Gonçalves 2020). After all, its port was the largest gateway for enslaved people in the world. Moreover, the port area is not only a material and immaterial reference point of the slave economy of past centuries, with slave markets, hospitals, cemeteries and African practices of conviviality. It also evokes the memory of the former dockworkers, the many inland migrants from the Brazilian Northeast, as well as the numerous European and Arab immigrants who landed in Rio de Janeiro until well after the World War II era (Thiesen and Barros 2009).

Rio's port zone has always been a space of coexistence between religions, cultures and ethnicities. This powerful past, the immense heritage of stories, especially of suffering, but also of resistance, obviously no longer has anything to do with what is globally imagined as a "tomorrow". Thus, the evocation of an ahistorical "deterritorialized" future (Haesbaert 2018, 278) as a mandate to urbanophagically digest the past becomes an ethical claim for a global museum that seeks to establish a new techno-cultural order in the sterile display of sustainability without local attachment. In this way, a "tomorrow" is created without historical references, without the scientific and artistic representations that tell who we will be in the future, in accordance with the way we behaved yesterday (Sánchez *et al.* 2020, 202).

Easy to remember catchwords give a tone of legitimacy and apparent authenticity to the social-ethical parameters valued in urban projects, such as "modernity", "sustainability", "citizenship", "culture" and "mobility"—terms associated with a linear evolutionary imagery, from a socially deficient to an ideal state. Visitors can trace these concepts in a darkened exhibition space of the Museu do Amanhã named "Cubo do pensamento" (Cube of reflection). Here other ethically framed concepts such as "equality", "freedom", "heritage", "humanity", "creativity", which, through colorful digital projections with brief informative texts and photos, paint a picture of a multicultural, inclusive Brazil that also stands the test of time on a global scale. This is another digitized creation, aimed at supplying the neoliberal tourist market, apart from an "info-inclusive" proposal (Santos *et al.* 2019), that in reality serves to mask the ethnic, social and cultural contradictions within Brazilian society.

But there are also critical attempts to question the values upheld by the museum. Gabriele Roza, activist of the initiative *Mulheres Negras Decidem* (Black Women Decide) and journalist of the independent media

platform Agência Pública (Public Agency) co-developed the georeferenced web application Museu do Ontem (Museum of Yesterday). A digital mapping like the one through Roza's app makes a physical museum seem almost superfluous. It would be the most "radical" version of a Museu do Amanhã.⁹ Still, it is worth remembering that so far the percentage of people using the app to explore the history of the old harbor is much smaller than the number of visitors to the museum. Nevertheless, the attempt to hold up a mirror of yesterday to the Museu do Amanhã is a successful one. It puts its finger right in the wound that the "hypermodern" (Friendly and Walker 2021) high-tech museum reveals: creating a history of the Anthropocene that is devoid of references to the recent historical past.

Another criticism that many port residents raise regarding the exhibitions in the Museu do Amanhã, is that there is not enough recognition of the local yesterday by, for example, showing the archeological findings during the excavation works at the Valongo Wharf. Since many personal items of formerly enslaved people have been unearthed, Roza's free app has made these historical "voids" the starting point for her educational work. It highlights the "opaque space" (Santos 2006, 210) of the redesigned port area through five discovery trails and proposes different thematic explorations of the area near the Museu do Amanhã, such as one tour on history, one on corruption, one on forgotten names and events, one on violent events and one on samba.

In their joint book *Há mundo por vir? Ensaio sobre os medos e os fins*, Deborah Danowski and Eduardo Viveiros de Castro point out that without the plundering of the Americas, Europe would not have ceased to be the backyard of Eurasia, or that without this raiding there would have been neither capitalism, the Industrial Revolution, nor perhaps even the Anthropocene itself (Danowski and Viveiros de Castro 2017, 145). Without directly addressing the crimes of slavery, it becomes clear that, especially for the Americas, historical embedding and critical memory work is needed in order not to evoke once again the "colonial ghosts" that seemed to have already been overcome.

9 Also in the sense of a "radical democratic" approach to education, as proposed by Nora Sternfeld (2020, 210). The museum and its contents would belong to everyone (an Internet-enabled smartphone is a prerequisite, though), and that means more than if the museum were accessible to everyone in principle.

Conclusion

Critical decolonial globalization theorists such as Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2002), Aníbal Quijano, and Walter Mignolo (see Lander 2005) verified that in Latin America a new global system formed by Eurocentrism, “coloniality of power”, and capitalism was created. The Museu do Amanhã is the greatest symbol of what is called coloniality of power by decolonial thinkers such as Aníbal Quijano or Walter Mignolo. It stands out for that, both in the way it was planned (without consulting the residents of the port area) and financed (by large multinational companies) as in the urbanistic processes that preceded the strategic planning (with the selection of a group of Catalan consultants and the punctual intervention in a part of the city) and the final construction (the architect and the raw material of the museum, steel, being imported from abroad, from Spain and China respectively). In this way, the museum does not create any link to the old port area and appears as another urbanophagic concretization “out of place” (Schwarz 2009, 81). Fitted into a rhetoric of spectacle and into a global symbolic economy of urban imagemaking that wants to sell Rio as a conflict-free city characterized by “wonderful” nature and architecture, the Museu do Amanhã showcases itself in Rio’s beautiful Guanabara bay. Still, not only in the eyes of the architect Paulo Rheingantz (Rheingantz *et al.* 2017, 396), the museum looks more like a huge crocodile skeleton that does not seem to fit at all into the landscape of the bay.

In addition to that, the whole urban setting is not free of contradictions. This immediately strikes the eye of the observer when looking beyond Mauá Square into the open sea. Dirt, sewage and even small household appliances float in it. Even though, as a prerequisite for Rio’s Olympic bid, the complete cleaning of Guanabara Bay was promised, no sustainable improvements can be seen apart from palliative measures (eco-barriers and eco-boats). And yet, the mostly black children from the surrounding favelas jump headfirst into the bay. It seems that they are only welcome here. No one drives them away like from the beaches in expensive Ipanema or Leblon. That is not true either. From time to time, a guard from the Museu do Amanhã drives up to them on his Segway and urges them to leave the “pretty” scenery. The guard does the same with the children who crowd around a fountain under the canopy of the museum, jumping in and out of it. True inclusion looks different. Nevertheless, the museum, which juts into the bay, confidently promotes itself as “green” with the slo-

gans of biodiversity and conviviality. The discrepancy between aspiration and reality is overwhelming. The preliminary conclusion is therefore that the museum, like its all-embracing large-scale Porto Maravilha project, has not so much contributed to inclusion as created new spaces of exclusion.

Discursively as well as architecturally, the Museu do Amanhã aimed to convey a vision of Brazil that could do justice to the country's emerging character as an economic power; at least, at the beginning of the 2010s, Brazil still had this character. Since the outset of the political and economic crises in Brazil in 2013, which reached their peak in 2018 with the election of a "candidate explicitly committed to an extreme right-wing political ideology" (Starling 2019, 349), this claim to economic power can no longer be made. Tomorrow is more uncertain than it has been in Brazil for a long time, even if the left-wing government under Lula is now making new efforts for a welfare state. The present nevertheless continues to lie untidy and impoverished under the large canopy of the museum, which, with its rib-imitating roof structure, offers neither visitors nor itinerant vendors, and especially the city's many homeless, any protection from the sun and the rain. Some residents of the port area were convinced that the space was intentionally made so inhospitable so that crowds would not gather under the canopy and Mauá Square would not become a venue for strikes and rallies, as it was a hundred years ago. In view of this, the city administration wanted to take precautions, probably also in the historical knowledge that the port area was predestined for counter-discourses and practices.

The Porto Maravilha transformation project with its authoritarian top-down urbanism reflects the interests of strategic urban planning in its current neoliberal version. They serve as a blueprint for the free competition of cities "on a global terrain" (Florida 2008, 42), in search of public and private investments that support mainly corporatist interests through major international events and tourism (Mascarenhas 2014, 54). This also means that the construction of the Museu do Amanhã was neither about nor meant for the resident population. After all, the construction was accompanied by the municipality's desire to economically upgrade the area around Mauá Square and sell the adjacent building grounds to private investors. These were to be sold in a kind of auction to the highest bidder. It was considered unlikely that the investor would then create social housing there. The very construction of the museum at this historically significant site must therefore be considered an affront to the Afro-Brazilian popula-

tion who live in the surrounding favelas and do not have the means either to acquire other housing in the “formal city” or to sufficiently secure their own property against real estate speculation.

In conclusion, it must be stated that the Museu do Amanhã has not been able to fulfill its educational intention of being a space of social inclusion. To be sure, there are encouraging initiatives within the museum that include the Afro-Brazilian community. However, it has not been able to change the fundamental problem that Afro-Brazilians do not feel at home in the “bright” spaces of the museum, nor in the inhospitable outdoor spaces. Rather, the inequalities seem to be reproduced in the spaces and structures of the museum, combining cultural inclusion with simultaneous social and ethnic exclusion.

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