

**THE DESTRUCTION OF ARCHITECTURAL HERITAGE IN THE
HISTORIC CENTER OF CAMPOS DOS GOYTACAZES (RJ) AS A
STRATEGY FOR THE RECONFIGURATION OF URBAN SPACE**

***A DESTRUIÇÃO DO PATRIMÔNIO ARQUITETÔNICO NO CENTRO
HISTÓRICO DE CAMPOS DOS GOYTACAZES (RJ) ENQUANTO ESTRATÉGIA
DE RECONFIGURAÇÃO DO ESPAÇO URBANO***

***LA DESTRUCCIÓN DEL PATRIMONIO ARQUITECTÓNICO EN EL CENTRO
HISTÓRICO DE CAMPOS DOS GOYTACAZES (RJ) COMO ESTRATEGIA DE
RECONFIGURACIÓN DEL ESPACIO URBANO***



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ABSTRACT: This article analyzes the impacts of urban revitalization policies on the historic center of Campos dos Goytacazes, with a particular focus on the socio-spatial consequences of heritage management practices. The deliberate creation of urban voids through the demolition of buildings by property owners suggests the adoption of a speculative and materially destructive strategy. This approach reflects a broader logic of anticipation and expectation regarding the future valorization of centrally located, heritage-listed sites. Spatial analysis of the area revealed a significant increase in the conversion of vacated plots previously occupied by heritage-protected structures into parking facilities. The findings point out a persistent conflict between the municipal administration and private owners of historic properties. This tension has facilitated the emergence of parking lots as both a mechanism for land banking in a high-value urban context and as an instrument for enabling future cycles of real estate speculation and economic restructuring.

KEYWORDS: Architectural heritage. Historic center. Land banking. Parking lots.

RESUMO: *O presente trabalho apresenta os resultados de uma pesquisa sobre os impactos das políticas de requalificação urbana no centro histórico de Campos dos Goytacazes. A criação de vazios urbanos pelos proprietários de imóveis demolidos no centro histórico da cidade aponta para o uso de uma estratégia particularmente destrutiva no bojo de um processo de espera e expectativa de proprietários de imóveis patrimoniados, visando à valorização futura do preço de suas localizações. O mapeamento realizado no centro histórico permitiu identificar um aumento da instalação de estacionamentos em terrenos desocupados pela destruição de edifícios tombados pelo patrimônio. O estudo revelou a existência de um conflito entre o governo municipal e os proprietários de prédios históricos. Esse conflito levou à implantação de estacionamentos como um meio para criar reservas de solo em uma região caracterizada por alto valor de mercado, bem como uma forma de espaço para novos ciclos de dinamismo econômico.*

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: *Patrimônio arquitetônico. Centro histórico. Reserva de valor. Estacionamento.*

RESUMEN: *El presente trabajo presenta los resultados de una investigación acerca de los impactos de las políticas de revitalización urbana en el centro histórico de Campos dos Goytacazes. La creación de vacíos urbanos por parte de los propietarios de inmuebles demolidos en el centro histórico de la ciudad apunta al uso de una estrategia particularmente destructiva en el marco de un proceso de espera y expectativa por parte de los propietarios de inmuebles patrimoniales, con el fin de lograr una futura valorización del precio de sus ubicaciones. El mapeo realizado en el centro histórico permitió identificar un aumento en la instalación de aparcamientos en terrenos desocupados debido a la destrucción de edificios protegidos por el patrimonio. El estudio reveló la existencia de un conflicto entre el gobierno municipal y los propietarios de edificios históricos. Este conflicto condujo a la implantación de aparcamientos como un medio para crear reservas de suelo en una región caracterizada por su alto valor de mercado, así como una forma de generar espacios para nuevos ciclos de dinamismo económico.*

PALABRAS CLAVE: *Patrimonio arquitectónico. Centro histórico. Reserva de valor. Aparcamiento.*

Introduction

Urban space is constructed in such a way as to form a system of economic, social, environmental, and political interactions and processes, which may manifest in both material and immaterial forms (Biggs *et al.*, 2021). The processes that govern the construction of urban space are, at the same time, generative and transformative, carried out by different socio-political agents who act according to particular agendas of interest (Corrêa, 1989; Carlos, 2015). Depending on the analytical perspective, such interests may be associated with class and cultural factors or with political strategies. Although the producers of urban space often act in an articulated manner, it is equally possible that, at certain moments, their interests come into conflict. These contradictions make cities complex systems in constant transformation. The dynamism of such systems is linked to the materialization of multiple processes, driven by a set of social actors who determine the configuration, reconfiguration, and reproduction of urban space.

The city of Campos dos Goytacazes is currently embedded in the oil exploitation cycle of the Campos Basin, having, over recent decades, demonstrated a high capacity for public investment derived from petroleum revenues, known as oil royalties. Owing to these revenues, Campos dos Goytacazes has been the stage for successive urban reconfiguration projects promoted by the municipal government, most of them concentrated in the city's central areas. Among these initiatives, particular prominence was given to the “*Projeto de Revitalização Urbana do Centro Histórico de Campos dos Goytacazes* [PRUCH]”, launched in 2012 under the administration of then-mayor Rosinha Garotinho and partially completed four years later.

This project served as the initial vector of inspiration for the present research. At first, this study focused on analyzing the social impacts of the revitalization project through a case study centered on the area of the municipal market of Campos dos Goytacazes. However, during the data collection process, the researchers encountered a parallel dynamic of social conflict, which redirected the focus of the investigation.

Accordingly, this article aims to analyze the process of reconfiguring the historic center of Campos dos Goytacazes, premised on the notion that such reconfiguration stems from a conflict of interests between the agenda of heritage preservation—associated with the Historic Center Revitalization Project—and the real estate interests of historical property owners. The data employed in this article result from research initiated in 2014, involving the collection of information on urban land values, the identification of buildings with historical significance,

and lots used as car parks. The collection, processing, and analysis of data in this study were organized into successive phases, as described below.

In the initial phase, the research carried out dozens of field visits to construct a general understanding of the study area, its daytime and nighttime dynamics, its territorial delimitation in terms of population use, its different economic circuits, and, more specifically, to observe and monitor the progress of the Revitalization Project works.

Complementarily, the second phase of data collection consisted of creating an image database with photographs documenting the process and the buildings. This database comprises approximately 250 photographs, part of which were associated with images of the tourist sites in their earlier configurations. These additional images were obtained from internet sources, properly referenced, and constitute a relevant element not only for the descriptive enrichment of this work but also for monitoring the transformative effects of the process on the landscape of the study area. In this same direction, the third phase of the research involved the elaboration of interview scripts to examine the perception of the revitalization project's impact among key informants. These informants were drawn from groups directly or indirectly involved in the process, which are listed as follows:

- Merchants of the Municipal Market;
- Merchants of the Michel Haddad Popular Shopping Center;
- Shopkeepers from the historic center area;
- Representatives of the Social Observatory of Campos dos Goytacazes;
- Journalists;
- Real estate brokers;
- Leadership of the Association of Merchants of the historic center area.

From the perspective of the bibliographic survey, it is important to highlight that access to local newspapers and news outlets was of fundamental importance in the initial stages of the research. This survey served as the basis for monitoring the progress of the actions undertaken by the local government, identifying conflicts among the actors involved in the processes under analysis, as well as tracking the demolitions of buildings—an issue that will be discussed throughout this study. In theoretical terms, however, the research underwent a transition, given the shift in focus from the preliminary phases to the present stage.

Thus, the first phases were characterized by the study of the history of urban reconfigurations and resulting processes, such as gentrification. Readings were also incorporated on policies for the protection of tangible heritage, specific legislation, tourism policies, and the processes of commodification of cities associated with these dynamics. This stage was essential, as it grounded the understanding of the process itself, the objectives pursued by the local government, and the potential consequences had the project been fully implemented. By contrast, the final phases of the research involved a deeper examination of urban space, theories of social action, the relationship between the State and space, and real estate speculation. This portion of the bibliography was critical for establishing a robust approach to the very notion of urban space and the conflicts associated with its structure and the divergent interests of social actors.

Finally, the last stage of data collection consisted of GPS mapping of demolished historic buildings and the survey of the square-meter value of land in the study area. The progressive mapping was essential for the analytical conclusions of this work; for this reason, the same process was carried out at three different chronological points: 2017, 2018, and 2022.

The research results indicate the existence of a systematic process of decharacterization and destruction of the built heritage in the historic center of Campos dos Goytacazes, intentionally promoted by its own property owners. With regard to the immediate use of lots resulting from the demolition of historically valuable buildings, fieldwork revealed that the primary purpose of these plots has been the establishment of automobile parking facilities.

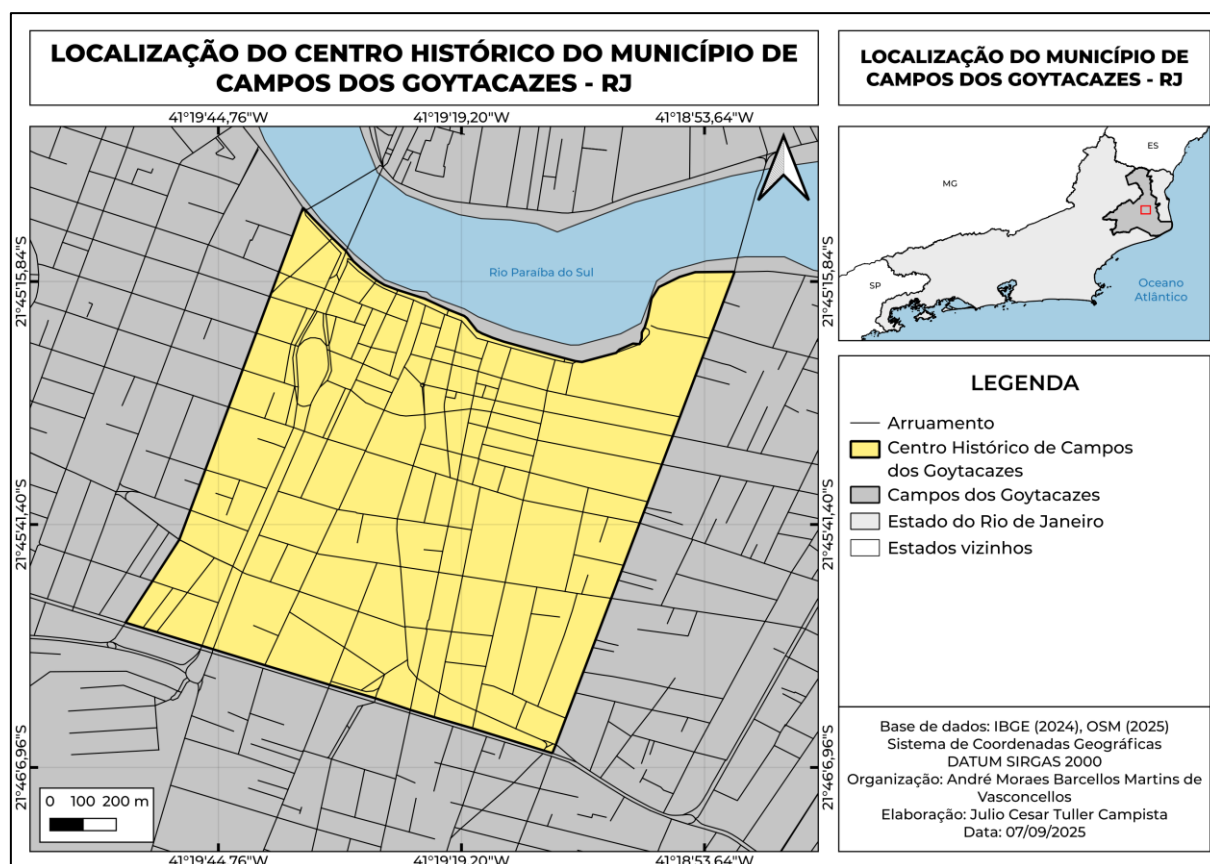
Empirical evidence suggests that property owners choose to rent out the cleared lots as a means of ensuring a relatively stable income while awaiting changes in urban legislation, particularly with respect to the maximum building height permitted for new constructions. This behavior reveals a speculative logic that links the destruction of heritage assets to the preparation of land for future real estate developments. Consequently, the observed dynamics directly contribute to processes of gentrification in the historic center by promoting the replacement of urban uses and forms tied to local memory with new cycles of economic valorization and socio-spatial exclusion.

The historic center of Campos: contradictions and unfinished processes

The focal area of this study was the historic center, which constituted the first axis of the process of urban expansion in the city of Campos dos Goytacazes (Erbas, 2000). From the

mid-nineteenth century onwards, this part of the city concentrated the main buildings necessary for its functioning: the Minor Basilica of the Holy Savior, the main branch of Banco do Brasil, the Santa Casa de Misericórdia, the headquarters of the first Police Precinct, and the City Council. Moreover, this area served as the city's first commercial hub, also housing various cultural facilities such as cabarets, cinemas, and theaters (Figure 1).

Figure 1 – The location of the historic center in the central region of the city of Campos dos Goytacazes³



Source: Organized by the authors (2025).

The historic center remained the main reference point for commercial and political activity in Campos dos Goytacazes until the late 1990s. However, from the 2000s onward, a process of dispersion began, becoming more evident with the relocation of parts of urban activities from the historic center to the Pelinca neighborhood. From that period onwards, Pelinca consolidated itself as the city's main commercial area, relegating the historic center to a secondary position in terms of public and private investment.

³ Legend translation from top to bottom: Streets; Historic center of Campos dos Goytacazes; Campos dos Goytacazes; State of Rio de Janeiro; Neighboring states.

The consolidation of Pelinca as the new hub of services was followed by a rapid process of verticalization, associated with the increase in municipal oil revenues. As a direct consequence of Pelinca's real estate development, the historic center experienced a significant decline, increasingly perceived as an area in marked decay, even though it continued to serve as the main destination for lower-income population segments seeking to shop and access public services. It is noteworthy that the process observed in the historic center of Campos dos Goytacazes resembles what has occurred in other Brazilian cities, which also experienced the loss of political and economic power in their central areas and the subsequent emergence of new urban centralities (Villaça, 1998).

In the specific case of Campos dos Goytacazes, the historic center—given its great historical importance—was designated as an area of cultural interest in the 2008 Municipal Master Plan. This designation was primarily due to the concentration of modernist and *art déco* architectural examples, as well as a large number of eclectic-style buildings. According to Teixeira (2008), the significant number of eclectic-style buildings present in the area makes this architectural ensemble the second largest of its kind in the state of Rio de Janeiro. In response to political pressures from a group of merchants who remained in the historic center, the Municipal Government of Campos dos Goytacazes launched, in 2012, what was called the PRUCH. It was presented as a comprehensive project that would invest R\$64 million in the recovery of the historic center's urban infrastructure. Aimed at addressing the demands of local merchants, the PRUCH was framed as an instrument to enhance the historical significance of the architectural ensemble of the historic center. One of the most controversial aspects of PRUCH was the heritage listing of more than 300 properties and the establishment of a preservation and cultural interest area in the historic center. These measures displeased part of the property owners, who regarded the municipal government's intervention as an imposition without financial return (Vasconcellos, 2018).

An analysis of the proposals incorporated into PRUCH reveals that it drew inspiration from other urban requalification or revitalization projects implemented in Brazil, particularly in several state capitals such as Recife, São Luís do Maranhão, Aracaju, and Salvador. A common characteristic among these projects is that the areas subject to intervention were located in urban regions of cultural interest and contained extensive architectural heritage (Botelho, 2005). The urban interventions carried out reshaped the dynamics of centralities, as former downtown areas were reintegrated with new facilities and new forms of consumption of

their historical, cultural, and tourist potential, enabling them to assume the role of new centralities (Lima, 2007).

In practical terms, PRUCH resulted in the restoration and expansion of the sewage and stormwater drainage networks in the historic center, as well as the creation of new uses for former urban facilities and the development of a series of initiatives to promote tourism-related activities. Although PRUCH's works were concluded in 2016, a series of conflicts remain, particularly regarding the disputes surrounding the safeguarding policy for the material heritage represented by the listed properties.

A landscape in transformation: historical buildings give way to automobile parking lots

The fact that the positive expectations surrounding PRUCH did not materialize seems to be related, among other factors, to the reluctance of some property owners to engage constructively in the effort. This became evident during visits to the historic center to monitor the progress of the works carried out by the municipal government. These visits revealed multiple cases of buildings in a state of abandonment, as well as instances of vandalism affecting properties located within the preservation area. One tactic identified was a form of “programmed destruction,” which began with the neglect of building maintenance (e.g., windows and roofs), accelerating the physical deterioration of the structures. Once the deterioration threatened the stability of the buildings, campaigns were launched in the local media calling for the demolition of these properties in the name of public safety. Furthermore, during the implementation of PRUCH, several fires occurred in buildings located within the historic center, some of which were subsequently demolished.

Another finding observed during field research was that the primary use of lots vacated after the demolition of buildings within the historic center was their conversion into automobile parking areas. A first explanation for this preferential use lies in the strong demand for private parking spaces, given that the narrow and irregular layout of the streets results in a low supply of public parking spots, insufficient to meet existing demand.

After the initial identification of the predominant use of most lots left vacant by demolitions, a visual inspection survey was conducted on all the streets of the historic center during the years 2017, 2018, and 2022. This procedure confirmed the existence of a systematic practice—often carried out clandestinely—of demolishing buildings and converting the vacated land into parking lots (Figure 2).

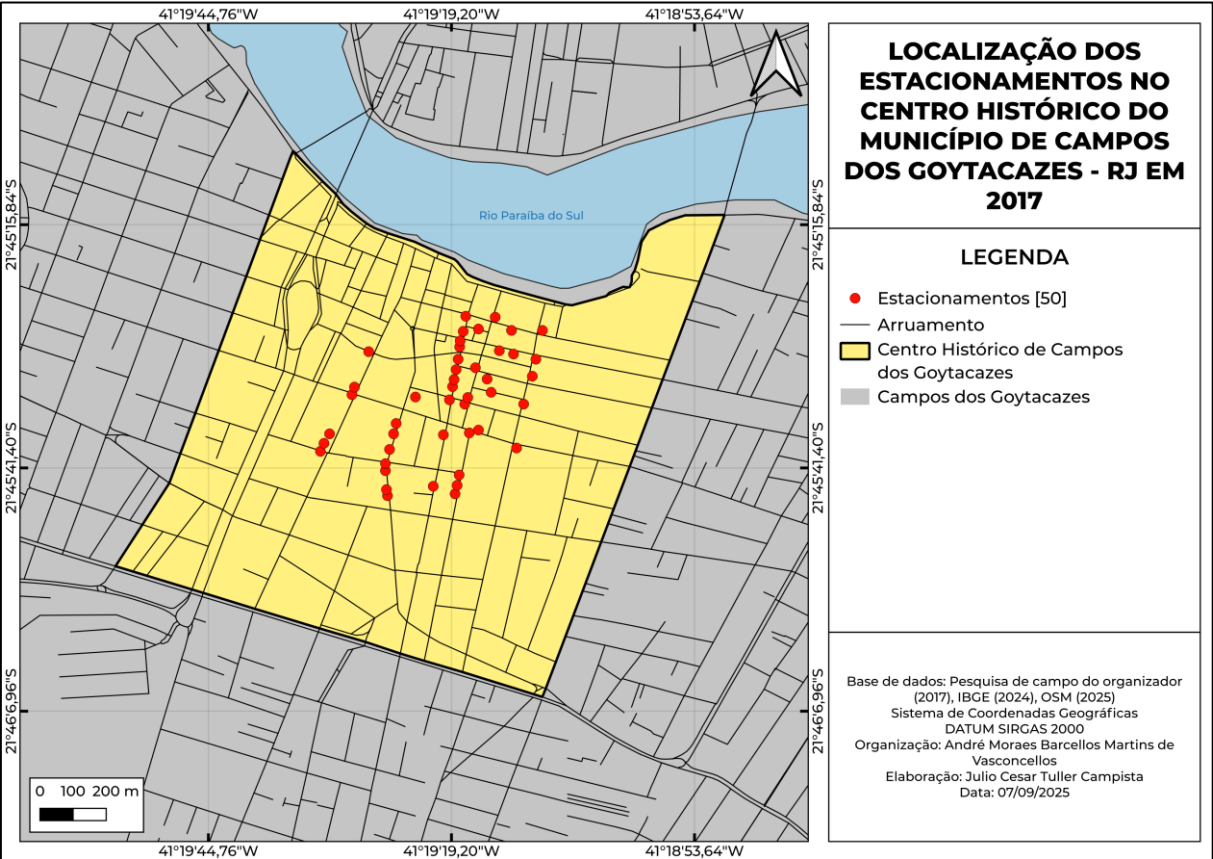
Figure 2 – Parking lots installed in the historic center on plots formerly occupied by historically valuable buildings, all of which were once residential properties of local families



Source: Image bank collected during the research | authors' personal archive – images from 2014.

To determine the extent of this demolition process of properties in the historic center and their replacement by parking lots, an initial mapping was carried out in January 2017. At that time, 50 parking lots were identified on streets included in the PRUCH, mainly on Santos Dumont, Oliveira Botelho, and João Pessoa streets (Figure 3).

Figure 3 – Parking lots identified within the historic center in 2017⁴

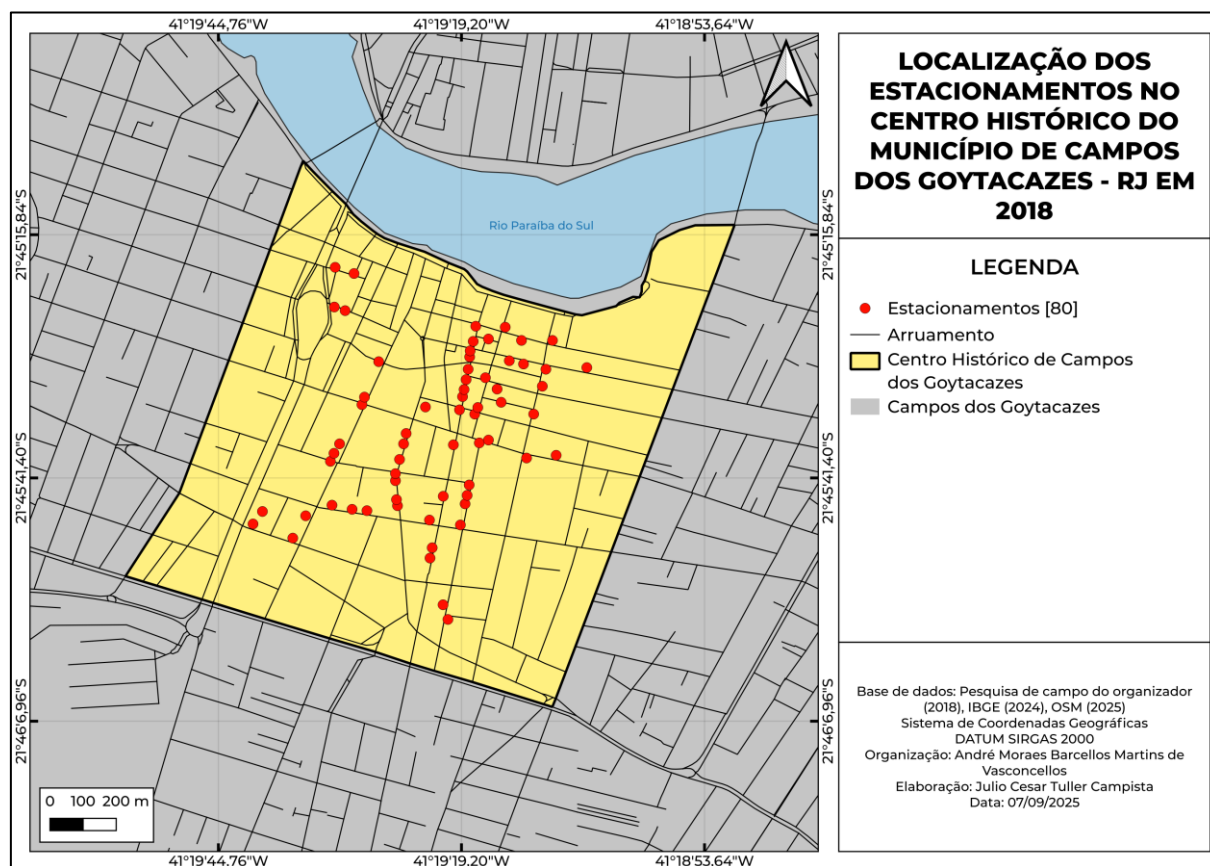


Source: Authors’ organization (2025).

A second survey, conducted throughout 2018, revealed an acceleration of this process involving the demolition of buildings in the historic center, with the identification of 80 parking lots—representing a 160% increase (Figure 4).

⁴ Caption Translation from top to bottom: Parking [50]; Street; Historic center of Campos dos Goytacazes; Campos dos Goytacazes.

Figure 4 – Parking lots in the historic center of Campos dos Goytacazes – 2018⁵

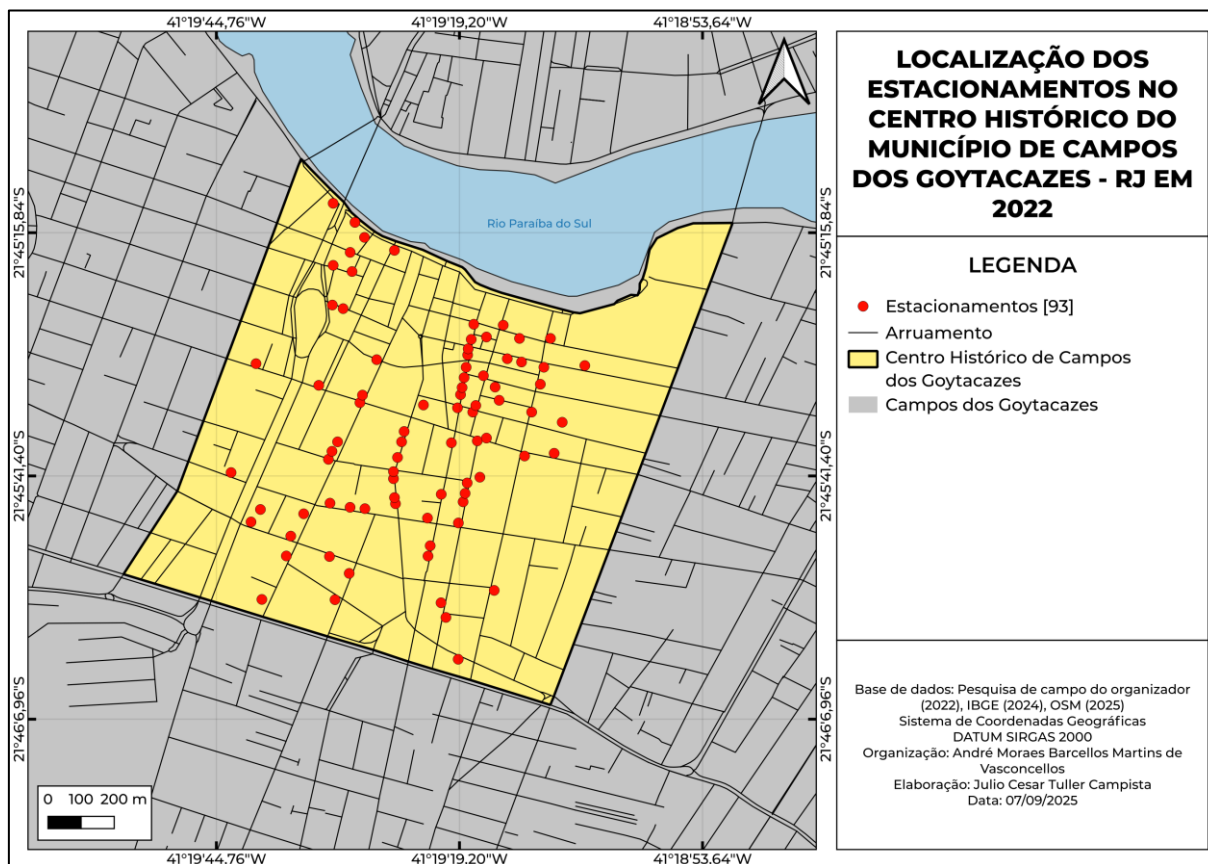


Source: Authors' organization (2025).

Finally, the survey conducted in 2022 showed that the removal of buildings was still ongoing, with 93 parking lots identified, representing a 116% increase compared to 2018 (Figure 5).

⁵ Caption Translation from top to bottom: Parking [80]; Street; Historic center of Campos dos Goytacazes; Campos dos Goytacazes.

Figure 5 – Parking lots in the historic center in 2022⁶



Source: Authors' organization (2025).

It is important to note that the strategy of demolishing historically valuable buildings, followed by the immediate conversion of the lots into parking spaces, is not unique to Campos dos Goytacazes. Evidence of this dynamic was also observed in Nativio's (2008) study, which investigated a similar phenomenon in the city of Rio Claro (SP). In that context, systematic demolition of properties located in the city's historic core was documented, with the demolished buildings largely replaced by parking lots.

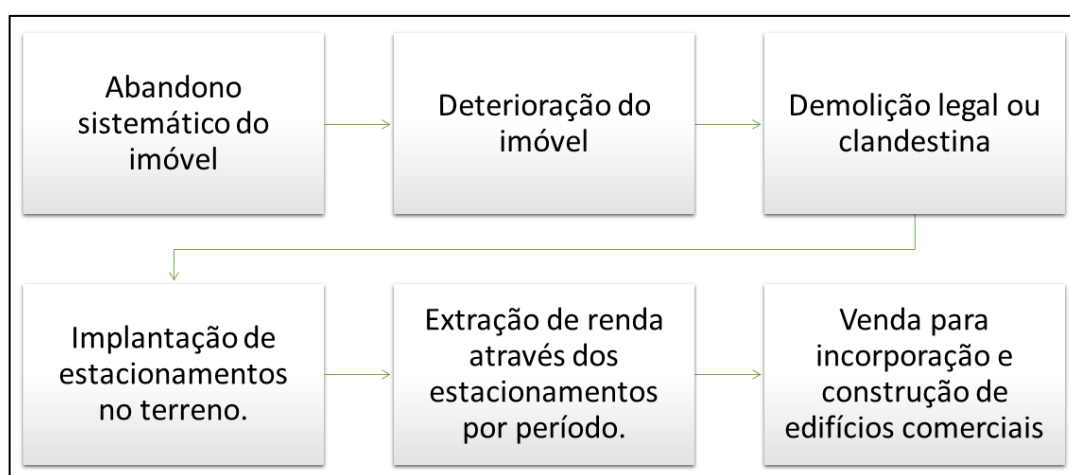
However, the dynamic observed in Campos dos Goytacazes exhibits a significant distinction. In Rio Claro, most parking lots were concentrated in the hands of a small number of owners who, in addition to holding the demolished properties, also operated as major developers in the local real estate market. This condition facilitated the subsequent role of these agents as urban incorporators.

In contrast, in Campos dos Goytacazes, although some properties belong to entrepreneurs connected to the real estate sector, land ownership is more dispersed, altering the

⁶ Caption Translation from top to bottom: Parking [93]; Street; Historic center of Campos dos Goytacazes; Campos dos Goytacazes.

pattern of land concentration observed in Rio Claro. Among the similarities between the two cases are the adoption of programmed demolition strategies, the institutional fragility of the agencies responsible for architectural heritage preservation, and the gradual replacement of lots converted into parking spaces with new commercial developments. This latter trend was particularly evident during the mapping conducted in 2022, which identified the construction of new buildings on sites previously occupied by parking lots. The dynamic that links heritage destruction, lot vacancy, and the subsequent reoccupation of urban land is summarized in Figure 6.

Figure 6 – Cycle involving the destruction of architectural heritage for the purpose of spatial reconfiguration in the historic center of Campos dos Goytacazes⁷



Source: Authors' own (2022).

On the other hand, it remains to be seen whether this cycle will repeat on lots still being used as parking spaces. An indication that this is highly likely emerged in January 2023, when a group of entrepreneurs affiliated with the Chamber of Shopkeepers of Campos dos Goytacazes (CDL Campos) and the Industrial and Commercial Association of Campos dos Goytacazes initiated negotiations and processes with the mayor and the president of the Municipal Council of Aldermen. Their objective was to modify the building height regulations in the historic center, thereby allowing the construction of taller buildings than currently permitted. In these negotiations, a curious distinction was even proposed to justify the process: the differentiation between “old” and “historic,” whereby demolition would be allowed in the

⁷ Translation from left to right (following the direction of the arrows); Systematic abandonment of the property; Deterioration of the property; Legal or clandestine demolition; Installation of parking lots on the land; Extraction of income through periodic parking lots; Sale for incorporation and construction of commercial buildings.

former case, while in the latter, public funds would be invested in the recovery and preservation of the buildings.

Urban land value as a possible driver of the dynamics observed in the historic center of Campos

In the context of this study, it is important to highlight the strategy of real estate speculation, which, as a practice, differs from the previously mentioned real estate incorporation (Corrêa, 1989). Speculation consists of holding onto a plot of land (or a constructed property) for future appreciation, whereas incorporation secures profit through changes in land use, realized via the production and commercialization of a development (Hoyler, 2014).

According to Déak (1991), urban space is a historical product resulting from capitalist development. For this reason, it constitutes a unified market within a commodity-producing economy. Accordingly, when analyzing the process of urban valorization (in terms of land and properties), emphasis is placed on the category of location (as opposed to earlier explanations focused on differential land rent), defined as a use value essential for all production or reproduction activities. Location represents the necessary condition for carrying out any activity and is generally composed of a physical structure built on the land (the author also discusses alternative locations, such as wind turbine networks constructed over ocean waters or satellites positioned above the atmosphere). In the context of cities, the specific properties of each location are associated with their positions within the urban space, which gains a complementary definition (Déak, 1991)

It is crucial to note that the category of location does not possess an intrinsic or immutable value. Indeed, the use value assigned to a location—and, consequently, its price—is in constant flux. As Déak points out, some locations become obsolete over time due to physical degradation, changes in how these locations are consumed, or technological innovations that alter flows and spatial production requirements, demanding adaptations of the urban space as a whole.

The consequence of this process is an urban space understood as a dynamic totality, in continuous transformation, within which multiple actors—individual or collective economic agents—constantly compete for and negotiate the most favorable locations. Urban historic centers exemplify networks of locations that, following a process of degradation, receive interventions and undergo transformations in both their use value and exchange value.

To investigate whether land value might be related to the process of demolishing historic buildings in Campos and the temporary use of the vacated lots as parking spaces, a survey of non-built square meter prices was conducted in three neighborhoods leading the urban densification process in Campos dos Goytacazes. This allowed for a comparison with land values in the historic center (Table 1).

Table 1 – Average price (R\$) per m² of undeveloped land in four neighborhoods of Campos dos Goytacazes (2022)

| Neighborhood | Price per m ² (R\$) |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Alphaville | 703.00 |
| Flamboyant | 909.99 |
| Centro | 2,666.67 |
| Parque Tamandaré (Pelinca) | 2,114.16 |

Source: Research data.

A first element to be analyzed is whether the high price per m² in the historic center is related to its persistent centrality, particularly in terms of commercial activity and its proximity to public and private services (e.g., banks, government offices, specialized stores). It is noteworthy that the price per m² in the historic center is even higher than in Parque Tamandaré, which is located within the city's primary urban densification area. On the other hand, to examine the potential effect of property heritage listing on land prices, a survey was conducted across five real estate agencies operating in Campos dos Goytacazes to determine the average price per square meter of built properties in the historic center (Table 2).

Table 2 – Average price per m² of built property in the historic center of Campos dos Goytacazes (R\$)

| Real Estate Agency | Price per m ² (R\$) |
|--------------------|--------------------------------|
| Elo | 3,397.00 |
| F.C. Souza | 4,000.00 |
| Pedro Paulo | 3,397.00 |
| Prime | 4,000.00 |
| Terreplan | 3,397.00 |
| Average Price | 3,638.20 |

Source: Research data.

What emerges from these results is that the process of architectural heritage destruction is not linked to the current use of land but is more likely related to its anticipated future use, despite the temporary devaluation that occurs when a listed or soon-to-be-listed historic building is demolished. In this context, the temporary use of vacated lots as parking spaces appears to serve the dual purpose of offsetting the loss of land value and generating income while the owners await a new cycle of investments that could, for instance, enable the gentrification of the historic center in the future. Within this framework, the demolition of historically valuable buildings appears as a rational strategy employed to increase the potential for future value extraction.

Moreover, parking lots, as a tool for capital reserve formation, also constitute a low-cost and low-risk alternative for owners who decide to demolish architecturally significant buildings. According to Smith (1996), the greater the depreciation of a property's value during the waiting period of real estate speculation, the higher the profit realized by owners upon its sale following the implementation of new infrastructure and investments. In this sense, the analysis of the ongoing dynamic—"out goes the architecturally valuable building, in comes the parking lot"—in the historic center of Campos suggests that the PRUCH served a purpose opposite to that envisioned by its designers.

Final considerations

This article sought to synthesize, through its findings, an eight-year observational study (2014–2022) and does not aim to present definitive conclusions regarding the specific process

described, particularly given that, despite its long duration, the process remains ongoing. Nevertheless, our findings highlight a fundamental aspect for understanding urban transformations such as the one studied: the programmed demolition of historic buildings located in areas of high economic interest is—as evidenced by this study—a standard strategy within the context of typical speculative processes. More specifically, in the case of Campos, this strategy occurs organically—without association or coordination among actors—arising from a specific, characteristic rationality. Further investigation into the profiles of property owners may reveal cultural, political, and economic patterns and similarities that guide such actions. In this regard, the study offers a localized approach, focusing on the interactions among social actors, which, throughout the process, are revealed as either conflictual or coordinated.

In Campos dos Goytacazes, the creation of apparent urban voids by owners of demolished properties in the city's historic center points to the use of a particularly destructive strategy within a broader process of waiting and expectation on the part of these owners regarding the appreciation of their locations. However, while a parking lot may appear as a “void” or unoccupied space, it is, in fact, a location in a state of anticipation that—unlike an idle lot—yields income for its owners while progressively increasing in value.

These practices ultimately aim to ensure that the owners in question secure a more advantageous position in the future market for prime urban locations. As noted earlier, this constitutes a strategy of real estate speculation grounded in the rationality of the owners, who consider the destruction of heritage assets to be less costly and more profitable than their preservation. Consequently, what may be emerging is the formation of an urban void whose repercussions will be broadly negative for any efforts to stimulate economic dynamism in Campos dos Goytacazes and which, paradoxically, may even affect the owners themselves who participate in the destruction of the existing architectural heritage in the historic center. Equally paradoxical is the discourse of the local municipal government, which, despite being the initiator of the project proposing a heritage protection agenda, currently allows significant historic architectural ensembles⁸ to succumb to the ravages of time and weather.

The case of the historic center of Campos dos Goytacazes raises important reflections regarding the disputes surrounding the (re)production of urban space. The analysis of the conflicts discussed here underscores the necessity of an approach that recognizes the multiplicity of social actors involved, as well as their specific interests and agendas. Although

⁸ Available at: <https://blogdopedlowski.com/2023/01/27/abandono-e-destruicao-do-museu-olavo-cardoso-coloque-em-xeque-discurso-pro-conservacao-do-governo-wladimir-garotinho/>. Accessed in: July 15, 2025.

urban space—conceived as an economic space, that is, as a locus of the logic of commodity production and reproduction—is subject to the dynamics of the capitalist mode of production, it is crucial to acknowledge that processes of spatial appropriation do not occur homogeneously or consensually. In this regard, different social agents, whether hegemonic or otherwise, actively seek to maximize their benefits within these structures, frequently generating disputes over territorial control and use. Thus, even though the State, in many situations, aligns with the interests of dominant economic groups—thereby contributing to the realization of specific political and economic projects—such alignment does not imply complete capture. The reality is that state action is subject to contradictions, pressures, and internal and external resistance, rendering its operation a field of continuous negotiation and contestation, rather than a mere automatic reproduction of capital interests.

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