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ID 1614 | THE SPECTACULARIZATION OF THE URBAN SPACE FOR TOURISM IN BRAZIL AND ITS CONTRADICTIONS

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1 INTRODUCTION

The third industrial revolution based on the interaction of microelectronics with computers and the consequent collapse of the Fordism model of mass production led the major western economies to rethink their models of accumulation.

As a consequence, the capitalist system, unable to continue the process of accumulation in the actual productive base, has been seeking other mechanisms of recovery. Among these is the tertiary sector, where tourism is an important activity for growth resumption. This has implied an increasing capital investment in physical infrastructure to support the production, circulation and consumption of goods and services.

In this sense, starting in the 1970s, many cities in the world started to invest in reinventing their urban spaces. Under the logic of commodities (MARX, 1983), spaces are reinvented and facilities are built to give life and to promote the development of tourism.

In Brazil, the State and its partners have been investing in the revitalization of architectural structures and in the reinvention of the urban landscape in favor of tourism, in the last three decades. In Fortaleza, state of Ceará, shortly after the announcement that Brazil would host the 2014 World Cup, the authorities announced a package of initiatives: the reform of the Maritime Terminal of passengers in the Port of Fortaleza and Castelão Stadium, the revamping and expansion of Pinto Martins International Airport and the works of urban mobility, mainly the Light Vehicle on Rails (VLT), which is the focus of this paper.

This article aims to investigate the contradictions of the recent projects of embellishment (DEBORD, 1997) of urban spaces in the city of Fortaleza, specifically those called "World Cup Works" and their purported promise to revitalize the tourism infrastructure in the city through the Growth Acceleration Program (PAC).

Throughout the research we sought to give some visibility to the relationships maintained by the process of reorganization of the urban space and the logic of capital and the current crisis in their mode of production, as well as identify the negative impacts that such works have incurred on the lives of residents, particularly those families living in the areas surrounding the construction of VLT, and the damage incurred on the city's coffers and on the urban environment.

As for the methodology, we opted in favor of the dialectic method, due to an understanding that only a critical approach may reveal the multiple relationships that the process of reinvention of the urban space maintains with the prevalent social, economic and cultural system. As for the approach, the research

has a qualitative and exploratory nature. We used the techniques of survey of the literature, documentary research, empirical observation and interviews with persons and institutions who had (or have) experiences with the object searched. Finally, the data collected were analyzed with the use of content analysis technique (Bardin, 2004) and with the support of Atlas \ ti software version 7.5.

2 THE CRISIS OF THE FORDIST MODEL OF MASS PRODUCTION AND THE APPEAL TO THE TERTIARY SECTOR

The last three decades of the 20th century, especially in the period from 1980 to 1990 were marked by a crisis in the Fordist model of mass production. Human labor, until then adapted "to the rhythm of the machine, can now be fully replaced by technical commands and by robotics" (Kurz, 1997, p. 370). Thus, unemployment, high rates of inflation in the context of the economy and the consequent sharp decline in purchasing power in the western countries showed signs at that time that the Fordism cycle of accumulation was exhausted. It is a crisis that has been deteriorating considerably, until today (2016), "by means of the revolution in information technology" (JAPPE, 2006, p. 147).

According to Jappe (2006, p. 147) "the computer definitively cuts the link between productivity and the performance of abstract work embodied in value". This is shaking the structure of society, leading to the belief that an entire production mode, based on the unbridled industrial exploitation of human labor force is in a "terminal stage" (Kurz, 1997, p. 372).

In another of his writings, Kurz (2005) points out the self-contradiction of the capitalist mode of production based on the exploitation of the labor force and the mass production of goods. He says:

In the three industrial revolutions, the standard of productivity was raised higher and higher through competition. However, the higher productivity implies a lower amount of work, represented by each of the goods and, therefore, the lower the value of the

commodity. That is when we see the self-contradicting logic of capitalism: on the one hand, it seeks the endless accumulation of value and, on the other hand, it is capitalism itself that progressively removes the substance of the value of the goods. Historically, this contradiction was compensated by the capitalist expansion: the lower the value of a commodity, the larger quantity of that commodity had to be produced and sold. [...] In the third industrial revolution the equation no longer works: the overall mass unemployment matches the internal devaluation of goods. (Kurz, 2005, p.01).

With the drop in profitability in the productive sectors and an industry based increasingly on microelectronics, capitalism needs, more than ever, the wide support of the tertiary sector - services, trade, the financial sector.

In this sense it is the tertiary sector of the economy that allows for the movement and distribution of numerous goods, such as: transport services, telephony, telecommunications, health, education, trade, energy, water supply, tourism and leisure activities and their facilities (hotels, lodges, restaurants, snack bars, dance clubs, parks, zoos, libraries, bookstores, among many others).

Thus, services emerge as mechanisms of indirect capital appreciation (JAPPE, 1999), covering the territories of the market in search of formulas for overcoming the crisis endured by Capital. Given those conditions, starting in the 1980s, the tourism activity was recognized and valued as an important factor for the sustained growth of the world economy.

3 TOURISM AS A SURVIVAL STRATEGY OF CAPITAL

Tourism, as an output of the productive machinery of the capitalist system, and a social and spatial phenomenon which is translated into a strategy of capital accumulation (BEDIN, 2008), departing from the metropolises of the rich industrialized countries, rapidly sets foot in the countries that are already adapted to urban living. This is the case of Brazil, a country that has been putting large efforts to implement this activity since the 1970s, in order to become a coveted destination within the wide network of global tourism.

It is worth pointing out the role of urban planning as a tool for preparing the places to meet the interests of capital in the form of tourism. In this case, the State acts as an organizing and unifying agent that manifests its power by commanding the spectacle in a defined area. In his book "The Society of the Spectacle", Guy Debord makes it clear about the link between politics and spectacle. For him "the oldest social specialization, the exercise of power, lies at the root of the spectacle" (Debord, 1997, p. 20).

According to David Harvey, in his book "Spaces of Capital: Towards a critical geography" (2005), the capitalist state not only regulates competition, for the accumulation of capital, but offers infrastructure for capitalist production and exchange. According to him, there are currently very few aspects of production and consumption that are not deeply affected, directly or indirectly, by the policies of the state" (HARVEY, 2005, p. 79).

Under such conditions, tourism as a particular form of spectacle, must necessarily, with the protection of the state, seize the spaces, since in modern societies these spaces have to be continuously refurbished to meet the needs of the new economic practices. Says Debord:

By shaping everything around it, society has devised a special technique to act on what gives support to those tasks: the very territory. Urbanism means that capitalism takes possession of the natural and human environment and, to develop the logic of absolute domination, can and will now remodel the entire space as if it was its own spectacular set (Debord, 1997, p. 112).

Thus, seeking to boost an economy in crisis, the enormous transformations of urban areas aim to support tourism and attract a clientele with purchasing power for the consumption of shows (commodities).

4 SPECTACULARIZATION OF THE URBAN SPACE FOR TOURISM IN BRAZIL: THE WORKS OF THE 2014 WORLD CUP

In 2007, when Brazil was officially selected as the host of the 2014 World Cup and the 2016 Olympic Games, twelve cities in Brazil - Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Porto Alegre, Salvador, Belo Horizonte, Brasília, Curitiba, Manaus, Cuiabá, Natal, Recife and Fortaleza - became co-hosts of those mega events.

To carry out the World Cup and the Olympic Games, the selected cities were "contemplated" with investment packages for the revitalization of their urban spaces. The initiative comprised several interventions, such as urban mobility (avenues, tunnels, overpasses, among others), tourism infrastructure (revamping and expansion of passenger terminals and airports) and especially renewal and construction of new stadiums, in order to attract and encourage private capital with interests in the big business involved in the games.

The organizers of the World Cup and the Olympic Games boasted that these mega events would create opportunities to attract the investment necessary to improve infrastructure in the selected cities, and the impacts would certainly bring economic benefits to the country and improve the living conditions of the population (CUP PORTAL, 2016). According to Curi (2013):

The organizers, comprising representatives of sports federations and members of federal and state governments, were quite euphoric with the whole situation. They considered the mega events as being automatically beneficial to the country and its people. The sporting mega-events were depicted as a means to enhance and accelerate development in the host country.

However, despite the optimism of their promoters, the infrastructure built in the host cities, in order to support the mega-events, not only had negative economic impacts, but were also responsible for social and environmental problems. Moreover, many works never even started and others were not completed and today (2017), there is no way to predict when they will be handed out to society.

In December 2010, when the evictions, on account of these Mega Events, were already in place, the United Nations (UN) special rapporteur on the Right to Adequate Housing, Raquel Rolnik, sent a letter of allegation (formal instrument used by UN rapporteurs when they receive complaints) to the Brazilian government, denouncing forced evictions generated by works of the World Cup and the Olympics. Among the allegations listed in the document one points out the works approved without a bidding process, forced evictions without prior consultation with the residents, urban interventions that breach the environmental legislation, lack of dialogue and transparency, lack of participation in discussions by the populations living in the communities involved. At the time she received no reply from the government (Raquel Rolnik, 2011).

Nevertheless, Brazil is a signatory of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights – ICESCR (UNITED NATIONS, 1992), which presents, in its Article 11, adequate housing as a right of every person. It is also worth pointing out the General Comment No. 4 of the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights that interprets Article 11.1 of the ICESCR and lists the components of the right to adequate housing and identifies what must be done in the case of evictions (Brazil, Secretary of Human Rights of the Presidency of the Republic - Right to adequate housing, 2013, p. 34)

National Coordination of World Cup Committees (ANCOP) confirms that among the various violations of human rights, during the preparations for the World Cup and the Olympics in Brazil, they can list: the exclusion of communities in the discussion and definition on evictions or the existing alternatives; the lack of information from the authorities to the residents of the affected communities; the payment of compensation was considered insufficient and transfers of residents to distant areas within 50 miles (ANCOP, 2014).

As if such violence against the residents, reported by the popular committees of the World Cup and by the media was not enough, many of the construction companies in charge of carrying out the reforms of the urban space as required by FIFA, started working without delivering the Environmental Impact Study/Environmental Impact Report (EIA/RIMA) and a good part of the legislation for the protection of the natural and architectural environment was modified or ignored.

The Environmental Impact Study/Environmental Impact Report (EIA/RIMA), is a primary condition, according to the National Environmental Council of (CONAMA) - Resolution No. 1, dated 23 January 1986, in order to obtain environmental licensing, which allows the start of works and their preparations, the legislation provides, among other measures, the assessment of impacts, the demarcation of the area of influence and definition of compensation mechanisms and the mitigation of damages incurred by large-scale works.

In Fortaleza, even before completing the procedures of environmental licensing for the construction of the VLT, the government had already initiated the process of expropriation of housing property (ANCOP, 2014), which is a violation of environmental legislation, which requires EIA/RIMA, for these types of initiatives.

The need for EIA for licensing is enforced by the Federal Constitution of 1988 which, in its article 225, paragraph 1, section VI, instructed the Public Authority to "require, in the form of law, a prior environmental impact study for the construction of works or activities that may potentially cause significant degradation of the environment, and the study will be published" (Brazil, 1988).

5 THE RESEARCH AND ITS RESULTS: THE WORKS OF THE WORLD CUP IN THE CITY OF FORTALEZA (CEARÁ) AND ITS CONTRADICTIONS

In the wake of the preparations for the 2014 World Cup, the city of Fortaleza, as well as some other Brazilian cities selected to host this mega-event, announced the construction of some facilities: the reform of the Maritime Terminal of passengers of the Port of Fortaleza and Arena Castelão Stadium, the restoration and expansion of Pinto Martins International Airport and the works of urban mobility, such as the Light Vehicle on rails (VLT). The research focuses the works of the LRV (Light Vehicle On Rails).

The Light Vehicle On Rails (VLT) Extension Parangaba/Mucuripe/Castelão, is an initiative of the State Government of Ceará, through the Department of Infrastructure (SEINFRA) and the de Metropolitan Transport Company (METROFOR). When completed, the project will run an extension of 12.7 km, being 11.3 km on surface rail and 1.4 km of elevated rail. The the line will cross 22 districts, an area that concentrates more than 500 thousand inhabitants in Fortaleza. The potential demand for the new mode of transport is estimated at 100 thousand passengers per day. The project envisions the construction of eight stations. Parangaba and Papicu have distinctive design, due to their integration with the bus terminals.

In 2003, METROFOR presented a feasibility study for the VLT line described above, but a very important component was missing: funds for the works. The opportunity arose when Fortaleza became one of the host cities of the 2014 World Cup. Under this condition the works of the VLT (Fortaleza) became one of the projects of urban mobility for the World Cup (GEOPLAN, 2011).

With an estimated cost of R\$ 179.54 million, the works were initiated in April 2012, but in 2014, the State Governor broke the contract with the CPE-VLT Fortaleza consortium, motivated by numerous notifications of delay made by the Secretary of Infrastructure. The decision was published on May 27, 2014. As a consequence, although the World Cup was a huge success, the VLT works remained incomplete.

In 2015 new tenders were called and among the problems still faced by the State Government to carry out the completion of the works, are the forced expropriations of families in the communities who resisted the eviction.

The ownership of the area in which the VLT was supposed to operate was an essential condition to start project construction. On 14 July 2010, State Governor Cid Gomes, signed Decree No. 30,263 declaring as "public interest, for the purposes of expropriation" an area totaling 381,592.87 square meters along the stretch of the former branch of the Federal Railway Network Corporation (RFFSA) and its surrounding areas. Then, the families living in the communities that soon would be facing eviction started to receive visitors, state officials, to estimate the value of the property and calculate compensations.

Two years after the World Cup, some of the works envisioned for the event are still incomplete. The high levels of public spending make up the history of the event in Brazil.

In Fortaleza the economic losses derived from the interruption of VLT works, for more than two years, have not yet been figured out, but the waste of public funds and the negative environmental impacts are visible throughout the entire line.

According to the piece (Fantástico, 2016), R\$ 103 million had already been spent on the construction works and on the purchase of train wagons that were never used," notes reporter Alessandro Torres. The reporter is horrified to find wagons, purchased for the VLT, abandoned in a secluded area" of Companhia Cearense de Transportes Metropolitanos (METROFOR), "alongside subway compositions in maintenance". Equipment that have cost dear to the public treasury and which should be transporting people are in decay. The report also showed that the envisioned stations became garbage dumps. He showed the sad conditions of the area still holding the houses that have not yet been demolished by the progress of the VLT works. According to him, the families who did not accept the severance payments, or the rent proposed by the government, live "in the midst of rubble" from the demolitions.

The report showed the position of the then executive secretary of the Federal Comptroller Office (CGU), Carlos Higino Alencar, on the VLT unfinished works. According to the secretary, referring to the audit report, "the big problem was the lack of planning". For Alencar, "lack of planning causes not only paralyzed works, but sometimes waste of et renders equipment that may be damaged by non-use" (Fantastico, 2016).

The evictions, presented as a mandatory measure, without any other available alternatives, and the low value of the indemnities and social rents offered to those who had their homes demolished, have been and are being some of the other problems faced by the residents of the communities affected by the VLT. In an interview, the former federal prosecutor Alessandro Sales, said that it would only be correct if the State gave 'adequate shelter to the families that will be evicted, but for this, he says, there has to be a for resettlement plan. Sales says (2016)

Adequate Housing means, first, a decent housing unit. But it is not only a decent dwelling: you have to reestablish all the labor, affective, and other bonds, that that person had in the original community. So what is the best way to do this, i.e., how can such disruption, such loss of housing be less traumatic? The answer is to provide another house, with an adequate size, with adequate sanitary conditions and as close as possible to the previous dwelling unit. Why is that? Because the previous dwelling had already established all these ties, labor ties, community bonds. To transfer people to faraway places means disrupting a community. [...]. Thus we have been struggling for the state to prepare a resettlement plan. And according to the norm, such a resettlement plan must provide for the transfer of people to a site as close as possible.

Regarding the value of the social rent, many displaced families are content with a State aid - which, according to the residents, after much struggle, went up from R\$ 200.00 to R\$ 400.00. Some families complain that they have to take money out of your pocket to pay the difference in rents. For Sales (2016), "the social rent price is absolutely outdated, people are unable to rent a property nearby. So it has to be readjusted." The representative of the Public Prosecutor argues: "one thing that cannot happen is an urban intervention to make the lives of people worse" (SALES, 2016).

In March of 2016, specifically on the 5th, as described in the table below, two people considered leaders in two communities, among those mentioned above, were: Trilha do Senhor and Aldacy Barbosa. The choice was due to the location of the communities along the stretch where the works of the VLT are located, the greater availability of the community leaders in the dates defined in the work schedule and, above all, the history of struggle that these two communities carry.

Interviewed	Community	Role that represents in the community	Date / time
A	Trilha do Senhor	Community Leader	5/3/2016 at 9h
B	Aldacy Barbosa	Community Leader	5/3/2016 at 14h

Table 1 – Information about interviews
Font: by the author, 2016.

From the incursions to the selected communities, it was revealed more than the one reported in the Fantástico report, namely: the neglect of public power by these populations, devoid of basic services structure, permeated by the daily violence of drug trafficking, fighting of gangs between traffickers, among other problems.

The residents live in modest, low-quality homes built without planning. The houses are piled up in narrow alleys, alleys and alleys without paving and basic sanitation. The scenario is embarrassing and expresses the state of inequality in which low-income residents live in the city of Fortaleza. Some middle-class buildings contrast with the lack of power in the areas studied.

The problems already existing in the communities are accentuated when the implantation of the VLT implies several annoyances and harms the dynamics of the daily life and of the daily activities of the residents. In the following pages of this work, we intend to show how the communities consulted, in the person of their leaders, are experiencing the process of resistance / negotiation on expropriations, removals and resettlements due to the installation of the VLT in the city of Fortaleza.



Figure 1: Community Trilha do Senhor

The Trilha do Senhor community, one of the 22 communities affected by the VLT project and is located in an area of great concentration of people. The landscape of the community in every direction that gazes at the eye shows wreckage and residues resulting from the demolition of real estate formerly occupied by families who had to leave their old place of residence because of the works of the VLT.

On March 5, 2016, an interview was conducted with the community leader of the referred community (here called A) containing questions associated with the Light Rail Vehicle (VLT). The first inquiry was to know how the resident evaluates the fact that the community will have to be removed to make way for the VLT facilities. The respondent replied that it was "very bad, bewildering".

Too bad, right? It is a very worrying thing to know that we will be forced to leave here. We're kind of bewildered. You do not know where you're going; What are you going to do with us? Where are we going, will people be helpful? Will they want to help you when you need them? And for us to leave here to live in another place, it's like ... our head ... look ... it's never going to be like here. Here everyone is known; When we need it, everybody comes together (A, Trilha do Senhor).

It was evident in the answer to the question raised the rejection of the obligation to remove residents from their current housing, without alternative, since this may end up destroying the social bonds of friendship and loss of the current space of coexistence of the residents. According to the resident, those who suffer the most from the removal process are the elderly.

Look, the elderly have suffered the most and have been suffering from this news that we have to get out of here. That moved and moved their heads a lot, there are elderly people here who are depressed. Here is a lady who is very skinny, worried, because she's going to leave here, and she does not even know where she's going (A, Trilha do Senhor).

Regarding the level of satisfaction of the families that already received the indemnities, the interviewee reported that many residents were dissatisfied with the indemnities and much more with the value of the rents. According to A, even among those who have received a new property, some are repentant.

Look, here is very good, everything is close. The hospital, the health center, everything is very close. Many people who have been removed work here. Now you imagine, most were moved to the Garden City at Zé Valter. Look, we count on the fingers the people who left here who are 100% satisfied with the new address. Others say they are fine, but at the same time they are not. That's a long way off. Place that neither here does not exist (A, Trilha do Senhor).

Concerning the disturbances that the work was causing to the community, the interviewee pointed out as main annoyances: excess of dust in the residences, noise pollution, rubble resulting from the demolitions of the residences of the families that have already gone through expropriation, but above all the forced removal of its current places of housing. Community leader A says: "No one was happy with this idea, not even those who got on well with the damages."

When asked about which government decision would make the residents more satisfied, the community representative replied that the best alternative would be to revitalize the community by building new homes, recreational spaces, basic sanitation, schools, kindergartens and other equipment.



Figure 2: Community Aldaci Barbosa

The Aldaci Barbosa community is located in the neighborhood of Fátima near the Central Bus Station. Its occupation dates back to 1950 and was consolidated in the 1970s, with the struggle of the residents involved with the resettlement resulting from the removal of families in favor of the works of the new central bus station, which later resulted in the promoted housing partnership by the state government in 1985/1986. With a history of struggle, the community was one of the first to resist forced removals by the VLT.

On March 5, 2016, with an appointed date and time, an interview was held with the community leader of the community (here called B). The interview contained open questions associated with the VLT project. The result showed the residents' involvement in combating the removals and impacts of this project on the lives of residents. Despite the resistance movement and negotiations with the government and the gains from the struggle of the organized movement, with the help of other actors, the community scene is still chaotic. The few living and leisure spaces, facilities of the place (court and community center) are poorly maintained and almost the entire extension of the community is surrounded by rubble from the demolition of residences of families that have already been indemnified.

The community leader informed, shortly before the interview, about the situation that the community is facing with the negative legacy of the work.

We live with a mouse, a cockroach, a scorpion, a termite, ants, an insect, all that's bad we have inside our houses, so nothing has been done here, dirt continues. Those responsible for all this are called SEINFRA, the Secretariat of Cities and Metrofor. It was they who were responsible to have all this cleaning done and so far not had the humility to have it cleaned. Those who live in the dirt are us, they are not they, they do not feel in

the skin what we feel. Are you understanding? It's like health, they have private plan, even taking longer they are taken care of, and the poor if you want to look for SUS. Girl, it's a neglect. This makes me very angry (B, community leader Aldaci Barbosa).

The first issue raised in the interview was about the process of negotiating removals. The interviewee revealed that everything started very violently.

The government here, when it comes to tinkering within our communities, it does not arrive with two years, three years before to prepare the heart of the families, not he arrives already attacking at the hour, making psychological pressure, if not leave has to leave with Police, cavalry, that's how it started, you understand? It started here when Cid Gomes came here at about seven o'clock in the evening, then joined the staff of the association and put Cid Gomes to run, the governor. From then on, those same people who did this ended up coming to the government and negotiating on the doors of our house. I put them to run because I know how to fight for my things, I've been a community leader for more than thirty-two years (B, community leader, Aldaci Barbosa).

The second question was about the annoyances caused by the impacts of the work. Similar to what was revealed on the Trilha do Senhor, the community leader pointed to the following problems: excessive dust in homes, noise pollution, increased respiratory diseases and loss of living space due to demolition.

Asked for a break in the interview, the community leader draws attention to the environment: "open sewers within the community, much debris. This neglect is the inheritance of past management, along with that now "(B, community leader Aldaci Barbosa).

When asked if he would be given the right to choose on the removal question what would be the position of the community? She replied: "I would not say all, but probably the majority would not leave the community" (B, community leader Aldaci Barbosa).

Regarding the level of satisfaction of the families, the community representative said that many of the residents are dissatisfied with the compensation. "This is a position of almost all the residents. Girl, everybody likes it here, love this place. Some people have lived here for over fifty years. There are people who were born here, were raised here "(B, community leader Aldaci Barbosa).

Finally, when asked about which government decision would make the residents more satisfied, the interviewee replied that "the best alternative would be a housing project in the community itself or in the immediate vicinity, with basic sanitation, recreational spaces, schools and day care centers for children." According to the interview, this proposal has already been negotiated with the government and the local association, but does not know when it will leave.

It is interesting to note that the community leaders interviewed came to converge in some points of the answers to the questions formulated to them. This is proof that the judgment of the two leaders is deeply involved with the interests they represent. It is a sign that the communities of Trilha do Senhor and Aldaci Barbosa live similar situations and share the same struggle.

6 CONCLUSION

The arguments presented above, as well as the empirical observation, the research applied in some segments connected to the problem studied and the field research conducted directly in the communities affected by VLT works, gave evidence that the right to the city is still being governed under the logic of the commodity (the Spectacle), in the conceptual meaning of Marx and Debord. Since the results of the research showed that the actions involved in the creation and revitalization of urban space in order to generate tourism flows through the exploitation of capital surpluses are not concerned with the losses in the city's coffers, or with the environmental issues and the needs of those who suffer the loss of their places of residence.

In fact, while for the companies involved directly and indirectly with the mega events, as well as for the businesses connected to them these works are economically favorable, the opposite is true for those residents who are being evicted on account of the works linked to FIFA and the 2016 Olympic Games. The

embellishment of urban spaces, for tourism, means not only the loss of shelter, caused by the evictions, but the extinction of entire communities. With another aggravating factor: those responsible for projects of urban reinvention, besides not complying with national and international standards of the right to shelter, in what concerns the issue as of involuntary evictions, have breached the environmental legislation. These results only demonstrate that the projects of city revitalization are governed by spectacularization for spectacularization, in the same sense as Debord (1997) affirms, in saying that the spectacle does not want to reach anything other than itself. What it means to say, under the light of his theory, that in capitalism the sole purpose of production is the production of money.

For the apologists of spectacular urbanism the spectacularization of the urban space is capable of bringing economic and social growth, in this work it has been critically shown that these perspectives are mutually exclusive, when it is found that the places inhabited by poor populations are destroyed by same contradictory logic that makes these activities (tourist) a call for financial investments.

This work was based on radical criticism of the way of thinking and reinventing the city and the elaboration of projects of urban restructuring, that come to the encounter of a new way of life based on sustainable principles. What is essential is necessarily the discussion of the need for urban planning beyond the exclusive interests of capital, therefore, another development paradigm, whose primary goals are the sustainability of local and global space and the improvement of people's quality of life.

To conclude, it suggest some possible questions to be addressed in later works that seek to investigate the urban transformations undergone by the great Brazilian metropolises (the increase of socio-environmental inequalities, the spread of poverty throughout the urban fabric, the emergence of new forms of segregation of the middle strata of the population in others). The contrasts between situations of extreme poverty and extreme wealth in the Brazilian metropolises: what has led to such conditions to perpetuate themselves in the city of Fortaleza? Who is interested in the processes of structuring and restructuring the urban space in the city of Fortaleza? What is the importance of a Resettlement Plan for urban revitalization projects involving removals? Finally, it is expected that this work can contribute to the search of innovative strategies in the management of cities, inserting social and environmental components in the reinvention projects of urban space.

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