

FORTALEZA (CEARÁ-BRAZIL) URBANIZATION PROCESS: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT

This article aims to analyze the process of production of space and urbanization in Ceará, highlighting the role of Fortaleza in different historical cycles. The location factors, urban expansion and hegemony of Fortaleza are closely related to historical cycles of Ceará, involving the various relationships between space and social practices (economic, political and cultural-ideological). In this sense, the adoption of a timeline is an important pre-requisite to understand the continuities and ruptures in the process of urbanization seen in Fortaleza, and the contemporary socio-spatial inequalities. There is not a spatial analysis without a temporal one, because the territory historically summarizes the dialectical relationship between space and society, which can only be fully understood based on the study of their origin and evolution. The historical analysis serves to explain contemporary processes where it is possible to infer about the permanence in the territory of preterit socio-spatial dynamics, as long as urbanization takes place on pre-made spaces due to different socio-spatial practices in time. One of the main aspects of the historical process of urbanization of Ceará refers to communication networks that have developed over time in order to facilitate the economic flows in Ceará. Highlighting the rivers and the ways of cattle during the livestock; railroads and port in the cotton cycle; the national and state highways in the cycle of industrialization and unification of the national market; and currently, the airport and coastal roads, with advent of actions and policies aimed at increasing tourism. Among the contemporary socio-spatial practices, the article emphasizes the role of tourism in Ceará, in the context of globalization. Tourism exacerbates the socio-spatial contradictions, mainly, when entering peripherally in places that carry the accumulation of inequalities of other times. Finally, it presents a concise overview, which summarizes the main features of the urbanization of Fortaleza in different historical moments.

THE "CIVILIZATION OF LEATHER" AND SETTLEMENT OF CEARÁ: FORTALEZA IN THE MARGINS.

One of the peculiarities in the process of settlement of the territory of Ceará refers to the delay in relation to what occurred in other Province of the Brazilian Northeast. The first settlement invested in Ceará occurred in the early seventeenth century for reasons related to defense against the invading French and Dutch and did not result in significant economic consequences. These practices of colonization did not result in lasting interventions in the territory, they were limited to fragile fortifications at isolated points on the coast of Ceará and it did not constitute, in itself, a process of urbanization.

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In the beginning of Portuguese colonization in Brazil, after a brief exploration of "pau-brasil", the Brazilian Northeast was the protagonist in economic relations maintained between the metropolis and colony, inserted in the international market demands and emerging mercantile capitalism. The exploration of the culture of sugar cane in the "Forest Zone" and later, the extensive livestock in the background as a subsidiary activity produced, respectively: an urban network with few urban centers along the coast, which assumed the role of administration, marketing and distribution of sugar cane production; and rarefied occupation of the hinterland, marked by few trading posts, due to the extensive character and low productivity of livestock, both activities associated with subsistence farming.

Economic activity of livestock was responsible for establishing different social practices, characterized by new labor relationships, such as clientelism, miscegenation, shaping specific cultural traits. "Civilization of Leather" (Abreu, 1976) differs from the "sugar cane society" that has developed on the coastal zone.

The integration of Ceará to the colonial economic system, linked to the sugar cane activities, was consolidated only in the eighteenth century with extensive cattle raising, coming from the coast of Pernambuco and Bahia into the hinterland, defining, respectively, the territories that would be called by Capistrano de Abreu as "Out Hinterland" and "In Hinterland". The occupation of Ceará operated from the country side toward the coast, unlikely to what occurred in the "Forest Zone" of Northeast of Brazil.

Livestock took peculiarities characterized "by the scarcity of slave labor, because it was a traveling activity, it was not possible to have slave labor as in the sugar cane industry" (Paiva, 2005, p. 30). Livestock did not contribute to the concentration of people and wealth. The few urban areas were originated from farms, chapels and few trading posts that appeared in strategic places such as points of intersection, cattle routes and resting sites.

Lima (2008) identifies two stages in the development of livestock in Ceará. At first, the cattle was transported on foot to neighboring Pernambuco through the "herd paths" and the riverbeds. In the second half of the eighteenth century, the herds were sent to the coast of Ceará at the mouths of rivers, where they passed through the process of curing of meat (kind of process that prevented the degeneration), and were transported by boats towards the consumer centers.

The division of labor in domestic market produces spaces with different assignments, such as areas of creation, curing and marketing (JUCA NETO, 2000). The clusters were found primarily along the valleys of the rivers and their arms, especially in Acaraú River Valley and Jaguaribe River Valley.

Due to the long routes to be followed by cattle and the cowboys, there were resting sites and points of commerce (stores and ranches), forming the genesis of trading posts and later urban centers.

Fortaleza appears in a secondary position in this economic picture, because the factors that contributed to its origin and formation were mainly related to its function as a defensive center. The urban agglomeration emerged spontaneously as a secondary settlement, without regional emphasis, unlikely the main towns linked to livestock, such as Aracati (coast), Icó and Sobral (hinterlands). The construction of the chapel dedicated to Our Lady of the Assumption (1654) and reconstruction

(1660-1698) of the old Dutch fort built by the bank of the creek Pajeú configured the landmarks of the city origin. In 1726, the Portuguese Crown elevated the town to the status of "Village of the Fort of Our Lady of the Assumption", also called the "Fort Village", sharing with the Town of Aquiraz (1713) the space of power, seat of the Province of Ceará and the Ombudsman, respectively. Although they were the first villages of Ceara, they remained out of the socioeconomic dynamics of livestock.

Political factors also cooperated for a more orderly process of occupation of the Brazilian hinterland in the context of the policy of "Pombal", which with a more centralized power worked in the creation of villages, intervening even in the urban layout, through the Royal Letters, also contributing to the settlement in Ceará.

The condition of the urban network of Ceará was structured only in the early nineteenth century. The connections between Fortaleza and other villages located in the hinterland and the coast was justified on the basis of its political, administrative and military role. At that time, its function was identified, considering the remoteness in time and local specificities, with the attributes of "political city", theorized by Lefebvre (2002), ie, administrative and military functions (except religious).

These paths of ancient origin were the basis that defined both the physical layout of Fortaleza, as the axes of expansion of the metropolitan territory¹.

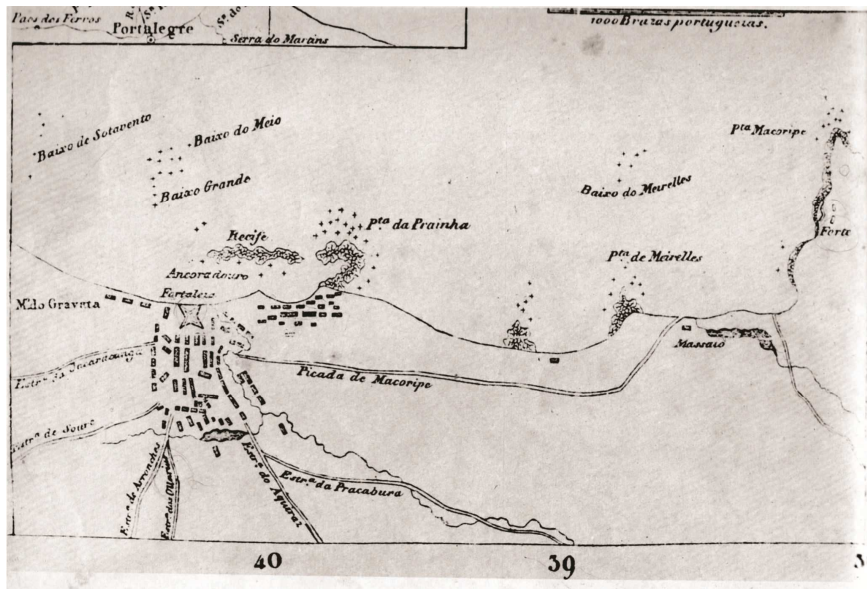


Figure 1 - Silva Paulet - Village Plan, 1813. In: Castro (1982).

Some key points can be listed to characterize the process of urbanization of the territory of Ceará in relation to the formation of the urban network, as follows: delay of the settlement of Ceará in relation to other provinces, the greater importance of hinterland in relation to the coast, the peripheral condition due to the activity of

¹ The first indication of these structural axes in the urban cartography of Fortaleza is located in "Village Plan", designed by military engineer Silva Paulet, 1813 (CASTRO, 1977).

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livestock to be subsidiary of the main activity of sugar cane, the lack of a central city, but a network of cities with levels of importance and functions relatively equitable, and the fact that, although Fortaleza had political, administrative and functions, it was outside the socio-spatial dynamic of livestock.

THE "WHITE GOLD" AND THE HEGEMONY OF FORTALEZA.

The urbanization seen in Fortaleza over the nineteenth and early twentieth century was characterized by the hegemonic role that the City took on the control of the urban network of Ceará, which caused significant changes in its socio-spatial function, form and structure.

Still in the eighteenth century, the northeastern region began to assume a secondary economic position, from the rise of the mining cycle and the consequent change in the capital to Rio de Janeiro, strategic condition further reinforced by the coffee cycle.

The historical changes of the early nineteenth century that culminated in the independence of Brazil was not sufficient to transform the Brazilian socioeconomic structure, because *"it kept the importance of monocultural production for export of primary products, based on large estates and slave labor, and totally devoted to the foreign markets"*(SCHIFFER, 2004, p. 80).

The expression of territorial changes throughout the nineteenth century was made possible mainly by the ports and railroads in the service of the agro-export economy driven abroad with the absence of national integration, meanwhile it produced a relative integration in the political and cultural scenery (Santos and Silveira, 2003), featuring the *"Brazil Archipelago"*, an island structure in which each region played a specific role in supplying raw materials for the international market. Moreover, there is some urban development in the late nineteenth century in various regional capitals, including in the northeastern region, also stimulated by the insertion in the market as a consumer of manufactured goods coming from Europe.

Under the political point of view, the autonomy of the Province of Ceará in relation to the Government of the Province of Pernambuco, in 1799, and subsequently the opening of ports in 1808, helped to strengthen the cotton agro-export activity, which inaugurated a new economic cycle in Ceará and the beginning of the hegemony of Fortaleza on the urban network control.

The planting of cotton, the *"white gold"*, starts as economic activity in Ceará in the eighteenth century and still gets the primacy of the economy after the collapse of Ceará livestock resulting from persistent drought and competition with livestock that developed in *"Rio Grande do Sul"* in the south of the country. The cycle of cotton was justified by the demands of foreign markets, in this case, it developed in the context of the early Industrial Revolution, supplying of raw materials for the emerging English textile industry. However, it is important to note that trade relations in this new context dispensed intermediates and turned directly to the foreign market, unlikely what happened with livestock farming which was directed to the domestic market and subsidized sugar cane hegemonic culture, which kept international trade relations.

Since the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century, other factors contributed to the strengthening of the economy of Ceará and consequently to a

more effective urban and regional spatial transformation, such as: the introduction of a new species of cotton, increasing the value of the product exported, the inauguration of the processing industry and the Civil War in the United States, which disrupted production and favored the expansion of the activity in other production centers.

According to Lima (2008), other factors than the cotton crop, which led the economy of Ceará between the nineteenth and early twentieth century, were responsible for the rising of urban centers and the structuring of Ceará territory, as the export of other agricultural products such as: coffee and carnauba wax; intervention works against drought, with the construction of water reservoirs, dams and roads, in response to disasters caused by drought and the flows of pilgrimage related to the religiosity of the population in the country side.

The main factor for the beginning of the hegemony of Fortaleza in the second half of the nineteenth century was the installation of the port and the railroad, responsible for enabling the export of cotton, transforming the city into an important trading post. Following this logic, the technical advances of the rail (train) and port (steamship), provided the restructuring of sociospatial urban network of Ceará. This process was reinforced by the fact that, initially, the cotton crop developed geographically near Fortaleza.

The port associated with the "*Baturité*" Railroad stimulated the growth of the importance of Fortaleza and the origin of its metropolitan character. To Villaça (1998) the binomial port-rail would be essential elements in the structuring of "*coastal metropolis*", as is the case of Fortaleza. "*The port is an intersection between the two transport systems*" (Villaça, 1998, p. 131).

The port and the railroad have ratified the mercantile character of Fortaleza. In this sense it is possible to establish a relative comparison with the functions of the "*mercantile city*" (Lefebvre, 2002), ie, the city hosted the commercialization and processing of raw materials and agricultural products, production and consumption of craft products and commercial activities, and port services. The city, in the late nineteenth century, stood out and enjoyed the achievements of its peripheral insertion in emerging industrial society.

The raising in the importance of the role of Fortaleza in the urban network in the nineteenth century was revealed in the demographics of the Capital. In the second half of the century, the city had a great attraction, generating large migration. In 1800, Fortaleza had a population of 3,000 inhabitants, increasing to 16,000 inhabitants in 1863 and 21,372 in 1872, arriving in 1900 to 48,369 and a twenty-year period reached 78,536 inhabitants.

In the "*City Plan of Fortaleza and Suburbs*", 1875, Adolfo Herbster, there was a set of paths of penetration to the orthogonal grid proposed by the plan. These roads have become today the main transport routes and road of the urban and metropolitan structure.

Another aspect to be highlighted in relation to the permanence of these historic routes (road and rail) in the layout of the city and its metropolitan expansion, is the fact that they have a direction that links the hinterland to the coast, because the economic dynamics did not favor the existence of parallel paths near the seaside,

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because the coastal uses, at the time, had no importance and were restricted to port activities and fishing.

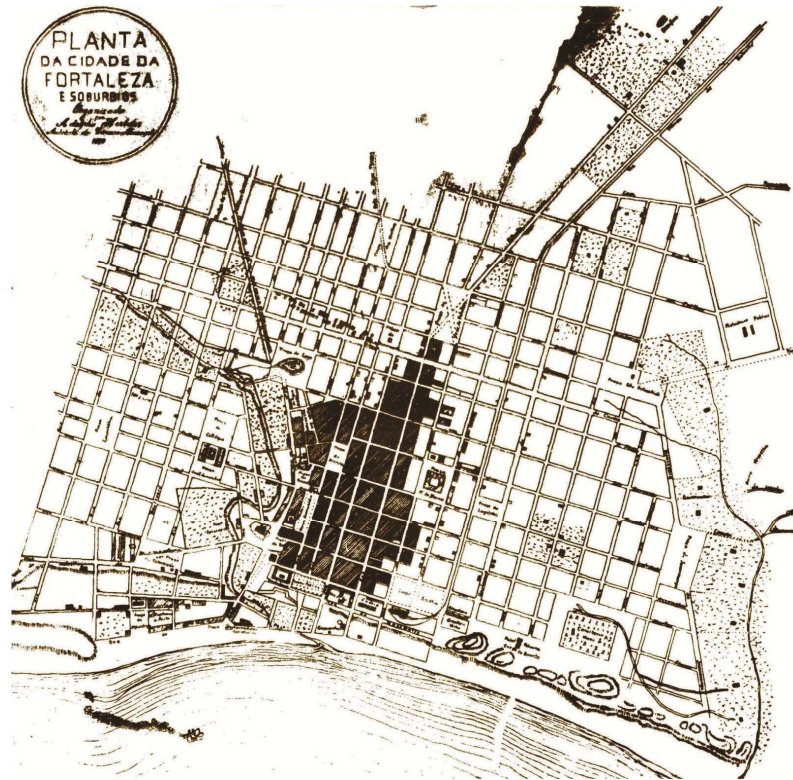


Figure 2 – Adolfo Herbster - City Plan of Fortaleza and Suburbs, 1875. In: Castro (1982).

Finally, it is worth highlighting some aspects that characterized the process of urbanization of the territory of Ceará in that period and changes in relation to the urban network, such as: the inclusion of agro-export production of cotton, although peripheral, in international trade without the political and economic intermediation of Pernambuco, the supremacy of a central city, since the hegemony of Fortaleza that started to accumulate political and commercial functions in relation to others, with a connection point with the countries abroad, and spatial changes operated in the capital because of socio-spatial dynamic, creating the foundation for metropolitan and urban sprawl along the axes of penetration (roads and railways).

INDUSTRIALIZATION AND URBANIZATION IN CEARÁ.

Amora (2007) establishes a timeline in the process of industrialization in Ceará, based on national and international division of labor: the first from the late nineteenth century until the 1950s, the second from the sixties to the mid-1980s, and the last from mid-1980s to present. The third period will be explained in the following item.

This analysis establishes the framework of the industrialization process in Ceará, the manufacturing activities arising mainly with cotton production, which were related, although marginally, with the international industrial development, also with the use of most advanced technological means in the production process. This is especially the process of cotton processing, production of fabrics and hammocks, as well as vegetable oils, leather and skins, finally, *"the emergence of these early industries is explained by the presence of raw material of agricultural and livestock sources"* (Amora, 2007, p. 371).

It is important to emphasize that this industrialization had a rudimentary character, and its development was dependent on agricultural production. Thus, the origin and development of this phase of the industrialization process were part of a secondary cycle of cotton and hegemonic primacy of the primary sector, which until 1960 represented 45.7% of GDP of Ceará (LIMA, 2008).

Due to the circuit paths (rail and road) converging to Fortaleza, the majority of industrial establishments were concentrated in the capital. Industrial activity has developed in the western area of the city, near and along the rail. The implementation of these industries marked the zoning of the city: the west with a concentration of industries and attracting a number of workers and popular settlement; the central zone, which brought together trade and services (private and public); and east that was represented by *"Aldeota"*, constituted a privileged locus of the wealthier classes. The construction of the *"Mucuripe"* port at the end of the 1940s was also significant element in the zoning of the City.

The importance of Fortaleza in relation to the urban network in Ceará and its urbanization were not exactly expression of the industrialization, but the increasing polarization that the city exercised in its influence area as a regional tertiary care center. Gradually, it became part of the national market condition justified because of the southeastern industrialization. Added to this, capital attracted immigrants who fled from the periodic droughts, besides the of government jobs that the city offered.

The substantial increase in population between 1950 and 1960, rising from 270,169 to 514,813 inhabitants, revealed the beginning of a more effective process of uneven urbanization.

The second period of industrialization in Ceará, between the years 1960 to mid-1980, relates to the advent of SUDENE (Northeastern Development Superintendency). The industrial policy of SUDENE advocated the development by industrialization, which was selectively turned to Bahia, Pernambuco and Ceará. SUDENE had a strategy of deploying more modern industries and changing the frame delay of traditional industries, which were characterized by obsolescence of machinery and also labor relations.

However, the industrial investment in these three main regional centers of the northeastern region was uneven. Fortaleza had disadvantages in the growth of its industrial complex due to locational factors such as: lack of infrastructure, inadequate power supply, the precarious nature of transport infrastructure (road and port) and communications, and farther from the dominant pole.

The process of modern industrialization of Ceará, was established by Governor Virgílio Tavora, With PLAMEG I, Governmental Plan Targets - (1963-1966),

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subsidized by the power supply CHESF (1965), and building infrastructure such as the reform of the port of Mucuripe and creation of the I Industrial District of Ceará in “Maracanaú”. The incipient industrialization and the cotton crisis caused migration and a surplus of labor in the city and with great impact on urbanization

At the same time that the industrial structure of Ceará remained tied to traditional activities that used local raw materials (food gender, clothing and textiles), until the mid-1980s, it increased private sector participation in the composition of GDP. In this period of implementation of SUDENE, GDP grew 10.3% to 26.8%, while the primary sector declined from 34.0% to 14.6% (BERNAL, 2004).

Although the development of the Industrial District in “Maracanaú” occurred so delayed in relation to the intended industrial policy, its implementation was responsible for the genesis of Fortaleza metropolization process in the 1970s, associated with the industrial and housing developments that emerged in nearby areas.

Since the 1970s, the strengthening of the middle class, raised by industrialization and the importance of the tertiary sector in Fortaleza, allowed the growth of leisure and recreation practices related to the sea vacation areas and the acquisition of second homes with significant impacts in the neighboring municipalities to Fortaleza. The use of these coastal areas for recreational purposes, were another factor that generated the metropolitan character of Fortaleza, it resulted in the expansion of the metropolitan region. The beginning of these metropolitan dynamics coincided with the institutionalization of the metropolitan regions of Brazil (1973), which included the capital of Ceará.

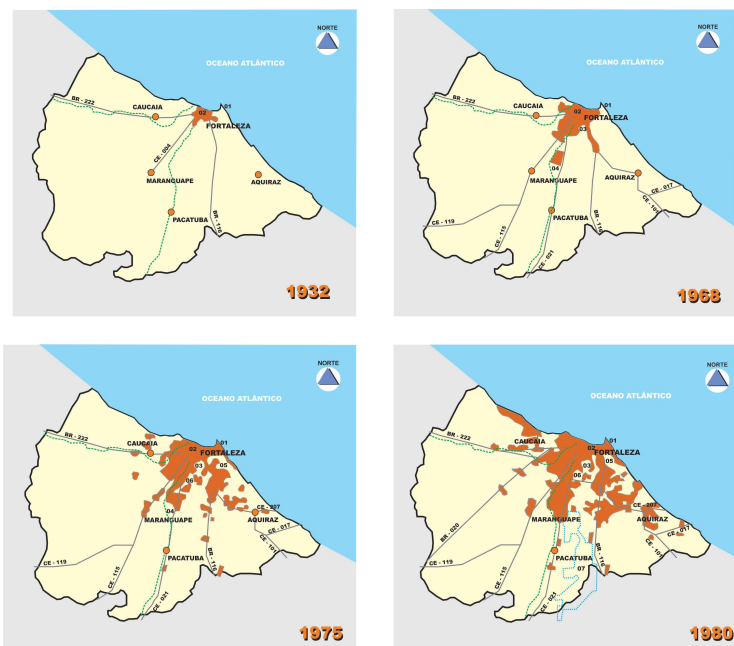


Figure 3 – Fortaleza Metropolitan Region – Map of Urban Evolution – 1932-1980. Made by the author

Although peripherally, Fortaleza articulated the hegemonic logic of Fordist production, and its metropolis process identified with the concept of "*industrial city*" (Lefebvre, 2002). This happened not because it is the privileged locus of the industry installation, but because it was inserted in a hierarchical urban network under the auspices of national industrialization led by the southeastern region of Brazil.

The population of Fortaleza between the decade of 1960 (514.813) and the late 1980 (1.308.919) nearly tripled, confirming the effects of hyper-urbanization caused by industrialization in peripheral countries, which despite having a thin industrialization, presented high levels of population growth, characterizing the uneven urbanization.

Finally, in the early 1970s, some trends were only just beginning to expand beyond the urban structure of Fortaleza, represented by the implementation of the Industrial District of "*Maracanaú*", followed by the construction of housing and occupation of parts of the coastline of neighboring municipalities with the phenomenon of second homes for vacation practices.

CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL AND SPATIAL RESTRUCTURING IN CEARÁ

The process of globalization of social practices (economic, political and cultural-ideological) started in the 1970s in developed countries spurred significant changes in Brazil only in the early 1990s. The main strategies adopted by Brazil in order to fit into the contemporary process of expansion of capitalism were: the democratization; neoliberal practices of shrinking state interventionist policies, privatization of state companies; economic liberalization; monetary stabilization as a way to ensure the penetration of foreign capital; and the systematic abandonment of industrial policies of national development. The incorporation of new territories to the contemporary hegemonic logic of consumption, now characterized by the decentralization of the production process, including the command, as well as the increase in tertiary activities and tourism, boosted the competitiveness among places and contributed to broaden the social relations on a global scale.

Nationally, there was relative industrial decentralization in the 1970s, an essential condition for the reproduction of the accumulation process procedure. However, the primacy of São Paulo as a dominant pole it remained.

Regionally, the failure of the regional development agency (SUDENE), due to the relative ineffectiveness of development policy as a result of the unsatisfactory results obtained, with regard to the reduction of regional disparities, put the northeastern region in a vulnerable position in relation to adjustments of the national economy to the globalization process.

The main economic development strategies adopted by the state government in Ceará in the period between the rise of "*Government of Changes*" (late 1980s) and nowadays, in order to adjust to global flows, can be understood on the basis of growth policies of the three sectors of the economy, especially agribusiness, industry and tourism.

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The main actions in the primary sector have turned to the strengthening of agribusiness companies, which benefit from irrigation projects and deployment of equipment for plumbing and water distribution, instead of the traditional agricultural activities, which are dependent on irregular rainfall regime. The modernization of the primary sector and its production, which brought together science and technology, seek a closer relationship with the international markets

In the secondary sector, the contemporary changes correspond to the third phase of the industrialization process of Ceará (Amora, 2007). This is a period marked by the industrial decentralization and space deconcentration.

The role of the state is still predominant, now the state government becomes the protagonist in the increase of industrial activity. There is the selection of the "tax war", a real "war of places" (Santos and Silveira, 2003, p. 112) as a strategy to attract industries, through the provision of infrastructure, tax benefits, export facilities and ensuring cheap labor.

Companies that develop in Ceará nowadays are mostly in the textile sector, footwear, clothing, food and packaging material and tax incentives were responsible for a significant dynamism in Ceará industry, visible in the industrial participation in the composition of GDP, which changed from 26.8% in 1985 to 38.1% in 2000.

There were several infrastructure investments in order to stimulate the manufacturing sector, mostly concentrated in the metropolitan region of Fortaleza, being the Industrial Complex and Harbor in "Pecém" one of the most important.

Amora (2007) summarizes the main aspects that characterize the current phase of industrialization, as: the role of the state government; the greater attractiveness refers to the low cost of labor, with effects on rates poverty; the highest concentration in the metropolitan region of Fortaleza; the decentralization does not happen and the social and spatial inequalities remain.

In the tertiary sector in general, there is an increase due to the primary sector and secondary sector and has its great dynamism (trade and services) in Fortaleza, which functions as a point of command and coordination of flows of agribusiness and industry. The main strategy adopted by the state government in the tertiary sector turns to tourism, which occupies a prominent role in economic development strategies intended by the state.

The role of tourism in the process of social and spatial restructuring is explained by the attempted insertion of Ceara in the global flows of activity. In Ceará, as in other states in the northeastern region, the government actions for tourism, in addition to specific policies for the sector, such as PRODETUR (Program for Development of Tourism in the Northeast), try to create an attractive infrastructure through interventions in space, in urban and regional scale, serving the interests political and economic hegemony (global and local).

One of the main strategies used to attract investments in tourism activity was to promote the image of Ceará, which coincides with the construction of tourist image and is based, in principle, attempting to reverse the negative drought aspects in positive attributes for the practice of leisure and tourism. Tourism is posed by the political leadership as the redeemer in the process of socio-spatial restructuring of Ceará.

The territorial configuration resulting from these new flows associated with tourism induced structural transformation in a network of paths and access in the territory along the coast, ie, a road structure that part from the Metropolis and spreads parallel to the coast, unlikely the old dynamic which was perpendicular to the coast. In the logic of restructuring the coastal area, the binomial airport and coastal roads prevails, reinforcing the centrality of Fortaleza.

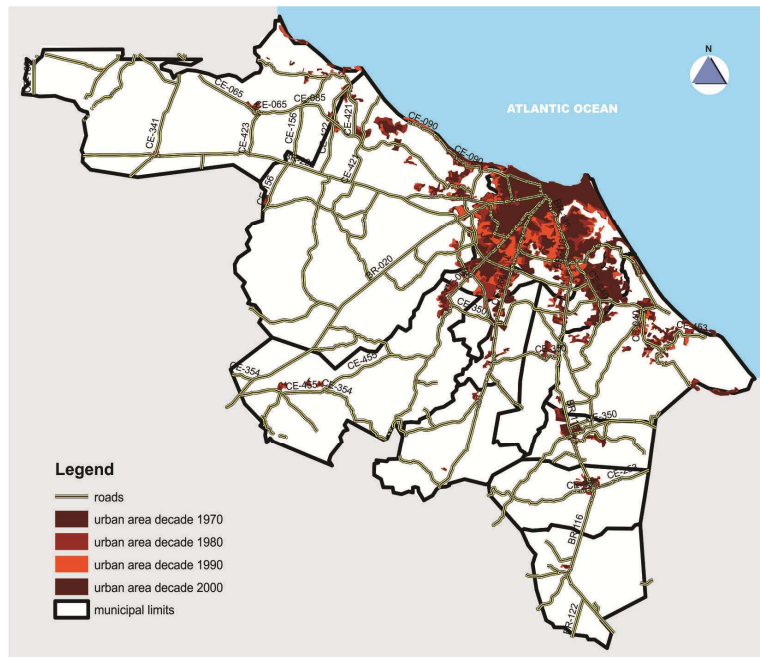


Figure 4 – Fortaleza Metropolitan Region – Map of Urban Evolution – 1970-2000.
In: Freitas e Pequeno (2011).

The "tourism urbanization" in the metropolitan region of Fortaleza is part of the contemporary process of urbanization in general. There are different dynamics in Fortaleza (industrial, tertiary and real estate) that develop in the old vectors and contribute to the process of their metropolization process, qualifying Fortaleza as a hybrid metropolis.

The process of urbanization raised by tourism in Fortaleza metropolitan region manifests itself in various ways: the importance of Fortaleza as a point of attraction and distribution of tourism in Ceará, playing key role in valuing the coasts of neighboring towns and incorporating them without the mediation of other urban centers, increasing the spread of urban sprawl; the construction of resorts in distant areas from the urban structure; the expansion of new types of second homes; the overvaluation of the natural and cultural heritage; and finally, the creation of artificial places and thematic islands, real consumption of the elites, the symbol of socio-spatial segregation, the concentration of income and the vulnerability of places that are inserted.

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The metropolitan population spreads along the axes of older metropolitan urban expansion, related to the logic of industrial decentralization, implementation of housing and growth of the periphery of the poor, while in the coastal municipalities, where the dynamics of tourism and real estate both aimed at the rich, population growth is lower, showing that urbanization causes an increase in tourist population smaller than urbanization linked to industrialization, although it had suffered substantial spatial transformations along the coastal strip, featuring the "empty urbanization"².

CONCLUSION

Finally, tourism is part of a scenery of dependent and uneven urbanization, which exacerbates the segregation, either because of urbanization leads to an instability due to the informality of jobs it generates, or because there is a selective appropriation of spaces (natural and built) more valued, in the particular case, those located on the coast of Fortaleza metropolitan region. It may be affirmed that tourism is responsible, along with the formal real estate dynamics, for the metropolitan structure and expansion along the coast, while the industrial dynamics and informal housing is developed toward the country side.

The following summary table supports this study, based on theoretical assumptions, which summarizes the main features of the urbanization of Ceará and Fortaleza in different historical periods presented.

SUMMARY TABLE – URBANIZATION IN FORTALEZA-CEARÁ

	ECONOMIC PRACTICES	POLITICAL PRACTICES	CULTURAL- IDEOLÓGICAL PRACTICES	REGIONAL SPACE PRODUCTIO	URBAN SPACE PRODUCTION (Fortaleza)
Livestock XVIII	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Secondary activity - Labor: slave x cowboy - Domestic market - Flows of production (farms), distribution (roads and riverbeds) and consumption (the largest centers of the coast, Pernambuco and Bahia) - Industrial activity (salting cattle) - salt flats at the mouths of rivers. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Under the power of Portugal - The "Captaincy" of Ceará: "Sesmarias" - Subordinated to the government of Pernambuco - - Space producing agents: - The farmers - The cowboys - The merchants 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - "Leather civilization" - Different culture of the northeast region related to cane sugar 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Direction of Occupation: Hinterland - Coastal - Urban Network more balanced - there is not the primacy of a City - Roads (roads of herds) - Location differences between the areas of creation, salting and ports. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Fortaleza had a secondary role - Defensive pole - The foundation of the town related to the presence of the Fort
Cotton XIX E XX	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Agro-export Activity - Foreign Market - labor: backcountry people. - Flows of production (hinterland), distribution (ancient roads, rail), consumption (European market) - Industrial activity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The independence of the Province (1799) in relation to the government of Pernambuco - Start of public policies to fight drought (construction of dams) The patronage. Space producing agents: 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The consumption of civilization - Importation of European cultural values 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - National Scale: "Brazil Archipelago" - Importance of Coastal City in the economic scenery of Ceara - Unbalanced urban network- - - - Roads and Railways - Differences between planting 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Beginning of Fortaleza Urban Hegemony - The origin of the layout of the city - The functional zoning of the city: the relationship with the sea (port)

² There is an increase of urban area and constructed, but are used at specific times by a floating population (PAIVA, 2011).

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	(processing cotton, production of fabrics, hammocks) - Points of Commerce: port cities	- Foreign capital - Merchants - Farmer		areas, distribution and ports	
National Industrialization XX	- Industrial activity concentrated in southeastern Brazil - Unification of national market - domestic market - emergence of cities tertiary - Flow Production: Industrial production concentrated, Distribution and Consumption in regional urban centers.	- National Scale: Centralization of Power - Welfare State - Creation of Regional Development Plans - Incentive Industrialization policies - SUDENE - The creation of the Federal University of Ceará and the growth of public employment.	- The "drought industry" and the image of the cruel nature - The industry as a redemptive economic activity.	- Importance of regional urban centers - Urbanization without industry or incipient industrialization - Rural-urban migration - Urban Network: Case of "urban macrocephaly" - Growth of road network linking the capital to the hinterland	- The Increasing of attraction and concentration power of Fortaleza - The vectors of growth of the city: industry and housing - The beginning of metropolization process - The functional zoning (center, industry, port, trade, housing)
Flexibe industry and Tourism XX E XXI	- Global economy - The importance of financial capital and real estate - The fiscal and financial incentives - Flows of Production, Distribution and Consumption in Contemporary Industry: Global and Local - Tourism Flows: Points emission, displacement distribution, reception points	- National Scale: neoliberal policy - Dismantling of the interventionist state - Strategic planning - Sectoral policies (industrial and touristic policies) - PRODETUR I e II	- The promotion of Fortaleza modern image - The exuberant nature - The industry as a redemptive economic activity.	- Industrial decentralization - Strengthening the urban network in the coastal - The importance of coastal urban areas related to tourism. - The importance of the airport - The road network is developed on the coast	- The expansion of the Fortaleza Metropolitan Region - Tourism intra-urban interventions - New uses of coastal - The relationship between real estate and tourism - The valuation of non-occupied areas of the coast for the construction of resorts - Fragmentation and privatization of the sea shore - Environmental impacts

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