TOURISM AND URBAN ECONOMY: BRANDING CITIES AND PRODUCING CONTRADICTORY SPACES OF CONSUMPTION

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ABSTRACT: Tourism is constituted as an important economic activity of cities that today seek to attract other investments and consumers in a context of increasing global competitiveness. Cities make use of communication to be promoted by creating brands or forging positive images of themselves, and thus elaborate strategies directing tourists to consumption. Here we present preliminary results of an analysis of some communication elements present in touristic advertisement *websites* of Amsterdam (Netherlands) and Venice (Italy), as well as an analysis of some well-known touristic spaces of these cities. With the advancement of techniques, communication assumes an increasingly important part in promoting an urban tourism, a trend of trivialization of the symbolic images of the city and the standardized reproduction of exclusive spaces targeted for consumption, which derives a socio-spatial segregation, often in traditional public spaces.

KEYWORDS: urban tourism; city branding; production of space; tourism communication; Amsterdam; Venice;

1 INTRODUCTION

The contemporary production of tourism transforms spaces in the whole world, in terms of valuations that result from scientific and technological development and innovations in communication. With the advancement of contemporary communication techniques, there is an expansion of tourism in the world that, by annexing new spaces to activity, becomes a kind of alternative to the economic development of cities and regions. To Moesch (2000, p. 12), the advancement of the tourism phenomenon allows economists to glimpse, by it, the growth of the rates of economic development of different regions, in a context that supports a pragmatic source, in which tourism is taken as an activity with strong economic growth. From this perspective, tourism is understood as a possibility for economic development, at a local level, through investments in services that support the activity, such as transportation, accomodation, food and leisure.

However, places are distinguished by the different ability to offer profitable investment, since each has a combination of attractive factors, and therefore are not equally capable to monetize a tourist production. This yield varies from one place to another depending on the conditions of technical (equipment, infrastructure, accessibility) and organizational order (local laws, taxes, relationships and traditions of work). Considering these aspects, it is possible to speak of a "spatial productivity" or "geographical productivity", according to Santos (2002, p. 248), a concept that is applied to a place depending of a particular activity or set of activities. Without minimizing the importance of natural conditions, Santos said that this category relates more to the productive space, ie the 'work' of the space, highlighting that are the artificially conditions created which emerge as an expression of technical processes and support of geographic information.

The spatial or geographical productivity of a touristic destination can not be lasting, from the moment that other place offers the same type of product with better comparative advantages of localization. To remain attractive, the cities make use of material resources (such as structures and equipment) and intangible (such as services), seeking to enhance its virtues through their symbols inherited or developed recently, using the image of the place as "magnet" (SANTOS, 2002, p. 269). Thus, there is a specialization of places, established on its natural and techniques conditions, as well as its advantages of political and social order. This specialization meets the business interests, responding to safety and profitability requirements in

a context of increasing economic competitiveness. There is a pursuit not only by businesses for the best cities to settle, but also a demand by the proper cities for the best businesses.

In the case of tourism, there is also the quest for consumer attraction to the city through the rehabilitation of public spaces, the implementation of urban projects, the incentive to leisure, entertainment and commerce as well as the preparation of communication plans that disclose the city. By the appropriation of symbolic images, "city brands" are created and propagated with the purpose to divulge the cities as products, which makes communication a key factor for tourist production, when transmits by the media a shaped reality of spaces that we do not see. Beyond advertising, tourism depends on communication for procurement, distribution and dissemination of information for the business transactions, especially those services consumed in advance, which happen in the organization of the trip, when booking airfare and hotels are held by the proper tourist at *websites* in the *internet*. Thus, by means of communication, the city's touristic consumption begins to occur even before the tourist arrives at the destination, in an anticipation of the service to be consumed.

The very physical space of the city is organized to favour consumption, such as trade attached to museums and squares, where is continuous the director omnipresence of communication that informs, guides displacements and choices, in a sort of a consumption planning, throughout signs, posters, maps, guides, pamphlets, menus, ecc. However, beyond boosting the economy through the services, the touristic production brings social contradictions, as the production of "director" spaces of consumption that are, at the same time, exclusive and "liminals", according to Sharon Zukin, favoring spatial segregation. The spaces produced by tourism are directors in the sense that are organized physically and through communication in line with consumption, which sometimes presents a trivialization of the city's images, as they are indefinitely reproduced and propagated in many commercial products. Besides directed to consumption, the touristic spaces are "liminals" because they are spaces of distinct coexistences among tourists who consume it and the workers who provide touristic services, in a kind of discrimination of the spatial living experience.

Here we present preliminary results of a research on the production of touristic spaces of consumption, virtual and real, in Venice (Italy) and Amsterdam (Netherlands), highlighting the role of communication in the production process, notably the creation and management of brands and images of cities. At first, we analyze the virtual production for tourism through the *websites*, selected by us because they are considered official, ie, being developed by government agencies linked to the cities. In Amsterdam, we selected a single *website* wich has different interaction features, the www.iamsterdam.com, administered by the "Amsterdam Tourism & Convention Board" (ATCB), which calls itself the official tourism organ of the city. For Venice, we selected two *website*s that complement each other by their different characteristics: the www.hellovenezia.com, by "Azienda del Consorzio Trasporti Veneziano" (ACTV), a local public transport company and www.veniceconnected.com, appointed by the government of Venice (Municipality of Venice) as the official *website* for tourism in the city.

In the analysis of *websites*, we seek to recognize the way the virtual space reproduces the real space, becoming a "director" guide in which the tourist gets information about where to go, what to do, what to eat, how to move ecc.., and the manner in which the spaces are consumed even before the tourist arrives at the destination. In the field, in real space, we investigate how the imaginary elaborated by the brand and the information previously collected on the *websites* are arranged in physical space of cities. Ribeiro (1991) cited by Santos (2002, p. 256) includes the modern system of communication "as part of the institutional framework established for the development of strategies for control of territory and, on its economic face, as a *link* to articule and expedite markets". This idea of control produced by communication becomes the conductor line of this study, insofar as the communication produces, leads, organizes and disseminates the spaces, turning it crucial to understand the socio-spatial dynamics.

2 BRANDING CITIES

The nature of contemporary tourism is linked to the mass media, as people get around based on information transmitted by the communication of tourism, as well by the imagery produced by the media. Who decide to travel seek information, both at technical level (accommodation, transport, food) and symbolic level over the place, to choose one that can satisfy the aspirations. Tourism communication provides the technical and symbolic informations desired by tourists, which were previously selected for the purpose of consumption in the touristic space. More than that, by the filters of communication, the processes

of touristic production have support to build a collective imaginary relying on myths, symbols, representations and discourses about a place.

In the process of imaginary construction there is a refined predisposition of tourism communication that, adhering to the logic of market, uses marketing strategies. Thus, the contemporary city gains a product *status* and in some cases receives a brand that influences the urban economy, including the planning processes of the city. The idea of creating a brand is part of the conception that the product becomes more valuable, because it is tied to a recognized name and the promise of authenticity. According to Levitt (1980, p.86), brands are essentially extensions of the product, allowing not only to identify it, but also incorporate a set of values and intangible attributes that are relevant to the consumer and contribute to motivate the purchase. In the process of creating a brand to a city, there is an appropriation of the tangible and intangible goods that become, through communication, possible images to be explored and administered towards the development of a commercial product. For tourism, the creation of a brand allows the city to differentiate itself from others, in an attempt to become a unique product and thus, be inserted in a particular way in the international tourism market.

Whereas the creation of a brand is part of a strategic plan for integration, maintenance and growth of a city on the international tourism market, distribution and purchase of the touristic products are essential for success. Given the opportunities arising from the *internet*, these two actions (dissemination and purchase) are intertwined as the tourist can, at the same time, obtain information and acquire the necessary services for their future travel. However, a positive experience lived by the tourist in the place itself during the trip, it is crucial to the survival and reinforcement of a brand created for the city, making the management of spaces also a factor of tourism communication. Thus, the *websites* and the city spaces are considered in a branding city process.

The city of Amsterdam, the Netherlands, has a marketing initiative developed in 2005, when the brand "Iamsterdam" has been created, as a means to profile itself assertively on the international arena, due to the increasing competition among european cities to attract desired visitors, businesses and residents. According to the *website* of the brand "Iamsterdam", the campaign aims to demonstrate the pride, the confidence and dedication to the city. About the brand identity, the *website* says that Amsterdam and region intend to showcase its enterprising, innovative and creative qualities, because "these have been the city's strengths for centuries already, making it distinctive on a global level". Some interesting features of the city's communication plan indicate the development of creative strategies, such as the use of the brand to name the *website* (www.iamsterdam.com), which is the gateway to the produced virtual space of Amsterdam.

Among the technological interaction resources, we found a video called "Eye on Amsterdam", which presents, at first, the selected elements that characterize the town, distinguishing it and developing it not only as a tourist destination but also as a place of business and investment: "Science Park"; "multiculturalism"; "dynamic"; "meeting place"; "airport and seaport"; "design"; "spirit of commerce"; "innovation" are the words used in the video. Next, the video features over seven shares targeted to different audiences, showing some images and sounds characteristic of the city, selected for the establishment and strengthening of the imaginary about Amsterdam, and are thus entitled: (1) city of water; (2) culture; (3) hidden treasures; (4) business city; (5) creative; (6) people city; (7) events.

Besides information at a symbolic level about the brand, the *website* www.iamsterdam.com provides information on a technical and strategic level as the provision of the "Iamsterdam card", a discount card to transportation, attractions and restaurants, which is accompanied by a pocket guide. According to Kotler (1998, p. 619), discount cards are used in the logic of "relationship marketing", a set of techniques and sales processes, communication and customer care, which aims to identify them individually and by name, in order to create lasting and director relationships. In the city, is perceived the intentions of extending the branding strategies to real space, where tourists can interact physically with the products they saw and bought virtually, as the "Iamsterdam letters", large deployments in the city's sights, which tourists go after to pose for photographs and make videos, including climbing on them, as we see on "Fig. 1".

The city of Venice, Italy, has a communication project expressed in the *website* www.hellovenezia.com, which seeks to symbolize it as a "fish", due to the map of the city resemble the shape of this animal. According to the *website*, the fish is "both root word and project as it transcribes the unique nature of the place, not as a fossil imprint, but as a living, moving, changing organism". However, we did not identify a connection of this brand with the tourism products offered on the *website* or even in

touristic spaces themselves. Without ties with the fish brand, the *website* www.hellovenezia.com disseminates and sells a special card to tourists, the "Venice Card" which offers discounts on transportation, tickets to museums, churches and cultural shows, including transfers between the airport and city, as well as the use of public toilets and baby changing facilities.

In another *website*, www.veniceconnected.com, that also don't use that brand, has *online* marketing initiatives such as the possibility of viewing images captured by a *webcam* from "Piazza San Marco" and "Ponte di Rialto" in real time. Apparently, on both *websites* and in the touristic products, are the lyrical, artistic and natural elements – not a brand – that identify Venice, being even them used to interact with the imaginary of the city, as what happens in "Fig. 1" when tourists stroll along the canals by *gondolas*.

Figure 1   Interaction with the imaginaries of the cities: "Iamsterdam letters" (*Museumplein*, Amsterdam) and the *gondolas* of Venice. (Photos by Girardi, L. on May 2009 and Meliani, P. F. on June 2009).

3 THE PRODUCTION OF TOURISTIC SPACES OF CONSUMPTION

The development of marketing strategies is a central element in driving tourism, including the transformation of the places's images into symbols that circulate in the informations networks, and are able to attract consuming tourists by inserting the places in the circuit of consumption through packages and similar products characteristic of tourism. Nowadays, the information flow and consumption of tourism products happen notably through the *internet*, which has created other forms of interaction between agents, suppliers and consumers, allowing a greater fluidity to business. A communicative complex composed by organized messages about the touristic destination, both virtually and in the very physical space, establishing relations between the sender and receiver, creating bonds not only by what is said, but how it is said, directing tourists to consumption. Inserted into the capitalism logic, the contemporary tourism appears to be limited by the experience of the produced spaces for consumption, where tourists will find the elements contained in the information previously collected about the place before the visit.

The consumption of touristic spaces is done *in situ* in its final stages, but begins to occur even before the tourist arrives at the destination, in anticipation of service to be consumed, as occurs in the preparation of travel packages and tourism advertising. The *website* www.iamsterdam.com (accessed on 19/08/2009) has a *link* for tourists called "visiting", in which there is the section "About Amsterdam", which has ten *link*s with informations of how to plan a trip to Amsterdam. Among them, we highlight the *link*s titled "book your hotel" and "book your excursion", which direct us to a page, showed in "Fig. 2", to purchase the hotel booking and tours, previously selected by the *website*, and that also gives the possibility to acquire the discount "I Amsterdam card". Another *link* analysed was the "sights and attractions", which suggests a stroll through the Amsterdam city center, and indicates fifty-three places on that category that tourists can visit.

Each attraction suggested has its own page, which can be accessed from "attractions and sights" page, which presents a location map and the indication of a few shops and services located near the attraction. It is possible to extend the location map of each suggested attraction and choose among others seventeen categories of trade, services and attractions, in order to expand the opportunities of consumption around the attraction that is chosen. "Figure 2" shows us an example, when we accessed (on 19/08/2009) the attraction "Royal Palace" and expanded the location map, by choosing the category "shops", fifty-four

establishments have been indicated, all located within a radius of five hundred meters from the "Royal Palace", among them are liquor stores, flowers, furniture, books, clothing, cigarettes, etc.
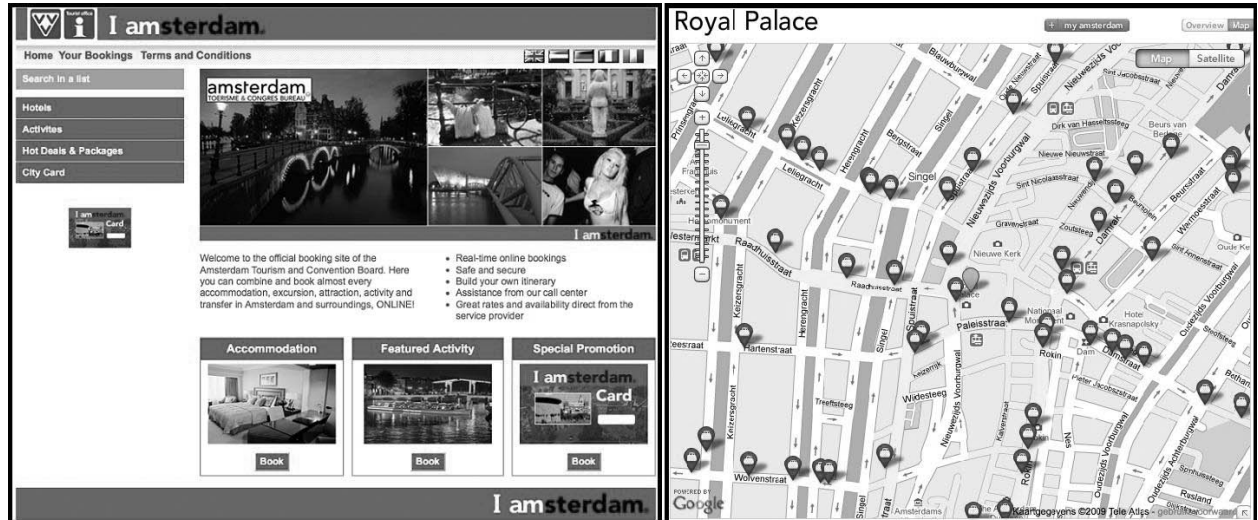

Figure 2 Virtual spaces of consumption of Amsterdam: *website* www.traveldna.net for purchase and reservations of hotels and tours, as well as the "I Amsterdam Card" (on 18/08/2009) and the spatial distribution of stores (shops) near the Royal Palace in Amsterdam indicated by www.iamsterdam.com (on 18/09/2009).

At the *website* www.veniceconnected.com there is an *online* system for the acquisition of public services, available when accessing the *link* "my shopping cart", which directs us to a page where there's a timetable with an indicative prices subtitle, according to the holiday season: average prices and more convenient prices are for low and medium season (between November and March) as well as higher prices and full prices for the top season (between April and October). When selecting the day on which it's intended to use the services in Venice, the *website* leads us to a page which contains five options of possible products to be acquired, as we see in "Fig. 3", and are thus entitled: (1) "transport", with options to local transport (waterbus or regular bus) and airport transfers, (2) "car parking", (3) "culture", which is tickets for museums; (4) "services" for the use of public toilets, (5) "leisure", with option for *internet* access and entrance to the casino of Venice.

The same *website* also indicates, when accessing the *link* "culture and shopping", another *website* entitled "Venice Selection" (www.veniceselection.it), which proposes to "identify the best of Venetian production according to a quality criteria, relationship to tradition, availability to the client and personalization", included in six product categories: (1) food, (2) glass, (3) gondola, (4) masks and costumes; (5) furniture and objects, (6) clothing and accessories. By choosing one of the categories, we are directed to a page reproduced in "Fig. 3" that describes details of the chosen category and, pointing in a map, indicates the location of the store or service suggested. This is the only section of the *website* about shopping.

In real space, the communication has the same sense of that applied in the virtual space, ie to provide information to visitors, directing them to consumption areas destined to visitation. In Amsterdam and Venice, for example, the touristic information media, while guiding tourists to locations of interest, lead them to positions that are organized for consumption. The signs and maps deployed in the cities' sights bring more than obvious orientation of geographic localization to tourists, they also give indications of where to go, or what to see, eat, shop, ecc.., as demonstrated in "Fig. 4", which makes communication a strong tool to support the production of "directors" touristic spaces of consumption. These spaces are physically arranged in a productive conception that directs people to consumption, not only of services geared to basic anthropological needs, as eating and sleeping, but also the consumption of a range of other products that reproduce, only for commercial purposes, works of art, images of people and places that feature the touristic destination. At the *Museumplein* in Amsterdam, for example on "Fig. 4", there are outlets selling souvenirs of all kinds: postcards, fridge magnets, mugs, pens, shirts, books, ecc., reproducing images carried by the

media for the development of the city as a tourist product. Nearby, as we see in "Fig. 4", in front of "Van Gogh Museum" a bar suggests tourists to "taste the Van Gogh Starry Night cocktail".

Figure 3 Virtual spaces of consumption of Venice: *website* www.veniceconnected.it page, to purchase and book transportation, parking, culture, leisure and services (on 20/08/2009) and *website* www.venicesellection.it page, indicating the localization of a masks and costumes store in the city of Venice (on 20/08/2009).
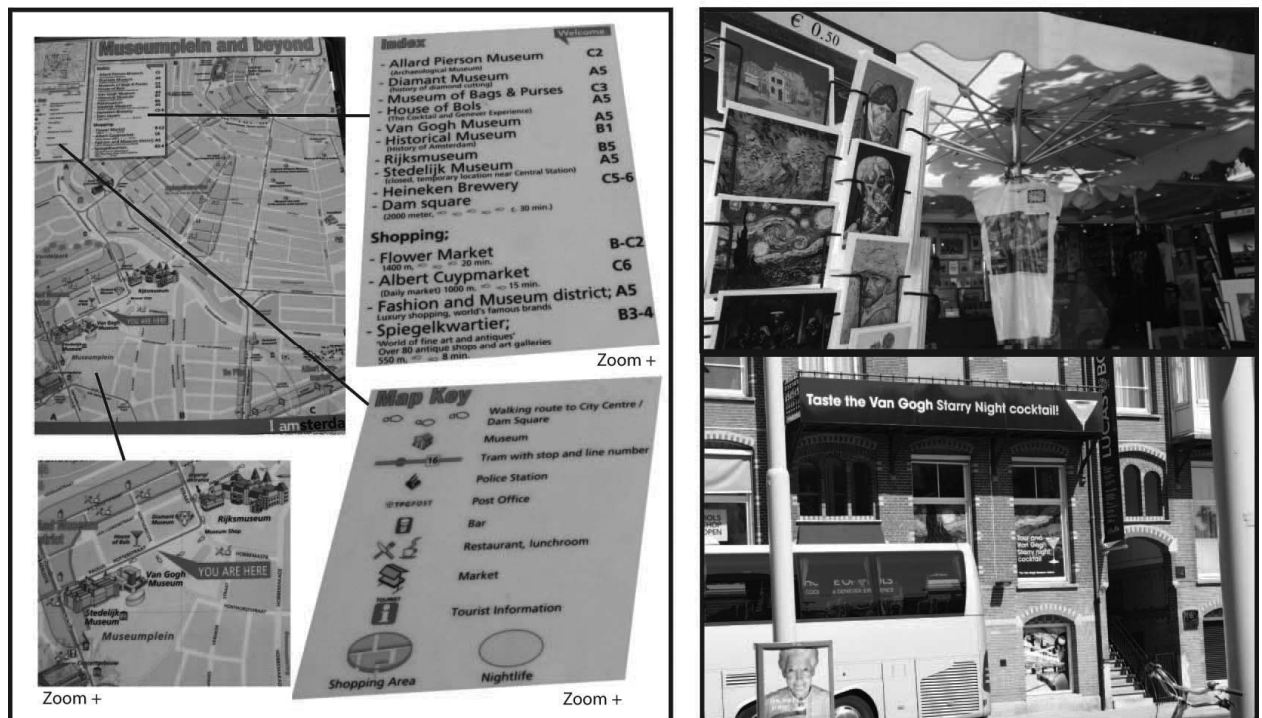

Figure 4 Elements of the real spaces of consumption in Amsterdam: touristic map installed in the Museumplein, in Amsterdam (Photo and edition by Girardi Alves, L. in May 2009). Souveniers varied reproducing works of art and images of Van Gogh (Photo by Girardi for Alves, L. in May 2009). Commercial establishment inviting people to taste the "Van Gogh starry night cocktail" (Photo by Girardi, L. in May 2009).

In Venice, the communication destined to geographical orientation of tourists seems to direct, in a particular way, tourists to meet consumption spaces. For much of the city, signs show the direction of the two main attractions of Venice, "Piazza San Marco" and "Rialto Bridge", though, some of the signs indicates opposite directions to the same destination as we see in "Fig. 5", leaving tourists at first perplexed, not knowing which way to go. It seems that this actually happens because of Venice's city urban plan that is a maze of ancient alleyways, where are the commercial establishments that cater tourists. We observed that this duplicity of routes to the same destination causes some distribution of the flow of passers-by, directing the movement of tourists through shops in the many alleys of the city, especially around major tourist destination. This concern about indicating alternative paths happens even by deliberate paintings in some of the signs already installed, showed in "Fig. 5", suggesting a kind of protest or violation of merchants or residents who, probably, want to confuse people or move them to other streets. Just like in Amsterdam, "Fig. 5" shows that the products offered in Venice go far beyond the basic needs of people, they are a multitude of stuff that reproduces the representatives images of the city, notably the famous Venetian masks.

Figure 5 Elements of the real spaces of consumption in Venice: sign indicating two directions to the same destination. (Photo by Girardi, L. on June 2009). Deliberate paintings in some of the signs (Photo by Meliani, P.F. on June 2009). Reproduction of miniature Venetian masks in a souvenir shop near the Rialto Bridge in Venice (Photo by Meliani, P.F. on June 2009).

4 CONSIDERATIONS

Analysing some touristic spaces of consumption in the cities of Amsterdam and Venice, we recognize the role of communication in the selection of representative images and the creation of brands to the cities, as well the elaboration of strategies directing tourists to consumption. The communication is part of the process of production of turistic space, participating as an instrument of transformation of the symbolic dimensions, causing in some cases, a kind of artificiality of places. In this perspective, Augé (1994) atributes an extreme meaning to the space artificialized by tourism, considering it as a "non-place", that would be, if not the antithesis, at least a place other than the "anthropological place", that is characterized as being identitary, relational and historical. In order to attract tourists, many cities transfigure their own symbolic images, causing a feeling of strangeness on the people of the place that has become a touristic destination, where spaces become a spectacle for tourists and viewers-consumers.

In Amsterdam, it is possible to perceive the role of communication in promoting tourism through its brand (Iamsterdam), which establishes a clear connection between the images of the city transmitted with the different types of tourists that the city wants to receive. A number of products offered to tourists can virtually be selected and pre-consumed (as events, visits and tours), in a variety of suggestions that guide and direct us to consumption in the city. The expectation generated by the diffusion of images and the possibility of consumption that is sold virtually, actually takes place at the organized touristic spaces of the city that are also full of indications of consumption possibilities for visitors. The communication for tourism takes place in different means, even in the public transportation "tram" that indicates through visual and sound communication the stops near the main touristic attractions and hotels in the city, sometimes even identifying the selected function given to the space, like the *Leidsenplein*, indicated as an "entertainment area" by the sound message. Together, we could say that the touristic spaces of Amsterdam are configured as an organized "playground-shopping", replete of entertainment services and products related to a standarlized spectacle of nature, history and culture of the city.

The promotion of tourism in Venice counts, decisively, with the image formed by a worldwilde imaginary: the "most romantic city in the world", as well as its historical reputation as a touristic destination, considering that since the 19th century, the Venetians adapted their own holidays to the expectatations and desires of visitors (DAVIS and MARVIN, 2004, p. 01-03). The spectacle embodies, in its way, the tourism in Venice, giving us the impression that tourists seek it in order to visit a "relic-city", where they could be sent back to a time that no longer exists. However, of this "relic-city" only exists a kind of "crust", because the buildings shape are still there, but only as a facade for shops and services that support tourism. Walking through the maze of streets that sets up the plan of the city, looking for the famous sights of Venice, visitors are faced with the offer of a multitude of products to tourists, as objects of glass and Venetian masks. In Venice, and the same in Amsterdam and probably in many other touristic spots, the countless broadcast and advertising of a variety of commercial products for tourists cause a trivialization of symbolic and representative images of the cities.

Trade activities and services geared to tourism in Venice are the contemporary content of the "relic-city", where even the physiological needs of the people must be paid, since it´s charged for using the public toilets, under the argument of the increased maintenance costs caused by the flow of visitors. Actually, the maintenance costs of the city are paid by its residents, those individuals that tourists do not seem to realize they exist, except when they interact with workers who provide tourism services. In addition of paying for the maintenance of the city, which is much more enjoyed by tourists, residents pay for oversized touristic prices when purchasing the products for the day to day, like rent or food. The city government has some awareness of this situation, since there are different prices for residents and tourists in some services and products, such as public transport, submitting the resident, sometimes a person who was born and raised in Venice, to the obligatoriness of proving that is actually a resident of the city.

In our view, the production of touristic spaces of consumption implies in a distortion of genuine identity of cities, and sometimes resulting difficulties for its residents, within a market logic which reproduces a trend of homogenization of the activity. A pattern of modernization, imposed by the international market, consolidates tourism products as less and less unique, giving the tourists something they can find anywhere, and thus contradicting the very essence of tourism, which is the possibility of emerging in different places and cultures. In order to attract tourists and investments, cities transfigure its own identities and transform its spaces, believing that tourism can promote social and economic development based on desired internalization of the profits generated by tourism. However, considering the contemporary forms of economic internationalization, through technical networks, can be said that the internalization of profits from tourism is only relative, because there are mechanisms for retention and transfer of incomes in the places where the control of economic activity is. Part of the income on the sale of touristic products, which happens in the places of tourists' issuance, is retained in those places, being sent to the touristic locality itself only the portion of the services costs provided there.

By boosting only relatively the local economy through the services, the touristic production brings other contradictions, such as the reproduction of standardized spaces "directors" of consumption that, as they are for the exclusive use of those who can consume, establish a spatial segregation, often in traditional public spaces of cities. According to Steven Flusty (quoted in Bauman, 1999, p. 28), traditional public spaces are increasingly being supplanted by private spaces of private production (often with public subsidies) of private ownership and management, for public reunion, that is, "spaces of consumption". In this sense, we can consider that, in addition of being directors, many of the touristic spaces of consumption are "liminals", according to Zukin (1993, p. 41) insofar as they establish distinct spatial experiences to its users, notably among tourists (consumers), workers (service providers) and residents. Thus, mixing consumption, work and leisure, there is an overlap of functions in the same space, implying other issues involving the public administration, which has historically conceived zones of rigid use and of inflexible limits to the cities.

The traditional public spaces of the cities have adequate characteristics for the production of spaces dedicated to consumption, because they have an inherent power of touritic attraction, established by its historical function of public reunion, as well because they have, often, the historical-symbolic elements of the city, such as palaces, castles, gardens, ecc. A productive conception is applied to these spaces, organizing it in order to target tourists to consumption, making many of the old buildings of the cities become places of paid visitation like museums, exhibitions and events, or even shopping centers. Santos (2002, p. 43) makes use of the metaphor "rugosity" of space to explain the dynamics of forms inherited from the past that assume other functions to attend the needs of present, and thus serve as a precondition for the production.

However, tourism does more than designate other functions for forms inherited from the past, it also uses the most modern techniques to produce a space destined to consumption, especially in urban areas, because in them there is a greater density of the technical, scientific and informational elements. According to Lefebvre (2000, p. 93), social space is produced and reproduced in connection with the productive forces that, in their development, do not settle in "neutral" or "empty" spaces, but in spaces that contain a diversity of natural and social objects, including networks and pathways that facilitate the exchange of information and materials. Nowadays, with the exchange of information establishing hegemony by telematic networks, the production of space is increasingly determined by who has access to information and, more importantly, for those who produce and distribute information.

In the case of tourism, production and distribution of information turn ruthlessly for market, using network communication system to target tourists to consumption in cities. Far beyond the use of *websites* promoting and selling products, the production of tourism turns to the use of digital communication technologies, such as distribution of information by mobile phone messages that are sent to the user when he goes through somewhere in the city. By combining technologies such as GPS (Global Position System) and mobile telephony, people can be "screened" in their ways and according to their geographical location, can search and receive information about points of interest (and also where to consume) in the area where they are in the moment. Thus, communication can influence people's mobility, making the city set up more and more as a territory, where some use and control space, while others are used and controlled by him.

These contemporary forms of communication emerge from other mechanisms of control and social surveillance, organizing people's lives in order to establish a conduct for them. According to Zukin (2005, p. 28-29), the spaces of consumption, beyond delineate a corporate landscape of power, discipline our bodies and our minds, "putting us in our place", because we are limited by automatic services and immobilized by reward gifts of credit cards companies or frequent buyers cards. This mode of discipline is also a strategy of turistic production that, even suggesting the use of custom guides prepared by the tourists themselves in the virtual space of the *websites*, are nothing more than a personal choice of attractions previously selected by the *tour* promoters. Despite the discourse of interactivity and free-will ("you choose what to do"), there is no room for imagination and spontaneity, because the development of a personal guide is like a multiple choice questionnaire, ie who fills it are limited to a very precise and fixed alternatives.

The *tour* promoters select, produce and communicate the information interesting to corporations and, thus, make tourism an increasingly important subsystem of our society of controlled consumption, which has the every day life in the domain of organizations, and is the space-time of voluntary programed self-regulation, in the sense of a satisfaction of needs that can be paid (LEFEBVRE, 1978, p. 96). To the author, advertising provides an ideology of consumption based on the imaginary existence of things, what implies the overlapped rhetoric and poetry in the act of consuming, covering and dissimulating the relations of production.

In contemporary tourism, the intended disruption with everyday life by traveling is nothing but a schedule of consumption driven by communications and advertising in controlled spaces of exclusive use that challenge the political and technical order, in the sense of dealing with alienation and socio-spatial segregation. A challenge that passes, in the understanding of Lefebvre, through the criticism and rejection of the "quotidianness" and the proposition of urban models that conceive a social appropriation of time, space, physiological life and desire, moving us away from the "misery of the habitat" that the organized everyday life submits us.

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