

CADERNOS EBAPE.BR

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ISSN: 1679-3951

Fundação Getúlio Vargas, Escola Brasileira de  
Administração Pública e de Empresas

Terci, Eliana Tadeu

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Piracicaba entre o empresariamento urbano e o Estatuto da Cidade

Cadernos EBAPE.BR, vol. 16, núm. 3, 2018, Julho-Setembro, pp. 456-468

Fundação Getúlio Vargas, Escola Brasileira de Administração Pública e de Empresas

DOI: 10.1590/1679-395166549

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# Urban processes and local management: the cases of Ribeirão Preto and Piracicaba, between the urban entrepreneurship and the City Statute

ELIANA TADEU TERCÍ<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> UNIVERSIDADE DE SÃO PAULO (USP) / ESCOLA SUPERIOR DE AGRICULTURA “LUIZ DE QUEIROZ”, PIRACICABA - SP, BRAZIL

## Abstract

This article is the result of a comparative study of urban processes in municipalities in the interior of the state of São Paulo since the City Statute (Federal Law 10,257 of 2001, which regulates articles 182 and 183 of the Federal Constitution of 1988, related to urban policy). The main variables in the study are: (i) the urban impacts of the production restructuring of the sugarcane agroindustry and (ii) the actions of the public and private actors in the urban configuration and city management. The process of financialization of the world economy since 1990 imposed the reduction of the State, intensified international competitiveness, promoting a broad process of production restructuring and the internationalization of the Brazilian agribusiness, impacting the territories integrating the commodities production chains. The cities became protagonists and their advantage in terms of location has been used by the public and private sectors in order to attract business characterizing urban entrepreneurship. Concomitantly, the implementation of the City Statute subordinated urban dynamics to the social function of property and to urban inclusion. This contradiction is analyzed using as reference two municipalities located in two sugarcane regions of the state of São Paulo: Piracicaba (older city) and Ribeirão Preto (more dynamic) analyzing data from the last decades. Through the analysis of demographic, socioeconomic and public spending data, it was found that urban entrepreneurship has been the hallmark of municipal management, ignoring the City Statute and the regulation established by the master plans, which have been systematically modified to meet the economic imperatives and real estate expansion.

**Keywords:** City Statute. Sugarcane agroindustry. Urban management.

## *Processos urbanos e gestão local: os casos de Ribeirão Preto e Piracicaba entre o empresariamento urbano e o Estatuto da Cidade*

### Resumo

Este artigo resulta de estudo comparativo de processos urbanos no interior paulista a partir da vigência do Estatuto da Cidade (Lei Federal n. 10.257/2001, marco regulatório dos artigos 182 e 183 da Constituição Federal de 1988). Consideram-se variáveis principais: i) os impactos urbanos da reestruturação produtiva da agroindústria canieira; e ii) as ações dos grupos privados e do poder público municipal na configuração urbana e na gestão da cidade. O processo de financeirização da economia mundial, hegemônico desde 1990, impôs a redução do Estado, acirrou a competitividade internacional, resultando em amplo processo de reestruturação produtiva e na internacionalização do agronegócio brasileiro, impactando fortemente as localidades integradas pelas cadeias produtivas das *commodities*. As cidades assumiram protagonismo, tendo suas vantagens locais largamente utilizadas pelo poder público e pelos grupos privados na atração dos negócios, caracterizando o *empresariamento urbano*. Paradoxalmente, a implantação do Estatuto da Cidade subordinou a dinâmica urbana à função social da propriedade e à inclusão urbana. Essa contradição foi analisada tomando como referências dois municípios sedes de regiões canieiras paulistas: Piracicaba (mais antiga) e Ribeirão Preto (mais dinâmica) nas últimas décadas. Por meio da análise dos dados demográficos, socioeconômicos e do gasto público, constatou-se que o *empresariamento urbano* tem sido a marca das gestões municipais, à revelia dos parâmetros estabelecidos pelo Estatuto da Cidade e da regulamentação estabelecida pelos planos diretores, que têm sido sistematicamente modificados para atender aos imperativos econômicos e da expansão imobiliária.

**Palavras-chave:** Estatuto da cidade. Agroindústria canieira. Gestão urbana.

## *Procesos Urbanos y Gestión Local: los casos de Ribeirão Preto y Piracicaba entre el empresariado urbano y el Estatuto de la Ciudad*

### Resumen

El artículo resulta de un estudio comparativo de los procesos urbanos del interior paulista a partir de la entrada en vigor del Estatuto de la Ciudad (Ley Federal 10.257 de 2001, marco regulatorio de los artículos 182 y 183 de la Constitución Federal de 1988). Se consideran variables principales: (i) los impactos urbanos de la reestructuración productiva de la agroindustria de caña de azúcar y (ii) las acciones de los grupos privados y del poder público municipal en la configuración urbana y en la gestión de la ciudad. El proceso de financiarización de la economía mundial, hegemónico desde 1990, impuso la reducción del Estado e intensificó la competitividad internacional, lo que resultó en un proceso de reestructuración productiva y en la internacionalización del agronegocio brasileño, que tuvieron gran impacto en las localidades integradas en las cadenas de suministro de productos básicos. En esta coyuntura, las ciudades asumieron protagonismo y sus ventajas de localización han sido utilizadas en la atracción de negocios lo que ha caracterizado el *empresariamiento urbano*. Paradójicamente, la implantación del Estatuto de la Ciudad ha subordinado la dinámica urbana a la inclusión urbana. Esa contradicción se analizó tomando como referencia dos municipios sedes de regiones de caña de azúcar de São Paulo: Piracicaba (más antigua) y Ribeirão Preto (más dinámica) en las últimas décadas. Al analizar datos demográficos, socioeconómicos y del gasto público se constató que el *empresariamiento urbano* caracterizó las gestiones municipales, contrariando el Estatuto de la Ciudad y los planes maestros que han sido sistemáticamente modificados para cumplir con los imperativos de la economía y de la expansión inmobiliaria.

**Palabras clave:** Estatuto de la Ciudad. Agroindustria de caña de azúcar. Gestión urbana.

Article submitted on March 2, 2017 and accepted for publication on November 14, 2017.

[Translated version] Note: All quotes in English translated by this article's translator.

The article presents the results of the research project CNPQ 444106/2015-4, entitled Urban Planning and Contemporary Development in the interior of São Paulo: a comparative study on the cities of Ribeirão Preto and Piracicaba [2000-2015], under the coordination of the author.

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/1679-395166549>

## INTRODUCTION

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This article uses a comparative perspective to analyze contemporary processes of urban development in two cities of the interior of São Paulo – Ribeirão Preto and Piracicaba. The main variables considered are: i) the urban impacts of the production restructuring of the sugarcane agro-industry; and ii) the actions of the private groups and the municipal government in the urban configuration and in the management of the city.

The period considered in the study (2001-2017) starts with the legislation regarding the Statute of the City (Federal Law 10,257 of 2001, which regulates articles 182 and 183 of the Federal Constitution of 1988), which extended the prerogatives of municipalities and subordinated the urban dynamics to the social function of property, determining the obligation of elaborating and/or reviewing participatory urban development plans for cities with over 20 thousand inhabitants (BRASIL, 2002).

The municipalities of Ribeirão Preto and Piracicaba were chosen because of the roles they perform in terms of urban network. They are cities of peculiar historical roots that were consolidated as centers in the regions they are located, and their development was determined by the expansion of sugarcane agro-industry in substitution of coffee and by the formation of a strong metal-mechanical nucleus that supported the sugar and ethanol industry of the state of São Paulo, which is polarized by the two regions – one where Piracicaba is situated, which is the oldest, and the region where Ribeirão Preto is situated, which is more modern (BAENINGER, ZULLO JUNIOR, AIDAR et al., 2013; TERCI, BILAC, VIEIRA et al., 2005). Currently, they are home to two recently institutionalized urban agglomerations – the Metropolitan Region of Ribeirão Preto (2016) and the Piracicaba Urban Agglomeration (2012).

The theoretical-methodological aspect of this work included collection, classification and analysis of secondary data on the dynamics of urban and regional development and public finances of both cities from different sources – Database of the Institute of Applied Economic Research (IPEADATA), the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), the State System of Data Analysis (SEADE), the Housing Union of the State of São Paulo (SECOVI) and municipal governments; for the analysis of the master plans processes, the study used collections available on the websites of the Municipality of Ribeirão Preto and the Institute of Research and Planning of Piracicaba (IPPLAP) – an agency linked to the municipal government, responsible for the management of Piracicaba's master plan<sup>1</sup> – as well as articles published in local and regional press. In addition, a literature review was carried out on the interiorization of the agribusiness production development and restructuring in the context of financialization of the economy, a collection that incorporates academic work from different areas of knowledge (urbanism, economics, political science, geography, sociology). The following hypothesis was adopted: in a context of progressive liberalization and the collapse of the developmental pattern, the emptying of state leadership and the absence of urban and regional development policies, municipalities took up the challenge of re-adjusting their structures of production, aiming to attract private enterprises, adopting the model of urban entrepreneurship, contrary to the guidelines of the Statute of the City.

The article is organized as follows: i) analysis of the context in which changes in the national economy took place, especially the process of restructuring and internationalization of agribusiness with the commodity boom; the policies of economic liberalization and the change of the cities' role; ii) interiorization of the development and the cities' role; the emergence of urban entrepreneurship and its influence in the context of production restructuring; iii) characterization of the empirical basis, of its history in the light of the methodological theoretical framework adopted; iv) comparative evaluation of the public finances of the cities; and finally v) concluding hypotheses are outlined based on this analysis.

## ECONOMIC DYNAMIC AND PRODUCTION OF URBAN SPACE

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The 1980s constituted a decisive inflection for Brazilian society and the Brazilian economy. On one hand, it was possible to observe the unbalanced process of redemocratization that succeeded the military regime and lasted for most of the decade, which

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<sup>1</sup>On both websites, it is possible to see the reports and documentation of the cities master plans processes, since their first drafts. The material is available at: <http://www.ribeiraopreto.sp.gov.br/splan/planod/i28planod.php>, for Ribeirão Preto; and available at: <http://ipplap.com.br/site/plano-diretor/>, for Piracicaba.

culminated in the Federal Constitution of 1988. On the other hand, those years revealed an authoritarian developmentalism sustained by a pattern of financing that resulted in an enormous fiscal crisis of the State, observed by uncontrollable public debts (internal and external) and accelerated inflation.

The 1990s were not encouraging, as the aggressive advance of neoliberalism rewarded the process of financialization of the economy and deregulation of the markets.

In this scenario, the reduction of the planning role of the State had become a condition for new flows of resources and external investments; the opening and production restructuring emerged as a determinant to reverse distortions of Brazilian developmentalism in the face of the new technology innovation agenda. Afterwards there was an intense dismantling of the State apparatus with privatization of main public enterprises that sustained the process of Brazilian industrialization, under the coordination of the National Bank for Economic and Social Development (BNDES).

The new millennium and the commodity boom pointed to a new direction. The new guidelines of the international labor division called for a promising concertation for “emerging” countries, especially the BRIC countries (Brazil, Russia, India and China): respecting the essential constraints – macroeconomic stability, stable institutions, trade and financial opening – the group could become, by 2050, a larger economic force than the group of the six largest world economies (G6), in terms of gross domestic product (GDP) measured in dollars, according to the study by Purushothaman and Wilson (2003).

In this scenario, Brazil held the position of a major agricultural exporter of food and energy, whose share of foreign trade increased from 2.43% in 1990-94 to 2.92% in 1995-98: using its advantage in terms of natural resources and an advanced research and development (R&D) system financed by the Brazilian Agricultural Research Corporation (Embrapa), the prospects for agribusinesses in meat, soybeans and sugarcane were the most promising.

This was the process of globalization of agribusiness (ELIAS, 2013, p. 14). The sector has been in the sights of the international capital movement and has become a welcome field for direct investment. The data are surprising: for soy industry (grain, bran and oil), multinationals Bunge, ADM, Dreyfus and Amaggi dominate “50% of the oilseed crushing capacity; 65% of national fertilizer production; 80% of the volume of financing released by the trading to the cultivation of grain; 85% of soybeans produced in the country; 95% of exports *in natura*; and 8.1% of national exports” (PASTRE, 2015, p. 3-4).

In the sugarcane agro-industry, the situation is no different: while in 2003 there was only 4% of foreign investment, in 2008 this participation increased to 12.4% and to 25.6% by mid-2010. Among these groups are Bunge and Dreyfus, active in soy industry; multinational fuel companies such as Shell; investment funds such as Arion Capital and Clean Energy; in addition to groups operating in several segments such as Cargil, Tereos Internacional, UMEIO Bioenergy, ETH Bioenergia (OLIVEIRA, 2013).

The conduct of the agro-exporting companies shows that Brazil has expanded its insertion in the globalized agribusiness production chains through mergers and incorporations, strengthening ties with national companies. This allowed to “greatly expand the area planted in the Amazon and Cerrado biomes, control costs, ensuring predictability in the quality and quantity of raw material, rapidly disseminating technological innovations and minimizing their transaction costs, strengthening their hierarchical positions and expanding their scope and investment capacity” (PASTRE, 2015, p. 2).

Moreover, in the wave of the globalized agribusiness, production was expanded throughout the territory, in response to the formation of agricultural production networks (RPA), whose vectors were industrial decentralization; the fiscal war promoted by the federated units to attract investment; the production specialization of the territory; the diffusion of the new economic agents and the agriculture production restructuring. In the RPA, large corporations are the largest producers of urban and rural space, changing the rural-urban relationship and urbanization, since productive chains require procedures that occur in the urban space and respond to specific functions, such as the creation of infrastructure for distribution, management and reproduction of the workforce, and formulation and implementation of public policies. “Thus, local and regional scales are permanently linked to the international and the territory is organized on the basis of market impositions, guided by large national and multinational companies” (ELIAS, 2013, p. 155).

In addition to these transformations, it is worth highlighting the energy policy that favors the sugarcane agro-industrial complex, as another fundamental determinant of regional and urban socioeconomic dynamics. Defined as a strategy to

replace petroleum-based fuels on a large scale, ethanol received special attention from the government between 1975-79. The National Ethanol Program (*Proálcool*) – Decree n. 76,593 of 14 November 1975 – created under the II National Development Plan (II PND), originated an engine that could work with the new fuel in that period affected with the oil crises. Between 1975 and 2000, about 5.6 million vehicles were produced with hydrated ethanol and the demand for gasoline was reduced by the addition of anhydrous ethanol in an additional 10 million vehicles. Since then, the sector and the program have experienced ups and downs, either because of the successive shortages that occurred whenever sugar prices (ethanol competitor) rose in the commodity market, or because of price fluctuations of petroleum products that made gasoline cheaper, or as a consequence of the neoliberal orientation that led to the deactivation of *Proálcool* in the midst of the process of the reduction of the in the 1990s.

The recovery of the sugarcane complex started in 2000 was due to the foreign exchange liberalization, the rise in international sugar prices and the privileged position that ethanol occupied in the Brazilian government's energy policy from 2003 to 2008, during the mandate of President Lula. The policy prioritized the sugarcane biofuels program with particular attention to ethanol. The success was completed with the adoption of the bi-fuel engine (2003), which eliminated the risk of fuel shortage.

The expansion of the industry was as much in the planted area, whose "sea of sugar cane" extrapolated the borders of the state of São Paulo, reaching 9 million hectares in all, as in production units with the emergence of new sugar and ethanol plants, totaling 400 companies (KOGA-VICENTE, ZULLO JUNIOR and AIDAR, 2013).

The efforts focused on the construction of a functional, harmonious and consensual environment, in order to highlight "urban and regional spaces capable of [jumping] scales (from the local to the global), entering and connecting with globalized networks and flows" (BRANDÃO, 2014, p. 39). This policy re-defined the urban theme: the recurrent problems of disordered growth, the collective goods, housing, and real estate speculation, gave way to urban marketing, the main planning tool, since "the external market and, in particular, the market built by the large capital's demand for localization is what qualifies the city as a commodity" (VAINER, 2000, p. 76). Analyzing this context, Harvey (1996)<sup>2</sup> identifies the emergence of a new approach in urban management. For the author, with the advancement of practices related to what he calls urban entrepreneurship, cities start to be valued for their entrepreneurial profile. Such practices have been disseminated due to the absence of centralized coordination, which leads to a process of fragmentation of the national space, as – considering the context of internationalization – dynamic regions and their central cities prioritize the direct connection with international economy, breaking old ties of production complementarity. Federal programs, like the Growth Acceleration Program (PAC), corroborate this trend unintentionally, considering the support given to production arrangements with a view to consolidating the exporting clusters (ROLNIK and KLINK, 2011).

As a result, an intense process of competition between cities to attract investment, especially from transnational corporations, was launched, promoting an 'auction' of localization: "the old ideas of planning and development were replaced by the policies of the '*Arranjos Produtivos Locais*' or Local Production Arrangements (APL), a name invented in Brazil to replace, in a fragile way, the idea of clusters or industrial districts" (CANO, BRANDÃO, MACIEL et al., 2007, p. 38).

Paradoxically, however, the implementation of the new regulatory framework of urban management occurred at the same moment. After 12 years of proceedings in the National Congress, the Statute of the City (Federal Law 10,257/2001) was sanctioned by the President, assigning the urban planning to municipal governments and to the federal government the responsibility of establishing guidelines and producing legislation regarding the intervention in the spaces. The central factor established by the Federal Constitution of 1988 was the principle of the social function of cities and property, "the recognition of the property rights of millions of people living in the *favelas* and in impoverished peripheral areas in cities all over the country and the introduction of strategies for these citizens' direct participation in the decision-making processes on this policy" (ROLNIK, 2009, p. 31).

In order to carry out this new urban legal framework, municipalities would need to elaborate and/or revise their master plans with objectives focusing on the issues effectively related to the production of urban space, respecting the social function of the city. Moreover, Article 40 of the Statute of the City defines the master plan as a "basic instrument of urban development policy" (BRASIL, 2002, p. 40). Adopting an innovative approach, the Statute of the City avoids the technocratic vices observed

<sup>2</sup>Although the author refers to what happened in developed countries, it is possible to identify great similarities to the case of Brazil.

in the previous master plans that, according to Villaza (2004), were technical documents that functioned more as ideology than as directing instruments for urban development policies.

Under the City Statute, the master plan should be an instrument to comply with basic constitutional precepts, such as quality of life, social justice, universalization of urban services, democratic management, social function of property, social and, above all, popular participation. Its biggest challenge: to combat real estate speculation and guarantee access to urbanized land to the poorest strata of the population (BASSUL, 2002; BUENO, 2007; BRASIL, 2002).

Thus, it is important to highlight the contradictions between the parameters of the Statute of the City and the practices of urban entrepreneurship in the management of the municipalities in the state of São Paulo in recent years.

## INTERIORIZATION OF THE ECONOMY OF THE STATE OF SÃO PAULO AND THE ROLE OF THE CITIES

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The interior of the state of São Paulo is the second economic force in Brazil. According to data from the State Service of Data Analysis (Seade), in 2010 this region's share of the Brazilian gross domestic product (GDP) was 15%, almost half of the contribution of the state of São Paulo (44%) to national GDP. The territorial configuration that gave this region such an economic force goes back to the peak of the coffee agro-export economy, exogenously conditioned by international trade. In view of the external flow, the expansion of the coffee industry promoted dramatic regional integration, transforming the interior of the state of São Paulo into a large economic industry that involves coffee and food crops, railroads, banks and urban centers nationally renowned. The process of further industrialization privileged the coffee region and, in addition to eliminating external dependence, resulted in a dramatic economic and demographic concentration in the São Paulo Metropolitan Region (RMSP) in the 1970s. With around 6 million inhabitants (73.2% of the population of the São Paulo Metropolitan Region), the city of São Paulo was an emblematic example of what has come to be called "urban chaos": enormous population density, *favelização* (slumization), degradation of the environment and of public services (CANO, BRANDÃO, MACIEL et al., 2007).

The concern to reverse this situation materialized in the 1970s, with the policies of regional deconcentration proposed in the II PND, whose strategy involved the articulation of specific policies in the three spheres of the executive branch. It was considered successful, as it resulted in the decrease of participation of the metropolitan region industrial sector, from 43.5% in 1970 to 26% in 1990. The most significant development of the process was the expansion of the industry in the interior of the state, which already had a network of urban centers, a promising industrial development, logistics infrastructure and research and teaching centers in several cities, forming a favorable environment (CANO, 1998).

Ribeirão Preto and Piracicaba, among other municipalities, were privileged by the policies of the II PND, through the allocation of investments of the Program for Medium Cities, in compliance with the purpose of the state government to leverage urban and regional development, aiming to promote private investments in the municipalities of the interior of the state of São Paulo (SOUZA, 2004).

The creation of *Proálcool* was another initiative that promoted the development of the interior of the state of São Paulo. Through the granting of credit and subsidies, the program stimulated the installation of ethanol distilleries and had an important upstream effect, positively affecting the metal-mechanical sector, producer of machinery and equipment for sugar and ethanol companies (TERCI, 2009).

As a result, the region consolidated as an economic force and an attractive area for investments in search of alternatives in face of the agglomeration diseconomies represented by the metropolises: between 1970 and 2003, while RMSP's share in Brazilian industry declined from 43.5% to 17%, the interior of the state continued to increase its relative weight, rising from 14.7% to 27% (CANO, 2007).

### Ribeirão Preto and Piracicaba

Ribeirão Preto and Piracicaba are municipalities with a strong tradition in sugarcane production and very high urban concentration. Piracicaba is the oldest sugarcane region in the state, has an estimated population of 380,494 inhabitants (2016), an urbanization rate of 98% (Seade) and is home to an expressive metal-mechanical cluster. Ribeirão Preto has an estimated population of 654,893 inhabitants (2016) and presents an expressive urbanization rate of 99.72% (Seade). The city



is the center of the largest sugar and ethanol producing region in the world, with 21 of its plants among the region's main economic drives, strengthening the regional industry complex formed by machinery and equipment companies. The privileged location and the modern urban structure have made Ribeirão Preto a thriving business center.

In addition to the temporalities (BAENINGER, ZULLO JUNIOR, AIDAR et al., 2013), the particular characteristics of sugarcane cities are related to the roles they play in the urban agglomeration they represent: production in the oldest region that dates back to the Sugarcane Cycle of São Paulo during the 17th century (PETRONE, 1968), Piracicaba developed an important productive industry linked to the sugarcane agroindustry, becoming a supplier of machinery and equipment to the sector thanks to the metal-mechanical cluster constituted in the 1920s. Ribeirão Preto, a municipality well known for its coffee production, was transformed after the 1930s crisis and sugarcane was an appropriate option for the concentrated land structure and incentives granted by the Sugar and Ethanol Institute (IAA – created in 1933). The formation of the sugarcane AIC in Ribeirão Preto, however, consolidated in the 1970s with the creation of the *Proálcool* program, which leveraged the new metal-mechanical cluster and promoted the region as the state's main sugar and ethanol producer in the 1990s.

In the modern region, the industrial complex would develop a peculiar situation that Pires (1996) described as “satellization”: an organization from which the various municipalities perform different roles and activities, polarized by Ribeirão Preto (regional point of reference and business and services center) and Sertãozinho (metal-mechanical center, producer of equipment).

The effects of this enormous impulse were diverse: consolidation of the sugarcane monoculture, land concentration, intensification of the rural exodus and the employment of temporary workers in sugarcane plantations. The intense migration of the poor to these regions in search of opportunities in sugarcane plantations and/or in plants and factories provoked an unprecedented demographic increase, contributing to the expansion and peripheralization of the cities: in 1979, Piracicaba had 23 *favelas* with a population of 10,000 people; in 1993, there were 53 *favelas* and 22,000 inhabitants, about 10% of the population of the municipality (SIQUEIRA, 1993). For Ribeirão Preto, the data registered 14 *favelas* in 1989 and 820 households, reaching 17 *favelas* and 1,333 households by 1990 (PIRES, 1996).

The process of moving the industry to the interior was another phenomenon that contributed to the transformation of these cities in the period between 1970-1985. The fact that the municipalities are served by the most modern highways of the state of São Paulo linking them to the capital (Piracicaba via the Luiz de Queiroz Highway and the highway system Anhanguera-Bandeirantes and Ribeirão Preto via the Anhanguera Highway), reinforces the preference of the industries for these cities. The industries also counted on federal investments and incentives from local governments, mainly in land concession, tax exemption and provision of basic infrastructure in the areas destined to the industrial districts: by means of Municipal Law no. 2,564, dated 8 December 1971, Ribeirão Preto created its industrial district by the Anhanguera Highway and by the Ring Road North; Piracicaba, through Municipal Law n. 2,039, dated 6 September 1973, created the East Industrial Unit (Unileste) (TERCI, BILAC, VIEIRA et al., 2005).

The process of restructuring agribusiness has reinforced the role of these cities. Ribeirão Preto has established itself as the center for technical, financial and commercial services of the most modern segment of sugarcane AIC, hosting organizations and institutions of strategic operation and management, such as the multi-modal terminal of the Brazilian Sugarcane Industry Association (Unica): “the growth of interest and investment in the 2000s, accentuates its characteristics of an urban center that connects the territory of sugarcane” (OLIVEIRA, 2013, p. 93). The industrial segment of sugarcane AIC is located in Sertãozinho, a city bordering Ribeirão Preto, with 6 plants, as well as several machinery and equipment manufacturing industries such as Caldema, Fundação Moreno and Camaq (OLIVEIRA, 2013).

The Piracicaba region, although traditional and older, cannot be considered behind, as the regional center in the city of Piracicaba is an important center of research and technical, commercial and financial services, as well as housing a powerful metal-mechanical cluster “counting on a large national company (Dedini S/A Indústria de Base), several large and small companies (Mausa, NG, Conger, CSj Metalúrgica) and the presence of foreign companies (Ethanol Systems, Bosch Engenharia)” (OLIVEIRA FILHO, 2013, p. 272). In addition, it houses one of the largest sugarcane processing plants, the Costa Pinto S/A, of the Raízen Group, and has a large sugarcane crop in its vast territory (about 50 thousand ha).

At the local level, corporations sought to broaden their influence on economic policy and planning decisions by working in partnership with public authorities, universities, and research and teaching institutes to enable business activities, aiming to enhance the positive externalities of the industrial agglomeration. In Piracicaba, the creation of the Ethanol Production Arrangement (Apla) is illustrative. Created by a partnership between the Ministry of Development, Industry and Foreign Trade (MDIC), the São Paulo state government and the municipality of Piracicaba, the initiative gathers distilleries, industries and

research centers. Launched in 2006 and officially inaugurated in April 2007, Apla covers 25 municipalities of the state of São Paulo and aims to find opportunities to leverage the production chain of the sugar and ethanol industry, reducing production costs and increasing the competitiveness of associated companies (MASQUIETTO, SACOMANO NETO and GIULIANI, 2010).

It is possible to observe other initiatives being developed. In spite of the unpromising economic situation, a group of institutions formed by the “Luiz de Queiroz” School of Agriculture of the University of São Paulo (ESALQ/USP), government departments and businesspeople, launched the AgTechValley project, or *Vale do Piracicaba*, intending to create a kind of “Silicon Valley” of agribusiness.

Ribeirão Preto also inaugurated its technology park in March 2014 (*Supera Parque*) in a partnership between the *Fundação Instituto Polo Avançado de Saúde* (FIPASE), the University of São Paulo (USP), the municipality of Ribeirão Preto and the Secretariat of Development of the State of São Paulo and includes a business incubator, a technology center and a business center. Located at the University of São Paulo (USP) in Ribeirão Preto, in an area of about 300,000 m<sup>2</sup>, *Supera Parque* aims to “attract companies that carry out research and development (R&D) and invest in innovative products and processes in the areas of biotechnology, information technology and bioenergy, that are part of the Health Industrial Complex” (USP, 2014). The management of *Supera Parque* is conducted by FIPASE, created in 2001 by the municipal government to promote local and regional socioeconomic development by supporting technology-based companies.

The entrepreneurship of the city orchestrated by these partnerships dramatically impacts the production of urban land and municipal revenues. These kinds of initiative promote the increase of real estate projects, as examined below, taking as reference the behavior of public spending to verify to what extent the municipal government collaborated in these urban processes, seeking to understand the scope of the planning and management instruments of the territory.

## URBAN MANAGEMENT: BETWEEN ENTREPRENEURISM AND THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE CITY STATUTE

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A context of liberalism advocating for a minimum state, deregulation of markets and the pressure from international competition that influence the design of the cities are the elements that have prevailed in a scenario of low growth, demanding an entrepreneurial profile from local governments. This trend suggests it is necessary to work in the perspective of the “urban governance”, an orientation in which

[...] the political dimension of the government dwindles away from the ideology of urban management, merges with the lucrative business administration of the city and establishes new regulations, as well as institutionalizing processes of expulsion of residents and socio-spatial segregation as norm and sense of the actions of a public-private administration of the city (CARLOS, VOLOCHKO and ALVAREZ, 2015, p. 10).

Mayors’ entrepreneurship can be identified in the new production arrangements that have invariably been led by public managers, with huge investment in urban infrastructure, especially in mobility<sup>3</sup>. Piracicaba has become a real ‘construction site’ in recent years, with works to improve streets and avenues, building bridges and flyovers (especially after the creation of an automotive park for the installation of a Hyundai unit).

Thus, the examination of the municipal public expenditure illustrates the priorities established by the municipal governments. In the municipal finances, the item ‘investment’ is highlighted, and it is the only one with available data allowing analysis since 1980 (Figure 1).

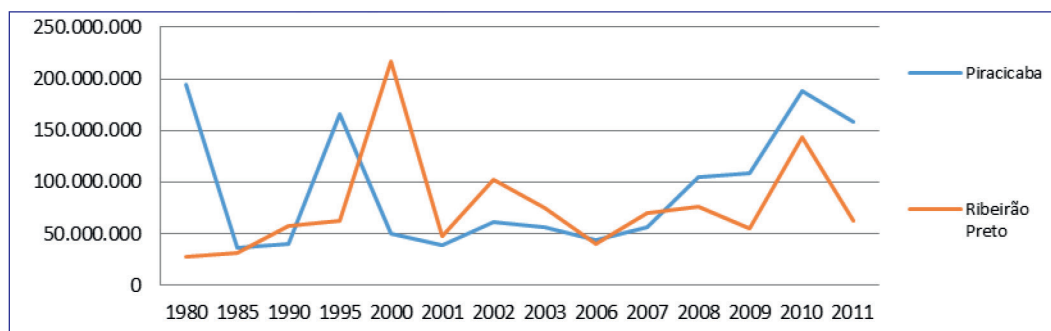
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<sup>3</sup>In a competitive environment, Castells and Borja (1996) found that the actions of public managers should be similar to the actions of business managers.



Figure 1

Piracicaba e Ribeirão Preto: evolutions of municipally expenditures with investments



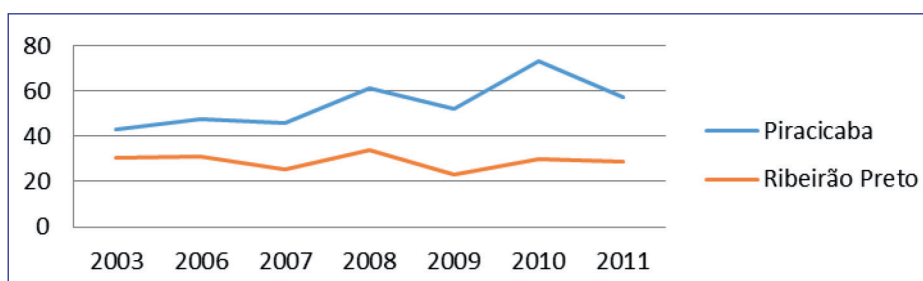
Source: Elaborated by the author.

The data show urban entrepreneurship as a management strategy of both municipalities from the 1990s, with economic opening and production restructuring. The drop in investments between 1980 and 1985 in Piracicaba is indicative of the economic crisis that the municipality faced with the deactivation of the *Proálcool* program. The recovering occurred only after the restructuring of the sugar and ethanol industry and peaked in 1995 before returning to the levels of 1985. As of 2006, the investments resumed an upward movement, surpassing the peak of 1995. Such investments are related to large-scale works on the road infrastructure of Piracicaba, as well as the facilities of the industrial districts, the Automotive Center and the Technology Park.

In Ribeirão Preto, the peak of investments occurred in 2000, after the liberalization of the foreign exchange rate. As a result, the pace was up and down, with a peak in 2010, when three major real estate investments were announced in the city: i) the installation of a branch of the Sam's Club/Walmart; ii) two projects of *Halna Empreendimentos*, one industrial condominium (*CLB Ribeirão Preto*) and the *Centro Profissional Ribeirão Shopping/Multiplan* connected to *Ribeirão Preto Shopping Iguatemi*, a multipurpose complex that combines commercial and residential developments with shopping mall operations; and iii) *Park X - Halna Empreendimentos*, a major residential development.

Figure 2

Piracicaba and Ribeirão Preto: evolution of spending on urban management (percentage of current spending) between 2003 and 2011



Source: Elaborated by the author.

Spending on urban management is also revealing. The curves have practically the same design for the two municipalities, and Piracicaba allocates approximately twice as many resources as Ribeirão Preto. Inflection is observed in 2008, a year of international crisis, when Ribeirão Preto reached its highest level, while Piracicaba continued to expand with a peak in investments in 2010. These expenses are related to urban infrastructure in response to private investments.

It is in this context of great urban transformations that the process of urban development master plans happens as required by the City Statute.

The process of building Piracicaba's master plan, which was revised and approved in 2006, is indicative of the ineffectiveness of this urban policy instrument. Although it followed the determinants of the Statute of the City, a recent study (GOULART, TERCI and OTERO, 2013) identified that successive complementary laws (CL) compromised the main structuring axis of the plan, which had established the freezing of the urban perimeter in order to promote the occupation of empty land, that represented 50% of the territory in 2000. In view of real estate businesses' interests, this intention was systematically disregarded: between 2004 and 2010, the urban perimeter was expanded in eight opportunities, representing a growth of 32% and the urban voids increased to 52% of the perimeter. The main extensions were due to the industrial demands: CL n. 186/2006, which instituted the Northwest Industrial District in response to the implantation of a unit of the sugar and ethanol industry, and in 2008 in the northeast region for the implementation of the Piracicaba Automotive Park, denoting the entrepreneurship of urban management.

Reproducing the same dynamic, as soon as the *Vale do Piracicaba* project was publicized, a real estate company launched three residential developments, two of which targeting low income and one targeting high income buyers: "We had two lots to launch in 2018 because of the crisis, and we anticipated these because we knew that there was a demand for new housing with the installation of the agriculture center" (CARVALHO, 2016), commented the company's vice president.

Apart from the Special Zones of Social Interest (ZEIS), which are regulated by Municipal Law n°. 246/2009, in order to implement the federal government housing program *Minha Casa Minha Vida*, the main instruments of urban management were not regulated (exaction, Progressive Urban and Land Tax), which indicates that urban expansion did not respect the Statute of the City (GOULART, TERCI and OTERO, 2013).

In addition, the *Minha Casa Minha Vida* contributed to this trend of expansion. Data from research carried out by the Housing Union of the State of São Paulo (Secovi-SP) reveals that between 2013 and 2016, 8,102 residential units were made available and 5,378 units were sold, of which 69% refer to two-bedroom properties for low-income buyers. According to Piracicaba's director of Secovi-SP, much of this expansion is due to the *Minha Casa Minha Vida* program, which offers numerous financing advantages (SECOVI-SP, 2016). These developments have adopted a model of closed condominiums and they are dispersed in different regions. "The only element to establish an apparent impediment to the implementation of enterprises of this type is the concentration of the poor population in the immediate vicinity" (OTERO, 2017, p. 228).

Otero (2017, p. 230) warns that developments targeting high-income buyers have taken another direction as illustrated by the emblematic case of the *Reserva do Jequitibá*, sponsored by the Alphaville brand: a complex that includes residential spaces, public education institutions, a municipal incubator for companies, a bilingual private school, a hotel and high rises of shared offices by Raízen's headquarters, "a sugar and ethanol giant of which one of the partners owns land in the region [...] constitutes a new center gathering developments such as Alphaville, Villa D'Áquila and Villa Bela Vista, a complex range of equipment and services".

Beginning in August 2013, before even completing 10 years of approval of the new master plan, the Piracicaba Research and Planning Institute (IPPLAP) started a new review process, scheduled for completion in the first half of 2014. According to the IPPLAP, the main aspect to be reviewed refers to the insufficiency of the master plan as a management tool, due to the lack of regulation of the specific instruments that prevent self-applicability. This diagnosis was extracted from the research sponsored by the Ministry of Cities, carried out by the National Network of Evaluation and Training for the Implementation of Participatory Master Plans<sup>4</sup>. Another reference was CL n°. 1,178/2012 that created the Urban Agglomeration of Piracicaba as a regional unit part of the Macro-metropolis of the state of São Paulo (MMP), providing for the instrumentalization of the integrated public policies planning gathering municipalities and state government. A new moment of discussions about the city planning was inaugurated, in which the regulation of management instruments and the regional insertion of the city started to be considered<sup>5</sup>. The process is still inconclusive, while the production of the city follows at full speed.

<sup>4</sup>The research was supported by the Ministry of Labour (SANTOS JUNIOR and MONTADON, 2011).

<sup>5</sup>For more information, visit the IPPLAP website at: <<http://ipplap.com.br/site/plano-diretor/revisao-plano-diretor-2013/>>. Accessed on: 01 Dec. 2017.

The master plan of Ribeirão Preto, created in 1995 and amended in 2003, was re-sent to the City Council in 2013 to update and was rejected. Local press reports point out that the absence of public debate to guarantee the participatory nature of the process, according to the Statute of the City, generated all sorts of problems, and the councilors were pressured by the Public Prosecutor's Office and by civil society organizations (Industry Center of the State of São Paulo – CIESP – particularly the organizations branch in Ribeirão Preto) to reject the proposal. Two controversial points led to the plan's rejection: the first one was a parliamentary amendment (signed by 11 councilors) which, if approved, would allow for the real-estate exploration of an area of the Guarani Aquifer outcrop that supplies Ribeirão Preto and is considered to be the largest freshwater source in the world (CÂMARA, 2014). In fact, the control of soil occupation density in the Guarani aquifer recharge areas and in the drainage and sanitary sewer zones was included in the revision text of the 2013 master plan, as a guideline of the physical-territorial organization, whose axis of occupation states: "Art. 24, § 2 prioritize the occupation of urban voids in the 'Growth Rings' in ascending order from the distancing of the Ring Road defined in the *caput*, with criteria defined in the Environmental Code and in the Land Division, Use and Occupation Law" (RIBEIRÃO PRETO, 2014, p. 17).

The second controversial point was article 13 of the master plan which allows the executive branch to authorize "by exaction, the change from rural to urban use in areas of urban expansion outside the Ring Road, provided that the beneficiary provides a counterpart to be defined in a specific law" (RIBEIRÃO PRETO, 2014, p. 13). The argument was that the exaction was in violation of the Statute of the City, burdening the investor. Again, in December 2015, another revision attempt was rejected by the city council, due to the same controversy over preservation areas (TIENGO, 2015). With the rejection, the municipality may fail in fulfilling the legal requirement of reviewing the master plan every ten years, resulting in losing the right to receive transfers from the federal government.

However, the lack of regulation hinders the production of urban land as reported in a Study of the Real Estate Market of Ribeirão Preto, published by Secovi-SP (2015). The study shows, unlike Piracicaba, that 44% of residential units have two bedrooms, 36% have three bedrooms, 14% have four and only one unit development has one bedroom (representing 6% of the total). In addition, four and one bedroom developments are located in the most noble area of the city, while those with three and (mainly) two bedrooms are dispersed in the urban area, confirming the tendency towards the peripheralization of the low-income population in the process of urban land production.

The real estate expansion of Ribeirão Preto also relies on the performance of its main economic activities. In this sense, it is emblematic the recently launched project *Vitta Residencial* (VITTA RESIDENCIAL, 2016), incorporating several neighborhoods and residential and commercial developments. It aims to "reach students and health professionals, as well as entrepreneurs and agribusiness professionals. Included in the area of the development there are facilities and organizations such as the headquarters of University of São Paulo (USP), the Clinical Hospital, the Technology Park of Ribeirão Preto and an area of events (–Agrishow)". It promotes the creation of a new centrality, due to the construction of the shopping mall *Vila Planalto* and the Rubem Cione Ecological Park, designed to be the largest in the city. The venture has a partnership with the federal government's housing program *Minha Casa Minha Vida*.

Situations such as those reported here are common (BUENO, 2007) and highlight the difficulties faced in implementing the guidelines of the Statute of the City. Far from the consensus, it is possible to observe permanent tensions between economic and real estate interests and the aspiration, as advocated by the Statute of the City, to build an inclusive and environmentally sustainable city.

## FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

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In conclusion, it is worth reaffirming a research agenda that refers to the analytical dimensions reported here. The study explored the peculiarities of the development of Piracicaba and Ribeirão Preto, whose main comparative variable lies in the fact that they play a key role as central cities of two large regions of sugarcane complex, and therefore in the production and distribution networks of this globalized agribusiness. It is important to recognize that further research is needed, particularly on the characteristics and roles of the intraurban space of these cities, considering the different regional dynamics (BAENINGER, ZULLO JUNIOR, AIDAR et al., 2013). The evidence gathered, however, shows the protagonism these cities have been assuming in a context of fierce competition and the local public management has been compelled to urban entrepreneurship: considering the environment of retraction in the economic activity, scarce investments and reduction of the

participation of the national government in the local context, urban managements have taken advantage (or even produced) certain “differentials” of their localities in order to attract business, contributing to the fragmentation of space, the labor market, and society. It is remarkable how the old and persistent problems, especially those related to urban segregation, have been forgotten. As argued by Vainer (2000, p. 76, italic added):

[...] if during a long period the debate about the urban issue referred, among others, to topics such as disordered growth, reproduction of the workforce, collective consumption equipment, urban social movements, rationalization of land use, *the new urban issue*, would now have *urban competitiveness* as its central problem.

The drama of the most pressing and unresolved issue is highlighted: exclusion and segregation sponsored by the new urban entrepreneurship agenda stimulated by the demands of globalized agribusiness. The expansion and production of urban land since 1990 is characterized by the proliferation of residential and industrial condominiums, shopping malls, production arrangements, sponsored by real estate corporations. The growth of cities and their peripheralization (as happened with Piracicaba) is striking; the environmental impacts (as in Ribeirão Preto) and the flagrant contradictions with the urban development master plans, whose processes are still in progress and have not prevented the city's overwhelming production in order to meet the imperatives of real estate and economic activity.

The environmental and labor pressures, as well as the requirements for international certification related to the environmental and social sustainability of the sugarcane agro-industrial complex, have contributed to a negative change in the sector's production chain, reducing its liabilities, and reinforcing the idea of entrepreneurship that presides over urban governance by restricting the opportunities of building a city for everyone.

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Eliana Tadeu Terci

PhD in Social History from the University of São Paulo (USP); Professor at the ESALQ/USP, Piracicaba – SP, Brazil, E-mail: [etterci@usp.br](mailto:etterci@usp.br)