



Redes. Revista do Desenvolvimento Regional

ISSN: 1414-7106

ISSN: 1982-6745

revistaredes@unisc.br

Universidade de Santa Cruz do Sul

Brasil

Ribeiro Moreira Neto, Pedro; Gomes da Costa, Aline Cristina; Regina Zanetti, Valéria
National development policies and regional impacts: a study on São José dos Campos and Taubaté
Redes. Revista do Desenvolvimento Regional, vol. 26, 2021, January-December
Universidade de Santa Cruz do Sul
Santa Cruz do Sul, Brasil

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.17058/redes.v26i0.15606>

Available in: <https://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=552070455021>

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National development policies and regional impacts: a study on São José dos Campos and Taubaté

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Abstract

The national economic development policy of the first half of the 20th century promoted the third phase of industrialization in Brazil relying on the State's role in supporting infrastructure for municipalities with industrial inclination, highlighting the Vale do Paraíba region in the national economic scenario. This study aims to identify incentives for the boom of industrialization occurred along the axis of the President Dutra Highway in the period characterized as National Developmentalism and analyze how this change influenced the development of some municipalities whose urban structures and socio-spatial dynamics were modified to the point of occurring, from 1950, an inversion in the hierarchical polarization of the regional urban network. The study, with a descriptive and reflective historical character, was supported by specific bibliographical research on the region of the Vale do Paraíba along the period of Fordist industrial implantation, with emphasis on the municipalities of São José dos Campos and Taubaté. The central analysis aims to understand the urban spatial configuration between the 1950s and 1970s years when the municipality of São José dos Campos assume the regional hegemony, previously led by Taubaté.

Keywords: Vale do Paraíba. Industrialization. National Developmentalism. Urban Dynamic.

Políticas de desenvolvimento nacional e impactos regionais: um estudo sobre São José dos Campos e Taubaté

Resumo

A política nacional de desenvolvimento econômico da primeira metade do século XX contou com a atuação do Estado no subsídio de infraestrutura para municípios de inclinação industrial e promoveu a chamada terceira fase de industrialização no Brasil evidenciando a região do Vale do Paraíba no cenário econômico nacional. Este estudo visa identificar os incentivos para o intenso surto de industrialização que ocorreu no eixo da Rodovia Presidente Dutra no período caracterizado como Nacional Desenvolvimentismo e analisar de que forma tais ações influenciaram o desenvolvimento de municípios cujas estruturas urbanas e dinâmicas socioespaciais se modificaram, a ponto de provocar, a partir de 1950,

uma inversão na polarização hierárquica da rede urbana regional. O estudo, de caráter histórico descritivo e reflexivo foi amparado em pesquisa bibliográfica, em especial sobre a região do Vale do Paraíba Paulista no período da implantação industrial fordista, com destaque aos municípios de São José dos Campos e Taubaté. Visa-se entender a configuração urbana espacial durante as décadas de 1950 e 1970, quando o município de São José dos Campos passa a protagonizar a hegemonia regional, antes liderada por Taubaté.

Palavras-chave: Vale do Paraíba. Industrialização. Nacional Desenvolvimentismo. Dinâmica Urbana.

Políticas nacionales de desarrollo e impactos regionales: un estudio sobre São José dos Campos y Taubaté

Resumen

La política nacional desarrollista, de la primera mitad del siglo XX, al confiar el papel del Estado en el apoyo de la infraestructura para los municipios con inclinación industrial, promovió la llamada tercera fase de industrialización en Brasil, mostrando la región Vale do Paraíba en el escenario económico nacional. Este estudio tiene como objetivo identificar los incentivos para el despegue de la industrialización que se produjo a lo largo del eje de la carretera Presidente Dutra en el período caracterizado como desarrollismo nacional y analizar cómo estas acciones influyeron en el desarrollo de los municipios cuyas estructuras urbanas y dinámicas socioespaciales cambiaron, hasta el punto de que a partir de 1950, se produjo una inversión en la polarización jerárquica de la red urbana regional. El estudio, con un carácter histórico descriptivo y reflexivo, fue apoyado por la investigación bibliográfica, especialmente en la región del Vale do Paraíba, en São Paulo, durante el período de implantación industrial fordista, con énfasis en los municipios de São José dos Campos y Taubaté. El análisis central apunta a comprender la configuración espacial urbana durante las décadas de 1950 y 1970, cuando el municipio de São José dos Campos comenzó a liderar la hegemonía regional, anteriormente dirigida por Taubaté.

Palabras clave: Vale do Paraíba. Industrialización. El desarrollismo nacional. Dinámica urbana.

1 Urbanization and economic development in the Vale do Paraíba in São Paulo state

The Vale do Paraíba is one of the formerly occupied areas of the state of São Paulo, Brazil. In four centuries, its urbanization process was decisive in the occupation of the Brazilian Southeast; from the early days, urbanization, and maintenance of the mining region beyond the Mantiqueira mountains and the coffee production throughout almost the entire 19th century. That was when the oligarchy of Vale do Paraíba, representing the government's support base, fed politically and economically the so-called second reign in Brazil (MÜLLER, 1969). At the end of the 19th century, with the coffee culture moving to the north of São Paulo state and the depletion of the soil in the valley due to outdated and predatory agricultural technology, the coup de grace occurred in the economy and the model of society at the time, the legal abolition of slavery.

Coexistence with crises was always present in each cycle that ended in the precarious economy of the region. Taubaté, its oldest urban center, on the banks of

the Paraíba river was raised in the village in 1645 and, was the main sower of another urban center, located in the hinterland. However, a sensitive phase of dynamism only took place at the turn of the 17th/18th centuries, when the supply of food, animals, and artifacts to the mining areas enabled the first experience of urban life (MÜLLER, 1969). However, this situation would have a short duration, being interrupted around 1725. With the entry of the direct connection by mule troops routes between the mines and the main export port of the colony, Rio de Janeiro, the regional economy suffered a kind of backtracking. Thus, it returned to the state of subsistence agricultural production, similar to the early occupation of that territory.

This situation would last for about a hundred years, until the beginning of the 19th century, when the arrival of coffee growing started a new phase of regional development. This model indeed had obvious vulnerabilities since it was supported, on the one hand, by the fragile structure of monoculture export production, linked to fluctuations in coffee prices on the international market. On the other hand, it was made possible by the mode of production of the slave regime, a system under international pressure and progressively criminalized from 1850 onwards. After the end of slavery with the "Lei Áurea" (1888), although decadent, coffee growing extended significantly until the end of that century, then supported by salaried workers. Even after the regime of the Republic, this culture persisted as a productive activity until the 1930s, when the world crisis of capitalism again plunged the region into a new depressive picture (FURTADO, 2005).

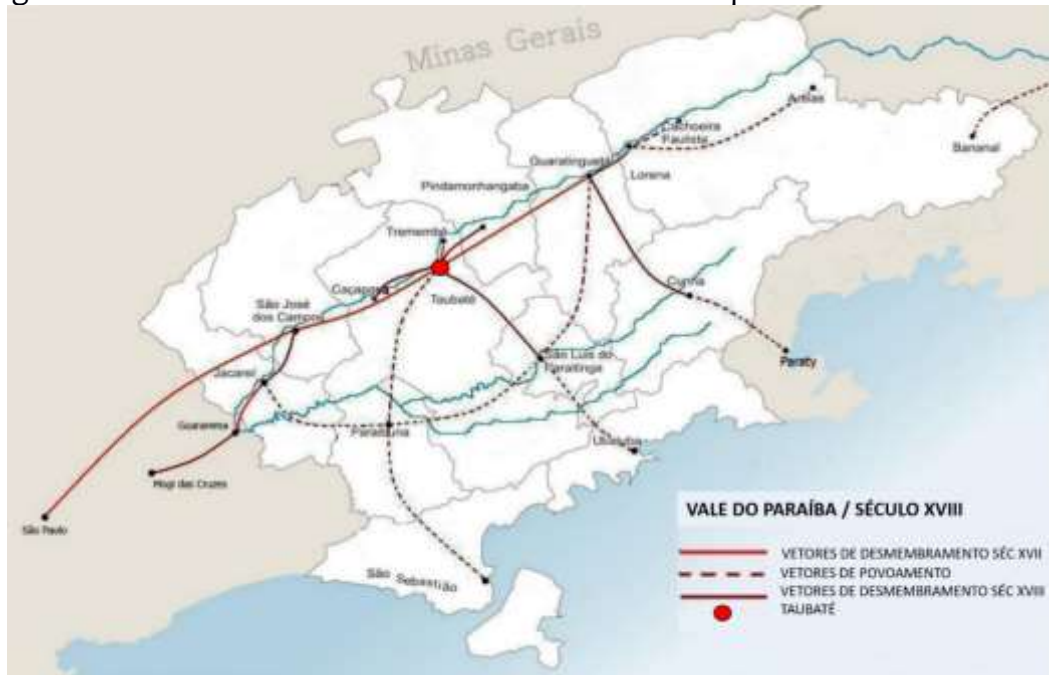
Brazil's participation in World War II, in line with the winning allied nations, included compensatory negotiations that finally made possible the technological leap long dreamed of by urban elites. This desire was directed towards de facto industrialization, that is, the implementation of infrastructure and the production of capital goods. Unlike the importation of obsolete machinery responsible for the country's initial industrialization (RICCI, 2003), the region received, in 1946, the Companhia Siderúrgica Nacional CSN, established in the Rio de Janeiro section of Vale do Paraíba. A few years later, the national agency for prospecting, extracting, and refining oil, Petrobras (1953), would be created. Thus, the main milestones of modern Brazilian industrialization were created, an essential element of the National Developmentalist model.

To understand the urban context experienced by the municipalities of Vale do Paraíba in the period of the National Developmentalism, called by some as Ancient Developmentalism, as mentioned by Lauro Mattei (2011), it is necessary to return to the factors that led Taubaté to conduct the initial occupation of the region in the 17th century and to lead the entire process of its development until the first half of the last century. Then, the transition to the National Development model will be analyzed with attention to the elements that influenced the action of capitalist production in the development of space, added to the changes in the urban landscape and the social life of the region's inhabitants with the displacement of this leadership to São José dos Campos.

2 Taubaté and the old regional order

The geomorphological characteristics of the Paraíba Valley in the form of a channel constitute, more than economic factors, favorable conditions for interlinked urban formations. The region's natural competitive advantages facilitated the locomotion and transport system, which followed the course of the Paraíba do Sul river, connecting the cities of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, while, through the mountain gorges, allowed the connection between the south of the state of Minas Gerais with the northern coast of São Paulo (Figure 01). In the 17th and 18th centuries, a period of assertion of Portuguese colonization in southeastern Brazil, the municipality of Taubaté acted as an irradiating center for monsoons and flags until, in the 19th century, it played, along with other municipalities in the Valley, a strong influence in the coffee period, a factor that promoted the growth and diversification of urban centers (MÜLLER, 1969).

Figure 1. Taubaté as irradiation of the Vale Paraíba occupation in the 18th-century



Source: Elaborated by the authors, 2020

In the 1870s, the construction of railroads that integrated São Paulo, Minas Gerais, and Rio de Janeiro, later called the Central do Brasil Railroad, constituted an important vector of territorial planning that enabled better relations between urban centers and the trade exchanges with the flow of products from the Vale-Paraíba region and the south of Minas Gerais, with coffee standing out as the main export item. Concomitantly to this moment, the economic depression in the United States in 1893, due to the increased financing for the construction of railroads, came to bankruptcy some banks and contributed to the decline of coffee prices on the world market. This fact reflected the need to adopt policies to recover the exchange rate in Brazil (FURTADO, 2005).

As a way of dealing with this situation, in 1906 the Taubaté Convention was created, an action that, in a way, demonstrated the political importance of this municipality, which remained at the beginning of the 20th century. The objective of the Agreement was to promote a policy of valuing coffee based on government

intervention in the purchase of surplus production, which was financed by foreign loans paid with the creation of new export taxes. expansion of coffee production as a long-term measure (FURTADO, 2005). During this period, there was also a "reordering of capitalist production in the central countries" which "implied the transfer of the manufacture of non-durable consumer goods to peripheral countries" (RIBEIRO-MOREIRA, 2010, p. 7). Thus, the Brazilian economic scenario, at the end of the 19th century, was marked by the installation of the first manufacture, especially those linked to the textile sector.

In the Vale do Paraíba region, the first industries occupied preferentially the railroad margins, in municipalities where urban activities already outlined a development perspective, a concept then understood as dynamization of urban activities - Taubaté, Pindamonhangaba, Guaratinguetá, São José dos Campos and Jacareí. The accumulation of capital arising from the release of resources previously destined to the acquisition of slave labor enabled local elites, until that moment focused on activities in the tertiary sector, to project themselves into the industrial adventure.

According to Nice Lecocq-Müller (1969), the Paraíba Valley went through three phases of the industrial process, temporally divided according to the predominance of the mode of production. The first phase covered the period from 1881 to 1914, marked by the presence of small industrial establishments, of traditional character, with a predominance of products from local raw materials, such as oil shale and clay, the production of gas and mineral oils in Taubate; rice production and processing in Pindamonhangaba; sugar mills and distilleries in Taubaté and Jacareí; breweries in Taubaté, São José dos Campos, Pindamonhangaba and Cachoeira Paulista; and textile industries in most cities in the Valley (MÜLLER, 1969).

At the beginning of the region's industrialization process, the Médio Vale was considered as a potentially homogeneous whole, whose attractions were not limited only to the natural environment, as mentioned above, but to the competitive advantages linked to the built environment. The privileged location between the city of São Paulo and the Federal Capital was already covered by the railroad and now, due to the capital accumulated by coffee exports, it was available for new investments (RIBEIRO-MOREIRA, 2010, p. 7). The first industries to establish themselves in the valley were those of the so-called traditional sector, as mentioned, the transformation of rural products such as food and textile processing, or the transformation of non-metallic minerals, such as ceramics and porcelain.

In the second phase, between 1914 and 1943, the urban population of the region increased considerably. Due to the rural exodus caused by the economic crisis that hit the agrarian milieu (1929), there was a rupture in the country, which until then was an agro-exporter, opposed by the Getúlio Vargas government (1930-1945), which started to direct attention and investments to promote industrialization as ~~a means~~ of developing the national economy. In a global context, the beginning of the 20th century was marked by world wars and financial depressions that destabilized the economy in most countries, especially the underdeveloped ones, when the concept of development was guided only by economic growth, that is, by the increase of Gross Domestic Product, GDP. Due to

the artificial stimuli received by the policy of the Agreement of Taubaté, coffee production grew strongly, reaching almost one hundred percent between 1925 and 1929.

Also in the 1920s, the road infrastructure was reinforced with the opening of the road between the cities of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. More than a simple connection, the work of the government of President Washington Luís followed his motto that “to govern is to build roads”, a strong indication of the new modal that was then projected. In this context, Taubaté strengthened itself as the main urban center in the region.

Despite the initial impact of the collapse of the New York Stock Exchange (1929) and the world crisis that followed, the Brazilian economy contracted little in the depressions, but also little expanded in the stages of great prosperity, because "despite the great rise in the real income, which occurred in industrialized countries" at the beginning of the 20th century, this "prosperity would in no way change the dynamics of the demand for coffee, which grows slowly but steadily with population and urbanization" (FURTADO, 2005, p. 178).

Parallel to this moment, in 1935, Taubaté actively cooperated in the national coffee production, reaching its peak in regional terms during the crisis. In table 1, it is possible to note this prominent moment in the city of Taubaté in 1935 compared to other municipalities that had dominated production in 1854, such as Bananal, Areias, and Pindamonhangaba.

Table 1. Coffee Production, Vale do Paraíba, Arrobas and Percentage

Municípios	1854		1886		1920		1935	
	Arrobas	%	Arrobas	%	Arrobas	%	Arrobas	%
Areias	386.094	13,9	480.000	24,6	79.900	10,8	52.335	5,9
Bananal	554.600	20,0	-	-	15.847	2,2	13.650	1,6
Guaratinguetá	100.885	3,6	350.000	17,9	97.687	13,3	63.625	7,2
Jacareí	240.010	8,7	86.000	4,4	21.880	3,0	39.540	4,5
Lorena	125.000	4,5	176.667	9,0	130.961	17,8	107.040	12,2
Paraibuna	118.320	4,3	10.000	0,5	11.747	1,6	68.725	7,8
Pindamonhangaba	350.000	12,6	200.000	10,2	84.520	11,5	51.109	5,8
S. José dos Campos	60.000	2,2	250.000	12,8	51.173	6,9	134.254	15,3
Taubaté	354.730	12,8	360.000	18,4	222.147	30,2	324.293	36,8
Outros Municípios	484.000	17,4	41.600	2,2	20.833	2,7	25.246	2,9
Total da Região	2.773.639	100,0	1.954.267	100,0	736.695	100,0	880.167	100,0

Source: MILLIET, 1946, p.41 (apud. RICCI, 2006, p. 26).

Bananal's production for 1886 is added to Areias

Although the internal production of São José dos Campos was significant, in the regional scenario it was negligible. In this municipality, coffee was produced by smallholders in a different context. Its importance was given more by the junction of paths, the one in the valley, connecting São Paulo to Rio de Janeiro and the one in the mountains, connecting the valley to the coast of the lands of Mantiqueira and

Minas Gerais. Taubaté, on the other hand, has stood out as a center for commerce and services since its inception.

The first sign noticed of a probable change in the regional hierarchy occurred in 1935. Paradoxically, just in the year in which Taubaté reached the peak of coffee production, the municipality of São José dos Campos established itself as a reference in the treatment of tuberculosis, when it was promoted to the Hydromineral Climatic Resort category. More than the resort category, the new title raised São José dos Campos to the possibility of diversifying urban activities in a model not yet tried out in the region. By enabling the municipality to receive resources from the state government to invest in infrastructure, applied in basic sanitation, it allowed the configuration of a specific guideline for land use and occupation that would differentiate São José dos Campos from other municipalities in Veleparaíba (ZANETTI, 2010).

3 Transition and modernization in the industrialization of Vale do Paraíba Paulista

Luiz Carlos Bresser Pereira (2011) pointed out that both Brazil and other Latin American countries took advantage of the fragility of the central countries during the 1930s to formulate national development strategies with protection for infant industries through the model of replacement of imports and the promotion of forced savings by the State, which should invest directly in infrastructure and basic industries. This strategy, which marked the years between 1930 and 1970, became known as "national developmentalism" and advocated that the basic objective of the policy was to primarily promote economic development, with the State as the main instrument of collective action.

The adoption of a national development strategy was evident in late developing countries although they were never characterized by effective dependency. Such were the cases of Germany and Japan, unlike peripheral nations, such as the Latin American countries that went through the colonial experience and that remained ideologically dependent on the center, where local elites were subordinated to the elites of the central countries.

Social scientists of the structuralist line who participated in the strategy of national developmentalism in Latin America considered the specific phenomenon of subordination between countries and believed that economic development was characterized by "a division between the progressive or nationalist elite associated with industrialization and the conservative elite associated with the export model of primary products that prevailed before 1930" (BRESSER-PEREIRA, 2011, p.5). These scientists were considered nationalists because,

recognized the existence of economic imperialism, characterized by pressures from rich countries to prevent the industrialization of developing countries or, when industrialization had become a fait accompli, to seize internal markets for their multinational manufacturing companies through financial and the unequal exchange rate on international markets. Furthermore, their nationalism was the ideology to strengthen state capacity and form genuinely autonomous national states; it was the assertion that, to develop, countries needed to define their policies and institutions, their national development strategies (BRESSER-PEREIRA, 2011, p.5).

National developmentalism was, according to Bresser-Pereira, a strategy sponsored "by industrialists, public bureaucracies and urban workers" that suffered intellectual opposition "from neoclassical economists and political opposition from both the liberal middle classes and the old oligarchy, whose interests were mutually exclusive. based on the export of primary goods" (BRESSER-PEREIRA, 2011, p. 7). The "intellectual opposition", mentioned by Bresser-Pereira, was reflected in the Paraíba Valley. Ademir Pereira dos Santos (2006) stated that "a rupture occurred in the industrialization process, until then under the political leadership of the agro-exporting oligarchies, led by the coffee growers" (SANTOS, 2006, p.27).

Given this scenario, from 1930 onwards, the Brazilian State was concerned with the development of industrial and material progress in the country, with the elaboration of sectoral policies for industrialization. In this model, the State assumed the tasks of planning, financing, and production of basic inputs, as well as infrastructure in the areas of energy, transport, and communications (MATTEI, 2011).

The third phase of industrialization in the Paraíba Valley occurred after World War II, in the context of the elaboration of the national-developmentalism strategy, identified with the inauguration of the Presidente Dutra Highway (1950) and with the construction of the Companhia Siderúrgica Nacional (CSN) in 1946, in Volta Redonda, which contributed to the base of industrial development in the region, especially in the municipalities of São José dos Campos, Taubaté, Jacareí, Pindamonhangaba, Caçapava, Cruzeiro and Guaratinguetá, where modern industries in the metallurgy sector were installed. and mechanics (RICCI, 2006).

Among other measures adopted during the so-called Era Vargas (1930-1945), the creation of the Ministry of Labor, Industry, and Commerce stood out; as well as the labor legislation created in 1933 and consolidated ten years later. At that time, the state's monopoly over hydromineral resources was established and state-owned companies were created to guarantee strategic investments and infrastructure. Many foreign companies installed in the country were nationalized (SANTOS, 2006). Therefore, during this period, "the government adopted a progressive move away from economic liberalism, bringing to the State the responsibility for defining global economic planning as a regulator of activities (RIBEIRO-MOREIRA; MELLO, in ZANETTI; PAPALI, 2010, p. 72).

The measures adopted during the Vargas government directly influenced the industrialization of São José dos Campos. In 1942, still during the Estado Novo, the Ministry of Aeronautics was created and the city "was chosen, in 1946, to host the Aeronautics Technical Center, CTA, a project considered fundamental for the affirmation of the sector's activities in the country" (SANTOS, 2006, p. 28). Thus, São José dos Campos donated an area of approximately fourteen square kilometers for the installation of the CTA, a primordial catalyst for the development of the municipality, which diversified its functions and began to attract important segments of the basic industry to its territory.

Milton Santos (1996) and Maria Encarnação Sposito (2004) observed that space is socially constructed, while cities are socially produced spatial forms that, in turn, sustain the structural transformations of the capitalist mode of production. For Sposito (2004), the industry has an impact on the urban environment. This

axiom was proven in the historical dynamics of the municipalities of Vale Paraíba, when it was noticed, above all, that the Middle Valley of Paraíba witnessed changes in its urban landscape resulting from the installations of industries in the region. For this analysis, special attention is given to the third phase of industrialization, which begins in the second half of the 20th century.

4 Late Fordism and the third phase of industrialization in the Vale do Paraíba Paulista

In the 1950s, in much of the country, there was a sudden change in the urban landscape. In the Paraíba Valley, industries, which until then were located on the banks of the railway, began to occupy the surroundings of the Presidente Dutra highway. The municipalities of Alto Vale do Paraíba, which were not contemplated with the construction of the highway, - some already neglected since the 19th century when the railroad was implemented - began to distance themselves from those of the Médio Vale in matters of improving their social status. At that time, there was an inversion of the dominant position that these municipalities had during the coffee phase and their growing economic dependence on the main centers of the region's highway axis, municipalities that began to have a frank process of economic development and urban expansion.

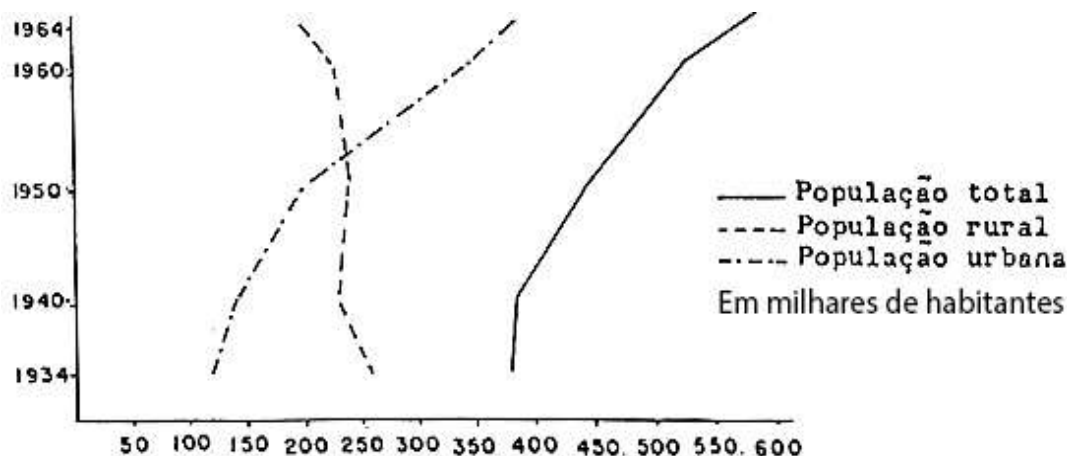
Modern transport facilitated the displacement of relations between cities, which Michel Rochefort (2002) claimed to be the initial process of formation of urban networks. Maria Encarnação Sposito (2004) highlighted that, with the development of communications and transport, the territorial division of labor became more effective and possible. This process was quite clear when observing the implementation of the Presidente Dutra highway, the main factor for the development of urban activities in the Vale Paraíba cities of the Médio Vale and, consequently, the promotion of the territorial division of labor.

At that time, the process of accumulation of regional capital of rural origin was no longer configured, but the entry of new capital from the country's large economic centers and branches of foreign companies that began to assume shareholding control of the main existing manufactures (RIBEIRO-MOREIRA & MELLO in ZANETTI & PAPALI, 2010). In an analysis of François Perroux's theory, related to development poles, Vilmar Nogueira Duarte (2015) stated that these have a strong geographic identification, "because they are a product of the agglomeration economies generated by industrial complexes" (DUARTE, 2015, p 199).

These industrial complexes contribute both to the global growth of production and also influence the environment in which they are installed, as they generate "chain effects towards innovation, through a process of imitation, causing, therefore, significant impulses on local development and regional" (PERROUX, 1955, apud. DUARTE, 2015, p.199). Thus, according to Müller (1969), intimate relationships between industry and population growth were verified, creating a vicious cycle, in which the industry attracts more industries, focusing on the increase of the population, whose needs aim at more services and new organizations. industrial. From this dynamic it is possible to identify, in Graph 1, the evolution of the population of Vale do Paraíba between the years 1934 and 1964,

whose relationship between the urban population and the rural population was inversely proportional; at the same time that the density of the rural environment has decreased, the population of urban centers has grown considerably.

Graph 1. Population evolution (1934-1964) in the Vale do Paraíba Paulista.

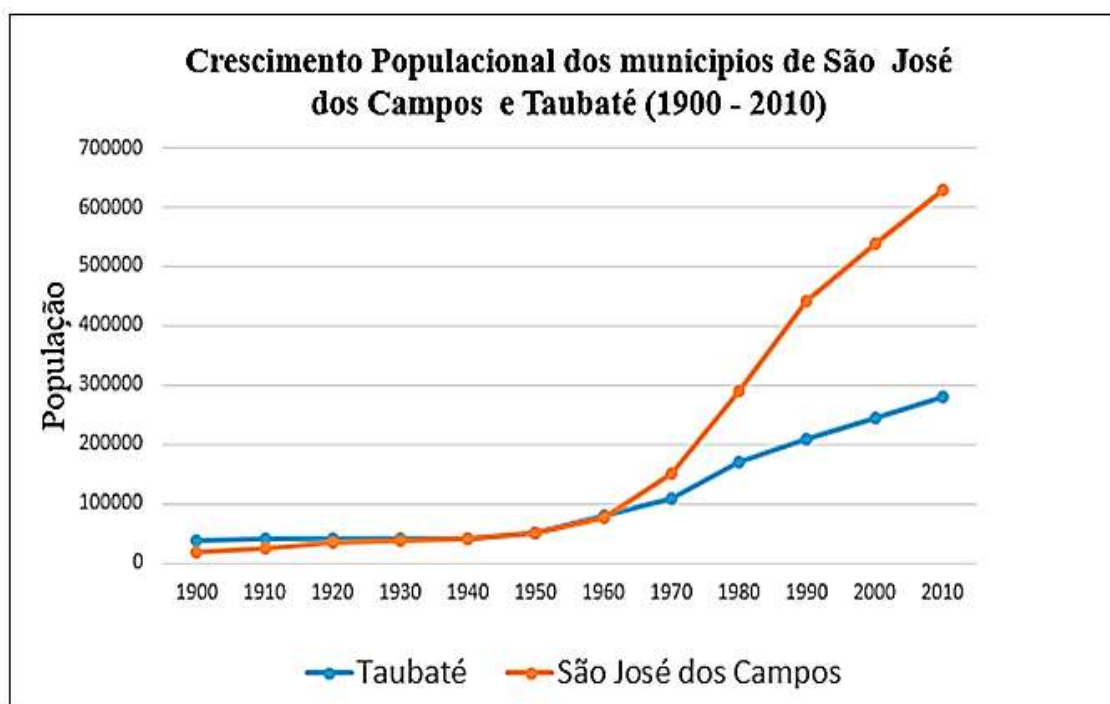


Source: MÜLLER, 1969, p. 91

With the dynamics of the displacement of the rural population from Alto Vale to Médio Vale, the municipalities in the Rio-São Paulo axis industrialized in the new base, the Fordist, which contributed to a significant increase in the number of inhabitants. Taubaté and São José dos Campos were the municipalities that benefited most from the industrialization process, becoming the largest growth poles in the region. It is noteworthy, according to Duarte (2015) that, despite the remarkable growth and development of a region, it does not occur in an equal and simultaneous way. Thus, the local and regional differences are even more evident, whose "vocations" were aimed at the most dynamic sectors of the economy, that is, at that time, the industrial sector.

Graph 2 shows the difference in population growth in the municipalities of São José dos Campos and Taubaté from 1900 to 2010. From 1960 onwards, Taubaté gradually increased its population, while the demographic growth in São José dos Campos was exponential, a fact that impacted not only the strong population density in São José dos Campos but also the concentration of productive activities, leading to an inversion in the concepts of the Vale Paraíba powers.

Graph 2. Population growth of São José dos Campos and Taubaté (1900-2010)



Source: IBGE, 2010. Prepared by the authors, 2017.

In addition to the rural-urban transition in the cities that make up the Presidente Dutra Highway axis, the rise of the municipality of São José dos Campos is notable as a new regional hub, generated from the metal/mechanical industries, which came closer to the model. Perroux's theory. Population growth generated problems in the urban environment, mainly in the realization of large-scale capitalist production, which turned land into a commodity, increasing housing density and causing the process of socio-spatial segregation (SPOSITO, 2004). An example of this noticeable effect in São José dos Campos was that the high demand for the location made the value of the land more expensive, triggering the territorial dispersion of the low-income population, workers, to the outskirts of the city. About this example, Ademir Pereira dos Santos (2006) highlighted:

Simultaneously, allotments for luxury housing take advantage of the last strips of suitable soil near the central area. Popular and clandestine subdivisions appear in the middle of the countryside, far from Via Dutra. In that decade, 88 subdivisions were approved by the municipality. On the other hand, around 24 clandestine subdivisions and the formation of a favela in the central area, on the bed of the old railway line, Santa Cruz II, were identified. At the end of the period, the first buildings appear in the central area, starting the verticalization process (SANTOS, 2006, p. 66).

The strong base in industrial development resulted in socio-spatial dynamics on an intra-urban and regional scale, with the articulation between urban centers, allowing the constitution of a network that caused the subordination of one city to

another, an effect analyzed as a hierarchy in the urban network. From this finding, it is possible to identify the municipalities that played, in the set of relations in their region, an important polarizing role, such as Taubaté, São José dos Campos and their adjacent municipalities.

According to a study carried out by Müller (1969), using the Rochefort method on the escalation of the urban hierarchy in the Paraíba Valley between the period 1950-1960, Taubaté was still in the first place, maintaining a unique position about other municipalities, being considered "regional capital", followed by the municipalities considered "sub-region centers", namely Guaratinguetá, Lorena and São José dos Campos.

From the analysis of demographic growth and the studies by Müller (1969), it is clear that the municipality of Taubaté played the role of capital of the valley until 1960, performing agrarian and industrial functions, mainly about the so-called traditional industries. However, Taubaté remained as a tertiary hub, especially concerning education and health services, which, in terms of regional polarization, is part of the organization proposed by Rochefort, further reinforcing, for some time, its role as a regional capital. From this decade on, São José dos Campos surpassed Taubaté in population data, a factor that contributed to the visualization of the municipality as the new "capital" of the valley. Distancing itself from the Taubaté model, the joseense city was supported by the policies of National Developmentalism that were essential for the realization of this hegemonic transition between the municipalities, considered to be regional poles.

Taubaté stood out, from its foundation to the decline of coffee production in the Paraíba Valley, in the entire process of agrarian development in the region. Its subsequent passage to the initial stages of industrialization, depending on local raw materials, generally products coming from the countryside, implied a continuity, without ruptures or sudden changes in its economy. Thus, Taubaté maintained a linear trajectory, linked to the traditions and references of the countryside.

The moment that legitimized the Fordist model in Brazil was the launch of the Plan of Goals, proposed by Juscelino Kubitschek (1955-1960) when the concept of planning was taken as a systematic instrument of economic policy. Supported by the opening of investments to foreign capital, this program brought radical changes to the entire Brazilian productive system, having, as one of its pillars, the definition of the modern base industry, started with Vargas, now as strategic support for the new production. The link between the two main metropolises in the country, São Paulo and the then capital, Rio de Janeiro, the Vale do Paraíba region was at the center of these transformations:

The first effects of the federal plan's goals program would soon be perceived with the loss of dynamism of the traditional industries related to the manufacture of non-durable goods, replaced by the new dynamic sector, the modern industries, linked to durable consumer goods, using considerable part of the inputs produced by CSN (RIBEIRO-MOREIRA; MELLO in ZANETTI; PAPALI, 2010, p. 74).

The regulation of the port of São Sebastião, by federal decree in July 1957 and effective in 1969, was also an important attraction for the installation of large

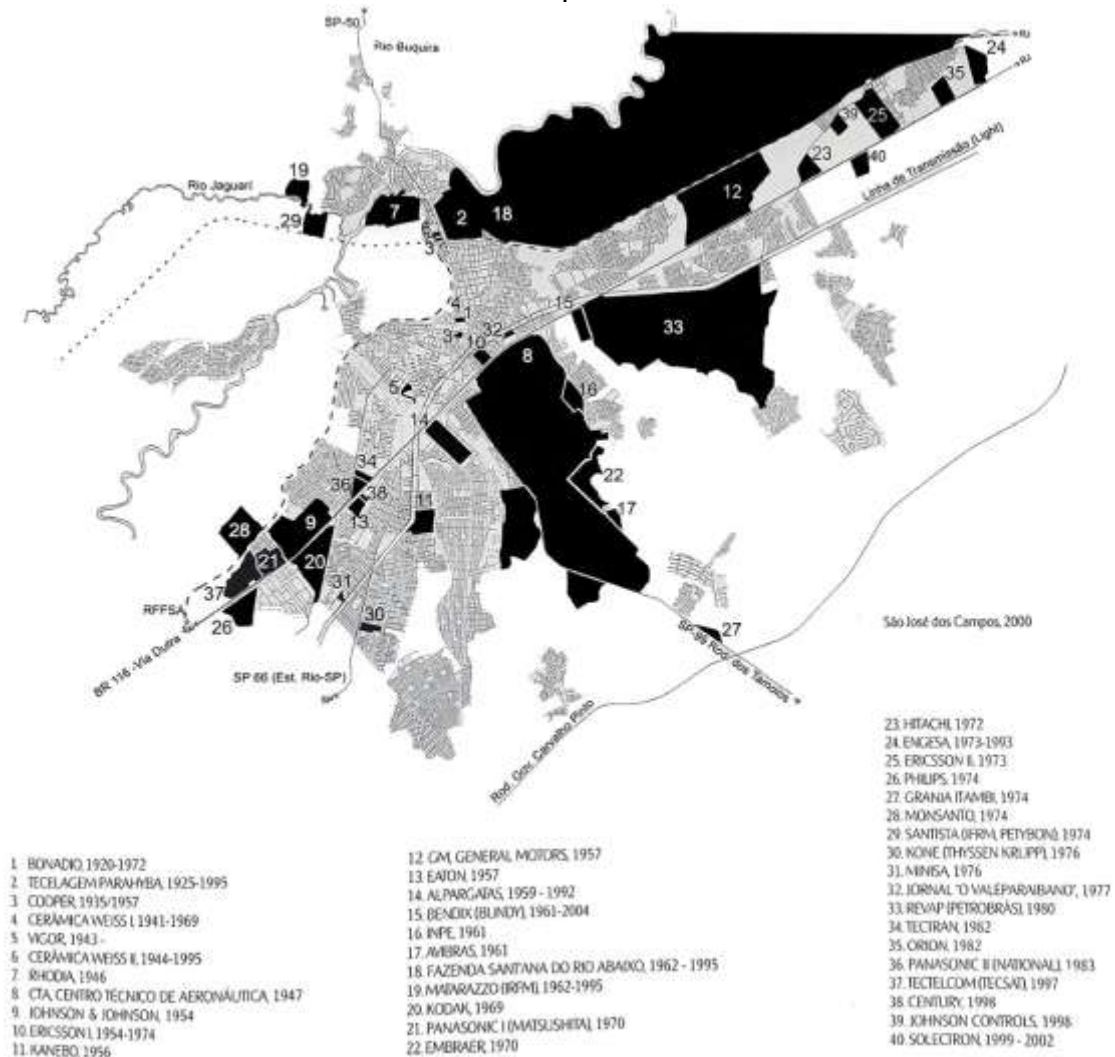
projects in the Vale do Paraíba region. In Taubaté, Mecânica Pesada (1957) and Willys Overland do Brasil SA (1958, incorporated into Ford in 1968) were implemented. In São José dos Campos, Rhodosá (1949, linked to the French chemical and pharmaceutical group Rhône-Poulenc, manufacturer of rayon fibers), and new manufacturing facilities, such as Jhonson & Jhonson (1953), Ericson (1954), General Motors (1957) and Eaton (1957). To the textile sector, they were added to Kanebo (1957); to the clothing and footwear sector, São Paulo Alpargatas (1959); and to the metallurgical sector, Bendix (1960) (SANTOS, 2006).

Based on the classifications proposed by Syrquin and Chenery (1989), it is interesting to note that Rhodosa, Jhonson&Jhonson, and Kanebo, despite being linked to the traditional segment of weaving, were already included in the so-called intermediate industries, that is, those that produced goods whose Raw material, such as cotton, came from the countryside, but mixed or produced sometimes with synthetic threads, sometimes in the pharmaceutical sector, with greater added value. São Paulo Alpargatas also belongs, in a way, to this group since, despite belonging to the traditional dressing room production, they also included sophisticated manufacturing processes, resulting in greater added value. In other words, the joseense industrial park has since pointed to greater diversification. The others, in the metal/mechanical and electro/electronic fields, were modern.

A differentiating milestone for São José dos Campos, in addition to the CTA complex, was the installation, in 1961, of the Avibras arms and aeronautics industry and the creation of the National Institute for Space Research (INPE). At this time, the industrial profile of the city was characterized by three major sectors: metallurgy (automotive), military-aircraft, and telecommunications. According to Ademir Pereira dos Santos, "this tripod still forms the basis of the industrial economy of José" (SANTOS, 2006, p. 30).

After the civil-military coup d'état of 1964, there was a change in the tax system through the creation of the Tax on Circulation of Goods (ICM), of which 20% fell to the municipalities, according to the collection of each one. As a result, São José dos Campos had its budget considerably increased, due to the large number of installed industries, which, according to Agê Junior (1981) provided the municipality with an enviable amount of resources for public works. The new distribution of taxes enabled new infrastructure works, expansion of water and sewage networks, collection of rainwater, and extension of public lighting to the most distant neighborhoods on the periphery. As it is possible to notice, in Figure 2, the industrial density in the axis of the Railway (1st and 2nd phase of industrialization) and Via Dutra (3rd phase of industrialization), marked the fragmented configuration of the city.

Figure 2. Territorialization of Industrialization in the municipality of São José dos Campos



Source: SANTOS, 2006, p. 77.

5 National Developmentalism and the hegemonic inversion of "regional capital"

In the period of national developmentalism, some central characteristics were highlighted, which were evidenced by the behavior towards industrial policies in the Vale do Paraíba Paulista. According to Paula & Oreiro (2009), one of the characteristics concerns the "generalized tariff protectionism aimed at the industrial sector during the validity of the MSI" (PAULA & OREIRO, 2009 apud. MATTEI, 2011, p.9). The economic growth promoted by the JK government focused on investment in the industrial activity of durable consumer goods and infrastructure. Edson Trajano Vieira (2009) cited the main productions of that period, where most of them coincided with the products of São José dos Campos:

between 1955 and 1962, the transport material sector grew by 711%; electrical communications materials, 417%; textiles, 34%; food, 54%, and

beverages, 15%. It is observed that the non-durable consumer goods sectors show much slower growth than the former. This result is a consequence of the process of replacing previously imported products (VIEIRA, 2009, p. 61).

During this period, the municipalities of São José dos Campos and Taubaté showed industrial growth highlighted by the urban-regional development policy, which also attracted investments associated with the national development policy, mainly due to the second National Development Plan. In the period known as the Brazilian economic miracle (1968-74), São José dos Campos consolidated itself as the center of regional economic growth, even though it presented location conditions similar to those of other cities, such as Taubaté and Jacareí, favored by the vector of the Presidente Dutra Highway. According to the 1970 Industrial Census, "Jacareí, Caçapava, and Taubaté had 385 industrial establishments employing 14.2 thousand people. In São José dos Campos, on the same date, there were 275 establishments, with 17,800 people employed" (FIBGE, apud. COSTA, 2007, p. 60), which indicated greater purchasing power of the citizens of José dos Campos and, consequently, a busier economy.

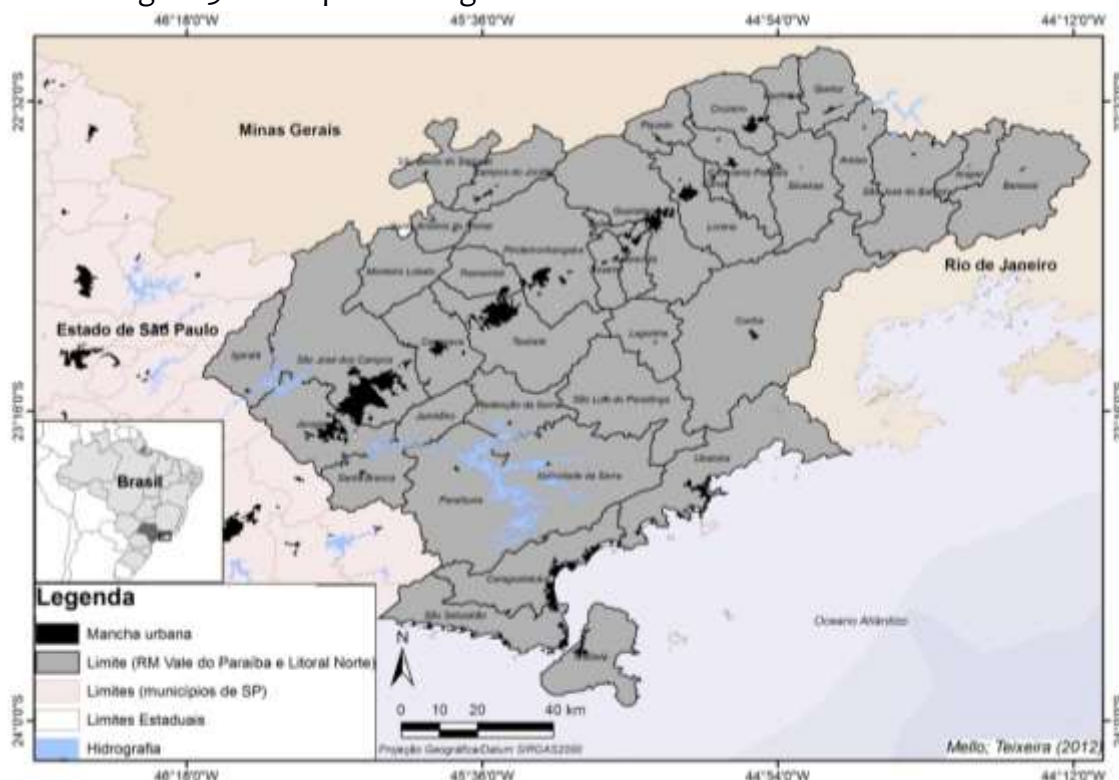
It is worth noting that the State acted simultaneously in the tasks of planning, financing, and production of basic inputs, in addition to infrastructure. However, such policies required the State "large sums of capital, leading to its financial deterioration in the 1980s when the external debt crisis broke out" (MATTEI, 2011, p.10). In the case of São José dos Campos, the presence of the public administration has taken place since 1958, when new urban legislation was approved by decree n. 250/58, which established guidelines for the elaboration of an urban policy that encouraged the implementation of industries with a great physical and social impact. Thus, "a new pattern of urbanization was initiated, associated with two specific types of large-scale industry, the transnational and the state, in this case, a product of direct investment from the federal government" (SANTOS, 2006, p. 66).

Regarding the inversion of the regional poles, the population growth of São José dos Campos concerning Taubaté was evident, as well as the number of people employed in the industrial sector, in the period between the 1950s and 1970s. Joseense population imposed itself on the more modest numbers of Taubaté, such a picture would have equivalent representation in the perception of financial and monetary resources. These, equally, saw their positions inverted in regional participation, as noted by Daniel Andrade:

For the year 1975, the municipality of São José dos Campos presented a GDP of R\$2,907,373.18 billion, for the primary, secondary and tertiary economic sectors, corresponding to approximately 43% (of the regional participation). The municipality of Taubaté, with a GDP of R\$921,750.46 million, around 13.58%, and Jacareí with R\$918,609.10 million, which was equivalent to 13.53%, complete the municipalities with the highest economic indexes. of the Axis (ANDRADE, 2019, p. 113).

Having surpassed Taubaté, from the end of the 1970s onwards, this situation only became stronger, showing the progressive regional polarization around São José dos Campos. If on the economic plane, the data presented by Andrade are already quite convincing, in terms of population and space, what is noticeable is the extension of joseense growth that will continue in the following years. Figure 3 shows how the urban sprawl of São José dos Campos stood out over the set of the Metropolitan Region of Vale do Paraíba and North Coast. In the new context, constrained between the protected areas of water sources and the floodplains of the Paraíba river, the municipality exhausted its urbanized territory extrapolated to the domains of neighboring municipalities, such as Jacareí, forming conurbed agglomerations typical of regional metropolises.

Figure 3. Metropolitan Region of Vale do Paraíba and North Coast.



Source: Authors' elaboration (2020) on MELLO; TEIXEIRA (2012).

6 Final Considerations

Based on what was presented, it is clear that both Taubaté and São José dos Campos had the same conditions that boosted industrial development, however, São José dos Campos had greater diversity in housing health equipment specialized in treatment in its territory. of lung diseases, institutions linked to research and technological development, as well as to military and aeronautical production after the installation of the CTA in 1950.

Each municipality had its outstanding moment in the Brazilian economy. Taubaté had more influence in the first and second phases of industrialization, whose production was developed from local raw materials, characteristics of the manufacturing and agrarian sector. São José dos Campos, on the other hand,

projected itself into the third phase of industrialization, supported by Fordist machinery production. In this process, the State acted as an entrepreneur and played an important role in the development of the Vale do Paraíba region. From tax incentives and development programs to decentralize the economy of large capitals. São José dos Campos benefited from the national developmental policies due to the installation of large companies, in particular with the installation of the CTA, an important catalyst for the economic and social development of this municipality, as intended by the national developmental policy, since, helped in promoting a socio-spatial dynamic different from other cities in the region.

At this point, it is worth asking whether the traditional origin of the Taubatean economy would not have conditioned, in a kind of path dependency, the linearity of its future development. The State influenced the inversion of the regional poles, due to the development programs, as well as the implantation of complex institutions such as the base of the then Technical Center of Aeronautics CTA and the Technological Institute of Aeronautics ITA. Later, such actions were fundamental in the development of the aeronautical industry and focused, for example, on tax incentives and the change in the tax system with the creation of the ICM - Tax on Circulation of Goods, by which São José dos Campos benefited greatly by sheltering in the period analyzed a high number of companies from sectors in economic rise, a considerable difference about other municipalities.

In São José dos Campos there was not exactly a rupture either. In a way, its late development, resulting from its lethargy in coffee production, would have taken the municipality to the initial bases of industrialization, a configuration that later allowed it to offer sophisticated health services, rewarded with investments from other spheres of government. Thus, the history of São José dos Campos, combined with national concerns, led the municipality to take a shortcut to achieve modern industrialization.

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Submitted in: 17/08/2020

Approved in: 10/06/2021

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Financing source: CAPES

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