



Redes. Revista do Desenvolvimento Regional

ISSN: 1414-7106

ISSN: 1982-6745

revistaredes@unisc.br

Universidade de Santa Cruz do Sul

Brasil

Bugs, Geisa Tamara; Bosa, Rafael
Urban-industrial development and the socio-spatial configuration of Parobé
Redes. Revista do Desenvolvimento Regional, vol. 28, 2023, January-December
Universidade de Santa Cruz do Sul
Santa Cruz do Sul, Brasil

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.17058/redes.v28i1.18427>

Available in: <https://www.redalyc.org/articulo.oa?id=552078284031>

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Urban-industrial development and socio-spatial configuration of Parobé

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Abstract

In this paper, we analyze the socio-spatial reflexes resulting from the strong presence of the leather footwear industry in Parobé, in the Brazilian state of Rio Grande do Sul. The capitalist industrial development process makes society a malleable object and sensitive to transformations that reflect on the urban fabric and social conditions, functioning as a basis in socio-spatial formation and structuring. The methodology adopts theories about the agents and forms of urban space production, demographic and economic data analysis, and spatial analysis. Parobé and the microregion of Vale do Paranhana stand out in footwear production on the national scene. The migration process was significant for the growth of Parobé in the 1990s. However, in the 2000s, the production chain underwent a restructuring due to the 2008 global crisis, directly impacting the municipality's population composition and urban structure. The present work demonstrates the central role of the leather footwear industry in the production of the urban space of the municipality, reflecting directly in its social and spatial configuration, as can be seen in the occupation of a significant part of the land in the central region by industries since the beginning, which today are urban voids resulting from the relocation or inactivity of factory pavilions. In short, the resulting spatial configuration is expressed in extensive urbanization, which carries the urban-industrial production (and reproduction) conditions.

Keywords: Urban structure. Leather footwear. Parobé. Urban space production. Population growth.

O desenvolvimento urbano-industrial e a configuração socioespacial de Parobé

Resumo

Neste artigo analisamos o desenvolvimento urbano-industrial e a configuração socioespacial frente a forte presença da indústria coureiro-calçadista no município de Parobé, Rio Grande do Sul. O processo de desenvolvimento industrial capitalista torna a sociedade um objeto maleável e sensível a suas transformações que refletem no tecido urbano e nas condições sociais, funcionando como elemento base na formação e estruturação socioespacial. A metodologia adota revisão de teorias acerca dos agentes e formas de produção do espaço urbano, análise de dados demográficos e socioeconômicos secundários, além de análise espacial. Parobé e a microrregião do Vale do Paranhana se destacam na produção de calçados no cenário nacional. O processo de migração foi significativo para o seu crescimento nos anos 1990. Porém, nos anos 2000 a cadeia produtiva passou por uma reestruturação em

função da crise global de 2008, com consequências diretas na composição populacional e na estrutura urbana do município. O trabalho evidencia o papel central da indústria coureiro-calçadista na produção e estruturação do espaço urbano do município, refletindo diretamente na sua configuração social e espacial, vide a ocupação de uma parte significativa do solo na região central por parte das indústrias desde os primórdios, que hoje são vazios urbanos oriundos da realocação ou inatividade dos pavilhões de fábricas. Em suma, a configuração espacial resultante está expressa em uma urbanização de caráter extensiva, que carregara as condições urbano-industriais de produção (e reprodução).

Palavras-chave: Estrutura urbana. Coureiro-calçadista. Parobé. Produção do espaço urbano. Crescimento populacional.

El desarrollo urbano-industrial y la configuración socioespacial de Parobé

Resumen

En este artículo analizamos los reflejos socio-espaciales resultantes de la fuerte presencia de la industria del cuero-calzado en el municipio de Parobé, situado en el Rio Grande do Sul. El proceso de desarrollo industrial capitalista hace de la sociedad un objeto maleable y sensible a sus transformaciones que se reflejan en el tejido urbano y las condiciones sociales, funcionando como elemento base en la formación y estructuración socio-espacial. La metodología adopta las teorías sobre los agentes y las formas de producción del espacio urbano, análisis de datos demográficos y económicos, además de la cartografía. Parobé y la microrregión del Vale do Paranhana se destacan en la producción de calzado en el panorama nacional. El proceso migratorio era importante para el crecimiento de Parobé en la década de 1990. Sin embargo, en la década de 2000 la cadena productiva sufre una reestructuración por la crisis mundial de 2008, con consecuencias directas sobre la composición poblacional y estructura urbana del municipio. El trabajo demuestra el rol central de la industria del cuero-calzado en la producción y estructuración del espacio urbano del municipio, reflejándose directamente en su configuración social y espacial, como en la ocupación de una parte significativa del suelo de la región central por industrias desde el principio que hoy son vacíos urbanos producto de la reubicación o inactividad de los pabellones fabriles. En resumen, la configuración espacial resultante se expresa en una urbanización extensiva, que lleva con él las condiciones urbano-industriales de producción (y reproducción).

Palabras clave: Estructura urbana. Cuero-calzado. Parobé. Reestructuración productiva. Producción del espacio urbano.

1 Introduction

The cities, or the political and sociocultural space formed from them, have become the center for the organization of society and economy. On a global scale, few cities organize and command great interest groups and reorder the global economic space at all scales. They define ways of organizing the population and the location of the economic activities, benchmark social identities, and establish several forms of communitarian constitution (Monte-Mór, 2006).

Understanding how the small towns are connected to this context is essential. They participate in the Brazilian and global urban networks and are inserted into the capitalist production model and globalization dynamics. It means that, despite their smaller size compared to the big cities, they are also influenced by the same processes and suffer the consequences (Fernandes, 2018). The city, independently from its size, applies an increasing attraction force (Rolnik, 1988) due to, among

others, its economic advantages of settlement that continuously enlarges its dimensions (Borba, 2003).

The industrial expansion originated a type of urban settlement for the creation of new cities and the transformation of the already existing ones, totally changing the former social and territorial organization. According to the logic imposed by the industrialization process, centered on production, space is organized as privileged *locus* of the exceeding economy, part of the political power and the cultural feast. The city is also an industrial product, and it follows economic laws that rule the production and the organization of space, which aim for the functionality of such a logical point (Monte-Mór, 2006). The urbanized space starts constituting itself according to the demands (synthesized by the housing and by the complementary needs from the workforce) set by the State to assist the industrial production and the collective reproduction needs of the workforce.

Brazil has gone through one of the most accelerated and intense urbanization processes ever reported, boosted by industrialization between 1940 and 1980. Such a phenomenon resulted in the increase in the migration of the population from a particular region, usually rural areas, in search of job opportunities (or even underemployment), information, and resources. Since long ago, the countryside population has been attracted to the cities by their opportunities. It is all about the migration for the existence of goods/assets and services essential for the material and intellectual ascension that these inhabitants judge as not being able to find in their region of origin (Filho; Serra, 2001).

The most recent processes for industrial restructuring in the information era (Castells, 2002) also leave their marks in the cities. The flows – global networks that articulate information – substitute the fixed locations and start being work and decision units in the contemporary metropolis, defining the location of the economic and social agents, and information and capital. The flow network establishes continuous changes in the territory, allowing the concentration of the activities in dispersed urban sites, leading to the abandonment of large urban areas (Titton, 2011). The city changes from a simple organization environment to a complex territory, impacting on the urban layout.

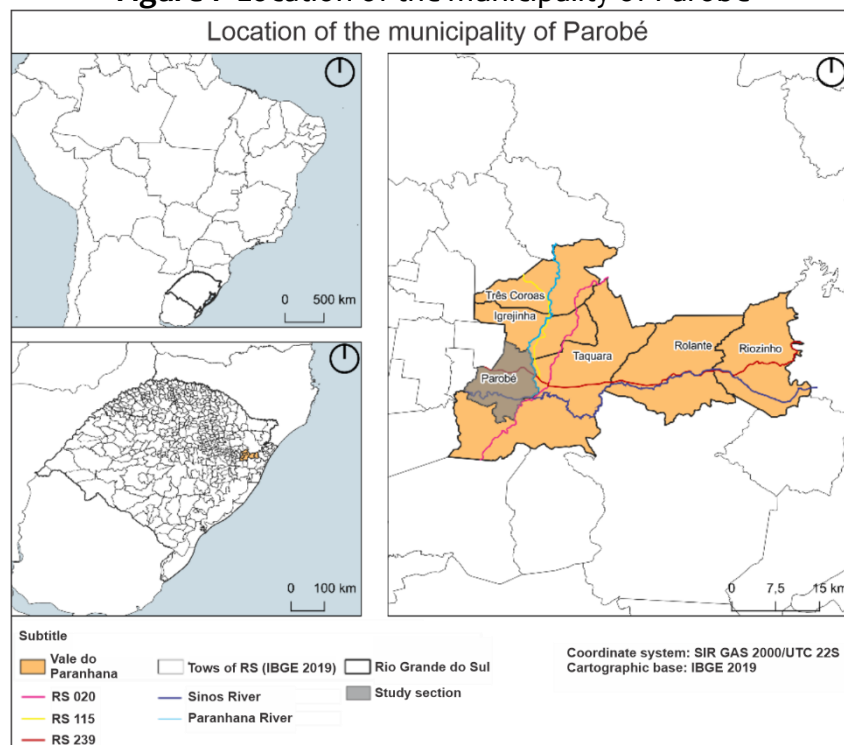
The process of productive restructuring is replaced numerous times by abandoned and degraded areas that modify the scenario and the cities' quality of life (Marques; Souza, 2004). A sub-utilization of central structures occurs while the population occupies distant and rarefied outskirts. New centrality spaces are set up – urban systems without territorial continuity, which get structured according to the flow of goods/assets, people, capital, and information; and marginalization – territories that do not reach or that are out of the processes of economic and services concentration for the global market (Falu; Marengo, 2004). Residual spaces, with no use or being sub-used (factories, stockrooms, warehouses, sheds, lots, and even whole neighborhoods) compose unproductive spaces that promote the fragmentation of the contemporary cities, today being composed of a disjoint network of territorial enclaves (Titton, 2011).

Therefore, the capitalist industrial development process turns society into a malleable object that is sensitive to its transformations, which reflect themselves on the urban fabric and the social conditions, working as a basis for the formation and socio-spatial structuring. In Parobé (the national capital of tennis for a long time), in

the state of Rio Grande do Sul, it is possible to observe these phenomena. This Global South city was directly impacted by the development of the leather footwear industry, which started around the 1970s. The footwear industries, which initially worked as centralized attraction hubs for a mass of migrants, these days spray their activities throughout the territory as a fruit/product resulting from the outsourcing process (Bosa, 2021; Bosa; Bugs, 2021).

The municipality of Parobé is inserted into the micro-region of Vale do Paranhana – VP that belongs to the Metropolitan Region of Porto Alegre - RMPA, around 70 km from the capital (Figure 1). According to the latest Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics - IBGE census, it has a population of 52.058 inhabitants, which sets the municipality as the second one with the most significant population in VP, right after Taquara, the oldest city in the region. VP comprises six municipalities: Igrejinha, Parobé, Riozinho, Rolante, Taquara, and Três Coroas. Taquara - Igrejinha - Parobé - Três Coroas are set into a small agglomeration with significant flow integration, defined by Campos (2019) as a Functional Urban Area – FUA. In other words, an economy unit regionally characterized by densely inhabited centers and by hinterlands in which the work market is highly integrated with the centers (Campos, 2019; Bosa; Bugs, 2021). From March 2023, São Francisco de Assis Hospital started being a reference in terms of assistance to 23 municipalities in the region of Vale do Paranhana, Vale dos Sinos, Serra, and Encosta da Serra regarding high complexity assistance in the fields of traumatology and orthopedics by Sistema Único de Saúde - SUS (SES/RS, 2023), thus making Parobé become a regional anchor concerning health field.

Figure 1- Location of the municipality of Parobé



Source: Bosa, 2022.

Given this situation, the present article aims to analyze the urban-industrial development and the socio-spatial configuration of Parobé/RS through an evolving analysis of the transformations incurred in relation to the spatial, demographic, and socioeconomic aspects facing the strong presence of the leather footwear industry.

The methodology adopts theoretical basis of the conception of space production, identifying its agents and typologies of urban growth. The characterization of the development of the municipality is done through the analysis of secondary demographic and economic data originated from the IBGE; the Annual List of Social Information – RAIS from the Ministry of Labor – MTE; Foundation of Economy and Statistics Siegfried Emanuel Heuser – FEE-RS; Social and Economy Development Index- IDESE; and the Socio-economic Atlas of Rio Grande do Sul. The spatial analysis takes place through the production of interpretative thematic maps with the support of QGIS software, *Google Earth*, and *Google My Maps* to represent not only on a municipal scale but also on a regional one, the participating factors related to the leather footwear industry in relation to the production of space and its reflex on the municipality urban structuring. A time frame was established for the historical series data, from 1970 to 2019 and up to 2020 to map the urban sprawl/area.

2 Theoretical backgrounds

Capitalist development manifests itself not solely in the commercialization of production and the constitution of productive powers since it involves more than strictly economic processes. The capital development process changes the organization and the composition of the productive basis, along with rearrangements or new configurations regarding the social relationships, generating transformations in the material sphere, which reflect on other areas of social life. On one hand, it means that the conditioning factors related to the capitalist transition are political, social, and psycho-cultural materials. On the other hand, it means that capitalist development produces new socio-spatial configurations (Peres, 2009).

Brito (2016) points out that the migrating trajectories in Brazil take place due to strong regional and social imbalances that characterize the development of capitalism, feeding a powerful mechanism of spatial transference from the “demographic surplus” of a particular region to wherever the urban-industrial economy has developed better or to a place where the agricultural border has expanded better. The space where the migrating trajectories get organized is neither economically nor socially homogeneous. The national workplace that got constituted, the territorial space that gets integrated, and the nation that is built up bring along the marks of diversity and inequality. They are social groups that have their values and norms, that move from the rural to the urban space, from one city to another one, from one state to another one, from one region to another one, or even from one country to another one (Brito, 2016).

Once it is established that capital has an essential influence on the socio-spatial production and configuration of the cities, we move on to the conceptual definitions that are the basis for the analyses, all based on what was discussed by Bosa (2021).

2.1 The production of urban space and its agents

In general terms, urban space may be defined as the set of different uses of the land juxtaposed among themselves, where these uses define areas such as the downtown area of the city, a place for the concentration of commercial, services, and management activities; industrial and residential areas, distinct in terms of social form and content, leisure areas, and, among others, those areas that are reserved for future expansion. This set of uses of the land is a spatial organization of the city or simply an urban space. The urban space is, therefore, fragmented and articulated, where each one of its parts has spatial relationships among one another, social reflex and social conditioning factors, a set of symbols, and fighting fields. Society is like this one of its dimensions, which is most subtly materialized into spatial forms (Corrêa, 1995).

Corrêa (1995) catalogues five agents as responsible for the production of urban space: 1) The owners of the production means – the owners of big industries, and of commercial companies, who, due to the dimension of their activities, are significant consumers of space; 2) The land owners – the ones who own lands and act in order to get the most profit from them, and for their land properties to provide them with the most possible profitable use; 3) The real estate developers – a group of agents that accomplish (totally or partially) the incorporation operations, funding (loans), technical study, construction or physical production of real estate and the commercialization or transformation of the goods-capital into money-capital (accrued of profit); 4) The State – has the set of instruments that may be used in relation to urban space, therefore, also directly acting in the spatial organization of the city; and 5) The excluded social groups – composed by those who do not have any income to pay for the rent for dignified housing, much less to purchase any real estate.

The concepts of space location derive from the social practice of production and reproduction in the context of social labor division. Deák (2016) explains these concepts in the following way: 1) Space – in capitalism, the territory of a unified market in which the goods-form has generalized itself. Such space terminates 'locations,' being the *lócus* of an individual production process (or of a reproduction process); 2) Location - is use value given for any production or reproduction activity since it is a necessary condition for the performance of any activity. A location is constituted by a physical structure generally supported directly on the soil. The distinct properties of different individual locations derive from their respective positions in the urban space; and 3) Use value and payment for the location – a payment for location establishes a use value because it is commercialized as merchandise and endowed with exchange value. The payment for the location fits into the price for the production of goods, along with the payment for the other production conditions: labor and production means. The product market price, which regulates the relative quantities of goods to be produced, also regulates the spatial distribution of production in urban space, in this way.

Once space is part of the reproduction process of society, having its production settled in the needs imposed by the capitalist accumulation development, the societies are organized into structured processes by historically determined production, experience, and power relationships (Lefebvre, 2006). The process of

the production of urban space surpasses the limit of an economic determination of exchanges and circulation of goods since it considers the social, political, ideological, and legal happenings that form the totality of an economic and social process. That is the reason why two aspects are equally important: the constructed environment, where its inhabitants are spread, and the standardization of society regarding its activities and its spatiality (Novack, 2016).

2.2 The growth of urban space

One can understand growth as a process of formation and transformation of space over the years. It is not only composed of the cities' expansion on the territory but also of all the transformation process, including the internal development. The urban growth can be seen through three basic urban and regional analysis criteria (which are complementary): the demographic, the economic, and the spatial (Carrion, 1996).

The demographic criterium uses the population as a measuring unit, emphasizing two indicators: the total urban population and the urbanization rate, given by the reason between the urban population and the total population, and it refers to a particular geographic area or political-administrative division. The economic criterium assesses urban growth according to product increase or a city's income. Concerning the spatial criterium, urban growth is identified through the expansion of urban fabric and of urbanized space. It can also be classified into two types: peripheral growth and internal growth. Peripheral growth refers to the expansion of the urban fabric, while internal growth refers to the transformation of the existing space through usage modifications and densification, among others (Carrion, 1996).

Growth range may occur in a principal or multiple directions, linear growth (ordered by a line), or polar growth (ordered by a pole). It may also be distinguished as being continuous or discontinuous. The continuous one characterizes itself by the fact that in each development stage, the ranges take place in a direct extension of the urban fabric parts already built and consolidated. The discontinuous one presents itself as a more global territory organization by accomplishing cuts between the old parts and the ranges (Panerai, 1983).

Due to the strict agricultural structuring and agriculture modernization, migrating processes of rural-urban type were critical to explain the accelerated Brazilian urbanization and its high concentration level. Other factors are directly connected with the city's organization and dynamics, such as the availability of essential urban services, productive structure, industrialization intensity, profile, transportation and communication system quality and efficiency, and vegetative population growth, among others (Carrion, 1996).

3 Characterization and urban-industrial development of Parobé

The urban-industrial development of VP was triggered by the German immigration process (1846), and the formation of commercial nuclei was triggered with the arrival of the railway traffic (1903) up to the industrialization of leather footwear (1970). Around 1900, the economy in Parobé was predominantly based on

agricultural activity, with an emphasis on cassava cultivation. Other revenue sources came from different types of craft production, such as warehouses, shoe stores, blacksmithing, and carpentry. In this period, successive land splitting took place, something common in the region, transforming the rural properties into smallholdings, which no longer presented survival means for the new generations. Many have migrated to Novo Hamburgo and Porto Alegre, seeking job opportunities.

The emergence of craftsmanship in the German colonies started with the first immigrants, and such work was passed from father to son. The production process was mastered by the craftsman, who had the technical knowledge for the production. The vast availability of raw materials allowed leather footwear work to grow faster than other fields. Then, among the jobs performed by German immigrants, the shoemaker job was outstanding. The productive structure of the familiar craftsmanship shoemaker signals characteristics of a pre-industrial Society since there was no division of labor or machines (Schneider, 1996).

A new development phase started in the 1940s when the immigrants' sons started to set up the first footwear factories. In the 1970s, as the exportations started, the companies increased their revenue and, consequently, their hiring. In 1980, Parobé had around 10.000 inhabitants, 65 factories, and 75 commercial stores (Mosmann, 1999). From this time on, being intensified in the 1990s, there was a significant migration of people from distant municipalities, and even from other states, aiming to work in the local companies, result of the region's economic boom. The village started to grow at an accelerated pace, and in this way, the demand for services arose, as well as for services, infrastructure, and equipment. In 1982, Parobé was emancipated from Taquara.

During great growth of the leather footwear industry (from 1990 to 2010), migrating movements directed to the region had the economic aspect of professional qualification and life quality as its primary motivation. The absorption of labor work increased with the modernization process and with the production growth, exhausting, in a short period of time, the contingent of labor workers available in the region. This situation resulted in the attraction of many labor workers to the region (Schneider, 1996). They were the small agriculturists' sons, sharecroppers, landless people, among others, coming from the agriculture modernization regions of RS and from Alto Uruguai, Missões, and Grande Santa Rosa. In the 2000s, industrial plants were relocated in the leather footwear sector, seeking tax incentives and a cheaper labor force, which made some VP industries move to the northeast of Brazil. Such a phenomenon made the region's residents seek opportunities in other municipalities or states.

3.1 Population growth, urbanization, and migration

The information from the census presents distinct migration movements of the population from VP and Parobé, having the data basis on place of birth, dwelling period in the present residence, and place of former residence. Crossing the information, it is possible to identify people's place of birth condition and know whether they are migrates or not (Bassan, 2017). It is taken into account migrating people who lived no longer than 10 years continuously in the municipality, in the region and in the Federal Union – FU, according to IBGE census. The 1991 census was

the most complete one in relation to internal migrations. The information on the migrations had their results published on the 2000 Census in an aggregated way, not having collected data on the last migration phase, for municipal level, limiting thus the analyses on intrastate migration, and generating losses in relation to comparability with previous and subsequent census (Bassan, 2017).

In order to have a more balanced comparison of data on population and urbanization, a cut was established within the analysis total period (from 1970 to 2019), and it goes from 1991 to 2010 when all the municipalities of VP were already emancipated. From all the municipalities of VP, Parobé has the highest population growth rate (60,97%) during the analyzed period, followed by Três Coroas (58,07%) and Igrejinha (54,33%). These municipalities are also outstanding regarding job positions generated in the footwear industry. Concerning urbanization, Três Coroas is at the front with 73,21% of growth, followed by Igrejinha with 58,92% and Parobé with 58,05%. Parobé is the first regarding population growth compared to VP and RS (Table 1).

Table 1- Growth rates of total population, urbanization, and migration in the municipalities of VP and RS (1991- 2010)

Year/ Period of time	1991-2010		1991	2010	1991-2010
Municipality/ Region/ FU	Population growth (%)	Urbanization growth (%)	Migration (%)	Migration (%)	Migration Growth (%)
Igrejinha	54,33	58,92	35,2	21,9	-4,3
Parobé	60,97	58,05	50,4	22,5	-28,15
Riozinho	27,77	55,43	12,8	16	59,81
Rolante	45,19	53,56	16,9	17,1	43,38
Taquara	26,67	28,96	22,9	18,3	2,58
Três Coroas	58,07	73,21	29,2	23,3	26,47
VP	46,19	50	31,7	20,5	-5,24
RS	17,02	30,07	15	14,8	15,61

Source: Elaborated by the authors (2023), based on the data from the IBGE census of 1991 and 2010.

In 1991, the population of Parobé was estimated to be 31.995 inhabitants. Out of this total, 50,4% (16.139) were migrants, whereas the second highest percentage in VP was found in the municipality of Igrejinha with 35,2% (7.231) out of a population of 20.514 habitants. The percentage of migrates present in VP in 1991 was 31,7% out of a population of 126.872 inhabitants and 15% in RS out of a population of 9.138.670 inhabitants. In 2000, the total municipal population had a growth of around 40% compared to 1991, reaching a total of 44.776 inhabitants. At the beginning of 2010, Parobé had 51.502 inhabitants; however, the migration rate decreased, reaching 22,5%, up to 11.596 (a drop of -28,15%). Igrejinha also presented a drop of -4,3% and VP of -5,24%, pulled by the two municipalities. Even so, Parobé kept its migration rate

higher than VP, 20,5% out of a population of 185.468 inhabitants and RS, 14,8% out of a population of 10.693.929 inhabitants (Table 1).

The demographic criterion for urban growth analysis (Carrion, 1996) uses the population per measuring unit, highlighting two indicators: the total urban population and the urbanization rate (reason between urban population and total population). Urbanization rates rose over 90% in the 1991s, 2000s, and 2010s, setting a high urban growth rate. This prominence in the growth rates occurred mainly due to the attraction movement caused by the leather footwear industries, from workers and farmer workers who migrated from rural to urban areas where the industries were located.

Nevertheless, from the 1990s, with the increase in international competition, especially from Asian exporting countries, and the appreciation of the Brazilian currency in the first years of the Real (new Brazilian currency), a crisis blew the regional economy, what reflected on the export of Brazilian footwear. From that point on, the region went through a restructuring in the productive basis, and this phenomenon caused, among others, transformations in the industry's sizes, pulled by the outsourcing of part of the footwear production process. The crisis of 2008 reflected on the rural population of Parobé, which, according to IBGE census data, had an increase of 114,56%, from 1.337 inhabitants in 2000 to 2.869 inhabitants in 2010.

3.2 Employment

Productive restructuring is the term used to designate the systemization of human tasks so that they attend to the new guidelines for increasing productivity required by the market (Titton, 2011). The productive restructuring was noticed expressively in Parobé in the 2000s. The footwear production chain adopted outsourcing in a significant way, which reduced the number of big establishments (over 500 employees according to IBGE rating) and increased the number of small establishments (between 20 and 99 employees) and micro establishments (up to 19 employees). The atelier spread, small size establishments having up to 99 employees, where footwear may be produced in parts or pieces. The ateliers are a way to outsource the production that contributed to the reduction of operational costs, stimulated specialization, and the productive increase. However, they undermined the bond between contractors and hires since the responsibility started being managed by many new companies without significant formal commitment, generating savings on labor charges. The territorial distribution of these new establishments reflects a city that is more spread out to the outskirts (Figure 2).

The phenomenon may also be checked up regarding the employment bonds, which, according to RAIS data of MTE, suffered inversion in their proportion. In 1985, the big and medium-size establishments held most of the labor positions in leather footwear industries in VP, around 17.150, while the micro and small establishments held 3.119. In 2010, there were 13.845 employees in the micro and small establishments, while in the big and medium-size ones, there were 18.675. The difference changes significantly at the end of the series (1985-2019), reaching 2019 with micro and small establishments having 9.850 labor positions and the big and medium-size ones having 11.561. It demonstrates the great increase in the

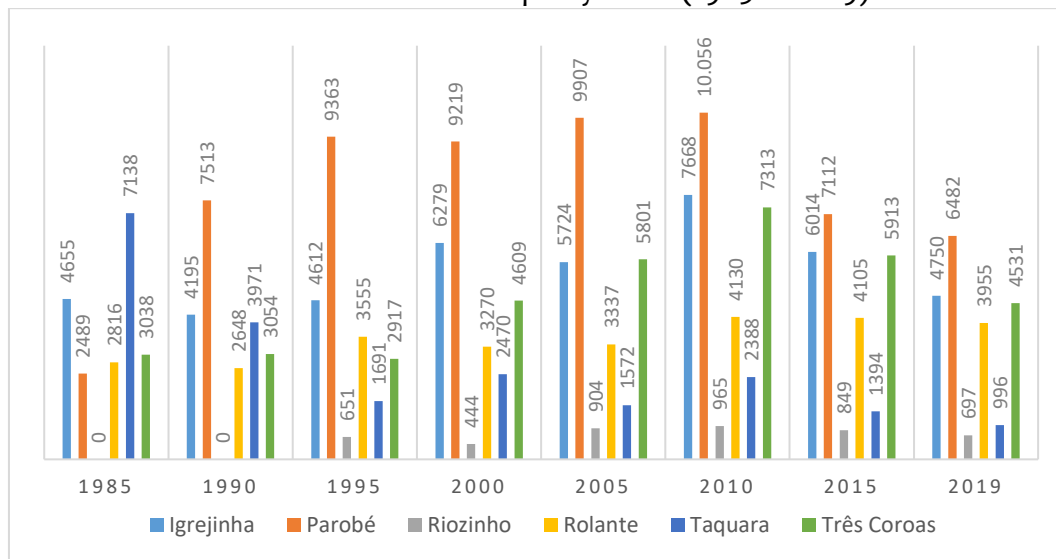
participation of micro and small-size establishments in the region, the fruit of the productive restructuring in effect from the 2000s.

Examining the number of leather footwear industries, one can observe that the increase in the number of such establishments occurs in the same period when there is a population increase, though some differences are found. The period from 1985 to 2010 brings about very relevant growth numbers. In 1985, there were 12 establishments, then 26 in 1990, 43 in 1995, 126 in 2000, and 216 in 2005. In 2010, there was an increase of 25,91 times higher in the number of establishments, reaching 311. However, in 2015, there was a reduction of 50 establishments, adding up to 261. At the end of the series, it is observed that there was a heavy reduction in the number of establishments in Parobé, from 311 (during the more vigorous period) to 182.

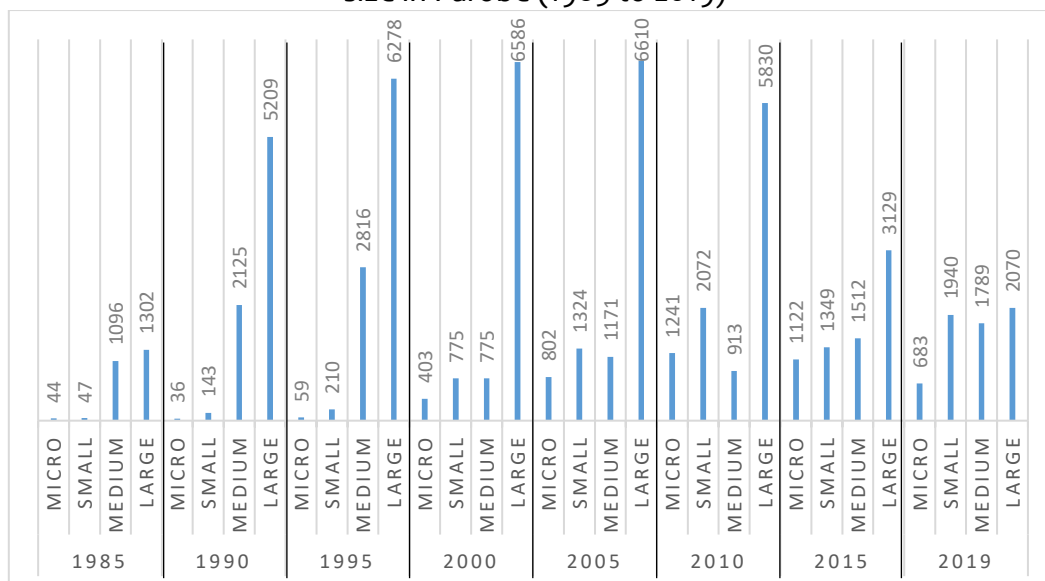
The number of labor bonds produced by the leather footwear industry is another critical data point demonstrating the sector's importance for the municipality (RAIS and MTE). In 1985, Parobé counted on 2.489 job positions. Nevertheless, in 1990, this number leaped to 7.513, making Parobé the municipality with the most job positions in VP. The number of employment/labor bonds kept increasing to 9.363 in 1995. The number of employment/labor bonds kept increasing to 9.363 in 1995. However, in 2000, a slight drop occurred, closing the year with 9.219 job positions. In 2005, it starts leaping again, adding up to 9.907 job positions. 2010 shows up at the top with 10.056 job positions, making up 19,53% of the total population hired by the leather footwear sector. Nevertheless, the latest years of the series register expressive drops regarding the job positions, with 7.112 and 6.482 in 2015 and 2019, respectively. Only in 2019 did Parobé lose 3.574 job positions compared to 2010 (a reduction of 35,54%).

Graph 1 shows the evolution of the number of employment/labor bonds in the footwear industries in VP during the historical series from 1985 to 2019, in which it is observed that the municipality of Parobé is ahead concerning job positions among the other municipalities of VP. The data in Graph 2 gives us an overview of the impact of the restructuring in relation to the size of the industries in the region. Among the municipalities of VP that felt such change the most is Parobé, which increased the job positions almost 30 times for the micro and small establishments, moving from 91 in 1985 to 2.623 job positions in 2019. Another datum that stands out is the decrease of bonds in the big industries along the series. There was an exponential increase from 1990 to 2005, but in 2010, a drop occurred, which proceeded in 2015, reaching 2019 with 2.070 employment/labor bonds. Medium-sized industries keep constant between increases and drops, and many such industries have started being outsourced due to the productive restructuring process.

One can observe an important relation between migration and the job positions in the leather footwear industry in Parobé. At the beginning of the 1990s, the number of job positions started increasing considerably. In such a year, the number of migrations was also very high, being 50% of the total population composed of migrants. In 2010, almost 1/3 of the population was composed of migrants, and the number of job positions was higher than that in the series from 1985 to 2019. Another finding is the reduction in the average number of job positions per establishment, as demonstrated by the data from RAIS, which confirms the restructuring scenario since 2000.

Graph 1- Evolution in the number of employment/labor bonds in the footwear industries in the municipality of VP (1985 to 2019)

Source: Elaborated by the authors (2023), based on the data from RAIS / MTE (1985 to 2019).

Graph 2- Evolution in the number of employment/labor bonds per footwear industry size in Parobé (1985 to 2019)

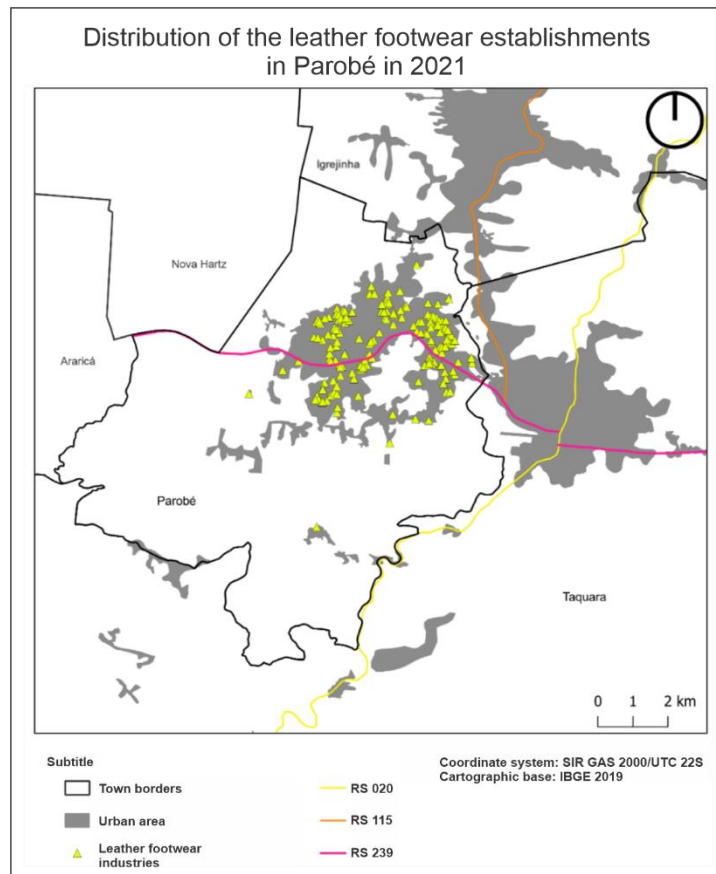
Source: Elaborated by the authors (2023), based on the data from RAIS / MTE (1985 to 2019).

The data from RAIS in 2014 reveal a drop in the occupations in Parobé, emphasizing the industrial sector. In 2010, there were 13.966 people, against only 7.602 positions taken in the industry in 2014, dropping approximately 54% (RAIS, 2016; Bassan, 2017). Thus, there was a slight rise in the move of unemployed people (due to the closing of footwear industries) to rural areas close to the urban area of Parobé, particularly as an alternative for housing, once the values for lots were more accessible (Bassan, 2017).

4 The social-spatial setting of Parobé

The urban spot's growth range in Parobé occurred linearly, in an axis marked by RS 239, where a significant number of leather footwear industries (Figure 2) are found. Linear growth is understood as the formation of a small district along a neighboring road, as much as range of a peripheral neighborhood along an avenue, or even of a specific urbanization along a road.

Figure 2- Distribution of the leather footwear establishments in Parobé in 2021



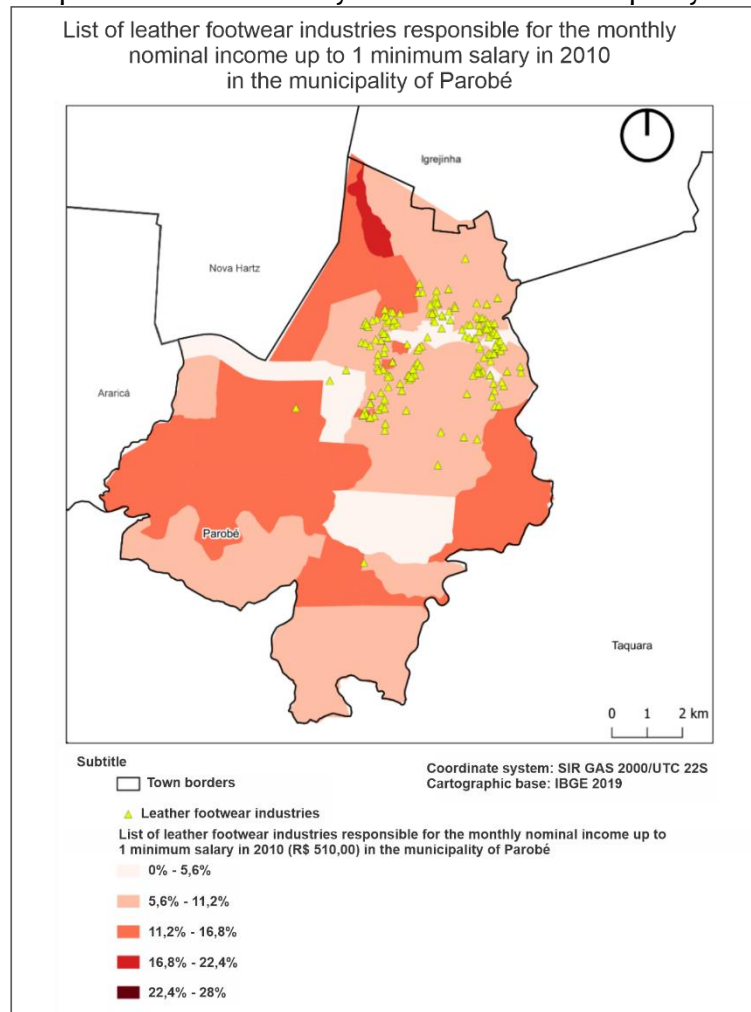
Source: Bosa, 2022.

According to the concepts of location and space presented above, in Parobé's case, the order is established by the owners of the means of production of the leather footwear industry. Every single society needs a territory. With social labor division, such territory is structured in spaces. Industrial activities require a location, and interconnection is then established among these places in accordance with the interaction among those activities. Such interconnection is the component matter of space, and it defines how space is structured. Parobé has 14 manufacturing plants in the central part of the city, which occupy an extensive land area in such an important region, and it will be approached later.

From a socio-economic view, Figure 3 represents the leather footwear industries and their income, considering the number of people responsible for the monthly nominal income up to 1 minimum salary – s.m. (in 2010) per IBGE census sector. It is observed that the higher percentage of people with a monthly income up to 1 s.m. is located in the peripheral and rural regions of the municipalities. Most

industries are in more central regions of the municipalities, which are generally better served in terms of infrastructure. The central region is where fewer people receive a monthly income of up to 1 m.s. It is identified, thus, that the leather footwear industries are present in areas where there is a predominance of residents receiving higher incomes, which does not represent the idea that the salaries coming from the leather footwear industry (directly or indirectly) necessarily suggest a better life quality for the population.

Figure 3- List of leather footwear industries responsible for the monthly nominal income up to 1 minimum salary in 2010 in the municipality of Parobé



Fonte: Bosa, 2022.

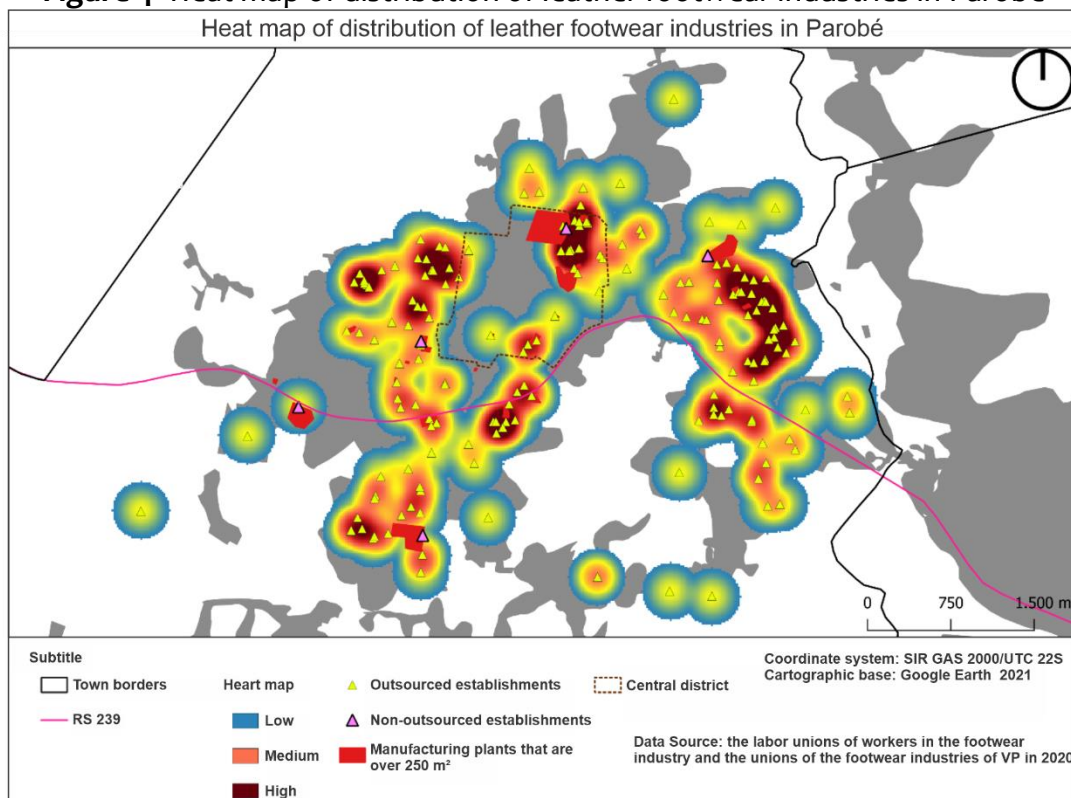
According to data from Atlas Brasil, the Municipal Human Development Rate - IDHM of Parobé has leaped from 0,600 in 2000 to 0,704 in 2010, which is considered high, standing in fourth place among the six VP municipalities. Data by IDESE from 2014, formed by three sets of information compared (income, health, education), point out that Parobé had the lowest rate among the VP municipalities, 0,6656, considered an average level according to FEE rating, while the others had rates above 0,700. For SEPLAN (2015), the social indicators of COREDE, which gather data from FEE, IBGE, and Atlas Socioeconômico do Rio Grande do Sul, among other sources, which VP belongs to, present problems mainly about education and income. About

education, there is a low percentage of people enrolled in high school and a high rate of inhabitants who have not finished elementary school.

4.1 Industrial occupation in the central area and urban empty spaces

Getting close to the central area, the map in Figure 4 shows a concentration of outsourced and non-outsourced establishments in Parobé. The data on this distribution were obtained from the labor unions of workers in the footwear industry and the unions of the footwear industries of VP, and they take into account the affiliated industries that were active up to 2020. Parobé appears to have 192 establishments. The heat map (that interpolates the data) uses a ray of 300 meters to define the concentration and intensity of the presence of leather footwear industries.

Figure 4- Heat map of distribution of leather footwear industries in Parobé



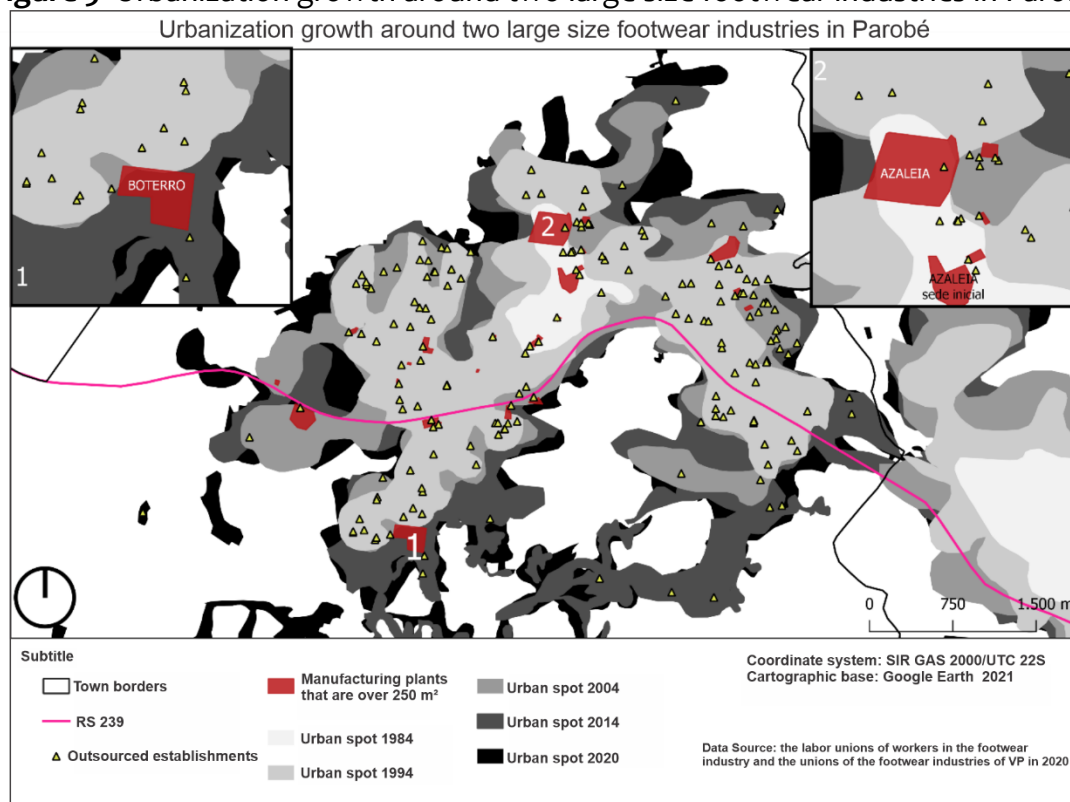
Source: Bosa, 2021.

Many industries in the central area settled down in the initial period of the municipality's development. In the map (Figure 4), at least nine zones of higher intensity can be observed, in which the number of outsourced establishments (yellow triangles) represents the majority. In more than a half of the zones, there is the presence of non-outsourced establishments and manufacturing plants that are over 250 m² big, reaching, in some cases, over 100.000 m² (red polygons). Two possibilities are raised. In the first one, the non-outsourced industries turn to outsourcing part of their processes, which leads to the emergence of ateliers around the industries to carry out the activities. It is also possible that medium and large size establishments, which have higher production capacity, opt to outsource part of their processes to

cope with the demand. It may lead to an increase in the number of ateliers around the industries once the non-outsourced companies may choose to settle down in closer areas to make logistics more accessible and reduce transportation costs.

Figure 5 illustrates the evolution of the urban spot close to two areas around big industries. Detail 1 shows BOTERRO's area, whose construction took place in the 2000s, with approximately 50.000 m². It is observed that in 2004, there was no urban spot in this place, and in 2014, there is a consolidated urban spot, which kept expanding up to 2020. Boterrio footwear worked as an attraction pole for the southeast region of the municipality, transforming a neighborhood that had rural characteristics (Fazenda Martins) into a neighborhood of great flow of people, and it attracted commerce and services to the region and brought about a significant urban increase in the following years.

Figure 5- Urbanization growth around two large size footwear industries in Parobé

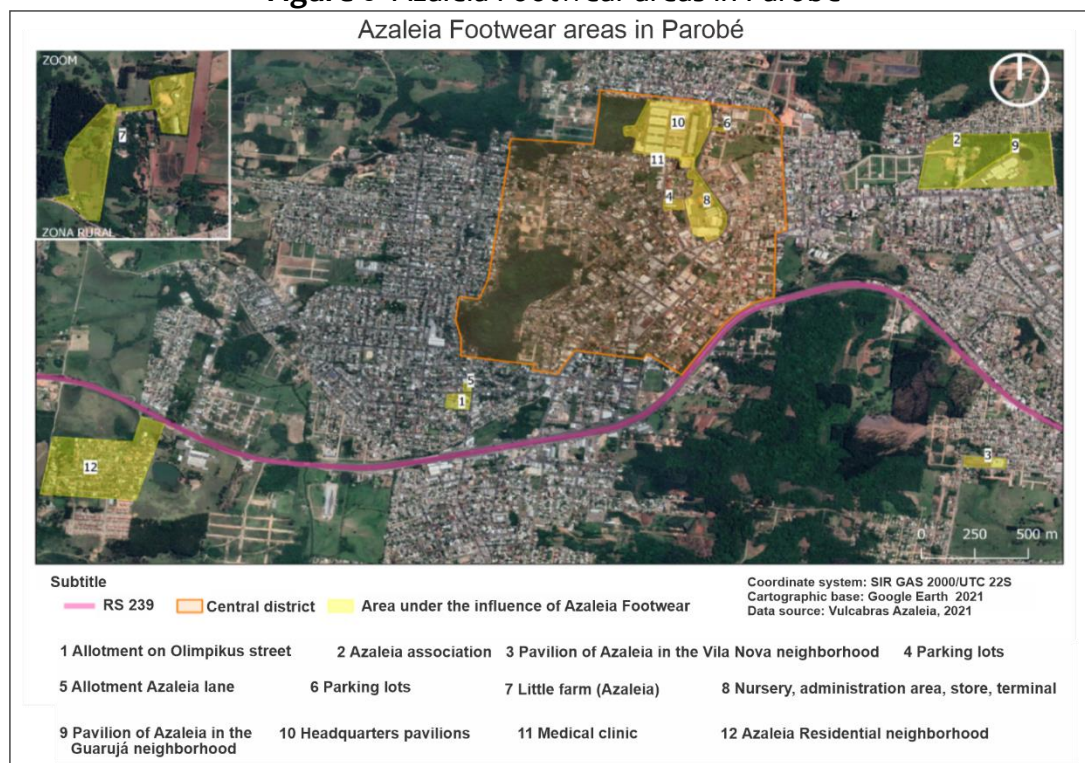


Source: Bosa, 2021.

Detail 2 (Figure 5) refers to the areas of AZALEIA SEDE INICIAL and AZALEIA (expansion that started at the beginning of the 1970s). The most significant increase in the urban spot around it occurred between 1994 and 2004. The presence of several outsourced contiguous industries is observed. Azaleia footwear, founded in 1958 today known as Vulcabras Azaleia, is the most significant footwear industry in the central area. In the 1990s, the company counted on 10.000 employees only in its headquarters, which was 63.574 m² big in constructed area and had a turnover of R\$ 504 million, reaching the volume of 31 million pairs of shoes sold in 1998 (Bosa, 2021a). Vulcabras/Azaleia owns the giant manufacturing plant of VP, something around 100.000 m² of occupation in the Central area of the town.

The impacts on the territory caused by the old company Azaleia may be seen in Figure 6, which details on the areas that were under its domain or that keep being under its domain. Three are housing enterprises. The number 1 is the allotment on Olimpikus street (named after the name of one of the principal sports brands belonging to the company), located in the Guarani neighborhood, one of the oldest neighborhoods in Parobé and close to the downtown area, which takes up approximately 9.500 m². The second allotment, in front of the first one, is on Azaleia Lane (n# 5), which takes up the core of the block of approximately 1.720 m². Years later, a third allotment was launched, originating Azaleia Residential neighborhood (n# 12), taking up around 176.000 m². Azaleia Residential neighborhood is located on the town's outskirts, where today there is another residential neighborhood connected to it, called São João, and other close to it as well.

Figure 6- Azaleia Footwear areas in Parobé



Source: Bosa, 2021.

In the east region of the town, there is a deactivated pavilion of Azaleia in the Vila Nova neighborhood (n# 3) of approximately 10.800 m². In the northeast region, in the neighborhood called Guarujá (which, along with the downtown area and Guarani neighborhood, are the oldest ones in the city), is located Azaleia association (n# 2), which holds a soccer field, a running track, and a cultural center. Next to the Azaleia association is another plant pavilion (n# 9) of 87.300 m². However, it is the downtown area that holds the most considerable built structure belonging to Azaleia footwear: the headquarters pavilions (n# 10), a medical clinic (n# 11), nursery, administration area, store, terminal (both at n# 8) and parking lots (n# 6 and n# 4), which are in a continuous area of approximately 160.000 m² of land occupation. Still, in the rural area, Azaleia used to have a little farm (n# 7) where some activities related

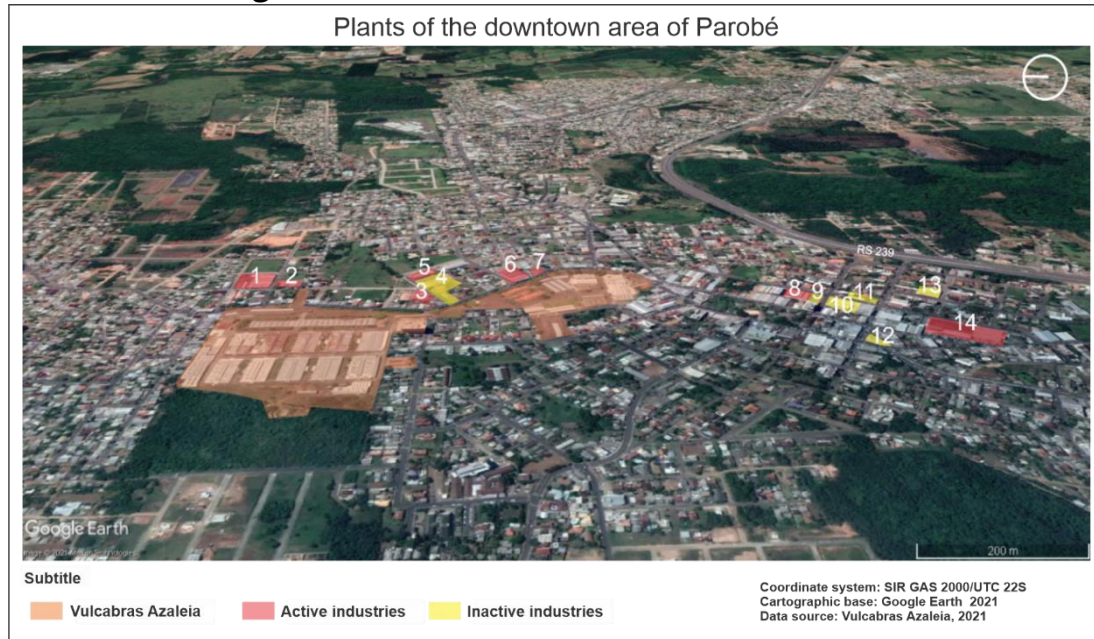
to environmental education took place and whose estimated area is 10 ha. The total area under the influence of Azaleia reaches the amount of 645.820 m². Corroborating with Corrêa (1995), it is possible to state that the owners of the industrial production means are the big urban space consumers in Parobé (Figure 6).

Azaleia was one industry that reallocated its production to the northeast states in the 2000s. Another fact to be highlighted was the sale of Azaleia to Vulcabras in 2007. With the closure of part of the production line in 2009, 800 employees were dismissed, thus keeping only the technological complex for the development of footwear working in the city. The closure of these labor positions affected not only the workers who worked directly for the company but also the businesses and services close to the company, which depended on the revenue generated by the movement produced by the company's employees.

As a result, the social dynamics of the companies around the building complex changed significantly and are felt until these days (Bosa, 2021b). Many of the company's pieces of equipment were left idle. The parking lots (n# 4 and n# 6) are empty. Azaleia association (n# 2) was discontinued for a long time, and events rarely occur there. The nursery (n# 8) was given to the municipality. The medical clinic (n# 11) was sold to Unimed. Part of the headquarters pavilions (n# 10) is inactive, and around 2.500 m² of the area was sold to a local construction company, where an unfinished residential building stands out in the landscape due to its height. The place pointed out at n# 9 was also empty for some years, and nowadays, Usaflex rents the pavilions located there (Figure 6).

Besides Azaleia, other plants are present in the downtown area. Figure 7 presents 14 examples of these plant pavilions: eight active (all outsourced), two inactive (urban empty places – n# 4 and n# 9), and 4 with new use (commerce and services). Seven of them are located around Azaleia; the others are located close to 1º de Maio square in the downtown area. The structure built by Azaleia is in a privileged area of the city, close to important urban pieces of equipment (regional hospital, Engenheiro Parobé school, city council chamber, city hall, and city forum, among others) with great potential for land-use planning (Neves, 2015) and appreciation of the urban land.

To complement, there is the quantitative in square meters of land taken up by the leather footwear industries plants located downtown. For this calculation, it was considered the estimated value supplied by *Google My Maps*. Although the figures are approximate, they provide a notion of the range of the physical presence of the leather footwear industry in Parobé. The area taken up by the active industries in the downtown area reaches 141.714 m², yet the area taken up by inactive industries in the central area of the city is 11.330 m², adding up to an area of 153.044 m². The downtown area is approximately 1.890.000 m². Therefore, the plant pavilions take up around 8,1% of the total land of such area of the city. Some of these plants have been deactivated for many years due to the process of productive restructuring, which generated idle spaces that change the scenario and the city's life quality.

Figure 7- Plants of the downtown area of Parobé

Source: Bosa, 2021, based on Google Earth 2021.

5 Final considerations

The present work investigated the urban structuring of the Parobé municipality with the leather footwear industry as the central element for the transformations to set evidence on its spatial, demographic, socio-economic, and territorial impacts. Many of the processes identified in the region where Parobé is located are the result of intensified globalization, which has led to transformations in the territories because of the search to insert themselves, or remain inserted, in this global context.

The case of the municipality of Parobé demonstrates how the leather footwear industry transforms space into location, acting many times as a realtor (in the case of allotments), establishing the price to take up the land, which, in turn, regulates the relative quantities of goods to be produced and, thus, at the same time, the special distribution of the production in the urban space. The regulation of the production necessarily implies spatial organization and, therefore, reflects itself on the city's urban setting.

The vector of the urban space setting was observed as the capitalist mode of production, represented by the leather footwear industries in VP and, in particular, in Parobé. They are inductors of the demographic changes and transformation agents on a local and regional economic basis. The large concentration of plants in the central area reveals their symbolism. In Parobé, it is observed that the large plants are concentrated in the central area, which signals the industry's participation in the urban spot's expansion once the central location is also the initial core of the municipality.

In the past, the big industries established strong relationships with their surroundings. As in the example given regarding Azaleia, they played a decisive role in several areas of life in society (housing, health, education, leisure). Concerning the

productive process and the urban space transformation surrounding the place where they settled down, the interactions with the place were perceptible, either relating to boosting the services sector or the reproduction of the workforce. Nowadays, these same industries, or at least those that have remained, keep a relationship strictly connected to the distribution of outsourced parts services for footwear production.

A possible change may be noticed in new uses for the pavilions of inactive footwear plants in the central area, which may represent a new phase – even though still insipid – of transformation in the dynamics inherent to the transition from the segregated industrial city of the XX century to the post-industrial city socially and spatially fragmented. Given this fact, the municipality of Parobé still seeks to reorganize itself in the face of the reordering of the productive forces in the region and interpret other spatial organizational ways.

The productive monopoly of the leather footwear industry and the concentration of efforts on a unique product type cause a very high dependency effect. Global and national crises affect the commercialization of footwear in Parobé and, consequently, the job offer. The industries restructured their production way, disseminating outsourcing, which, in turn, undermined the employment bonds, decreased salaries, even kept the high production demand, and made work hours more exhaustive. It brings about workers' impoverishment, provoking consumption decline in portions of the population. Part of the population even returns to the rural areas, seeking accessible housing. Therefore, it affects the bases of the city and leads to deterioration quality of life and urban space.

Summing up, the principal spatial effects related to the leather footwear industry in Parobé, observed in the present work, were the occupation of a substantial part of the land in the central area by the big establishments since the very beginning and the outsourcing process, which pulverized the industrial activity into micro and small establishments. The spatial setting resulting from it is expressed into an urbanization of extensive nature, which will bring along with it the urban-industrial production (and reproduction) conditions.

Another issue that deserves attention is the need for more social results since the wealth generated by the leather footwear industry serves only some of the population. The improvements in life quality brought about by the industry are expressed in upgrading proposed by themselves (a fruit of the Ford/Taylor's, post-Ford's, and Toyota's thoughts), with support regarding health, education, and urban equipment. All that got undone over the years, and today, many of these structures are found abandoned, removed, or obstructed. If once they were a source of pride, these days they are synonyms for neglect. It reveals that although the economic force produced expressive results in terms of industrial production, tax collection, and generation of jobs, all these things only reach a portion of the population. Parobé loads the role of being the producer of no-lasting consumption assets on a big scale. However, the most significant amount of the total value it generates is sent to places away from the municipality.

The results represent a possible reading about the municipality and the region. The present work aimed to gather historical, socio-economic, and spatial information that may serve as basis for future studies. As it unfolds, the methodology applied to the present research may serve as a reference for future studies of other cities and

regions; this is another article's contribution. It may be possible to compare it with other regions, such as Vale dos Sinos, which shares historical, financial, and cultural similarities with VP. Another possibility for investigation lies in correlating the data obtained in this research with the regulation on the occupation of the territory, established in the urbanistic guiding/chief plan of Parobé.

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