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URBAN SPACE AND PRODUCTION OF SOCIALLY SEGMENTED CENTRALITIES: IN WHICH THE CENTRALITY OF CAMPOS DO JORDÃO, SP?

ESPAÇO URBANO E PRODUÇÃO DE CENTRALIDADES SOCIALMENTE SEGMENTADAS: EM QUE SE FIRMA A CENTRALIDADE DE CAMPOS DO JORDÃO, SP?

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Abstract

Based on a review of the concept of centrality, supported by contributions from geography and urbanism, the objective is to highlight the centrality attributes of the city of Campos do Jordão (SP), in different time scales and spatial organization. Thus, we carried out a reading of the history of the city to reconstruct the structuring of the urban space, showing the demographic dynamics and economic activities triggered by tourism, the production of socially segmented intra-urban centralities and the centrality of Campos do Jordão in the regional and micro-regional space. The methodology used includes bibliographic and documentary research, quantification procedures, geoprocessing and spatial analysis techniques and on-site observations. Through the empirical findings it was possible to make notes for a discussion on the rationality of the market city, which imposes itself symbolically and functionally, on the dynamics of the residents, increasing social disparities and involvement of the public power in the depreciation of everyone's rights to a dignified life in the city.

Keywords: Social production of space; Centrality; Campos do Jordão; Market town.

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Resumo

Com base em uma revisão do conceito de centralidade, apoiada em aportes da geografia e do urbanismo, objetiva-se ressaltar os atributos de centralidade da cidade de Campos do Jordão (SP), em distintas escalas de tempo e da organização espacial. Para isso, procedeu-se a uma leitura da história da cidade com o intuito de reconstituir a estruturação do espaço urbano, evidenciando a dinâmica demográfica e de atividades econômicas deflagrada pelo turismo, a produção de centralidades intraurbanas socialmente segmentadas e a centralidade de Campos do Jordão no espaço regional e microrregional. A metodologia utilizada inclui, além da pesquisa bibliográfica e documental, procedimentos de quantificação, uso de técnicas de geoprocessamento e análise espacial e observações *in loco*. As constatações empíricas possibilitaram fazer apontamentos para uma discussão sobre a racionalidade da cidade mercadológica que se impõe, simbólica e funcionalmente, sobre as dinâmicas da população moradora, alimentando disparidades sociais e convivência do poder público na depreciação dos direitos de todos à vida digna na cidade.

Palavras – chave: Produção social do espaço; Centralidade; Campos do Jordão; Cidade mercadológica.

Introduction

Campos do Jordão is one of the Brazilian cities with different climatical and landscape characteristics. Due to a population estimated at approximately 52 thousand inhabitants, it would not be classified as a medium demographic city. However, it is debatable and deserves some consideration in the field of studies about urban network. In certain periods of the year, it receives a considerable flow of visitors because of its predominant and intense tourist activity, which arises the question whether the temporary increase in demands for goods, equipment and services does not induce the dynamics of an average-sized city or, a small medium city by the standards of the urban network of Vale do Paraíba Paulista.

Castello Branco (2006) states that although their demographic size should be considered in the hierarchical definition of cities, we should note that the location of the so-called medium cities and their transport system, which makes them accessible, are essential conditions to establish the position of a city in the urban network. The author also emphasizes the economic importance, the degree of urbanization and the quality of urban life as factors that guide the attributes of the centrality of medium-sized cities.

In this conceptual perspective of the centrality for studies of urban networks, Campos do Jordão constitutes a singular reality, regarding the process of its socio-spatial formation, which was initially linked to health treatment and, later on, to tourism. Nowadays, the city constitutes one of the most popular tourist destinations in the Valeparaibana region and has been going through major transformations since the 1980s. The urbanization of the city is quickening, as well as in the state of São Paulo in general because of an intense population dynamics and an uncontrolled production of the built space. They have generated not only an increase in the service economy focused on the exploitation of tourism in different ways, but also, the same fierce social contradictions of the divided space, according to Santos (1979) who referred to the expression resulting from the capitalist production of urban space in Brazil.

Therefore, the current organization of the intra-urban space is revealed by the coexistence of socially segmented centralities - which reflect the importance of the urban economy based on tourism and the dynamics of its residents' daily life -, and its correlated centrality within the scope of the Mantiqueira micro-region, regional and interregional relations.

Thus, the comprehension of the social production of urban space, considering the formation and dynamics of intra-urban spaces, taken for their differentiated attributes of centrality, can lead to analyzes of recent urban restructuring and the logic and political actions that are spatially challenged by the uneven distribution and valuation of new activities, services and equipment and the contrasting forms of occupation in the urban mash. Besides that, this understanding can lead to

studies of the dynamics of transformation and organization of the regional and interregional space, thus involving the attractions of the city and the flow of tourists from different origins in the depletion of the place.

Based on a conceptual review of the center and centrality, the objective is to identify, in the course of history and the urban-regional space, what the production processes and dynamics of the centrality of Campos do Jordão are. Thus, the article is organized in two sections: in the first one, it is prepared a review on the concept of centrality with bibliographic support by authors of geography and urbanism, among others; and in the second one, general meanings of the formation of the urban space are recovered to contextualize the production of the tourist city and the resulting socially segmented centralities, in order to gather empirical subsidies to emphasize the rationality of the market city that imposes itself on the local dynamics of its inhabitants, opposing the perspective of building the space of citizens.

Methodology

The methodology used includes a conceptual review on the structuring of urban space and production of centralities, supported by bibliographic research, and a case study based on a historical reading of the formation of the urban space in Campos do Jordão (SP), sustained by access to dissertations, theses, articles and documentary sources. Procedures were adopted to survey and analyze data and information to understand the different intra-urban centralities of the city and its centrality in the regional space:

1. Documentary research in public agencies (state and municipalities), to compile urban legislation and other documents, and to consult the 2010 statistical data of the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE); the Annual Social Information Report (RAIS), for 2018; and in the Department of Roads and Highways (DER), to quantify the average daily number of vehicles on the SP-123 highway to access the city from 2015 to 2018.

2. Application of Silva Neto's methodology (2015), for the calculation of the Socio-spatial Segregation Index (ISE), to measure territorial inequalities, based on income data⁵ obtained and mapped by census sectors from the 2010 Demographic Census.

Use of geoprocessing and spatial analysis techniques, including tools for thematic mapping, using statistical and point data (location of hotels and inns in 2016, according to EMPLASA (2016) and the application of the Kernel density estimator (DRUCK et al, 2004). Other procedures were: vectorization of urban areas, extracted from Landsat satellite images (1984, 1994, 2004 and 2014), and vertical buildings, from a high resolution image of Google Earth for 2018; use of geospatial files, extracted from cartographic documentation of the municipality Zoning Law (PM CJ, 2008) and from IBGE, to map commuting and intercity displacements due to health, education, shopping and leisure (REGIC, 2007). For the thematic map of second residence, IBGE data (2010) based on "permanent private home that occasionally served as a home on the reference date, that is, the home used for weekend breaks, vacation, or another purpose even if, on the date, its occasional occupants were present".

4. Application of the Spatial Syntax methodology (TURNER; PENN; HILLIER, 2005) for the preparation of the Accessibility Potential Map (Axial Map), based on the calculation of the Roads Integration Index obtained from the Open Street Map (OSM) for 2017 and classification of this Index by chromatic scale (from red to violet, representing, respectively, from the highest to the lowest integration index), carried out in the Dephtmap program;

5. Observations in loco in several visits of the authors in the city, before and during the elaboration of the article, for reasons of research, professional work, and leisure.

Conceptual review on centralities of urban and regional space

⁵ The Socio-spatial Segregation Index (ISE) was calculated in three stages. Initially, the indices of low income (Ind 0-3 s.m.) and high income (Ind 10 s.m. or more) were calculated and, finally, using them, the segregation index. For the lower income index, the percentage of heads of permanent private households (dpp) with an income from 0 to 3 minimum wages for all census sectors in the municipality was first calculated. Then, the low-income index for each census sector was calculated. For the higher income index, the percentage of those responsible for the dpp with an income greater than 10 minimum wage (s.m) was also calculated for all sectors. Then, the higher income index for each census sector was calculated. The formula for the final index, the ISE, is as follows: $ISE = [(1 - Ind 0 - 3 s. m.) + Ind 10 s. m. and more] / 2$ (SILVA NETO, 2015, p.15).

Historically, during the urbanization of capitalist societies, cities performed functions linked to the processes of production, distribution, exchange, consumption, and management of different types. The cities prevailed over the rural world, leading to the flourishing of the urban society, which was born from industrialization. Thus, industrialization and economic growth become at the same time the cause and effect of territorial changes, urban expansion, at various scales, and integration of rural life to urban life with the consumption of agricultural production and the concentration of population in the means of production, promoting the centrality of urban life (LEFEBVRE, 2008).

According to Bueno (2016), the centrality of urban space is an important issue because it represents the meaning of the city space-time for what it brings. Thus, it is necessary to understand the center and centrality of (and in) urban space to speak about them. In its first sense, the center assumes the concentration of things that exist in the world in a given place.

According to Lefebvre (2008), any point can become central, a convergent node, depending on the evolution of the urban structure, which would become polycentric in the long run. The urban space produces and reproduces urban society, materializing the phenomenon of centrality, as the city has an attraction over diverse populations and social and economic agents, centralizing relationships of all kinds and generating a power of influence that is exercised in the city and beyond it. Over the years, the original concentration on a location in the urban space weakens and breaks, creating another center elsewhere (LEFEBVRE, 2008).

In this sense, the study of urban centrality must take place in relation to the very notion of urban structuring, and of the changes that take place over the time. They are interrelated concepts that respect the different arrangements of the use and occupation of the urban soil and the diverse articulations between them, resulting from these arrangements.

Thus, centrality is defined by the dialectical movement that builds and destroys it (LEFEBVRE, 2008, p. 110). For Santos (2008), this spatial dialectic creates and recreates urban dynamics, which occur through the interrelationships between products and producers, forms and content, fixed and flows, objects and actions, which come together, in variable combinations, producing the phenomenon of centrality.

For Lefebvre (2008), the dynamics of the production of the urban center is similar to the one in the city, the product of forces, actions and social processes that organize its space. For Castells (2011, p. 273), the center represents, on the one hand, "the spatialization of the process of technical and social division of labor [...] on the other hand, we can define it as a geographical specialization of a certain type of consumption and service units". For the same author, the center does not define itself as a fixed place in the urban structure forever, which means the impossibility of "settling the urban center, [revealing] that it is necessary to define it in relation to the whole of the urban structure" (CASTELLS, 2011, p. 275, emphasis added).

Castells (2011) considers four aspects related in the constitution of the centers, namely, the economic, the institutional policy, the ideological and the social environment. The economic refers to the spatial organization of the channels of exchange between production and consumption. The institutional policy corresponds to the articulation of the strengths of the state apparatus realized in the urban structure. The ideological is the symbolic center, which is marked by the places that compress the valorization of a significant spatial organization. The social environment is the expression of how the reproduction and transformation of urban social relations are spatially organized.

The spatial production of the centrality is dynamic due to the complex process of formation and social transformation of downtown, which is understood as a place of functional specialization making them unique by the concentration and generation of diverse flows (decisions, information, capital, goods), arising from relationships established from the services and equipment located therein (SPÓSITO, 2002; SILVA, 2001). Yet, according to Spípio (1991, p. 6), the center is above all "the point of convergence-divergence, it is the knot of the circulation system, it is the place where everyone is headed to, (...) the center can be both an integrator and a disperser".

For Tourinho (2004), mobility, accessibility, adequacy, and location are important in the definition of downtown. Accessibility is essential because downtown is the place of great or maximum attraction in the city. Mobility takes place in the center itself, represented by the movement and fluidity of people and things which are possible and organize the central place. Downtown also reveals some accommodation of urban equipment to the way that users of various spaces use and enjoy them. Thus, downtown is the place that adds to its sum of functional and locational advantages its own identity (TOURINHO, 2004).

From the 20th to the 21st century, various socio-spatial events contributed to consolidate urban centralities. Spício (1996, p.114) highlights, among others, the impact of new locations of commercial equipment and services; new forms of flexible production (post-Fordism) and the speed of economic changes; the emergence of centralities in cities of different sizes, the diffusion of cars and the increase in the importance of time for leisure and consumption, etc.

In this sense, it is understood that there is no simple change in the location of activities that were downtown or dispersion of these activities to other areas of the city, but a logic of an advantageous location to the economic dynamics of certain activities that express a “decentralized concentration” in relation to downtown, redefining the intra-urban centrality, which then tends to become multiple and plural. This also results from the representations that are built about the urban space and its central areas (SPOSITO, 2001, p.238). In this sense, according to Villaça (2001, p. 72), it is necessary to consider the production of value, which is linked not only to social work, but also to the product of it. To understand this logic, two values should be considered: “the products themselves - the buildings, streets, squares, infrastructures” and the other one, “the value produced by agglomeration”, given by the location of the former one, which inserts them into the agglomeration because the value of “location is also given by the time of work socially necessary to produce it”, to produce the city.

The location reflects the potential of a particular point in the city to relate to other points in it. It is the place where things are produced and consumed, produced by the social forces in there and by accessibility, which is more important in its production than the supply of infrastructure. For this reason, one location differs from another, configuring economic and social divisions of space. For Spício (1991, p. 7), “the bigger the social division of labor, the more capital is concentrated”, constituting “a place of concentration, which is downtown, an area inside the city where circulation and exchange of goods and money will take place quickly”.

The new dynamic of growth of cities caused by the phenomenon of globalization, impose new possibilities of connections among cities of different dimensions, undoing hierarchies and establishing communication concomitance, creating a complex network of relationships in intra and interurban spaces (DAMIANI, 2006). This new situation, linked to the promotion of capital circulation, makes the city specialize in a different way from competition in the market. Thus, the complex interconnections of the city lead to the construction and reconstruction of urban networks, while valuing the redefinition of intra-urban and inter-urban centrality. It is possible to measure this phenomenon occurrence from the attraction that an area has on its surroundings (SPÓSITO, 2002), but not only on them, due to the lesser importance of spatial contiguity in times of globalization.

Centrality implies the quality or attribute of the constituent elements of a center, which is the territorial expression of those elements and attributes. Centrality materializes in certain locations in the city because of the density of flows, services and equipment that constitute and organize it. In addition, such densities lead to concentration and irradiation forces in the intra-urban space and, beyond it, through new processes and flows that are defined in the space of relationships among different areas of the city and different regions and cities (SPÓSITO, 1996; 2001).

Thus, in the intra-urban space, on the one hand the densification and growth of the urban mesh cause internal processes downtown that trigger the decentralization and reorganization of activities related to commerce and the provision of services in other parts of the city (SPÓSITO, 1996). On the other hand, as explained by Villaça (2001), decentralization is not reduced to a simple geographic expansion, but it establishes, in other places of the city, the concentration of services and businesses, whose functional specialization is redefined by the search for segments of high purchasing power present there. The decentralization of specialized tertiary activities on heavy traffic roads in certain districts of the city, configuring new commercial and service axes (SPÓSITO, 1996) is an example of the process in focus.

According to Bueno (2016), through these transformations, the central areas expand and absorb contiguous areas, causing the spatial (re) functionalization of land use for commercial and service purposes. This happens simultaneously with the residential displacement of certain segments of the city and the demolition or adaptation of old buildings. In larger cities, such as national and regional metropolises, this expansion is accompanied by the production of sub-centers, as the old one becomes supposedly unfeasible for various reasons.

Thus, one of the elements of the restructuring of the intra-urban space and contemporary socioeconomic dynamics is the production and reproduction of centralities, which helps to explain the processes of socio-spatial differentiation. A Number of studies on the issue of centrality take as

a starting point medium cities, large cities or metropolises, neglecting small cities, where the phenomenon in general is neither evident, nor happens the same way. However, a small city also centralizes flows of services, businesses, and people, also constituting its character of intra and interurban centrality (OLANDA, 2010 apud BUENO, 2016). The case of the centrality of Campos do Jordão, linked to the functional and symbolic dimension of the production of the tourist city, can contribute to the studies and discussions on the urban space and the redefinition of urban networks.

Formation of Campos do Jordão urban space: what is it based on?

The general significance of Campos do Jordão history is fundamental to contextualize the formation of its urban space and the centralities that constitute and dynamize it internally, establishing, on another spatial scale, the attributes of a well-known center of the São Paulo regional urban network. Located in the east of the State of São Paulo, in the heart of the Serra da Mantiqueira, with altitudes between 1600 and 2000 meters, its territory benefits from a significant set of climatic, geomorphological and landscape characteristics that, since its origin, have conditioned its destination. First, for the treatment of pulmonary diseases and, second for the beauty of its natural landscape, and finally for the development of tourism (ROSA FILHO, 2006), which is its economic base until today.

Known as a sanatorium city, Campos do Jordão turned to the treatment of tuberculosis in the first half of the 20th century. According to Condelaç Chaves de Andrade, in the Historic Almanac of Campos do Jordão, the city settlement started as a result of the Bandeirante expeditions in 1720. In 1771, its first Sesmarias were granted, which were acquired by Brigadeiro Manoel Rodrigues de Jordão in 1822, where the name "Campos do Jordão" comes from (ANDRADE, 1947, p. 12). For Ana Eneidi Prince (2017), the city was recognized in 1874, as a small town without much economic expression, whose internal supply came from commercial transactions with the neighboring cities of São Bento do Sapucaí and Pindamonhangaba.

However, at the end of the 19th century, a new fact triggered a radical change in the city. The small village became a potential location for the treatment of tuberculosis, an endemic disease originating from Europe and brought to Brazil by the large waves of immigrants who arrived in the country at the end of the eighteenth century. From a medical point of view, cold mountainous regions were considered the best locations for the cure of pulmonary tuberculosis, along with the existence of modern sanatoriums (PRINCE, 2010, p. 311). Research shows that the beginning of the first tuberculosis nuclei in the city of Campos do Jordão dates back to the year 1879, when disciples of Germanic medicine and Brazilian doctors contributed to the dissemination of the quality of the "good air" of the place in the paulista press (PRINCE, 2010, p. 312).

At the beginning of the 20th century, the State of São Paulo started a social campaign to fight tuberculosis. The São Paulo League Against Tuberculosis was created in 1903, by the hygienist Emílio Ribas, and sanitarians such as Victor Godinho and Guilherme Álvaro and doctor Clemente Ferreira, who developed projects to relieve the São Paulo capital of a great concentration of tísicas patients, through the construction of sanatoriums in Campos do Jordão. Contributing to this sanitary endeavor, news from the press also influenced the organization of the Sociedade Anonima Estrada de Ferro Campos do Jordão (with Emílio Ribas and Victor Godinho as main shareholders) (BERTOLLI FILHO, 2001, p. 65), responsible for the construction of the Railway that would connect Pindamonhangaba to Campos do Jordão, making the access easier for patients to get to the referred healing station.

Consolidating itself as a place of cure for tuberculosis, in 1926 Campos do Jordão became a Climatic and Hydromineral Resort, which provided more state resources. In accordance with State Law No. 2,140, promulgated on October 1, 1926 by the State Government, the Sanitary District of Campos do Jordão was created (PRINCE, 2010, p. 317). However, it was only in 1933, after untying from São Bento do Sapucaí (its headquarters), that Campos do Jordão would benefit from the status of municipality. In the same law that created the municipality autonomy, a code was created to guide the construction of sanatoriums and pensions, in addition to the intensification of health surveillance. Such rules sought to control the use of city spaces by patients and other residents, in addition to guiding the route and accommodation of healthy tourists who began to arrive in the city (PRINCE, 2010, p. 317).

Thus, the natural environment and the sanatorial vocation were important drivers of the urban development of Campos do Jordão and its accessibility further enhances the nascent strength

of its centrality. With the population influx, the space of the city expands and develops. Simultaneously, there is a growing search for the city as a space for relaxation, leisure and appreciation of the landscape, especially since the 1940s, giving opportunity to tourism development.

Transition to the tourist economy and urban expansion

After public health concerns, hygiene policies and the coexistence of sanitary and tourist functions influencing the organization of the city, with the discovery of tuberculosis drugs, the tourist destination of Campos do Jordão became irreversible, causing its economic expansion and urban reorganization, with the support of the State Government, especially Adhemar de Barros, who was interested in the development of the city as a landowner and entrepreneur (HAMMERL, 2011).

According to Masakazu (1985) the Zoning of the Resort, established by decree no. 11,781, of December 30, 1940, divided the city into two regions, reserving the Jaguaribe and Capivari villages for tourist activities, and Abernêssia and the sanatorial zone near the entrance of the city for pulmonary treatment. The decree also regulates the stay of patients in hotels in the city.

In this process, public and private investments in tourism were intensified from the 1940s, for example the construction of the Palácio da Boa Vista (1944) and the Grande Hotel (where a casino attended only by healthy people, as governed by Decree-Law nº 11.891 of 1941), but also other means of lodging of private initiative and the search for high-income segments in the city. High standard hotels, such as Hotel Toriba (1943), Hotel Rancho Alegre (1946), Hotel dos Lagos (1946), Hotel Vila Inglesa (1947) and Refúgio Alpino (1947), all show the course of the prosperity of the enterprises in the 1940s.

In addition, there were other remarkable facts in the growth of tourism from the 1950s to 1970s: The National Tourism Congresses; the inauguration of the Public Force Officers' summer camp in 1951; law nº129 of 1952 that creates the Municipal Directorate of Tourism and the first tourist leaflet (made by DMTUR) in 1958. Then the construction of the Boa Vista Palace was completed in 1964, which became a Cultural Center in 1970; the installation of the Morro do Elefante Cable Car in 1971 (the first in operation in the country). In 1972, the transfer of the jurisdiction of the Campos do Jordão Railway from the Department of Transport to the Municipal Department of Tourism and, also the inauguration (in 1978) of the new access road to Campos do Jordão, the Floriano Rodrigues Pinheiro Highway (SP-123), which will add to the original accesses to the city, the Estrada de Rodagem SP-050 and the Campos do Jordão Railway, and which, due to its connection with the Presidente Dutra Highway, will be a great driver of the new phase of tourism that demarcates itself from the end of the 1970s (MAZAKAZU, 1985).

It was also in 1978 that, under Law No. 1844, the city became a Tourist Resort. In the 1980s, Environmental Protection Areas were created as a result of this intense urban growth activity. This form of environmental regulation, according to the Report of the Environmental Sanitation Technology Company (CETESB, 1983), was due to the fact that the urban core was formed on a plateau unsuitable for extensive urbanization. The report points to other environmental problems arising from urban sprawl, including water quality, deforestation, threats to biodiversity, risks from excessive land movement, mischaracterizing the mountain landscape complex (CETESB, 1983) and the historic nuclei of the city.

The fact is that the expansion of the urban core, whether through the needs and dynamics of the resident population or the demands generated for tourism, consolidated some of the characteristics of their occupation patterns. According to Pivott (2006), in Campos do Jordão, Vila de Capivari had the lowest occupancy rate in the 1980s and hosted most of the subdivisions and attractions for tourists. Most of the administrative buildings, shops and various services and a good portion of the resident population were concentrated in Vila Abernêssia. While between Vila do Capivari and Abernêssia, there is Vila Jaguaribe which serves both the resident population and tourists.

The production of socially segmented centralities

With this understanding, it appears that since the beginning of urban development and especially since the 1940s and 1950s, there is a clear correlation between the extra-local political-economic interests linked to tourism and the spatial organization of the city, resulting in the production socially segmented centralities, which are substantiated by socio-economic and cultural dynamics of great contrast. Sectioned by zoning and reorganized not only by the growth of the hotel

structure and the first attractions for tourist visitation, but also, and above all, by the work fronts, access routes and demographic inflows, from the 1970s and 1980s, the Tourist Resort develops, consolidating itself as a divided space for residents and tourists, migrants and second-home residents, entrepreneurs and tourists of different socioeconomic conditions.

Not different from a socio-spatial formation structured by visibly unequal intense urbanization, the city force of attraction makes it a local and regional center of reference for tourism and related activities, such as cultural activities that have unfolded from the classic Winter Festival (OESP Foundation, 2019), scientific meetings and other events, real estate production. With a population estimated in 2019 by the IBGE, of almost 52 thousand inhabitants, but which, according to information from the city hall, is more than twice as large in the winter season, this singular centrality instigates when rethinking the solution of its problems to base planning guidelines and even the criteria for analyzing urban network studies

What is certain is that, in addition to its demographic size, it is necessary to know the city in its dynamics of organization and transformation, in order to highlight it, according to the different locations of the intra-urban space, the production of segmented centralities that constitute it.

What is understood to be the root of its attractive strength in the micro-regional and regional urban network, revealing the tendency to reproduce social and economic contradictions inherent in the capitalist urbanization of underdeveloped countries. In this sense, a point to be better discussed is the reproduction of multiple centralities in a relatively small city, such as Campos do Jordão, but which, to a certain extent, presents itself in a similar way to what happened in medium, large or metropolises (OLANDA, 2010, apud BUENO, 2016).

In its own way, the production of the Jordanense tourist city materializes urbanization processes common to the Brazilian context, which is initially verified by the demographic and migratory dynamics and by an economy based mainly on services, businesses and small industries. What makes it distinct is undoubtedly its productive specialization oriented towards mountain tourism, and the construction of space conditioned, on the one hand, by the pre-dispositions of its physical environment and by environmental regulation and, on the other, by the particularized mechanisms of real estate expansion and socio-spatial segregation.

According to IBGE censuses, from 1950 to 2010, if the total resident population increased by 3.6 times, reaching 47,789 inhabitants, the urban population grew by 7.5 times, reaching a total of 47,491 inhabitants, which portrays the intense pace of urbanization, also evidenced by the proportion of urban inhabitants in the total municipal population, going from 48% in 1950 to 99, 3% of the total population in 2010. Complementing the reading of urbanization in 1980, the non-natural resident population of the municipality (migrant) totaled 10,247 inhabitants, or 39% of the total population on that same date, equal to 26,105 inhabitants, and among this migrant population, 60% lived for 10 years or more in the municipality. Another face of migrations for 2000, reveals that of the total of 44,252 inhabitants of the municipality, 80% were born in the state of São Paulo and 10.9% in Minas Gerais.

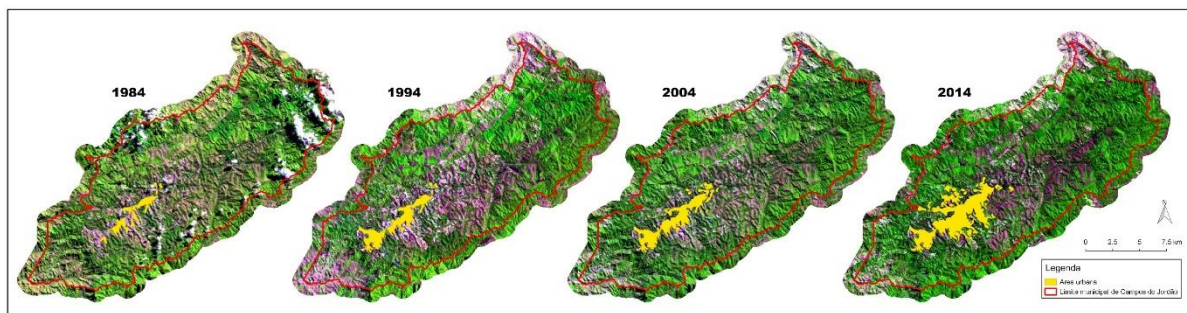
Moreover, according to the IBGE and for 2010, considering the 24,998 employed persons (aged 10 or over, in the reference week) in the municipality, there is a predominance of 71% of employees in activities in the tertiary sector of the economy and only 17.1% in the manufacturing industry. In this service sector, it is noteworthy that 23% of the total of 17,777 employed persons worked in domestic services, which is linked to the phenomenon of the second residence, with the need for different workers, such as caretakers, gardeners, drivers, etc. Over 20% of the total workforce worked in shops and 17.5% in food and accommodation services, revealing the importance of a job market focused on the tourist economy (OLIVEIRA, 1991). It is also noted that 68% of the 1,173 people employed in the secondary sector were construction workers, fueling migration and the entry of new investors (OLIVEIRA, 1991), while 27% occupied the manufacturing industry, which refers to the intense production of the built space and the activities of a traditional knitwear industry and the manufacture of chocolate and sweets, among others.

Complementary data from RAIS compose another panorama on the distribution of workers according to sectors of activity. These are now people who had an employment contract in 2018, totaling 12,859 workers in Campos do Jordão, concentrated in 90.7% of the total in the tertiary sector and 9.0% more in industrial activities, bringing together 1158 employees, of whom 5,3% are in the manufacturing industry. It should be noticed that this total also includes only 1.8% of employees in civil construction, which in comparison with the IBGE data, allows us to conclude that the majority of civil construction workers do not have a work record. In addition to these employed workers, it

appears that 26.5% of them worked in the accommodation and food sectors, 23.1% in activities of repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles and another 15% in the sector of public administration, defense and social security. It is also worth mentioning, in the same total of employees, the greater participation of the following subclasses of the referred sectors: hotels, restaurants and similars; water production, trade in food products, footwear and fabrics; manufacture and trade of sweets and chocolates; building materials; accounting and building administration and condominium services; health and education.

These demographic dynamics, the social division of urban work and, particularly the intense activity of civil construction have a visible impact on the expansion of the urban area, as can be seen in Figure 1, its evolution in 30 years until 2014.

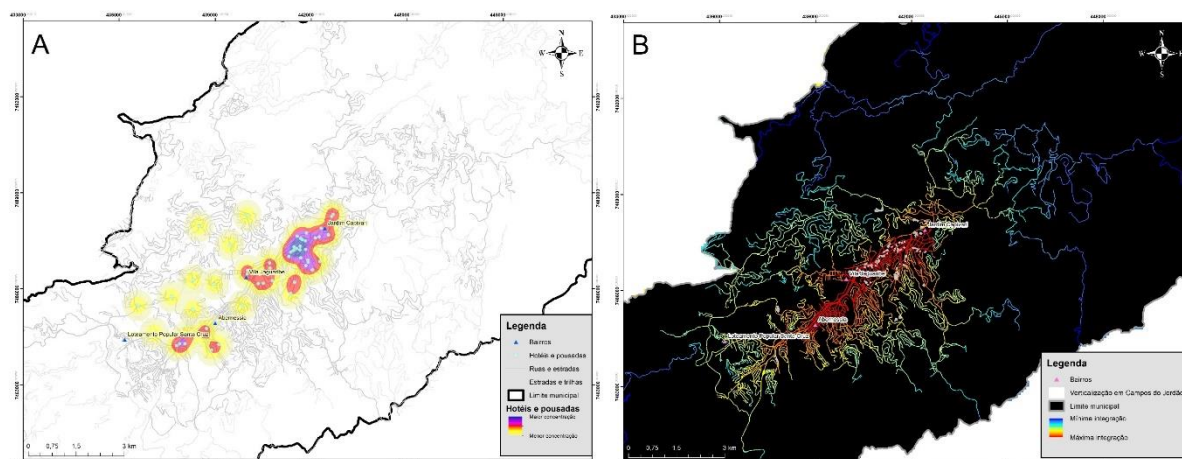
Figure 1: Temporal evolution of the urban area of Campos do Jordão between 1984 and 2014



Fonte: United States Geological Survey - USGS, 2019. Prepared by the authors.

Such constitutive elements of urbanization are also affected by unequal conditions of concentration and intra-urban accessibility. The distribution of hotels and inns in the city in 2016, reveals a face of this concentrated selective location (Figure 2A). The increase in verticalization is also significant and coincides with the concentrated location of hotels and inns. Both variables are representative of the tourism support structure and the real estate dynamics associated with the greater potential for urban accessibility⁶ (Figure 2B) and the tourist centrality that is constituted and reinforced in the surroundings of Capivari.

Figure 2: Hotels, inns, road integration index and buildings in Campos do Jordão



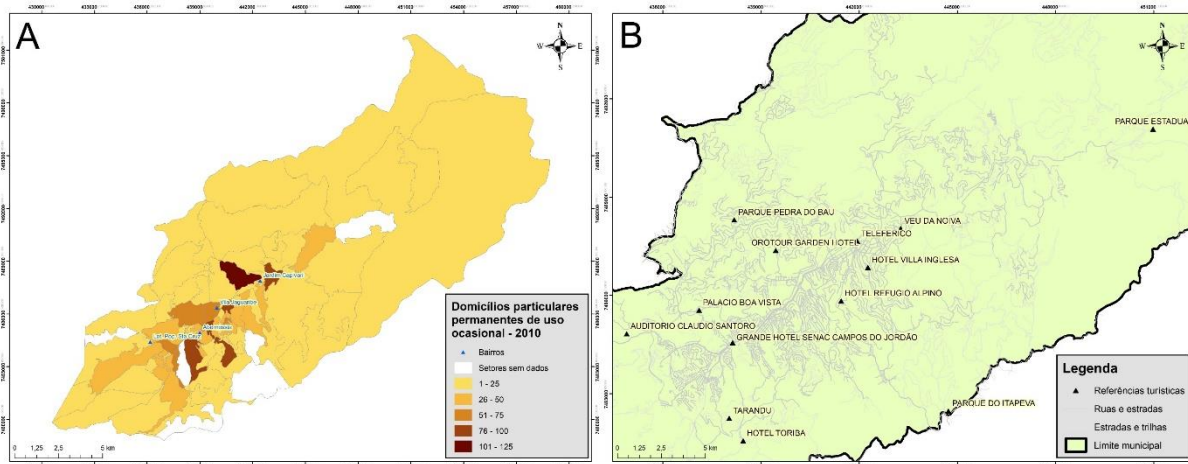
Source:(A) Emplasa, 2016; (B) OSM, 2017. Prepared by the authors.

Regarding the potential for urban accessibility, it is possible to observe the areas with the greatest number of second homes in 2010 (Figure 3A), not only in the vicinity of the Capivari region, but also around Jaguaribe and Abernécia. Moreover, it can be seen, in Figure 3B, the presence of classic tourist references also in this region of Capivari, in contrast to the distant location (less

⁶ As explained in the methodology, from red to violet, the axial map (Figure 2B) represents the gradation from the highest to the lowest potential for physical accessibility of the city, given by the road integration index.

accessibility potential) of other tourist attractions that are also quite frequented, such as the palace, auditorium, Tarandu farms and scenic beauty spots, Pedra do Baú, Pico do Itapeva etc.

Figure 3: Total households used as second homes and tourist references



Source: IBGE, 2010. Prepared by the authors.

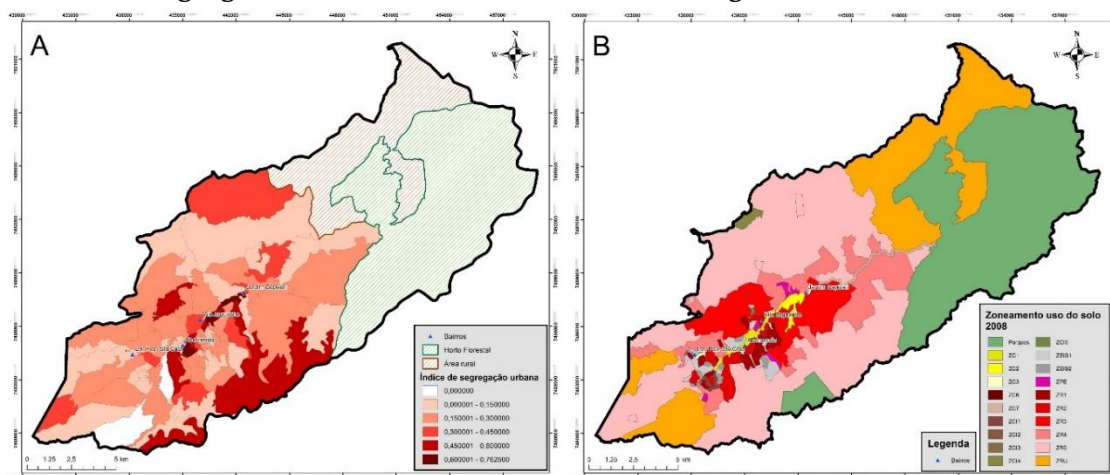
Through the image of urban expansion (Figure 1), its reality of socio-spatial segregation is also revealed, observed here by the segregation index, calculated from the income of the people responsible for the household up to 3 minimum wages and above 10 wages (see methodology). Figure 4A shows the same concentration of high income (in relation to the simultaneous presence, in the same area, of low-income breadwinners), along the main avenue between Jaguaribe and Capivari, another variable that overlaps the previously mentioned concentration of vertical hotels and buildings.

It is interesting to note the overlap of the segregation index with the commercial centrality of the city (in yellow, in Figure 4B), along the entire main avenue that crosses it, from where different roads lead to the different residential areas (in mountain lands) more or less segregated. In this corridor of high and medium density shops and services (ZC1 and ZC2), it is worth mentioning the same spatial segmentation of centralities, according to the classes of consumers with differentiated socioeconomic access. It is also observed the correlation among the highest indexes of segregation and, as observed in loco, the location away from real mansions occupying each one a hill practically alone. On the other hand, the areas of low and medium segregation, where the balance in the presence of the upper- and lower-income classes is greater, seem to correspond to some residential areas of high and medium density, located in the vicinity of the main corridor of shops and services. In addition, there are some areas with a medium intensity segregation index located within the set of residential areas classified as ZR4⁷ and ZR5⁸, especially those located ahead of Capivari (towards the state park and the urban-rural transition zone).

⁷ Area of exclusive residential use of extremely low density - area with characteristics of preservation and maintenance of biota, peace and quiet.

⁸ Area exclusively for residential use with an extremely low density of transition from the rural to urban area.

Figure 4 - Urban segregation index in 2010 and land use zoning in 2008



Source: (A) IBGE, 2010; (B) PMCJ, 2008. Prepared by the authors

Undoubtedly, the laws, plans and interventions of the State play a decisive role in the production of the urban space. The first Jordanense zoning, of 1940 (Decree No. 11781) and Municipal Law 280/59, with the Pilot Plan for the Development of the Municipality of Campos do Jordão, elaborated by CPEU-FAU-USP, originally revealed the institution segmentation of the urban space, either by creating areas for patients and tourists, or by promoting the valorization of rural lands (further away) from the municipality, defining areas for the sanatorium zone. Later, as Oliveira (1991, p. 94) points out, this role tends to be accentuated for a more directed support to the tourist economy. This can be seen when, in 1979, Law 1,154 prohibited the approval of new projects in urban and rural areas for a period of 5 years, and its amendment by Law 1.367 / 83, extends the term of the first one until 1989 (CETESB, 1983), understanding that, on the one hand, if the restrictions for new buildings and subdivisions were aimed at environmental preservation, on the other hand, they would have favored the valorization of existing properties Oliveira's analysis (1991) also shows that if the city master plans⁹ propose improvement in living conditions, planned progress and the environment, there is a continuity of development based on a social division of the labor and capital accumulation associated with a space sectorization as a requirement for specialization of activities and economic flows. This shows that there is an inseparable relationship between the planning instruments and the reproduction of mechanisms to develop tourism.

The city zoning for 2008 is reached (Law 3047/2007) (Figure 4B) and the spatial segmentation is not only maintained, but consolidated, as evidenced by the location of the Special Areas of Social Interest (ZEIS). They coincide with crowded occupations in risk areas (hills)¹⁰, making it irregular and / or precarious settlements¹¹, – this area is contiguous to the centrality of Abernécia (where the shops and services that predominantly serve the resident population of medium and low income are) and not the opposite extreme of the tourist centrality, which implies the stretch of the main urban corridor of the city that goes from Jaguaribe to Capivari, and especially in this portion of the city space.

Thus, two main centralities are legitimized and consolidated in Campos do Jordão, with the daily movement of residents, covering Abernécia and surroundings, where the city's six bank branches (two public ones) are located, and the other, revealing the convergence of various flows linked to the structure of activities to support tourism in Capivari and the surrounding areas.

Regarding tourist centrality, another aspect to be highlighted is its internal segmentation, as it shows in a single region of the city, the convergence of tourism dynamics linked to populations (tourists and entrepreneurs) from different income classes. Shops, services, and tourist attractions, from different economic circuits, are divided into two portions of the centrality of Capivari, serving to a varied spectrum of visitors. It is a meeting point for visitors, polarized by a segment that

⁹ Made by CPEU (1958/1960), ETEPLA (1972/1973) and Wilhelm e Klias (1975/1978).

¹⁰ With tragedies arising from torrential rains and landslides, among other social problems, as shown by Meneghini and Zanetti (2019).

¹¹ The last City Zoning, Law 3832/2017, makes a series of changes regarding technical construction parameters and, among other changes in the areas of land use and occupation, it is interesting to note the inclusion of a new ZEIS in the Santa Cruz District, peripheral neighborhood located to the left of those who arrive in the city, after crossing its portal.

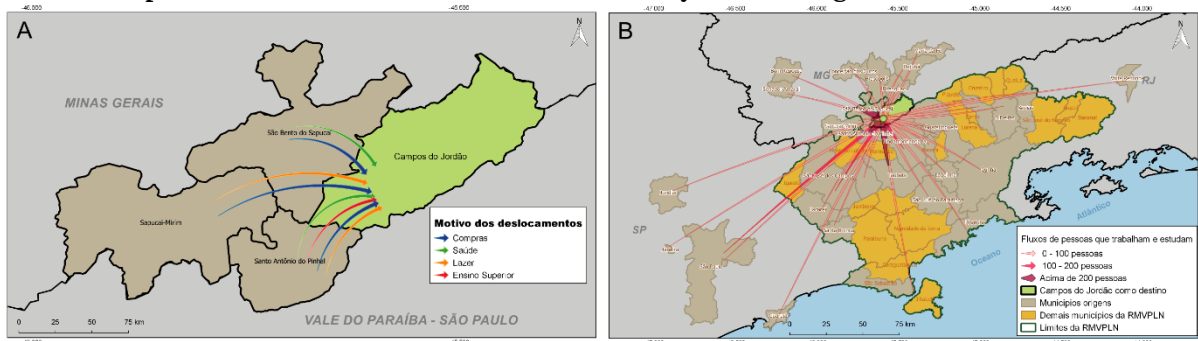
frequents more sophisticated shops and is in line with the identity status of the place, and by another segment, also co-participant in this same psychosphere, but that, represented by excursionists (but not only for them), enjoys more accessible or popular shops around the cable car. In addition, as suggested by Pivott (2006), the phenomenon of symbolic segmentation between lower income tourists and residents of city can be seen, as they do not usually attend Capivari, understanding that it is not a part of the city that belongs. They only visit the neighborhood on the occasion of free musical events programmed by the organization of the Winter Festival, which has expanded its repertoire of events beyond classical music by promoting other musical genres, along with other artistic modalities also incorporated in the season.

This internal segmentation of Capivari's centrality shows the same contradictory logic of a divided and unequal space, capable of being verified and analyzed in other scales of organization of urban and regional space.

Microregional centrality and intercity relations

This phenomenon of segmented centralities refers to the complexity of interconnections materialized there, which enhance their transformation / consolidation (SPÓSITO, 2002). The density of the flows generated by the businesses and services present therein constitutes the visible dimension of the consumption of the place and the forms of sociability consistent with the origin of the flows of people and goods, whether of local, regional, or metropolitan scope. The historical connections with the population of São Paulo and the neighboring municipalities (south of Minas, Vale do Paraíba and the state of São Paulo) can thus be considered, in the first case, in their character of reproducing hegemonic values and the status quo, but also, in its functional nature, as shown in figure 5A. The different flows originating in municipalities in the immediate surroundings and destination in Campos do Jordão, represent, according to the IBGE Cities Influence Regions survey (2007), the maximum intensity levels¹² of interdependence and centrality. It is also worth noting the geographical scope of commuting for work and study, for Campos do Jordão as a destination in 2010 (Figure 5B).

Figure 5: Campos do Jordão as a destination for intercity commuting



Source: IBGE, 2010 and REGIC, 2008. Prepared by the authors.

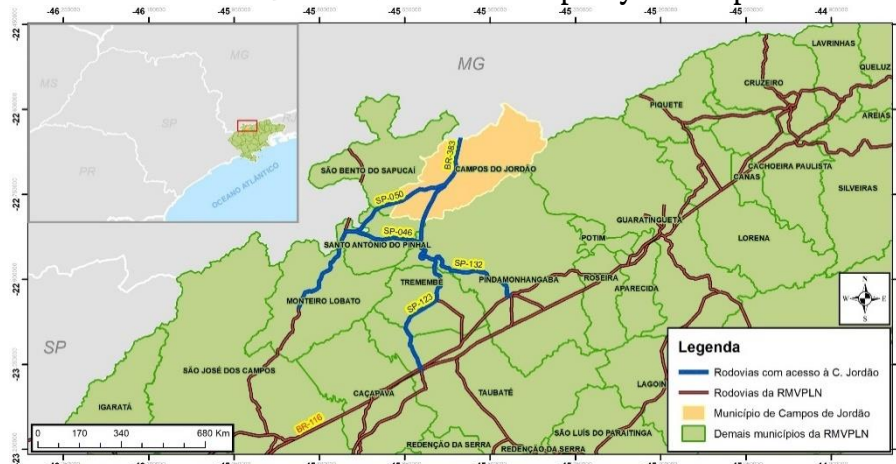
Within this scope of intercity relations, it is necessary to mention the search for joint action in institutional arrangements, such as consortia - Consortium for Integrated Development of Vale do Paraíba, Mantiqueira and Litoral Norte (CODIVAP), currently, Association of Municipalities of Vale do Paraíba, and the Serra da Mantiqueira Intermunicipal Consortium (CISMA) - of the RMVPLN Development Council and the Serra da Mantiqueira River Basin Committee, or even through other initiatives arising from the irradiating effect of the centrality of Campos do Jordão (or not necessarily) in the development of the tourist structure of the small neighboring municipalities. Events and / or tours are promoted among cities, such as the organization of ecotourism circuits and exhibitions, promoted by state and municipal departments (CARMO, 2003), gastronomic festivals promoted by the traditional Hotel-Escola do SENAC (based in Campos do Jordão) and others. Moreover, the search for tourist attractions and support services offered in neighboring cities

¹² The arrows on the map are not classified as to the intensity of the displacements, although REGIC categorizes the displacements in scales of intensity from 1 to 4, all displacements to Campos de Jordão were in category 1 (maximum intensity), being Campos do Jordão the first destination of flows, except the displacement to higher education, classified in category 2, the second stronger intensity.

become a planning strategy for neighboring municipalities and even an alternative to the high cost of tourism in Campos do Jordão and the already noticeable inadequacy of its urban structure overloaded by the intensity of vehicle flows in the seasons.

This scenario of intermunicipal influences would not be constituted, similarly to medium-sized cities, without the privileged geographic location of the city and the general conditions to stimulate the reproduction of capital (of services and consumption) due to the physical accessibility made possible and facilitated by the regional road system. (Figure 6).

Figure 6: Map of road accesses at RMVPLN to the municipality of Campos do Jordão



Source: IBGE, 2010; DNIT, 2013. Prepared by the authors.

This fact is reflected, at least, in the growing flow of vehicles, as seen in the estimate made by the collection stations of the DER-DR6, on the main access road to Campos do Jordão, originating in Taubaté-Dutra, to Floriano Pinheiro Highway (SP-123). The table below quantifies the average of the Average Daily Volumes (VDM) of vehicles, passengers, and commercial vehicles, registered by the DR, corresponding to the period from 2015 to 2018. It is interesting to note, in addition to the 68.2% (on average) of the total number of vehicles arriving in Campos do Jordão, a more significant average of flow of passenger vehicles that most likely reaches this city every day, in relation to a less significant number of commercial vehicles that use the road, but leave from it towards Tremembé-Taubaté and Pindamonhangaba.

Table 1: Average Daily Volume of vehicles heading Campos do Jordão between 2015 and 2018

Destination	Average daily visit flow 2015-2018	Proportion of the average daily visit flow 2015-2018	Average daily commercial flow 2015-2018	Proportion of the average daily commercial flow 2015-2018	Average total daily flow 2015-2018	Proportion of average total daily flow 2015-2018
Leave from SP123 em direção a Rod. Pedro Celeste (Tremembé), to SP132 (Pindamonhangaba) or towards SP046 (Santo Antônio do Pinhal)	2.530	26,14	964	74,51	3.483	31,79
Arrive in Jordão by SP123	7.148	73,86	326	25,49	7.475	68,21
Total in SP123 towards Campos do Jordão	9.678	100,00	1.290	100,0	10.958	100,00

Source: DER, 2019. Prepared by the authors.

Regarding the intensity of vehicle flows, it can be seen, according to the authors' experience and as pointed out by Oliveira (1991, p. 76), in periods of the peak season, the existence of rules limiting the circulation of tour buses within the city and, therefore, the allocation of appropriate

places for its parking, in the vicinity of the entrance portal, which nowadays constitutes a referential object of the space built that also centralizes, to a lesser extent, the gathering of tourists and the expansion of shops for tourists themselves, especially when they return to their buses to leave the city.

Finally, we cannot fail to add to this reading of the flow of vehicles how much the attractive image of the city has been promoted and reinforced by the constant repercussion (national and international) and reappropriation for market purposes, given, the series of advertising messages on large billboards and other urban marketing vehicles on Rodovia Floriano Pinheiro to meet the demands of sophisticated consumption in social segments in São Paulo and from other sources.

Conclusion

The conceptual study on the organization of urban space and centralities constituted the theoretical contribution for reading the history formation of Campos do Jordão to show the production of socially segmented intra-urban centralities and the attributes which define them. In addition, it was argued that there is a close relationship between the transformation of urban space and the centrality of Campos do Jordão in the context of the micro-regional and regional urban network. In this sense, the driving force of the tourist economy in the production of space was emphasized, both by the concentration and functional dynamics inherent to its main intra-urban centrality, given by services, shops, equipment and flows, as well as by the symbolic dimension intermediated by a rationality hegemonic that, since the beginning of its history, represents and promotes it as an ideal city for health, tourism and the consumption of the ideological place it occupies in the scenario of a socio-cultural order and strategic planning of commodity cities. Thus, not only do a selective model of society and tourism propagate and reproduce, but also, the countless social contradictions of an uneven urbanization, consuming the active role of the public power (state and municipal) in its legitimation and perpetuation, consequently, the inattention to the real problems and demands of the resident populations that give real support to the production of the tourist city through their work.

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