

CEARÁ STATE AND THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY IN TIME-SPACE

O CEARÁ E A INDÚSTRIA TÊXTIL NO ESPAÇO-TEMPO

CEARÁ Y LA INDUSTRIA TEXTIL EN EL ESPACIO-TIEMPO

Alexsandra Maria Vieira Muniz – Universidade Estadual do Ceará – Fortaleza – Ceará – Brasil
geoalexia@gmail.com

Abstract

Having as objective to analyze the textile industry and the web of socio-spatial relations that it connects, in this study we look back to the training and development of the textile industry in Ceará, since its inception, through the 1980s, until the present day, in another context of industrial capital under the state action with the current model of industrialization policy. In the analysis, we tried to explain how the textile industrial activity participates in the production of Ceará space. To this end, we used both the literature as statistical and field research. Thus, the importance of this study became notorious as it has highlighted the role that the industry develops in Ceará space and the socio-spatial relationships built over time.

Keywords: industry, space, Geography.

Resumo

Tendo como objetivo analisar a indústria têxtil e a trama de relações socioespaciais que esta interliga, neste estudo realizamos um resgate da formação e desenvolvimento da Indústria têxtil cearense, desde sua implantação, passando pelos anos de 1980, chegando aos nossos dias, em outro contexto do capital industrial sob a atuação do Estado com o atual modelo da política de industrialização. No encaminhamento desta análise, buscamos explicitar como a atividade industrial têxtil participa da produção do espaço cearense. Para tanto, fizemos uso tanto de pesquisa bibliográfica, como de pesquisa estatística e de campo. Desta forma, a importância deste estudo tornou-se notória, uma vez que permitiu evidenciar o papel que desenvolve a indústria no espaço cearense e as relações socioespaciais construídas ao longo do tempo.

Palavras-chave: indústria, espaço, Geografia.

Resumen

Con el objetivo de analizar la industria textil y la red de relaciones socio-espaciales conectadas, en este estudio se rescató y desarrolló la industria textil en Ceará, desde su creación, pasando por la década de 1980, hasta nuestros días, en otro contexto del capital industrial y bajo la actuación del Estado con el modelo actual de la política de industrialización. Al comunicar este estudio buscamos explicar cómo la actividad industrial textil participa en la producción del espacio cearense. Con este fin, se utilizó tanto la literatura bibliográfica, como la investigación estadística y de campo. Por eso, la importancia de este estudio se hizo notoria al permitir colocar en destaque el papel que desarrolla la industria en el espacio cearense y las relaciones socio-espaciales construídas a lo largo del tiempo.

Palabras-claves: industria, espacio, Geografía.

Introduction

Textile industry development is intrinsically related to socio-historical and economical context of formation and occupation in the space of Ceará.

The implementation of textile industry in Ceará was supported by the availability of raw material (cotton), and such benefaction was boosted in post-War of Secession period (1862-1866).

According to Nobre (2001), industrialization is not only restricted to threading and weaving factories exclusively, it derives from multiple factors, among them: external commerce balance accumulated when cotton prices are high, revenue surplus generated by the selling of slaves to other provinces, and also the Federal Government financial assistance, on the occasion of The Great Drought (1877).

According to Aragão (2002, p. 71, our translation), other factors that propelled the investment on textile industry were “the market price of this product, the creation of an enabling infrastructure that supports the production and commercialization of the product, including the role of the state and, above all, possibilities of capital accumulation that come from cotton commercialization.”¹

According to Aragão (1989; 2002), the development of textile industry in Ceará’s state time-space can be divided into four phases: 1st phase – from 1882 to 1900 (The Pioneers), 2nd phase – from 1900 to 1960 (The Entrepreneurs), 3rd phase – 1960 to 1980 (The Moderns – Tax Breaks and Transformations), and 4th phase – from 1980 forward (The Business Generation).

Although the push to industrialization from the current time has come from a process that was developed way before the first phase, in other words, it precedes the end of the 20th century, we will briefly discuss the development of the textile industry of Ceará in each phase until the present time.

The development of the textile industry in Ceará: From “Pioneers” to “Moderns”

The textile industry comprises the following segments: Threading, Weaving, Finishing, and Confection. These industrial segments are autonomous, but interrelated, since the final product of each of these phases is raw material for the next phase. With a very diverse process of

production, in other words, some textile industries may have one or more than one production phases (only threading, just weaving, only processing or exclusively threading and weaving, etc.), others may undertake all the phases in the textile process (threading, weaving and processing), which would make them vertical industry regarding production processes. There are other intermediate processes, for example: ironing and starching.

Until the end product, there is also an interface with the chemical industry due to the need of inputs (textile dye and pigments, auxiliary products, etc.) for many types of treatment, from fiber (besides natural fibers, there are the manufactured ones) to the finished goods, as well as, the technical systems related to the capital goods industry, since there are machinery and equipment required in the productive process.

As pointed by Aragão (2002, p. 69, our translation),

Fabric and thread industrialization in Ceará, unlike other states, that invested in the sector since the beginning of the 19th century, will only occur in the last two decades of the 19th century, considering that the first textile factory, Fábrica Progresso, that was thought of in 1881 and registered in 1903 under the name Pompeu & Brothers, started to run effectively in 1883.

In addition to a connection with space and socioeconomic history, having its origin in local capital linked to the economy of the state of Ceará, notable socio-spatial transformations over time were caused, not only in originating cities but also where commercial relations remain and are maintained by circulation space of its final product and acquisition of raw materials.

As we all know, cattle breeding and cotton constitute the binomial cattle-cotton, they were economical activities that stood out in regional scale.

By the end of 18th century, cotton cultivation started to rise as an important economic activity. Cotton coming from the northeast region replaced American cotton production, which was the main cotton provider for English textile industries. The halt in cotton production in the United States was due to Secession war (1860-1865), between the south and north of United States. During the war the world market was opened to Ceará's production, cotton replaced jerked beef (charque) concerning economical importance. Cotton and cattle, nonetheless, were not considered excluded activities; on the contrary, they became a determinant binomial for the development of the region.

In the mid 19th century, cotton was the main exportation product, being notorious the importance of its cultivation and improvement for cities of the state of Ceará.

As stated by Girão (2000, p. 223, our translation), “the main cotton production regions were the counties of Fortaleza and Aracati, also Baturité, Uruburetama, Meruoca, Pereiro and Aratanha.”

The developing of cotton farming and the collocation of this product in the international market provoked the projection of Fortaleza as an urban centre. The capital of Ceará was gradually acquiring eminence among Brazilian cities (Silva, 2002, p. 229, our translation).

Replacing Aracati’s port, which in the past was related to leather and jerked beef, Fortaleza’s port was chosen as an exportation site.

According to Silva (2013, s./p., our translation),

the construction of Baturité railroad and the train connection with the port, mark the period of an economy based on the cotton plantation in a very favorable context to Ceará and Fortaleza. The city was opened to the world, widening its relation with the backwoods.

In Elizabeth Aragão’s words (1989, p. 20, our translation),

[...] Ceará’s textile industry, considering exclusively the threading and weaving sectors, is installed in 80s of the last century, going through a period of effervescence that is prolonged until 1930, and remains substantially unchanged until the mid 50s. From 1930 to 1940 such industry lives moments of weak growth-stagnation and from 1939 is revitalized with the Second World War outburst, stopping gradually in the 50s.

Thus, there is a propelling on the installation of textile industries in many counties in Ceará, such as Sobral, Aracati and notably, Fortaleza.

With the industrial use of cotton, through fabric industries in Fortaleza, Fortaleza’s fabric period starts and the capital, besides playing the role of great collecting and processing center for primary products, becomes slowly the transformation center for primary production. (Silva, 1994, p. 87, our translation).

Due to cotton processing done by textile industries, according to Cruz (2002), a new technical system (warehouses, looms, processing factory) and new work relations are seen.

The use of Ceara's space by "cotton lords" is explained by the relation of the world with the place, since, according to Takeya (1995), conjectural problems happening in the United States of America that propelled cotton industry and all its technical apparatus.

However, American internal crises were not the only factor, but also the reason why Northeast region of Brazil was producing, at the time, differentiated cotton known as "mocó cotton", of a long fiber, that served the national and international productive sector more effectively.

As in the livestock period, the rural space served as a first financial ballast, so that the cotton technical system could enter, later on, urban spaces, since the evolution of this production process follows a path that has, as starting point, the ginning/threading in the interior of farms and as "advance territory", cities such as Aracati with its processing industries.

Thus, after a long phase as rural activity, cotton gained spatiality in Aracati urban space.

It is worth mentioning the intervention by the technique and the relationship of this technified urban space with outdoor spaces (national and worldwide). Factories developed a new cartography, based on an organizational solidarity with origin in cotton cultivation that increments rural areas, and, later on, the city, its economy, and consequently urbanity. Crisis in the main Anglo-Saxonic American country created a relation world-place-world that made Ceará, specifically Aracati city, and posteriorly Fortaleza, occupy an outstanding position. "Since technique is also social, it could be remembered that a system of actions and system together constitute technical systems, and its succession give us the history of the geographical space." (Santos, 2008, p. 332, our translation).

Verticality imposed by the external scenario, followed by a horizontality that demands such externality, reveals the importance of industries in the urban expansion of Ceará.

According to Sousa (1922, p. 21, our translation) Aracati's city was "relatively commercial and industrial", having important unbleached fabric factories." In 1893, textile industry Santa Thereza was founded in Aracati, called Companhia Popular Aracatiense.

For Aragão (1989; 2002) the period from 1882 to 1900 constitutes the first phase of the textile industry development in Ceará, and this phase is called "pioneers", given the courage summed by those who entered the textile sector, economically unexplored at that time. This phase is

characterized by the implementation of the first textile industries in the state, which are: Fábrica Progresso/Pompeu & Irmãos (1882- Grupo Thomaz Pompeu); Cia. Fáb. de Tecidos União Comercial (1891); Cia. Fabril Cearense de Meias (1891); Fábrica Santa Thereza (1893); Fábrica Ceará Industrial (1894); Fábrica Sobral (1895). We can see from the six textile industries of the first phase, only one, Fábrica Progresso, was founded in 1880. This can be explained by the lack of protectionist policies imposed to the textile industry that are only intensified in the 80s.

The first industry to be located outside Fortaleza was Santa Thereza Factory that, in 1893, was founded in Aracati, being the 4th textile industry in Ceará. The second industry to be installed far from the capital in the end of 19th century was Fábrica Sobral that was installed in that city in 1895.

The internalization of the textile industry was successful as cotton cultivation expanded to outside the capital, creating a raw material production space to feed local industries in Sobral, Aracati, Fortaleza and outside of the state. Thus, “the first industries were implanted in cities that collected agricultural products and in Fortaleza, main flow point for Ceará’s production.” (Amora, 2005, p. 371-372, our translation).

The emergence of the first textile industries in Ceará is made feasible by the capital of local investors coming from commerce surplus and without state govern protection. It is worth mentioning that among the industries of this period, there were those who occupied jobs and offices in Ceará’s political scene, such as Thomaz Pompeu (congressman, partners with his brother-in-law, Nogueira Accioly who was President of Ceará for several terms) and Ernesto Deocleciano (Nogueira Accioly’s vice-president).

The period of consolidation of the textile industry in Brazil (Stein, 1979) corresponds to the second phase of the industrialization of Ceará, which according to Aragão (1989; 2002, p. 77, our translation) emerges in 1900, introducing a period that extends up to the end of 1950, and which is called entrepreneur’s generation “because they show initiative, aggressiveness, forever seeking opportunities, devoted to risk, presenting high dosage of creativity when managing.”

Industries developed on the second generation are listed below: Santa Elisa (1904); Santo Antônio (1929); Usina Gurgel (1916); Fiação Santa Maria (1918); Fiação São Luís (1928); Fábrica Baturité (1927); Fábrica São José (1926); Fábrica Santa Cecília (1945); Maranguape (1924).

Despite the scarcity of data that recovers the development of textile industry in the state, as Table 2 shows, the representativity of fabric factory São José which produced thick fabrics, like little cotton, mix and lonita, also thread and popular webs. According to Aragão (2002, p. 184, our translation), this factory occupied an

[...] area of 10.000m², Jacarecanga neighborhood, and equipped with modern machinery from England, Germany and United States with capacity of 6.800 fuses, and occupying 300 workers under the direction of English coaches.

The great number of factory workers after their foundation is also revealing: “Such undertaking had great social and economical impact, considering that during the Second World War, they employed a contingent of 1.050 employees.” (Aragão, 2002, p. 79, our translation).

The textile industry impact, besides economic, technical and social aspects, is noticeable in space, regarding spatial production and reproduction with the interrelations with capital under the mediation of productive forces and social relations of production.

The construction of worker’s village for the working class reproduction through the textile industry (such as São José, Baturité, the ones from A.D. Siqueira group, Santa Thereza factory Santa Cecília, Sobral and Progresso) reveals dynamic urban interaction of the capital, since these villages kept transforming and keeping up with the city’s expansion.

[...] the threading and weaving sectors were implanted in the end of the 19th century, but it is only from 1920 forward that worker’s village emerges. This is explained by the fact that it is in this moment that the sector seeks to expand and organize its production in a more continuous and systematic way. (Andrade, 1990, p. 283, our translation).

As in the previous generation, the industries installed in this generation emerge from the financial capital of their own investors. However, unlike the previous phase, they are founded as Ltd. and not as S.A. Moreover, among the advantages that come from the first generation, Aragão (1989, p. 70; 2002, p. 77) points: “the formation of an inexpressive working class, the market openings and the use of a relative infrastructure in order to supply raw materials [...]”

Regarding the characterization of businessmen in that phase,

[...] Businessmen from the first generation, men whose families had a high level of education and financial support, [...], the ones from the second generation were merchants before taking over the market activities in purchasing and selling cotton, and later becoming entrepreneurs in the cotton processing factories, [...]. Others [...] had in activities such as processing oils and soap their first manufacturing activities. (Aragão, 2002, p. 78, our translation).

Concerning the origin of businessmen from this phase, they came from “Ceará’s counties to the capital seeking widening and consolidation of their business. Antônio Diogo de Siqueira is an example of a person that became the biggest textile businessmen in Ceará [...]” (Aragão, 2002, p. 78, our translation).

According to Amora (2005, p. 372, our translation) in Ceará, “in the 50s, industries disappeared, only a few marks left over, such as Fábrica de Tecidos Progresso, based in Fortaleza.”

Once that a Goal Plan beneficated the South-Central region of Brazil, the lack of a modern and dynamic industrial park made the northeast intersection difficult in the national and international economy in the beginning of 1950, and only with the implantation the Developmental State, in 1960, conditions for a better development of production strengths in such region were sought.

From 1960 to 1980, the third phase of development of textile industry in Ceará occurred. It was also called “the moderns”, since it aimed at modernizing textile industries by the substitution of machines that had more than 30 years of use re-equipping them by the Textile Industry Program of Re-equipping contained in the 1st developing plan of SUDENE.

A total of 61 textile industries in the northeast included in the program, eight were from Ceará, as listed: Progresso, Santa Elisa, Santa Teresa, Cia. Gasparian do Norte, Santa Cecília, Baturité, Santa Maria, Sobral (Aragão, 1989).

Oliveira (1977) emphasizes the role of the Superintendência de Desenvolvimento do Nordeste (SUDENE) concerning implantation of tax breaks as a way of gathering resources for industrialization process viability in the region.

Thus, the development of the Northeast region was based on inter-regional resources transference, supported by tax breaks, for example 34/18, FINOR (Fundo de Investimentos para o Nordeste - Investment

Fund for the Northeast region) system, and recently FNE (Fundo Constitucional de Financiamento do Nordeste - Constitutional Financial Fund of Northeast).

Because of the opportunities, breaks, and state organs financing that initiated in Northeast after 1960, in Ceará, the textile industry development by the “third generation [happen], since it is situated in a determined transition phase. They are still entrepreneurs, however, present new characteristics, such as the concern about equipment modernization and with the circulation of new products in national market [...]” (Aragão, 2002, p. 65, our translation).

Among the active industries in the 60s and 70s, we can quote: Progresso (Bankrupted in 1987); Santa Tereza (Bankrupted in 1987); Sobral; Maranguape (Bankrupted in 1982); São José (Bankrupted in 1983); Santa Cecília (merged with Unitêxtil em 1973); Gasparian with the project Cia. Ceará Têxtil; Algodões Finos de Quixadá (Fine Cotton Quixadá) became Fiação Jangadeiro S/A (Jangadeiro Threading S/A); Induchenil; Chenille do Nordeste S/A (Chenosa); Indústrias de Meias Finas S/A (Fine Socks S/A); Linhas Seridó S/A (Seridó Strand S/A); Santa Inês (Indústria Politêxtil S/A) merged with Unitêxtil in 1973; Passamanaria do Nordeste; Santa Lucia (merged to Unitêxtil in 1973); Indústria Têxtil Armando Pinto S/A (Textile Industry Armando Pinto S/A); Master (Closed in 2000); Unitêxtil; Finobrasa, from the association Otoch and Baquit and later Grupo Vicunha Unidade IV; Pemalex; Tapetelene.

We realize that in the 60s there were 15 textile industries in Ceará, among them three already existed since the 19th century (Progresso, Santa Tereza and Sobral), besides the permanence of three more, in the beginning of 20th century (São José, Santa Cecília and Maranguape), once Antonio Diogo de Siqueira (Santo Antônio, São Luís, Santa Elisa and textile part of Industrial Ceara) failed at the end of 1950 and beginning of 1960, being the collection of Diogo group bought by Gasparian do Norte in 1961. In addition, Baturité factory of José Pinto do Carmo, asked for moratorium in 1959, being judicially closed ten years later. Also Gurgel usine, from Teófilo Gurgel, and Fiação Santa Maria did not exist anymore in the 60s.

On the other hand, the outbreak of nine more industries, among them large sized ones, such as Algodões Finos de Quixadá Ltda, which became Fiação Jangadeiro S/A (owned by entrepreneur Alberto Baquit) in

1964. The installation of other industries was due to SUDENE intervention, mainly from 1965. The internal conjecture of Ceará made easier the consolidation of federal incentives, once it sought a modernization of the space on the first government of Virgílio Távora, from 1962 to 1966, mainly in infrastructural terms, because besides a “[...] creation of roads (facilitating the runoff production of the state), it was in its government that electricity of Paulo Afonso power station came to Ceará”, being the precariousness of these infrastructural factors a justification for the delay in industrial development. (Aragão, 2002, p. 65, our translation).

In the 70s, six textile industries were created, among them Unitêxtil (União Industrial Têxtil S/A). Unitêxtil corresponds to a fusion, in 1973, of Santa Tereza Industry, headquarters in Aracati, and its subsidiaries in Fortaleza: Santa Cecília, Santa Inês/Indústria Politêxtil S/A (1967) and Cia. Têxtil Santa Lúcia(1969) - all belonging to Cotonifício Leite Barbosa.

“More than 50% of the textile industries installed in Ceará were small sized (employing from 10 to 99 people), in 1970, whereas the big sized ones (more than 250 employees) corresponded to only 3, 1%.” (Aragão, 2002, p. 97). Fiação Nordeste do Brasil S/A – Finobrasa (from Otoch and Baquit association) was among the big sized ones and, unlike the industries that so far had been run by family members, already had set a new trend, since it was run by specialized technical or with a scientific background.

According to Aragão (2002), FINOR financing allowed a small increase of big industries, in 1975. Among large threading and weaving industries there was Master Tecidos Plásticos, Finobrasa and Tapetelene, whereas the small ones specialized in knitting and confections. Many industries that emerged in 1960 such as Induchenil, Linhas Seridó, Armando Pinto and Meias Finas no longer existed in 1970. Cia. Ceará Têxtil, from the Gasparian Group, bankrupted in 1971, being later taken over Grupo Machado.

The analysis of the owners of active industries in the 60s and 70s allowed the characterization of businessmen of the third generation in four types, as reported by Aragão (2002, p. 100, our translation):

- 1) Businessmen involved with a family background in cotton, [...].
- 2) From beginners to textile entrepreneurs from the opportunities offered by tax break policies. [...].
- 3) There is the group formed exclusively by the embroidery tradition in Maranguape, [...].

4) Lastly, Master Tecidos Plásticos, that emerges as natural successor of Grupo Master undertakings [...]

The fact that industry owners are notably from Ceará, even when associated to businessmen from Center-South Brazil, “enabled that in Ceará, the local bourgeoisie could take over the industrialization of SUDENE era [...]” allowing “Ceará’s industry continued acting in traditional sectors.” (Aragão, 2002, p. 101).

As an example of this process, in 1973, it can be mentioned the Finobrasa foundation, installed in Ceará, owned by Grupo Vicunha, from entrepreneurs Jacks Rabinovich and Mendel Steinbruch, capitalists from Center-South of Brazil, who associated themselves to local businessmen, Otoch and Baquit Group. Finobrasa was the only participation in the southern industry in the Ceará’s textile sector in the frame of industries installed by SUDENE.

Up to the 70s, the greatest industrial concentration was located in the neighborhood of Antônio Bezerra, Mucuripe, Parangaba, Francisco Sá Avenue, and adjacent neighborhoods, also in the surroundings of ferrous way, attracting a large contingent of migrants. Industrial growth, in this period, was in a spontaneous way and did not obey any urban planning.

In this trajectory, we have the third period of industrialization in Ceará, according to Amora (2005), and the fourth generation of textile industry, with new entrepreneurs and Textile Industrial Park fortification, at the end of the 20th century (1980 to 2002), in accordance with Aragão (2002).

Textile Industry Adapted to a New Context

It is in a context of economical crisis faced by the country in the 80s that we get to the fourth phase of textile industry development in the state of Ceará, being this one, in Aragão’s (1989; 2002) perspective called “managerial generation”, extending from 1980 to present days.

Among several problems faced by textile industry in the 80s, we can mention: scarcity in providing raw material (cotton), the fact that old industries resisted to restructuration, remaining with challenged machinery, which led to extinction of many textile industries, since they did not have the competition force. Let us see now the active Textile

Industries in the 80s in Ceará: Santana Têxtil; TBM; Têxtil Baquit; Têxtil União; Vicunha Nordeste (Unidade I); Juozas (Cia. brasileira de Modas); TBM (Unidade II); Cotece; Filati Malhas (TBM Unidade V).

In the 80s, centenary industry Thomaz Pompeu was closed, alongside with Pompeu Têxtil unit and Santa Thereza's industry. In 1982, Maranguape industry also closed, and in the following year, São José industry closed as well. Sobral Industries remained in this decade, being founded back in the 19th century, and, after a fire in May, 1980, having its whole threading sector destroyed, continued as Grupo Ernesto Deocleciano and operated only weaving after this incident. Santa Cecília industry, founded in the first part of the 20th century, which also resisted the wave of closings, was owned by Cotonifício Leite Barbosa, also owner of an industry that closed down in 1984 (Santa Tereza), "being fostered in Unitêxtil since 1973. In the scenery of textile companies from the 80s, Unitêxtil was the biggest state undertaking [...]" (Aragão, 2002, p. 108, our translation).

Other six textile industries, founded in 60s and 70s, remained in the 80s, Passamanaria, Jangadeiro, Ceará Têxtil and Master, Unitêxtil and Pemalex, respectively.

Even facing difficulties, nine modern textile industries emerged. We realize both the emergence of new industries, but also the occupation of new spaces by the industrial space, such as the ones in Maracanaú county. Such emergence reflects the construction of the Industrial District of Maracanaú, back in 1963. Although only starting operations in the 70s, this Industrial District was inserted in the scope of incentives to industrial development proposed for Ceará.

This diverse frame of the national context delimited in the 80s mostly comes from the incentives given during Virgílio Távora government, in his second term, since during the 80s industrial financing decrease over SUDENE's cuts.

Thus, in Ceará, textile industries were able to overcome the crises through the active participation of the government of the state and due to a partnership with the Federal government that, attempting to keep the previous growth, reinforced industrial incentives.

During the 1980s, in the textile industry, there were growth periods alternated to other periods of stability and retraction. Only from the second half of 1984 on, the textile sector presented recovery signs.

Political rupture experimented by the state in the passage from 1986 to 1987, in Ceará, was undoubtedly an institutional-political mark that allowed the renew of the speech and approach in drought effects, and also meant a change of paradigm in the conduction of state public politics. During the first “Change Government”, from 1987 a 1991, decisive steps were taken in the direction of the construction of a new management model.

Among the “novelties” brought by its new elite that was initially commanded by Tasso Jereissati who gains prominence for the industry politics based on tax war. In this period, SUDENE loses meaning, being extinct during Fernando Henrique Cardoso government in 2001 and recreated in 2003 during Lula government.

Among the main instruments of the current industrialization policy, concession tax and financial breaks, infrastructure, decentralization of productive investments, and a greater generation of jobs with cheap labor can be mentioned.

With the decline of federal policies destined to combat regional inequalities after 1988 Constitution, an outbreak of state policies that modify the dynamic of local economy is observed.

Therefore, among the attractive benefits for industries’ allocation base on industrial policy, there are: labor offer, water and sanitary services, electricity, gas, ports and airports, road construction, technical systems connected to communication, the offer of industrial districts that conducts infrastructure necessary to the functioning of the industries, and recently the efforts for regional deconcentration that have involved the concession of tax breaks, with exemption or differentiated taxes aliquot.

In Ceará, policies of incentive to industrialization through Fundo de Desenvolvimento Industrial - Industrial Development Fund (FDI) stand out, granting exemption and extension of tax breaks aiming at implanting, reallocating, expanding, recuperating and modernizing industries. The policy of attracting industries in Ceará dates back to Virgílio Távora (1962 – 1966) government, culminating with Law n. 10.367, from December 1st 1979 promulgation, instituting Industrial Development Fund (FDI), which was a strategy aimed at enabling Ceará of legal contribution in order to make feasible the incentive for industrialization.

With the institutionalization of FDI, Ceará became a pioneer in the use of tax and financial breaks aimed at attracting new companies

to the state, notably perceived by the exemption and extension of taxes (tax breaks), seeking to give support to the implantation, modernization, reallocation and expansion of these industries.

Discounts are greater when the cities are farther from Fortaleza. Installing an industry in a Fortaleza Metropolitan Region city would give that company tax breaks for ten years. If the industry is located from 300 to 500 km far from Fortaleza, the tax break is extended for 14 years, and lastly, if it is farther than 500 km, it is granted for 15 years. Discounts for tax over the circulation of goods and services (ICMS) are lower for industries installed in the capital, which means 45%.

This policy raises many questions such as the possibility of unfair competition with other previous existing textile industries and the indirect possibility of reducing the saving capacity of the government.

Despite the deficiencies, FDI and FINOR, were the instruments that helped developing textile, confection, shoe and metalworking industries in the state. It is worth mentioning that such instruments were basically used for the attraction of big industrial undertakings whereas the support of small and medium companies was not the scope of these instruments.

These changes started to happen in the moment the government focused its attention to the restructuring of productive sectors, such as industry, agriculture, tourism, etc.

According to Aragão (2002, p. 37, our translation),

Ceará is, today, the second largest textile center in Brazil when it comes to feather cotton, being second only to the state of São Paulo. Ceará also holds the second place in thread production, ranking, once more, behind São Paulo. As far as the productive chain, Ceará occupies the fourth place in production volume, being outranked by the states of São Paulo, Santa Catarina and Minas Gerais.

In the second half of 1980s, as exposed by Amaral Filho (2003, p. 377, our translation), among the main public policies of state government there is “the new industrial policy, that introduces an industrial and spatial rationality to tax breaks, besides introducing a vector dedicated to support and induction of industrial development.”

It is clear to notice the state assuming the role of a locomotive of transformation due to its institutional apparatus, and adapting to economic, spatial, and social organization its new capital needs, this way, organizing a space capable of capitalist activity development.

Concerning neoliberal policy, the opening of commercial process gained strength because there was an increase on international competition levels. The set of these transformations implicated in industrial production.

During decades national industry was protected by the state and had to remodel itself, in order not to lose its “slice” in national market for cheaper importations, and in global market, with the attendance of other countries in the process of commercial opening.

Better prepared industries invested in their restructuration, reduced their costs, and improved their competitiveness aiming at facing international competition.

Among the textile industries in Ceará that appeared between the years 1990-2002, we have: Fiotex (Incorporated to 2001 Cia. Ceará Têxtil); Micrel Benfio; Jaguatêxtil; Elizabeth Têxtil (Vicunha Unidade V); Fitesa Têxtil; CTN; Marcotex; Tebasa merged with Fiação Jangadeiro and Têxtil Baquit; Aurora Têxtil; Cotefor; Lerma do Nordeste; Santa Rita; Pacajus (Vicunha Unidade III); Haco Etiquetas; Servitêxtil (Beatriz Têxtil); TBM (Unidade III).

We realized that from 1990 to 2002, more industries emerged when comparing to 60s, when there was a closer interference of SUDENE, since 16 new industries were installed in Ceará. On the other hand, Master Tecidos Plásticos was closed in 2000, and centenary Fábrica Sobral (Companhia de Fiação e Tecidos Ernesto Deocleciano) that ran until 1997, after being turned into the Technological Campus of the Federal University of Ceará, in Sobral.

Among the companies founded in 80s, almost all continued running in 90s. The only exception is Juozas (Cia. brasileira de modas), for which records were not found, and that worked with fabric production, one of the suppliers of Del Rio (acquired by Carlos Pereira in 1968, responsible for a big part of confection, later transformed into Cia. Brasileira de Moda (Brazilian Fashion Company).

Juozas and Del Rio belong to the same family (Pereira de Souza), and nowadays the records show the company being run by Daniel Laureano Pereira de Souza, based in Maracanaú, with 79 employees, manufacturing undergarments. (Guia Industrial do Ceará, 2014).

From textile industries of 1970s decade that are still active, Unitêxtil that in 1990 was in creditors agreement and that right after closed two

of its units: Santa Lúcia and Santa Cecília: “Santa Cecília, in Montese neighborhood, Fortaleza also presented a big cost-benefit problem in that time. The company remained with only one unit and fired 90% of the workers.” (Aragão, 2002, p. 108, our translation).

In 1990, the industry’s migration that went to install them in Ceará was increasing. For example Lerma do Nordeste and Haco Etiquetas that have their productions focused on outside of the state. In addition to these ones, those with large size that already existed since 1970, such as Vicunha Group.

Another characteristic of textile sector, in opposition to business management by familiar hierarchy, is “scientific management”, a more “professional’ management, in the sense of contrast executives with experience in business management.

The great encourager in achievement of goals and employees satisfaction in 1980s were social benefits, in 1990 the emphasis was in management policies directed to the achievement and results participation with no waste and reduction of work accident, focusing at continuous training.

Vicunha, Têxtil Bezerra de Meneses and Santana Têxtil are examples of industries that seek to attend new market requirements, and that dislocate themselves in inserting global transformations, seeking not only new spaces to allocate themselves but also a productive restructuration with a consequently expansion for peripheral spaces of Fortaleza and fix and flux implantation (Santos, 1988), which leads new technological, organizational and occupational forms, also greater work strength mobility, due to transport systems fluidity and communication, which directly interferes in socio spatial structure of RMF.

The policy of industry’s attraction for municipalities close to capital caused consolidation in 1990s of other industrial axis for beyond Maracanaú and Maranguape, as in Pacajus and Horizonte, notably across highway BR-116.

The Industrial expansion also happens in Eusébio county, where we can find nowadays, besides Haco, Gurgel, Thunder, Adman, Cristal e Ramalho Têxtil.

After this redemption of the textile industry in Ceará, in 2002, we are forced to raise the question about successors in developing the textile industry in this decade. In Maracanaú, currently, there are the following

industries: Aleze, Delfa, Fiotex, Pemalex, Karsten, Tecelagem Alphatex, Têxtil União, Filati, Beatriz and Jangadeiro Têxtil, Cotefi Malhas.

As a consequence of this process of capital expansion for far away from the state's capital, among the 337 active industries in Horizonte, there are the ones from the textile sector, such as: Santana têxtil and Têxtil Andina. In Pacajus, among a total of 312 active industries, we also find textile industries, Vicunha, and confection (Arabril, Araujo and Brilhante/Famel, Malwee).

When the creation of Complexo Industrial and Portuário do Pecém (CIPP), in 2002, the Caucaia – São Gonçalo do Amarante industrial axis was strengthened, redefining the role so far played by these counties in the metropolitan social spatial structure. This has been bringing numerous consequences for the metropolitan labor market, affecting population mobility, and urban space demand, with the expansion of objects and actions systems, narrowing the relations of these counties with the capital.

In Caucaia, which also comprises this complex and it is the second county in Ceará with a large industrial quantitative, there are a total of 1.639 active industries where we can find textile and confection industries, such as: Fio Jeitoso, Ondas, Sitec Têxtil. In Maranguape, there are a total of 690 textile and confection industries: Têxtil Itajaí do Nordeste, Hope do Nordeste, Micrel Benfio Têxtil, Banana Nanica Indústria de Confecções, Arte Modas, Rosa de Sarom. Aquiraz has the biggest income source coming from the Tourism sector, there is also industries investment, featuring a quantitative of 402 industries, among which, textile and confection industries: Tramix, Marinho Têxtil, Visual Uniformes.

Cascavel (268 active industries) has the following textile and confection industries: Martêxtil, Herja, and Bebevest. Pacatuba takes advantage of the industries expansion and the set of habitations initially concentrated in Maracanaú, a total of 368 active industries, among them, textile and confection ones: Marisol, Diuncorpo Lingerie, and Zanotti. The representativity of Marisol industry (Santa Catarina, Rio Grande do Sul and Ceará-Pacatuba) in this county can be highlighted because it has 1.575 workers only in this branch.

With a regional displacement of big companies, stimulated by tax and infrastructures breaks provided by state government, Ceará has been increasing its relevance in national scenario, by attracting industries

of textile and confectionist sectors. However, Santos e Silveira (2001, p. 138, our translation) emphasize “some northeast companies are only branches of southern companies of textile and confection sectors.” Apart from Marisol, for example, Vicunha.

Ceará constitutes the third biggest textile pole of the country, with 132 years of history, standing out in all production process, from cotton consumption up to the production of clothing (SEBRAE, 2014²).

The current development stage of the industry in Ceará resulted from the decentralization of national industry. However, since capitalism development is contradictory, textile industry is locally concentrated, since in Ceará’s space this textile growth is meaningful in RMF, specially in the Capital, in low Jaguaribe, in Jaguarana, which had, in 2012, 84 textile industries, a different quantitative from 2002, when it had 73, according to IPECE data.

Textile industry production happen in a concentrated way in RMF, since that in 2012, more than half of the industries in the state is in RMF, representing 63% (699), whereas in 2002, this represented 44% (190), an evident growth of textile industries in RMF when compared to the state, despite internalization propaganda done by the state government and despite the world industry decentralization.

From the textile industries that stand out, there is Vicunha, Têxtil Bezerra de Menezes and Unitêxtil, which has increased its patrimony, revenue, sales, but still remains with the same number of employees.

Contrary to IPECE (Instituto de Pesquisa e Estratégia Econômica do Ceará - Economic Strategy Research Institute of Ceará) data, that divide the textile and confection sector, according to MTE/RAIS, textile and confection industry data seem to be concatenated.

The indicator analyses of RAIS from 2002 to 2012, shows continuous growth of textile industry companies in the state, as shown in the following table:

Table 1 - Establishments with formal employment in the textile industry , according to selected years - State of Ceará

| Year | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 | Total |
|-------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------|
| Textile Industry | 2.095 | 2.216 | 2.274 | 2.390 | 2.502 | 2.738 | 2.984 | 3.125 | 3.385 | 3.557 | 3.612 | 30.878 |

Source: MTE/RAIS.

The fact is that, respecting respective methodologies, there are two sources of statistical data that do not diverge from the essential that could be found in our study: in national scale, concentration is in RMF, this one's concentration is in capital.

The representativity of textile industry is present in the economy of Ceará state, not only by industries' quantitative, production, commercialization and generated jobs, but also due to spatial interactions, as work villages, and resignification of old textile industrial spaces, technical systems needed to the accomplishment of production and spatial circuits of production, etc.

The importance of object systems related to labor training is perceived, in addition to industrial villages that still remain in the setting of the space of Ceará, once workers training is performed by SENAI (Serviço Nacional de Aprendizagem Industrial - National Service of Industrial Learning), using FAT (Fundo de Amparo ao Trabalhador - Workers Support Fund) resources.

Apart from SENAI, there are several object systems related to labor qualification and industrial sector studies: SESI (Serviço Social da Indústria - Industry Social Service), Instituto Euvaldo Lodi, Instituto de Desenvolvimento Industrial do Ceará, Centro de Treinamento Técnico do Ceará, Ceará also has the biggest program of vocational education, and also the importance of IFCEs (Instituto Federal de Educação, Ciência e Tecnologia do Ceará - Federal Institute of Education, Science and Technology of Ceará).

Spaces that had been previously occupied by textile industries and that, keeping up with city transformations through time, nowadays serve to new purposes. For example, the old industry called Progresso, located downtown, is now used for confection commerce. The old net factory, São José, situated in Filomeno Gomes avenue, close to the Boulevard Jacarecanga shopping mall constructions, part of the shopping mall project for Fortaleza neighborhoods. In front of the space occupied by Finobrasa (now Vicunha in Pacajus and Maracanaú), in Humberto Monte Avenue, in the corner of Sargento Hermínio street, Presidente Kennedy neighborhood, the Shopping Mall Rio Mar Norte is being built. Moreover, old industries spaces now serve other purposes such as the installations of the old Vilejack Jeans, irregular housing of impoverished people that live in these spaces by building on them.

The departure of many industries left big empty urban spaces, such as the one in the old Urubu workshop, from the Rede de Viação Cearense (RSV). In the spaces that became empty by industrial deactivation or reallocation, due to the current industrial policy of the government of Ceará, *Política de Desenvolvimento Produtivo* (PDP For), in 2009, defined numerous lots as ZEIS3. On these empty lots, housing of families at risk or of precarious housing is being done as part of the Project called Vila do Mar. (Muniz, 2014).

These city hall actions interfere in the city dynamics, using the instruments proposed in the Master Plan, not forgetting the importance of these actions to face the increasing real estate speculation that has disputed the government for empty urban spaces. This happens because of investment opportunities for residential and commercial areas of medium to high end standards, with abundant essential services, such as schools, health care, banks, shopping malls, commerce and excellent location, such as Francisco Sá avenue, right in the city area, with public transportation that enables the access to many places in Fortaleza and the metropolitan region.

Neighborhood requalification also happens and families are placed in old industrial spaces. With the depart or bankruptcy of these industries and increasing real state speculation, popular residential condominiums are built, and impoverished families are reallocated in fully equipped areas.

With the decentralization of the west zone of Fortaleza, it was possible to observe that in research made by Muniz (2002) a spatial reconfiguration, a new function performed by this space that is not sustentation predominantly anymore, and industrial valuing at the same time that it transforms residential space, of commerce and service. It could be also observed, that in west zone there is an increase of commercial sub centers, aiming at distributing products for a consumer market undergrowth, constituted by salaried, predominantly.

Final Considerations

In front of the main types of textile industries present in Ceará space, it can be noticed, among other things, the way of increasing the investment in industrial capital is done, leading us to affirm that industries differentiate from each other, both in the field in which they operate and size. There are small, medium and large industries, as well as

the origin of the invested capital, not only depending on local investments anymore. On the other hand, the existence of foreign capital is not a guarantee of permanence, and the quality of jobs created and the flow of profits is questionable, leading to the need of developing studies as the current industrial policy exemption and granting a number of benefits to allocate national or international capital.

It was possible to perceive the dynamics of the textile industry in Ceará space over time, and to see that the interactions of textile production go beyond the economic and social aspects, emphasizing changes, especially in urban areas, among other things with the new spaces of production industrial and new functions of old industrial spaces.

In this way, we aimed to understand this as a process, in an analysis, even if succinct of the industrial textile production, but integrating the social process, form and spatial function, taking into consideration the larger context for the standards of each season, in other words, socio spatial transformations and temporality.

The textile industry, besides having connection with space, Ceará occupation history, connected with the state economy, caused over time remarkable socio-spatial transformations, not only in the cities of origin as well as where it remains, and where it maintains trade relations through circulation space of the final product and purchase of raw materials.

The textile industry of Ceará has a very heterogeneous production, with many possibilities of use and combination of raw material, which are combined with the variable intensities of using capital, work force in each step of the production, for different business competition and strategies, besides an array of options concerning production, technology and productive organization

These options vary according to the intended final product specification (appearance, texture, pattern, flexibility, etc.), and according to the market goal (domestic or industrial use, fashion or standardized products and income groups). Such diversity only reveals the relevance of the present study when seeking to understand the specificities of time and space in the industrial textile production.

Despite leaving the era of industrial capital and facing the increasing financial sector appreciation, financial sector's autonomy is relative because of financial capital inter relations in the productive field. Moreover, textile industry remains occupying a singular space of relevance in Ceará, propelling many other productive sectors.

Notas

1 All quotations were translated from Portuguese into English.

2 Available at: <http://www.sebrae2014.com.br/sebrae/sebrae%202014/boletins/fortaleza_boletim_2014_julho.pdf>.

References

AMARAL FILHO, J. do. Ajustes estruturais, novas formas de intervenção pública e novo regime de crescimento econômico no Ceará. In: GONÇALVES, M. F.; BRANDÃO, C. A.; GALVÃO, A. C. F. (Org.). *Regiões e cidades, cidades nas regiões: o desafio urbano-regional*. São Paulo: UNESP: ANPUR, 2003.

_____. (Org.). *Federalismo fiscal e transformações recentes no Ceará*. Fortaleza: INESP, 2000.

AMORA, Z. B. Indústria e espaço no Ceará. In: SILVA, J. B. da; CAVALCANTE, T. C.; DANTAS, E. W. C. (Org.). *Ceará: um novo olhar geográfico*. Fortaleza: Edições Demócrito Rocha, 2005.

ANDRADE, M. J. F. de S. *Onde moram os operários: vilas operárias em Fortaleza 1920-1945*. 309 f. Dissertação (Mestrado em Arquitetura e Urbanismo) - Universidade Federal da Bahia, Salvador, 1990.

ANUÁRIO DE FORTALEZA. *Conhecendo Fortaleza*. 2012-2013. Disponível em: <<http://www.anuariodefortaleza.com.br/>>. Acesso em: 30 out. 2015.

ARAGÃO, E. F. (Coord.). *O fiar e o tecer: 120 anos da indústria têxtil no Ceará*. Fortaleza: SINDITÊXTIL / FIEC, 2002.

_____. *A trajetória da indústria têxtil no Ceará: o setor de fiação e tecelagem 1880-1950; Projeto História do Ceará: política, indústria e trabalho*. Fortaleza: Edições Universidade Federal do Ceará Stylus Comunicações, 1989.

BRASIL. Ministério do trabalho e emprego. *Dados estatísticos de Relação Anual de Informações Sociais (RAIS)*. Disponível em <<http://portal.mte.gov.br/rais/>>. Acesso em: 14 jun. 2016.

BRASIL. Ministério do desenvolvimento, indústria e comércio. *Brasil Maior. Inovar para competir. Competir para Crescer*. 2014. Disponível em <http://www.brasilmaior.mdic.gov.br/wp-content/uploads/cartilha_brasilmaior.pdf>. Acesso em: 14 jun. 2016.

FIEC. Federação das indústrias do Estado do Ceará. Guia Industrial do Ceará. Disponível em: <<http://www2.sfiec.org.br/portalv3/sites/guia2014/?st=acesso-restrito-consulta>>. Acesso em: 30 out 2016.

GIRÃO, R. História econômica do Ceará. 2. ed. Fortaleza: UFC – Casa de José de Alencar/Programa Editorial, 2000. 470 p.

INSTITUTO DE PESQUISA E ESTRATÉGIA ECONÔMICA DO CEARÁ. *Perfil setorial* - Vestuário 2013. Fortaleza, 2013. Disponível em: <<http://www.ipece.ce.gov.br>>. Acesso em: 1 ago. 2016.

LIMA, L. C. Produção do Espaço, Sistemas Técnicos e Divisão Territorial do Trabalho. Scripta Nova. *Revista Electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales*. Universidad de Barcelona, v. VI, n. 119 (63), 1 ago. 2002. Disponível em: <www.ub.es/geocrit>. Acesso em: 14 jun. 2016.

MUNIZ, A. M. V. A dinâmica da indústria têxtil no espaço metropolitano de Fortaleza. Tese (Doutorado em Geografia) - Programa de Pós-Graduação em Geografia da Universidade Federal do Ceará, UFC, Fortaleza, 2014.

_____. *As transformações do espaço urbano na zona da Francisco Sá*. II Encontro de Pós-Graduação e Pesquisa da Unifor, Fortaleza-Ce, abril de 2002, p. 131, impresso.

_____. *Aspectos infra-estruturais de Horizonte frente à reorganização espacial*. In: Anais da IV Semana Universitária da UECE, Fortaleza, 1999.

_____. Produção do Espaço Metropolitano de Fortaleza e a Dinâmica Industrial. *Revista Mercator*, Fortaleza, v. 14, n. 3, p. 61-74, set./dez. 2015.

NOBRE, G. O processo histórico de industrialização do Ceará. 2. ed. Fortaleza: FIEC, 2001.

OLIVEIRA, F. de. *Elegia para uma re(li)gião*: SUDENE, Nordeste, planejamento e conflito de classe. 2. ed. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1977.

SANTOS, M. *Pensando o espaço do homem*. São Paulo: Hucitec, 1980.

_____. *Metamorfose do espaço habitado*. São Paulo: Hucitec, 1988.

_____. *A natureza do espaço: técnica e tempo. Razão e emoção*. 4. ed. São Paulo: Hucitec, 2008.

SEBRAE. SERVIÇO BRASILEIRO DE APOIO ÀS MICRO E PEQUENAS EMPRESAS. Disponível em: <www.sebrae.com.br>. Acesso em: 1 ago. 2016.

SILVA, J. B. da. A Região Metropolitana de Fortaleza. In: CAVALCANTE, T. C.; DANTAS, E.; SILVA, J. B. da. (Org.). *Ceará: um novo olhar geográfico*. Fortaleza: Edições Demócrito Rocha, 2005.

_____. Conhecendo Fortaleza: o sistema de transporte urbano e a garantia do ir e vir na cidade. In: ANUÁRIO DE FORTALEZA 2012-2013. Fortaleza: Edições Demócrito Rocha, 2012.

_____. A cidade contemporânea no Ceará. In: SOUZA, S. de (Org.). *Uma nova história do Ceará*. Fortaleza: Edições Demócrito Rocha, 2002.

_____. O algodão no processo de organização do espaço. In: SOUSA, S. (Org.). *História do Ceará*. Fortaleza: UFC/Fundação Demócrito Rocha, 1994.

SOUZA, E. *Álbum do Jaguaribe*. Belém: Gráfica Amazônia, 1922.

STEIN, S. *Origens e Evolução da Indústria Têxtil no Brasil – 1850/1950*. Rio de Janeiro: Campus. 1979. Original: Stein, Stanley – *The Brazilian Cotton Manufacture – Textile Enterprise in an Underdeveloped area: 1850-1950*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1957, Harvard Press.

TAKEYA, D. *Europa, França e Ceará: as origens do capital estrangeiro no Brasil*. Natal: UFRN, 1995.

Alexsandra Maria Vieira Muniz – holds a bachelor's and a licentiate degree in Geography by Universidade Estadual do Ceará. She has a master's degree in Geography by the same institution and a doctorate degree in Geography by Universidade Federal do Ceará. Currently, she is a researcher in the Laboratório de Estudos Urbanos e Regionais (LAPUR) and in the Observatório das Metrôpoles.

Received for publication on 02 September 2016

Accepted for publication on 11 October 2016