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LOCAL PRODUCTION ARRANGEMENTS: TERRITORIAL MANAGEMENT AS A TOOL IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF EMANCIPATORY BASES

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Abstract: The present study is an independent research initiative, based on consultancy work carried out in the ``Serra do Padeiro`` region, in action by ``Tupinambá Boiadeiro`` Indigenous Agricultural Cooperative - CATUBOI, in partnership with the Casa Socioambiental Fund, composing the Project of Environmental and Agroecological Management that aims to consolidate actions already initiated in the territory. As a fragment of the Gameleira Project: environmental and agroecological management plan for Serra do Padeiro, the notion of APLs as a theoretical reference, contributes to the process of integration of production centers already existing in the locality, fostering relations of cooperation and mutual support, participatory planning and governance carried out by a group of agents who represent not only the producers, but also with the participation of young people and women who are part of the community's resistance bases. Amid the various crises and precariousness that have affected the means of production in recent decades, it is necessary and urgent to search for paradigm shifts that affect small producers/service providers, not only so that they can grow and develop in isolation, but by forming associations that benefit the regions where these centers are located. Combining the concepts of Local Productive Arrangements with the territorial management processes already existing in communities established in different regions of the country does not imply the imposition of yet another generic and civilizing thought towards our communities. More than that, it is to use the tools and methodologies available to structure relationships that contribute to the formation of solid territorial bases that will guarantee autonomy, which becomes crucial in processes of emancipation and territorial strengthening beyond legalities, in favor of national economic recovery.

Keywords: Local Production Arrangements; Territorial Emancipation; Cooperation and mutual support; Libertarian solidarity.

“And every Indian has science. Each one in their own way, in their own way of telling.”

Mayá - Maria Muniz Andrade Ribeiro

INTRODUCTION

In recent decades, more and more scholars have focused on studies related to Local Productive Arrangements, essentially since the year 1970, however, some of the references that contribute to their understanding have been present in literature since the 19th century.

XIX. Discussions related to the subject usually lead to the British economist Alfred Marshall, who began to disseminate some ideas about agglomerations of companies in his book “Principles of Economics” in 1890. Marshall's studies were based on industrial districts in Great Britain, where excellent economic results were identified as a result of the concentration of certain spatially located activities (SANTOS, 2005).

The 1970s became a reference because it was considered the period of inflection point in the organization of the means of production, opening space for a new productive paradigm whose essential characteristic is flexible production, opposing mass production models (Fordism, Taylorism) that were spreading throughout the world at that time - and still deeply rooted in Brazilian productive culture (SANTOS, 2005).

During this decade, major changes occurred in the world economy with advances in the globalization process and the opening of national economies, as well as a series of radical transformations in the forms and modes of production and, from this moment on, more and more scholars began to focus on analyzing the influence of the local dimension

and spatial proximity on the competitive and innovative performance of companies.

The profound transformations that occurred in the capitalist system, added to the perceptions that traditional approaches (based on mass production models) were incapable of defining effective policies to reverse the economic and structural weaknesses of different industrial regions, contributed to the emergence of procedures focused on importance of the local dimension for the coordination of ongoing economic and technological activities (SANTOS, 2005).

Bearing in mind all the fatalities and increasing precariousness in the various layers of the Brazilian productive sector (as in many other regions of the globe) for some decades now, intensified to extremes as a result of the pandemic and the absence of the State as a subsidiary of the necessary changes, it is understood that It is important to note that encouraging the association of various territorially located organizational archetypes that interact with each other contributes to regional development based on their demands and needs and, equally, their potential. Therefore, it is intended with this modest contribution to research regarding the means of production, that these paradigm shifts - which also dialogue with ancestral knowledge of our traditional communities - can guide relationships between small enterprises and productive centers in the same way as comprehensive as possible, aiming for positive impacts on national economic strengthening.

LOCAL PRODUCTION ARRANGEMENTS

Local Productive Arrangements are a cluster of companies located in the same territory, focusing on a specific set of economic activities, which maintain links of articulation, interaction, cooperation and learning among themselves and with other local actors such

as government bodies, private companies, institutions teaching, research, financing, among others. The companies that make up the cluster can be either producers of goods and/or services, or suppliers, traders, etc. (SEBRAE, 2017). In the conception of the Research Network on Local Productive and Innovative Arrangements and Systems - REDESIST - the concept is adopted to identify “productive agglomerations whose articulations between local agents are not sufficiently developed to characterize them as systems”. Local Production Systems would be specialized productive agglomerations of “ideal type”, with a strong intrinsic capacity for generating innovations.

Brazilian and international experts consider the APLs approach as the most relevant industrial policy of recent decades, as an analytical proposal developed to understand the phenomena of territorial productive development and which has had notable success, both in literature and in productive development policy (CASSIOLATO, 2019).

There is no consensus in the literature on the definition of agglomerations. Depending on the author’s line of research, it is possible to find situations in which they are called industrial districts, clusters, national and regional innovation systems, local production systems or local production arrangements (SANTOS, 2005). Each of these approaches seeks to take into consideration, the empirical relationships of each region, however, it is possible to identify similar concerns and conclusions based on phenomena that also present similar attributes in different environments, below are some of the characteristics considered main for understanding an agglomeration as being a Local Productive Arrangement:

- Agents located in the same territorial dimension;
- diversity of activities and subjects involved (economic, political and social agents);

- tacit knowledge of the main productive activities, that is, uncodified knowledge, acquired and passed on, essentially, through interaction;
- actual or potential existence of innovation processes and interactive learning;
- governance exercised by a representative group (unions or associations).

Paulo Fernando Cavalcanti Filho, PhD in Economics from UFRJ and coordinator of the Technology and Business Studies Center - NETE - explains that, unlike other collective enterprises, the APL is not organized in the form of a legal entity, nor is it determined by a contract, but it is formed by a set of relationships between diverse actors, with the companies involved being able to participate in different stages of the production processes or in just one of them (SEBRAE, 2017). It also considers the history of the place where it is structured to be fundamental for the specification of an APL, since each territory has its particularities and specificities, the local culture will direct the relationships established, as well as the innovations based on these relationships.

The growth in literature on APLs in recent years is perhaps due to the competitive advantages generated in favor of the enterprises located there, achieved essentially through cooperation. The notion of APL seeks to highlight the link between the units

productive relations with the territory in the specific relationship of production and distribution, but also due to the presence of externalities resulting from interactions with public and private agents focused on technological, managerial and financial training.

A great advantage derived from the complementarity of companies formed in an APL is related to marketing. The existence of

groups of companies from related sectors in the same location allows the use of marketing tools together, which results in promoting the region's reputation, increasing the likelihood that consumers will take this reputation into account when deciding on the purchase.

An example of a Local Productive Arrangement already established in the country is the Marco Furniture Hub, a small town in the interior of the state of Ceará that, just over two decades ago, was essentially home to rural workers, some government activities and small businesses. Based on the initiative of an entrepreneur in the furniture sector already established in Fortaleza, Rogério Aguiar, founder of the Jacaúna group (among the largest furniture manufacturers in the country), aware that the few local entrepreneurs found it very difficult to achieve, in isolation, bringing training and resources to expand the activities they carried out in the city, encouraged and guided the formation of an Association, in addition to the establishment of new ventures (SEBRAE, 2017).

Currently, there are more than 30 companies making up the furniture industry, 20 of which are associated with FAMA - ``Fabricantes Associados de Marco``. Companies vary in their shapes and sizes, organizations with just a dozen employees, others employing hundreds of people, operating in different branches of the production chains related to furniture production. Some work exclusively with steel and aluminum, others with upholstery, also production with vines, glass processing, etc., where associates understand that the companies complement each other, even though some have similar products, they try not to attack the same market niches, avoiding competitions between them and making polo increasingly competitive at a national level. The biggest advantages described by members are the exchange of information and sharing

of learning, indication of the best prices and suppliers and recognition of one's own design, with products with great added value, developed by local professionals.

The association, according to the businesspeople, is what legitimizes the APL, which takes shape according to the establishment of the companies that make up the association. At the assemblies, which are held somewhat informally, members deal with a wide range of topics such as social responsibilities, employee training, participation in regional fairs, joint sales, in addition to inviting representatives from institutions that operate in the region and make a point of attending, feeling part of the actions. The group is currently seeking government support to build a technical school to train young people looking for their first job. The Jacaúna Group, the businessman's network that encouraged the formation of the Association, has also invested in the cultivation of eucalyptus and other noble species used in the manufacture of furniture, with the aim of meeting all local demand. With 600 ha of area already planted and another 300 ha in progress, the businessman intends to present a project so that other interested parties can also join the venture (MARCO, 2021).

On June 1, 2022, F.A.M.A. together with the Ceará Furniture Industries Union - SindMóveis - organized the 3rd edition of the Ceará Furniture Show, in the city of Marco, receiving more than 80 buyers from different regions of the country, considered a success by businesspeople, consolidating itself, according to them, as "an important national event in the sector" (MARCO, 2021).

Marshall is considered one of the pioneers in understanding the importance of the role of small businesses within the economic system, observing how much they can benefit from the external economy by grouping together. This way, the same economies that

benefit large companies can be incorporated by small enterprises when concentrated in the same location - what was called "external economy", as opposed to those related to the coordination of activities in a large, vertically integrated company. And there are diverse economies ensured by the concentration of small companies, enterprises or production centers with similar characteristics in the same territorial dimension. Three important factors can be cited as examples of external economies, derived from the agglomeration of companies:

1. Stimulating the emergence of a strong and constant job market for specialized workers.
2. Attracting suppliers of specialized inputs and services to the region, taking into consideration, the sum of individual demands.
3. The possibility of generating and disseminating know-how (knowledge of standards, methods and procedures) and new ideas (CASSIOLATO, 2019).

Therefore, it is clear that the benefits generated by the territorial concentration of enterprises are associated, not only with the increase in production volume, but also with gains in organization and territorial and regional development derived from greater interaction between the actors involved. Regarding this, we can quote Marshall's words:

The industry's secrets are no longer secrets, they become free in the air, so that children absorb a large number of them. A job well done is duly appreciated, the merits of inventions and improvements to machinery, methods and the general organization of the company are immediately discussed. If one person launches a new idea, it is immediately adopted by others, who combine it with their own suggestions and, thus, this idea becomes a source of new ideas. (MARSHALL, 1996, p. 320).

However, it is important to be aware of some warnings related to diseconomies (roughly speaking: increase in the unit cost of production) (SUNO, 2021), also considered by the author, possibly resulting from agglomerations:

- Those referring to high labor costs due to a single or few occupations nearby;
- those related to the fragility of economies based on a single product.

As a solution, it is recommended to encourage more than one type of main production, making it possible to offer work to the different components of the territory and also in case one or another organization gets into difficulty, the others can compensate for the losses.

When it comes to innovation, studies related to the topic will always be based, not only on the innovations themselves, but also on learning. It is essential, not only to create of knowledge, as well as its distribution and application. From this perspective, it is important to highlight, as a decisive characteristic for efficient local innovation systems, the development of “learning by doing”, “learning by using” and “learning by interacting”. In this aspect, the fundamental role of institutions becomes to promote new patterns of social interaction, stimulating and regulating technological diffusion, developing policies, educational systems and any and all activities that influence the generation, development, transmission and use of technologies in favor of localities and their inhabitants.

The focus on the efficiency of Local Productive Arrangements emphasizes the role of organizations acting in mutual aid, through cooperation. This must occur both in relations between private institutions and in the actions of public bodies through specific policies. This type of organization differs from a passive cluster of companies,

as it acts collectively, grouping public and private actors with common interests, who require some essential elements to consolidate these actions, which would be: establishing relationships of trust between actors involved; concrete bases for communication networks; and the consolidation of these actions will result in: organizational proximity.

Despite the formation of an apparent consensus among experts in recent years regarding the importance of Local Productive Arrangements for the economic and social development of certain regions, care must be taken to ensure that what appears to be a current trend of making APLs one of the focuses of political actions for economic and social development do not end up resulting in trivialization. Therefore, it is essential to check the elements that make up an APL and verify its scope and possibility of effectiveness. To this end, it is important to evaluate:

- The local production structures
- The degree of general productive specialization.
- The possibilities of interaction with research institutions.
- Interaction with local institutions (business institutions, unions and/or cooperatives, public bodies, etc.).
- Forms of cooperation between local agents (purchasing or export consortia, marketing, market information, brand establishment, etc.).
- The existence of local leaders capable of inducing and/or strengthening joint actions between companies, local institutions and support from the public sector.
- The presence of social, political or cultural identity that strengthens trust and local relationships.
- The quality of the processes.

- Possibilities for workforce qualification and targeted training programs.
- The formulation and implementation of performance indicators and improvement and innovation systems.

COOPERATION AND MUTUAL SUPPORT RELATIONSHIPS

A big difference (and perhaps the biggest one) between the relationships established by the organizations that form an APL and those that make up conventional clusters where each one acts in isolation, is found in the bases of cooperation and mutual support established by the entities that make up an Arrangement Local Productive.

Just like the economic crisis of the 1970s, the pandemic moment highlights so many other needs for urgent radical structural and organizational changes, essentially, in the productive and educational sectors at a national level, and these changes need to reach our rural, peasant and peripheral communities in the same way. speed that benefit urban regions, given the same urgency when it comes to national economic recovery.

The high rates of virus contamination, added to the inefficiency of the containment measures adopted in the country, boosted actions in several regions, forged in relationships of cooperation and solidarity between diverse actors concentrated in certain limited areas, essentially as a result of restrictions on movement or even impediments, as a consequence of periods of lockdown.

Initially isolated actions such as making masks and lunch boxes to be distributed for free, they spread everywhere, reminding us of our vulnerabilities and that an egalitarian society is created with each person donating as their resources allow and receiving according to their needs. Among many other actions to

be considered, we can cite as an extraordinary example of an initiative that reflects these values and also rescues them, connecting the countryside to the urban periphery, and which recently became a documentary (‘‘Do Quilombo pra Favela’’), emerged from the closure schools and the breach of contracts with the Quilombola Farmers’ Cooperative of Vale do Ribeira - COOPERQUIVALE, in São Paulo. Prevented from selling the production that was used to feed children in the public network - and the guarantee of income for quilombola farmers - after the suspension of contracts such as the Food Acquisition Program - PAA or the National School Feeding Program - PNAE, quilombolas raised resources to pay cooperative members and distribute production in favelas and vulnerable communities in the state of São Paulo. The action resulted in:

- 332 tons of food distributed;
- 56 varieties of fruits, vegetables and vegetables (many of them unknown to those contemplated);
- 43 thousand people benefited and 11 municipalities served;
- R\$1.5 million in income generated for COOPERQUIVALE.

In this context, it is worth mentioning the perspective of Russian geographer and zoologist Piotr Kropotkin (1842-1921) in relation to mutual support, offering another notion of libertarian solidarity. Their analyzes rely on the notion that living beings (including humans) tend to support each other to promote cooperation among their fellow humans. Kropotkin suggests that solidarity is a law or general factor of nature, responsible for promoting possibilities of efficient responses to life’s adversities, as a factor of evolution: “despite the magnitude of hostilities and extermination among the various classes of animals, there is at the same

time same time, the same amount - or perhaps more - of mutual support, help and defense between animals of the same species or, at least, of the same society.” (KROPOTKIN, 2021). It demonstrates the unavoidable need for solidarity as a way to avoid disappearance of species and even to guarantee their progress. Only through mutual support between individuals, and not through competition between them, will society become fairer and egalitarian (PASSETTI, 2021).

It is important to highlight that practices of mutual support, solidarity or even empathy must be anchored in reciprocity between the subjects involved, never through unequal relationships of help or competition. It really is a break with the hegemonic and fatalistic logic that makes us believe that individuals are facing each other, as if they were acting in a ring of life, where the weakest are annihilated by the strongest. Redimensioning these practices by establishing new associative arrangements, taking into consideration, regional particularities and specificities, their potentials and weaknesses, is part of the struggle of those who seek emancipation and freedom in a collective dimension.

Thinking about mutual support from Kropotkin's perspective is to see a counterpoint to the current predatory model of destruction of nature, of humans among themselves and of themselves ultimately, fundamentally, as a result of “profit at any price”, practiced by large organizations spread across the globe. According to his conception: “the more the principle of egalitarian solidarity is developed in an animal society and the closer it is to the state of habit, the more possibility it has of surviving and emerging triumphant. [...] The more each member of society feels solidarity with any other member of it, the better they develop in everyone, two qualities that constitute the main factors of victory and all progress - courage on the one hand and

freedom initiative of individuals on the other” (KROPOTKIN, 2021).

EMANCIPATION BEYOND LEGALITY

According to data from Agência-Brasil de Notícias, Brazil is currently made up of 5,570 municipalities (including DF). As political-administrative units, Brazilian municipalities have undergone several structural changes throughout their existence. Instituted by Portuguese influence, since the colonial period, however, subordinated to other spheres of power during the last centuries and, only at the end of the 20th century - 1988, with the Federal Constitution - acquired the guarantee of the status of an autonomous federated entity. This way, the administrative political emancipation of a district makes it insubordinate to the municipality of origin, constituting a new municipality with its own government, city council, its own laws, collection of taxes and taxes.

A study by the Center for Education, Environment and Development - NEMAD - addressed the issue involving the emancipation of municipalities in the face of the rules established by federal legislation, in 2012, through analyzes of the emancipatory movement of Taquaralto (later known as “Palmas Sul”), located in the southern region of the municipality of Palmas, TO. The research was subsidized, since its conception, from the perspective of leaders, older local residents and members of the emancipatory movement, who claim that the area would have served as a stronghold of social exclusion, devoid of adequate urban structure and public services offered in the area. central region of the city of Palmas, already at the beginning of its construction, at the end of the 1980s. Evidencing that this is not an isolated issue, the literature points out that the greatest motivation for the emancipatory processes

that gave rise to new municipalities (54, 2%), would have been the abandonment of these districts by their municipalities of origin (MIRANDA, 2012).

The expectations created about the emancipatory movement are essentially based on the conviction that self-management meets social demands with regard to infrastructure and provision of services such as health, education, basic sanitation, urban cleaning, etc., which is directly reflected in an improvement in the quality of life of the local population.

Still in 1996, after the promulgation of Constitutional Amendment No. 15 of September 12 of the same year, which established new rules for the creation, merger, incorporation and dismemberment of new municipalities, economist and geographer François Bremaeker warned of the effects generated by the changes, according to it, with the obvious objective of creating restrictions on the emergence of new municipalities, imposing difficulties on communities located outside the cities in opting for autonomous forms of Government (BREMAEKER, 1996). Still according to Bremaeker, the motivations surrounding the approval of the Amendment were due to the concern of some sectors of society due to the resumption of municipal emancipation processes in the 1990s.

1980, coinciding with the relaxation of the military regime, which imposed restrictions on the creation of new municipalities for almost two decades. Since then, strict limits have been imposed on the creation of new municipalities, most likely because they represent an antithesis to the governmental centralism that prevailed in the environment installed in power.

Bremaeker's study also demonstrated that the second greatest motivation for emancipatory processes (23.6%) is due to the existence of strong local economic activity.

Municipalities with a small demographic size (those with a population of less than 10 thousand inhabitants), obtain their main contribution of financial resources from the Municipal Participation Fund - FPM - mainly due to the fact that they do not have significant tax revenue, essentially, for their activities typically rural, with low added value.

Promoting the construction of solid territorial bases based on regional potential and the structuring of autonomies is an important part of the path to be taken in the search for emancipation beyond current legislation, which is notoriously indifferent to the main difficulties that affect rural and peasant populations, as well as indigenous people and quilombolas.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

This study is part of work carried out in the ``Serra do Padeiro`` region, through an initiative of the Indigenous Agricultural Cooperative: ``Tupinambá Boiadeiro`` - CATUBOI, in partnership with the Casa Socioambiental Fund, which seeks to consolidate actions already carried out in the territory. The Gameleira Project: environmental and agroecological management plan for ``Serra do Padeiro``, aimed, among other things, to integrate the production centers already existing in the locality through cooperation, participatory planning and governance exercised by a group of agents that represent, not only producers, but with the participation of young people and women who are part of the community's resistance base.

Data obtained through the collection of information carried out by young scholars at the College.

Tupinambá Indigenous State of ``Serra do Padeiro``, highlight the importance of interactions specifically with regard to training and training young leaders to act for

the benefit and strengthening of the territory: of the 17 productive centers interviewed, 85% of them count on the participation of young people from the community in the production and/or processing of crops; and 70% of those who work in the productive centers received technical training in agroecology through the State College located within the community that serves not only Tupinambá children and adolescents, but also those settled and camped in the surrounding area.

The subject's guarantee of studying in their living environment is directly related to the maintenance of local traditions, the transfer of ancestral empirical knowledge largely dissipated as a result of the individual's forced adaptation to the urban school environment, almost completely disconnected from the reality of those who lives in rural, indigenous or quilombola territories. In his book "É a Terra que nos Organiza", Cacique Babau (BABAU, 2022) brings reports on strategies based on empirical knowledge, which guarantee the implementation of large enterprises and large-scale production, without harm to the biome and guaranteeing a dignified life to its inhabitants (human and non-human):

"It's very exhausting, because we, indigenous people, see this kind of thing all the time. People who say they are intelligent, who build knowledge, who teach, who go to Mars, who manufacture everything that is important and don't know the basics. They know the end, but they don't know the beginning. And therein lies the problem. It's not that we are radical or that we don't want expansion, growth and technological evolution. We, Tupinambá, really like evolution, but we must all evolve together, towards the possibility of having a powerful country, where there is no social exclusion, where there is no hunger, where there is no extreme violence. (BABAU, 2022).

Based on the characteristics considered fundamental for understanding a cluster of enterprises as a Local Productive Arrangement,

it is possible to identify the organizational and interactive potential of the productive centers operating in the Serra do Padeiro village in accordance with the aspects mentioned, as well as the necessary demands to consolidate actions that contribute to the development of the territory, following the organizational model of an APL as a reference.

The main activity carried out in the community is related to the cultivation of cocoa and the processing of almonds for commercial purposes, but it also supplies (albeit on a smaller scale) the production of chocolate traditionally produced by Tupinambá women, an item with greater added value that brings contributions both to increasing income and to the emergence of new jobs, in addition to bringing with it, some profound aspects of Tupinambá traditions.

Finally, one cannot fail to mention the impacts of climate change (perceived by all representatives of productive centers interviewed) on cocoa harvests, since excess rainfall - or lack thereof - can affect both the volume of harvest regarding the quality of the almonds, as well as resulting in the loss of seedlings and even adult trees. Taking into consideration, the seasonality of harvests (the periods in which the fruits are ripe, which does not occur in all months of the year), it is crucial to promote other productive activities that allow revenue to be generated in the intervals between harvests, demonstrating greater potential for the cultivation of cassava for marketing and production of flour, an item also traditionally produced by the Tupinambá since ancient times. In a workshop held with coordinators of the production centers in order to share and evaluate the data collected, the importance of interactions for better targeting of actions and funds allocated for collective investments became evident.

Integrating concepts of Local Productive Arrangements into the territorial management

processes already existing in communities established in different regions of the country is not about imposing yet another totalizing and civilizing thought towards these regions. More than that, it means using the tools and methodologies available to build relationships that contribute to the

structuring of solid territorial bases that will guarantee their autonomy - without forgetting the involvement with public bodies in order to promote policies that allow them to advance - the which becomes crucial in their processes of territorial emancipation beyond current legalities.

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