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THE "BASKET OF TERRITORIAL GOODS AND SERVICES" APPROACH: ITS THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS AND APPLICATION IN BRAZIL

O ENFOQUE DA "CESTA DE BENS E SERVIÇOS TERRITORIAIS": SEUS FUNDAMENTOS TEÓRICOS E APLICAÇÃO NO BRASIL

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Abstract

The basket of territorial goods and services approach has been gaining influence as a guide to research on sustainable territorial development. In this context, the objective of this article is to discuss the theoretical framework of this approach, which was originally formulated based on the empirical reality of rural French territories, to analyze its adoption in similar studies in Brazil. The methodology is based on a literature review, primarily from France where the formulation of this approach originated, from the year 2000 until the middle of the past decade. More recent bibliography on the theme is examined, including that from Brazil, to identify aspects that limit the use of this focus in studies on territorial development in this country. The "basket" approach analyzes the articulated supply of products and services, which give value to specific resources and assets of rural territories based on a system of governance constituted of public and private actors, as well as associations. This composition of factors results in the generation of a "territorial quality rent" that is appropriated by several productive segments and service providers in the territory. It is concluded that the use of this approach for social realities such as those in Brazil requires greater reflection on issues of social inclusion, generation of territorial quality rent, which is not limited to raising the prices of products and services, sustainability of development, systems of territorial governance that consider these aspects and institutional investments in the education of social actors on the art of sustainable territorial development.

Keywords: Territorial Governance. Specific Resources. Territorial Quality Rent.

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Resumo

O enfoque da Cesta de Bens e Serviços Territoriais vem ganhando espaço enquanto abordagem norteadora para projetos de pesquisa sobre o desenvolvimento territorial sustentável. Neste sentido, este artigo tem por objetivo discutir o arcabouço teórico desse enfoque, formulado originalmente a partir da realidade de territórios rurais franceses, para então analisar a sua adoção em estudos semelhantes no Brasil. O procedimento metodológico de base consistiu na revisão da literatura, primeiramente francesa, que está na origem da formulação desse enfoque, no período de 2000 até meados da década seguinte. A bibliografia mais recente sobre o tema, inclusive a elaborada no Brasil, foi analisada de modo a apontar aspectos limitantes do uso do enfoque em estudos sobre o desenvolvimento territorial nesse país. A abordagem da “cesta” analisa a oferta articulada de produtos e serviços que valorize recursos e ativos específicos de territórios rurais a partir de um sistema de governança constituído por atores públicos, associativos e privados. Essa composição de fatores resulta na geração de uma Renda de qualidade territorial apropriada por diversos segmentos produtivos e de prestadores de serviços do território. Conclui-se que a mobilização do enfoque para realidades sociais como a brasileira necessita de uma maior reflexão sobre os temas da inclusão social, geração de renda de qualidade territorial não limitada à elevação de preços de produtos e serviços, sustentabilidade do desenvolvimento, sistemas de governança territorial que contemplem esses aspectos e investimentos institucionais na formação de atores sociais na arte do desenvolvimento territorial sustentável.

Palavras-chave: Governança Territorial. Recursos Específicos. Renda de Qualidade Territorial.

Introduction

Until the beginning of the 1970s, development studies largely ignored the importance of geographic space. After almost a quarter of a century, reflections that associate these notions gained relevance and the space-place of development, once merely conceived as a support to economic activities, was substituted by the concept of space-territory, which is charged with life, culture, and development potential (LACOUR, 1985).

In the mid-1990s, the territorial development perspective incorporated notions of multi-actor networks and inter-cooperation to better understand the reality of empirical experiences. It is in this context that Pecqueur (2001) and Mollard (2001) elaborated the “Basket of Territorial Goods and Services” (BTGS) approach. Faced with the crisis of intensive agricultural systems and new reconfigurations of rural spaces, this approach analyzes local actors who articulate market and non-market spaces to create a homogenous product supply, coherent with territorial characteristics, which value, among other aspects, local know-how, culture and natural environments. Within this context, the role of social actors – public, private or those related to associations – determines the unfolding of development projects that deviate from conventional or purely economic initiatives.

Given the innovative nature of the BTGS approach within the field of sustainable territorial development, a group of Brazilian researchers is developing a study that adapts and contextualizes theoretical and methodological aspects of this approach to the local reality of their study site⁶. This reflective exercise is related to the need to adapt and build procedures that leverage inclusive territorial development processes, helping to reduce existing social and economic inequalities in Brazilian rural areas.

This article, which pertains to the cited project, has two primary goals: the first is to analyze the primary theoretical components of the BTGS approach; the second is to identify the aspects of these formulations that need to be adjusted for use in the study of Brazilian rural territories. To this end, a literature review was conducted as a methodological base, which can be divided into two distinct groups: i) a literature review of mainly French authors, who founded the cited approach, beginning in the early 2000s and extending to the middle of the following decade; ii) an analysis of more recent bibliographic literature on this theme, including Brazilian authors, emphasizing their

⁶ The project “The Basket of Territorial Goods and Services: A Model for the Analysis of Territorial Sustainable Development”, approved by the 2018 CNPq Universal Research Call, adopts a BTGS approach to study rural territories in the state of Santa Catarina.

perceptions on the limitations of the BTGS approach; the latter could possibly contribute to our understandings of the adjustments needed to apply the approach to the study of Brazilian territories.

Following this introduction, this article is divided into five sections. The first discusses notions of territorial resources and assets, construed as key components of the social construction process of the BTGS. The second analyzes material and immaterial elements that compose the basket of territorial goods and services from the perspective of the French empirical experience from which this approach originated. The third part presents the analytical model adopted by studies that seek to identify specific territorial resources and assets that could possibly make up a BTGS, as well identify and understand the role of public, private and associative actors involved with these territorial resources and assets. The fourth highlights five aspects considered relevant for adapting this theoretical and methodological approach to the socioeconomic realities of Brazilian rural territories. In the final section, we provide a synthesis of the most relevant elements of the approach and point to gaps not addressed in this article as suggestions for further study.

Specificity of territorial resources: the BTGS “cornerstone”

The central component of the BTGS approach consists in identifying factors to be explored, organized or revealed within a territory, with local actors as protagonists of this process (PECQUEUR, 2005). This approach derives from discussions of notions of territorial development as a counterpoint to the hegemonic process of economic globalization. It involves conceiving geographic spaces as places for creating specific resources, distinct from those used generically or dislocated, or as simple raw materials (COLLETIS; PECQUEUR, 2005). In this way, territories are socially constructed entities, resulting from particular processes of disputes, alliances, and the coordination between distinct categories of social actors who take on the identification, creation and valuing of latent resources, which can result in specific territorial assets.

Territorial assets are “active” whereas resources are elements to be explored, organized or revealed. Resources, contrary to assets, constitute a reserve, a potential that can be turned into assets if social, economic, political and cultural conditions are favorable. According to Perron and Janin (2014), every material or immaterial object (know-how, cultural heritage, etc.), whose value is recognized locally, and which can thus be collectively or individually valued, can be considered a resource.

In other words, when resources become active, through interventions by social actors, it changes their nature. In the potentiality stage, all can possibly become a resource, but not everything mechanically becomes an asset. The transition from resource to asset, be it generic or specific, corresponds to a metamorphosis, which represents a structural change in characteristics. The transformation of resources into specific assets is inseparable from the social construction of the territory, which implies the joint and cognitive learning of the characteristics of the territory. The conditions of this metamorphosis do not lie within the object/resource, but rather in the strategies of the actors in the production process (COLLETIS; PECQUEUR, 2005). It should be noted that the definition of resources extends beyond economic products and also includes cultural goods and services, tourist attractions and natural heritage, and is therefore transversal to all types of territorial activities (PERRON; JANIN, 2014).

Both resources and assets can be generic or specific. Generic ones are entirely transferable, independent of the suitability of the place where it is produced and the actors who make them. Their value is based on the single parameter of its monetary market value. Yet, specific assets or resources, on the other hand, are difficult to transfer since they are the result of processes of negotiation between social actors with different competencies and perceptions (PECQUEUR, 2005). Almost always associated with valuing local markets or short supply chains, the latter have cognitive attributes that bind them to a particular territory. Thus, the transfer to another territory modifies their primordial characteristics.

The revelation of specific territorial resources in itself represents an innovation. When new and heterogenous knowledge is articulated, new configurations and territorial knowledge can be produced. The transformation of resources into specific assets is inseparable from the history and process of acquisition of collective and cognitive knowledge of a given geographical space (PECQUEUR, 2005; PECQUEUR; KOOP, 2020). In other words, it consists of creating different types of advantages between territories, which have the following guiding questions as a baseline: i) how to do what other territories do not know how to do or cannot do? ii) how to do different and better than what is done in those territories?

In this way, inventories of territorial resources should be conducted with imagination and creativity, seeking to transform symbolic values and even negative aspects into development projects⁷. For Mollard (2001) and Pecqueur (2002), territory represents the *locus*

of asset and resource construction – the conditions for the creation of differentiated goods. As we have seen, a specific resource represents a territorial attribute difficult to transfer to another location. It is intrinsic to the territory and cannot be found in an identical form outside its territory of origin. Examples of resources specifically transformed into assets are found in numerous cases of the valorization of products and services based on quality differentiation in the context of Geographical Indication (GI) systems.

Consolidating the “Basket of Territorial Goods and Services” (BTGS) approach: the Baronnie case study

The BTGS approach can be defined as an articulation between market and non-market activities between local actors – public, private and associative – with the intent to create a composite or heterogenous demand for territorial characteristics. The mechanisms mobilized to create a “Basket” can be structured around three basic principles: i) the constitution of a specific “image”, characterized by territorial goods and services, or rather, the incorporation of symbolic or material elements; ii) giving priority to local and regional markets as opposed to distant markets to “force” *in situ* consumption and promote the recognition of BTGS products and services by consumers – tourists, local residents, or second home residents, iii) the construction of a system of territorial governance (MOLLARD, 2001; PECQUEUR, 2001). Most important is transforming isolated enterprises from one another in order to create a joint, diversified and coherent offer of territorial assets.

The pioneer study that gave way to the BTGS approach was conducted in the Baronnie territory, located in the Drôme department in Southern France in the 1990s⁸. The territory is rural and mountainous with approximately 30 thousand inhabitants and was excluded from the agricultural modernization process, relegated to economic marginalization in the 1960s-70. However, this situation started to reverse in the mid-1980s when the region came to be valued for tourism and for establishing secondary residences due to its low population density, but high biodiversity and other notable attributes linked to rural amenities (landscapes, mountainous relief, silence, flora, fauna, etc.), preserved architectural heritage, a tradition of local regional products and quality public and private services (HIRCZAK et al., 2008a).

In Baronnie, the traditional AOC⁹ olive oil of Nyon– produced from fruits of thousand-year-old trees grown on terraces, figures as the leading product that promoted a range of other products and services, with an emphasis on different alternatives for rural tourism. Besides olive-related products, fine AOC lavender, essential oils, aromatic plants and local wines constitute a set of products specific to this territory. Articulation between the various products has allowed for the creation of a cooperative that today coordinates the supply and sale of these products to the public and develops innovations in terms of services for tourists and the local population associated with the image of these quality products and the landscape of the territory (HIRCZAK et al., 2008b).

Research on these processes resulted in the construction of a basket of goods and services model capable of generating substantial rent (income) for farmers and other service workers. The additional rent is the result of the positive encounter between the supply and demand of local quality products, which intensified the circulation of tourists in the region (HIRCZAK et al., 2008a). The generation of a Territorial Quality Rent (TQR) signifies that a territory has reached a maximum maturity point, capable of exceeding rents obtained through the sales of superior quality products and services in isolation or disconnected from each other. In this context, the territory itself is the marketed a “product.” Pecqueur (2001) and Mollard (2001) called this process, which produces such a maximum, a basket of territorial goods and services.

⁷ More information on territorial development projects centered on valuing specific territorial resources can be found in Carrière and Cazella (2006) and Glon and Pecqueur (2016).

⁸ On the page of the Laboratory for the Territorial and Agricultural Multifunctionality of UFSC, readers can access a video called “*Em busca da cesta de bens: um novo olhar sobre o desenvolvimento territorial*” (In Search of the Basket of Goods: New Perspectives on Territorial Development), which presents the process of the conception of the BTGS approach based on the pioneer study in Baronnie.

⁹ *Appellation d’origine contrôlée* (AOC) is the French certification for Geographical Indication of certain agricultural products.

In the case of Baronnie, TQR results from both the higher prices charged, in particular for olive oil, when compared to products with similar organoleptic characteristics, and from the increased consumption of this leading product and the other goods and services in the basket. In this way, not all products register an increase in prices due to the so-called "basket effect;" they do, however, present a higher demand for their consumption (MOLLARD, 2001; HIRCZAK et al., 2008a and 2008b; PERRON; JANIN, 2014).

The first research results on the "basket of goods" were met with criticism based on the argument that data stemmed from an isolated case that represented an exception and not a rule. However, further studies conducted in other zones with comparable contexts to that of Baronnie demonstrated similar effects. With a similar potential of resources, development opportunities were valued in distinct ways in the case studies, with clear advantages in areas where public and private actors cooperated to support valorization processes (HIRCZAK et al., 2008a).

Case studies done in territories of eight French departments allowed for the construction of a typology of the "basket effect." This expression is used to convey what is found in practice – differentiated arrangements in the territories, with particularities in their composition and organization, consisting as the constituent elements of a BTGS. In these studies, actors deliberately decided not to include areas that specialize in a single product, even if it is covered by a GI, or those characterized by the hegemony of productivist agriculture. In more recent analyses, researchers using this approach correlate the "basket of goods" model of territorial development with premises of sustainability, especially with regard to the environment. The basket of goods model is not compatible with geographic spaces marked by environmental degradation, where the virtues of the scenery have been eroded. This approach is, however, appropriate for marginalized rural territories, which have benefited little from productivist agricultural development and for those that present a more dynamic economic trajectory (PERRON; JANIN, 2014; GLON; PECQUEUR, 2016; YILDIRIM, 2017). At the same time, however, Campagne and Pecqueur (2014) emphasize the greater relevance of the approach for the former type of territories, since development alternatives for marginalized rural areas are more restricted. In sum, the typology elaborated by Hirczak et al. (2008a) based on the French cases involving socioeconomically disadvantaged rural areas encompasses four distinct categories of the "basket effect".

i) The basket model was based on the Baronnie case, but it was also found in other territories, such as Aubrac, where the tradition of producing the *Laguiole* knife is associated with *laguiole* cheese, *aligot* (a typical dish made with mashed potatoes, garlic and *tomme* cheese) and the promotion of tourism.

ii) The hybrid model is characterized by the co-existence of generic and sectorial production systems and local quality products associated with a specific tradition. The Bresse AOC chicken and the *Bleu de Bresse* cheese serve as examples; both products have the same territorial reference but can be differentiated on the basis of quality and commercial strategies, and additionally co-exist with conventional production chains. The *Bleu de Bresse* cheese gained notoriety in the 1990s from the "stowaway passenger" strategy associated with the renowned chicken from this territory. For a short period of time, it was sold for an attractive price in large supermarkets before its price fell due to competition from other lower-priced industrialized cheeses with similar characteristics. The production of AOC chicken faced competition from other chicken initiatives with their own brandings and with a very different set of standards compared to the pioneer initiative. The demand for these products is generic and a-territorial, yet they are well-accepted in gastronomic circuits with products linked to tradition. Since three different administrative regions overlap in this area, coordinating initiatives by the public, private and associative actors involved in these was difficult, and represents the weakest point of the "basket effect".

iii) The top-down model is associated with the Department of Ardèche's initiative, which involves regional support centered on the territorial brand "*Deguste Ardèche*". The presence of tourist attractions linked to rural amenities is supported by the existence of several quality products (wines, chestnuts, fruits, cheeses, meat and mineral water). This initiative relies heavily on the role of public actors and lacks a better balance of players, which could be forged through adopting more horizontal and territorial-based actions by private and associative actors.

iv) The model of juxtaposed initiatives has some similarities with the previous case, but with greater impermeability between private, associative and public actors. As a result, initiatives seeking to value products and services through territorial qualities are more dispersed. The heterogeneous supply of quality products and services is observed; however, no actor has clearly

formulated the idea offering services and products as a bundle and few precepts of the BTGS approach are adopted – even less than in the previous case (HIRCZAK et al., 2008a).

One example is that of the eclectic sale of organic agricultural products in short supply chains with differentiated and promising prices for farmers and vendors, yet without major references to the territories of origin of these products. Touristic services, while present, do not play an operative role in territorial resources as shown in the previous model. The lack of coordination of public, associative and private actors in the latter case is greater. In the following section, we summarize the model of analysis adopted by the Grenoble researchers who inventoried "basket effect" situations in their various case studies.

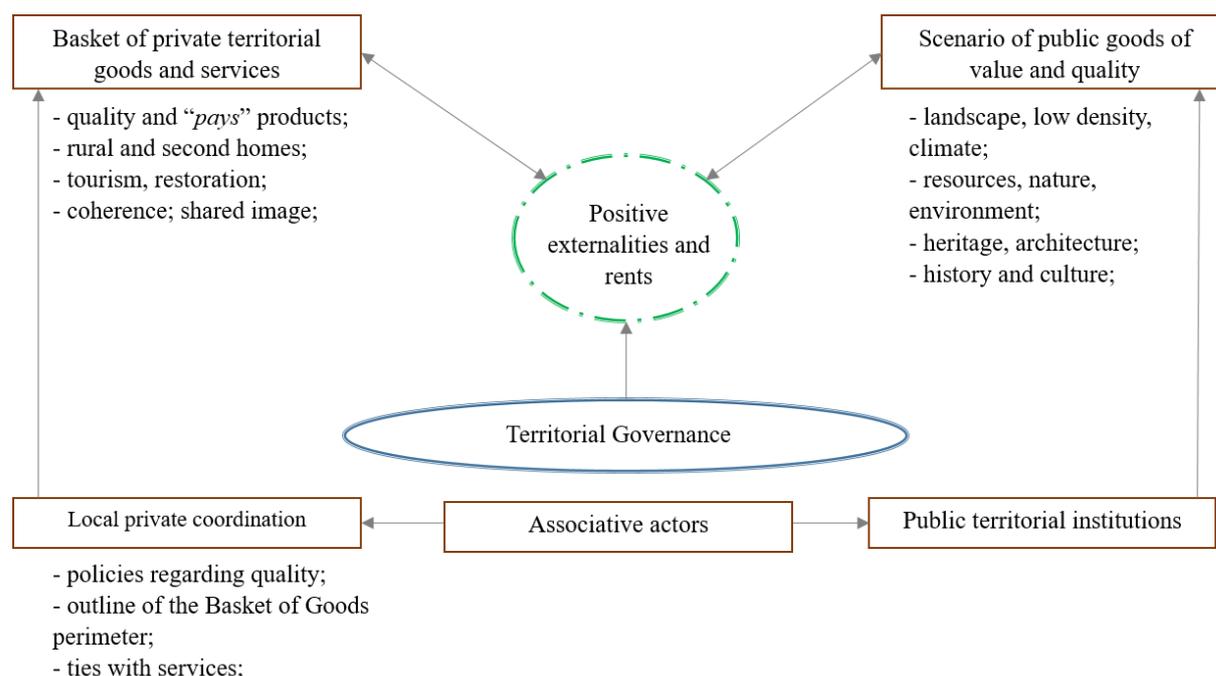
Analytical Model for the Basket of Territorial Goods and Services

According to Hirczak et al. (2008a), the constitution of a BTGS requires that actors identify, build and consolidate three main components: i) Complementary goods and services that have a common territorial origin and a coherent image aligned with the territory difficult to replace by generic goods. Specific modes of quality production add to quality territorial services; ii) Relationships based on familiarity and trust, which can be expressed in direct buying systems, typical gastronomic traditions and diverse tourist visits to scenic, historical and cultural sites in the territory. The demand for products is linked to quality, reputation and recognition of the territory and its traditions; iii) Public goods that play the role of "scenery", or that place the product in the scene (on set). Such goods are associated with the environment and nature (landscape and biodiversity), heritage and culture (architecture and monuments), or even the history and traditions of the territory. This point establishes a strong link between the BTGS approach and the principles of the environmental sustainability of development processes.

We can thus perceive that the construction of a BTGS requires additional efforts by local actors in order to constitute a system of territorial governance. Such a system is specific in that it is coordinated by diverse actors and is related to the construction of a territoriality based on specific resources. This governance form is therefore aiming for a mixed situation combining geographical proximity and institutional actors (LELOUP; MOYART; PECQUEUR, 2005). According to Hirczak, Pecqueur and Mollard (2004), territorial governance is an essential factor, which may or may not encourage the inclusion of diverse actors in the BTGS construction process.

Territorial development of this nature requires the construction or strengthening of networks and cooperation forms that provide synergies between public, private and associative actors. According to Campagne and Pecqueur (2014), each of these actor categories has different inherent logic systems and attributes that influence the construction of ways of governing required for the valorization processes of territorial resources: i) public actors working in different spheres of the State must create and manage public goods for the commons, such as infrastructure, modes of organization, forms of regulation and decentralization of policies to produce collective goods that facilitate territorial development; iii) the associative actors, even if they take different forms - whether they are oriented towards specific or specialized activities, or more generalist in the context of local problems - are responsible for mobilizing the other actors and for elaborating collective materials (such as, innovations in product transformation) and immaterial (organization and training), which will be made available to all the actors involved through the valorization processes of territorial resources and assets.

Figure 1 below summarizes the components and articulations associated with the construction of a BTGS and highlights the importance of territorial governance of such articulations.

Figure 1: Territorial governance of the basket of goods and services

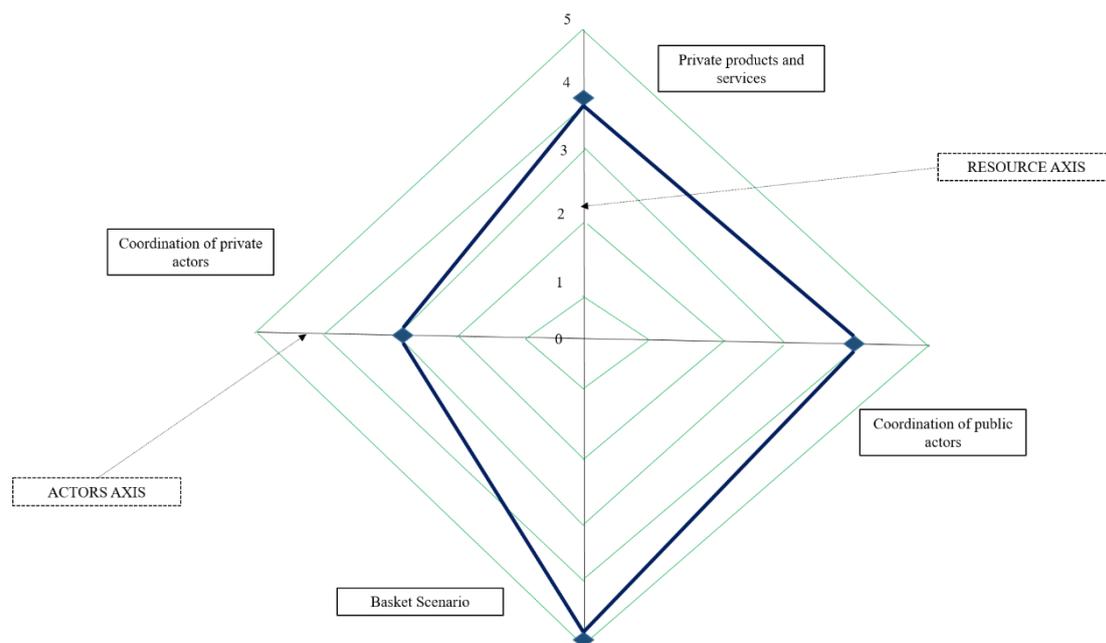
Source: Mollard (2005); Campagne e Pecqueur (2014). Modified by the authors.

The shared interactions of and between researchers, representatives of public institutions, private companies, associations, cooperatives and other territorial actors allow for the construction of a territorial governance system – from which innovative territorial projects can then be conceived and elaborated. Negotiations between actors with dissimilar interests result in the identification of convergent objectives, potentially giving way to such new projects. While those who participate do so with differing degrees of intensity and has their own logic system, those involved can take advantage of an "atmosphere" conducive to valorizing to the territory where they work or act (PERRON; JANIN, 2014).

To highlight, analyze and monitor the elements that compose a BTGS, such as *pays*¹⁰ products, services, social actors and the scenario itself, French researchers developed a set of methodological tools. They consist of a diagram of territorial analysis, a model for understanding the formation of the TQR, and a framework for organizing action strategies aimed at consolidating the basket of territorial goods and services (PECQUEUR, 2001; MOLLARD, 2001; HIRZCAK; PECQUEUR, 2004; HIRZCAK; MOALLA, 2010; CAMPAGNE; PECQUEUR, 2014).

Concerning the diagram of territorial analysis, the two axes intersect and should be considered interactively: the horizontal axis represents the role played by social actors and the vertical one focuses on products, services and the territorial scenario. On a qualitative scale ranging from 0 to 5, the first deals with coordination or governance between actors. Although associative actors are not highlighted in the original formulations of Figures 1 and 2, Campagne and Pecqueur (2014) consider them key to the BTGS governance system. These actors have the difficult and indispensable task of amalgamating the interactions between the other types of actors. The second axis refers to private products and services, as well as to the scenario or public goods that constitute the "basket" itself. Figure 2 below refers to the Baronnies case (HIRZCAK; MOALLA, 2010; ÁLVAREZ et al., 2014).

¹⁰ The reference "*pays*" has a historic meaning that refers to the previous territorial divisions before the French revolution and in some regions today persists as part of cultural identities. An association in favor of historical "*pays*" through public policies was created in 1982. This advance was result of various national encounters, occurring since 1975 and promoted by local development actors. More recently, this territorial reference was integrated into public policies for rural development (CAZELLA, 2002).

Figure 2: Diagram of Territorial Analysis

Source: Hirzcak; Moalla (2010).

Employing the BTGS model in the Baronnies region resulted in the identification of a rich scenario for the composition of the “Basket”, which received the maximum score of 5, with a presentation of products and services of high quality with a score of 4. However, even though the public actors had high score of 4, the participation of private actors was evaluated with a score of 3 (Figure 2). The proactive cooperation of agricultural producers who favored the “Basket” did not result in more motivation on the part of private actors who work with other goods and services associated with the BTGS. This deficiency, related to the coordination between private actors, weakens the territorial governance system as a whole, since its proper functioning depends on shared actions by all three types of actors. These results thus indicate an aspect that needs strengthening in the consolidation of the Baronnies BTGS.

We should note that this diagram does not allow for comparison between different territories since no measurable indicators have been developed to allow for this type of analysis. This is an open-ended question and represents a challenge for rural development programs seeking to involve different territories and compare results related to the “basket effect” using metric criteria. Despite this limitation, the original formulation is useful as an instrument to guide the social actors involved with a BTGS initiative. It allows them to identify the weak points of their collective activities and thereby adopt measures to overcome them.

The performance of the inter-relationships of the axes in the above diagram results in the **territorial quality rent**, which can be calculated by taking into account factors, such as the producer rent and the effects of the restricted and territorial quality of the products offered, in addition to the potential prices consumers will pay for these products. The Nyons olive oil of the Baronnies BTGS is sold by a local cooperative for 7€ (Euros) above the price of another specific olive oil produced in another territory without the “basket effect” (MOLLARD; PECQUEUR, 2013; CAMPAGNE; PECQUEUR, 2014). The TQR method of analysis represents another analytic aspect that deserves further theoretical and methodological study to contemplate the principal rents generated by the products and services of a given BTGS.

Reflections from the distinct contexts encountered in the French rural territories analyzed resulted in the elaboration of summary table of the action strategies geared toward the development of baskets of territorial goods and services. This framework is made up of eight proposed work phases, which in theory would compose an action-research project, namely: i) ascertaining the territorial situation/context; ii) convincing actors of the importance of valuing territorial peculiarities and mobilizing territorial actors to pursue this path; iii) identifying markets best adapted to the particular territory; iv) recognizing the characteristics and attributes

(representations/perceptions) of the scenario; v) knowledge of existing and potential users/consumers of the assets defined as components of the BTGS; vi) stimulation and strengthening of territorial governance; vii) development of tools to promote communication (marketing) in favor of the BTGS; and viii) ensuring the creation of territorial quality income from innovative goods and services (HIRCZAK; MOALLA, 2010). The following topic involves identifying the elements of the BTGS approach, which deserve further development to adapt this approach to the social particularities of Brazil.

Adaptations of the BTGS approach to the Brazilian condition

Since the end of the 2000s, some authors have used the BTGS approach in studies on territorial development in Brazilian rural areas (INÁCIO, 2007; CAZELLA; BONNAL; MALUF, 2009; FLEXOR; BENAVIDES, 2009; FARIAS, 2013; DALLABRIDA, 2017; SPERB; SERVA, 2018; MELLO; FROEHLICH, 2019; LINS, 2019) and in a more specific way examining the pertinence of this approach to analyze the processes that constitute Geographic Indication processes as a strategy for rural development in Brazil (PELLIN; CURADI, 2019; VIEIRA et al., 2019; CAZELLA et al., 2019; CROUZOUOLON, 2019). Despite the originality of these studies in using the BTGS approach in Brazil, they do not highlight the limitations of this approach given the social specificities of our country.

Among the main aspects to consider in the process of adapting the BTGS approach to Brazilian social conditions, five deserve special mention. The first concerns the challenge of building mechanisms that enable the participation of social actors who are not part of main socio-technical networks of production supply chains in rural territories – be them long or short. In a country recognized internationally for its deep social inequalities, the sustainability (or not) of territorial development actions depends on the existence of different types of offsets by actors of these networks to favor those who, for historical reasons, have not achieved the same level of success.

In his classic study on the subject, Raffestin (1980) pioneered the thesis that measures ultimately need taken to counterbalance existing power asymmetries in the territories. For Olivier de Sardan (1995), power asymmetries can paradoxically be exacerbated instead of remediated by formal development interventions. Bonnal; Cazella; Maluf (2008)'s analysis of territorial development projects supported by Brazilian public policies reveals that access to these policies is directly related to the greater capacity of certain social actors to act in the development arena – to use the terminology adopted by Olivier de Sardan – specifically in projects implemented in a context of domination and inequality.

One specific example is the transposition of the Geographic Indication tradition from Western European Iberian countries to the Brazilian reality without much reflection on the part of consumers and rural social organizations, especially those linked to family farming. Studies on the subject present the case of Port Wine in Portugal as the first official registration of a GI, which occurred in 1756 on the European continent. However, GIs only gained notoriety as a rural development strategy after World War II. While the existing GI system in Europe dates back to the mid-20th century, legislation on the subject in Brazil was only approved in 1996 (NIEDERLE; MASCARENHAS; WILKINSON, 2017). Even though the BTGS approach has the potential to expand the number of territorial actors involved when compared to GI initiatives, which are restricted to a single product or service (FROEHLICH; DULLIUS, 2012; MICHELET; GIRAUT, 2014), nothing guarantees that disadvantaged social actors will be included into existing power hierarchies in the territories. The decision to include this theme in actors' agendas who participate in the territorial governance system of a BTGS initiative is directly related to its degree of sustainability.

The second aspect is related to the first, but specifically to the strategies for obtaining a TQR. It is generally known that food products of superior quality, such as organic products (those grown without the use of chemical pesticides and fertilizers or transgenic seeds) or that enjoy a GI label, have higher prices than similar products, which are not recognized as being differentiated on the basis of quality. The olive oil case studied by French researchers and presented in this article reveals this dynamic. High prices imply selectivity by the consumers who purchase the products and services of the BTGS. Given Brazilian social conditions, most people in a given territory do not have the purchasing power to consume quality products from the territory where they live, and it is often the case that they work with the products and services in question.

For educational purposes, strategies for obtaining TQR can be placed between two extreme possibilities: raising prices based on higher quality or increasing the volume of sales of quality

products and services based on more attractive consumer prices. Emphasizing one of these choices defines whether or not different types of consumers will be included in development initiatives that focus on the quality of territorial products and services. The challenge lies in making the BTGS analysis model work, not only for tourists and those with higher incomes, but also for the local consumer of territorial goods and services (VOLLET; SAID, 2018; REQUIER-DESJARDINS, 2019).

The third aspect refers to the intrinsic relationship of the BTGS approach with sustainability, especially environmental (GLON; PECQUEUR, 2016; YILDIRIM, 2017). A basket of territorial goods and services presupposes a scenario where the environment and its attributes are well preserved. Preserving this state requires constant monitoring and involves the promotion of alternatives to harmful environmental practices. Sometimes, certain management activities, even those that are traditional, do not improve the local scenario and require efforts to convince local actors to change behaviors, traditions, and technical procedures, which may have been constructed over time.

In most Brazilian territories, sectorial projects related to agribusiness coexist alongside initiatives focused on the differentiation of products and services based on quality. The "hybrid basket model" discussed above presents a proposal for negotiating rules to regulate this coexistence; it thus represents an additional challenge for the territorial actors involved in the governance systems of this second type of project.

The fourth adaptive aspect corresponds precisely to the complexity of the territorial governance system that needs to occur to make the "basket effect" operational. It is a matter of opposing, with creativity and mastery the art of conflict negotiation (TORRE; BEURRET, 2012; TORRE, 2016), the hegemonic sectoral vision of agricultural development and its corollary of management that focus on main production chains. This task is difficult in a country where the principal professional agricultural organizations and agricultural public policies are focused on increasing the productivity of agricultural commodities.

In addition, Lacombe and Casabianca (2018) demonstrate that in social contexts marked by strong social differentiation, systems of territorial governance can be limited to emblematic products. For instance, in the cases studied by the authors with products differentiated by a GI, other quality goods and services were disregarded despite their relevance to the complementarities advocated by the BTGS approach. The analysis of Hora (2019) on the process of establishing a GI in southern Brazil reinforces this trend and points to the limits of constituting a complex territorial governance system that embraces social inclusion and complementary products and services.

The fifth aspect relevant for discussion arises from the above particularity and relates to the need for more investment in training producers, service providers, development agents and consumers; there is also a need for promoting collective marketing actions in relation to the what products and services of territorial quality signify. Brazilian experiences with qualifying rural products and services associated with territories are still incipient and most consumers ignore the meaning and socio-cultural and economic benefits of the distinctive quality labels (GROOT, 2020) and, by extension, of geographical origin.

In this way, training programs for public, associative, and private actors is necessary to gradually build governance systems adapted to different rural territories. On this theme, local universities, other educational institutions, municipal-level associations, intermunicipal consortiums¹¹, public research and rural extension services, as well as professional, cultural, leisure and small business associations are strategic for actor mobilization around shared actions, which can increase of cognitive capital regarding sustainable territorial development and, in particular, the BTGS.

Final considerations

In this article we analyze the BTGS approach with two main purposes: to present it as a guiding approach for research projects on territorial development in Brazil and to identify elements of its original formulation that need to be adapted to the Brazilian socioeconomic reality. It was not our intention to be exhaustive in this adaptive effort, as only case studies that mobilize the "Basket" approach in Brazilian rural territories will help improve this model.

A BTGS uses action-based research tools seeking participatory inventory of specific territorial resources and assets and evaluating the current state of the different components of the

¹¹ Intermunicipal consortiums here refer to the Portuguese *consórcios públicos*, which are public arrangements of federal entities foreseen in the Brazilian legislation to provide public services in a cooperative manner.

basket of goods and services in a given territory. In this way, the approach is considered a “roadmap” to pursue initiatives geared toward sustainable territorial development, which require the adoption of adjustments in consideration of social particularities distinct from where it was conceived.

In practice, rural territories show high heterogeneity and have distinct conformations that in some ways can mobilize elements of the BTGS approach. French researchers coined the expression the “basket effect” to refer to this process, which seeks to contemplate territorial initiatives that are close to or partially resemble this original formulation. Using this type of “diagnosis”, research activities can help territorial actors improve their actions and, perhaps adopt the BTGS approach as a guiding principle for territorial development activities.

One reoccurring question is the relevance of the BTGS approach in rural territories that do not have a set of exemplary characteristics. As a response, we highlight the importance of identifying, inventorying, and activating specific territorial resources, some of which are forgotten, underestimated or undervalued by the local population. This process in itself can generate new territorial dynamics. In this sense, the mobilization and creativity of territorial actors can compensate for a lower attractiveness of the environment or landscape of a given territory. The opposite can also be true, as some territories replete with specific territorial resources and assets often waste this potential due to a lack or fragility of coordinated actions between territorial actors. The level of capacity for cooperation and social creativity is thus decisive in the process of specifying territorial resources.

Adopting this approach to other social contexts outside the French cases requires a greater theoretical reflection on its adaptation. In the case of Brazil, the following themes require further consideration: social inclusion, the generation of TQR, which is not limited to increasing the prices of products and services, the environmental dimension of sustainable development, a system of territorial governance that accounts for these particularities and shared institutional investments for training and capacity building for territorial actors on the distinct advantages of territorial development.

Additionally, new studies should be conducted on the following specific points presented in this article: the “territorial analysis diagram” with the aim of building measurable indicators that allow for comparisons between territories, the “territorial quality rent” to design an analytic model for rent estimation, “territorial governance system” for a better understanding of its configuration. Finally, a topic yet to be analyzed, but which permeates all case studies using the BTGS approach, refers to identifying the relevant territorial scale that allows for the operation of the “basket” model.

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