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The configuration of the Basket of Territorial Goods and Services as an innovative strategy for Amazonian development

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Abstract
Articulating the theoretical and methodological approach of the Basket of Territorial Goods and Services (BTGS) with the notion of Novelty Production, this article aims to build an analytical framework focused on innovative situations of the "basket effect". To this end, is based on the understanding of the BTGS approach as the result of continuous and cumulative processes of social construction of novelties. In order to illustrate the applicability of this analytical framework, we borrow aspects highlighted in four empirical studies linked to the configuration of the *Cooperativa Mista da Flona do Tapajós* (Coomflona), located in western Pará. The conjunction of the two approaches illustrates, in the Amazonian scenario in question, instances of governance initiated by social actors that are capable of articulating differentiated and quality attributes, which further enables the configuration of development projects that deviate from conventional forms. Based on the reflections raised here, it is possible to understand Coomflona as an organizational novelty that interrelates different social players in the constitution of a BTGS, in which products - wooden furniture of different categories, bio-jewelry, vegetal leather crafts, liqueurs and food - and services, especially tourism, are intertwined.
Keywords*:* Novelty Production. Territorial Development. Tapajós National Forest. Mista da Flona do Tapajós Cooperative.

A configuração de Cesta de Bens e Serviços Territoriais como estratégia inovadora de desenvolvimento amazônico

Resumo
Articulando o enfoque teórico-metodológico da Cesta de Bens e Serviços Territoriais (CBST) com a noção de Produção de Novidades (*Novelty Production*), este artigo visa construir um quadro analítico voltado a situações inovadoras de “efeito cesta”. Parte-se, para tanto, da compreensão do enfoque da CBST enquanto o resultado de contínuos e acumulativos processos de construção social de novidades. Com o intuito de ilustrar a aplicabilidade desse quadro analítico, empresta-

se aspectos destacados em quatro estudos de caráter empírico vinculados à configuração da Cooperativa Mista da Flona do Tapajós (Coomflona), situada no Oeste do Pará. A conjunção das duas abordagens evidencia no cenário amazônico em questão instâncias de governança por iniciativa de atores sociais capazes de articular atributos diferenciados e de qualidade, o que propicia a configuração de projetos de desenvolvimento que desviam de formas convencionais. Com base nas reflexões aqui suscitadas, é possível compreender a Coomflona como uma novidade organizacional que inter-relaciona distintos atores sociais na constituição de uma CBST, na qual estão imbricados produtos – móveis de madeira de diferentes categorias, biojóias, artesanato de couro vegetal, licores e alimentos - e serviços, com destaque para o turismo.
Palavras-chave: Produção de Novidades. Desenvolvimento Territorial. Floresta Nacional do Tapajós. Cooperativa Mista da Flona do Tapajós.

La configuración de la Canasta de Bienes y Servicios Territoriales como estrategia innovadora de desarrollo en la Amazonía

Resumen

Al articular el enfoque teórico y metodológico de la Cesta de Bienes y Servicios Territoriales (CBST) con la noción de Producción de Novedades, este artículo pretende construir un marco analítico centrado en las situaciones innovadoras de "efecto cesta". Para ello, se parte de la comprensión del enfoque CBST como el resultado de procesos continuos y acumulativos de construcción social de las novedades. Para ilustrar la aplicabilidad de este marco analítico, tomamos prestados aspectos destacados en cuatro estudios empíricos vinculados a la configuración de la Cooperativa Mista da Flona do Tapajós (Coomflona), ubicada en el oeste de Pará. La conjunción de ambos enfoques evidencia, en el escenario amazónico en cuestión, instancias de gobernanza a iniciativa de actores sociales capaces de articular atributos diferenciados y de calidad, lo que permite la configuración de proyectos de desarrollo que se apartan de las formas convencionales. A partir de las reflexiones aquí planteadas, es posible entender a Coomflona como una novedad organizativa que interrelaciona diferentes actores sociales en la constitución de un CBST, en el que se entrelazan productos -muebles de madera de diferentes categorías, bio-joyería, artesanía de cuero vegetal, licores y alimentos- y servicios, especialmente el turismo.

Palabras clave: Producción novedosa. Desarrollo territorial. Bosque Nacional del Tapajós. Cooperativa Mista da Flona do Tapajós.

1 Introduction[1][2]

The notion of territory, within a territorial development framework, makes the concept of functional space more complex by considering social actors, and the creation of their non-conventional strategies, as central to the productive development of a given space. In this way, the characteristics the actors,' who prevail in a given space, determine its development potentialities (PECQUEUR, 2017). Therefore, territories are commonly stages for conflicts between competing projects promoted by distinct actor coalitions who participate in the development arena (OLIVIER de SARDAN, 1995).

Understanding that territorial development involves, above all, the creation or reinforcement of multi-stakeholder and inter-cooperation networks, Mollard (2001) and

[1] The authors extend special thanks to Flávio Charão Marques for the attentive review of this text, which contributed to the reflections presented in this manuscript.

[2] Angela May Steward and Rafael Barbi translated the original text from Portuguese to English.

Pecqueur (2001) elaborated the theoretical-methodological approach, which was consolidated and named the Basket of Territorial Goods and Services (BTGS).

Faced with the crisis of intensive agricultural systems, and the reconfiguration of rural spaces around relationships between products, services, quality, and territory, the BTGS approach was developed on the basis of empirical analyses; these analyses centered on local actors' initiatives, articulating market and non-market activities with the goal of creating a heterogeneous and sound offer of territorial resources, which value, among other aspects, local know-how, culture, and the natural environment.

Through use of these resources, actors' coalitions consolidate and reinvent territorial identities, that in themselves become elements of the market and non-market values associated with territorial goods and services. For Ploeg (2016), three analytical levels must be articulated in the process of differentiating goods and services in markets: (a) the social definition of quality, which refers, on the one hand, to consumers' specific expectations and, on the other, to the enhancement of producers' skills; (b) material exchanges, including the definition of prices and volumes; and (c) symbolic exchanges, through which public recognition of the differential character of products and services occurs, corresponding to producers' and service providers' dedication.

Differentiated products, services, and territorial public goods are thus the result of collective actions and cooperation between social actors and are capable of generating, or making visible, the specific material, social or symbolic qualities associated with territorial goods and services. The notion of BTGS provides evidence of governance initiated by different actors' – from public and private domains – who are capable of articulating these differentiated and quality attributes.

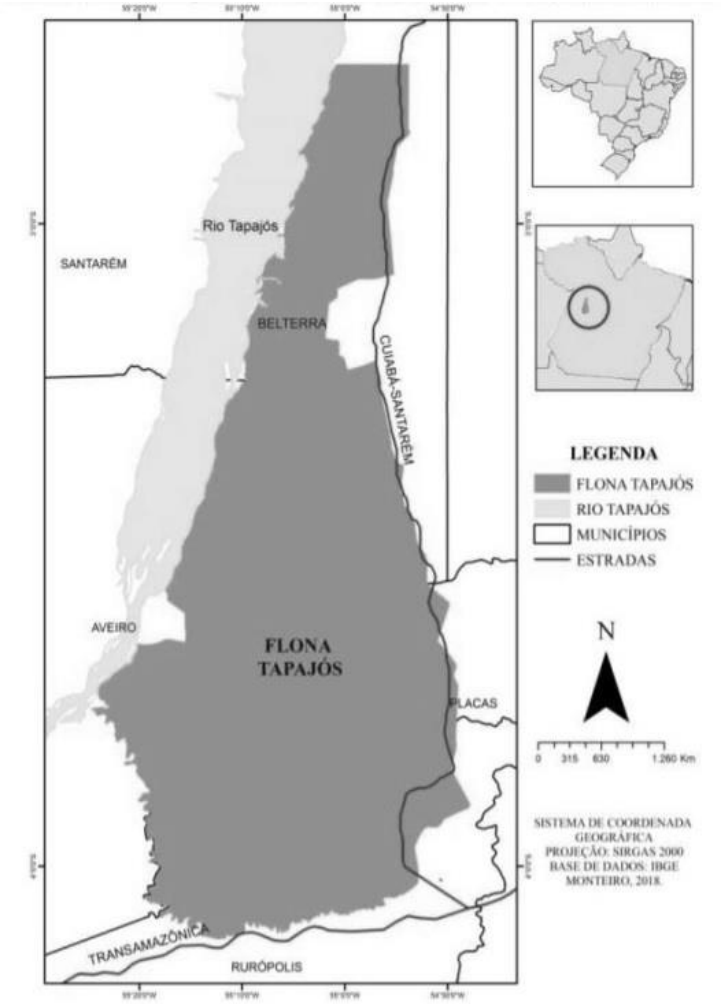
In this way, actors involved in the "Basket" forge distinct ways of accessing markets, renewing and creating institutions and organizations aligned with their purposes. Social actors' social agency thus becomes decisive in shaping development projects that deviate from conventional forms. In general terms, the notion of agency grants actors, individuals or social groups the ability to follow alternative pathways, as ways of coping with problems arising from coercive regimes. This ability requires organization and is not simply the result of certain cognitive aptitudes, persuasive powers, or forms of individual charisma (LONG; PLOEG, 1994).

Considering the latent innovative character of social actors' territorial strategies, this article links the BTGS approach to the notion of Novelty Production - analyzing them together. This latter framework was originally disseminated as a compilation of papers prepared and published by Ploeg et al. (2004) and its conception is associated with two main premises. The first refers to fact that the agricultural modernization paradigm formulated an externalist, standardized and globalized "model" of innovation and technological development, which further induced a disconnection between technology and farmers' endogenous practices. The second corresponds to the need to strengthen the theoretical treatment of technology and innovation.

As such novelties are perceived as "breaks" and "declassifications" in relation to society's hegemonic logic and the institutional context (WISKERKE; PLOEG, 2004). In this text, the articulation between such theoretical approaches aims to build an analytical framework focused on the innovative situations of the "basket effect". Our starting premise was to conceive of the BTGS approach as the result of continuous and cumulative processes of the social construction of novelties.

Aspects highlighted in four empirical studies linked to the configuration of the Mixed Cooperative of the Tapajós Flona (Coomflona) (ANDRADE et al., 2014; ESPADA et al., 2018; SABLAYROLLES et al., 2011; SOUZA et al., 2019) illustrate the applicability of the analytical framework proposed in the article. The Tapajós National Forest (Flona) is a Federal Conservation Unit (UC) designated for sustainable use. Located in western Pará state (Figure 1), it encompasses the municipalities of Aveiro, Belterra, Placas and Rurópolis. Created in 1974, the UC has an extensive history of producing 'novelties', with concerted interventions and interactions between civil society actors and public agencies.

Figure 1. Location of the Tapajós National Forest.



Source: Adapted from Monteiro et al. (2018, p. 4).

The Tapajos Flora was experimental in being the first initiative to grant logging companies timber concessions in an Amazonian public forest. It was also the first time that public forests were allocated for community management. These initiatives were part of the Amazonian Forest Management Support Project (*ProManejo*) that began in the 1990s and promoted sustainable production alternatives, with an emphasis on non-timber products (*andiroba* - *Carapa guianensis* - and *copaiba* oils - *Copaifera sp.*), community tourism and vegetal leather handicrafts. ProManejo consolidated the Community Council as the Flona's governance bod, with the purpose of elaborating, implementing and monitoring its different projects. The council also supported the

emergence of the Coomflona in 2005. Intertwined with Coomflona are a set of initiatives that bring together everything from the sustainable management of forest products, to local handicrafts and community tourism. All of these initiatives are based on reconciling biodiversity conservation with socioeconomic development (ESPADA et al., 2018).

Following this introduction, this article is composed of four sections. First, we present, in greater depth, the theoretical constructs of territory and territorial development. In the second section, the principle categories of BTGS are presented. In the third and fourth sections, respectively, elements the Production of Novelties concept and the specificities of the Tapajós National Forest territory, with an emphasis on the Coomflona are presented. Here we mobilize the theoretical and methodological articulation of the BTGS and the Production of Novelties. In our final considerations, we highlight the Basket of Territorial Goods and Services approach as a potential methodological orientation to be adopted by territorial development agents involved with novelties generation in the Tapajós National Forest.

2 Territory and (/ in) Development

In the late 1970s, the limits of the intensive production mode began to be perceived. During this same period, theoretical contributions based on "territorialized production systems" gained prominence. This was reinforced by the rediscovery of so-called "Marshallian industrial districts" – a concept originally elaborated by economist Alfred Marshall at the beginning of the 20th century. In this context, the "districts" acquired the status of a development model, which had an influence on how traditional forms of industrialization were analyzed. Initially this occurred in certain regions in Italy, where networks of small and medium-sized companies predominated; such companies had similar experiences, mobilized highly qualified labor and were based in family customs (COLLETIS-WAHL; PECQUEUR, 2001).

Forms of this type of industrialization were later observed in France, England, Switzerland, and Germany. These situations were characterized as localized production systems, whose networks represented the central point of innovative dynamics. The objective of the "European Interest Group on Innovative Milieux" sought to reconcile the Marshallian districts approach with Schumpeterian theories of the entrepreneurship and innovation by conducting a large number of case studies, which researchers hoped would elucidate the operating principles of these contexts (COLLETIS-WAHL; PECQUEUR, 2001).

At the time, scholars regarded the excessive generalization of the territory as the main weakness of the so-called "industrial districts". In this sense, territory was represented as an active part in the creation of technological dynamics, becoming a sort of development actor – as much as the productive organizations themselves (COLLETIS-WAHL; PECQUEUR, 2001). Another criticism concerns understandings around innovations, which are not always routed in territorial dimensions. According to Amin and Thrift (1993), innovations can emerge independent of territorial dynamics - at times catalyzed merely by an organizational phenomenon. In this article, we seek to break with this dichotomy by mobilizing theoretical perspectives that address both the construction of territory as a theoretical object and the understanding of these dynamics as they relate to the conception of innovations.

The notion of novelty production adopted here highlights the complexity of distinct styles of agriculture and opposes notions of innovation connected to factors, such as standardization, externalization and the globalization of practices and artifacts (WISKERKE; PLOEG, 2004; OOSTENDIE; BROEKHUIZEN, 2008). An innovation perspective that seeks to substitute limiting production factors with artifacts manufactured by industry, and that suit the interests of those who aim to induce institutional changes, who at core, seek capitalist accumulation (VENTURA; MILONE, 2004), is not adequate for the analysis adopted in this study. The study of this theme based on empirical case of the Tapajós National Forest demands a complex understanding of territorial construction, based on the contextualization of knowledge and the operationalization of practices, processes and artifacts.

As such, we start from Pecqueur's (2005) concept of territory conceived as the result of the meeting and mobilization of social actors in a given geographical space who seek to identify and solve common problems. This author differentiates the "given territory", as a geographical space defined on the basis political-administrative constructs, from "territories constructed" intentionally by social actors who live and produce in this space and, therefore, present a geographical proximity. Thus, the organizational configuration of the various institutions, which intersect with double the concurrence established between different social actors and different territories are constitutive elements of the notion of territorial development.

Such "Constructed territories" present five basic characteristics: (a) they are multiple and dynamic and thereby can cease to exist, with frequent overlapping of actors and geographic spaces; (b) their geographic and organizational limits are blurred; (c) they seek to give value to specific territorial resources; (d) they are both objects of cooperation and conflicts between actors who appropriate resources and integrate them into development projects; and (e) they present more or less consolidated territorial governance arrangements based on agreements between the different types of actors involved in territorial projects.

Territorial resources represent factors to be explored, organized, or revealed, and when this occurs, resources are transformed into territorial assets. In both states, resources and assets can be generic and specific, the former being totally transferable and do not depend on the aptitude of the place and the actors that produce them. Since they are generated from the specific interactions between the social actors involved in development projects and bestowed with different competencies territorial resources and assets, on the contrary, are distinguished by being difficult to transfer (PECQUEUR, 2005). This vision conflicts with conventional perspectives that tend homogenize local diagnoses and generate uniform solutions regardless of the diversity of territorial realities. Asset specification processes differentiate one territory from another and stands in contrast to competition regimes based on standardized production.

According to Pecqueur (2005), the revelation of new (or previously unseen) resources represents an innovation potential for territorial actors. The ability of territorial actors to carry out a common project is related to the transformative potential of a given territory; in other words, the capacity to generate and maximize the value of both generic and specific resources of this space. Territorial characteristics built upon this concept are directly associated with its "institutional density", the situated "power games" and the stable agreements between the actors involved (CARRIÈRE; CAZELLA, 2006). Institutional and governance apparatuses of development actions vary across

different territories and, sometimes, represent exceptions to a general rule, which makes it impossible to conceive of a generic model of territorial development.

Another aspect of territorial development important to mention is the tendency of collective actions to conceal socio-economic exclusions and social conflicts. In general, the shared dynamics of valuing territorial resources tends to reinforce historical processes of social exclusion and elitism associated with the appropriation differentiated advantages, and ultimately, economic benefits. This tendency toward elitism can be aggravated in regions or countries where social inequalities are stark. Thus, this theme deserves increased attention, both from those who study these phenomena and from practitioners who promote territorial development. Here, both researchers and development professionals have been faced with the challenge of adapting and formulating inclusionary analytical models, that neither hide nor disregard social exclusions (CAZELLA et al., 2020). This issue requires singular attention to adequately analyze constructed-territories in Brazil, particularly in the Amazon. This article intends to address this issue and is thus differential in this regard.

Moreover, in regard to the specificities surrounding distinct Brazilian contexts, in regions where varied economic activities coexist – related to different social actors' projects, as often occurs in Amazonia, the notion of "territorialization" is a relevant analytical category. This notion helps us understand the struggle for control and domination over the resources of a given space. The process of territorialization involves actors' productive, organizational and political capacities by way of parallel institutional strength building to support their projects. As Abramovay (2000, p. 6) puts it, "a territory represents a web of relationships with historical roots, political configurations and identities that play a still little-understood role in economic development". In most territories, therefore, social relations that oscillate between cooperation and conflict persist, in addition to the coexistence of players who, on the one hand, seek to strengthen their territorial identities through the creation of novelties and, on the other, adopt non-territorial strategies of exploiting raw materials in an undifferentiated and merely mercantile manner.

In Amazonian contexts, it is necessary to account for overlapping processes, all with high potential for conflictive outcomes. And yet, the provisional character of the constructed-territories established in these contexts, presupposes conceiving territoriality "as the collective efforts of a social group to occupy, use, control and identify with a specific portion of their biophysical environment, transforming it into their territory, or homeland" (LITTLE, 2002, p.253), thus becoming a historical product of social and political processes.

A minority of actors can initiate the construction of a territorial project and can present three overlapping processes: (a) territorialization with a focus on private or collective domain over resources; (b) integration into markets via differentiated commercial chains, with specific institutions and organizations; (c) the construction of a territorial governance system guided by the logic of territorial attributes and by partnership networks involving civil society and the State.

The territory is, therefore, an active development unit that, beyond a geographical reality, is configured as a combination of human, social, cultural, and historical realities, and has specific resources that cannot be transferred from one region to another. These resources can be material or intangible, such as organic or developed know-how, generally associated with local history. As a consequence, this type of

resource is specific and valued only in that specific territorial context. Resource specification also involves actors who do things differently as compared to actors from other territories who have access to similar resources. As a consequence, the same financial and technical interventions do not generate identical effects (organizational and economic) in two distinct territories.

3 Basket of Territorial Goods and Services

Using the logic of territorial economy, Mollard (2001; 2005) and Pecqueur (2001) focus on the economic activity of a given space. From this perspective, the territory is clearly defined as site of specific resource construction, a condition deemed necessary for the creation of differentiated goods. Specific territorial resources are not found in an identical way outside of its locus of production due to specific ecological and cognitive factors. Specification therefore consists of differentiating resources, which local actors reveal and construct through formal and informal processes of collective action aimed at generating quality. A constructed-territory endowed with a coordinated and composite offer of territorial assets generates a "territorial quality income" that can surpass income earned through the trade of quality products and services devoid of a coordinated multi-actor strategy. The territory is thus included in commercial transactions and this, in particular, represents the basis of what Pecqueur (2001) conceived as a BTGS.

According to Hirczak et al. (2008), the basket of territorial goods and services is composed of three elements: (a) complementary goods and services, which have a common territorial origin and a coherent image associated with the territory, not easily replaced by generic goods. In addition, forms of production organization and specific quality assurance associated with territorial quality services facilitate consumer access to the basket of goods and services; (b) a system of territorial governance built upon close relationships and trust, which can be expressed in the direct sale of products, local gastronomic customs, and visits to territorial heritage sites. The demand for products is linked to their quality, guarantee and reputation, as well as the knowledge of the territory and its traditions; (c) public goods that play the role of "scenery", putting territorial products and services on stage. These goods refer to the environment and nature (landscape and biodiversity), to heritage and culture (architecture, gastronomy and monuments), or to the territory's history and traditions.

With regard to BTGS organization, two different levels should be considered from the perspective of the actors and logics involved. The first deals with the collective generation of quality and involves, in particular, producer and service provider organizations within the territory. In functional terms, these actors participate in defining the quality attributes of goods and services, establish appropriate production procedures, and monitor their execution. The existence of these organizations enables the implementation of a BTGS-type strategy, yet this alone is not sufficient. To make CBST effective, a second organizational level is necessary, which identifies, defines, and integrates the spheres of production and marketing of quality products and services with territorial specificities. This is an instance of governance, in which public, private, and associative actors involved in the CBST process are in dialogue and adapt and define the quality standards and territorial identity of products and services – ultimately, aiming to unify the basket and gain access to diverse marketing channels.

In terms of the first level, Ostrom's (2005) analysis model may be useful. Using the New Institutional Economics Perspective, this author provides a model for the results of the collective management of the commons – as a function of actor implemented rules and norms. In this way, we can consider quality attributes of territorial products and services as common goods built by territorial actors. Organizations on this first level adopt and consolidate rules and norms, aiming to distinguish the quality of territorial attributes.

The second organizational level of the Basket – the system of territorial governance, involves the creation of cooperation bodies and mechanisms among public and private stakeholders. This is second-level collective action, as it unites the organizations that produce territorial goods and services with other public and private actors interested in the territory. The BTGS governance system, in effect, can generate new norms and rules to be negotiated with producers and service providers of the first organizational level. This system plays a similar role to that of a "territorial pact", as described by ABRAMOVAY (2000, p. 10) in his discussion of territorial development processes.

When the BTGS approach was applied to empirical cases of rural territories, members of the French research group coined the idea of differentiated degrees of the "basket effect", given the diversity of situations encountered in the field (HIRCZAK et al., 2008a; PERRON; JANIN, 2014; CAMPAGNE; PECQUEUR, 2014). In other words, the original formulation of the approach represents a Weberian "ideal type" of which rural territories are more or less in keeping with its components. Some territories stand out for their exuberant scenery associated with a remarkable environmental preservation. Others present hybrid situations, with areas and actors involved in conventional production systems that distance themselves from the Basket principles, and yet coexist with other actors differentiated by the value of their products and services provided marked by territorial quality. Sometimes, the system of territorial governance is incipient, and initiatives anchored in territorial resources are fragmented or juxtaposed, lacking an articulated strategy that could provide coherence and inform consumers of the territorial specificities. If, on the one hand, situating goods and services in specific territories is necessary, on the other hand, if this is isolated from the other elements, it becomes insufficient.

4 Novelty Production by Social Actors

A novelty is something new, defined by a different way of thinking of acting that incorporates new ideas, artifacts and combinations of resources, technological procedures and different fields of knowledge; novelties involve specific constellations of factors that can presumably work in a better way, e.g. a production process, a network, combination of different activities, etc. (OOSTINDIE; BROEKHUIZEN, 2008).

Novelties are often not fully understood because they are deviations from the rule and go beyond existing and explained regularities. For this reason, novelties are not easily transported from the context from which they emerged. Thus, it is worth noting that although novelties are innovative processes, they differ from innovations in their normative sense. Oostindie and Broekhuizen (2008) emphasize that a novelty is associated with local knowledge and, therefore, has strong ties to a given context.

The key term 'Emergence of Novelties' derives from a tradition of studies devoted to understanding technological change (PLOEG et al., 2004) supported by the Multi-Level Perspective (MLP). According to Geels and Schot (2007), the MLP is a multidimensional model of agency, which assumes that actors have self-interests, act strategically, but are constrained by time and by different types of rules (regulatory, normative and cognitive), whether or not they are shared with other actors.

Actions and strategies are guided by knowledge generated by the accumulation of skills and technological capabilities along dynamic situations in the timeline. This knowledge, called 'contextual' by Belussi and Pilloti (2000 apud OOSTINDIE; BROEKHUIZEN, 2008), can be constituted by four important processes: (a) socialization, in which local knowledge is shared among individuals; (b) externalization, in which local knowledge is transformed into scientific knowledge and can thus diffuse globally; (c) recombination, which implies reusing various types and sources of local and scientific knowledge, via networks and other connections, to create new knowledge; and (d) internalization, a process by aspects of external knowledge are absorbed.

For Oostindie and Broekhuizen (2008), the emergence of novelties is closely associated with contextual knowledge. These authors state that when this type of knowledge is readily available, there is a greater chance that novelties will emerge. Thus, it can be argued that contextual knowledge is indispensable to rural development processes that value endogenous social, technical, and economic dynamics.

Besides the association of novelty with contextual knowledge, Oostindie and Broekhuizen (2008) explain that novelty emergence is related to co-production, which is understood as the reconnection of society with nature. In other words, it is related to the reciprocal interaction and transformation of the social and the natural. Therefore, in this reconnection, while locally available natural resources are used, they are strengthened and recreated for new uses, feeding the system in a cyclical fashion (PLOEG, 2006; OOSTINDIE; BROEKHUIZEN, 2008).

Based on the analysis of several studies dedicated to researching endogenous innovative processes in rural spaces, Oostindie e Broekhuizen (2008) propose an analytical framework that integrates four trajectories of novelty production. The first refers to "improving resources", in which nature is constructed, reconstructed, and differentiated within a long historical process, from which particularities emerge that characterize the behavior involved resources. In concrete terms, resources are the result of co-production, being shaped and reshaped through the constant human-nature interaction.

The second trajectory related to the emergence of novelties concerns the "fine tuning" between the producers and an extensive list of growth factors, continuously identified and corrected. In this way, the most limiting growth factor for a given agricultural activity is also limiting for the entire agricultural development process in that locality. Therefore, the fine tuning of the system, or adjustments made to overcome limiting factors. often leads to novelty production. Since this is a dynamic process, once the original limiting factor has been corrected, another one may appear in its place.

A third trajectory is associated with novelty production is "boundary shifts" to include new domains and activities by farmers, such as food processing and marketing, nature protection measures, among others. This implies the expansion of farmers' actions beyond the limits of production units, thus reaching much more complex organizations and social networks. In this way, new experiences are translated into new

knowledge which, in turn, inspires new practices. This process leads to the fourth trajectory, which refers to "re-patterning of resource use", considered intrinsic to the emergence of novelties, without being restricted to production unit boundaries, nor to the agricultural activities themselves. Re-patterning of resource use means connecting elements in innovative ways. Sometimes this also implies interlinking elements from non-agricultural sectors.

The dynamics of these trajectories, which can occur concurrently, result in new techniques, new approaches, new artifacts, and new networks that need to be operated. To do so, new knowledge is needed, particularly knowledge that combines farmers' tacit knowledge with more institutionalized knowledge, generating new environments for the emergence of creative solutions that are locally contextualized, and yet related to the construction of new institutions capable of forging change within the dominant regime.

The trajectories associated with novelty production in family farming are usually associated with producers' search for autonomy which, according to Ploeg (2009), aims and materializes in the creation and development of a self-managed resource base, involving both social and natural resources. In this sense, the emergence of novelties corresponds to a gradual process, which happens progressively; it follows a specific trajectory, is closely associated with agricultural work (PLOEG et al., 2004) and the economic and social reproduction of farming families.

This set of characteristics leads us to the following conclusion: the radical nature of novelties lies in their potential to break with productivist and purely economic patterns, which disconnect society from nature and devalue the cultural identity of social actors. Novelties are thereby considered by Ploeg et al. (2004) as "seeds of transition" leading to a paradigm of rural development that considers the territory as the main locus of action. Novelties involved in the Territorial Goods and Services Basket approach, following previous considerations, presume new productive arrangements between actors and categories of actors, new commercialization mechanisms and channels, as well as novel forms of governance distinct from the dominant model, which are capable of generating quality and bringing coherence to the BTGS.

5 Territorial dynamics of the Tapajós National Forest: novelty as a catalyst for BTGS

In Brazil, perhaps even more than in Europe, greater attention should be paid to the elaboration of territorial identities. Particularly in the Amazon, the BTGS approach must consider some specificities, including territorialization processes in situations of conflicts and unstable territorial identities. In this context institutions of supporting territorial governance are often young and/or in the process of consolidation. Some Amazonian contexts may, however, present promising potential for developing novelties from the BTGS perspective. Federal and state Conservation Units (UCs) designated for sustainable use and development, a priori, present characteristics, more favorable in this direction; this stems from resources being allocated, to some degree, more equally among the distinct categories of actors involved in these projects, through zoning, according to the authorized uses of each area.

These conservation areas are managed through joint deliberative councils, which represent different governance institutions; as one of their main goals, these CU seek to promote and value sustainable products and services. Thus, these protected areas can

be conceived, as geographic spaces where territorial projects involving different actors are more advanced. Projects enjoy a certain level of stability, employ conflict resolution mechanisms, especially regarding resource use, and have management protocols supported by State governance bodies.

In particular, the Tapajós Flona was created by Brazilian government Decree No. 73,684 on February 19, 1974, with the goal of "[fostering]… sustainable use of forest resources and scientific research" (BRASIL, 1974; BRASIL, 2000). According to Carvalho (2017), this UC occupies an area of 527.3 thousand hectares, and hosts an expressive sociocultural diversity, represented by 23 traditional communities and another three indigenous communities of Munduruku ethnicity. According to a survey conducted in 2014, the total population of Flona consists of 3,438 inhabitants, totaling approximately 1,050 families (SOUZA et al., 2019). In addition to indigenous people, family farmers settled by the National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform, landowners, and squatters also reside inside the protected area. Communities and villages are located along the Tapajós and Cupari rivers (ICMBio, 2000).

According to Andrade et al. (2014) forest management for timber production is the most important economic activity in the Flona. Forest management areas occupy 35 thousand hectares, equivalent to 6% of the total area of the UC. This activity generates about R$4 million per year. Forest management is organized and executed by Coomflona, the legal entity responsible for the Multiple Use Sustainable Forest Management Plan.

Coomflona currently has 206 members, which corresponds to 6% of the total population of the conservation area (SOUZA et al., 2019). Thus, a significant portion of Flona residents lack formal ties with the Cooperative. This occurs for several reasons: including residents' lack of identification with Coomflona's organizational structure, as well as flaws in the organization's operational capacity to integrate new cooperative members. In most cases, non-cooperative members form other socioeconomic relationships with cooperative members, through which they market their products, such as oils (from tree species) and handicrafts, to Coomflona (ESPADA et al., 2018).

According to Espada et al. (2018), the Cooperative's main partner organizations are the Chico Mendes Institute for Biodiversity Conservation (ICMBio), the Brazilian Forest Service (SFB), the Brazilian Institute of the Environment and Renewable Natural Resources (IBAMA), the Federal University of Western Pará (UFOPA), the International Education Institute of Brazil (IEB), and the Tropical Forest Institute (IFT). The SFB and IEB promote training courses focused on community forest management. In 2013, Coomflona's forest management area was certified with the Forest Stewardship Council (FSC), receiving the organization's seal. As a result, the Cooperative's leaders now seek to reach new markets. Both the SFB and IEB benefit from the positive institutional image generated by this initiative. In addition, the specific community forest model is further disseminated by fostering exchange experiences with groups who engage in similar initiatives in Amazonia.

Coomflona is also a partner of the Intercommunity Association of Mini and Small Rural and Extractive Producers of the Right Bank of the Tapajós River (ASMIPRUT), based in the community of Maguari located in the Flona. Maguari is unique in that more than 12,000 rubber trees are found in the community, which, together with their samaúmas (*Ceiba pentandra*), constitute a scenario particularly conducive to the local economy, with a priority focus on non-timber products and ecological tourism (CARVALHO, 2017).

Leather made from the latex of rubber trees is the raw material used to produce various products: bags, shoes, slippers, and necklaces. According to Carvalho (2017), the local factory where these goods are produced is supported by ICMBio, SFB, Coomflona, and UFOPA. Income from the sale of these products is directly invested in the community. In terms of tourism, the "Grandma Sumaúma Trail" is one of the most spectacular activities based on local attractions. On a nine km trail, guided by local residents, tourists from all over the world can appreciate Amazonian vegetation and be amazed by the impressive "Grandma Sumaúma", a tree over 60 m tall (CARVALHO, 2017).

The Tapajós National Forest case illustrates that socio-spatial and identity relations are constructed and mobilized by distinct groups of stakeholders (traditional populations, researchers, and social mediators) as ways of addressing daily challenges. Their direction is determined both by how actors organize themselves and by the meaning that they attribute to these forms. As such, a sense of territory results from a sociocultural construct, or rather, a system of values that ensures the regulation and integration of individual behaviors, both maintained and renewed over time (PECQUEUR, 2005).

The dynamics of collective knowledge and know-how (PECQUEUR, 2000) makes the territory a locus for the emergence and consolidation of novelties. Thus, Coomflona is understood here as an organizational novelty that emerges from specific territorial constructions – in which the given territory, in this case, is delimitated by the perimeter of the Tapajós National Forest. This organizational novelty can thus be understood, especially because it has, at its core, the processes of community forest management, which are interrelated with biodiversity conservation, the mobilization of the forest peoples' contextual knowledge, and socioeconomic development projects. In addition, forest management counts on the technical-scientific knowledge of a network of public actors (state and NGOs) who operate in the territory and that involves ICMBio, SFB, IBAMA, UFOPA, IEB and IFT.

The innovative character of this multi-stakeholder articulation is reinforced by intrinsic feedbacks, such as the reduced use of resources from outside the Flona and local production units and, consequently, the optimal use of territorial resources. By connecting with the community of Maguari, where ASMIPRUT and the leather manufacturing plant are located, Coomflona catalyzes natural resource use, such as rubber latex and even the exuberant landscape scenery, essential for the ecological tourism carried out locally.

The process of novelty emergence occurs at a specific time and within a particular context; it is thereby intrinsically connected to the cultural, environmental, and socioeconomic environment in which it develops (OOSTINDIE; BROEKHUIZEN, 2008). Medeiros' (2017) research on the construction of unconventional rural development projects in the Northern Coast of Rio Grande do Sul demonstrates how a cooperation network led by the Mixed Cooperative of Family Farmers of Itati, Terra de Areia, and Três Forquilhas, produce a set of novelties generated from the collaborative actions of distinct categories of family farmers. The studies on Coomflona and Medeiros' research (2017) show significant similarities, despite their different geographic locations, especially regarding family farmers' social agency related to the development of more sustainable production and socioeconomic reproduction practices. The particularities of the territories in which these novelties emerge are what guarantee the specificities of each process.

In the case analyzed here, Coomflona has strong ties to Amazonian ecosystems, cultural repertoires and the work processes associated with them. This novelty is radical in that it breaks with productivist and purely economic patterns; this specificity positively influences the decision-making of territorial actors of the Cooperative network, especially regarding the use of resources from timber marketing, its flagship product.

Given that timber sold by the Cooperative is a public natural resource, or an asset for common use by the residents of the Tapajós National Forest, the territorial actors, Cooperative members, and socio-technical advisors adopted an uncommon conception for managing the financial resources earned from this activity. Financial management is based on the understanding that monetary resources are collective and should not merely benefit cooperative members (ESPADA et al., 2017). Thus, these territorial actors sought ways to improve the quality of life for all Flona families by developing a financial management system, which allows for investments that benefit cooperative and non-cooperative families. According to Espada et al. (2017), members forged a creative solution (achieved despite disputes) based on the creation of different cooperative funds that could be accessed by all families and communities in the Tapajós Flona: Cooperative Fund, Community Support Fund, Health Fund, and the Reserve for Technical, Educational, and Social Assistance (RATES).

The above measure stands out in territorial development actions more generally and more specifically in the BTGS approach. As Cazella et al. (2020) illustrate, acts of solidarity, or counterparts from social actors in territorial development projects to favor less fortunate residents represents a possible strategy to better adapt the BTGS approach to the Brazilian socioeconomic context.

The empirical case here deserves further studies on its genesis, specific management mechanisms, and evolution over time. The analyses by Espada et al. (2017) shows that among the main novelties built by Coomflona and partner organizations are the financial funds aimed, among other aspects, at the professional capacity building of cooperative members and for investment in productive activities. While RATES enables the training of local residents in technical and undergraduate courses by providing financial support for courses, the investment fund is applied in the diversification of productive activities, marketing and processing of natural rubber (*Hevea brasiliensis*), copaiba oil and andiroba, and the production of wooden furniture.

If, on the one hand, the emergence of this organizational novelty has a significant impact on the definition or redefinition of the territoriality of the Tapajós National Forest, due to the internalization or endogeneity of practices involved in this construction (OOSTINDIE; BROEKHUIZEN, 2008), on the other hand, the constructed territory directly influences its configuration. And it is precisely the inter-relationship of territorial actors' new way of thinking and acting in relation to the natural environment that ratifies and ensures the stabilization of this novelty. The analysis of the Tapajós National Forest case allows us to affirm that a BTGS, or the so-called "basket effect", is underway despite the fact that the stakeholders involved are unaware of applicability of this methodological approach for their development actions.

6 Final Considerations

Articulating the Basket of Territorial Goods and Services and the Production of Novelties approaches revealed several complementary aspects. The idea of a double offer of quality goods and services linked to a territory presupposes the continuous construction of several novelties by the actors involved. The specification of territorial resources, a central element of the BTGS, represents a creative, and therefore innovative action, which to be successful, depends on the construction of a multi-actor territorial governance system. In other words, the BTGS approach can be conceived as the result of successive and accumulative processes of the social construction of novelties.

Considering the BTGS approach, the Flona presents a rich and diversified first organizational level, with emphasis on Coomflona members, handicraft and food production groups, people mobilized around community tourism activities, as well as other producer organizations with a strong territorial identity. The territorial assets and existing services - timber, furniture, bio-jewelry, vegetal leather crafts, liquors and food products, guided tours and ecotourist reception - are endowed with quality, identity and territorial specificity correlated to production practices. More attention needs to be paid, however, to the organizational instances that guarantee the territorial quality necessary for the construction of development processes that incorporate the BTGS tenets.

Even though Flona residents adopt and recognize functional instances of decision making, tensions between riverine and indigenous and other traditional settlers, and the public agencies that manage conservation areas, represent a constant challenge for conflict mediation and various mechanisms for political negotiation. In this sense, the construction and strengthening of territorial identities could potentially bring together different residents around shared values and orientations.

Consequently, this process is could result in the establishment of specific government instances, mirroring those recommended by the BTGS approach. Specifically defining guidelines to be implemented by distinct producer groups, accompanied and assisted by public organizations guiding the production of quality territorial goods and services is one concrete example. While this type of territorial governance is still incipient, it has the potential to enrich discussions centered on social inclusion of Flona residents not integrated into formal territorial development actions.

New windows of opportunity for future initiatives in this territory open when we consider the analytical framework in this article. One specific avenue consists in the improvement of marketing strategies defined together with potential consumers, who frequent farmers markets and other events. These channels can be further improved through the mobilization of digital communication and specialized private and public actors. The scenario analyzed in this case study presents a close and direct relationship between Flona residents and key actors involved in cooperative actions, which seek to value specific territorial resources, as a way to create a multi-institutional and multi-disciplinary space capable of treating technical, organization, and marketing aspects.

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