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GOVERNANÇA TERRITORIAL E DESENVOLVIMENTO¹: UM ESTUDO DO CIRCUITO DAS ÁGUAS PAULISTA E ARRANJO/CIRCUITO DAS MALHAS DO SUL DE MINAS

TERRITORIAL GOVERNANCE AND DEVELOPMENT: A STUDY OF WATER CIRCUIT OF SÃO PAULO AND THE KNITWEAR ARRANGEMENT/CIRCUIT OF SOUTH OF MINAS GERAIS

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Resumo

O presente artigo busca analisar a dinâmica territorial do desenvolvimento vinculada a diferentes estratégias de governança local de políticas públicas no Brasil, tratando, em específico, dos circuitos turísticos e dos arranjos produtivos locais. A pesquisa se coloca como continuidade de outros trabalhos sobre governança territorial durante os últimos dez anos e que mostraram que, apesar da disposição e do incentivo, por meio dos dispositivos constitucionais, por maior participação e prática do diálogo e cooperação entre níveis federativos e entre atores públicos, privados e mistos, o modelo de tomada de decisões ainda se pauta, em grande medida, em interesses eleitorais de curto prazo e no perfil fisiológico das alianças político-partidárias. Desse modo, pretendemos atualizar esse quadro, no avançar do século XXI e com um processo democrático já consolidado no país, definindo um panorama sobre o contexto territorial e de governança, avaliando o perfil dessas estruturas de governança em cenário de crise econômica e mudanças políticas. Posto isso, este estudo está apoiado em um referencial teórico híbrido, estruturado em metodologia de levantamento de dados estatísticos e pesquisa de campo para análise qualitativa de entrevistas com atores locais, visando classificar o perfil da governança e seus níveis de efetivação nos territórios analisados.

Palavras-chave: Governança. Território. Desenvolvimento. Arranjos produtivos. Circuitos turísticos.

Abstract

This article aims to analyze the territorial dynamics of development linked to different strategies of local governance of public policies in Brazil, dealing specifically with tourism circuits and local

¹ Esse artigo é resultado das pesquisas desenvolvidas no âmbito do projeto regular da FAPESP (Processo n. 2015/25136-8) "Governança territorial no Brasil: especificidades institucionais, lógicas espaciais e políticas de desenvolvimento", coordenado pelo Prof. Dr. Elson Luciano S. Pires, no âmbito do DEPLAN/Unesp-Rio Claro.

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productive arrangements. The research is a continuation of other works on territorial governance during the last ten years and showed that despite the willingness and incentive, through constitutional means, for participation and practice of dialogue and cooperation between federative levels and between public, private and the decision-making model is still largely based on short-term electoral interests and on the physiological profile of political-partisan alliances. In this way, we intend to update this framework, in the 21st century's progress and with a democratic process already consolidated in the country, defining a panorama on the territorial and of governance context, evaluating the profile of these governance structures in a context of economic crisis and political changes. Thus, this study is based on a hybrid theoretical framework, structured in methodology for statistical data collection and field research for the qualitative analysis of interviews with local actors, aiming to classify the governance profile and its effectiveness levels in the analyzed territories.

Keywords: Governance. Territory. Development. Productive arrangements. Tourist circuits.

Introduction

The present article⁴ aims at analyzing critically the quantitative and qualitative data obtained in regular research from FAPESP and CNPq in order to contribute to the understanding of the dynamics of territorial governance in Brazil, through its explanatory categories, within the framework of the regulatory and institutionalist debate (PIRES, FUINI et al. , 2017). Specifically, this text seeks to characterize the current context of local- regional territorial development and governance in Touristic Circuits (TCs) and Local Productive Arrangements (LPAs) (FUINI, 2014, 2016), highlighting the realities of the Circuit/ Production Arrangement of the South of Minas Gerais (articulated to the productive arrangement of the knitted garment of the South of Minas Gerais) and of the São Paulo Circuit of Waters.

Thus, this article resumes the elements that underlie the research project in general, proposing the following general questions: is there socio-institutional mobilization in the productive territories in the states of São Paulo (SP), Minas Gerais (MG) and Bahia (BA)? Does this mobilization produce agreed forms of governance? Do these experiences have the effect on the expected territorial development and social development? It was also intended to better understand the possibilities of convergence in the public coordination of these strategies and, on the other hand, to deepen the understanding of the degree of antagonism in power relations and in the processes of hegemony and against political hegemony, central issues in the construction and of uses of the territories (FUINI, 2017).

The justification for this study stems from the need to incorporate empirical studies into theoretical hypotheses about the possibilities and effectiveness of building local-regional development formats based on specific resources and assets (BENKO, PECQUEUR, 2001)⁵ and based on territorialized and potentially tripartite and democratic governance structures (PIRES et al., 2011). This theoretical apparatus must be constantly confronted and enriched in the light of Brazilian reality and its peripheral economic formation (FURTADO, 2000), its unevenly combined development model (OLIVEIRA, 2000), with a societal and cultural pattern based on the coloniality of knowledge (PORTO -GONÇALVES 2008).

In this complexity, we will investigate present realities in the state of São Paulo and Minas Gerais at the same time, they reinforce these parameters, exposes m elements of innovation and productive and organizational characteristics that guide the constitution, albeit partial and limited,

⁴ The translation of this article was made by Profa. Esp. Raquel Guiraldelli Bonfã Fuini (CPF: 307.920.798-09) from the originals in Portuguese sent to the scientific magazine.

⁵ The theory of generic and specific assets and assets was presented by Georges Benko and Bernard Pecqueur (2001) in an article published in the journal *Geosul*. According to the authors, the active factors are considered as "activity", while for resources, the factors to be revealed, to explore, or to organize. Resources, unlike assets, thus constitute a reserve, a latent potential. Generic assets and resources are location factors broken down by transport prices and costs associated with an optimal allocation, differentiating one from the other by the use question. The specific asset is an immeasurable and non-intrusive factor whose value depends on the organization and locality that created it, while the specific asset acquires its value for a use in a particular context, having high re - allocation costs.

a block socio-territorial relationship amidst a regime of accumulation and a broader mode of regulation (LIPIETZ, LEBORGNE, 1988). Governance would be the possibility of regulating these processes or, at least, establishing a common framework of contact and mediation of conflicts between actors in their territorial actions, seeking to place limits on deterritorialization as precariousness and exclusion, even though they bring in their gears limiting visions of reality, often from the corporate and privatized designed on the territory.

1. Theoretical and methodological reference on the governance of the territories

Regarding the method reference, this article texts and concepts produced by the research group "*Structures of governance and territorial development*", registered at CNPq (National Council of Scientific and Technological Development) since 2003 (PIRES, MULLER, VERDI, 2006), appropriating theoretical summaries presented in different studies (PIRES, FUINI, et al., 2010, PIRES, et al., 2017) that systematize the four frameworks for the characterization of coordination and governance territories (PIRES, 2009; DALLABRIDA, 2003; COLLETIS, GILLY, 1999; FUINI, 2010; PIRES, FUINI, FIGUEIREDO, MENDES, 2017): **A)** the first, addressing *the elements of governance as a sociohistorical process* based on increasing decentralization and autonomy. Considering this theorization proposed by Dallabrida; Becker (2003) and Dallabrida (2007) work with four main categories to explain the territorial dynamics of the development and territorialization of development management processes; **B)** the second, addressing *the principles of tripartite democratic governance* (Focus, Mechanisms, Transparency, etc.), highlighting qualitative principles that alter the functioning of governance and reflect its institutional nature. The ten categories here, dimensions in intensity levels (Low, Mid-Low, Low, Medium-High, High) also reflect the behavior and perception of the actors regarding the performance of the governance modality studied; (PIRES, FUINI, et al., 2017); **C)** the third considers the type of coordination of the development strategies and that can oscillate between public, private or mixed control structures, with reference to the way in which the social actors establish control over the territorial resources; **D)** the fourth is the format of the political-administrative networks linked to the territorialization of the production arrangements and circuits (territorialised production chain), considering the level of economic hierarchy of the municipalities (FUINI, 2010, 2014a, 2014b, STORPER; HARRISON 1988).

Based on these theoretical assumptions (FUINI, PIRES, 2009; FUINI, PIRES et al., 2017), it is possible to systematize a synoptic table (**Table 1 -Supplement**) that discusses the main categories that aid in the study of governance linked to the characterization of socio-territorial dynamics of development analyzed in case studies. In the present study there is a concern to analyze the following perspectives on governance: as a principle used in the decision-making process; socio-historical process of decentralization and conflicts; as a form of public-private coordination and management of territorial resources and, finally, as a form of productive territorialization in the network of municipalities and localities involved.

The territories defined by the touristic circuits and productive arrangements are historical and socio-spatial formations that combine actions of political and economic domination and appropriation and sociocultural identities (HAESBAERT, 2004), supported by a certain natural or ecological environment (SAQUET, 2007). They are territorialities built on the logic of action of public, private and civil society actors around institutions and certain norms, agreements and conventions (FUINI, 2014), promoting processes of deterritorialization and reterritorialisation of companies, workers and consumers, in different formats and temporalities (SAQUET, 2010), crossing the sectoral logic with the territorial logic (FUINI, 2016). It is also possible to consider the Circuits / APLs as formats and possibilities of territorial uses through territorial specializations of production linked to the combination of economic activities, engineering systems, norms (cooperation circles) and social actions (SANTOS, 2000; SANTOS, SILVEIRA, 2001).

1. The socio-economic and political dynamics of territories

1.1. General data

In previous studies (FUINI, 2007, 2008, 2010, 2015), we analyzed in detail the socioeconomic dynamics and the construction of governance linked to the agglomeration of knitted clothes industries in the south of Minas Gerais (FUINI, 2007, 2008) and also the São Paulo State Water

Circuit (FUINI, 2010, 2015). Currently, the Water Circuit is composed of the following municipalities (Table 2):

Table 2: Municipalities of the Waters Circuito f São Paulo - demographic and socioeconomic data

Counties	Population	Urban pop	HDI	Gini Index
Águas de Lindóia	18,509	17,111 (99%)	0.745 (265 °.)	0.4612
Amparo	71,568	51,811 (79%)	0.785 (50 °.)	0.4977
Jaguariúna	54.204	43,093 (97%)	0.829 (36°.)	0.5020
Lindóia	6.708	6,708 (100%)	0.742 (290 °.)	0.4956
Monte Alegre do Sul	7.817	4.091 (57%)	0.759 (169).	0,4774
Pedreira	46,568	41,209 (88%)	0.769 (115 °.)	0,4261
Serra Negra	28,742	22,893 (87%)	0.767 (127°.)	0.4836
Socorro	37,280	24.944 (67%)	0.729 (400 °)	0.4524

Source: IBGE demographic census (2010) and Development Atlas of UNDP/ IBGE (2010).

In the Waters Circuit of São Paulo, in general, small municipalities are present, being the larger ones, like Amparo, does not have more than 80.000 inhabitants. The life of relations is very much linked to the attraction exerted by the polarization of Campinas in its mesoregion, agglomerate that has more than 3 million and 700 thousand inhabitants (IBGE, 2017). The majority of the population lives in the urban zone, although some municipalities have a more pronounced rurality, such as Monte Alegre do Sul and Socorro. The totality of municipalities has a high Human Development Index (HDI), and Jaguariúna, in this case, has a very high HDI. However, at the same time that it has the highest HDI, it is the municipality with the highest income inequality; and the lowest inequality is presented by the municipality of Pedreira.

Actually, the Knitwear Circuit of Minas Gerais is composed of six municipalities (Table 3). It is a reality formed by small cities, the largest of which is Ouro Fino. They are polarized by Poços de Caldas, reference center of the mesoregion of the South and Southwest of Minas (population of 2.463.000 inhabitants) and the micro-region of Poços de Caldas (338,261 inhabitants). Despite the predominance of population living in urban areas, the life of rural relations is still very present in municipalities such as Albertina and Inconfidentes. Most have high HDI, except for Inconfidentes. The Gini Index, however, shows a better family income distribution than that of the Water Circuit, and the lowest inequality is presented by the municipalities of Albertina and Jacutinga (Source: Development Atlas).

Table 3: Municipalities of the Knitwear Circuit of Minas Gerais - demographic and socioeconomic data

Counties	Population	Urban Pop	HDI	Gini Index
Albertina	3.504	2.012 (69%)	0.722	0,3474
Borda da Mata	18,873	13,718 (70%)	0.730	0.4633
Inconfidentes	7.534	3,678 (53%)	0.692	0.4915
Jacutinga	25,199	19,076 (83%)	0.715	0.4326
Monte Sião	23,238	16,268 (70%)	0.744	0,4478
Ouro Fino	33,576	23,763 (75%)	0.722	0.4623

Source: IBGE demographic census (2010) and Development Atlas of UNDP / IBGE.

In addition, the institutional framework is dominated by organizations of social, religious and trade union rights, with emphasis on the municipalities with greater population and economic weight. In addition, the party framework shows the predominance of central and right-wing parties in prefectures, generally linked to partisan coalitions that support state governments. GDP and GDP per capita have high levels in the Circuit of the waters, emphasizing to municipalities of diversified industrial base. In value added, there is a predominance of service activity, followed by industrial activity. The municipalities of the knitted clothes circuit present intermediate income and the polarizing municipalities have industrial added value significantly higher than the others. In general, social and political spending predominates in the municipalities analyzed, implying a reduction of economic expenditures in the recent period. These data are related to the labor market profile, with a predominance of salaried employees and a strong participation of employment in

public positions in the Knitted Clothes Circuit. It is also significant the participation of self-employed workers, increasing in recent years (IBGE, 2002-2012 / 2014).

1.6. Segment of activity and size of establishments

The micro-region of the Circuit of the waters is quite heterogeneous with respect to its productive profile, standing out the predominance of the activity of services (except public administration) as to added value. The economic weight of a municipality does not necessarily indicate its protagonism in the tourist segment and an undeniable hegemony in the decisions of the governance structure for the Touristic Circuit. Even the leading municipalities need the support of other localities in their region, creating more horizontal relations (STORPER, HARRISON, 1994). Jaguariúna, for example, generates 40.1% of formal jobs allocated to industrial activity, with an added value corresponding to 30.9% of the value of local GDP, but it is not the *locus* of regional tourist activity. In Amparo, for example, the value-added industry accounted for 44.5% of GDP in 2015, with the sector accounting for 45.6% of formal jobs. In Águas de Lindoia, the percentage of jobs in industry is already 17.9% and the value added in industry is 9.8%, compared to 55.2% of formal jobs (including the tourism segment) (Seade Profile). In Serra Negra, in a profile similar to that of Águas de Lindoia, service activity accounts for 47.7% of formal jobs and wholesale and retail trade, 29.9% (IBGE / SEADE / RAIS, 2015, 2016).

Among the productive agglomerations of micro and small enterprises or embryonic APLs, identified in the region of the Circuit of Waters, the following stand out: 1) Clothing manufacture: Aguas de Lindoia (140 establishments), Amparo (83), Serra Negra (89) and Lindoia (23), linked to a large number of MSEs in the retail sector of *clothing retail* (594 establishments); and 2) *non-metallic mineral production associated with the retail household articles, concentrated in Pedreira* (297 establishments)⁶ (RAIS, 2010). In smaller proportion of the number of establishments, there is also agglomerate of water bottling (Lindoia) and of artifacts for civil construction (Jaguariúna).

In the tourist segment, the final activity of the governance structure analyzed, this complementarity and heterogeneity around the segment becomes pronounced. Involving activities that go from passenger transportation to leisure, the number of establishments in the region, Serra Negra, Socorro and Amparo stand out. Considering that activities such as "*Restaurants and food services*" (CNAE 561) and "*Recreation and leisure activities*" (CNAE 932) do not only serve tourists, the data may be overestimated for centers whose economic dynamics do not depend on travel tourism. But when we consider the category "*Hotels and Similar*" (CNAE 551), this vocation becomes clearer, highlighting the municipalities of Serra Negra, Águas de Lindoia and Socorro, accounting for 71.4% of the lodging establishments in the region. This creates a centrality around these cities, even if the tourist crosses several of them for walks, configuring the logic of the tourist space of a circuit. It is also observed that most of these establishments are micro and small, and only in Águas de Lindoia is significant to the presence of medium and large hotels, that is, with more than fifty employees.

According to Pecqueur (2009), the Circuits model can approach the idea of a "basket of goods and services" produced by the territory and that creates a particular aggregate supply, involving the interaction between suppliers and producers in models such as arrangements and production systems and localized agro-food, with strong territorial anchorage. This model of territorial anchorage based on the quality of the combined goods is recognized by: a) structural and environmental attributes that contribute to qualify the territory; b) existence of a public strategy for the supply of public and private goods and services; c) active role of the consumer in choosing the basket of goods and services.

In the Minas Gerais Circuit, despite the tourism label of the state support policy, its orientation is for shopping tourism, exercising a greater demand for food establishments and restaurants than for the hotel industry itself. The microregion is heavily specialized in the textile segment, especially in garment artifacts in knitted fabrics. The industrial structure, concentrated in the municipalities of Jacutinga and Monte Sião, and to a lesser extent in Ouro Fino and Borda da Mata, places industry as a significant sector in the generation of formal jobs, accounting for 34% in

⁶ Other prominent clusters are: *wholesale of live animals and ornamental plants in pots*, concentrated in Holambra (71 and 78 establishments, respectively); *construction and retail of building materials* (111 establishments), concentrated in Jaguariúna and Holambra.

Jacutinga and 47% in Monte Sião, complemented by a relevant commercial sector (38 to 36% of jobs). Monte Sião and Jacutinga concentrate alone, 1,464 establishments, micro and small (up to 100 employees), mainly in the activities of "*Manufacture of textile products*" (CNAE 13) and "*Clothing and accessory clothing*" (CNAE 14). Apparel clothing activity is almost entirely made in establishments of micro size, with up to 19 employees, with the majority having up to 4 employees. Monte Sião accounted for 50% of production in the state of Minas Gerais in the "*Manufacture of garments produced in knitting and knitting garments*" (CNAE 1422-3 / 00) in 2013, while Jacutinga accounted for 28% of production in this segment (RAIS- Mte, 2014).

In general, we return to the conclusions obtained in previous texts that the realities of territorial organization of the Circuit of the waters of the east of São Paulo and of the productive Arrangement of the Circuit of the Minas Gerais South Knitted behave like true "Circuits of arrangements", considering that in the context more regional tourism circuits are diverse specializations and productive clusters and services that function as specific resources and assets (FUINI, 2007; BENKO, PECQUEUR, 2001). This model of territorial organization may be centered on only one arrangement, such as the Circuit of Meshes, Circuit-Arrangement format, or in two or more clusters, in the case of the Circuit of Waters, supported by industry and trade in clothing articles (Amparo, Águas de Lindóia, Serra Negra, Socorro), water bottling / bottling (Lindóia) and decorative ceramics (Pedreira) etc. However, the format of public policy based on the principles of cooperation and socio-territorial coordination that thrived most was that of tourist circuits.

In general, this can be cited as an attempt to construct "differentiating advantages", according to Pecqueur (2009), based on the specification of resources, in relation to comparative advantages exclusively in costs and prices.

For territories, it is a question of not specializing according to the logic of the comparative scheme, but rather of escaping from the laws of competition when they become impossible to follow, for the production for which they would be (in the ideal model) in a monopoly situation. This type of behavior calls into question the cut based on national productive systems (given spaces), since the initiatives are not the result of a centralized policy within a nation-state, but of groups of actors mobilized to solve a problem that concerns to the dynamics of productive processes (PECQUEUR, 2009, p.96).

2. Governance in different modalities: Waters TC of SP and Knitwear LPA / TC of the MG

2.1. Contextualization

The Water Circuit of São Paulo has a strong presence in the already consolidated tourism and hotel segment, with the third largest hotel chain in the state (FUINI, 2010) and reaching more than 2 million tourists during the winter vacations of 2017 (<https://g1.globo.com/sp/campinas-regiao>). The governing body for regional governance is the Intermunicipal Consortium for the Development of the Tourism Pole of Águas Paulista Circuit, created in 2004, in association with the mayors of eight municipalities of the region, with the support of Science, Technology, Economic Development and Tourism of the state. Due to its relative precocity as a project to build a regional governance, the Consortium, now headquartered in Serra Negra (Exhibition Center), became a state and national reference for tourism management, according to its manager and managing director, Juliano Belini. Although its scope is limited due to budget constraints and human resources, aspects highlighted in interview.

The construction of the region's image as a tourist destination has been built since the founding of the city of Águas de Lindóia in 1916 by the doctor Francisco Tozzi, discovering hydrotherapeutic and healing properties in the waters of the region. In the years of 1950, the city then denominated of Lindóia, acquires the title of hydromineral resort and, in 1959, is inaugurated the new municipal Balneary. The casino-hotel period, from 1910 to 1940, also encouraged investment in the lodging segment in the region. Today the region stands out for resort, mountain and adventure tourism, polarizing the hotels in Águas de Lindóia, Serra Negra and Socorro and offering attractions for visitation and consumption in the other municipalities of the Circuit.

The diversification of the tourist attraction in the Circuit according to the Águas de Lindóia Tourism Master Plan, 2017-2020 (page 42), is based in three segments prioritized in the tourist destination of that region: - business and events tourism; - ecotourism tourism. Today the region

adheres to the most intense tourism in some counties-hydrominerals counties and aggregates other activities of services, agriculture and industry in other members, such as the flowers of Holambra, pottery of Pedreira, clothing/knitting of Águas de Lindóia, Serra Negra and Amparo etc., constituting what we defined as a circuit of arrangements (FUINI, 2010, 2015).

The Local Production Arrangement of the Knitted Clothes Circuit, named by the Extraordinary Secretariat for Integrated Development and Regional Forums (the managing nucleus of APLs mining policy) in the state of Minas Gerais , is present in the list of policies focused on the industrial segment of small and medium-sized enterprises since the beginning of the 2000s. This territoriality of agglomeration began to constitute a Touristic Circuit in 2005, being certified by the Secretary of State for Tourism in 2006. Since the beginning of 2000, in actions of SEBRAE and BNDES, the region of the Circuit of the meshes is presented as a local productive arrangement. In addition to information on local governance, Fuini (2007, 2015) characterizes regional productive agglomeration as an APL, due to the local economic and institutional density of production in this segment (FUINI, 2007, 2015).

In this way, the region, whose main producing centers are the municipalities of Jacutinga and Monte Sião, is located around two institutional identities in terms of public policies: in general called Knitwear Circuit, term linked to the state policy of support to tourism ; and as a productive arrangement of the Knitwear Circuit itself, or more specifically called the APL of Jacutinga and regional knitwear garments (the other municipalities offer other specificities of the garment segment, such as the Pajamas of Borda da Mata, or work with finishing, as crochet of Inconfidentes). However, the term LPA/APL is little known by local public policy managers, even among those involved with the tourist circuit itself. The governing body of the Knitwear Circuit is the Intermunicipal Association of the Knitwear Circuit of the south of Minas Gerais South, headquartered in Ouro Fino/MG. Its current president, Priscila Daiana de Moraes (Director of Culture and Tourism of Jacutinga), said he believed in the potential of regionalization of tourism, pointing out, however, that municipalities of the circuit are not yet seen in the format of regionalization, they do not see themselves as a group organized.

The tradition of local knitwear goes back to the know-how of Italian immigrants and their descendants who arrived in this region and maintained the habit of working with sewing techniques in knitting and crocheting, especially among women. In the years of 1960 this production happens to be presented in fairs of weekends, being known by tourists who visited the Circuit of the meshes. In the 1980s and 1990s, in particular, there is a technological modernization process that leads many companies in the knitting industry to increase production, capital endowment, investment in machinery (automatic looms) and investments in commercial establishments (FUINI, 2007). This process has led to a strengthening of the rural exodus in these cities, creating a local labor market linked to the clothing segment. In the 2000s, some larger pulps and the demand of the segment for support policies were consolidated. However, labor subcontracting relationships are seen as competitive elements of defensive flexibility (LEBORGNE, LIPIETZ, 1990), with the reconciliation of the modern and the archaic, the upper and lower circuits of the urban economy (SANTOS, 2000). Thus, it is of the most importance to discover something more about the culture of the places that receive human flows, observing what makes a region more or less demanded by different levels of segments of visitors, based on the multiplicity of elements of its supply, of its global patrimony that will add social and economic values to the local development based on the leisure and tourism activity (LEITE; MARQUES, 2008). In the view of the president of the Circuit Association of Circuit, other elements associated with local development, such as memory and identity, resources that would represent a competitive gain to the arrangement/circuit , should be valued. The talk of the Association president is important as a manager who thinks of seeking local specificity, based on culture as a resource/asset, adding value to the tourism product. The know-how of immigrants and descendants of Italians, for example, acts as a differential element in this Circuit.

2.2. Governance bodies and their representatives

2.2.1. Tourist Circuits and state tourism policies

According to Fuini (2013), the Tourist Circuits comprise a certain geographical area, characterized by the predominance of cultural, historical and natural elements, creating an identity between municipalities that consorted, through private and public initiative, to complement tourist

attractions and equipment with increase the flow and the permanence of visitors, with consequent generation of employment and income. It is a concept and a governance tool for territorial planning and tourism management in the face of a growing movement of political decentralization of tourism from the national level to the level of states and municipalities.

It is a governance format, generally supported by inter-municipal consortia or private inter-municipal associations supported by the Ministry of Tourism (MTur) in conjunction with Embratur, to manage the Regionalization Policies including in the National Tourism Plan (PNT) states and municipalities. This decentralized institutional figure is placed in the multi-annual plan for the period 2007-2010, linked to: Program for Planning and Management of Regionalization (PPGR), Program for Structuring of Tourism Segments (PEST), Program for the Structuring of Tourism-Associated Production (PRODETUR), linked to the resources of the Inter-American Development Bank (IADB). In particular, the PPGR is aimed at a set of projects and actions for tourist regions throughout Brazil, ranging from articulation, sensitization and mobilization activities to the elaboration, implementation and institutionalization of the regional governance bodies focused on the strategic plans of the tourist regions (FUINI, 2013). The municipalities of the Water Circuit comprise two bodies of governance: the Bem-Viver Region, defined by the MTur and which gathers more than thirty municipalities, combining the traditional regions of the São Paulo Water and Fruit Circuit; and the region of the Flower Circuit, a term recognized by the state tourism support policy, classifying municipalities as resorts or municipalities of tourist interest.

In the current classification used in the National Tourism Policy (2017-2020) and the Tourism Regionalization Program (PRT), the MTur considers our variables to cater to tourism municipalities⁷: Number of formal establishments whose main activity is lodging (RAIS); Number of regular jobs in the hosting industry; Estimativa of tourists from the study of domestic demand; Estudo of domestic demand (FIPE / MTur). Analyzing the municipalities of the Water Circuit, we can see that most of them occupy group C, and Aguas de Lindóia, Serra Negra and Jacutinga occupy group B, which represents only 4.9% of the municipalities of the Brazilian tourist map, those that on average count on about 36 establishments hoteliers and who receive just over 230 thousand domestic tourists per year. The municipalities of groups C, D and E, are often those that offer support of tourist attractions to the municipalities of groups A and B, but do not concentrate lodging establishments (MTur, 2016). This picture shows that the municipalities of the Circuit of the waters are more focused on the segment of services in leisure and tourism and lodging, offering more hotel establishments and receiving greater flows of tourists.

2.2.1.1. Intermunicipal Consortium of the Water Circuit

The Intermunicipal Consortium for the Development of the Touristic Pole of the Águas Paulista Circuit was officialized in 2004, through discussions that had been being articulated by municipal managers since 2000/2001, being carried out in 2005. In the Consortium of Water Circuit⁸ there are two decision-making institutes: 1^o. The meeting of tourism managers (involving tourism secretaries, sports, press) and members of municipal councils and regional tourism council, with activities presided over by a consortium manager and convened as being open to members of the private sector and of general society (by invitation, therefore closed to the population in

⁷ There are five categories of municipalities, according to the publication "Categorization of the municipalities of the tourist regions of the Brazilian Tourism Map" (2016): Category A (high impact): 51 municipalities, 2401 direct jobs in lodging; 190 lodging establishment; 140,474 international tourists / year; 1,775,071 domestic tourists / year; Category B (considerable impact): 167 municipalities; 458 jobs and 36 establishments / accommodations, 7,535 international tourists and 235,855 domestic tourists; Category C (average impact): 504 municipalities, 98 jobs-11 establishments / lodging, 587 international tourists and 58,851 domestic tourists; Category D (low impact): 1841 municipalities; 11 jobs / 2 average establishments / lodging, 9041 domestic tourists; Category E (without presence of tourist activity): 782 municipalities (MTur, 2016).

⁸ Information based on an interview with Juliano Belini, manager and administrative director of the Intermunicipal Consortium of the Circuit of Waters, held on March 27, 2018.

general) ; 2º.) the mayors meeting⁹ maximum decision-making body occurring every three months, deciding on major investment issues and Statute items. They are open only to guests.

In an interview granted by the manager of the consortium (Mr. Juliano Belini), it is said that in these councils the search is always for forming consensuses. Decisions, especially in the meeting of mayors, are taken by simple majority for those who have voice and vote. The main problems and difficulties in the operationalization of governance is to count on the active participation of managers and greater involvement of some municipalities, mainly to reconcile interests in the construction of a Regional Tourism Master Plan for the Circuit, a major goal of the current management. Human resources can also be expanded, especially for the HR (Human Resources) team and administrative support of the Consortium. However, the manager's perception is that the Consortium brought benefits due to the commitment of managers, one of the most organized in the country, being a point of convergence among the members as to the necessary age partnerships with Secretary State s and other organs, as well as resource mobilization for participation in external events and fairs that present attractive of municipalities.

The Consortium of the water circuit manifests as **Block and Socioterritorial Power Network**, since the government, business community and civil society have, in these structures , some space to manifest in and debate on matters of public interest, and the embryo forms of **concertation and socio-territorial pacts** .

However, these latter categories (*concertation and covenant*) are still incomplete in relation to the meaning given by Dallabrida; Becker (2003, 2007) and Dallabrida ; Marchesan (2016), since they do not come to constitute decentralized and voluntary forms based on decisions of organized societies, since it is the public powers of the municipality that guide the negotiations and decision-making process, through regionalized politics from above, by the Ministry of Tourism and Secretary of Tourism of São Paulo State.

Thus, the governance model of the inter-municipal Consortium is based on two decision-making chambers: one that is more consultative, which directs guidelines for the manager and has certain participation of civil society, and another deliberative, which decides on the use of resources and lawsuits with government state and federal, with exclusive participation of municipal public authorities. It is a model of **State-private Governance** in which the State (the municipalities, in this case) and public institutions (in this case, the secretariats) coordinate the territorial strategies in negotiation with the private sector, offering certain services and resources demanded by the actors private partnerships and organized society. This categorization is in accordance with the information obtained in the "*Catalog of Tourist Circuits-Águas Paulista*", stating that this action (series of tourist catalogs) was developed by SEBRAE-SP, with the support of local governments and São Paulo businessmen (SEBRAE -SP, 2016) .

This aspect reinforces what Harvey (2005) discusses about the change in the style of urban governance that since the 1970s, especially in the central capitalist countries, has been replacing the model of urban planning and administration by the entrepreneurship model, more associated to public-private partnerships, the political economy of the place and the vision of commercialization of the urban space through the idea of competing cities, exploiting competitive advantages for the production of goods and services and seeking to improve the competitive position of the locality/sector in the space division consumption. This connotation appears in the speech of the manager of the Consortium when affirming that with the application of Law n. 1261 April 29, 2015, defining the classification of municipalities as resorts and municipalities of tourist interest, it is necessary to increase the performance of municipal tourism consortia in encouraging projects and stimulating regional competitiveness.

2.2.1.2. Intermunicipal Association of the Knitwear Circuit of South of Minas Gerais South

The Intermunicipal Association of the Knitwear Circuit was officialized in 2005, as an effort to obtain certification and adaptation to the state tourism policy model implemented in the first term of Aécio Neves (PSDB). According to the current president of the entity (since 2017), the

⁹ The ordinary meetings and administrative management of the Consortium are located next to the Serra Negra Convention Center.

Cultural and Tourism Director¹⁰ of encouraging the regionalization of tourism in the South of Minas Gerais and complying with legal guidelines and requirements of the Ministry of Tourism to effect the tourist potential of each municipality. Thus, the association of creation would have been a measure to comply with legal requirements for transfer of ICMS (Tax on Goods Circulation s and Services) by the state to tourist circuits with certification.

The Circuit works with a board of directors formed by the presidency, currently held by Jacutinga, a vice-presidency, occupied by the Secretary of Government and Tourism of Monte Sião, the Advertising and Advertising Board, occupied by Borda da Mata/Inconfidentes and Treasury , in Ouro Fino. The headquarters are in Ouro Fino, since the founding of the Association, with the local trade association. The idea is to have rotation in positions, but for bureaucratic reasons some members remain. Every two years there are elections. Ordinary meetings occur bimonthly and are restricted to board members. There are meetings that can be opened, scheduled according to demands (and: there would be a meeting that same week for the organization of a *Regional Mountain Bike Cup*), the specific meetings. These would be the decision-making bodies of the Circuit's core of governance. The meeting guidelines are defined by the president and the manager. The manager organizes the meetings and agenda and handles the accounting issue, acting in Ouro Fino since 2010. The decisions are taken by acclamation.

According to the interviewee, the positive points that come with Tourist Circuit governance stem from the proposal to bring a regionalization vision to tourism development. This grouping of municipalities occurs through shopping tourism, with the bias of the knitwear, but there may be other attractions, such as historical patrimony. The negative points are that municipalities still do not see themselves as a group, being a challenge to make the CT more effective within a strategic planning. The project is to work towards greater empowerment of the Association in the face of a timid framework of actions of the past. Other challenge would be to expand participation in the CT, breaking the monopoly that currently exists of trade associations. ACIJA (Jacutinga Trade Association), for example, would offer greater resistance to expanding participation in the regional association for members of civil society.

The association manifests as **Block and power network** (DALLABRIDA, BECKER, 2003), with localized historical actors and territorially and constitute segments of society civil it rganizados and represented by s selves leaders. It positions itself thereby as an example of the practice of **social Coordination** and decentralized social management and shared . To achieve the conditions m **Socioterritorial Pact** lacks a shared vision of the future. It is a **state-private Governance** at the stage of implementation in which State and public institutions coordinate territorial strategies and mobilize resources with the private sector. However, the tradition of the past was a **Private -colective Governance** (FUINI, 2010 ; PIRES, FUINI, et al., 2017), in which the governance depended on key actors that bring together private operators focused on the structuring of local and regional productive space. This conceptualization becomes clear when it is known that the former president of the Intermunicipal Association was the current president of the Commercial and Business Association of Jacutinga (ACIJA).

Conclusions

The modalities of brazilian territorial governance investigated in this article were the Tourist Circuits (TCs) and Local Productive Arrangements (LPAs). However, in the specific territories only the governance management centers of the Tourist Circuits policies were identified: in the case of the Circuit of the waters, with the Intermunicipal Consortium of the tourist pole; and in the case of the Knitwear Circuit, with the Intermunicipal Association. In general, data and interviews lead us to the conclusion that these are forms of socialterritorial networks and blocks involving public power and segments of the business, mainly. The challenge, in both cases, is to build forms of pact and concertation, involving civil society more intensively, even if such expansions suffer resistance within the structures themselves.

As for the economic weight and institutional density, the Circuit of the Waters region acts as a **Nucleus Ring with Municipalities that are predominant** in the generation of value and

¹⁰ This position is linked to that of the Municipal Secretariat of Government, Economic Development, Culture and Tourism of the municipality of Jacutinga / MG.

establishments and jobs in tourism, such as Águas de Lindóia and Serra Negra, but which depend on the others in TCS, some of them more relevant in economic and infrastructure terms, such as Jaguariúna and Amparo, which act as "gateways" for investment and tourism flows to more specialized municipalities. It can also be treated as **Ring without Nucleus** since the most touristified municipalities are counterbalanced, in the Circuit, by others with greater impact in the industrial production and offer of varied services. In the Knitwear Circuit it is more noticeable to organization in **Ring nucleus with predominant municipalities**, in the case of Jacutinga and Monte Sião, since they account for a significant number of jobs/establishments and value in the sector of "Apparel clothing", but they depend on others in the governance body since there is the same power of participation. Local specialization in different segments of textile and garment production also favors this complementarity. In general, the interviewed actors allowed to consider that these are forms of **State-private Governance**, in which public institutions assume the coordination and mobilization of resources in intense dialogue and under the influence of private initiative. In the case of the Knit Circuit, this governance also **Private-collective**, due to the weight of the participation (in voice and vote) of the business associations in the Association.

Finally, with regard to the principles of democratic and tripartite governance, it was verified that the criteria of **Focus**, **Mechanisms and Transparency**, are evaluated with a Medium and High concept, with a positive perception regarding the objectives, operative devices and quality of the governance relationships. The criterion of **Participation** was questioned in some of the interviews, with evaluation in the middle level. There have been complaints about the spontaneous interest of the actors in attending meetings and training activities, a difficulty at certain times in cooperating in a collaborative way. The other criteria are also evaluated positively, in the **Accountability** case, **Coherence**, **Confidence and Subsidiarity/Conflicts**, being at medium to high or high levels. Already, the item **Autonomy** had a medium to low-average evaluation due to the restriction of cadres and budgets of secretaries and trade unions in their territorial performance focused on tourism development policies (PIRES et al, 2017).

The general conclusion is that the governance modalities of the regional territories of the State of São Paulo and Minas Gerais for the Tourist Circuits can be considered reasonably successful, since both have more than ten years of construction and, in spite of internal and external conflicts, still exist and has adherence of the local actors, responding by certain procedures and policies for the sector. The same is not seen with the policy for LPAs, unknown to the actors and disrupted in institutional and financial terms. However, aspects regarding the financial limitation of the structures dependent on other levels of government, irregular participation of municipalities and the non-involvement of workers' organizations and other civil society movements compromises the democratic, tripartite, decentralized and endogenous character of development. And such a scenario is directly associated with short-term visions of public policy planning and often too much centralization in certain public or private actors that do not legitimately represent the aspirations of the local community at large.

And finally, the territory (or land use) appears as a fundamental dimension of governance structures in circuits and the LPAs once they are built and deployed around relationships, processes and social struggles linked to forms of insertion and rooting economic, political, cultural and social, being recognized prospective multi/Cross - scale and configure different formats (territoriality) and rhythms (temporality) appropriation of space and dynamics and movements in space, such as de-re-territorialization of capital, that sought via technological revolution, and in work, that imposed and that leads to uprooting, exclusion and social precarization.

The construction and consolidation of forms of governance should not, and can not, be based solely on political and economic elements, on the capital-state relationship, since every development project mobilizes cultural factors and generates considerable social and environmental impacts. In this sense, the restricted (entrepreneurial) forms of governance are differentiated, which bring the vision of public policy management as a business, and a vision of territorial governance considered democratic and plural. While the former may lead to deterritorialization through unemployment and precariousness (defensive competitiveness), the latter may appear as its counter-face, promoting economic sustainability and social inclusion, encouraging re-territorialization movements.

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SUPPLEMENT

Table 1 . Modalities of territorial governance

Governance as a process	Governance as a set of principles		Governance as a coordination strategy	Governance as hierarchy and network format
<p>SOCIOTERRITORIAL BLOCK: a group of locally and territorially located actors who, through the leadership they carry out locally, assume the task of promoting the definition of new directions for territorial development, through public-private consultation processes that contemplate the democratic-participative character;</p> <p>TERRITORIAL CONCERTATION: A process in which representatives of the different socio-territorial power networks , through voluntary conciliation and mediation procedures, take over the practice of territorial management in a decentralized way;</p> <p>TERRITORIAL POWER NETWORKS: refers to each of the segments of the society organized territorially, represented by its leaders, constituting the main power structure that, at each moment in history, assumes hegemonic position, becoming able to give the political-ideological direction to the development process;</p> <p>SOCIOTERRITORIAL PACTOS: agreements or adjustments resulting from social conciliation processes, occurring between the different representatives of a territorially organized society, related to the definition of its future development project.</p>	<p>FOCUS : Clarity in defining the objectives of the institutional structure that facilitates the performance of managers and participants, and the point where the actions related to public policies at a local / regional, state and national level converge.</p> <p>MECHANISMS: Devices that seek to disseminate and operationalize the principles of territorial governance (meetings, working groups, audiences, negotiation tables, etc.), aimed at reaching the expectations of the agents.</p> <p>TRANSPARENCY: Quality of social relations between actors that allows evidence in actions directed to the objectives, clarity in the definition of the roles and responsibilities of the actors, the commitment of managers and leaders with the publication and public access to information and data.</p> <p>PARTICIPATION: Quality and balance of the composition of social and political representation, which allows the act or effect to take part in the decision-making processes, respecting the conditions of equality / inequality of the actors, organizations and institutions.</p> <p>REPRESENTATIVITY : The democratic quality of the social and political participation of the actors, which guarantees the representatives a collective discourse that allows to know what and who participates, how to participate and the consequences of participation.</p>	<p>ACCOUNTABILITY: Quality of responsibility and obligation to generate information and data, accountability, interaction of arguments and justify actions that are no longer undertaken.</p> <p>COHERENCE: Quality of actions and the integration of agents with the focus, state or attitude of a harmonious relationship between situations, events or ideas; capable of strengthening the practice of decentralized territorial management to promote agreements and adjustments related to the development project.</p> <p>TRUST: Effectiveness and consensus of actions, security or credit deposited in leaderships and managers, which inspire cooperation and good practices of decentralized territorial management, to promote agreements and adjustments related to the governance development project.</p> <p>SUBSIDIARITY: Structural resources for aids, agents or elements that reinforce or complement another of greater importance, or for this to converge.</p> <p>AUTONOMY: Relative faculty of structure to govern itself in relation to the State and public policies.</p>	<p>PRIVATE GOVERNANCE: They are dominant private organizations that drive and pilot devices of coordination of resources with the objective of private appropriation of the territory. In this case, the large enterprise (a large group) appears as the engine of the system, which structures the local and regional productive space;</p> <p>PRIVATE-COLLECTIVE GOVERNANCE: The key actor is a formal organization that groups private operators and drives the coordination of resources and strategies. In this case, it is the employers' and business unions that group private operators, which structure the local and regional productive space;</p> <p>STATE-PRIVATE GOVERNANCE: The State and public institutions promote the coordination of resources and territorial strategies with the private sector. In this case, through public agencies, municipalities and collective services, demanded by public or private actors of the territory;</p> <p>PUBLIC-TRIPARTITE GOVERNANCE: These are public institutions, private organizations and civil society, which together foster shared coordination of resources and territorial strategies. In this case, through Chambers, Councils, Consortia, Committees, Agencies or Forums focused on the management of public policies. They are mixed and rare situations, of relative autonomy and without a priori unilateral domination.</p>	<p>RING WITHOUT NUCLEUS : Absence of permanent leader municipality, with shared direction (according to projects). Absence of hierarchy.</p> <p>ANEL-NÚCLEO WITH ECONOMICALLY PREPONDERANT MUNICIPALITY: The economically strongest municipality occupies a dominant position; is the driving force of the regional productive chain, but can not survive alone, nor condition the existence of other producing municipalities in the system. There is a certain hierarchy.</p> <p>CORE RING WITH LEADING MUNICIPALITY : The leading municipality is largely independent of other neighboring producing municipalities, which gives it the possibility to determine, at least partially, its periphery; therefore, their business structure conditions the existence of their neighbors' businesses. Hierarchical asymmetric power.</p> <p>CORE WITHOUT RING : The productive chain is internalized in only a single motor city of the chain</p>

Source: Pires; Fuini , Figueiredo Filho, Mendes (2017).



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