

The Power of Unconventional Growth:

Brazilian regional government's promotion of culturally sustainable entrepreneurship for traditional communities

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ABSTRACT:

Brazil has made significant progress towards improving the conditions for its population. However, it continues to face several challenges regarding poverty reduction, environmental protection and cultural preservation, especially for indigenous peoples and quilombolas. Through the analysis of three existing regional programs that tackle these issues (Vale do Futuro-SP; Programa Maranhão Quilombola- MA and Economia Popular Solidária - MG), this paper assesses the existing policies, their impacts in traditional communities and the existing challenges to their implementation. The paper argues that regional government's promotion of culturally sustainable entrepreneurship is a key method to improve social and political, economic, environmental, and cultural conditions for traditional peoples and communities. However, these programs need to overcome several existing challenges for its successful implementation, including lack of governmental political awareness, lack of resources and technical training, the commodification of poverty, lack of impact evaluation of programs, discontinuity of public policies, lack of certification of traditional communities and difficulties of creating transversal programs.

Keywords: Traditional peoples and communities; Quilombolas; Indigenous Peoples; Regional governments; Culturally sustainable entrepreneurship; Brazil



Image 1: Painting by Adolphe¹, exposed in the 15^o Bienal Naifs do Brasil, in 2020. Photo taken by the author.

The floors of our houses and the farm roads were made of earth. Of clay, only, which was also used to make the food for our corn cob dolls, and from which almost everything we ate sprouted. Where we buried the remains of childbirth and the navels of the unborn. Where we buried the remains of our bodies. - Itamar Vieira Junior (2019) in ‘Torto Arado’².

¹ Adolphe is a Haitian refugee that was welcomed in the city Embu das Artes, São Paulo, Brazil. In his art, he usually depicts black and rural communities and their daily activities.

² Torto Arado is a novel by Itamar Vieira Junior in which the author highlights, through fiction, the inequality that persists in the most remote rural areas of Brazil. It is a story about reconstructing the ethical identity of traditional peoples associated with the land.

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INTRODUCTION

Traditional peoples – indigenous peoples and quilombolas - play a vital role in fostering sustainable development for society. However, they have historically been on the margins, facing widespread and persistent discrimination and usually being considered invisible to politicians and general society. This has an impact on their wellbeing, on their rights and on their access to justice (Droubi and Heffron, 2020). Traditional communities in Brazil have suffered from inequality and racism since the colonization period, and the current capitalist system is not compatible with these communities' needs. More specifically, capitalism and racist ideology are inextricably linked. It has been argued that the use of slave labor for the formation of former slaves made mercantile capitalism viable. These inequalities were left as colonial heritage, which despite all the transformations that the country has undergone, remains widespread in society (Bersani, 2018). Although slavery left deep marks on Brazilian society as a whole and on black racial groups and indigenous peoples in particular, the persistence and continuity of ethno-racial prejudice are consequences of the economic and social model adopted by the public authorities, which internalizes an intimate connection with institutional racism. In other words, a social model permeated with both economic inequalities and racial discrimination is built, legitimized by the State itself, throughout history (Batista da Silva, 2017).

It is for these reasons that new instruments for the promotion of ethno-racial equality are necessary. The implementation of localized public policies, capable of giving more efficient answers to the serious problem of ethno-racial inequalities existing in our society, is presented as a requirement in the construction of a country with greater social justice.

I chose Brazil as a case study for two main reasons. First, because being Brazilian myself and having spent most of my childhood living there, I am deeply interested in learning more about Brazilian public policy and identifying how the country can improve its economic and social conditions. Secondly, because the country is known internationally for the struggles and movements of traditional communities for the respect of their rights. In recent decades, the Brazilian state has been implementing public policies aimed at overcoming ethnic-racial inequalities in the country (Batista da Silva, 2017). However, in the last few years the federal government has not prioritized this struggle. As Brazil is a federal state, its political structure and divisions of power allow us to focus on the actions and measures taken by regional

governments instead. Despite the racist messages from the central government, they continue to take concrete actions to reduce poverty associated with these communities and to alleviate the general difficulties they face.

Although this issue, at first glance, may seem to be a local or domestic political issue, it is entirely linked to global domination tendencies, and imposed economic systems and ways of living in the country. Moreover, the improvement of the conditions of traditional communities is beneficial for the entire world. It is important to emphasize that although this paper comments on the specific case of Brazil, the reality of these communities and the difficulties they face are shared by thousands of communities around the world. Thus, it is of utmost importance to study possible economic alternatives that contribute to improving traditional communities' conditions. In the future, these can be taken as good practices by other governments or as lessons learned to continue working on the subject in other states of Brazil, in Latin America or other countries and continents that share a similar situation.

Unconventional growth is a concept created in this paper, taking as inspiration the theory and philosophy of *El Buen Vivir*. It is about leaving the conventional and traditional way of growing, which is determined by the economic system and the global dominant forces as the 'right' way to grow. Instead, it proposes an alternative growth through the valorization of other dimensions of life: culture and identity, social wellbeing, the relation with nature and the inheritance of knowledge.

For these reasons, the general objective of this paper is to identify the existing Brazilian regional policies that promote culturally sustainable entrepreneurship (CSE from now on), analyze its impacts on traditional communities and determine the challenges in implementation of the policies in the Brazilian context. More specifically, the objectives include to provide a historical and legal framework of traditional communities in Brazil (quilombolas and indigenous peoples) and detect the difficulties faced by them, to identify the regional public policies and programs that promote CSE for traditional communities in three regions of the country (São Paulo, Minas Gerais and Maranhão), to analyze the impact these measures and policies have on traditional communities and to determine which are the challenges for the implementation of these policies. h

Considering this, the primary goal of this study is to answer the following research question: *Is regional governments' promotion of culturally sustainable entrepreneurship in Brazil useful to improve the conditions faced by traditional communities in the country?*

Despite the existing progress regarding the recognition of rights of traditional communities, quilombolas and indigenous peoples in Brazil continue to face many hardships. The current system and structural racism accentuate these difficulties. This paper argues that Regional governments' promotion of culturally sustainable entrepreneurship is a key method to improve social and political, economic, environmental and cultural conditions for indigenous and quilombola communities. However, these programs need to overcome several existing challenges for its successful implementation, including lack of governmental political awareness, lack of resources and technical training, the commodification of poverty, lack of impact evaluation of programs, discontinuity of public policies, lack of certification of traditional communities and difficulties of creating transversal programs.

Methodology

To argue the thesis statement and meet the defined objectives, this paper analyzes the topic through a qualitative approach and through post-colonialist theories complemented with the El Buen Vivir approach. The relevance of using these theories to make this analysis - as explained in the beginning of this section - lies on the fact that the difficulties faced by traditional communities in Brazil come from historical colonization, slavery, and depreciation of original and ancestral knowledge over Western values and objectives. Despite the changes in the country in the last centuries, these difficulties continue to exist through ethno-racial discrimination that has been normalized and maintained by the international and economic systems. Some of the Brazilian authors that tackle these issues in their studies are Bersani (2018), Hasenbalg (1979), Batista da Silva (2017), Penna-Firme and Brondizio (2007) and Lopes Correia (2019).

El Buen Vivir theory and philosophy is taken as inspiration for the proposal of alternative instruments for improving the conditions of traditional communities, as it is based on overcoming the idea that capitalism is the only possible way to think and live by. The system is based on the exponential growth of goods and services, which implies the unlimited exploitation of the planet's natural and human resources. The transfer of knowledge from the developed world to the developing world becomes a mandate of a unique and unquestionable truth. This 'truth' ends up subjugating or ignoring any and all perspectives arising outside the Western canon of the formation of modernity and capitalism as a civilizing project (Cuadra, 2015). El Buen Vivir warns us about the infeasibility of continuing to maintain the current production and consumption scheme, conceived as a legitimate growth device based on the

permanent accumulation of material goods. For el Buen Vivir, wealth does not consist in having and accumulating as many goods as possible, but in achieving a balance between the fundamental needs of humanity and the resources available to satisfy them. Moreover, according to el Buen Vivir, material goods are not the only determinants, since there are other values at stake (Gudynas, 2011; Acosta, 2008).

This paper assesses the existing policies, their impacts in traditional communities and the existing challenges to their implementation through three case studies chosen from three regional governments in Brazil: 1) Selo Quilombos do Maranhão, from the Government of Maranhão; 2) Economia Popular Solidária, from the Government of Minas Gerais; and 3) Vale do Futuro, from the Government of São. The three states have been chosen for their high number of traditional communities. Minas Gerais has the second largest number of quilombos - with 1.021 recognized quilombos-, followed by Maranhão - with 866 recognized quilombos (IBGE, n/d). In the case of São Paulo, the state has one of the largest numbers of auto-declared indigenous peoples - 41.794 indigenous persons, and only in the city of São Paulo, there are more than 38 indigenous ethnicities (IBGE, 2012).

The sources used to carry out the research are both primary and secondary. In terms of primary sources, this paper uses information from the official website of the three studied regional governments. The information gathered through the websites include program details from various secretariats from each regional government³. Moreover, the information from the official website has also been complemented with local voices gathered from local newspapers articles and videos. These articles and videos comment on the implementation of some of the programs and interview local citizens that participate in them to obtain their perspective. The sources include Reporter Maranhão, O Maranhense, TV Andradas and Mesa de Debates. Finally, because of the lack of accessible information about the challenges of implementing the programs for traditional communities in Brazil, a semi-structured interview was conducted to

³ More in detail, the secretariats analyzed in São Paulo have been: Secretariat of Regional Development, Secretariat of Economic Development and Secretariat of Environment. In Minas Gerais: Secretariat of Integrated Development, Secretariat for Social Development Secretariat of Environment and Secretariat of Economic Development. Finally, in Maranhão: Secretariat of Industry, Commerce and Energy, Extraordinary Secretariat for Racial Equality, Secretariat of Tourism, Secretariat of Labor and Solidary Economy, Secretariat of Social Development and Secretariat of Culture

Dr. Fernando Rei⁴. The information obtained from the interview was supported with official governmental reports.

The structure of the paper is divided into 6 chapters. The first chapter corresponds to this introduction, followed by the literature review, which compiles existing research and findings about entrepreneurship and identifies some of the existing gaps. The third chapter is the empirical study chapter. This chapter is developed through four subsections: 1) the historical and legal background of traditional communities in Brazil and the difficulties faced by them; 2) the mapping of programs and the development of the case studies from the three regions; 3) the impact analysis of the programs in quilombolas and indigenous communities; and finally, 4) the identification of challenges and some recommendations to deal with them. The fourth chapter is the concluding remarks, which determines the main conclusions from the study, the contribution of the paper, the limitations encountered by the author and proposals for future research. Finally, there is a bibliography and two annexes: the interview transcript conducted to Dr. Fernando Rei and a table that compiles details about all the programs in the three states that are (at least somehow) related to CSE and/or traditional peoples.

⁴ Dr. Fernando Rei is the founder and member of the Directive Council of the Political Action Network for Sustainability, professor at PhD in Law in the Catholic University of Santos and former Chief Executive Officer of CETESB (the São Paulo state government agency responsible for the control, inspection, monitoring and licensing of pollution-generating activities).

LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review recompiles the most important definitions and characteristics of entrepreneurship; the negative side of entrepreneurship; the relation between governments and entrepreneurship; the definition and challenges of a new related body of literature: sustainable entrepreneurship; the relation between entrepreneurship and vulnerable communities (developing countries in general, but also minorities like quilombolas and indigenous communities); the definition of CSE; and finally a comment on the main gaps found in the literature and the need for further research in some specific areas.

Entrepreneurship is considered a very complex term, which has been defined by a large number of experts in a multitude of ways⁵. Some take a behavioral approach, while others focus on the risk-taking aspect or on the creation of economic development/income. However, for the operational sake of this paper, entrepreneurship is considered as the process of creation of local start-ups and/or of small and medium businesses. It can also encompass innovations in existing small or medium local companies (Gedeon, 2010).

Minniti (2008), Zahra and Wright (2011) and Xing, Liu and Cooper (2018) have argued that governments are key institutional actors that influence entrepreneurial activity. According to Novejarque Civera, Pisá Bó and López-Muñoz (2020), several factors influence the creation of a start-up: the founder's personal background and personality, their entrepreneurial education, geographical labor market mobility and experience, and, lastly, the conditions for the start-up in their region of residence. Individuals' decisions to create and run their own enterprises are influenced by region-specific elements (Novejarque Civera, Pisá Bó and López-Muñoz, 2020; Fritsch and Storey, 2014). Hence, the presence of highly encouraging and supporting regional entrepreneurial conditions can help create entrepreneurs (Novejarque Civera, Pisá Bó and López-Muñoz, 2020; Gartner 1985; Fischer and Nijkamp, 2019). In two studies (Spencer, Murtha and Lenway, 2005; Xing, Liu and Cooper, 2018) it has been argued that governments have the ability to lay out and nourish innovative proposals that encourage local and regional

⁵ For a detailed historical analysis on the main definitions of 'entrepreneurship', please see "Table 1. Summary of the Major Definitions that Provide Alternative Sub-Domain Adjectives of Entrepreneurship" in Gedeon, S. (2010) What is Entrepreneurship. *Entrepreneurial practice review*, vol. 1(3).

development. Also, they can contribute to entrepreneurship by creating institutional arrangements that support and foster entrepreneurial activity.

Baumol, a notable author in this sector, highlights that “we do not have to wait patiently for slow cultural change in order to find measures to redirect the flow of entrepreneurial activity toward more productive goals [...] [I]t may be possible to change the rules in ways that help to offset undesired institutional influences or that supplement other influences that are taken to work in beneficial directions” (Baumol, 1990). Some of the policies that subnational governments can take to facilitate and promote entrepreneurial activity are the reduction of negative externalities, giving tax benefits, grants and special state services for business, such as specialized trainings and capacity building, centers for the development of small enterprises, as well as incubators, business parks, and other types of infrastructure (Santos, 2012, p. 341).

Baumol (1990) has defined destructive entrepreneurship as those that are unproductive or that contribute negatively to society. Although the examples he proposed of rent-seeking entrepreneurs or criminal organizations can still be identified today, other types of unproductive entrepreneurship can be considered. Some examples would be those that contribute to global warming and environmental degradation, but also “nuclear radiation, unequal access to healthcare and education, poverty, and long-term unemployment” (Hoogendoorn, van der Zwan and Thurik, 2017, p. 1135).

To tackle this, since the decade of the 2000s, academics have increasingly started to study a specific type of entrepreneurship that combines the creation of economic growth, with environmental and social elements. This type of entrepreneurship is focused on guaranteeing the well-being of current, but especially future humanity (Volkman et al, 2021), which is called sustainable entrepreneurship (CSE). Sustainable entrepreneurs intend to contribute to sustainable development⁶ (Hoogendoorn, van der Zwan and Thurik, 2017). Hummels and Argyrou (2021) have defined sustainable entrepreneurship as “the process of discovering, evaluating, and exploiting opportunities, which are economically, environmentally, planetarily, and socially relevant and present themselves in market failures which detract from

⁶ described by the 1987 Brundtland Commission Report as “development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs“ (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987)

sustainability in general and the planetary boundaries in particular”. The 2030 Development Agenda and the adoption of the UN Sustainable Development Goals creates a global framework for partnership and cooperation in a multi-governmental and multi-sectoral way, which has favored the proliferation of institutional assistance programs that focus on implementing sustainable entrepreneurship efforts (Volkman et al, 2021).

It is key to consider that sustainable entrepreneurs find unique challenges and obstacles while starting their firms. Some of the barriers identified are lack of financial resources, difficulty of administrative procedures and bureaucracy, and lack of information on start-ups (Hoogendoorn, van der Zwan and Thurik, 2017, p. 1134). As a result of these increased challenges, they have more dependency on government support (Groot and Pinske, 2015). To tackle this, authors suggest that governments take specific action to facilitate these processes and increase sustainable and productive entrepreneurship. In Europe, for example, the majority of new entrepreneurs receive some sort of funding, grant or donation by governments (Hoogendoorn, van der Zwan and Thurik, 2017). Authors also suggest that sustainable entrepreneurs need different support from traditional entrepreneurs and that it can be useful to implement sustainable entrepreneurship training both in regards to general entrepreneurial skills but also regarding environment and social challenges (Hoogendoorn, van der Zwan and Thurik, 2017).

Developing countries’ societies lack entrepreneurial support from governments. While developed countries have university courses or other types of training and capacity building, government funds, and specific policies that support entrepreneurs, developing countries have more difficulties to create new ventures and maintain them through time: “Overcoming these differences in attitudes is not straightforward given the policy, financial and institutional constraints present in developing countries; however, the evidence here suggests that it is a necessary challenge to undertake” (Doran, McCarthy, O’Connor, 2018, p. 10).

If we go more in detail about special public necessities in entrepreneurship, it can be clearly seen that minorities face extra layers of challenges to enter the business and entrepreneurship sector. Colonialism has had a long-term and detrimental impact in indigenous peoples and descendants of African enslaved people, leaving them economically and politically disadvantaged. The expansion of neoliberal principles stressing privatization, deregulation, and market efficiency at the detriment of the local and native economy has proved to be extremely harmful for such minorities. CSE has been recently suggested as the framework for addressing economic adversity through entrepreneurship. Hence, it must be included in every

entrepreneurial plan or strategy dealing with indigenous and other non-mainstream cultures (like quilombos) (Swanson and DeVereaux, 2017).

Instead of imposing entrepreneurial models based solely on economic growth that modify the conditions and values within a community, CSE promotes adjusting entrepreneurial strategies that preserve and develop the communities' values and traditions for their own self-defined advantages. It requires that actors reject economic drivers as the exclusive objective of these projects, and instead consider cultural, social and environmental goals as major parts of the activity. In the current setting, entrepreneurship that does not have considerations or concerns for the preservation and protection of traditional peoples will have destructive impacts, rather than benefits. Traditional communities recognize the need of participating in the global economy, but they should do it in a way that is respectful to their values and community (Swanson and DeVereaux, 2017).

Although recently a lot of academics have advanced on this topic in developed countries, there continues to be a strong gap of knowledge of CSE in developing contexts (Bansal, Garg and Depp Sharma, 2019). The information available in Brazil is still very recent and there continues to be limitations in the understanding of the impacts of subnational governments' actions to promote CSE for traditional communities. Hence, this work attempts to contribute to filling these gaps by gathering information on the current conditions and public policies to promote and encourage CSE for minorities like indigenous peoples and quilombolas in Brazil.

EMPIRICAL STUDY

FRAMEWORK

To understand why regional governments' promotion of CSE is adequate for indigenous and quilombolas communities in Brazil, it is important to understand first the specific realities of these communities and the difficulties they continue to face in Brazil up to this day.

Brazil's colonization started in 1530. The colonization strategy used by Europeans had as specific characteristics territory exploration slave labour (from indigenous peoples and African people) and indigenous land grabbing (Lopes Correia, 2019). This was a system that was cruelly rooted in Brazilian history, and which holds deep marks in Brazilians daily lives (Lopes Correia, 2021 and Schwarcs e Gomes, 2018). Currently in Brazil there is great racial and ethnic diversity. In recognition of this diversity, the Federal Government established the National Policy for Sustainable Development of Traditional Peoples and Communities (through Decree 6040/2007). Based on this, it formally recognises the existence of traditional peoples and communities, defining them as "[...] culturally differentiated groups that recognise themselves as such, which have their own forms of social organization, occupy and use territories and natural resources as a condition for their cultural, social, religious, ancestral and economic reproduction, using knowledge, innovations and practices generated and transmitted by tradition", as stated in clause I of Article 3 of the Decree (Brazil, 2007).

Quilombolas are recognized as members of rural communities that are formed by descendants of enslaved people (Penna-Firme and Brondizio, 2007). Initially, the origin of Quilombolas communities is the African ancestry of enslaved black people who fled slavery and took refuge in the forests. As time went by, many of these fugitives gathered in certain places, forming tribes, also known as 'quilombos'⁷. However, the concept of quilombo goes beyond that. It encompasses the identity of a community, the affirmation of their culture, customs, social organization, resistance practices and autonomy from the rest of society. In this case, resistance does not refer specifically to times of slavery or short after, but it refers to the right to exist with their traditions, cultures and customs, in a land that actually belongs to them, through

⁷ To clarify, the term 'quilombolas' refers to the individuals that are members of the 'quillombos' – the communities of quilombolas and/or the physical place where they reside.

protection and respect for nature, as a primordial part of their religiosity, or through their knowledge of cuisine, values, principles, hierarchy, languages, aesthetics and clothing (Manuel da Silva and Betanho, 2018).

The UNDP made an estimation that the number of quilombolas in the country is more than 2 million people. The IBGE (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics) estimates that in 2019 there were 5,972 quilombola localities in Brazil (quilombos). Of the 5,972 localities, 404 are officially recognized territories, 2,308 are called quilombola groupings, and 3,260 are identified as other quilombola localities (IBGE, n/d). The Brazilian Constitution recognizes quilombolas' rights to land. Art. 68 of the Transitory Constitutional Dispositions Act (ADCT) guarantees to quilombola communities the right to ownership of their lands, determining the State the obligation to issue the respective property title. "The quilombola territories are collective properties of land, and the communities are not allowed to sell, transfer, or rent the land" (Adams et al, 2013). It is worth noting that the conditions to be recognized as quilombola are based on self-recognition.

As for *Indigenous communities, peoples and nations*, in 1986 the UN defined them as:

Those who, relying on a historical continuity of societies prior to the invasion and colonization that was developed in their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of society, and are determined to conserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories and ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in conformity with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal systems (UN Commission on Human Rights, 1986).

It should be highlighted that we say indigenous 'peoples', in plural, because only in Brazilian territory there are more than 300 ethnicities that speak more than 250 languages. According to the last demographic census carried out by the IBGE in 2010, the indigenous peoples of Brazil correspond to a population of 817,963 people. Of these, 502,783 live in rural areas and 315,180 live in urban areas (IBGE, 2012).

The end of indigenous slavery in the country occurred with the establishment of the Indian Directory, which came into force in 1757 (unlike blacks, who only had their formal release decreed in 1888). In 1910, the Indian Protection Service and National Workers' Location Service (SPILTAN) was created, which was renamed Indigenous Protection Service (SPI) in 1918. The policy adopted by the State sought to integrate indigenous peoples into Brazilian society and forced them to abandon their cultures and customs. This was done by making

Portuguese the official language in schools, by providing education along national lines and by denying the cultural diversity of this population (Chagas and Goncalves de Oliveira, 2017).

Until 1988, the prevailing idea in indigenous policy was that indigenous peoples were incapable of defending themselves on their own, and for that reason it was necessary to have the guardianship of the indigenous agency. From 1988, due to pressure from indigenous movements, the State began to defend the rights of indigenous peoples, making room for a differentiated education and for respect for their traditions, organizations and cultures. The practice of guardianship was extinguished (Chagas and Goncalves de Oliveira, 2017). The most relevant indigenous rights recognized by the 1988 Constitution are the right to maintain and preserve their own culture, customs, language, beliefs and traditions; original rights over land and the right of procedural capacity.

Although quilombolas and indigenous communities have their specificities and are very diverse, traditional communities share similar challenges. For example, both groups share struggles with their land. More specifically, indigenous peoples in Brazil face a lot of issues regarding expropriations of indigenous lands⁸ (Rê et al, 2021), while quilombolas face more difficulties regarding the official recognition and certification of such lands (Manuel da Silva and Betanho, 2018). Both indigenous and quilombolas communities are excluded and marginalized by ethno-racial factors. Over the years, especially with the current federal government's priorities, the right to land and territory has been increasingly denied. There has also been a haltering of the majority of related bureaucratic processes, generating several repercussions. One of them is the physical and symbolic violence perpetrated by landowners, farmers and companies that claim to be the owners of those lands (Almeida de Moura and Silva, 2017). Moreover, the lack of official recognition also leads to lack of access to specific public policies that promote the effectiveness of productive inclusion and the valorization of local cultures, to socioeconomic exclusion and the denial of rights (Manuel da Silva and Betanho, 2018). Other challenges faced by traditional communities are lack of access to health, sanitation, no adequate housing, and most of the time an education system that does not respect the ethnic diversity of these groups (Macedo, n/d). Also, these communities are subject to a very high rate of illiteracy,

⁸ Examples of the issues faced by indigenous peoples and quilombolas regarding their land are invasions, squatting, and subdivision of these lands (Rê et al, 202), resulting from agribusiness interests, mining exploration processes, construction of dams and hydroelectric plants (Almeida de Moura and Silva, 2017).

discrimination and racism, death threats, structural racism, and depreciation of identity values (Manuel da Silva and Betanho, 2018; Rê et al, 2021, and Macedo, n/d).

“The foremost challenge for these communities is to find balance between negotiating their own identities, economic aspirations and the expectations created by legal, cultural, and environmental discourses” (Penna-Firme and Brondizio, 2007). In other words, the legal, political and social recognition that the cultural and natural heritage of these communities needs to be protected can be a double-edged sword. In the recent past, it has been used as a justification to avoid taking active measures in these communities to help in their development as they become “frozen in time”. As described by Penna-Firme and Brondizio (2007), they become “a repackaged version of the ‘noble savage’”. This specific difficulty of traditional communities is developed in more detail in the “challenges” subsection of this paper.

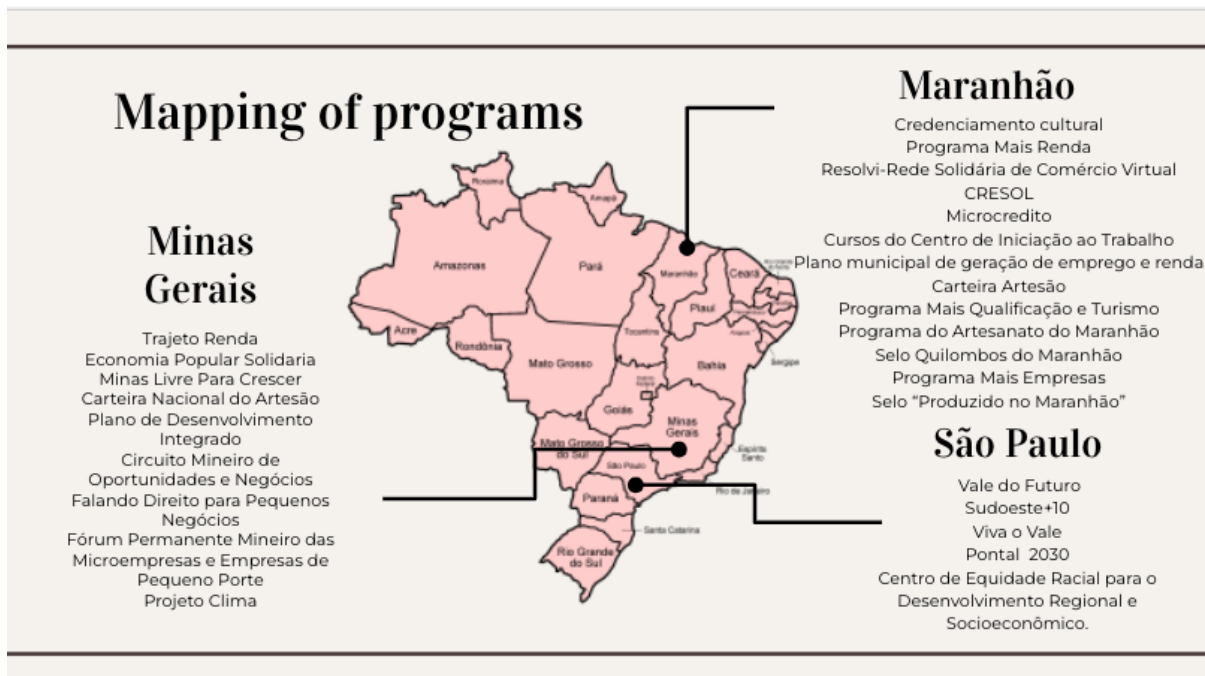
CASE STUDIES

In the Brazilian context, the best actors to implement these culturally sustainable entrepreneurship (CSE) programs are regional governments. Articles 23, 24 and 30 of the Brazilian Constitution define the common competencies to all levels of government (Rei, 2022. Personal Interview in Annex 1). The competencies to deal with development and sustainability lay almost completely at the subnational level. Moreover, regional governments are closer to citizens than the national level, which allows them to have a better understanding of local needs and demands. However, they continue to have enough power to engage with more stakeholders and to create a strategic relation between the local or municipal level with the national level. Regional governments also have the ability and resources to gather bottom-up information and to create links between rural and urban plans (Regions4, n/d).

By looking into the existing programs from all secretaries that could potentially be related to the field, the existence of multiple interesting programs that in one way or another tackle at

least one aspect of the promotion of CSE have been identified⁹. Nevertheless, only a few of them captured the integrated and cross-cutting nature of CSE, and had a direct impact on traditional communities. The rest of the programs only dealt separately with entrepreneurship, or environmental protection or cultural promotion and/or did not have any type of specific considerations for traditional communities.

Image 2: Mapping of regional governments programs in Maranhão, Minas Gerais and São Paulo.



Sources: Governo de São Paulo (n/d); Governo do Maranhão (n/d. a); Governo de Minas Gerais (n/d. a)

⁹ Please see Annex 3 to find more information about these programs, through a table created by the author that recompiles overview details from all the programs that have been identified as - at least partially - related to culturally sustainable entrepreneurship in the three states.

MARANHÃO



- CAPITAL: **São Luís**
- POPULATION: **6.904.241**
- LAND AREA: **331,937.45sq Km**
- RURAL POPULATION: **39.8% of total population**
- INDIGENOUS POPULATION: **35.272 (0.5% of total population and 4.3% of total national indigenous population).**
- QUILOMBOLAS POPULATION: **866 Quilombos.**
- BLACK POPULATION: **74%**
- LITERACY RATE: **77.7%**
- PERCENTAGE OF NATIONAL GDP: **1.3%**
- GDP PER CAPITA: **R\$:6,888.6**
- GOVERNOR: **Flávio Dino**
- PARTY: **Partido Socialista Brasileiro**



Source of information: IBGE

Image 3: Information Sheet State of Maranhão. Source: created by the author with information from IBGE

SELO QUILOMBOS DO MARANHÃO – STATE OF MARANHÃO

Because of the relatively large percentage of black people and quilombolas in the region, the State of Maranhão has an Extraordinary Secretariat for Racial Equality. This secretariat has one program called Programa Quilombos Maranhão that deals directly with these traditional communities to promote their economic growth via entrepreneurship, sustainability, and respect and valorization of their culture (Governo do Maranhão, n/d).

Selo Quilombos do Maranhão (Maranhãos' Quilombos Stamp) was created in 2018 as part of the Programa Quilombos Maranhão. It is a strategy that has the purpose of social and territorial identification of products from quilombola communities produced by individuals or companies, as well as the strengthening of the ethnic identity of the quilombola populations before consumers and the population in general. The Stamp intends to give visibility to the quilombolas' work and agricultural and non-agricultural products and associated knowledge about biodiversity and production systems, strengthening the productive development and sustainability of these communities. It is also an instrument to generate economic autonomy for 1,037 quilombola producers from 16 communities in 9 municipalities¹⁰ (Secretaria de Estado da Igualdade Racial, n/d). In February 2021, a partnership with 'Brasil na Caixa', a subscription club and online store of Brazilian products that supports family agriculture and promotes biodiversity, ensured that 11 products from Maranhão's quilombola communities were certified with the Stamp and labeled, to be sold throughout the country (Secretaria de Estado da Igualdade Racial, n/d)¹¹. Moreover, the proposal has already been presented at national events and there are already orders for the products with the Stamp coming from Europe (Governo do Maranhão, n/d).

Selo Quilombos do Maranhão is a way to add ethnic value and guarantee the origin of the product, besides encouraging regional brands and helping the sustainability of the communities. The creation of the Stamp has the objectives of making the production process feasible and promoting income generation for quilombola communities through the exhibition and

¹⁰ The municipalities are Barreirinhas, Rosário, Itapecuru-Mirim, Vargem Grande, Icatu, Alcântara, Mirinzal, Santa Rita, and Serrano do Maranhão.

¹¹ Some of the products included are babaçu flour, buriti rapadura, tapioca croutons, jenipapo molasses, babaçu oil, and pineapple jam (O Maranhense, 2021).

commercialization of their products; contributing to the food supply, offering quality products at more accessible prices; guaranteeing health and food safety. With the instrument, it is also intended to improve the quilombola families' quality of life and to intensify the production of handcrafted items in the quilombola communities. In addition, the initiative aims to train the beneficiaries in food handling techniques, processing, packaging, and market notions, free of charge and in partnerships with social projects (Zorzal, 2021).

These communities' production is differentiated by their historical practice of sustainable handling of natural resources. Moreover, these products are a reflection of the ancestral knowledge of the communities. At the inauguration event of the program, Wagner Santos quilombola leader commented: "it is important that the stamp is on the product, so that the product can be seen with other eyes by society, which many times does not know how it is produced. But from now on, they will know how it is produced, where the product comes from, and that it respects a very serious environmental matter" (Reporter Maranhão, 2018). Gerson Pinheiro, Maranhão's Secretary for Racial Equality, says that the inauguration of this program represents "us telling the population of our country, our state, that the black population, which is the biggest majority of these people and in Maranhão represents more than five million inhabitants and more than three quarters of the population, has its history, and coming from Africa, they have already brought a great contribution to the construction of our country" (GovernoMa, 2018). Rosélia de Jesus, agriculturist and member of a quilombola community in the region, says "we have been working for several years and we have been trying to put our products on the market, and with this I believe that we will reach other places that we have not yet reached" (GovernoMa, 2018).

Furthermore, the fact that the State of Maranhão has created a specific state agency with the status of Secretariat - Extraordinary State Secretariat for Racial Equality - to deal with public policies focused on racial matters, implies that the State is taking active steps to deal with existing structural and institutional racism in the region. It is fundamental, however, to highlight the positive efforts to work collaboratively with other departments of the state, as the difficulties faced by these communities can only be overcome through a transdisciplinary approach.

MINAS GERAIS



- CAPITAL: **Belo Horizonte**
- POPULATION: **21.024.678**
- LAND AREA: **586,522.12 sq Km**
- RURAL POPULATION: **15.5% of total population**
- INDIGENOUS POPULATION: **31 112 (0.2% of total population and 3.8% of total national indigenous population).**
- QUILOMBOLAS POPULATION: **1041 Quilombos.**
- BLACK POPULATION: **61%**
- LITERACY RATE: **91.4%**
- PERCENTAGE OF NATIONAL GDP: **9.2%**
- GDP PER CAPITA: **R\$:17,931.9**
- Governor: **Romeu Zema Neto**
- Party: **Partido Novo**



Source of information: IBGE

Image 4: Information Sheet State of Minas Gerais. Source: created by the author with information from IBGE

PLANO DE ECONOMIA POPULAR SOLIDÁRIA - STATE OF MINAS GERAIS

The State of Minas Gerais has created a plan based on the Economia Solidaria Movement. This movement began in Brazil in the 1970s as a civil society movement supported by non-governmental, governmental, religious, and union organizations in search of productive alternatives for generating occupation and income. The experiences in Economia Solidaria seek to bring together two notions that have been historically dissociated: productive initiative and solidarity. They start from local initiatives accompanied (or not) by external incentives, and seek primarily to solve problems of production and commercialization (Gomes de Melo, Ribeiro da Cruz Cangusso and Pereira Acypreste, 2016). Although the plan is not strictly directed to traditional communities, they are recognized as part of the affected population¹². Moreover, the Plan goes against capitalist individualism and provides a framework for the development of alternative modes of production that are respectful to the specificities of communities and associations.

However, while the Plan aims to improve the conditions for local workers and is very useful as a framework to develop CSE, it is necessary to guarantee its translation into concrete policies and actions that have an impact beyond symbolism. By doing some research, I could find two specific policies carried out in the framework of the Plan that have an impact on traditional communities. One of them is a project aimed at rural entrepreneurs, linked to agriculture and to the production of manioc flour, tapioca, rapadura, molasses, and urucum, among others. The communities have access to a permanent team, formed by teachers specialized in production activities of the enterprises, and three teams specialized in business management. A website has also been created for the sale and promotion of the traditional communities' products. Some community members are trained to make the site operational and keep it updated, in addition to making sales online¹³ (Governo de Minas Gerais, n/d). Another project is the realization of

¹² Traditional peoples have a specific goal in Axis 2 (Sustainable Production, Commercialization, and Consumption), Proposal 6: “To encourage the insertion of organic and agroecological products in specific commercialization spaces for the solidary economic enterprises of family agriculture and traditional communities, especially in local trades and supermarkets” (Conselho Estadual da Economia Popular Solidária, n/d. p.45).

¹³ The firsts to receive training are 12 quilombola groups, 22 riverside groups and 16 Maxacali indigenous groups (Governo de Minas Gerais, n/d).

Annual Regional Street Markets of Popular Solidarity Economy, which consist in the meeting of entrepreneurs for the commercialization of several family farming products, typical foods, handcrafts, and cultural presentations from musicians and poets, promoting income generation and knowledge exchange (Tobias, 2018).

Maria Geralda de Souza Lopes, Vice-President of the Popular Solidarity Economy Council, commented that this market is different from others because it is a shared exhibition. Everyone can share their knowledge and their products. However, it is carried out with the special intention of showing people that these communities can make recycled artistic products (Mesa de Debates, 2016). Another participant in one of these Street Markets is Hayuän Pataxós, representative of the Pataxós indigenous community. He explained that this market “exposes and demonstrates our traditional work. We brought a variety of wood products like wooden spoons, bowls and seed necklaces and feather earrings. These were made by our community in our village. It is a work that has a tradition. We learn this since we are kids. All of our children start learning from their mothers how to do these necklaces and earrings” (TV Andradas, n/d). The Pataxós indigenous community also displayed their musical rituals in the event, inviting everyone to learn from their culture and traditions.

Like in the case of the Quilombos do Maranhão Stamp, these two projects represent other possible strategies to promote CSE at the subnational level. These projects, however, require strong partnership with municipal governments to organize the events in the different municipalities of the State, in order to allow for the different communities to participate in the initiative without encountering mobility difficulties. Moreover, they are more successful when accompanied with capacity-building sessions so as to form the communities to be able to organize similar activities and continue having product visibility in the long term.

SÃO PAULO



- CAPITAL: **São Paulo**
- POPULATION: **45.538.936**
- LAND AREA: **248,222.8 sq Km**
- RURAL POPULATION: **3.2% of total population**
- INDIGENOUS POPULATION: **41.794 (0.1% of total population and 5.1% of total national indigenous population).**
- QUILOMBOLAS POPULATION: **61 Quilombos.**
- BLACK POPULATION: **37%**
- LITERACY RATE: **95%**
- PERCENTAGE OF NATIONAL GDP: **32.1%**
- GDP PER CAPITA: **R\$:30,243.2**
- Governor: **João Doria (until April 2022). Rodrigo Garcia (current)**
- Party: **Partido da Social Democracia Brasileira**



Source of information: IBGE

Image 5: Information Sheet State of São Paulo. Source: created by the author with information from IBGE

PROGRAMA VALE DO FUTURO - STATE OF SÃO PAULO:

This regional government has a complete, integrated program, called Vale do Futuro, which deals with a specific region in the state that is characterized by its low level of economic development and the strong presence of traditional communities, along with rich natural and cultural heritage. This program was launched in 2019 by the State Government of São Paulo. Vale do Futuro is a “broad, extensive and well-articulated plan to offer economic alternatives and, at the same time, guarantee the region's environmental sustainability” (Governo de São Paulo, 2021, p.8). The program gives special attention to the collaborative work and partnership between the State, local governments and civil society, including local quilombolas, to implement projects dealing with sustainable development, income generation, and conservation and improvement of local quality of life. "The growth of entrepreneurship by necessity has disproportionately impacted women, youth, and black people. It is with this vision that we are launching this program," said the Economic Development Secretary, Patricia Ellen. "At this time, it is our role to help those who need it most. We can't think only about economic growth if it is not distributed and does not reach the people who need it", she reinforced (Alma Preta, 2021).

Vale do Futuro is an excellent example of regional government's promotion of CSE, as it is based on these four pillars: 1) valorization of local assets, specifically natural and cultural resources, seen as levers for regional development; 2) social development, including reduction of inequalities and poverty, promotion of social mobility and access to security, health, quality education and income generation; 3) economic development, through the strengthening of infrastructure and attraction of new businesses to transform the state in a development hub; and finally, 4) environmental sustainability, with focus on biodiversity respect and the preservation of the Atlantic Rainforest (Secretaria de Desenvolvimento Regional, n/d).

The sectors that are prioritized as drivers of economic development in the area are green economy and environmental services, agribusiness and agroforestry (especially organic products), ecotourism, mining, forest-focused R&D and handicraft. The region is one of the main hubs for artisanal work and handicrafts in the State of São Paulo, and local artisans' work is not only related to the history of the traditional communities that live there, but also with their links with nature.

As will be indicated in the challenges section of this paper, the lack of continuity of policies is one of the main limitations for effective action and improvement of the situation of the Valley. To deal with this, this program was planned through short, medium and long-term actions and a public-private partnership. However, the program still faces big difficulties in reducing poverty and increasing economic growth, which has not been easy despite their efforts. Special emphasis in the next few years will be put on the improvement of local infrastructure, especially in terms of virtual connectivity. The fact that the region is so rich in natural resources can be a key asset for the communities' economic growth, as long as the economic activity is done in a way that uses these resources in a sustainable way, which is something the program has been successfully doing since its creation.

IMPACT IN QUILOMBOLAS AND INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES

The mentioned programs are examples of how regional governments promote CSE. These strategies contribute significantly to the lives of traditional peoples in the country in a multitude of ways. Although they have specificities and differ from each other, all three selected case studies have positive social and political, economic, environmental and cultural impacts. The measuring of impacts is, however, not very accessible. Many programs do not count with any official governmental impact assessment. And for most of them, there are also no secondary sources evaluations. This is not the case for Vale do Futuro and Economia Popular Solidaria. However, in the case of the Stamp, this paper evaluates its impacts through findings from very similar policies for indigenous communities in other Latin American countries. The lack of impact monitoring will be further developed in the “Challenges” section of the paper.

In terms of social and political impacts, the three cases are useful for the realization of human rights and for the valorization of human beings (Clark, Aguiar Henrique and Fagundes de Araújo, 2017). They all provide traditional communities with alternatives to deal with social exclusion and can be considered as instruments of restoration and strengthening of social ties, and of inclusion, as they represent counter-hegemonic experiences of social emancipation and sustainability (Betanho, Fernandes, De Oliveira Felice and Rubens Laureano da Conceição, 2018; Clark, Aguiar Henrique and Fagundes de Araújo, 2017).

These programs also allow the common confrontation of social problems, which provides quilombolas and indigenous communities the opportunity to politicize, engage, and build

citizenship. In these processes, particularly in the Economia Popular Solidaria program, the creation of bonds of cooperation, solidarity, commitment, empathy, respect, collective autonomy, and social emancipation are key (Clark, Aguiar Henrique and Fagundes de Araújo, 2017). This specific program also allows these communities to overcome the exclusionary situations experienced by the majority of the quilombola communities, through the collective organization of workers for socioeconomic purposes (Sérgio Rodrigues da Silva, Souza da Silva and Alves dos Reis, 2019). The network articulation unites and strengthens different minority social actors, who with diverse trajectories support each other against a predatory way of life that is maintained by the generation of inequalities and exclusions.

Up to some point, all three programs also increase the commitment of these communities to the well-being of society. In addition, they help strengthen local capacities to rebuild their own territory and multiply knowledge (Clark, Aguiar Henrique and Fagundes de Araújo, 2017). Finally, both Economia Popular Solidaria and Vale do Futuro, but especially the latter, increase the supply of early childhood education and the quality of primary education, expand access and quality of health in their territories, and boost social mobility and actions to combat poverty and expand social protection. Through infrastructure improvement and reconditioning of roads, they also mitigate the logistical difficulties and increase these communities' possibilities of mobility (Governo de São Paulo, 2021).

In terms of economic impacts, all three programs contribute to reducing existing economic inequalities that deeply affect traditional communities in Brazil. They increase economic growth and the capacity of traditional peoples to become inserted into productive activities (Sérgio Rodrigues da Silva, Souza da Silva and Alves dos Reis, 2019). In the case of Vale do Futuro, the investment of BRL 130 million led to the expansion of employment and income of the population, with more than 19,000 jobs generated in around one year, and more than 8,600 people qualified for entrepreneurship. The provision of BRL 42 million in credits, resulted in 5,500 thousand new registered micro-entrepreneurs in a time period of 2 years. This means an increase of more than 30% of entrepreneurs in the region (Governo de São Paulo, 2021).

The environmental impacts of these programs include the rise of environmental awareness and preservation, elevated commitment to the well-being of the environment in which they operate, the connection of these communities through environmental issues, the strengthening of agro-ecological practices, and the protection of biodiversity (Clark, Aguiar Henrique and Fagundes de Araújo, 2017 and Secretaria de Estado da Igualdade Racial, n/d). They also have an impact

in the protection of natural resources and in increasing access to such resources, like water and energy (Governo de São Paulo, 2021; and Governo de Minas Gerais, n/d).

Finally, in terms of cultural impacts, these programs add cultural value to the production of the communities, contribute to the revitalization of the knowledge and traditional handicraft techniques of indigenous peoples and quilombolas, as well as the development of instances of visibility of these cultural expressions, from the generation of training spaces in management skills and tools to improve the technical quality and design of these creations. Likewise, these programs encourage the dissemination of these cultural manifestations as expressions of their own culture, the value of their construction process and meaning, which allows the proper insertion of these works in the market, and ensures the protection of their intellectual property rights (Santilli, 2005). Hence, these programs contribute to the urgent need to revitalize these cultural expressions of traditional communities in the country, deeply deteriorated due to the ignorance and disuse of ancestral techniques and knowledge represented in the interruption of the cycles of natural reproduction within their own cultures. They also contribute to the respect for the integrity of the communities' territories.

CHALLENGES IN IMPLEMENTATION

It is key to consider that these positive impacts do not come without difficulties. The challenges to regional governments' implementation of these types of programs are not the same for all Brazilian states. However, Dr. Fernando Rei (2022) has recognized three challenges that are shared by most regional governments when implementing policies related to sustainability: lack of political awareness, technical training and economic resources. Apart from these three issues, this paper recognized other 5 difficulties: ignoring needs of the communities, discontinuity of public policies, lack of official recognition of communities, difficulty measuring impacts and the lack of transversal policies. These challenges are developed more in detail below.

The first challenge identified by Rei arises when regional governors do not have sufficient political awareness of the responsibility and impact they have in their respective regions. This hinders political actions to deal with these issues and in turn leads to bigger vulnerabilities and bigger losses. This is why choosing representatives that can actually represent these populations' interests and needs is fundamental. As Brazil is a democratic

country, Brazilians have the choice to elect regional governors that have a high sense of responsibility and awareness, and that have clear, feasible goals to act upon when in government.

The second challenge recognized by Rei is the lack of technical training that is **necessary** for public servants to plan, prepare, implement, and monitor these programs. Public servants are not usually educated in these matters and they end up depending on capacity training provided by NGOs or IGOs that deal with sustainability. Even if there are training services available, they will only be open for a limited number of public servants and therefore, this continues being a problem. To deal with this, it can be interesting to consider incorporating basic sustainability as part of the compulsory knowledge required for the public contests to access public servants' positions, or as mandatory capacity building.

The third challenge identified by Rei is the lack of availability of economic resources to implement these types of programs. Most regions do not have enough autonomy in terms of economic resources and depend on the federal government. When federal governors that get elected do not want to dedicate resources to sustainable or the social development and recognition of these traditional communities, these states will be harshly impacted by the lack of funding. This is the current case of Brazil since the election of Bolsonaro, especially in those states that have low levels of economic development and depend on federal government' resources to act. "Unfortunately, in the last federal budgets, there has been a constant decrease in the budget in the environmental area. Today, there are practically no resources that go beyond the payment of salaries" (Rei, 2022). As explained by Rei, some subnational governments get some resources from environmental fines, or even with terms of adjustment of conduct made by the public ministries. In other circumstances, regional governments can count with the contribution of funds or grants by international special agencies or organizations that help developing countries achieve sustainable development. However, these funds are usually not easily accessed.

Going beyond Rei's analysis, another challenge is ignoring traditional communities' real needs. The legal, political and social recognition that the cultural and natural heritage of these communities needs to be protected is sometimes used as a justification to avoid taking active measures in these communities to help in their development. Penna-Firme and Brondizio (2007) call this 'Commodification of Poverty', "the goal of nature protection schemes might contribute to maintaining Traditional Populations under limited capacity for

adapting to and dealing with new economic demands and opportunities and intergenerational demographic changes”. They argue that, in Brazil, any policies dealing with environmental or social issues should equally deal with poverty, because it is “a major issue underlying most human-environment relations and the goals of nature conservation” (Penna-Firme and Brondizio, 2007, p. 357). Rei (2022) also commented in the interview the shared discourse by many actors like government officials or NGOs to “leave things as they are”, using a narrative that portrays poverty as something desirable for certain communities, even when they face the lowest level of access to resources and are not able to covering their basic needs.

There is also a problem of discontinuity of regional public policies in Brazil. In the words of Dr. Rei (2022):

Unfortunately, a change of government in Brazil hardly implies continuity of policies, even if they are working well. I say this based on the experience of the state of Sao Paulo, which has been governed by the same party for the last 28 years. Even in this case, there was no continuity of policies when, by the same party, there were changes of governor. This is still a problem. The one who takes over has a lot of difficulty in recognizing the merits of the one who left, and you end up recreating existing programs, only changing the name, just to not assume that it is a continuity.

This problem is attributed to political culture and lack of humility. A potential way to deal with this issue is to create multi-stakeholders’ programs that can act autonomously once the program has started its implementation process. This would allow programs to continue having a positive effect on communities even when there are changes in government and modifications in governmental interests. Another way to address this is to follow the example of the Bahia regional government, which has followed for the last years a ‘gentleman's agreement’ in which different parties and governors commit themselves to cooperate with each other for the sake of the rest of society (Rei, 2022).

Moreover, the lack of recognition and certification of traditional peoples or communities is also considered an issue for the success of these programs. This lack of official recognition contributes to loss of cultural identity, migrations, impoverishment and total dependence on the State and the lack of access to public policies¹⁴ (Manuel da Silva and Betanho, 2018). The

¹⁴ In 2019, for the first time in more than a decade, only two communities certified by Fundação Cultural Palmares (FCP), with delimitation already carried out, were titled - even so, partially. This number is significantly low in relation to the existence of more than 1,500 communities with processes open at the National Institute for

small number of recognized quilombos in the face of high demand raises concerns about the little action done to recognize the quilombola territorial rights guaranteed by the Constitution. However, even with more progressive legislation, never was the right to territory fully accessible to the communities. Therefore, although it is important that programs are directed to traditional peoples, it is still relevant that these programs are not necessarily limited to recognized traditional communities. This allows more vulnerable groups to access these policies and programs and benefit from them, at least until their recognition process is improved.

However, with this flexibility, it becomes increasingly difficult to measure the impact and challenges for these policies in traditional communities. The lack of official impact evaluation of existing programs is a significant challenge for the successful implementation of regional plans. This situation is exclusive to policies directed to vulnerable groups and States that have less access to resources. Traditional communities in Brazil, as mentioned, have not been the priority of action for most governments and, although this is progressively changing, there is still not enough monitoring of the impact programs have in these specific communities. This is a relevant issue because the lack of information about practical impact to quilombolas and indigenous peoples is an impediment to improve existing programs in case they are not being beneficial or to continue applying similar programs in that or other regions if they are indeed having positive effects. The lack of knowledge is a reflection of the structural racism present in Brazil up to this day. This structural racism normalizes certain discriminatory behaviors, and therefore invisibilizes the need of agents to take responsibility and take the concrete and appropriate actions to decrease these inequalities, including the gathering of information and monitoring of results in these specific communities. If the regional government does not have the necessary resources to carry out an evaluation process of the implemented policies, a suggestion would be partnering with NGOs or IGOs specialized in regional governments or these subjects, to have them conduct independent evaluations of the existing programs¹⁵. A platform for this issue could potentially be created, with a simple transparency process that is shared with all stakeholders.

Colonization and Agrarian Reform (INCRA) and almost 3,000 certified communities (Siqueira Corrêa, Romagnose Fortunato de Freitas Monteiro and Cirqueira Marçal, 2020).

¹⁵ One example is the CDP monitoring instrument, available for all regional governments in Brazil (complemented with informative sessions and webinars). However, this specific platform measures environmental impacts only.

For these programs to be successful, it is also fundamental that they are transversal. Multi-sectoral and multi-level programs have demonstrated to have the best impacts. As mentioned in the mapping of programs section of the paper, in Brazil there are many regional programs that have the potential to be very useful and effective for the local populations to improve their social, economic, cultural or environmental conditions. However, they are usually isolated from one another. When dealing with traditional communities, it is of utmost importance to have a multidimensional approach, because dealing with some of these conditions without addressing other factors does not actually result in improving the lives of indigenous or quilombolas communities. Fortunately, increasingly more governments are recognizing this. For example, in the words of the Regional Government of Minas Gerais:

How to organize sustainable enterprises where there is no water, no sanitation, no roads, where the land is not guaranteed, and where the violence of ranchers, real estate speculation, and multinational companies expresses itself in open conflict at any time? [...] [I]f there is not an organ that plays the role of articulator of the necessary actions to bring about organized chains and the necessary networks for ethnodevelopment, we may even be able to improve a little the current living conditions with occasional support, but we will not have sustainable enterprises and generate an income that allows a decent life for the quilombola producers. [...] [I]ts viability will only occur through a convergent and complementary action of different actors and initiatives¹⁶ (Secretaria Nacional de Economia Solidária do Ministério de Trabalho e Emprego, 2013).

The importance of coordinated action between different sectors and levels of government lies on the connection between these elements, especially for traditional peoples. Rei has also recognized the importance of top-down prioritization of taking this integrative approach. Otherwise, the transversality and coordination become difficult to carry out in practice. This is thought-provoking because many authors and papers highlight the importance of bottom-up approaches when dealing with traditional communities. For these two approaches to be complemented, the combination of a bottom-up approach in the initial stages of the program and on the evaluation process, with a top-down approach in the implementation stage of the program can be a good solution.

It is indispensable for regional governments to recognize the realities and difficulties faced

¹⁶ Translated by author.

by quilombolas and indigenous peoples in Brazil today, and to understand all the positive impacts and benefits these programs can have on traditional communities. However, there are still many challenges that need to be considered and addressed to conduct adequate and successful regional programs.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This paper has successfully identified the existence of a diverse range of regional public programs related to culturally sustainable entrepreneurship that have some relation with traditional communities in Brazil. The case study of Maranhão, which focused on the creation of a product stamp, has focused on the valorization of culture and the diffusion of traditional knowledge of quilombolas, while promoting economic growth. The case of Minas Gerais, through the development of a transversal Plan, has focused on capacity-building and providing spaces that promote craftsmanship and other cultural and natural activities carried out by indigenous and quilombolas in the region. The case of São Paulo, on the other hand, has created a multi-level program that deals with several areas that are considered necessary to improve the local conditions for traditional peoples.

From the conducted analysis, several ideas can be concluded. The first conclusion is that although there are differences between them, these programs are indeed very useful for improving the conditions for traditional communities in Brazil. More specifically, the three programs have had numerous positive impacts for indigenous peoples and for quilombolas in cultural, political, social, economic and environmental conditions. These positive impacts include (but are not limited to): adding cultural value to their productions and contributing to the revitalization of their historical knowledge and traditional techniques; increasing economic growth, decreasing poverty and inequality; providing traditional communities with alternatives to deal with social and economic exclusion; and being instruments of restoration and strengthening of social ties, as they represent counter-hegemonic experiences of social emancipation and sustainability. This is especially important considering the difficulties faced by traditional communities in Brazil today - including battles for their lands, exclusion and marginalization, lack of official recognition, lack of access to health, sanitation, housing and education.

Second, to achieve successful long-term results and for other states to reproduce these programs in other Brazilian states, it is fundamental to consider the existing challenges in implementation for these or similar programs in the Brazilian context. The main challenges identified in this paper are the lack of political awareness of high-level regional politicians, the lack of technical training on these issues accessible to civil servants, the lack of economic resources in many Brazilian states, the discontinuity of public policies, the difficulties in

making programs transversal and the lack of impact evaluation of existing programs. Other challenges that are strictly related to institutional and structural ethno-racial discrimination are: not considering traditional peoples' real needs and the lack of official recognition and certification of traditional peoples and their respective communities. Hence, regional governments and other actors that want to take concrete action in this regard need to deal with these problems and overcome them, to the extent possible.

Third, for these programs to be indeed useful and beneficial for traditional peoples in Brazil, the states need to take responsibility for improving the existing conditions and reducing structural racism and inequalities faced by traditional peoples. This is especially important because the State has allowed their reproduction and they continue to be ingrained in Brazilian institutions and society. Nevertheless, because this factor depends strongly on the willingness of high-level governors at the regional and national level, it is also key to consider the need of programs to have multi-level, multi-secretariat coordination, public-private partnership and participation of local civil society in the processes. This allows the continuance of the existing programs or creation of similar instruments by other actors once there is a change in government or when there are not enough resources.

Fourth, inequality faced by these communities is the result of a dominant global system that does not take into account the rights of traditional peoples. However, improving the realities of traditional peoples by respecting their methods, knowledge and needs enriches people from all over the world. And despite this paper focusing on the specific case of Brazil, the challenges faced by Brazilian traditional peoples are shared by thousands of communities around the world. This does not imply, however, that one should think that one policy fits all. This is why this paper has tried to identify various programs that tackle these issues differently according to the specific communities they work with. Thus, the participation of civil society is key.

Fifth, regarding the participation of local civil society actors, special emphasis should be put on the need to include traditional peoples through a participatory and consultative process, especially in the initial stage of the program (planning and identification of necessities) and in the last stages of the programs (impact evaluation). This means that a combination of bottom-up and top-down actions is the best approach to promote CSE in a way that is actually beneficial to the specific communities in the short, medium and long term for indigenous and quilombolas communities.

It is worth noting that this paper makes an active effort to deconstruct imposed Western notions. This is done by taking a post-colonial perspective and a critical view of the current system, as well as by including relevant national authors that deal with these issues. However, and as part of the main limitation of this research, the author of this paper is not a quilombola or indigenous person herself and is part of the system that is criticized, meaning that she is subject to capitalist and Western values. To deal with this, the paper attempts to include local communities' perspective through comments found on newspaper articles and videos as well by governmental reports (which claim to have considered local actors in the initial stages of gathering of information and detection of needs in the program processes), but this effort is limited by the lack of possibility to have direct conversations with their members. This is related to the lack of resources and connectivity issues experienced by traditional peoples in Brazil. Consequently, because a lot of weight is placed on adjusting the plans and programs to the real local needs of the communities, it could be of interest to conduct a field study in the future through interviews with members of traditional communities participating in these or similar programs in the country, as well as the analysis of local/municipal policies. By doing that, it can be possible to create policies that actually represent and address the real local necessities and problematics.

Another future research proposal that can contribute significantly to improving traditional peoples' conditions in other regions is conducting similar research in a larger geographical scope. This means analyzing the existing policies that promote CSE in South America and the Caribbean, or in other developing contexts around the world in which indigenous communities or traditional peoples suffer similar conditions. That would allow an identification of good practices that can be replicated, by understanding also the difficulties faced in the implementation and the lessons learned from the different processes. The good practices' diffusion in organized international forums for indigenous rights and racial equality is also recommended.

Also, a mapping of existing funds and foundations that can provide economic resources and technical training for regional governments in this matter could be a very useful research for actually having a significant impact in the facilitation of implementation of similar programs like the ones analyzed, especially for contexts that are more vulnerable and lack the funds, infrastructure and technical knowledge that are required.

Finally, it is worth highlighting that in a system and socio-economic model that has

historically marginalized traditional communities and profited from this, the measures that the state can take to reduce inequalities for these communities and improve their conditions is through positive discrimination and concrete measures that tackle these inequalities through inclusion and emancipation. These types of policies will be the ones that really help to balance conditions and to do justice to traditional communities.

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ANNEX 1: INTERVIEW WITH DR. FERNANDO REI

Who is Fernando Rei?

Fernando Rei is the Founder and Member of the Directive Council of the Political Action Network for Sustainability – RAPS; he is a Professor at PhD in Law, in the Catholic University of Santos, as well as the Coordinator of Public Law at FAAP, and the Executive Director of the Institute for Strategic Studies of Technology and Cash Cycle. Until 2007, he was also Chief Executive Officer of CETESB (the São Paulo state government agency responsible for the control, inspection, monitoring and licensing of pollution-generating activities).

The interview was conducted in Portuguese through Google Meet, following a semi-structured approach. The author of this paper did the translation of the interview to English. “G” represents the questions posed by the author and “F” represents the answers of Dr. Fernando Rei, the interviewee.

G: Does Brazil have an important focus on entrepreneurship and/or sustainable development policies? Is this a new process in the country?

F: It is difficult to talk about Brazil independently of public policies or even independently of the involvement of corporate capital in the challenge of sustainability. Brazil is a country whose role in the world necessarily involves putting its environmental assets, and namely its energy matrix, which is extremely clean, at the service of a global challenge. Showing that yes, it is possible to move towards low carbon economies, green economies, valuing precisely its environmental and energy assets. This is a role that Brazil was able to play during the last international negotiations, namely in the context of climate change. Brazil had its say during the construction of the period up to Kyoto (ending in 2012).

However, we are living a moment of disruption of this tradition or of this historical advance. We have a government that does not respect these characteristics of the country. On the contrary, it not only fails to value its assets, but it has been decreasing those assets, generating an unnecessary environmental liability, with global implications and discouraging any public policy and incentive for the capital to organize itself in search of ESD programs.

Therefore, I would say that yes, Brazil has a trajectory, it has normalized public policies. The Brazilian constitution itself, in its article 225, determines the country's commitments to future generations. It also determines what is the role of the community, together with the public power, in the defense and preservation of its environment. However, we have a legitimately elected government who seems to be unaware of this normative framework. The risk of this

government being re-elected, more than a disruption, may effectively mean a historic change in this trajectory that was positive until then.

Anyway, taking advantage of the fact that you work at Regions4, it is notorious, even before the current government, the involvement of some states, cities and metropolises in this agenda. They even have the constitutional support to be able to act in this way. This became even more evident under the current government, when it was necessary not only for these subnational governments, but mainly some NGOs, academia and the productive sector itself, to show the world with their good practices or good subnational policies that there is another Brazil. So, I have some hope because this other Brazil does not agree with what is happening.

G: Could you confirm that regional governments in Brazil have enough capacity to act in this sector, even if the federal government does not promote these kinds of policies?

F: Exactly. The Brazilian Constitution, in articles 23, 24 and 30, clarifies through the figures of common and concurrent competencies, the capacity that the federative entities have, not only to legislate on environmental matters, but mainly to execute environmental policies. On the other hand, the Brazilian constitution does not prevent an international insertion of these federative entities in global agendas. We have a history, although irregular, of participation of Brazilian states in the various para-diplomatic agendas, but the state of Sao Paulo, for example, has always been present. The State of Sao Paulo is a para-diplomatic state per excellence. It does not work exclusively in environmental paradiplomacy, but also in commercial, economic and health paradiplomacy with the COVID issue. In fact, beyond this foreseen legal possibility, there is the knowledge and the paradiplomatic action of some states that do not feel represented in the diplomatic action of this or that government.

G: I would like to know what are the main challenges and difficulties faced by regional governments in implementing sustainability policies or programs in their regions.

F: The shortcomings are not common to all states. But there are at least three that are quite present in the great majority of the subnational states, which have some difficulty to maintain their action by the governments that will succeed them.

The first is the lack of political awareness of the governor of the role he has to play in the management of his territory. Since he is the executive authority closest to the citizen, he would have to assume greater responsibilities in the management of that territory, namely when we talk about climate change adaptation policies. If they do not have this intelligence, the

vulnerabilities will only increase and the losses will be even greater. So, the first is political awareness.

The second is the lack of technical training of public servants to work on these agendas. It is always desirable that this process of continuous training updating is present, because it's not that states have insufficiencies, but this is not part of their service dynamics. As a matter of fact, it is a question that I believe that not only Regions4, but several UN programs, UNEP, UNDP, UNCTAD...in short, have a lot of responsibility for capacity building. Enabling this capacity building to arrive is transformative.

The third problem is one of economic resources. Many states, for example, do not have the economic robustness of the state of Sao Paulo, or the resources of their own to support this agenda. They are then very dependent on the transfer of resources from the central government, or even on the transfer of resources from international organizations, or from a partner that allows this interaction.

After overcoming these three main problems, I think that participation would be much more fluid and dynamic.

G: I have two questions about what you have explained. I would like to know if there are any technical training on sustainability coming from the federal government? Is there some kind of national program? Also, are the financial resources that come from the federal government to the regional governments sufficient? And its distribution, does it promote inequality between states?

F: The question of capacity building has always existed at all levels of government. In the State of Sao Paulo we have a long tradition of training Latin American workers. Opening the course to Latin American partners, particularly in greenhouse gas inventories and environmental impact assessment programs. This is common and carried out by the environmental agency of the state of Sao Paulo, CETESB. In the federal government, it also existed within IBAMA and also within the NGOs themselves. The ISA, Greenpeace, the Acatu Institute, they have always allowed public servants, in the three spheres of power, to participate in their training services. This is available. But as you well know, due to the size of Brazil, no matter how many places there are, the ones who can attend are always a minimum number of people. *Uma andorinha*

*não faz verão, mas uma andorinha começa a fazer voos. O importante é voar, e depois elas se juntam com outras andorinhas*¹⁸.

The economic question is more complicated because most of the resources that are transferred are stamped. It comes stamped under the heading where it can be used. Unfortunately, in the last State budgets, there has been a constant decrease in the budget in the environmental area. Today, there are practically no resources that go beyond the payment of salaries. So, any additional resource has become very difficult. Obviously, there are other sources. One of them are the ones that can be obtained with environmental fines, or even with terms of adjustment of conduct made by the public ministries. This happens occasionally. There are good examples. But we cannot say that this is a broad, peaceful vision of the possibilities that the public ministry could develop in these adjustments. But these adjustments do exist.

G: I chose as a case study for my work a program of the State of Sao Paulo called Vale do Futuro. Do you know it?

F: I didn't know it, but I just looked it up and I found it here on the Internet. Even without knowing it, I can give an opinion on its timeliness regardless of the results.

Vale do Ribeira is a region of the State of Sao Paulo which has been historically abandoned. The HDI of the region's municipalities is well below the average of the state's municipalities. And this historical abandonment, it's an abandonment that bothered me a lot when I was in government. I noticed that in the various development plans in the region, we never had much support from the government, but we also didn't have the support of society. One of the problems that I faced while I was in the environmental department is a historical case, which is the Xuxa Park. The Xuxa Park, without evaluating the merits or demerits of the project, was an initiative that sought to bring an alternative of economic development to the region, via entertainment. It seems that there was a certain comfort zone between NGOs and the government that Vale do Ribeira is an untouchable region. "Leave it as it is", like they want to live like this. They were far from reaching minimum standards of human dignity, no vision of a better future. When you tell me that there is already a state program concerned with this, an

¹⁸ Brazilian expression that is translated as "One swallow does not make summer, but one swallow starts to fly. The important thing is to fly, and then the swallow can get together with other swallows". However, the sentence means that the important thing is to start doing something, and then things will get sorted out.

alternative for an economic development pole in the region that respects environmental and cultural specificities, I just have to applaud, without knowing.

G: When I found this program, I was impressed too. When I did a mapping of programs in some regions of Brazil, I found that there were many interesting programs but they were isolated from each other. Different secretariats have different programs. I found it difficult to find programs that have a holistic and integrated perspective, which I personally find very important, specifically for these communities. So I thought it would be an interesting program to analyze. So, related to that and these holistic, multi-sectoral, multi-level programs that work with municipalities and with different departments, I was wondering if you could give me your opinion on what is the best way to integrate sustainability policies in other sectors of government.

F: Transversality. These programs cannot be objects of a single secretariat, with this purpose, with this mission. Every challenge of sustainability goes through, if not all, then most of the other government secretariats. My experience in government teaches me that this transversality has to be led by the governor himself. If he does not have this leadership, if he does not have the capacity to include this in his personal agenda, this must be the responsibility of the government secretariat or the civil house secretariat, which are the secretariats that talk to all the portfolios. If you don't have a radiator pole that determines, within the various attributions, how each government secretariat or organization is going to contribute to the achievement of those goals in that program, it won't work. People keep looking at their belly buttons.

G: This joint work of the secretariat, on a daily basis, does it happen? is it possible? What are the challenges?

F: It is done historically, that is nothing new. But it is done in a way that should not be done. Creating an intra-governmental commission, they put that second or third level representative, they spend hours and hours discussing, and then when it's time for each one to talk to their boss, the boss grudgingly says "10 minutes to present this". Then things don't move. So, if I say that things will only work if they come in a top-down process, it is because there has to be the involvement of the governor. I say this because I have been part of various governments and the difference happened naturally when the governor called for the project. When it becomes a demand from the governor, an order from the governor, then the machine works.

G: So, I understand that the bottom-up process in this context is complicated and not very effective. Is that so?

F: This bottom-up process works on raising awareness. It works on regimentation of volunteers, with a lot of time. A lot of time. But not for results. Results come from the top down.

G: Thank you very much. Apart from the case of Vale do Futuro, I am having difficulties finding studies on the impact of these existing programs on the sector, even though they were created and/or implemented several years ago. I would like to know how much importance do you give to this type of impact monitoring and evaluation, and what difficulties are faced in carrying out this type of study?

F: The bibliography exists. You won't find studies specifically for quilombolas or indigenous communities. This is because these two segments of society have not yet entered the real world. They are still in the world of 'fiction', of protection, you have to be careful, "you cannot touch it". But in relation to other experiences, you have public studies. It is worth taking a look at the case of the State of Sao Paulo. Look for the last two reports on the agenda 2030 about the State of Sao Paulo.

G: The case I was studying, together with Vale do Futuro, is a program from Maranhao. They have a lot of programs about sustainable cultural entrepreneurship, like stamps of quilombola products from the region, which value the cultural and economic production of these communities and protect the environmental resources. But I can't find any impact studies.

F: Piauí has a project funded by UNEP, with the Environment Secretariat of Piauí, which involves the whole issue of prehistoric art.

G: Thank you very much! Very useful, I will take a look. Moving on, you are a university professor. More specifically, a doctoral professor. What is the role of universities in collaborating with these regional programs?

F: It is fundamental. At the moment, I work for non-public universities, but public universities have to be open to society. It's not fair that a university that is funded with public money, that is paid for by society, develops knowledge and research for the satisfaction of its researchers. It has to give a return to society and promote research for society.

I am one of those researchers who believe in this and that is why I am involved in the world of para-diplomacy, of the crisis of the state. I think that the state today is no longer the guarantor of public policies. The state is in crisis. I don't know what its future will be, but it is undoubtedly very different from what Westphalia dreamt of. At this moment, if international society has any hope of ever evolving from the chaos we are living in, this evolution necessarily passes through governance. Being a management system of open cooperation, it has a safe space for scientific knowledge, for the insertion of the university. We are at a moment of democracy, where science has a particular role, that of "less opinion, more knowledge and more science". If we are not open to being part of the decision making of policy-makers, you might as well close the university. You're not fulfilling your mission.

Universities participate in environmental councils at the municipal, state and federal levels. It is an obligatory presence of representation. If they have committed representatives who want to contribute, this space exists.

And another thing, if we live in a crisis of political leaders, it is up to the universities to train new political leaders. If you do not focus on awakening in young people the vocation for public service, the values of citizenship, especially those we work with the most privileged public, we are going to another galaxy. We are missing the opportunity to save this one.

G: I see that a problem in Brazil, not only specifically in these sustainability programs, but also in entrepreneurship programs, is the discontinuity of these policies with changes in government. I would like to know if universities and academia (together with civil society and private actors) have a role to play in solving this problem. Are the universities able to continue with these policies when there is a change of government?

F: It is difficult. Unfortunately, a change of government in Brazil hardly implies continuity of policies, even if they are working well. I say this based on the experience of the state of Sao Paulo, which has been governed by the same party for the last 28 years. Even in this case, there was no continuity of policies when, by the same party, there were changes of governor. This is still a problem. The one who takes over has a lot of difficulty in recognizing the merits of the one who left, and you end up recreating existing programs, only changing the name, just to not assume that it is a continuity.

G: Do you think this is a problem of political culture?

F: Of course, political culture and also humility. The humility to recognize that it is good that things have been done and have had good results, and I have no other alternative but to follow up on them, because otherwise I will be charged by the public that elected me.

We have a very interesting and recent case in Brazil, in Bahia. Some time ago they had the following political agreement: whoever governs Salvador does not govern the State. But they don't confront each other, they help each other. It's a vision of "we're going to improve the lives of the citizens". You go to Salvador today, it's the main city in the Northeast (it's no longer Recife). There was a movement in the local political culture, to understand that above the ideology of the parties, they should serve the Bahians.

G: Is this a written binding agreement?

F: It is not written. It's a political agreement. We still have colonialism, it's always the same people, but they've come to understand each other. It's a gentleman's agreement.

G: Is the action and coordination between municipal and state governments very present in Brazil today?

F: Correct. It is present and has an increasing tendency to be regional. There are less and less central programs and more regional ones, remembering that today Brazil is divided into 4 consortiums: governors of the Amazon, the North East, the Central West and the South East. These are governors who have already seen that a joint action, in terms of power and price negotiation, can bring better services to their states.

G: Would you like to add any comments? Do you have any questions?

If you believe that effectively this agenda can be better driven by sub-national actors, corporatists and organized civil society involving academia, don't give up on this idea. That's right. The answers we will have regarding any project related to sustainability no longer come from the central states. The real involvement of these mere actors will remain in the discourse and in the dead letter of the agendas. The UN itself knows this. By giving this space and increasingly allowing the insertion of these new actors in this agenda, in the working papers and working groups, what it is preparing is the new UN. Which will not be limited to states.

G: It is really important that increasingly more subnational actors and other non-governmental actors have a voice in these international forums and organizations. Especially because they are the first to be affected by these issues. Dr. Rei, thank you very much for your contribution and your time!

ANNEX 2: TABLE: MAPPING OF PROGRAMS

State	Secretariat	Program name	What it is about	Who can access it?	How to access?	Link
Maranhão	Secretariat of Culture	Credenciamento Cultural	Qualification and selection of proposals for artistic and cultural activities to be part of artistic programs supported by the Maranhão State Government, to be executed by the State Secretary of Culture.	Artists and cultural representatives who participate in events promoted by the State Secretary of Culture, such as Christmas, New Year's Eve, Carnival, and Saint John's Day, who are summoned by means of edicts published in the Cultural Accreditation banner.	SECMA's Cultural Accreditation sector releases the edicts on the Secretariat's website, with the specific information for accreditation. The artist then gathers the necessary documentation and applies personally at SECMA. For more information, please contact us by WhatsApp: (98) 98576-5783 or by e-mail: ascomculturama@gmail.com	https://cultura.ma.gov.br/servicos/credenciamento-cultural
Maranhão	Secretariat of Social Development	Mais Renda	The Mais Renda Program incorporates a set of strategies and actions that aim to contribute to the financial emancipation and improvement of the quality of life of the benefited population. The Program offers training, development, and technical and	People in a situation of vulnerability and social risk, with NIS (Número de Inscrição Social) registrations.	The Mais Renda Program has been implemented in partnership with municipal management, through the Municipal Secretariats of Social Assistance. Usually, the inclusion of the municipality in the	https://sedes.ma.gov.br/servicos/programa-mais-renda

State	Secretariat	Program name	What it is about	Who can access it?	How to access?	Link
			managerial support to these groups of entrepreneurs. To participate in Mais Renda, the potential beneficiary must: be enrolled in the Unified Registry for Social Programs of the Federal Government - CadÚnico; work in individual or family productive enterprises related to the sale of food, beauty, sewing, confectionary, or be unemployed and have aptitude for such area.		Program is done through a formal document and, with this demand met, the target number of vacancies per typology/activities is defined. The next step is to register the selected beneficiaries. The sequential steps are the training, the delivery of the equipment, and the technical and managerial monitoring.	
Maranhão	Secretariat of Labor and Solidary Economy	Resolvi-Rede Solidária de Comércio Virtual	It is a virtual channel of solidary commerce connecting consumers to the solidary enterprises and small family entrepreneurs in all of Maranhão's territory.	Individual entrepreneurs or gathered in solidarity groups, service providers, and other workers that act in the informal or formal sector of the economy all over Maranhão.	1) Access the Virtual Commerce Solidarity Network 2) Register the enterprise, creating an account on the RESOLVI platform.3) Present the products through photos and descriptions of each item.	https://resolvi.ma.gov.br/
Maranhão	Secretariat of Labor and Solidary Economy	Cresol	The State Reference Center for Solidarity Economy (Cresol) is a space for the articulation, marketing, promotion and exhibition of products of solidarity	- Urban and Rural Solidarity Economic Enterprises of Maranhão	The solidary economic enterprises must sign a Term of Commitment and Responsibility - TCR, in the form established by	https://trabalho.ma.gov.br/servicos/economia-solidaria-

State	Secretariat	Program name	What it is about	Who can access it?	How to access?	Link
			economic enterprises. The space aims to contribute to the economic, social, and political sustainability of these enterprises, being an environment of opportunities for local articulation of government entities and civil society organizations (OSC), with a focus on generating work, income, and sustainable local development.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Support and fostering entities - Social movements and public organs. 	Setres, declaring that they will meet the rules regarding the Solidarity Economy Development Program, CRESOL/MA and the related legislation.	solicitar-adesao-ao-cresol
Maranhão	Secretariat of Labor and Solidary Economy	Seleção de Empreendimentos Econômicos Solidários para fornecimento de produtos	The acquisition of products from solidarity economy enterprises occurs through a public call for tenders and has the objective of fomenting the generation of work and income, seeking to diminish the economic impacts caused by the Covid-19 pandemic.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Formal or informal solidarity economic enterprises; - Representative entities (federations, associations, cooperatives and productive groups). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Formal or informal solidarity economic enterprises - conditions for participation: Do not utilize labor of people under 16 years of age. To be registered in the virtual commerce solidarity network - RESOLVI. - Registration: Follow the release of the notice on the portal of the State Secretariat of Labor and Solidarity Economy. Fill out the registration form 	https://trabalho.ma.gov.br/servicos/selecao-de-empresarios-economicos-solidarios-para-fornecimento-de-produtos

State	Secretariat	Program name	What it is about	Who can access it?	How to access?	Link
					and present the necessary documents requested in the announcement. Attend the selection process and deadlines for appeals.	
Maranhão	Secretariat of Labor and Solidary Economy	Microcrédito	It is an orientation and training service for informal microentrepreneurs about public policies for the segment, with the intermediation of microcredit with official banks: - sensitization and training of entrepreneurs in the very place where the economic activity is carried out; - educational guidance on the existing public policies for the segment; - diagnosis, business planning and definition of credit and management needs aimed at the development of the enterprise and sustainability of the economic activity in partnership with official banks.	Individuals and legal entities entrepreneurs of small-sized productive activities, to be defined in regulation, specifically for the purposes of the PNMPO.	Those interested should make their demands official at the State Secretary of Labor and Solidarity Economy. Address: Rua de Nazaré, 173, Centro, São Luís - MA. Working hours: Monday to Friday, from 8am to 6pm.	https://trabalho.ma.gov.br/servicos/microcredito-fomento-para-atividades-autonomas-empreendedoras
Maranhão	Secretariat of Labor and	Cursos do Centro de	The CIT is a multitasking space that aggregates culture, art,	All audiences (children, young	Consult the offer of courses, workshops, or	https://trabalho.ma.gov.br

State	Secretariat	Program name	What it is about	Who can access it?	How to access?	Link
	Solidary Economy	Iniciação ao Trabalho – CIT	education, leisure, and professional qualification for the formation of young people and adults who live in the communities of Camboa, Liberdade, Fé em Deus, and Alemanha.	people, adults, and seniors) of the great urban quilombo Liberdade and adjacencies; and other communities that show interest.	community leadership groups through CIT's Instagram "@citslz" and/or at CIT's Reception, at Address: R. Romã Velha, 40 - Fé em Deus, São Luís - MA, 65035-570, from 8am to 12pm and 1pm to 5pm, from Monday to Friday.	/servicos/consultar-cursos-do-centro-de-iniciacao-ao-trabalho-cit
Maranhão	Secretariat of Labor and Solidary Economy	Plano municipal de geração de emprego e renda	This plan has the objective of qualifying municipal managers in the participative elaboration and management of the Municipal Plans for the Generation of Employment, Labor, and Income.	Managers, municipal technical teams, and representatives from the productive sectors.	The demands must be sent via official letter to the State Secretary of Labor and Solidarity Economy. After this stage, the teams of municipal managers and technicians will be trained through municipal and/or territorial workshops.	https://trabalho.ma.gov.br/servicos/plano-municipal-de-geracao-de-emprego-e-renda
Maranhão	Secretariat of Tourism	Emissão de Carteira do Artesão	Make your artisan registration in the Brazilian Handicrafts Registration Information System (SICAB) and receive the Artisan Card.	Individuals	Access the [url=http://www.artisanatobrasileiro.gov.br]http://www.artisanatobrasileiro.gov.br[url] and fill out the pre-registration form. The State Coordination of the Brazilian Craftsmanship	https://www.gov.br/empresas-e-negocios/pt-br/artisanato

State	Secretariat	Program name	What it is about	Who can access it?	How to access?	Link
					Program (PAB), responsible for analyzing the registration, may approve or disapprove it. After approval, the documentation required for issuing the portfolio will be requested (photo, signature, and video skill test). After that, the portfolio is issued and the document is sent virtually.	
Maranhão	Secretariat of Tourism	Programa Mais Qualificação e Turismo	<p>The program aims to train, provide improvements in services, and contribute to the competitiveness of Maranhão's tourist destinations.</p> <p>The initiative works in the development of professional education by offering initial and continued training courses to workers in the tourism production chain. The program offers courses in both on-site and distance learning modalities.</p>	Professionals and enterprises directly or indirectly linked to tourism.	The distance learning courses are advertised on the SETUR- MA portal and are held through the EAD Mais Qualificação e Turismo platform. SETUR publishes an edict with criteria for selecting candidates for the courses, taking into account the appropriate profile for the program content of each course. The material is made available on the Moodle Platform. There, students have access to	https://turismo.ma.gov.br/servicos/inscricao-programa-mais-qualificacao-e-turismo

State	Secretariat	Program name	What it is about	Who can access it?	How to access?	Link
					video classes, forums, exams, as well as spaces for monitoring grades, issuing certificates, and evaluating course satisfaction. Tutors for each course provide support to students between Mondays and Fridays from 2pm to 6pm via WhatsApp and chat. The courses are offered in 15-day cycles. The vacancies are offered for the whole of Maranhão. For more information, contact the Superintendence of Professional Qualification by e-mail: maisqualificacaoturismo@gmail.com	
Maranhão	Secretariat of Tourism	Programa do Artesanato do Maranhão	The Handicraft Program of Maranhão, created by the State Government of Maranhão, through the State Tourism Secretary (SETUR) and developed by Ceprama, comes to strengthen the	-	-	https://turismo.ma.gov.br/servicos/programa-do-artesanato-do-maranhao

State	Secretariat	Program name	What it is about	Who can access it?	How to access?	Link
			promotion of the activity and the productive chain associated to tourism in Maranhão, promoting the qualification of the artisan workmanship and opening space for the execution of divulgation actions and support to the commercialization of the handicraft. It also helps in the promotion of access to credit and financing lines as a stimulus to the creation of new businesses and the continuity of Maranhão's handicraft practice.			
Maranhão	Extraordinary Secretariat for Racial Equality	Selo Quilombos do Maranhão	It has the purpose of identifying social and territorial products from quilombola communities produced by individuals or companies, as well as strengthening the identity of the quilombola populations before consumers and the population in general.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Quilombola family farmers - Quilombola artisan fishermen - Quilombola extraction workers - Quilombola farmers' 	The interested party must fill out an application proposal letter, addressed to the Secretary of the Extraordinary Secretary of State for Racial Equality, according to the model on the page (ANNEX I). The letter must be signed by the quilombola farmer or the association representative. Fill out the proposal form for permission to use the seal	https://igualdade.racial.ma.gov.br/servicos/obter-selo-quilombos-do-maranhao

State	Secretariat	Program name	What it is about	Who can access it?	How to access?	Link
				<p>associations and cooperatives, holders of DAP or CAF</p> <p>- Individual micro-entrepreneurs for use in their products, from quilombola communities</p>	<p>according to the specificities of the proponent. The documents must be sent, duly signed, to the following address: Secretaria de Estado Extraordinária de Igualdade Racial - SEIR Rua Djalma Dutra, 121, Centro, São Luís - MA CEP 65065-545. They must also be sent to the following e-mail address: secigualdaderacial.ma@gmail.com</p>	
Maranhão	Secretariat of Industry, Commerce and Energy	Programa Mais Empresas	It was created to encourage the establishment of new companies in Maranhão and modernize existing enterprises in the state, through the reduction of ICMS. To apply for the tax incentives, you must submit the company's Letter of Inquiry to the Maranhão Secretary of Industry, Commerce, and Energy (Seinc). See the step-by-step.	Entrepreneurs in the industry, agribusiness, and logistics segments who are committed to the economic and social development of the state and who meet the requirements of the specific legislation.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Go to seinc.ma.gov.br. 2. In the Services tab, see "MORE COMPANIES". 3. Download the Letter of Inquiry, fill it out, and deliver it to the Secretary of Industry, Commerce, and Energy. 	https://seinc.ma.gov.br/servicos/solicitar-beneficios-do-programa-mais-empresas-emissao-de-carta-consulta

State	Secretariat	Program name	What it is about	Who can access it?	How to access?	Link
					The Letter of Inquiry must be completely filled out with the company's information, in addition to attaching all the documents requested in the list of documents for the company and its partners.	
Maranhão	Secretariat of Industry, Commerce and Energy	Selo 'Produzido no Maranhão'	It was developed to highlight the diversity of Maranhão's products and the strategic importance of its consumption by the local population.	Micro and small entrepreneurs with genuine Maranhão production.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Access seinc.ma.gov.br/produzido-nomaranhao/. 2. Download the Brand Application Manual. 3. Fill out the application form and attach the proposals for applying the Seal on your products. 4. A technical committee from SEINC will analyze the request. 5. Once the request is approved, the company will receive the Adhesion 	https://seinc.ma.gov.br/servicos/obter-selo-produzido-no-maranhao

State	Secretariat	Program name	What it is about	Who can access it?	How to access?	Link
					<p>Contract to be filled out and signed.</p> <p>6. Send the completed and signed Term of Agreement to SEINC.</p> <p>7. The SEINC will issue the Authorization for Use of the "Produced in Maranhão" Seal.</p>	
Minas Gerais	Secretariat of Economic Development	Minas Livre Para Crescer	Debureaucratization of state activity by simplifying procedures and optimizing legislation in order to establish guarantees for free enterprise. Also, to help the municipalities, so that they can receive the Federal and State Legislation with a focus on Economic Freedom.	Everyone	Indicate, in the Procedures Matrix, the obstacles that today hinder the full development of the business, pointing out solutions and, when available, referential examples.	http://www.desenvolvimento.mg.gov.br/application/projetos/projeto/1062
Minas Gerais	Secretariat of Economic Development	Carteira Nacional do Artesão	Access to training courses, fairs and events supported by the Head Office and the Brazilian Handicrafts Program (PAB), as well as the actions of the Services in Innovation and Technology (SebraeTec).	professional craftsmen	To start the formalization process of the activity, the professionals need to access the Brazilian Handicrafts website and follow the pre-registration steps. The artisan will be	https://www.mg.gov.br/servico/obter-carteira-nacional-do-artesao

State	Secretariat	Program name	What it is about	Who can access it?	How to access?	Link
					contacted by a server, and will be instructed to send a maximum of 3 videos, of each technique/raw material they wish to register, according to the criteria in Ordinance n° 1007. The artisan must send the scanned documents in a single PDF file to complete the registration. The portfolio will be sent to you by e-mail or WhatsApp.	
Minas Gerais	Secretariat of Economic Development	Circuito Mineiro de Oportunidades e negocios	A project to promote market access that brings together and inserts small businesses as suppliers of segments identified by the State Secretariat of Economic Development (Headquarters MG), in the regions of the state of Minas Gerais, according to their economic vocations. Promoting negotiation training workshops for the participants, thus contributing to the strengthening of small entrepreneurs and to the economic development of Minas Gerais.	Small Businesses (EPP), Micro Companies (ME), Individual Micro Entrepreneurs (MEI), Family Agriculture (FA), and Collective Enterprises.	Check out the schedule and send an email to circuito.oportunidades@desenvolvimento.mg.gov.br indicating your interest in participating. If the business roundtables are scheduled to take place at fairs and major events, the registration of interested participants will be made by public notice.	http://www.desenvolvimento.mg.gov.br/application/projetos/projeto/1065

State	Secretariat	Program name	What it is about	Who can access it?	How to access?	Link
Minas Gerais	Secretariat of Economic Development	Falando Direito para Pequenos Negócios	Initiative that seeks to promote qualified legal information to entrepreneurs, by publishing informative videos, in order to strengthen the management of their enterprises, minimize risks in their negotiations, and solve the main doubts that have legal repercussions for small businesses.	Open to all	Videos about different topics available on the website.	http://www.desenvolvimento.mg.gov.br/application/projetos/projeto/1117
Minas Gerais	Secretariat of Economic Development	Fórum Permanente Mineiro das Microempresas e Empresas de Pequeno Porte	It is a state government body responsible for dealing with aspects of the differentiated and favored treatment provided to micro and small businesses. Establishes general rules for the differentiated, simplified, and favored legal treatment assured to micro and small businesses under the powers of the State	-	-	http://www.desenvolvimento.mg.gov.br/application/projetos/projeto/1068
Minas Gerais	Secretariat of Environment	Projeto Clima	Tool to support mining municipalities to be more resilient, and to promote climate-related actions, projects and programs	Municipalities	The municipalities that express interest in participating in the project should access the platform, download the tool, follow the instructions, and adapt it to their specific needs	http://clima-gerais.meioambiente.mg.gov.br/

State	Secretariat	Program name	What it is about	Who can access it?	How to access?	Link
					and demands.	
Minas Gerais	Secretariat for Social Development	Trajeto Renda	It aims to promote professional training that encourages work and income generation, through classroom classes in twelve (12) municipalities in the Mucuri Valley region. The vacancies are aimed, as a priority, at low-income people in situations of social vulnerability.	People with over 18 years of age, with incomplete Basic Education II as the minimum education required.	Check the offer schedule and click on the link to enroll	https://www.mg.senac.br/Paginas/trajeto-renda.aspx
Minas Gerais	Secretariat for Social Development	Economia Popular Solidária	It was developed with the objective of defining a set of guidelines for the consolidation and development of the Popular Solidarity Economy policy in the state of Minas Gerais. The plan is a document with all the proposals raised by the solidarity economy groups that seek the development of the groups.	-	-	https://social.mg.gov.br/trabalho-e-emprego/economia-popular-solidaria/plano-estadual-de-economia-popular-solidaria
Minas Gerais	Secretariat of Integrated Development	Plano Mineiro de Desenvolvimento	It establishes emergency measures necessary for fiscal recovery, defines objectives, goals, and	-	-	https://www.governo.mg.gov.br/Institu

State	Secretariat	Program name	What it is about	Who can access it?	How to access?	Link
		nto Integrado	guidelines aiming to establish a favorable environment for the sustainable development of the state.			cional/ProgramasAcoes?id=6
São Paulo	Secretariat of Regional Development	Centro de Equidade Racial	It is an Intersecretarial Committee linked to the Secretariat of Regional Development and articulated with all the Departments of the Government of the State of São Paulo. Its objective is to plan, coordinate, articulate, and implement programs and public policy actions, as well as monitor the results, in order to promote racial equity in the State of São Paulo.			https://www.sdr.sp.gov.br/programas/centro-de-equidade-racial/
São Paulo	Secretariat of Regional Development	Sudoeste+10	It covers 15 cities and focuses on improvements in Agriculture, Environment, Tourism, Employment and Income Generation, and on the local roads that cross the region. The forecast of resources applied in the program may reach R\$ 300 million.	The municipalities that integrate the "Southwest + 10" program are the following: Barão de Antonina, Bom Sucesso do Itararé, Buri, Campina do Monte Alegre, Capão Bonito, Coronel Macedo, Guapiara,	-	https://www.sdr.sp.gov.br/programas/sudoeste10/

State	Secretariat	Program name	What it is about	Who can access it?	How to access?	Link
			The initiative seeks the institutional strengthening of the region in the areas of health, urban infrastructure and generation of employment and income	Itaberá, Itapeva, Itaporanga, Itararé, Nova Campina, Ribeirão Branco, Riversul, and Taquarivaí.		
São Paulo	Secretariat of Regional Development	Viva o Vale	It covers 17 cities in the Vale Histórico and Vale da Fé regions and contemplates actions for regional development in several areas, including infrastructure, tourism and economic development, health, security, housing, and education.	The following municipalities: Aparecida, Cachoeira Paulista, Canas, Cunha, Guaratinguetá, Lorena, Piquete, Potim e Roseira.	-	https://www.sdr.sp.gov.br/programas/viva-o-vale/
São Paulo	Secretariat of Regional Development	Pontal 2030	Alignment of public policies for the improvement of social, economic, and environmental indicators of the 32 (thirty-two) municipalities defined as priorities belonging to the Government Region of Presidente Prudente with the addition of João	These cities covered by the program are: Alfredo Marcondes, Álvares Machado, Anhumas, Caiabu, Caiuá, Emilianópolis, Estrela do Norte, Euclides da Cunha Paulista, Iepê, Indiana,	-	https://www.desenvolvimentoeconomico.sp.gov.br/programas/pontal-2030/

State	Secretariat	Program name	What it is about	Who can access it?	How to access?	Link
			Ramalho.	Indiana, João Ramalho, Marabá Paulista, Martinópolis, Mirante do Paranapanema, Nantes, Narandiba, Piquerobi, Pirapozinho, Presidente Bernardes, Presidente Epitácio, Presidente Prudente, Presidente Venceslau, Rancharia, Regente Feijó, Ribeirão dos Índios, Rosana, Sandovalina, Santo Anastácio, Santo Expedito, Taciba, Tarabaí, and Teodoro Sampaio, which represents 18,441.6 km ² of the state's territory, and has 260 thousand inhabitants.		
São Paulo	Secretariat of Regional Development	Vale do Futuro	An innovative initiative from the São Paulo State Government, which aims to boost short, medium, and long-term actions for	The program covers 22 municipalities: Apiaí, Barra do Chapéu, Barra do	-	https://www.desenvolvimentoeconomico.sp.gov.br/

State	Secretariat	Program name	What it is about	Who can access it?	How to access?	Link
			the social and economic development of Vale do Ribeira, one of the neediest regions in the State.	Turvo, Cajati, Cananéia, Eldorado, Iguape, Ilha Comprida, Iporanga, Itaóca, Itariri, Itapirapuã Paulista, Jacupiranga, Juquiá, Miracatu, Pariquera-Açu, Pedro de Toledo, Registro, Ribeira, Ribeirão Grande, Sete Barras and Tapiraí, which represent 16681 km ² in state territory, and has 340,000 inhabitants.		programas/vale-do-futuro/