



Social Capital and Sustainable Development in the Region of Jalapão-TO

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Abstract

Social capital refers to social attributes, such as trust, norms and systems, which contribute to the efficiency of society and mentioned by several researchers as one of the possible determinants of disparities in levels of development between regions, as well as a tool for achieving this. In this context, the objective of this research was to verify if the social capital, present in the region of Jalapão-TO, could be considered as one of the causes for the low level of development of the cities. Therefore, a qualitative study was conducted based on bibliographical research, documentary and semi-structured interviews with key actors in the region listed in the Ecological and Economic Zoning of the state of Tocantins. The results show that there is a weakness in social capital in the region, as trust between them has diminished in recent years, as well as their interest in participating in government management and projects, while they themselves are few organized to act collectively. However, the current state of social capital indicators in the region is the result of years of fruitless and poorly oriented projects, thus, it is still possible to include and integrate the subjects of the region, expanding their economic and social opportunities.

Keywords: Social capital. Sustainable development. Jalapão. Political Participation.

Capital social e Desenvolvimento Sustentável na Região do Jalapão-TO

Resumo

O capital social refere-se a atributos sociais, como confiança, normas e sistemas, que contribuem para a eficiência da sociedade e é apontado por diversos pesquisadores como um dos possíveis determinantes das disparidades nos níveis de desenvolvimento entre regiões, bem como uma ferramenta para a consecução deste. Neste contexto, o objetivo desta pesquisa foi verificar se o capital social, presente na região do Jalapão-TO, pode ser considerado como uma das causas para o baixo nível de desenvolvimento dos municípios. Para tanto foi feito um estudo qualitativo baseado em pesquisa bibliográfica, documental e entrevistas semiestruturadas junto aos atores-chave da região elencados no Zoneamento Ecológico e Econômico do estado do Tocantins. Os resultados mostram que há debilidade no capital social na localidade, pois a confiança entre eles tem diminuído nos últimos anos, bem como seu interesse em participar da gestão e dos projetos governamentais, enquanto eles mesmos pouco se organizam para agir coletivamente. Entretanto, o atual estado dos

indicadores de capital social na região é resultado de anos de projetos infrutíferos e pouco orientados, assim, ainda é possível incluir e integrar os sujeitos da região, lhes ampliando as oportunidades econômicas e sociais.

Palavras-chave: Capital social. Desenvolvimento Sustentável. Jalapão. Participação Política.

Capital social y Desarrollo Sostenible en la Región de Jalapão-TO

Resumen

El capital social se refiere a atributos sociales, como la confianza, las normas y los sistemas, que contribuyen a la eficiencia de la sociedad y es señalado por varios investigadores como uno de los posibles determinantes de las disparidades en los niveles de desarrollo entre regiones, así como un herramienta para lograr esto. En este contexto, el objetivo de esta investigación fue verificar si el capital social, presente en la región de Jalapão-TO, puede ser considerado como una de las causas del bajo nivel de desarrollo de las ciudades. Por ello, se realizó un estudio cualitativo a partir de la investigación bibliográfica, documental y entrevistas semiestructuradas con actores clave de la región enumerados en la Zonificación Ecológica y Económica del estado de Tocantins. Los resultados muestran que existe una debilidad en el capital social en la región, ya que la confianza entre ellos ha disminuido en los últimos años, así como su interés en participar en la gestión y proyectos gubernamentales, mientras que ellos mismos están poco organizados para actuar colectivamente. Sin embargo, el estado actual de los indicadores de capital social en la región es el resultado de años de proyectos infructuosos y mal orientados, por lo que aún es posible incluir e integrar a los sujetos de la región, ampliando sus oportunidades económicas y sociales.

Palabras clave: Capital social. Desenvolvimiento sustentable. Jalapão. Participacion politica.

1 Introduction

The concept of development was linked, for a long time, to economic aspects. However, this framework does not consider an important factor: economic growth does not automatically generate income distribution. The understanding that it was necessary to achieve growth in order to achieve development, 'first make the pie grow and then divide the slices', caused a series of political, environmental and social problems.

Faced with the increase in poverty and social inequality, efforts were made to integrate the concepts of economic development and quality of life, in order to escape from the "economist reductionism". (SACHS, 2004, p.72). This same conception can be applied to the phenomenon of regional development, which depends not only on the levels of investment in the regions, but also on the style of development undertaken in the territories, singularly, through public policies.

Thus, in recent years, regional development has left the traditional bias that equates it to economic growth, starting to incorporate new elements such as social, cultural and political factors that are not exclusively regulated by the invisible hand of the market. Approaches based on the right to a dignified life for all emerged, approaches that would give rise to the concept of inclusive and sustainable regional development. In this way, it is evident that a political strategy for regional development cannot be focused only on actions that oversize the dimension of economic growth, but must seek to encourage the formation and maintenance of the stock of social capital, with the State seeking to recognize regional competences. and fostering innovation through cooperation (DINIZ; CROCCO, 2006).

In this assumption, regional development is also carried out based on endogenous strategies. The capacity for cooperation is an attribute capable of ensuring sustainability through poverty reduction through the expansion of economic options, for example. Thus, the expansion of social capital becomes an important strategy for the well-being of poor communities, given that they face obstacles in the acquisition of human capital (education) and economic efficiency (PUTNAM, 2015).

In this context, the chosen region object of study was Jalapão-TO, composed of 8 municipalities, located in the east of the state of Tocantins, bordering Bahia, Piauí and Maranhão. Jalapão has 10 quilombola communities and 7 Environmental Conservation Units (UCs). Over the years, several development projects have been carried out in the region, but their socioeconomic indicators are low. There are few people in employment and the number of families (not individuals) receiving family allowances is higher than the total number of people who have work (BRAZIL, 2021), for example.

Thus, based on the assumption that the obstacles to the development process are largely related to the weakness of social capital, the following question is worth asking: Social capital can be pointed out as one of the causes for the current level of development in the Jalapão region -TO? In this way, this article seeks to contribute to a better understanding of the binomial social capital and regional development, as well as the orientation of public policies in the region aimed at promoting a cooperative environment among local actors in Jalapão - TO.

2 The Importance of Social Capital for Regional Development

Is social capital an important element for regional development? From a theoretical point of view, Sen (2013), by attributing importance to civic characteristics, opens the door to theories of social capital as contributors to the development process, through the expansion of human capabilities. Thus, this approach also arises from the interaction of actors or agents in an environment of respect for the individual, group and institutional freedoms that favor trust and cooperation between agents. Sen (2013, p.34) reinforces the plural conception that places the human being as “someone who acts and causes changes” in the development process.

In the conception of Sachs (2004), sustainable regional development is one capable of reconciling prudent ecological management with economic and social objectives, that is, the process aimed at quality of life, for this and future generations, and the mechanisms that favor this process are effective ways of acting for economic, environmental, political and social actors (SACHS, 2004). Tapia (2005) emphasizes that the success of the development process depends on the articulation of forces of the territory itself, of the endogenous factor linked to sociability, “the “development from within” is the best, if not the only, opportunity for the development [...]” (SACHS, 2004, p.70).

Francis Fukuyama (1995) corroborates by stating that the most prosperous nations and regions in a free market future will be those best prepared to form citizens and institutions more willing to work collaboratively. “The organization of

the local society can transform the growth arising from the central purposes into positive effects, or rather, in development for the region” (OLIVEIRA e LIMA, 2003, p.36). From this perspective, sustainable regional development requires the strengthening of these actors in a given region, through proposals that promote not only the individual but also the community. The protagonism of the actors, as presupposed by the theory of endogenous development, which, when interacting in territorial cooperation ties, constitutes the social capital of a region (Piacenti, 2016).

Social capital depends on the reliability of the social environment, to the extent that performed obligations are maintained (COLEMAN, 1988). Trust is the basic element of ethos and is responsible for governmental performance, because “generalized distrust within a society imposes a kind of burden on all forms of economic activities, a burden that high-level trust societies do not have to pay.” (FUKUYAMA, 1996, p. 43). A society that can count on reciprocity among its members is more efficient and can accomplish more than a distrustful community, after all, “reliability lubricates social life” (PUTNAM, 2015, p.17). Cooperation aimed at achieving proposed objectives, improving social relations, and creating a true, more inclusive democracy is the key to a sustainable regional development process.

Regional development is a process that involves economic, social, and political transformations and structural changes. For these changes to take place, the cooperation environment between the actors must be organized around the collective good; “the goals are common, the actions are shared and the benefits are distributed evenly throughout the system” (ARROYO, 2008, p.78). Cooperation aimed at achieving proposed objectives, improving social relations and creating a true, more inclusive democracy is the key to a sustainable development process.

For Coleman (1994), Putnam (2000) also Bourdieu (1998), social capital is the product of social relations between different groups, organizations and institutions. These social relationships need to be based on mutual trust, norms, habits, and the ability of individuals to cooperate with others. Lima Filho (2010) states that social capital is:

[...] The mortar that binds the institutions together and links them to the citizen, aiming at the development of the locality. It's understood as an endogenous factor with strong links between people, communities and institutions, in addition to being essential for the development of areas that present strong indicators of social and economic inequalities (LIMA FILHO, 2010, p. 17).

Cooperation is an essential condition for the efficiency of the production process, guaranteeing work and income for economically and socially vulnerable populations. Sustainable regional development is realized based on endogenous strategies, so the capacity for cooperation is an attribute capable of ensuring sustainability by reducing poverty through expanding economic options, for example. Thus, social capital is disproportionately important to the well-being of poor communities, as they face obstacles in acquiring human capital (education) and economic efficiency (PUTNAM, 2015).

Bandeira (1999, p.10) lists some interrelated arguments to highlight “the importance of civil society participation and the articulation of social actors in actions aimed at promoting development, whether on a national, regional or local scale. ”, such as the need to consult the community on projects to promote development, as

a way of ensuring its assertiveness; the importance of civil society active in public life and the role played by participation in the process of formation and consolidation of regional identities, which facilitate the construction of basic consensus among social actors that are essential for development. “Empowering communities and opening spaces for direct democracy are the key to development policies” (SACHS, 2004, p. 62).

In this context, having planning as a tool for local development is essential, as the lack of community involvement is an obstacle to adequate management and achievement of results. “To be effective, these strategies must respond to the most pressing problems and aspirations of each community, overcome bottlenecks that obstruct the utilization of potential and idle resources, and release social energies and imagination” (SACHS, 2004, p.61). In this way, it is evident that a political strategy for sustainable regional development cannot be focused only on orthodox actions, it must seek to encourage the formation and maintenance of the stock of social capital, with the State seeking to recognize regional competencies and fostering innovation through cooperation (DINIZ; CROCCO, 2006).

From an empirical point of view, some studies point to a positive relationship between social capital and regional development. Rodrigues (2018), through secondary data, when creating the Social Capital Index (ICS) in all Brazilian municipalities, found that the level of social capital is low, but with positive correspondences between social capital, human capital and development human. Pizzio (2018), while studying the organization of indigenous women Masehual Siuamej Mosenyolchikauanij in Cuetzalan del Progreso, Mexico, concluded that ethnic social capital is an important resource for the development of communities in the region, reducing inequalities in terms of social status, and expanding the field of economic opportunities. Ribeiro et. al. (2020) analyzed the determinants of social capital in Brazil. Among the results obtained, it was found that the variable that most tends to contribute to the formation of social capital is education. As the main recommendation, the authors pointed to the expansion and quality of education in Brazil, since this is the main contributing factor to the formation of better levels of social capital in the country.

Specifically in the state of Tocantins, two studies on the relationship between social capital and regional development deserve to be highlighted. Rodrigues et. al. (2012) when studying the Southeast region of the state of Tocantins, verified through primary and secondary data that social capital is relevant for the improvement of regional development indicators. Rodrigues and Neves (2017) verified the relationship between social capital and regional development, having the State of Tocantins. Social capital in the Tocantins and its microregions are low. Research has shown that social capital levels are related to raising the quality of life and reducing poverty.

3 Methods

Qualitative research is marked by the analysis of social reality through the perspective of the actors involved in it, that is, it is “a means to explore and understand the meaning that individuals or groups attribute to a social or human problem” (Creswell, 2010, p. 43). In this way, this research is characterized by a

qualitative nature, being composed of a bibliographic review, document analysis and interviews with the key actors of the selected region.

The interview script was inspired by the integrated questionnaire to measure social capital (IQ-MCS) of the World Bank (GROOTAERT et al, 2003), in line with the theoretical framework and the research objective, as well as on aspects of the social capital, such as the existence of a culture of reciprocity, the participation of the inhabitants in social networks and other dimensions proposed by Robert D. Putnam. In addition to the causes for the current state of development in the region and the actors' perspectives of regarding projects that could change the course of that development. Before the interviews, three pre-tests were conducted with residents of the region, to verify that the vocabulary used and the questions were easy to understand, as well as the presentation of the concepts.

Gerhardt and Silveira (2009) define an interview as a technique of social interaction, a form of asymmetric dialogue, in which one of the parties seeks to obtain data, and the other presents itself as a source of information. Interviews can be of different types, for example, in groups or individually, either with closed or open questions. Here, the semi-structured type is adopted, where “the researcher organizes a set of questions (script) on the topic being studied, but allows, and sometimes even encourages, the interviewee to speak freely about issues that arise as a result of the main theme” (GERHARDT and SILVEIRA, 2009, p. 72).

The interviewees were selected according to the characterization of the social actors listed in the Ecological and Economic Zoning of the State of Tocantins for the year 2016 (ZEE-TO) prepared by the Planning and Budget Department (Seplan-TO). The ZEE-TO is a technical report that aims to establish the bases for investments that promote sustainable development through the conciliation between the social, economic and environmental protection spheres. Thus, the choice to use the ZEE-TO met the need to establish contact with social actors in the region through telephone and e-mail, available in the document, in addition to being in line with the perspective of sustainable development and civic participation proposed in this work, as the “identification and involvement of social actors, that is, democratic participation is one of the fundamental principles of the ZEE” (SEPLAN-TO, 2016, p.1).

The social actors presented in the report are the groups, institutions or people that can influence the elaboration or are impacted by the implementation of the Ecological Economic Zoning of the State of the Tocantins, such as members of secretariats, agencies, municipalities, institutes, the population in general, represented by leaders organizations, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), associations, among others. The Jalapão region is identified in the ZEE-TO as Administrative Region (AR) XII - New Agreement. Thirty relevant social actors were listed (Table 1), most of them coming from the Third Sector/Civil Society (15), followed by the Public Sector/Municipal Government (9), State (3) and Federal (3).

Table 1 – Relevant social actors for the municipalities of Jalapão according to the ZEE-TO

Relevant social actors
City council
Jalapão State Park and Jalapão Environmental Protection Area
Serra de Tabatinga Environmental Protection Area
Capim Dourado do Povoado da Mumbuca Association
Ascolombolas- Rios Association
Quilombo Boa Esperança
Quilombo Carrapato, Formiga e Ambrósio
Quilombo Mumbuca
Rural Workers Association of the Primogênito Settlement Project
Associação dos Agricultores do Assentamento Agrícola Santo Onofre
Association of Artisans of Capim Dourado Pontaltense
Small Rural Producers Association of the Fazenda Santa Tereza Settlement
Serra Geral do Tocantins Ecological Station
RURALTINS - Local Service Units
Associação Apicultores de Rio do Sono
Santa Tereza Rural Producers Association
Quilombo Barra da Aroeira
Community Association of Extractivists, Craftsmen and Small Producers of the Prata Village of São Félix do Tocantins
São Félix do Tocantins Rural Producer, Commerce and Tourism Association
Sono River Canyons and Rapids Natural Monument
Quilombo Prata

Source: SEPLAN-TO, 2016. Organization: The authors.

In total, 21 people were interviewed, each recognized by their peers, in the agency, association, quilombo, etc. as a reference for their work, or as better said in Moscovici's words, “the person in the group who has been assigned, formally or informally, a position of responsibility to direct and coordinate activities related to the group” (MOSCOVICI, 2001, p. 126). In the city halls, the mayors were interviewed and when they were not available, the secretaries of development, tourism and the environment were consulted. The interviews took place from November 2020 to March 2021, through phone calls. The calls had an average duration of 25 minutes, they were recorded, with the permission of the participants, on a simple recorder and were later fully transcribed, keeping expressions and slang. Based on the theoretical framework, the data collected in the interview were tabulated and categorized using the content analysis technique proposed by Bardin (2016).

To facilitate and make the data processing easier and more efficient, IRAMUTEQ (Interface de R pour les Analyses Multidimensionnelles de Textes et de Questionnaires) was used for textual analysis. To keep the identity of the participants confidential, their speeches are presented with the following symbols, by group: city halls, with PREF denomination from 01 to 08, Associations with ASS from 01 to 04, State Government with GOVE from 01 to 03; Federal Government with GOVF from 01

to 02; and Quilombos with QUIL from 01 to 04. For example, the speech of the first interviewed mayor will appear with the name “PREFo1”, the second “PREFo2” and so on.

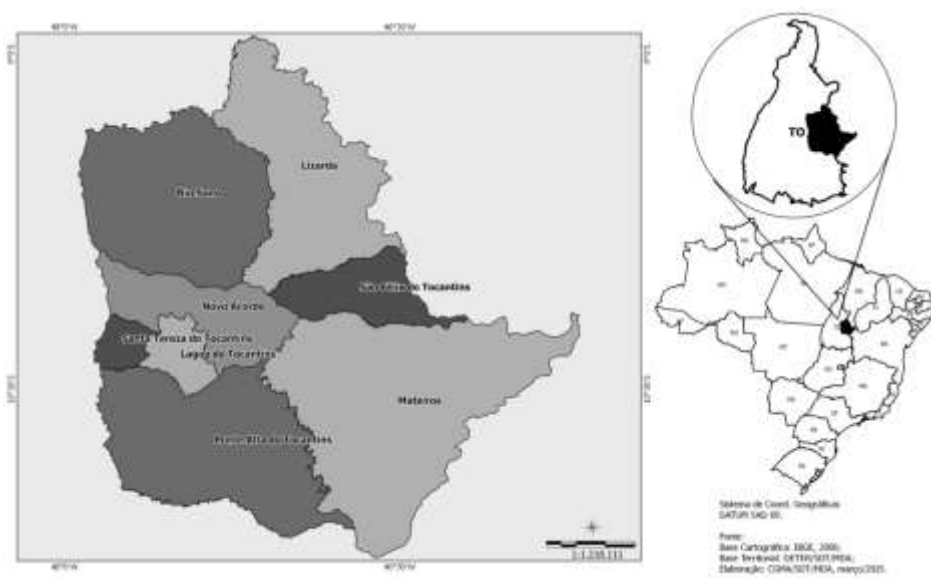
4 Results and discussion

The characterization of social capital involves several plans; the individual, the collective and the institutional; each expressed through interconnected and mutually influencing indicators. Trust and reciprocity are part of the individual plan, while social cohesion, cooperation and ethical values are part of the social sphere and, finally, participation and civic engagement are components of the institutional sphere (NAZZARI, 2006). Given the difficulty of quantitatively measuring social capital, not only by the concept itself, as highlighted by Durston (2000), but given the specificities of the research, the following are qualitative characteristics that represent social capital in the region.

4.1 Jalapão Region in Tocantins State – Brazil

The Jalapão region in the Tocantins, the most visited tourist destination in the state and component of the territory of the citizenship of the same name, is composed of the following municipalities: Lagoa do Tocantins, Lizarda, Mateiros, Novo Agreement, Ponte Alta do Tocantins, Rio Sono, Santa Tereza do Tocantins and São Félix do Tocantins. Located in the east of the state of Tocantins, bordering the states of Bahia, Piauí and Maranhão (ICMBio, 2013).

Figure 1 - Location of Jalapão-TO Region



Extracted from: Jalapão Territorial Notebook/TO, MDA, 2015.

These municipalities also have 10 quilombola communities and 7 Environmental Conservation Units (UCs). The region has a low population density, with 34,050 inhabitants in an area of 34,284 km², with an average of 1.9 inhabitants per km², its population represents 2% of the population of the state while the area is

12% of the territory of Tocantins. The largest municipality is Mateiros, with an area of 9,681.46 km² and a density of 0.28h/km². None of the municipalities in the region has a population equal to or greater than 10,000 inhabitants, and only Ponte Alta do Tocantins and Rio Sono have an estimated population of more than 5,000 inhabitants, respectively: 6478 and 8039 inhabitants (IBGE, 2021).

Over the years, this region has been the object of several development projects, which deal with the maintenance, monitoring and management of numerous conversation units, with emphasis on the investment of US\$ 1.3 million provided by the Inter-American Development Bank (BID) between the mid-1990s and 2000s (FONSECA; RODRIGUES, 2015). In 1998, the IDB also financed the Program for the Development of Ecotourism in the Legal Amazon (PROECOTUR) in the Jalapão region, with pre-investments in the amount of U\$ 13,800,000.00 and investments estimated at U\$ 200 million and implementation period of three years (MMA, 1998) The first phase was to be completed in 2003, but it was only 5 years later, in 2008, impacting the amounts invested.

Through Support for Infrastructure and Services Projects in Territories (Proinf) - a project aimed at economic dynamism through social management and productive inclusion actions - the region received several improvement actions. In the sphere of Proinf alone, 33 projects were carried out between 2004 and 2014, ranging from the recovery of side roads to the strengthening of family farming enterprises (MDA, 2015).

One of the great challenges present in the region is the issue of access, due to the predominantly sandy soils. Given the lack of airports for commercial flights, the only way to get there is by land, preferably in 4x4 vehicles. There was already a project for the construction of an airport in the municipality of Mateiros-TO, in mid-2012, however it has not yet been (or is expected) to be executed. Thus, the main access road to Jalapão, from Palmas, is the TO-030 to Santa Tereza do Tocantins, the TO-130 to Ponte Alta and the route for those who go to Mateiros, continues along the TO-255 (SANTANA, 2018).

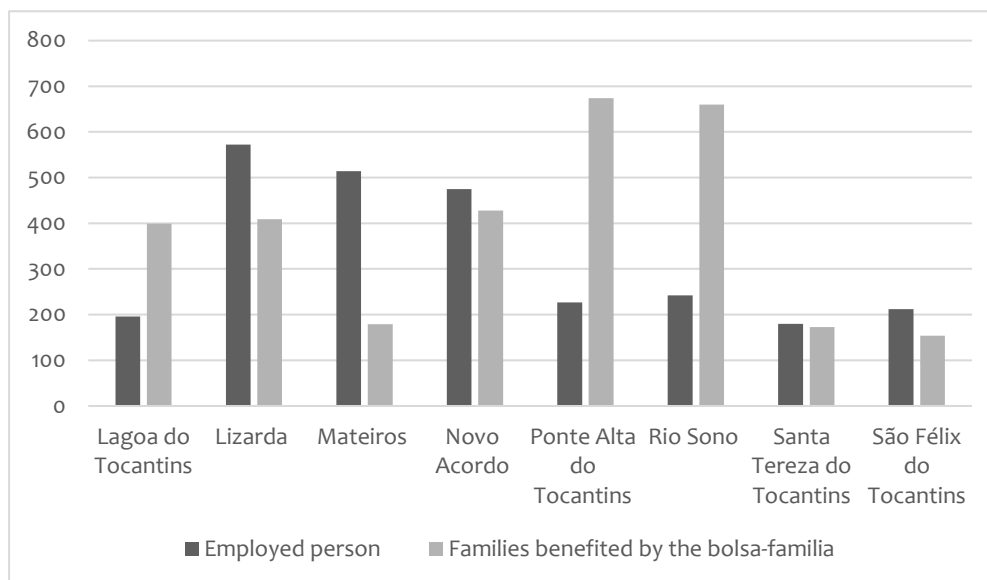
Projects were also carried out for tourism development in the region, with emphasis on the Integrated Development Plan for Sustainable Tourism - PDITS, created by the Federal Government under the Ministry of Tourism, in 2012 with the aim of "undertaking actions that accelerate the development of the of ecotourism and adventure tourism and lead to product improvement, with qualification of current enterprises and attracting new ones" (GOVERNO DO TOCANTINS, 2017, p.1). Through the Agency for the Development of Tourism, Culture and Creative Economy (Adetuc), financed by the World Bank, the project to promote Tourism is developed (from 2014 – currently) in São Félix and Mateiros, in the communities of Prata and Mumbuca, respectively. (TBC) through the Integrated and Sustainable Regional Development Program (PDRIS).

The economic dynamics of the region revolve around the public sector, agriculture and tourism. According to data from the Ministry of Labor – MTE (2020), in 2018, 66% of the jobs generated in the region were in the public sector, 15% in Agriculture, 7% in Commerce, 5% in services, 5% in industry and 2% in other sectors. About GDP, according to Sefaz (2017), the service sector is responsible for 61.4% of the total in the region, agriculture 32% and industry and taxes are responsible for 3.3% each. The municipalities with the highest GDP in the region are Mateiros and Ponte

Alta do Tocantins, together they are responsible for 47% of the region's GDP. São Félix do Tocantins has the lowest GDP, R\$ 18,405.00. Mateiros, which since its foundation has been oriented towards agriculture, owes 68% of its GDP to this sector, being one of the production poles of the State of Tocantins for soybeans, corn and cotton (SEPLAN, 2016).

However, in Jalapão there are few people employed and the number of families receiving family allowance is higher than the total number of people who have work (Graph 1): a total of 3,076 families, of which 987 would be in a situation of extreme poverty without the program. Furthermore, 35% of the region's total population is directly affected by the program (BRASIL, 2021).

Graph 1 – Number of Jobs in relation to Bolsa-Família beneficiaries, 2020



Source: MTE - Social Information Reports (2020); Ministry of Citizenship – Family Grant and Single Registry (2020).

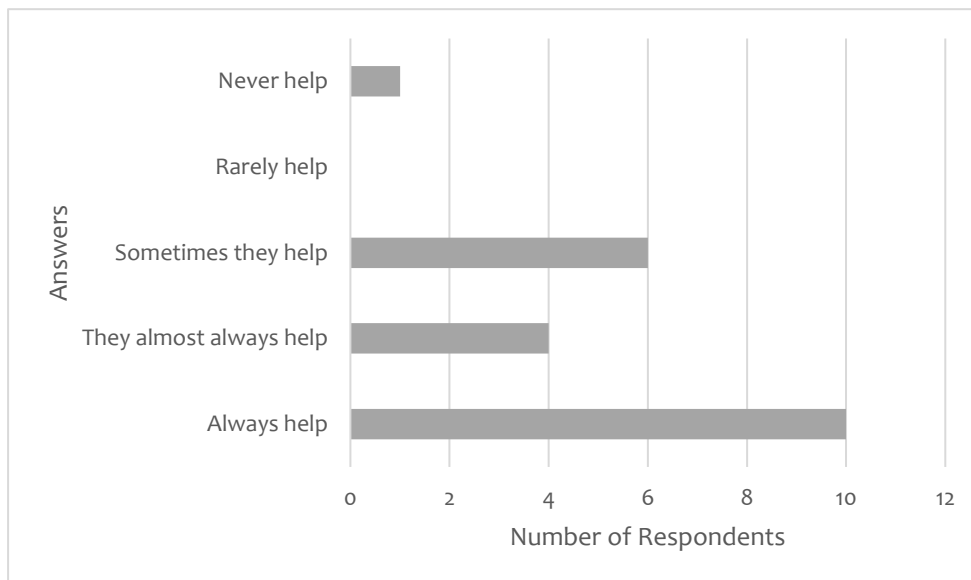
The difficulty of getting a job constitutes, according to Amartya Sen (2013), a deprivation of liberty and these income transfer programs try to alleviate it. Employment is the first key to formal involvement with the community (PUTNAM, 2015, p. 104), thus this scenario highlights the demand for initiatives to reconcile the potential of the locality with initiatives to expand employment and income and overcome informality labor, in order to build a development oriented towards the valorization of dignity and freedom.

4.2 Trust and Reciprocity

For Putnam (2000) trust is essential for the constitution of a civic, participatory and competitive community, after all, for people to cooperate with other, it takes more than just “goodwill”, it is necessary to have trust, which usually comes from, of positive expectations to the other (ROUSSEAU et al, 1998). In Jalapão, according to the interviewees, the residents of the region trust each other in several aspects, as they believe that they can count on each other in case of need (graph 1): “They always help, right, when there is a person in need, they organize a

meeting, make kitty, one helps the other. ” (QUILo3) after all “people know each other a lot here, because it is a small region, in terms of population. ”(GOVEo1); “Here, like this, because everyone knows everyone else, as soon as they need each other, they help” (ASSo1).

Graph 2 - Probability of mutual help in the community - Jalapão Region, 2021.



Source: Own elaboration, survey data, 2021.

Respondents point out that there is solidarity among residents, and Putnam (2000) points out that reciprocity is one of the ways to establish social trust. In this regard, for 23.8% of respondents, the level of trust, in the last five years, among residents in the region has increased; 28.6% believe that this degree remained the same and 47.6% believe it has decreased. The number of respondents who believe that the degree of trust was maintained could be ambiguous information, but, together with the statements that emphasize that one can count on others in case of need, it is no longer. Anyway, in absolute terms, most believe that it has decreased and attributed this fact to financial gains, as expressed in the following statements:

I believe so, there was no money here. I had no money. And now money flows, a little money flows from handicrafts, from there. And people, human beings, I'm going to tell you, girl. Any money the person wants to be more than the other. Then there is disunity. Lack of love, huh? (QUILo1)

Yes, generally, there is that distrust, right? But that's just the financial issue. For example, when the association had this issue of funding, there was a difficulty with this issue of a guarantor, people, it's... they evaluated each other, it got to the point that, just this issue of lack of trust because, sometimes, I didn't even know the next right, to guarantee, then... So it's like, in these small towns, you always have, right, trust in one is total, especially when people are weak in condition, they're afraid of the other not take it, right? Then it gets hard. (PREFo1)

Another cause for the decline in trust among residents is the dilemma of collective action. “Trust promotes cooperation. The higher the level of trust in a

community, the greater the likelihood of cooperation. In addition, cooperation itself generates trust. [...]”. (PUTNAM, 2000, p. 180). However, when these cooperative relationships are unprofitable or disadvantageous for the individual, he or she fails to cooperate and support others, which consequently generates a cycle of distrust between individuals:

Look, I believe that even her confidence has decreased a lot. Ah, the human being is so complicated, you know, I bet on so-and-so and he betrayed me, I trusted so-and-so and he did this to me. I believe that her confidence in herself has greatly diminished. (PREF06)

For Putnam (2015, p.45), association activities are the ones that most incorporate social capital, however they are also the most prone to parasitism. However, not everything is unpleasant, after all, for respondents who believe that the level of trust has increased, the establishment of cooperative relationships stands out as a reason: “Because they started to seek more partnership with each other. From the time you start looking for more partnerships, you start to trust your partner more. So I believe the partnership made that difference.” (PREF02).

I believe that they have a lot of trust in each other, people are still not a part... the majority, it's just that people believe a lot in the other's potential, in the things the other does, when they do it together. There are a lot of people who reinforce that there. (PREF07)

“I believe because of these associations. Because of tourism, plus the attempt of the city hall to invest in tourism, invest in these areas, in associations to work with tourism.” (PREF04)

Sharing of norms and values between people facilitates the existence of trust. In general, the population of the region is very similar, because “anywhere you meet one, you say it's from Jalapão, which is almost all the same.” (PREF02). Even so, the interviewees pointed out that in the region there are certain differences in terms of political positioning, land tenure and educational level. As for the first, they reported that fights and disagreements are punctual – they usually end with the end of the elections -, but as for the others, conflicts and mistrust are generated. The land issue is an old topic that generates insecurity among residents who are afraid of the possibility that someone from outside (or from the region, but with a higher level of education) can deceive them into taking possession of their land.

Social change is the result of the combination of two processes: the simultaneous change of tastes and habits of the general population and generational change, when generations have different tastes and the cycle of life does its work (Putnam, 2015). It is evident that in Jalapão, according to the respondents, there is, in general, trust among the residents, but this has decreased over the years. What to work on in this framework so that mistrust does not change jalapoeira society and become the rule, after all there is room for this:

I think they could help each other more. Certainly. I think a collective feeling could be encouraged here in the larger Jalapão, right? It is important to recognize that it is important for the entire development of the region, in general. Not to generate internal conflicts with neighbors, but to promote general development of the Jalapão region that will benefit all the municipalities involved” (GOVE03).

The characteristics of social capital constitute a public good and are therefore everyone's responsibility. According to Putnam (2015), bonds of reciprocal trust constitute legitimacy and respect for the collectivity, but in order to build mutual trust, it is necessary to strengthen the system of participation and cooperation between institutions and the community. The more there is cooperation, the more social capital is generated.

4.3 Collective Action in Jalapão-TO

“Official membership in formal organizations is only one facet of social capital, but it is generally regarded as a useful barometer of community involvement” (PUTNAM, 2015, p. 50). Furthermore, the formation and survival of collective enterprises, such as associations and cooperatives, lack relationships of trust, reciprocity and other values highly related to the configuration of social capital; “Participation in civic organizations develops the spirit of cooperation and a sense of common responsibility towards collective enterprises” (PUTNAM, 2000, p. 104). In Jalapão, respondents were unanimous in considering those associations, cooperatives and other enterprises communities contribute to improving the region:

“I think that this type of initiative exists and is important and should be encouraged. The development of new associations and strengthening of existing ones should be encouraged because this generates the possibility of bringing benefits to all those involved, such as small rural producers, extractive families, so I think it is extremely important that there are these associations and cooperatives.” (GOVE01)

“If so... if the association is participatory, it contributes a lot”. (PREFo8)

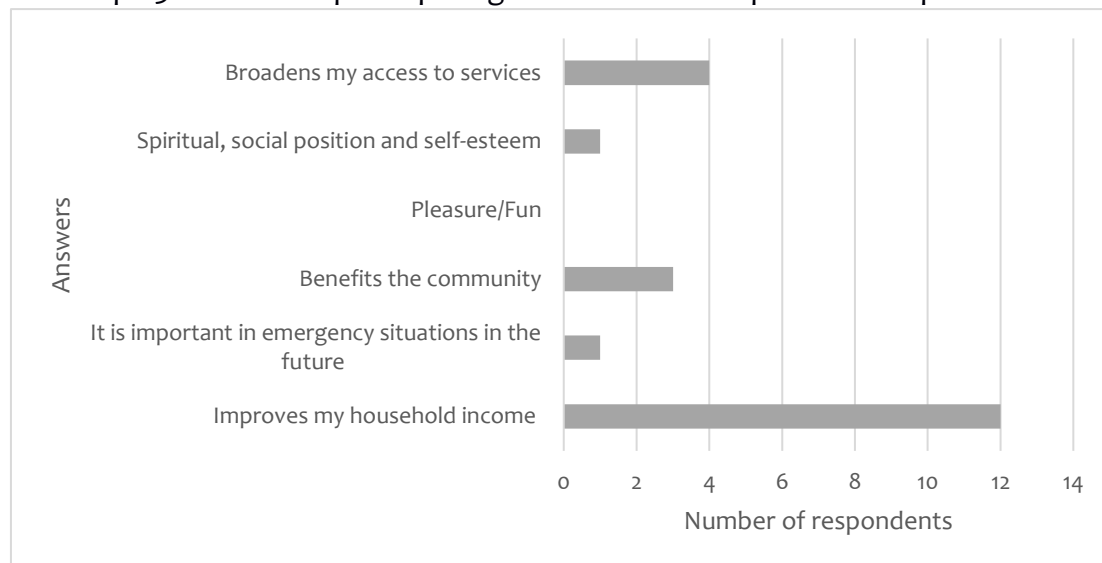
“I believe so, because for something to happen faster and for more people, it has to be organized. In any case, whether association or cooperative. I think this way. But I also emphasize that the civil organizations of Jalapão have not yet taken ownership of what really needs to be done. [...]” (PREFo5).

As reasons to join collective enterprises, the interviewees pointed out that they help in expanding services, such as access to credit; the social position within groups, how to reach the level of leadership; benefit the community, through actions in favor of the associates, such as the availability of internet for students and, mostly; through increased income:

I think it's a benefit to the community because, together, we can achieve something more than alone. We've already got resources to improve... we don't care, but another community has already managed to get a house for a family. And the benefit of the community that is not so much dependent on a city hall, because there are people who depend a lot, like transportation. (ASS01)

“I believe that it brings more income to our village and there is a great development here, too, the issue of golden grass. I think it is very fundamental here for our region.” (QUIL03)

Graph 3 - Benefit of participating in collective enterprises in Jalapão - 2021



Source: Own elaboration, survey data, 2021.

According to Putnam (1993), trust reduces transaction costs and maximizes the results of human interactions, which comes from reciprocity rules, civic participation systems and rules of social constraint to those who do not cooperate. However, despite the respondents pointing out that mutual help is common in the territory, the majority (52%) believe that if someone fails to assist or participate in some community activity, they will not be criticized or punished, which leaves room for desertion from these activities and undermines the establishment of cooperative relationships.

As for the number of associations and cooperatives present in the region; for 38% of the actors surveyed, the number of associations has increased in the last five years, followed by 33% who believe that this number has decreased and 29% who think the number has remained the same. For the increase in the number of associations, the interviewees listed two main reasons; one refers to the increase in tourist movement in the region:

I believe that this tourist boom that took place in our region, because before we were very quiet. Then, after having that soap opera and everything, they have a different vision. In fact, now they know that tourism has become a source of income for them. So it became much easier to accept, in association, cooperative, these things” (PREF04).

Another interviewee highlights the increase in public sector incentives, such as CNPJ requirements for the signing of partnerships and contracts. However, this fact is contradictory in itself, firstly because “more organizations don't mean more members” (PUTNAM 2015, p.54) and “an individual who “belongs” to half a dozen community groups may not be active in any. [...] what matters is an active and involved partner” (Putnam, 2015, p. 61). Second, as Putnam (2015, p. 52) highlights, there is a wave of organizations focused on professional interests and not on their members themselves:

I don't know if it was a stimulus, I don't know why when creating these federal government programs they wanted to create it, it had to be through association, right? Then they created, bought their lots and then

turned their backs on them. [...] They created the associations for... to create the association for their benefit, then leave it behind, then sometimes there is no stimulus, sometimes they don't even know who the association's president is. [...] he created an association, he did everything he had to do, they did everything, everything, they got everything for free and then it ended, there was nothing, then there was rejection. It didn't go forward. There isn't, it was supposed to have at least one association of a hundred or so members and there isn't, there are three if any. (GOVE02)

“Look, here in our city we had many associations, today if you say this: is there any association that is active? There is not. Unfortunately, I don't know, like I told you, the collective is not easy to work with.” (GOVE03)

The interviewees report discouragement as the main reason for the decrease in the number of associations. Putnam (2000, p. 104) states that when establishing cooperative enterprises “the greater their number, the greater the enthusiasm” however, participation declines after the initial enthusiasm boom, unless it is deeply rooted in the organization (PUTNAM, 2015):

Look, at the moment, now, we don't have... here, yeah, the association had, there were two associations here, but at the beginning, people were very excited about everything, they got a lot of budgets, (fuel?), things like that, and lately, neither is working. It's closed (PREF01).

“I already took part. Today I don't do it anymore because our association here ended. Precisely for this reason, the lack of interest of the associates in carrying this association forward” (PREF08)

This question of lack of spirit is customary because of the way most associations are established: with strong government intervention. According to Putnam (1996), the proper establishment of associations generates positive externalities and contributes to the stability and effectiveness of governments and society. The difficulty in creating and maintaining community enterprises, as indicated by the interviewees, reinforces the weakness in mobilization and the social capital present in the region. The “local organizations “implanted” from outside have a high failure rate. The most successful local organizations represent participatory indigenous initiatives in relatively cohesive local communities” (PUTNAM, 2000, p. 104). Respondents report that it is common for the public sector to present proposals for the formation of associations, as an offer, while it should be a demand. Especially when taking into account the distrust that residents have about public administration:

I think that some participate more because it was through them that development within the region was promoted. And some participate less as discredited that it can work. Within the region we have a lot of that, right? Sometimes there's a project, we're developing it, but sometimes it's through the government, the government keeps quiet. It stays still for a period and when it comes back it doesn't have the same credibility (PREF05).

4.4 Political Participation

Putnam (2000, p.128) listed higher performance in the regions of Italy where citizens felt more “able to participate in collective deliberation about public options

and where these options better translate into effective public policies”. “In a civic community, citizenship is primarily characterized by participation in public affairs” (PUTNAM, 2000, p.101). In Jalapão, in general, people are tired of getting involved in public “businesses”, as they do not have the expected return or believe that they are not heard.

The community always participated, but it did...but it's that thing that doesn't work. He is interested in participating, but the governmental issue does not solve anything that the community needs. They present a lot of projects, but if they present a project, it's that project that doesn't leave the paper. (QUIL03)

“[...] used to have more. Today I think it's less. I tell you that because I participated in everything, today nobody invites you to anything. I don't even know if you have it. But there was already a lot of participation from society.” (GOVE02)

In summary, today Jalapoeiro citizens do not see the public thing as something of their own, but as an external factor, given that “in a community rich in social capital, the government is “us” and not “them” (PUTNAM, 2015, p. 406). The situation can be summarized in the following statement:

“The population doesn't even participate in... because when we have a project that we communicate to the population, they don't participate because everything here in the countryside is focused on politics. So we have this difficulty with the population. The interest is greater when part of the community and the city hall go as a guest. When the city hall does it, the acceptance is less. [...] The people help each other a lot. They are good at helping each other. We have this difficulty when we enter as a public agency” (PREF04).

Cynicism toward government can cause disengagement, and disengagement can worsen actual government performance (PUTNAM, 2015):

Civil engagement matters on both the demand and supply sides of government. On the demand side, citizens in civil communities expect better government, and (in part through their efforts) they receive it. [...] if decision-makers expect citizens to hold them accountable, they will be more inclined to hold back their impulses rather than face public protest. On the supply side, the performance of the representative government is facilitated by the social infrastructure of civic communities and the democratic values of officials and citizens. (PUTNAM, 2015, p. 404)

Thus, another way of conferring trust between people is through the perception of honesty they have of each other, as “honesty, civic engagement and social trust mutually reinforce each other” (PUTNAM, 2015, p. 155). In this regard, respondents were asked to assign scores from 0 to 10 to the members and staff of some agencies in the region, where the closer to zero the more dishonest and the closer to ten the more honest. The table below shows an average of the scores obtained.

Table 2 - Degree of honesty in Jalapão by entity - 2021

Organization	Average Grade
Local Government Members	5,52
Teachers and School Employees	8,21
Traditional Locality Leaders	8,24
Police Department	7,40
NGO Members	8,09*

Source: Own elaboration, field research data. *Note: estimated in the responses of 11 people, the others reported that they did not know of any NGO.

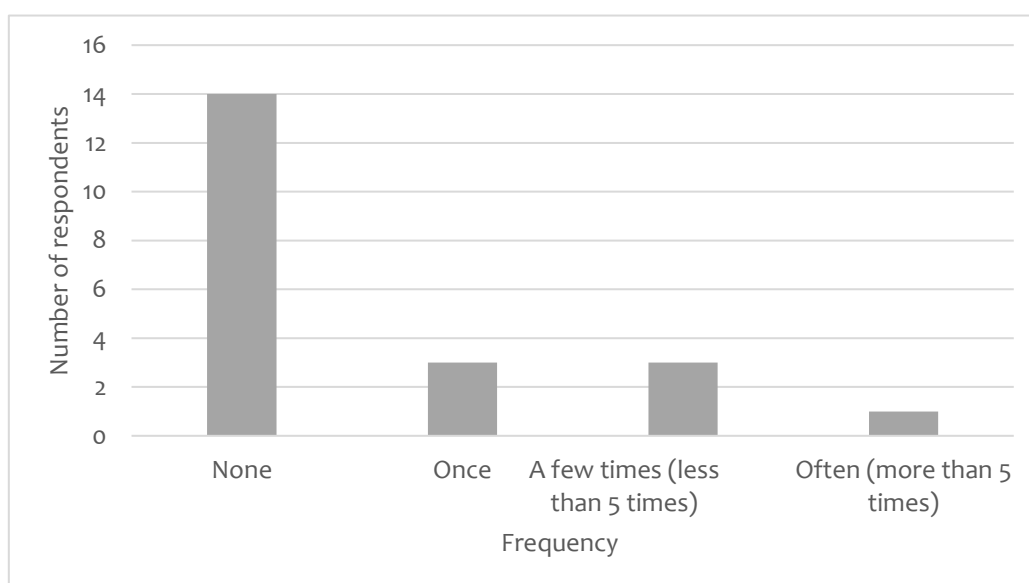
The grades reveal a certain distrust about the local government; these were the only ones who received a grade 0 (even more than one). However, with the speeches as a complement, it is clear that this distrust spreads to other spheres of governments:

I don't know of any participation by the federal government, it's like that because of the agreements. There are agreements in the Jalapão region, which come from the federal government. I don't see much of the state government, because I should enter the access part there, but everything is bad (GOVEo2)

State, let's say it is... most of the works that are carried out in the municipality are more of deputies, right, I think the state government is also a part, right? But it leaves something to be desired, because we have bridges that have not ended, and some roads would give access to the capital [...](PREFo6).

The lack of trust in politics undermines civil participation (PUTNAM, 2015), which can be seen in graph 4, through the requests made on behalf of the collectivity.

Graph 4 - Number of times people in this locality met to submit a petition to government members, in the last 12 months* - 2021



Source: Own elaboration, field research data, 2021. *Before the pandemic.

Most of the respondents stated that the request for public services by the community “hardly happens, lately it demands a lot from the individual manager, councilor, [...] from the secretariat, understand? Individually, according to the needs of each one” (PREFo1). In underperforming regions people are dissatisfied “apparently what sets these governments apart is not so much the particular interest they serve as how well they serve the common interest” (Putnam, 2000, p. 90) “a persevering pursuit of the public good at the expense of every individual and private interest” (Putnam, 2015, p. 101).

I think people lose interest in the things that the city government does for their own private and political interests, because if maybe they are not on the same side, then oh, it doesn't matter there, they don't think about the municipality as a whole, they only think about the particularity, that's what I think (PREFo7).

The majority of respondents indeed believe that the population, in general, has no interest in participating in decision-making, but “we have to address both the supply of opportunities for civic engagement and the demand for these opportunities” (Putnam, 2015 p. . 469) and in this regard, respondents point out that governments have also left something to be desired:

Still does not have a broad participation of the society for the development of these projects. There is a lack of interest from the population and this part of the public power is also lacking in seeking and involving society. I think it's a two-way street, right? (PREFo8).

Well, when they are called they always show up, right? When they are invited, but when they are volunteers, even so... if you don't invite people, one shows up there, (based on their interest). [...] The lack of participation of the population is one of the things that also makes it difficult, that the great part of the population here is from the rural area, so if it is summoned personally someone shows up, if not, if it is only through the radio or other means of communication, it is difficult ... The lack of motivation is also great, there are many people who are very unmotivated, they don't believe that things can happen (PREFo1).

[...]Some are interested, others are not, I think they also didn't have the opportunity to participate, you know? Because, in fact, there are no development projects here, there are none for Jalapão. And the city hall is responsible for all this, you know? And it ends up not sharing with the community, with the people, what happens (ASSo2).

“Knowledge about public affairs and practice in everyday civic skills are prerequisites for effective participation” (PUTNAM, 2015, p. 471). “Communication is the basis, the foundation, the radical foundation, and the root upon which every community stands, grows, and thrives.” (PUTNAM, 2015, p, 196). In Jalapão, the sources of information listed were WhatsApp, Facebook, Youtube, Radio, Television, Friends and neighbors and sound car that advertises in the street. In the last years, the access to information has improved a lot in the region: “Actually it has improved 100%. Five years ago here we could only get one... only live. Today we don't, we can get Vivo and Claro. The access to information is very different from 5 years ago.

(PREF04); "Information has improved. Because we didn't have information here. I lived like a caboco. (QUIL04).

I think that lately the access to information has improved, but, there is the problem of fake news that sometimes people don't see the source the information, the veracity. Nevertheless, on the other hand, the access to information has become easier in the last years because of the access to digital media. (GOVE03)

In this aspect, the lack of information about public works cannot be considered a hindrance to participation, except if there is a deliberate omission or failure to disclose, either on the part of the government or the community itself:

There is a person here, the [...], who represents herself there. But she doesn't bring the information to here, to the community, and when the person, the government sometimes sends a secretary, they still want to prevent it. They don't want to accept the proposal, they don't want to accept the project. And this is making it very difficult, because of this. We can't only blame the government in this matter. But people here are also getting in the way. Things like people who are not from here, who want to be bigger, so they can't reach us, right, in the meetings. To reach the public. Things arrive and stay there, they don't stay public, for everyone to see, for everyone to know. Very difficult. (QUIL01)

In any case, the (low) participation of civil society in decision-making in the Jalapão occurs mainly through deliberative councils and associations "I think through the associations, through meetings, through debates. Through the associations normally. "(GOVE01); "I think that with the associations and cooperatives people are interested more, participate more, I think they feel more valued through the associations and cooperatives" (PREF07).

Usually it is through associations. Even to create councils we are having difficulties with the population, we need the population... even to create a council we have had difficulties. Sometimes it is not even a lack of interest. It's even a lack of involvement with the public body. Here in the interior, everything revolves, everyone expects the public agency. So, sometimes, many people think that the public sector is at fault. And sometimes it is not always this way. So one form of retaliation is not to participate when it involves the public sector when it is the public sector's responsibility. (PREF04)

I think it had more development, because at the beginning of cooperatives, associations, people still a little bit suspicious, then they see that it worked, so yes, they have more participation [...] (QUIL01)

However, the portion that still participates today is composed of the same people and for developing strategies to be effective they must incorporate as many actors as possible in order to have more points of view that meet the aspirations and needs of the communities (SACHS, 2004)

Here you participate in the councils, you go to one council and the same people are there, you go to the other council and the same people are there, it's not because you don't invite them. No, you invite people, but

they don't go. People don't have that habit of working collectively, people stay very individual. It is very difficult here to work collectively. I say this because I work with many associations and it is not easy. For example, you want to do a collective program, you don't go, you don't go, you don't go. I have already implemented several programs here, when it is collective, it doesn't go, it dies. It goes while you are there, it goes, when you turn your back it is over". (GOVE02)

4.4 Development in Jalapão

The characterization of the region and the development projects conducted there highlight measurable aspects that form a picture in the mind of anyone who has never visited the region. However, is this picture also what the region's residents, businessmen, public servants, etc. have in mind when they think about the place where they live? Below in figures 2 and 3, through word clouds, one can observe the main strengths and weaknesses of the region according to the social actors interviewed.

Figure 2 - Strengths of the Jalapão Region



Source: Own elaboration, survey data, 2021.

The cloud consists of a presentation of the frequency with which the words are mentioned; those with greater representativeness appear centralized (CAMARGO; JUSTO, 2013). As can be seen, the main strengths, according to the respondents in the survey, revolve around tourist activity, such as the environment, the capim dourado, the communities and the welcoming people.

So, there is a certain rivalry that is common to observe. So to speak, each one wants to pull the sardine to their own side, but I think this should be forgotten by the Jalapeira population and they should think about a regional development of Jalapão, involving all the municipalities. Because Jalapão doesn't compete with each other, Mateiros doesn't compete with São Félix, which doesn't compete with Ponte Alta. The competition with Jalapão is Chapada das Mesas, Serras Gerais, is Chapada dos Veadeiros. (GOVEo1)

I do believe that there is this will to develop the region. It happens in a more specific way, from town to town, but this contact where each one has, this need that each one has and the other can supply, in fact, contributes to the development of the region (PREFo5).

Another point highlighted is the issue of unemployment, where options have been scarce. The work at the city hall is usually sporadic, because it happens at the invitation of the mayor and ends with the mayor's mandate, and the commitment to a politician ends their opportunities with the mayor's competitors.

Unemployment. Because in a small town that doesn't have an industry, it's hard for families, because if you don't work in the state, you work at the city hall, and those who don't work in the state or the city hall do a daily job, a lady does a cleaning. So there is a lack of jobs. Each municipality should have an industry, whether it is oil, sugar or alcohol, to generate jobs. (PREFo6)

In addition to the unemployment issue, there are complaints about the bureaucracy and barriers to get credit to invest in economically productive activities, which is related to the condition of the reception network for tourists, family farmers and even the municipalities.

[...] But the banks, branches make it very difficult, service is very slow, make a project... we made a project here last year, 2018, it was approved now. [...]. You make a line of credit for a certain value, when it is approved you can't even buy what... when it comes out. The agency has to be more agile, more incentive. There is no incentive. (GOVEo2)

As for the participation and mobilization of the people, "generally here the people don't have the habit of working together; they still don't have the habit of working in groups."(PREFo1) "Sometimes yes, sometimes yes. Sometimes we need this participation and it doesn't happen. There is time, right, it is of utmost importance that the participation of the population always happens. And this can become one of the problems for low development" (PREFo5); "I think that the population has to participate more with front-line people, to know what the population needs, what they want to claim" (PREFo7)

It's because then, when the person doesn't take part, doesn't interact, the development doesn't seek, and doesn't seek the improvement, doesn't help to seek the improvement. Most people expect to receive at home sitting down, some run after and others sit down. (ASSo1)

I say that it was the union, because it was there in the collective, here we had a very good beekeeping project and it was a failure, so much so that

the honey house here was worth more than a million and a bit and it's closed, for lack of the producers themselves [...] (GOVE02).

It is very important, yes, working together we can achieve more. It is very important, but now the awareness of these people, [...] sometimes they don't have that, that, associative course, sometimes they are very individualistic, we are very individualistic about things...sometimes it is more difficult because of that, right?! Each one more, it's each one for yourself (PREF01).

Most of these impediments to the region's development are interconnected and can be solved through targeted actions. For example, well-planned learning programs, which "improved civilian knowledge, increase citizens' effectiveness, increase social responsibility and self-esteem, teach cooperation and leadership skills [...]" (PUTNAM, 2015, p. 471)

Over the years, Jalapão region has been the object of several development projects, many of which have not achieved the expected results while others, with objectives, continue to be executed. Through the Support for Infrastructure and Services Projects in Territories (Proinf) - a project that aimed at economic dynamism through social management and productive inclusion actions - the region received several improvement actions. In the Proinf sphere alone, 33 projects were carried out between 2004 and 2014, ranging from the recovery of side roads to the strengthening of family farming enterprises (CGMA/SDT, 2015).

One of the great challenges present in the region is the issue of access, due to the predominant sandy soils. Given the lack of airports for commercial flights, the only way to get there is by land, preferably in 4x4 vehicles. There was already a project for the construction of an airport in the municipality of Mateiros - TO, in mid-2012, however it has not yet been (or is expected) to be executed. Thus, the main access road to Jalapão, from Palmas, is the TO-030 to Santa Tereza do Tocantins, the TO-130 to Ponte Alta and the route for those who go to Mateiros, continues along the TO-255 (SANTANA, 2018).

Projects were/are also carried out for tourism development in the region, with emphasis on the Integrated Development Plan for Sustainable Tourism – PDITS, created by the Federal Government under the Ministry of Tourism, in 2012 with the aim of “undertaking actions that accelerate the development ecotourism and adventure tourism segments and lead to product improvement, with qualification of current enterprises and attracting new ones” (Governo do Tocantins, 2017). Through the Agency for the Development of Tourism, Culture and Creative Economy (Adetuc), financed by the World Bank, the project to promote Tourism is developed (from 2014 – currently) in São Félix and Mateiros, in the communities of Prata and Mumbuca, respectively. (TBC) through the Integrated and Sustainable Regional Development Program (PDRIS).

The new projects are coordinated and debated through the institutions listed as key actors for the development of the region: Ruraltins, municipal governments, associations, quilombos and Rural Unions. “Social participation is a fundamental condition for the effectiveness of public territorial planning policies, which results in the possibility of incorporating the diversity of interests of social actors (public sector, private sector and civil society) and the enhancement of results that favor common interests to the detriment of individualized or segmented views” (SEPLAN,

2016b). Due to the region being composed of environmental conservation units, quilombola communities and agricultural settlements, the debates between the relevant social actors are predominantly on territorial planning, agriculture, social development and the environment and public administration (SEPLAN, 2016b).

The new trend adopted for the elaboration and execution of projects between the state, municipalities and society may represent, after all, the success of these initiatives, however, it remains to be seen to what extent this participation exists and, moreover, if it is representative of the region's population. According to the results of the interviews, there is still a low level of engagement of the population in these projects, and a growing distrust of government institutions, and also of the very effectiveness of projects that involve collective action.

5 Concluding Remarks

Undermined by public policies and unsuccessful initiatives, the current level of social capital can be considered an impediment to the development of Jalapão. It was found that the elements that characterize social capital are present in the region, but are deteriorated and poorly mobilized for the promotion of sustainable regional development. The citizens of Jalapoe, through their humble heritage, have built a peaceful society where these factors have always been present among its members, however, the amount of unfinished or unsuccessful projects by the governments has been eroding the confidence of the citizens as well as the hope that the region will develop.

Political mistrust plus the absence of large, compelling collective projects is a boulder in social and civil participation trends. To solve this problem, the ideal is to integrate the community, labor, and social spheres, just as it is necessary to create public and private structures and policies that facilitate civil engagement. The greater the trust and possibilities for association among citizens, the greater the volume of social capital. This has an influence on institutional functioning, economic opportunities, and collective well-being. Thus, investing in social capital enables the integration and inclusion of social actors in development projects and expands socioeconomic possibilities, but it is not an easy task, since to be successful "demands time and objective effort" (PUTNAM, 2015 p. 99).

The recognition of the problems of a region is only the first step in a broader challenge that will be the responsibility of the community, national and local institutions and governments, with emphasis on the actions of the latter. Jalapão is immersed in a mosaic of environmental preservation areas, but the public sector cannot forget that sustainability must meet social, cultural, ecological, environmental, territorial, and economic criteria (SACHS, 2004). Therefore, they should not relegate the residents to mere occupants, but turn to the demands of the community with public policies oriented in line with dynamics and processes that help increase trust and collective actions among residents. This, is if the governments working in the region wish to stop playing a paternalistic and unproductive role as it has been in recent years.

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