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GENERAL TYPOLOGY OF ECONOMIC AGENTS IN THE COCOA AGRARIAN SYSTEM, SOUTHERN BAHIA, BRAZIL

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Gustavo Bittencourt Machado[1].

ABSTRACT

This article[2] aims to discuss the crisis of cocoa monoculture in the southern region of Bahia, Brazil, since the second half of the 1980s and the strategies for economic overcoming towards the transformations of the regional agrarian system based on a new typology of social categories in the region. The crisis of cocoa monoculture begins with the growth of regional unemployment, the considerable drop in cocoa production, which makes Brazil a cocoa importing country, implying the productive destructuring of agricultural systems based on cocoa plantations in the *cabruca agroforestry system*. New pastures and coffee plantations are implemented, contributing to the deforestation of the rainforest and the replacement of agriculture by cattle ranching. In this way, the regional crisis of rural and urban unemployment caused the orderly structuring of social movements through agrarian reform, intensifying incursions and entries into rural settlements, strengthening the new agrarian reform settlements through the organization of a new type of family farming. As for the categories, the most generic, it is observed the existence of eight categories of economic agents in relation to cocoa cultivation in the South of Bahia. They are: *family cocoa producers and diversified agrarian reform agreements*; *medium employer or family farmers with a partnership ("sharecropper") or salary payment*; *farmer employers who have abandoned their cocoa farms*; *new investors who bought abandoned land*; *small agro-industries, chocolate associations and cooperatives*; *transnational agro-industrial companies and medium-sized commercial cocoa storage companies*. It is possible to identify pluriactive families, exclusively agricultural or exclusively non-agricultural, and families that develop strategies for the conservation of natural resources.

Keywords: Typology of economic agents. Cocoa. Agrarian systems. Multifunctionality of family farming.

[1] Dr. in Comparative Agriculture (AgroParisTech, France). Dr. in Territorial Planning and Regional Development (University of Barcelona, Spain)
Associate Professor IV at the Federal University of Bahia (Brazil)

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INTRODUCTION

This article aims to discuss the crisis of cocoa monoculture in the southern region of Bahia, Brazil, since the second half of the 1980s and the strategies of economic overcoming towards the transformations of the regional agrarian system from a new typology of economic agents in the region. The crisis of cocoa monoculture begins with the growth of regional unemployment, the considerable drop in cocoa production, which makes Brazil a cocoa importing country, implying the productive destructuring of agricultural systems based on cocoa plantations under the cabruca agroforestry system. New coffee plantations are implemented, contributing to the deforestation of the rainforest and, in some spaces, the replacement of agriculture by pastures and cattle raising.

Despite the existence of the cabruca system, cocoa production systems have developed due to the technological impulse based on chemical fertilizers, disseminated by the Special Commission for Cocoa Farming - Ceplac. From the 1960s onwards, within the expansion of the productivism of the green revolution, this movement was strengthened by consolidating, until the 1970s, in Brazil, the cocoa region, as the world's main producer of cocoa beans.

In this way, the regional crisis of rural and urban unemployment provoked the orderly structuring of social movements through agrarian reform, intensifying the incursions and entries of rural settlements, strengthening the new agrarian reform settlements through the organization of a new type of family farming, still dependent on public policies of credit financing and investments in infrastructure and maintenance of temporary crops, for family safety and supply initially.

Many rural workers were transformed into family farmers "settled" by agrarian reform, as a result of the increase in unemployment in the region. Since the intensification of the regional economic crisis of 1990, several rural workers have been laid off by their employers. For this reason, they moved to the regional cities, Ilhéus, Itabuna and Porto Seguro, expanding housing on the outskirts of the regional cities, which caused the emergence of new "favelas".

What is the main reason for the growth of unemployment? It is possible to mention the expansion of the Witch's Broom ("Witch's Broom") on farms throughout the region, which caused a drop in productivity and cocoa production. In addition, one must consider the growth in the costs of fertilizers, agrochemicals and workers' wages and, finally, the total costs of production that have increased successively. The employer's first measure

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was to fire its workers. This explains the increase in unemployment and the commitment of workers to social movements for agrarian reform in the cocoa-growing region, increasing the number of settlements.

At the suggestion of Ceplac, the social relationship of partnership (partnership) was adopted by the employing farmers and, to a certain extent, by a part of the more capitalized family farmers, in order to reduce the costs of production, processing and harvesting of cocoa. Most farmers adopted this social relationship of partnership, reducing the pressure on the cities and the growth of social tension around agrarian reform.

New plantation management has been requested by argiculturists with recommendations from Ceplac, focused on the technological innovations of the green revolution, and over the years, with biotechnological innovations based on cocoa hybrids and clones.

The genetic strategies of farmers began to follow two paths: the agroecologies pursued by family farmers, especially the agrarian reform settlers, under the coordination of the Landless Workers Movement (MST), taking as an example the Terra Vista Settlement in the municipality of Arataca, state of Bahia. The second path taken by employers, employers and some more capitalized family farmers was the replacement of old cocoa plantations by hybridism and cloning biotechnologies developed by Ceplac.

This type of family farming can be considered to have started from a process of agroecological transition from productivist production systems in cocoa and other crop farming systems to agroecological-based production systems without the use of pesticides.

THE COCOA REGION (IDENTITY TERRITORY OF THE SOUTH COAST) OF THE STATE OF BAHIA (BRAZIL)

Brazil was, for several years, one of the largest producers of cocoa beans in the world and, during the first decade of the twentieth century, it became the largest producer in the world (Caplac, 1982); however, increased competition with African countries led to the loss of this position in the global market, according to Dantas *et al* (2020).

Until the mid-1980s, cocoa production gradually increased, reaching its highest production in 1986, with 356 thousand tons, coming from the southern region of Bahia. This reality changed with the cultivation crisis in the 1990s, due to the growth of production costs, with the infestation of cocoa plantations by the witches' broom disease, caused by the fungus *Moniliophthora perniciosa*. In addition, it is necessary to highlight the drop in the

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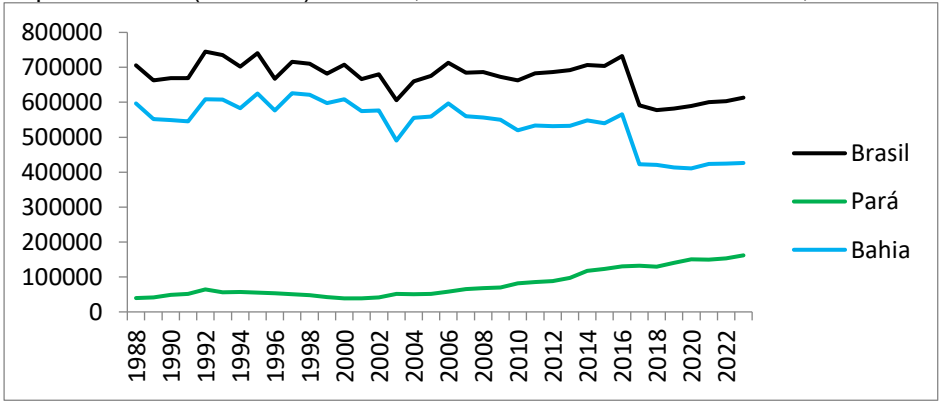
price of cocoa in the international market. African countries, on the other hand, have increased the supply of cocoa beans globally, with emphasis on Côte d'Ivoire, whose production of 1,149 thousand tons in 2012/2013, and 2,000 tons in 2017/2018, occupying the position of the largest global producer, followed by Ghana, Indonesia, Ecuador, Cameroon, Nigeria and Brazil (Statista, 2019). Between 1994 and 2004, global cocoa production was concentrated on the African continent (72%) and 54% was produced by Côte d'Ivoire (Noia *et al*., 2015 *apud* Dantas *et al*, 2020).

In 2019, the state of Pará became the first cocoa producer in Brazil. In fact, the second position places the transformations of the cocoa agrarian system in the state of Bahia with the stabilization of the amount of agricultural production of this *commodity* during the last few years; however, the state of Bahia has the largest cocoa cultivated area in Brazil.

According to graph 1 and table 1, between 1988 and 2023, the area planted with cocoa decreased considerably in the State of Bahia, from 596,547 hectares to 425,895 hectares, due to the regional crisis, with the replacement of cocoa by other cultivation systems, such as coffee, and cattle raising systems, with increasing deforestation of the tropical forest. On the other hand, there was an increase in the area planted with cocoa in the State of Pará, modifying the trend curve of the planted area in Brazil, as a whole, from 39,254 hectares in 1988 to 161,866 hectares in 2023, a fourfold growth.

Graph 1: Cocoa planted area (hectares) in Brazil, state of Bahia and state of Pará, between 1988 and 2023



Source: AgroStat, 2024. Elaborated by the author.

Table 1: Cocoa planted area (hectares) in Brazil, state of Bahia and state of Pará, between 1988 and 2023

Année	**1988**	**1989**	**1990**	**1991**	**1992**	**1993**	**1994**	**1995**	**1996**	**1997**	**1998**	**1999**
Brésil	705751	662478	668800	669275	744958	734828	701802	740576	667461	715928	710496	681670
Stop	**39254**	41188	49173	51730	64769	56042	56746	54870	53658	50239	48258	42396
Bahia	**596547**	552206	549435	545819	608490	607489	582575	625488	576898	625869	621025	597789
Year	**2000**	**2001**	**2002**	**2003**	**2004**	**2005**	**2006**	**2007**	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**

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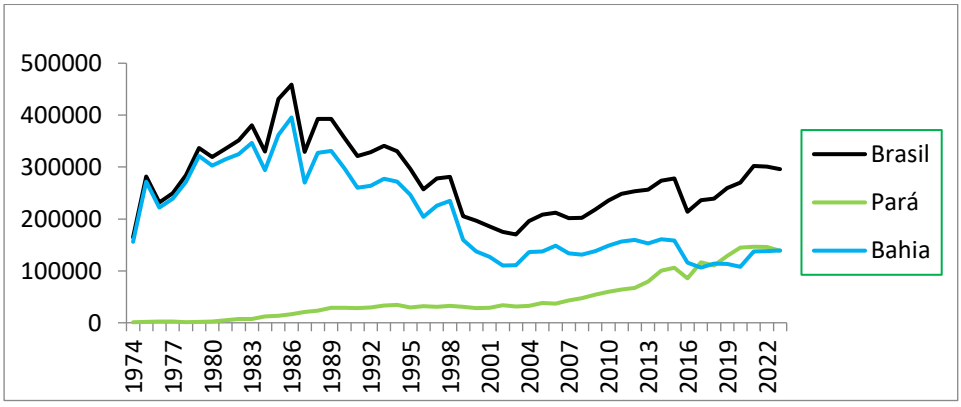
Brazil	707487	666338	680216	605930	659758	675098	712761	685003	686206	672435	662674	682482
Stop	38905	38737	41703	51557	51057	51788	57533	65248	68326	70279	81764	85041
Bahia	608299	574586	576875	490142	555611	558964	596377	559884	556522	549769	519990	533315
Year	**2012**	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**	**2016**	**2017**	**2018**	**2019**	**2020**	**2021**	**2022**	**2023**
Brazil	686541	692435	707106	704288	732585	591199	577550	582010	589153	600818	602800	612939
Stop	88267	97176	117352	123375	130193	131891	129247	140549	150051	149912	152837	**161866**
Bahia	532074	532268	547722	539750	565145	422163	420528	413065	410676	423256	424738	**425895**

Source: AgroStat, 2024. Elaborated by the author.

According to Dantas *et al* 2020, the importance given to this crop led the State of Bahia to create the Bahia Cocoa Institute in 1931, and thus began to intervene in this market through the provision of credit, the improvement of transport conditions and the commercialization of cocoa. (Noia *et al*., 2015). The scenario was one of high liquidity and solidity, with cocoa being a very attractive commodity, inserting new productive areas and expanding existing ones. On this market, the producer was essentially faced with two ways of marketing his production: directly in the mills installed or through intermediaries. In the presence of a significant number of cocoa producers and some almond buyers, the market was structured as an oligopsony, characterized by the producer's weak bargaining power. Thus, prices were set by a few buyers, causing the weakening of some links in the production chain (Fontes, 2013).

Graph 2: Amount of cocoa produced (in tons) in Brazil, in the state of Bahia and the state of Pará, between 1974 and 2023.



Source: AgroStat, 2024. Elaborated by the author.

Between 1974 and 1988, the amount of cocoa produced increased in the State of Bahia and began to decrease considerably, in the early 1990s until the year 2023. Brazilian production follows Bahian production until 2006, when Brazil's cocoa production is influenced by the increase in cocoa production in the State of Pará, especially from 2007 to 2023.

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In the State of Bahia, cocoa production fell to 395,486 tons of cocoa beans in 1986 and fell to 139,011 tons in 2023, a reduction of two-thirds. In the State of Pará, cocoa production increased from 980 tons of cocoa in 1974 to 146,375 tons of cocoa in 2021.

Table 2: Amount of cocoa (in tons) in Brazil, in the state of Bahia and the state of Pará, between 1974 and 2023

Année	**1974**	**1975**	**1976**	**1977**	**1978**	**1979**	**1980**	**1981**	**1982**	**1983**	**1984**	**1985**	**1986**
Brésil	164616	281887	231796	249755	284490	336326	319141	335625	351149	380256	329903	430789	458754
Stop	**980**	1772	2257	2150	1003	1761	2586	4690	7104	7198	11990	13357	16583
Bahia	156000	271788	222056	239352	271000	321140	302481	314804	324608	346652	293841	361800	**395486**
Year	**1987**	**1988**	**1989**	**1990**	**1991**	**1992**	**1993**	**1994**	**1995**	**1996**	**1997**	**1998**	**1999**
Brésil	329266	392446	392610	356246	320967	328518	340885	330577	296705	256777	277966	280801	205003
Stop	20747	23564	28669	29131	28075	29428	33124	34482	29445	32171	30826	32635	30527
Bahia	269890	327562	330751	298024	259872	263548	277699	271889	246350	204168	225476	234918	159328
Année	**2000**	**2001**	**2002**	**2003**	**2004**	**2005**	**2006**	**2007**	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**
Brésil	196788	185662	174796	170004	196005	208620	212270	201651	202030	218487	235389	248524	253211
Stop	28278	29028	34069	31524	32804	38119	36595	43207	47108	54216	59537	63799	67299
Bahia	137568	126812	110205	110654	136155	137459	148703	133943	131060	137929	148254	156289	159432
Année	**2013**	**2014**	**2015**	**2016**	**2017**	**2018**	**2019**	**2020**	**2021**	**2022**	**2023**		
Brésil	256186	273793	278299	213871	235809	239318	259451	269740	302126	301026	296145		
Stop	79727	100293	105914	85826	116358	110060	128961	144682	**146375**	145994	138471		
Bahia	152592	161096	158432	115756	106246	113939	113065	107499	137622	138151	**139011**		

Source: AgroStat, 2024. Elaborated by the author.

The Executive Commission of the Cocoa Farming Plan (Ceplac) was created by Decree No. 40,987, in 1957, when the federal government of Brazil instituted the Economic-Rural Recovery Plan for Cocoa Culture, in view of the sharp drop in cocoa prices in the South of Bahia. The objective was to restore cultivation, increase harvesting and processing conditions, and create means to combat pests and diseases (Mapa, 2020).

The plan also promoted technical assistance to introduce production technology packages, increase cocoa productivity, and establish credit conditions for farmers (Mapa, 2020).

At Ceplac, the Cocoa Research Center (Cepec) was created, with the objective of developing production technologies. With the objective of creating and disseminating technological innovations, the Agricultural Technical Schools (Emarcs) were created for high school education.

The Brazilian Cocoa Culture Guidelines Program (Procacau) was implemented between 1976 and 1985. In the 1980s, production reached a world record, reaching 458.7 thousand tons, with more than 655 thousand hectares of harvested area in 1986. In the 2000s, production fell below 200 thousand tons.

Currently, the main cocoa-producing states in Brazil are: Pará, Bahia, Rondônia, Amazonas and Espírito Santo. The State of Bahia participated with 63.35% of total exports

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in 2021, decreasing to 56.82% in 2022 and 53.16% in 2023, with the increase in cocoa exports by the State of São Paulo. In imports, the movement is similar with the participation of the State of Bahia with 51.34% in 2021, 32.98% in 2022 and 43.47% in 2023.

Compared to cocoa imports, the State of Bahia is the largest importer of cocoa, between 2021 and 2023, by the transnational agroindustry located in the South Coast region, as shown in table 3. The states of Minas Gerais and São Paulo have significant statistics on cocoa imports.

Table 3: Cocoa exports and imports by federated state of Brazil between 2021 and 2023.

Export						
Year	2021		2022		2023	
Federated state	**US$**	**%**	**US$**	**%**	**US$**	**%**
Bahia	224.805.220	63,35	196.373.876	56,82	198.282.746	53,16
Minas Gerais	48.859.841	13,77	47.029.151	13,61	42.045.955	11,27
São Paulo	44.894.655	12,65	61.748.340	17,87	89.735.212	24,06
Paraná	14.603.818	4,12	12.963.226	3,75	15.229.336	4,08
Holy Spirit	12.940.094	3,65	16.566.137	4,79	15.706.088	4,21
Other Länder	8.744.798	0	10.927.847	-	11.974.816	0
Import						
	2021		2022		2023	
	(US$)	%	(US$)	%	(US$)	%
Bahia	199.406.645	51,34	80.249.128	32,98	162.240.153	43,47
Minas Gerais	91.485.529	23,56	77.230.720	31,74	84.232.508	22,57
São Paulo	47.498.740	12,23	36.145.794	14,86	51.600.962	13,83
Paraná	2.897.659	0,75	2.742.147	1,13	11.952.595	3,20
Holy Spirit	439.637	0,11	169.337	0,07	876.627	0,23
Other Länder	46.645.310	0	6.762.262	0	62.302.074	0

Source: Agrostat/MAPA, 2024. Elaborated by the author.

In the south of Bahia, where cocoa production is concentrated in the federated state, there is the infrastructure for processing and exporting chocolate powder, from cocoa beans, with the presence of transnational mills, such as Barry Callebeaut, Cargil and Olam, located in the municipality of Ilhéus (Dantas, 2020).

The total of Brazilian cocoa exports between 2019 and 2024 are maintained at more than 300 million dollars due to the devaluation of exchange rates. Imports vary between decrease and increase in relation to their value as shown in table 4.

Table 4: Value of cocoa exports and imports from Brazil, between 2019 and 2024

	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024
Export	305.384.291	303.006.397	354.848.426	345.608.577	372.974.153	350.354.393
Import	320.028.590	306.748.920	388.373.520	243.299.388	373.204.919	281.568.832

Source: AgroStat, 2024. Elaborated by the author.

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The drop in Brazilian production happens in the opposite direction to the growth of the national almond processing and chocolate manufacturing industry. In 2018, Brazil imported 62.4 thousand tons of cocoa beans from African countries. More than 90% of cocoa imports come from Ghana and the rest from Côte d'Ivoire, according to AIPC (MAPA, 2020). In 2019, Brazil bought more than 85 thousand tons of chocolate, most of which were from Switzerland and 35.5 thousand tons of cocoa derivatives from Indonesia, the Netherlands and Ivory Coast. The volume exported by Brazil of cocoa beans in 2018 was 616 tons. The main buyers of cocoa are Japan, France and the Netherlands.

Chocolate exports had a volume of 28.8 thousand tons in 2019, destined for Argentina, Paraguay and Bolivia. When dealing with productivity in the state of Pará, which, in Brazil, its share was 18% in 2005, it increased to 53% in 2018. In 2019, the state of Pará produced more than 116 thousand tons of cocoa, in almost 180 thousand hectares, half of the planted area in the state of Bahia, which produced 122 thousand tons in the same period. The IBGE shows that the increase in cocoa production in the state of Pará was 200% between 2005 and 2018. (Mapa, 2020).

The South Coast Territory (cocoa region), in the state of Bahia, has an area of 14,664.54 km²; total population of 772,683 inhabitants, with an urban population of 632,787 inhabitants and rural population of 139,896 inhabitants. The number of families settled by agrarian reform is 3,499 and the number of agrarian reform projects is 69. The total area destined for agrarian reform corresponds to 141,601 hectares and the number of family farming establishments is 13,925 in 2010. The employed persons in family farming were 32,805 people, based on the statistical analysis of the 2017 Agricultural Census, from the IBGE.

It is observed that, between the years 2007 and 2017, there was an increase in unemployment in agriculture, with a decrease in employment in 1931 workers, despite the growth of job opportunities in the civil construction, commerce and services sectors. The cocoa crisis continued to lay off rural workers from employing farmers. The vacancy of the activity was dramatic in the 1990s and 2000s. This explains the growth of rural workers who became agrarian reform settlers in the cocoa-growing region.

In the typically cocoa-growing region, the South Coast, according to the 2017 Agricultural Census of the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), there are 23,277 agricultural establishments, of which 18,487 belong to owners, 2,022 are under concession from Incra or another land agency, 246 in lease, 1,773 in partnership

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(partnership) and 610 in lending. In the cocoa-growing region (South Coast Territory), according to this same Census, there were 5,685 farms with cattle. The total area occupied by agricultural establishments is 728,909 hectares and the area occupied by family establishments is 286,987 hectares.

According to data from the IBGE Agricultural Census (2017), in the cocoa region, 44.41% of agricultural establishments have up to 10 hectares with an area of 4.06% as shown in table 5. Up to at least 50 hectares, the total surface area is 21.45% compared to the number of establishments of 81.69% where there are family cocoa farmers in a family work regime or with temporary engagement of rural workers. From 50 hectares to less than 200 hectares, there are 13.57% of medium-sized family and employer establishments that carry out their activity through employees or in partnership (sharecropper). Between 200 hectares and 500 hectares, there are medium and large cocoa producers who have rural workers employed or in partnership. In more than 500 ha, there are few cocoa producers and most are cattle breeders for the production of Zebu Nellore meat. Between 500 hectares and more, there is a land concentration of 30.4% of hectares with 1.70% of agricultural establishments.

Table 5 - Area groups (ha) in the cocoa region (South Coast)

Cocoa region	Number of establishments	%	Area (ha)	%
0 to 10	10.465	**44,41**	42.636	4,06
10.01 to 20	4.731	**20,08**	61.892	5,90
20.01 to 50	4.053	**17,20**	120.656	11,49
50.01 to 100	2.058	8,73	140.414	13,38
100.01 to 200	1.141	4,84	155.347	**14,80**
200.01 à 500	714	3,03	209.671	**19,97**
500.01 à 1000	259	1,10	165.434	**15,76**
1000 = plus	141	0,60	153.728	14,64
Total	23.562		1.049.778	

Source: IBGE (2017). Elaborated by the author.

Based on data from the 2017 Agricultural Census, it is observed that the location of cocoa plantations in the state of Bahia, Brazil, includes 3 identity territories (South Coast, Southern Lowlands and Extreme South) of Bahia and presents the following situation regarding the number of cocoa-producing establishments: in the identity territory of the South Coast (typical cocoa region), According to the data, there are 30,731 tons of cocoa beans produced on the surface of 179,631 ha, of which 19,362 tons of cocoa by employer farmers with an area of 106,629 ha and 11,369 tons of cocoa by family farmers with an area of 73,002 ha. Of the employers' producers, 97.16% are owners with an area of

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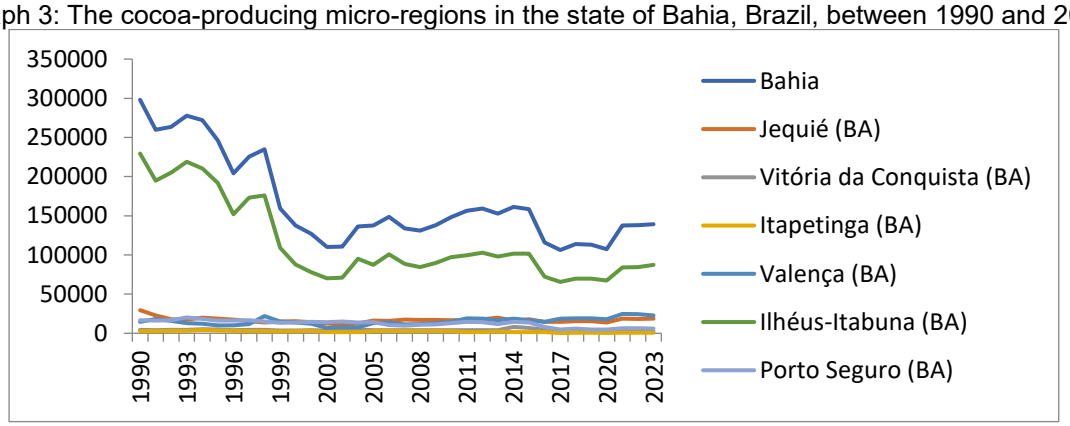
100,693ha (94.43%) among non-family members; of the family farmers, 75.28% are owners who correspond to an area of 50,535ha (69.22%) and 16.32% are partners with an area of 14,743ha (20.20%); in the identity territory of the Southern Lowlands, there are 26,741 establishments with an area of 91,335ha, of which 11,260 are employers' establishments with an area of 39,127ha and 15,481 are family establishments with an area of 52,208ha; Of these family establishments, 90.69% are owners with an area of 46,035ha (88.18%) and 3.68% are partners with an area of 2,634ha (5.05%) and of these 94.77% are owners with an area of 36,634ha (93.63%) among non-family members.

In graph 3, it is observed that the Ilhéus-Itabuna region is the main cocoa-producing region in the State of Bahia. Due to the crisis of the agrarian cocoa system, from 1990 onwards, the production of the region fell and, consequently, the production of the State of Bahia. The production in tonnes of cocoa beans has decreased considerably, implying an increase in the levels of cocoa imports from other producing countries to date.

Graph 3: The cocoa-producing micro-regions in the state of Bahia, Brazil, between 1990 and 2023



Source: AgroStat, 2024. Elaborated by the author.

Among the employers' farmers, there are 6,194 agricultural establishments, 5,528 of which belong to their owners. The family farmers who obtained access to PRONAF (financing) are 12,959, of which 1,798 are INCRA settlers (concession of use), 198 leased properties; 1,469 in partnership; 462 on a lending basis and 289 on land of possession.

> "Making" history should not be limited to reconstructing a series of events, however decisive they may be. This approach should make it possible to understand how people experienced them, that is, how their practices were modified or not. It should make it possible to reconstruct the different periods that marked the evolution of agro-pastoral activities, to characterize them and to explain their root causes. To go beyond the knowledge produced by rural historians, and focus more specifically on our object of study, the ancient and contemporary transformations of agriculture, it is necessary to develop a specific historical method for comparative agriculture. Forged in practice and in the know-how developed in extremely contrasting

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> historical and geographical contexts, it is once again based on a return to the field: landscape analysis and oral interviews (Cochet, 2011, p. 108).
>
> How can one distinguish the most recent elements, the immediately preceding ones, and the still older evidence that is almost completely erased today? In order to be able to reconstruct the presence or absence of this or that element at each stage of the history of this landscape, one must always bear in mind the concern of precisely locating each element, first in time (which era we are talking about) and then in space, that is, in an ecosystem (or agroecosystem) (Cochet, 2011, p. 109).
>
> Because this work of memory uses the actions of older people in different periods of their lives and because it tries to reconstruct, in the face of the current landscape, the space of people's daily lives, these interviews must be individual in order to be accurate. Nothing is more difficult, in fact, than to accurately relocate, in time and space, information in all directions that would arise from a collective discussion bringing together several people who have not experienced the same thing and each of them referring to different spaces and periodicities that they do not experience, do not conform to each other. Generallys would emerge, at best faithful to "average" practices, but difficult to locate precisely in time and space and, therefore, difficult to use (Cochet, 2011, p. 109).

Chart 4 shows that, between 2017 and the beginning of 2023, the international price of cocoa is relatively stable with occasional changes. The price begins to increase in 2023 and grows substantially until February and March 2024, when the ton of cocoa exceeded more than US$ 10 thousand, decreasing on 05.13.2024, to US$ 7,909.00 per ton (MERCADO DO CACAU, 2024).

According to experts, cocoa is the agricultural *commodity* that appreciated in 2024, 191% in April this year. Data from CBOT Chicago showed that the price of cocoa beans started the year with a price of US$ 4.2 thousand per ton of cocoa, reaching the figure of US$ 12.26 in April. (COCOA MARKET, 2024).

The price rise is linked to the record drop in the product in the international market. According to industry projections, the difference between demand and supply should be maintained until 2029 and may favor Brazilian producers, but only after the stabilization of production with the consumption of the product (MERCADO DO CACAU, 2024).

Despite the shortage of cocoa, the global *commodity* market is estimated this year at US$ 14.70 billion, and is expanding to reach US$ 16.47 billion in 2029, according to analysis by market research firm Mordor Intelligence (MERCADO DO CACAO, 2024).

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Graph 4: Cocoa price between 2017 and 2024 in the international market

Source: *In* Cocoa Market (2024). Accessed on 13.05.2024

The drop in global supply is linked to the agricultural crisis in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana, African countries that account for almost 54% of world cocoa production (MERCADO DO CACA, 2024). The drop in the world's cocoa supply is due to the effects of climate change and Black Pod disease on these plantations, which have reduced the harvest by 20% in Côte d'Ivoire and 11% in Ghana.

According to a projection by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics - IBGE, released in December 2023, the Brazilian cocoa harvest reached 297.3 thousand tons, an increase of 2.3% compared to the previous year. According to AIPC, however, Brazil suffered a drop in production in the first quarter due to the reduction in national production, resulting in a lack of the product in the domestic market (MERCADO DO CACAU, 2024).

THE STRATEGIES OF ECONOMIC AGENTS: A GENERAL TYPOLOGY OF SOCIAL CATEGORIES

In this context of crisis and economic restructuring, how do family farmers, employer producers and companies act?

The search for "differentiation criteria" was then the most common entry key to the construction of typologies, that is, the means of understanding and classifying the diversity of agricultural operations. But how to prioritize the criteria? If, by virtue of a first criterion considered discriminatory, for example, the size of the exploitation, three classes are constituted, the intervention of a second criterion considered important, the employment of wage-labour, will quickly lead to six types of exploitation, the number of criteria maintained necessarily very low, and their hierarchy will probably remain, in fact, largely arbitrary. or

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dependent on each person's point of view. Agricultural establishments in a region could thus be classified in multiple ways, depending on the criteria used and the purposes pursued. There would also be as many possible typologies as the objectives attributed to each of them, as proposed by Philippe Jouve (1986). With the risk that none of these typologies really allow the identification and classification of production systems, much less to identify their trajectories, measure their performance and their prospects, to understand the dynamics of an agricultural region; Therefore, how can one develop a typology of production systems that has a general value and is free from the uses that may be made of it later, an evolutionary typology with a cognitive function? (Cochet, 2011, p. 114).

the typological method implemented to explain the mechanisms leading to this differentiation, to explain the relationships between the different categories of agricultural establishments (workflow, biomass, capital, etc.), to highlight the differentiated impact of the operation of production systems on exploited ecosystems, to show how policies and projects have not had the same effects on different production systems, to predict, finally, the specific future dynamics of each category and their consequences in terms of job creation, the environment, as well as the possible and itself differentiated impact of changes in agricultural policy (Cochet, 2011, p. 118).

Eight general categories are addressed with their strategies of resistance, maintenance of patrimony and reproduction of capital on an international scale.

Table 6: Ecological, technical, and socioeconomic facts in the cocoa-growing region of Bahia (Brazil), between 1750 and 2021

Períodos	Fatos ecológicos	Fatos técnicos	Fatos socioeconômicos
1750-1889	Floresta tropical preservada (Mata Atlântica). Início do estabelecimento da cultura do cacau. Originário da Amazônia	Sistemas agroflorestais de cacau cabruca, sob a floresta tropical	Ocupação de espaços rurais vazios. Brasil-colônia. Trabalho escravo. Surgimento e consolidação dos estabelecimentos agrícolas escravagistas Século XIX - escravidão (Império Brasil). Fim da escravidão: 1888 Início da República: 1889 Imigração: colônias de alemães, franceses, sírios, libaneses, portugueses e brasileiros do Estado de Sergipe (Nordeste) ao sul da Bahia. Do final do século XIX ao início do século XX
1888-1930	Floresta tropical (preservada). A expansão das plantações agroflorestais de cacau cabruca. Aumento da grilagem de terras.	Sistemas agroflorestais de cacau cabruca, sob a floresta tropical. Introdução de ferramentas manuais mais eficientes. Mão de obra com baixos salários ou pouca parceria (parceria),	Fim da escravidão negra (1888). Manter a ocupação de espaços rurais vazios. Surgimento da classe social: "Os coronéis do cacau", proprietários de fazendas de cacau. Alguns coronéis do cacau tornaram-se chefes militares da Guarda Nacional, tendo poder de polícia na região, diante da falta do Exército e da polícia estatal. Força de trabalho explorada e paga de acordo com o custo de reprodução da força de trabalho, vivendo o trabalhador no nível de subsistência. Os trabalhadores viviam nas fazendas de cacau. Fim do Império Brasileiro em 1889 e início do regime Republicano. República Velha e República Nova (até 1930). A região cacaueira inserida no mercado mundial de cacau. Brasil (Bahia), o maior produtor de cacau do mundo. Ampliação dos armazéns de comercialização de cacau. Aprofundamento das tensões fundiárias entre praticantes da grilagem, agricultores e ocupantes de terras.
1930-1960	Consolidação do sistema agroflorestal de cacau cabruca sob a floresta. Floresta tropical conservada	Surgimento de novas técnicas de processamento do cacau com início de vulgarização e de conhecimentos promovido por pesquisadores do Instituto de Cacau da Bahia.	Implantação do Instituto de Cacau da Bahia para criar soluções para a crise dos preços do cacau após a Grande Depressão de 1929. Consolidação dos "coronéis" do cacau. O aumento da infraestrutura urbana na cidade de Ilhéus. Crescimento das exportações de cacau para a Europa e os Estados Unidos. Continuação das tensões fundiárias entre grileiros, agricultores e ocupantes de terras. 1957 - Instituição da CEPLAC - Comissão Executiva do Plano da Lavoura Cacaueira (instituição federal)

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		Início das ações da CEPLAC para melhorar o cultivo do cacau diante da crise produtiva e da queda do preço do cacau no mercado internacional. Introdução de novas orientações no processamento do cacau. Utilização das realizações tecnológicas de forma mais intensa, de acordo com os princípios da revolução verde. Combate à doença Podridão Parda ("Podridão Parda") Uso de BHC (agroquímico à base de efeito laranja), fungicidas, inseticidas e outros agrotóxicos. O uso intensivo de calcário, fertilizante para correção de solo. Expansão da área plantada para além da região cacaueira, em direção ao Baixo Sul e Extremo Sul do Estado da Bahia, em áreas, naturalmente, de menor fertilidade. Isso justificou o uso de fertilizantes químicos em maiores quantidades para aumentar a produtividade da terra. Redução do tamanho dos cacaueiros para aumentar a produtividade. Ampliação da vulgarização técnica (revolução verde) para grandes e médios estabelecimentos agrícolas pela CEPLAC. Os trabalhadores continuaram a habitar as fazendas. Implantação de estruturas de secadores e barcaças (secadores e barcaças) nas fazendas.	Intensificação dos investimentos públicos da CEPLAC na região. Criação do CEPEC – Centro de Pesquisa na CEPLAC. Abertura de estradas e construção de pontos nos municípios da região cacaueira. Aumento das exportações de cacau (1960 e 1970). Brasil, o maior produtor mundial de cacau. A região cacaueira forneceu o principal valor do imposto - ICMS - do Estado da Bahia e contribuiu com milhões de dólares em divisas para o Brasil, obtendo 1 bilhão de dólares, com as exportações de cacau. Início da queda da produção na região cacaueira no final da década de 1980. O investimento do Governo do Estado da Bahia, na construção de estradas litorâneas, como a BA-001, na região cacaueira. Surgimento de questões e tensões fundiárias em relação à reforma agrária na região.
1960-1990	Manutenção do sistema agroflorestal de cacau cabruca. Início da doença Vassoura de Bruxa que atingiu a região cacaueira a partir de meados da década de 1980.		

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1990-2010	Surgimento da agroecologia para a segurança alimentar. Manutenção do sistema agroflorestal de cacau cabruca. Início e intensificação do desmatamento da floresta tropical, substituindo a floresta por pastagens e plantações de café. Extensão da Vassoura de Bruxa nas plantações com a queda considerável na produção de cacau. Expansão de unidades de conservação ambientais e reservas extrativistas. Reserva Biológica de Una e Reserva Extrativista Marinha de Canavieiras, por exemplo. Floresta tropical preservada apesar do crescente desmatamento. Ação intensiva do IBAMA (instituto federal) do Ministério do Meio Ambiente do Brasil e das instituições do Estado da Bahia, no combate ao desmatamento da Mata Atlântica. Essas ações reduziram a intensidade do desmatamento. Introdução da plantação de eucalipto (floresta artificial) em áreas de pastagem.	O aumento das pastagens, do gado leiteiro e do gado destinado à carne. Plantação de cacau ao sol, fora da mata atlântica. A introdução da variedade conillon (robusta) na região cacaueira. Substituição do cacau antigo por cacau híbrido e clones de cacau desenvolvidos pela CEPLAC (biotecnologia) utilizados por médios empregadores e agricultores familiares. O avanço das agroecologias nos "assentamentos" da reforma agrária através do fortalecimento do caráter ambiental do sistema agroflorestal do cacau cabruca.	Aumentor dos investimentos públicos na saúde e na educação nos níveis básico, médio e superior. Crescimento do comércio e serviços nas cidades da região, Ilhéus e Itabuna e cidades de pequeno porte. Expansão das organizações não governamentais ambientais. Surgimento e crescimento de movimentos sociais pela reforma agrária, incluindo o Movimento dos Sem Terra (MST). O Assentamento Terra Vista se consolida rumo à transição agroecológica. Início da diversificação produtiva. Intensificação do turismo, do ecoturismo. Consolidação dos projetos territoriais do Território de Identidade do Litoral Sul. Apoio à reforma agrária e aos agricultores familiares da região cacaueira. Fortalecimento dos sindicatos de trabalhadores rurais e dos movimentos sociais pelos governos federal e estadual da Bahia, ambos de vertente de centro-esquerda. Crescimento da produção de chocolate artesanal por pequenos produtores.
2010-2024	Expansão das agroecologias. Manutenção do sistema agroflorestal cacau cabruca. Manutenção e desenvolvimento de unidades de conservação ambiental (reservas). Proteção dos manguezais. Crescimento de plantações de eucalipto em áreas de pastagem Mudanças climáticas e crise fitossanitária afetam as produções de cacau de Costa do Marfim e Gana, dois dos maiores produtores mundiais de cacau a partir de 2023.	Consolidação de pequenas agroindústrias chocolateiras artesanais com a produção de chocolate *gourmet*. Produção de chocolate artesanal no Assentamento Terra Vista, no município de Arataca. Implantação do centro de formação em agroecologia no Assentamento Terra Vista. As duas opções técnicas: agroecologias (agricultores familiares de assentamentos e cooperativas) e biotecnologias (hibridismo e clonagem) – médios produtores patronais e agricultores familiares para superar a doença Vassoura de Bruxa, visando aumentar a produção agrícola.	Indicação de Origem Protegida do Cacau Cabruca por todas as associações e cooperativas da região cacaueira. Rastreabilidade da produção de cacau. Consolidação da produção de chocolate artesanal com mais de 70 produtores, com diversos selos, em pequenas agroindústrias chocolateiras, incluindo a produção de chocolate *gourmet*. Mudança na política federal de apoio à agricultura familiar com redução considerável de recursos públicos para projetos de agricultores familiares. Suspensão da política de reforma agrária – governo conservador, ultraliberal, contra a reforma agrária Crescimento inexpressivo na produção de cacau, mas permanece estabilizado. Crise macroeconômica no Brasil desde 2015 e crise profunda durante a pandemia de COVID-19 em 2020 e 2021. Queda das atividades econômicas na região cacaueira. O aumento da pobreza e da pobreza extrema, apesar da política federal de transferência social (doação de dinheiro). Melhoria das atividades econômicas a partir da expansão da vacinação contra a COVID-19 na região A maioria dos estabelecimentos agrícolas na região cacaueira são familiares, ao contrário do que acontecia no passado. Queda das produções de cacau de Costa do Marfim e Gana. Crescimento do preço acima dos US$ 10,000.00 da tonelada de cacau no mercado internacional em 2024, mantendo-se por volta dos US$ 7,500.00

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CATEGORY 1. FAMILY COCOA GROWERS AND DIVERSIFIED AGRARIAN REFORM SETTLEMENTS

This category of agricultural establishment uses family labor, so there is no wage production cost to pay rural employees. It tends to agricultural diversification in its production system, with several production subsystems: cocoa, backyard with chickens, orchard, corn, beans, cassava, yams, few dairy cows without defined breed or crossbred cattle with the Nellore breed, fruits such as oranges, papaya and vegetables (tomatoes, potatoes, onions).

This type of farmer resists diversifying his agricultural production. They are those who have up to 50 hectares in the region with a family of 4 or 5 people or even less today. Those who are very specialized in cocoa are vulnerable to price fluctuations in the international market. It is the minority in this category.

This category of farmer is usually pluriactive, developing non-agricultural activities in the family, being small traders, urban workers, teachers, employees of commerce and urban services, the municipal government, public health services, or several of these farmers are retired as family farmers from the General Social Security Regime, guaranteed by the Federal Constitution of 1988.

Due to agricultural diversification, pluriactivity, agriculture as the main activity and concern with the maintenance and management of heritage and the environment, this type of farmer is multifunctional. He uses almost no pesticides in the plantation.

With the cocoa crisis, several cocoa farms, from 100 to 400 hectares, suffered a drop in agricultural production. Many of them were abandoned, making room for the emergence and expansion of social movements for agrarian reform, such as the Movement of Landless Rural Workers (MST), MLT, MSLT, FETAG, etc. The number of these settlements increased in the cocoa region between 1990 and 2015, on cocoa farms. The Terra Vista Settlement, in the municipality of Arataca, southern Bahia, stands out, which adopted the agroecological transition of its agricultural production subsystem, preserving the environment and reaffirming its environmental function, that is, multifunctional in the cocoa region.

This category brings together several family farmers, peasants or not: those who increase their wealth, those who keep their assets without growth and those who live below the poverty line or in extreme poverty, in a state of proletarianization.

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The following tables show the relations between the quilombola communities (descendants of slaves) and the indigenous communities of the cocoa region (South Coast Territory). The existence of these communities underlines the tendency of the multifunctionality of agriculture in this region.

Table 7 - "Quilombola" communities[3] certified and identified in the TI Litoral Sul

Municipalities (cocoa region of Bahia)	**"Quilombola" communities**
Aurelino Leal	Minerva Farm
Buerarema	Serra da Ronca
Itabuna	Itamaracá
Itacaré	Água Vermelha, Fojo, João Rodrigues, Porto de Trás, Porto do Oitizeiro, Santo Amaro, Serra de Água, Amansa Coelhudo, Amano Guido, Campo do Amaço, Formiga, Km 5, Pinheiro, São Gonçalo, Socó
Maraú	Barro Vermelho, Empata Viagem, Maraú, Oré, Quitungo, São Raimundo, Boité, Piracanga, Terra Verde, Torrinha, Tremembé
One	Corre nu, Pedra de Uma, Piedade, Ribeirão das Navalhas, Rio da Independência

Source: SEI. Profile of Identity Territories, 2015. Brazil (2013b), Goegraphing Project (2011)

Table 8 - Indigenous peoples in the South Coast Identity Territory

Indigenous people	**Indigenous territory and "village"**	**Municipality**	**Area (ha)**
Pataxó	Olivença Village, Caramuru Village	Islanders Pau Brasil	3.826
Pataxó hã-hã-hãe	Caramuru-Paraguaçu Indigenous Land	Camaca/ Itaju do Colônia/Pau Brasil	54.105
	Caramuru Village-Mundo Novo	Pau Brasil	
	Bahetá Village	Itaju do Colônia	
	Olivença Village	Islanders	3.826
Tupinambá	Tupinambá de Olivença Indigenous Land	Buerarema/ Ilhéus/Uma	47.376
	Serra das Trempes Village	Buerarema/ Islanders	
	Serra do Padeiro Village, Serra do Ronca Village, Serra do Serrote Village, Serra Negra Village, Acuípe de Baixo Village, Acuípe de Cima Village, Acuípe do Meio Village		
	Village Águas de Olivença	Islanders	
	Campo de São Pedro Village, Curipitanga Village, Cururupe Village, Gravatá Village, Mamão		

[3] According to data provided by the GeografAR project (2011), fishing associations and communities are distributed in six municipalities, estimating a universe of 11 artisanal fishing communities, involving associations, cooperatives and a fishermen's colony. According to data from the GeografAR project and the CDA (2012), 18 remaining quilombola communities were identified, concentrated in the municipalities of Itacaré and Maraú. According to data from Bahia Archaeological in the territory, 20 archaeological sites are reported in four municipalities (Ilhéus, Itacaré, Maraú and Santa Luzia), which are relevant in terms of construction structures, ceramic artifacts and shell mounds (SEPLANTECa).

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	Village, Olivença Village, Pixixica Village, Santana Village, Santaninha Village, Sapucaieira Village		
	Maruim Village	One	
	Maruinzinho Village		
	Caramuru Village	Brazilwood	

Source: SEI (2015). Indigenous land or "village" inhabited by more than one ethnic group.

CATEGORY 2. MEDIUM-SIZED EMPLOYER OR FAMILY FARMERS WITH PARTNERSHIP OR PAYMENT OF WAGE EARNERS

It is the medium-sized farmers who conclude partnership contracts with the workers. This is the majority of employment contracts in the cabruca cocoa production system, recommended by Ceplac. The partnership consisted of a solution for cocoa producers, in the face of the increase in the cost of production with fertilizers and the payment of employees, in addition to the drop in agricultural yields with the Witches' Broom disease.

To maintain occupations in rural areas and reduce the rural exodus to municipalities in the region, especially Ilhéus and Itabuna (southern Bahia), Porto Seguro and Eunápolis (extreme southern Bahia), or migration to other urban centers in other regions, the solution found to minimize the social impacts of the crisis was partnership. Only large producers pay wages with 2 or 4 workers.

According to Chiapetti *et al*, 2020, in the cocoa agricultural activity, for several years, the agricultural partnership system has been used. The partner, or sharecropper, is an agent present in 60% of the agricultural establishments that have permanent workers. Currently, CEPLAC suggests that each sharecropper works from 5 to 7 hectares, depending on the composition of the family unit that will carry out the work. The salaried worker is present in 46% of the agricultural establishments that have permanent non-family labor and his presence is directly related to the size of the production system, that is, the larger the production unit, the greater the presence of labor. The sharecropper appears in all sizes of production units, but with a predominance in smaller extracts, up to 50 hectares.

The partnership is a working relationship established in the 1990s, after the cocoa crisis. It was a period of restructuring and adaptation to the new conditions of production, which were reproduced in establishments throughout the region, as a way of survival for wage earners and semi-abandoned rural establishments (Chiapetti *et al*, 2020).

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CATEGORY 3. EMPLOYER FARMERS WHO ABANDONED THEIR COCOA PRODUCTION UNITS

They are traditional patron farmers who come from old families in the cocoa region, the third generation in the agricultural establishment, with more than one farmer, with total areas of more than 200 hectares to 500 hectares. They are medium or large landowners in the region, undercapitalized, unable to maintain the production costs that have increased since the 1990s. This is mainly due to the growth in the costs of wage earners who face a reduction in agricultural income with the fall in production, in land income, caused by the witches' broom disease and by agricultural productivity (price fluctuation in the international market). Many families changed their lifestyle and consumption pattern and many became lower middle class or poor.

Abandoned farms of this size began to be occupied by social movements and then expropriated by the federal government with the aim of implementing the agrarian reform policy. Thus, the number of agrarian reform settlements, quilombola and indigenous communities is presented in tables 6 and 7.

In this type of production unit, deforestation of the tropical forest increased, replacing the cabruca agroforestry system with pasture and coffee plantations. This action was carried out by the old family owners or by new investors in the region itself (cattle breeders, large cocoa producers, traders) or from abroad who bought these lands to plant grass, deforesting the forest, forming pastures, to reproduce their production system with the breeding of Nellore cattle or mixed dairy cattle of the Holstein and Gir breeds. This is a typical phenomenon.

This type of production system tends to disappear in the region.

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CATEGORY 4. NEW INVESTORS WHO BOUGHT ABANDONED RURAL PROPERTIES

They are those from the region itself or from other regions. They are cattle breeders, large producers and cocoa traders. They may or may not have family roots in the region, but their goals are to increase land productivity or increase family assets. Land can be considered a store of value or space for agricultural yield growth. They develop other economic activities (commerce, agriculture, livestock, industry, party politics in the region, commercialization) because they are capitalists above all.

This type of producer who accumulates other non-agricultural economic activities tends to invest in the land market, increasing his assets. They are small and medium businessmen or large capitalists.

CATEGORY 5. ASSOCIATIONS AND COOPERATIVES OF SMALL CHOCOLATE AGROINDUSTRIES

This is a new category of economic agent in the region. It emerged during the deep crisis of the 2000s and 2010s with the use of the regional capital of the region's inhabitants. This is another example of productive diversification and strengthening of the cocoa-chocolate production chain on a regional scale.

Small companies produce artisanal and gourmet chocolate in the market by participating in national and international fairs, presenting the quality of their chocolate. These are made up of small businesses, predominantly associations and cooperatives.

According to Dantas (2020), the demand for quality chocolate in Brazil and in the world is growing. In the chocolate market, Brazil is the third largest consumer in the world, where the *gourmet* market grows three times more than traditional chocolate, leading production units to take advantage of this type of market niche with various definitions, such as *gourmet*, fine quality, premium, for example.

In the 2000s, a movement of farmers emerged in Bahia who sought to explore new niches for cocoa, notably fine and organic, presenting the market with a differentiated product. The result of this effort resulted in awards at international events such as the Salon du Chocolat in Paris in 2010 (Cocoa Chocolate category). In addition, from 2007, the International Chocolate and Cocoa Festival began to be held annually in Ilhéus, Bahia. Thus, cocoa production gains a new "breather". (Dantas et al, 2020).

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The improvement of the characteristics of the almonds, thanks to varieties that are more resistant to diseases and to more productive and differentiated production management (agroecological, biodynamic, among others), has allowed the southern region of Bahia to reach a new level in the market, of a producer of chocolate with high cocoa content. Thus, the cocoa market in Bahia, as well as in other regional markets, such as in the State of Pará and the State of Espírito Santo, goes beyond quality almonds, inserting itself in the production of chocolate (Dantas *et al*, 2020).

According to Dantas *et al*, 2020), between the 1980s and 2000s, there was a chocolate brand in the region. From the first decade of the 21st century, the number of cooperatives and associations dedicated to the production of quality almonds and chocolate increased, looking for markets that valued products from top quality materials, in special and fine cocoa.

It is important to note that chocolate brands are organized as associations and cooperatives that gather productivity gains. When they negotiate the purchase of inputs under more favorable conditions, at a lower cost (the agglomeration economy) (Dantas *et al*, 2020).

According to Dantas *et al* (2020), there were 50 chocolate brands in 2018 and 74 in 2019. In the city of Ilhéus is located a large number of companies (17), with productive infrastructure and tourist center. The other important market is the city of Salvador, whose companies (14%) use cocoa beans produced in the southern region of Bahia. Other brands (21) are distributed in the 17 municipalities, such as Arataca, Ibirapitanga, Itamari and Itabuna.

It is observed that 60% of the chocolate brands are concentrated in three municipalities in the southern region of Bahia (Ilhéus, Itacaré and Salvador).

Several farms that have chosen to use third-party mills benefit from their own almonds or those purchased by specialised companies. In the state of Bahia, in 2019, there were three factories that operated in this way, located in the municipalities of Ibicaraí and Ilhéus (cocoa region) and another in the municipality of Lauro de Freitas (Metropolitan Region of Salvador), in the Northeast of the state of Bahia. There is an incubator at the Center for Development and Agroindustrial Technological Training of Ceplac - Executive Committee of the Cocoa Farming Plan. In 2019, a fourth factory emerged from outsourced production. (Dantas, 2020).

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In 2016, more than 80% of cocoa farmers supported by Ceplac were family farmers. Among the 50 brands identified, only Bahia Cacau was certified as family and the first family farming chocolate factory in Brazil, in the municipality of Ibicarái (Dantas, 2020).

Most of the chocolate brands (34) in the South of Bahia are characterized as Tree To Bar. This means the relationship between the producer and the production from the production of cocoa to the chocolate bar; 10 Bean To Bar brands are classified – the chocolate producer buys almonds from third parties. In this niche market, organic chocolate represents just over 30% of local brands and traditional chocolate, 56% of total chocolate (Dantas et al, 2020).

CATEGORY 6. LARGE FARMERS WHO USE COCOA

There are also large cocoa producers, with more than 400 hectares who, due to the economic crisis, have lowered their consumption model, but have managed to recover part of the land yield and agricultural productivity from the sale of a part of their assets to invest in their properties, introducing technological innovations, considering Ceplac with the use of hybrid cocoa or cloning and changing cultural practices to reduce the incidence of Witches' Broom disease.

This type of cocoa producer maintains the tropical forest and its cabruca production system, also using Ceplac's technological innovations. It is important to note that the cabruca agroforestry system is maintained in large cocoa establishments.

CATEGORY 7. TRANSNATIONAL AGRO-INDUSTRIAL COMPANIES

Transnational agro-industrial and commercial companies have been in the cocoa-growing region of Bahia for several decades buying and profiting from cocoa. With the drop in cocoa production, these companies started to import cocoa to supply the national chocolate industry and its derivatives. They maintain chains on an international scale, in the process of productive restructuring, aiming at sustainability with environmental concerns. These companies began to guide their supplier farmers to produce and harvest crops, selecting better quality fruits and cocoa. They are beginning to meet the demands of global markets, especially European markets. They are the Barry Callebeaut, the Cargil and the Olam (Joanes).

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CATEGORY 8. MEDIUM-SIZED COMMERCIAL COCOA STORAGE COMPANIES

These medium-sized companies are located in the municipalities around Ilhéus and Itabuna (the regional cities) and buy cocoa beans from producers, employers, and family farmers. They are the main destination for the commercialization of cocoa by the farmer.

Compared to the way cocoa is sold, the establishments are divided into three: direct sale of cocoa to mills, which represents 12%; for local intermediaries, about 20% and the majority, 71%, prefer to sell in warehouses. The prices charged are different and companies offer 6% more than local warehouses and merchants (Chiapetti et al, 2020).

There are 6,190 non-family farmers who had access to Pronamp (financing for small and medium-sized non-family farmers), of which 5,524 are owned and 304 are in partnership. There are 17,963 non-family establishments that did not have access to Pronamp, of which 12,963 own these properties; 1,798 of those who are under INCRA concession; 1,469 in partnership (partnership) and 462 in loan ("lending") (Dantas, 2020).

CONCLUSION

Since the monoculture crisis in the cocoa-growing region, in the south of the state of Bahia, at the end of the 1980s, the agrarian system has been undergoing successive transformations with the emergence of new social, economic and technological events that have radically changed the pattern of accumulation of rural and urban economic agents. The spread of the fungus *Moniliophthora perniciosa*, responsible for the "Witches' Broom" disease, has considerably reduced cocoa production in the region, causing a loss of regional income, increasing unemployment and reducing both wages, interest and land income for large cocoa producers.

The systemic, regional, complex and complete crisis included, therefore, factors of lack of irreversible environmental balance over time and economic and technological causes. This devastation of productive structures created the conditions for the expansion of rural social movements and the consolidation of agrarian reform "settlements", through the policy of expropriation of rural properties, abandoned or that became unproductive or less productive. The unemployed workers in the rural area, who moved to regional urban centers increasing the "favelas", saw, in this agrarian reform, an opportunity to have a space for housing, food and occupation for themselves and their families.

Due to the social crisis, the geographical landscape has changed due to a succession of deforestations that have transformed the areas of tropical forest, necessary

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for the establishment of the old cabruca system of cocoa tree shading, into new pastures for the raising of cattle of the crossbred Nelore breed and crossbred milk breeds (Holstein and Gir breeds, predominantly) and new areas cultivated with conillon coffee.

The partially productivist system that introduced technological packages in the 1960s and 1970s, with Ceplac, and the regional structural crisis, evidenced another aspect of self-destruction, which consisted of the intensification of deforestation of the tropical forest with cocoa plantations, aiming to replace cocoa plantations with low-intensity technologies, such as extensive cattle ranching or relatively intensive coffee farming.

As for the categories, the most general, it is observed the existence of eight categories of economic agents in relation to cocoa cultivation in the South of Bahia. They are: family farmers of cocoa and diversified agrarian reform settlements; medium-sized employer or family farmers with a partnership ("sharecropper") or salary payment; employer farmers who abandoned their cocoa lands; new investors who bought abandoned land; small agro-industries, chocolate associations and cooperatives; transnational agro-industrial companies and medium-sized commercial cocoa storage companies.

From the field research it was possible to verify a somewhat differentiated stratification of this typology, separating, for example, the traditional family farmers and the settlers from the agrarian reform. In addition, it is possible to identify pluriactive families, exclusively agricultural or exclusively non-agricultural, and families that develop strategies for the conservation of natural resources.

Despite the expansion of deforestation of the tropical forest (Atlantic Forest), with the replacement of cocoa plantations by pastures for dairy cattle or beef cattle, this economic process has not been enough to cause the (almost total) devastation of the forest and the disappearance of cocoa cultivation, according to some research. The region still maintains its characteristic agroforestry system of *cabruca cocoa*.

It is necessary to consider a great historical difference generated by the changes in social relations under the Witches' Broom disease, with the replacement of the salaried regime by the partnership regime, mainly between the owner of the cocoa establishment and the rural worker.

Another very important social change to be observed is that most cocoa producers are family-owned, according to data from the 2017 Agricultural Census, from the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE). The image and reality of the "colonels" and

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the cocoa estates is a predominant feature of the past, even if there are still establishments of more than 300 or 400 hectares still abandoned.

Rural social movements have adopted intense actions in order to disseminate agroecologies and alternative proposals to the productivist package in crisis, in the face of a favorable political and macroeconomic conjuncture, during the years 1995 to 2015, with policies aimed at strengthening family farming, PRONAF, and, subsequently, the Food Acquisition Program (PAA). the National School Feeding Program (PNAE), with 30% of the program's public resources allocated to the acquisition of agricultural products, from local farmers' organizations, together with the territorial development policy, aimed at strengthening rural identity territories and, then, the Brazil Without Poverty Plan. All these policies responded to the pressures and needs of farmers and traditional communities.

The recent movement around the recognition of *cabruca cocoa* as a designation of origin converges to the set of irreversible transformations of the southern Bahia cocoa region, now no longer due to the reproduction of the technological innovations of the productivism of the green revolution, but to the consolidation of a new paradigm that maintains the Atlantic Forest, the cabruca system, and that values cabruca cocoa as a regional product. All of this while preserving the traditional and secular knowledge that has spatially consolidated an agrarian system that is historically important for the State of Bahia, for Brazil and for the world, structured in the bonds of family affection and in the social diffusion of technical and technological knowledge through the reflexive expectations between economic and social agents, notwithstanding, historically, violent primitive forms of capital accumulation.

Any region that becomes a typical and historically productivist agricultural region on an international scale and that also meets very favorable environmental conditions, after a long economic crisis and loss of competitiveness in the foreign market, losing place in relation to other producers, regions or countries, tends to become a multifunctional agricultural region. This is a trend, but not a rule.

A region of multifunctional agriculture is one that does not meet previous productivist conditions whose material conditions of regional society, arising from economic crises, impose the possibility of recovering economic activities from their productive diversification through exclusively agricultural production and monoculture. Its priority is lost, as other priorities emerge such as the protection of the environment, the social feeling of generating employment and employment after very high unemployment, the concern with the

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management of the territory, in an introspection to the values of regional culture linked to agricultural production, handicrafts and other regional economic activities where affectivity is affirmed as a power that configures territorial projects. **This phenomenon has just characterized the affirmation of a multifunctional, agroforestry and partially agroecological agriculture towards food security**.

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