

## "Only those who like flour are those who know how to sift": Possibility of developing the associated production in the Farinheiras of the Carlos Marighella settlement in Poxoréu/MT



<https://doi.org/10.56238/interdiinnovationscrese-034>

### Ana Paula Bistaffa de Monlevade

PhD in Education and Professor of the Bachelor's Degree in Tourism at the Federal Institute of Mato Grosso – Cuiabá Campus. Member of the Research Group "Center for Tourism Studies of the Midwest – CETCO".  
E-mail: ana.monlevade@ifmt.edu.br

### Marcela de Almeida Silva Ribeiro

Master in Environment and Agricultural Production Systems and Consultant in Tourism by the company Ictus Soluções em Turismo Ltda and Accredited to Sebrae – MT. Member of the Research Group "Center for Tourism Studies of the Midwest – CETCO".  
E-mail: marcelaalmeida@icthusturismo.com.br

### Sandra Maria de Oliveira Siqueira

Bachelor's degree in Tourism from the Federal Institute of Mato Grosso – Cuiabá Campus  
E-mail: ssiqueira2017@gmail.com

### ABSTRACT

The present study aimed to present the associated production as a possibility of collective

performance of the families, in the production of cassava flour - currently produced in an individualized way - of the Carlos Marighella settlement in the municipality of Poxoréu/MT, with a view to adding value in the food production process, facing the market that has become scarce, due to the advancement of the Brazilian economic recession. By launching the gaze on the Mato Grosso territory we refer to the historical process that has set up the existing land structure today, in which this settlement, as well as the families belonging to it, are experiencing today. With this, there is a search for alternatives of survival, on the part of the settlers. Thus, it is presented as resistance to the current conjuncture that, individually, will direct them to the deepening of the precarization of work. Thus, the proposal for this study presented, points to a positive alternative, collectively creating a new form of survival and mutual help, without necessarily relying on state support.

**Keywords:** Flour Factory, Associated production, Settlement Carlos Marighella.

## 1 INTRODUCTION

The developmentalist policy adopted in Brazil, more strongly from the 1970s onwards, which aimed at the occupation of the territory and expansion of agricultural frontiers, directed families that were previously on the margins of the urbanizing society to the countryside; within the agenda treated as movements in favor of agrarian reform. These families, who sought, through the possession of land, to improve social and economic conditions, began to occupy portions of the Brazilian territory, which were divided into fiscal modules, previously unproductive and/or vacant.

In the Midwest region, the demographic expansion in the last century exerted considerable pressure on the growth of production, which motivated the movements in favor of agrarian reform that aim at the equal division of land in order to occupy to produce food and reproduce socially, in a strategy that broke with the patterns of the traditionalist economic structure and guaranteed, in a way, the



necessary access to occupation and a timid expansion of productive activities linked to the countryside (CAMPANHOLA and GRAZIANO DA SILVA, 2004).

Feliciano (2006) stated that during this period in Mato Grosso, the movements in favor of agrarian reform took place in various ways: through policies to encourage land occupation, land credits, mobilization of resources for the financing of companies, road infrastructure works, incentives for regional development and private allotments.

This process marks the territorial incorporation of Mato Grosso into the Brazilian economy, which intensified with the opening of highways and the implementation of new colonization territories - official and private settlements, in which the government committed itself to the implementation of the infrastructure for realization (CAMPANHOLA and GRAZIANO DA SILVA, 2004). In the meantime, most of the municipalities in Mato Grosso were founded and/or "swelled" due to demographic flows, especially in the North, Central and Southwest portions of the state.

However, historically, this whole process of colonization of Mato Grosso generated all kinds of inequalities in the rural spaces of the state, because from the beginning and for decades the latifundia were favored by policies that benefited and provided the formation of large properties, generating conflicts over land that were often minimized (in a punctual way) from the creation of rural settlements. Thus, it is possible to understand how the roots of the land structure of Mato Grosso are strongly concentrated in the state.

The settler in the condition of small subsistence producer used almost exclusively the land and unpaid family labor to produce his "surpluses", now, however, for his survival in the face of a globalized economic structure, this small mercantile producer had to plunge into high monetary costs, due to the modern inputs that he began to need to increase production and thus, offer with a certain competitiveness in the market (CAMPANHOLA and GRAZIANO DA SILVA, 2004).

Thus, regarding the rural space, in the light of discussions and the current situation, the importance of activities such as the solidarity economy and associated production to improve the composition of the income of thousands of family farmers is increasingly highlighted, as well as a survival mechanism presenting themselves as possibilities that manifest themselves in the rural space and that enable the complementation of income in family production units.

Lamera (2008) stressed that agrarian reform policies have gained strength in recent decades, due to discussions about the productive rural space, the socioeconomic and political context, evoking the distribution of land not only with the intention of increasing agricultural productivity, but to solve one of the serious social ills caused by the poor distribution of income and land tenure in our country.

In addition, we know that land occupation is linked to the environmental and socioeconomic characteristics of each place where rural settlements have been established. In this way, the geographical conditions of a natural and social order directly interfere in the maintenance and social



reproduction of the settlers. In other words, the implementation of rural settlements requires greater attention and analysis of a series of factors, because it is not enough just to offer access to land, it is necessary for the settler to be able to remain in the place and make a living for himself and his family in the rural environment.

However, in an attempt to mitigate land conflicts, a good portion of these settlements in Mato Grosso were established without taking into account these characteristics and currently face serious problems, in the most diverse spheres, infrastructure (precarious roads, distance from consumer markets, lack of water), education, health, lack of technical assistance and rural extension, among others, hindering the socioeconomic reproduction of these settlers. causing them to create numerous forms of survival and mutual aid, as they do not always have the support of the state (OLIVEIRA, CLEMENTE, STURZA, 2018).

Data from the INCRA Panel portal (2019) show that by 2017, 549 settlements had been registered by the agency, serving 82,424 families in the state of Mato Grosso. In this context, there is the Carlos Marighella - Pontal do Areia settlement, which was established in 1999 from the expropriation of the Pontal do Areia Farm.

Thus, the present text aims to present the associated production as a possibility of collective action of the families of the Carlos Marighella settlement in the production of cassava flour with a view to adding value in the food production process to strengthen the market that has become scarce due to the advance of the Brazilian economic recession.

After all, the associated production can represent to the settlers of Carlos Marighella an alternative for the production of existence based on the collective organization of work and life, on the principle of equality, solidarity, self-management and reciprocity, which makes it possible to emancipate themselves from capital, building a new societal project and freedom as historical subjects.

Thus, based on the objective presented, we start from dialectical historical materialism in an attempt to understand the concrete reality of the settlement. In addition, we opted for qualitative research and as a data collection instrument we used the semi-structured interview as a possible way to understand the workers of Carlos Marighella as active and critical subjects. In addition, we were present in the flour production space, and it was possible to observe the different equipment found in each family (non-participant observation), in addition to witnessing the moment of production and packaging of the product.

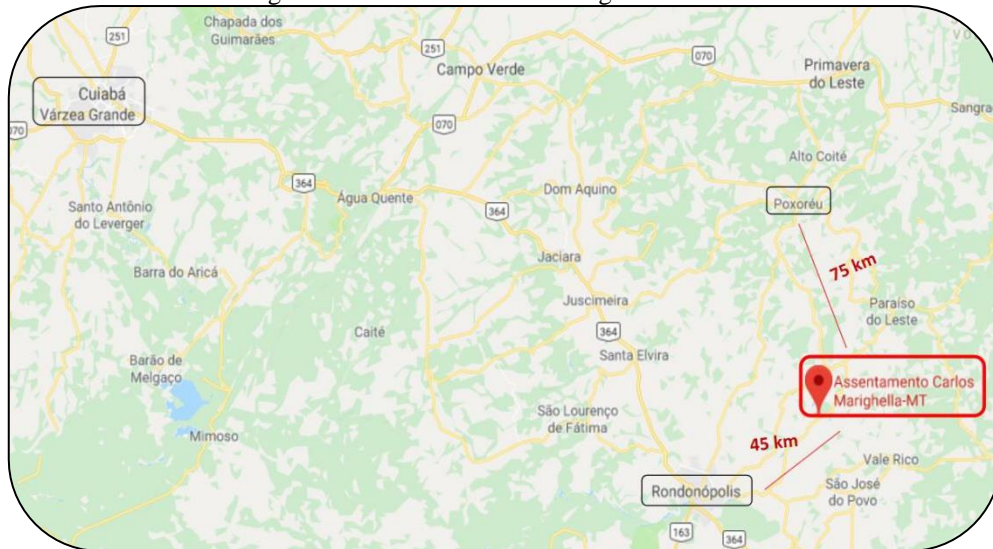
## 1.1 CARLOS MARIGHELLA SETTLEMENT AND THE POSSIBILITY OF DEVELOPING ASSOCIATED PRODUCTION

The settlement is located in the rural area of the municipality of Poxoréu/MT and is 75 km from the city center (image 01). The municipality has approximately 17,599 inhabitants (IBGE, 2010), of



which 11,923 residents live in the urban core and 5,676 live in rural areas. Economically, Poxoréu no longer depends on gold and precious stone mining - a fact that marked the historical constitution of the municipality - currently its economy is based on the production of soybeans, cotton and cattle raising - the main economic activities of the place.

Image 01: Location of Carlos Marighella Settlement



Source: Google Maps – adapted by the authors (2019)

However, it is important to note that Poxoréu has its origin in diamond mining. At the end of the nineteenth century, workers searched unsuccessfully for diamonds in the headwaters of the São Lourenço River. However, on June 24, 1924, João Arenas Teixeira went to Fazenda Firmeza, owned by Antônio Barcelos, to organize an expedition to the São Lourenço River. "With Pedro José, José Pacífico, Antônio Diamantino, Rueda, Francisco Louzada, Félix Abadie and another companion they were examining the diamond indicator gravels" (FERREIRA, 2017, p. 01).

The first diamond was found on June 29 and so they named the stream after St. Peter. After the discovery, the news spread quickly and São Pedro was the protagonist of the gold digging race. However, in 1927 there was a devastating fire in the place, causing the miners to move to the foot of Morro da Mesa, 30 km from the region explored until then. In this way, the story of Poxoréu began (FERREIRA, 2017).

Despite the change, the miners were able to continue the exploration without major problems, as they also found many diamonds in the region called the new "Eldorado". As a result, dozens of miners camped next to Morro da Mesa and thus the first cluster of the same name emerged, becoming after a while a village that came to be called Poxoréu.

The growth of the place was rapid and some factors contributed to this: the first prospectors, when washing the gravel, were sure that the deposits were more extensive and voluminous than those of São Pedro and also the Bororos living there did not represent a danger, as they were peaceful (it is



believed that the name Poxoréu was given, in a way, in honor of the Bororo people).

The lands close to the village of Poxoréu and even farther away and in all directions were already being taken over and properties with crops and cattle were implanted in them. In these lands, significant human settlements would later be founded, such as Jarudore, Johannesburg, Lambari, Paraíso do Leste, Toriparu, Alto Coité, Barra do Paraíso, São Lourenço de Fátima, Capim Branco, Mutum. Vacant lands were occupied and requests for titling had multiplied. In view of this population growth, Law No. 145 of March 29, 1938 elevates the District of Peace of Poxoréu to the category of Municipality. Law No. 145 generally establishes the boundaries of Poxoréu, without creating or delimiting its districts. Decree Law No. 208 of October 26, 1938, establishing the territory of Mato Grosso, to be in force for the five-year period 1,939 to 1943, establishes the municipality of Poxoréu with the following districts: the Headquarters, Coronel Ponce, Ponte de Pedra and Rondonópolis (CARTÓRIO POXORÉU, 2019).

One year after the creation of the municipality, in 1940, the first census took place. Poxoréu already had 14,749 inhabitants. The force of migration to the place was mining, but in 1940 agriculture was already well established and cattle ranching kept pace. The herd was approximately 30,000 head. Thus, Poxoréu ended up becoming a reference place in the region, it became a stopover point on flights between Cuiabá - Goiânia.

Nowadays, the municipality also stands out for the existence of communities, districts and settlements (Casulo do Jácomo, Santa Maria, Santo Antônio da Aldeia, Alminhas, João de Barro, Tietê, Colinas Verdes and Mártires do Carajás, Nova Poxoréu) that survive from family farming, in addition to Carlos Marighella, our empirical field.

When implemented, the Carlos Marighella settlement was divided into sites with a capacity for 166 families, however it was initially intended for 162. The name of the Settlement was chosen in honor of the guerrilla, politician and writer Carlos Marighella, <sup>1</sup>due to his militancy in social class struggles and during the military dictatorship.

Regarding infrastructure, the settlement has a small grocery store that at night becomes a bar, as well as a medical center, a Catholic church, two evangelical churches and a school called Pontal da Areia. The site also has rural electricity obtained in 2004 through a joint investment between the settlers and the National Program for the Strengthening of Family Agriculture (PRONAF).

Here, rural workers grow corn, papaya, pumpkin, vegetables and cassava (the main crop product), as well as raise dairy cattle.

---

<sup>1</sup> The history and characterization data of the Settlement were taken from the website <https://cirandas.net/assentamentosrondonopolis/municipio-de-poxoreo-assentamento>), of the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE, 2010) and from the article entitled "The Environmental Characterization of the Carlos Marighella Settlement from the discourses of EJA students and the contributions of Environmental Education" authored by Lucimara Afonso Castilho, Crisnaiara Cândido and Dr. Lindalva Maria Novaes Garske (2017).



As a result, there are several cheese dairies and flour mills, however, all the flour produced on site is sold to a middleman who lives in the municipality of Rondonópolis/MT (47 km away from the settlement), as well as most of the milk production that is sold to a dairy in the same city. In all, the settlement has 12 identified farinheiras, most of whom still develop the techniques and recipes of production in a rudimentary way, which they learned in their place of origin (image 02 and 03).

Image 02: Space - artisanal farinha



Source: Sandra Siqueira (2019)

Image 03: Handmade toaster



Source: Maryanne Guimarães (2019)

Among these flour mills, one has instruments and machinery that optimize the flour production process and that, according to the report of one of the owners, were purchased directly from the factory, with its own resources, through a down payment, plus installments of the remaining value of the product, in the form of monthly payment, under the sale of the product produced and sold.

The harvest is done by manual start with the help of an implement (hoe), the transport of the harvested roots is done in the form of a transfer in a wheelbarrow, from the planting area to the shed (image 04) where it goes through the cleaning process (peeling and washing in water tanks - image 05), later the roots are grated, which are transformed into dough, by means of an electric grater, for the production of flour and other derivatives.



Image 04: Farinheira



Font: Jeniffer Prado (2019)

Image 05: Cassava hygiene

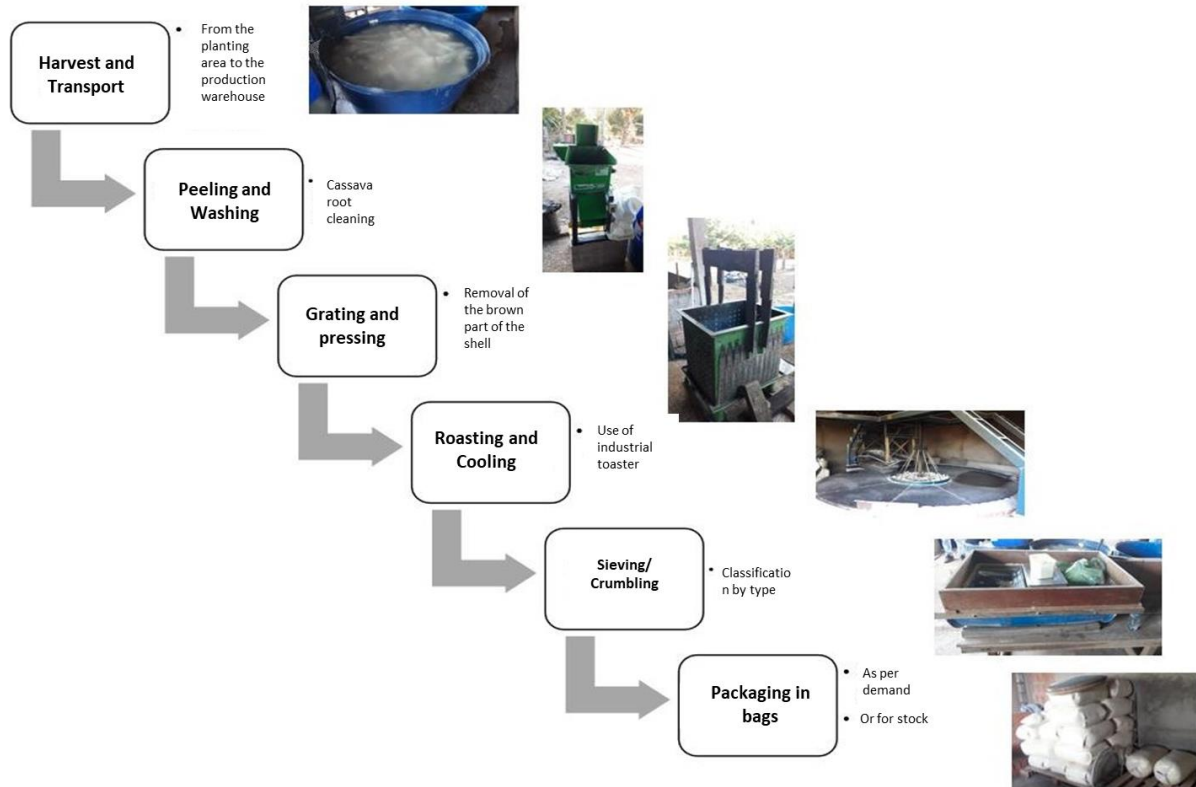


Font: Jeniffer Prado (2019)

The production process (image 06) observed in the farinheiras of the settlement is based on the same sequential principle, but with different tools. It so happens that in the technified farinheira, the production presents the differential that relates less time in the production process and a greater amount of product generated.



Image 06: Cassava flour production process



Source: Prepared by the authors (2019)

The generated dough is pressed to eliminate excess water, thus facilitating toasting, and minimizing the risk of oxidation of the dough. Based on market demand or need for stock replenishment, flour is produced. This production process within these farinheiras is strictly family-oriented.

The roasting process (image 07) is done in an equipment that has a production capacity of 1,000 kg per production time, this machinery is installed on a base where wood is burned for the production of flour, coupled to this equipment was built a reservoir (image 08) for cooling the production. When the equipment was purchased, according to the owner's report, the demand for production was great, but due to the recession, they had to adapt and reduce it due to the seasonality of demand.





Image 07: Mechanized toaster



Source: Ana Paula Bistaffa de Monlevade (2019)

Image 08: Reservoir towards Post-toasting flour cooling



Source: Ana Paula Bistaffa de Monlevade (2019)

In general, these flour-producing families manufacture, store and sell their products to the same warehouse, individually, even though they are neighbors and sell to the same company, which is a warehouse located in the city of Rondonópolis, which in turn sells to other markets in the region, with the labeling of Cassava Flour Recreio.

In this contextualized scenario, as a proposition of social production and improvement of flour manufacturing, this study highlights the possibility for the community to act in an associated way, adding value to the cassava flour production process to strengthen the market that has become scarce due to the advance of the Brazilian economic recession, as reported by the producer of the flour company investigated.

Cooperative work or associated work and/or associated production<sup>2</sup> (the latter that we will use in the text) is understood as a form of organization historically constructed by organized communities involving social, economic and cultural relations allowing workers to produce their existence in a free, collective, solidary and self-managed way.

---

<sup>2</sup> It is important to emphasize that although this is a new terminology, associated production has its origin directly linked to what Marx (2014) calls a society of freely associated men, that is, it is related to associated work, as already reported in the text. In addition, it is not a ready-made and irreproachable concept, as we are talking about something dynamic, deep and historical.



According to Caetano and Neves (2014, p. 602), the associated production<sup>3</sup> is:

[...] One of the strategies that the workers belonging to the popular sectors use, aiming to guarantee the expanded reproduction of life through economic, social and cultural practices that differ from the rationality of the capitalist economy. [...] Associated work is organized in a self-managed way, without valuing profit and the exploitation of other people's labor power, seizing the means of production and based on solidarity, which goes beyond the material sphere.

There are several traditional communities scattered throughout the country in which we can find groups organized in association. In these places, workers developed a relationship that was very close to nature, dependent on the land, in addition to having a different way of living and seeing the world. After all, manual and intellectual work go hand in hand and social, economic and cultural relations are based on solidarity, equality, cooperation, reciprocity and common goods.

Pope Francis points out that there is a need to think of different mechanisms and economies that give life and that do not kill, but rather include and do not exclude, humanize and do not dehumanize, care for creation and do not plunder it and even points to the need to correct the models of growth that are incapable of guaranteeing respect for the environment. the acceptance and preservation of life, the care of the family, social equity, the dignity of workers and future generations (Encyclical Letter *Laudato Si*, 2015).

In this way, we believe that from the associated production and/or the collective organization of the *farinheiras* located in the Carlos Marighella settlement, local workers can organize themselves in a self-managed way and thus eliminate the presence of the middleman for the commercialization of cassava flour. We understand associated production as a mode of production of existence based on first-order mediations that aims to preserve the vital functions of individual reproduction and of the totality of human beings, because, according to Castro (2015, p. 43):

[...] Every man must work according to his conscience, and work is not the individual instrument of earning a living, but the means of the whole society, not the resources of an individual. An individual alone can do nothing, an individual is worth very little; An individual integrated into the strength of a society is everything.

Corroborating the ideas presented, Professor Carlos Vainer, in his reflective synthesis on "Other economies and other ways of life are possible" highlights 06 theses for discussion of the "Economy of Francisco", stressing the need to seek alternatives to the current economic model, but not only as an alternative model; the incorporation of the historicity of historical subjects in the process of constructing this model; points to the practice of criticism as not replacing the critique of practice; resistance through the construction of alternatives at multiple scales and the adoption of trans-scalar

---

<sup>3</sup> There are several ways of organizing the associated production. Cooperatives and associations stand out. However, we can also find family-based nuclei, informal collective work groups, networks, collective production cooperatives, etc.



strategies and alliances; the quest to overcome individualism and privatism, preserving and reinventing the public sphere and common mechanisms; bringing education and cultures as a leading role to project new alternatives in a struggle and in continuous debate. Necessary premises in the face of socioeconomic and cultural mechanisms, centralizing and excluding diversity.

## 2 FINAL THOUGHTS

The manufacture of cassava flour in the farinheiras of the Carlos Marighella settlement has been predominantly artisanal (with the exception of the more industrialized farinha) and family-owned, it is considered that the production has been intended for subsistence (consumption) and commercialization; However, the individualized way in which production has been conducted has not been profitable at present, given the time spent, the seasonality in production in the face of the current recession and the necessary workforce has not effectively compensated for the financial value.

At the end of the study, it can be seen that the production of cassava flour contains several processing steps, considered to be of low complexity, being processed in the existing flour mills, manually or mechanized. There is a predominance of individualized production in their family spaces and there is no collaborative aspect, even though there is relative proximity to the productive spaces and many of these farinha owners are relatives.

It is considered as a principle that the transition and adoption of associated production allows workers to structure their existence based on democratic decisions, making them have control of the means of production and the work process. In addition, this model may allow these human beings the opportunity to try to move in the opposite direction to individualism and authoritarianism in order to, who knows, one day, be able to overcome the capitalist mode of production. After all, only those who like flour know how to sift it!



## REFERENCES

- CAETANO, Edson; NEVES, Camila Emanuella Pereira. Entre cheias e vazantes: trabalho, saberes e resistência em comunidades tradicionais da baixada cuiabana. *Revista Educação Pública*. Cuiabá, v. 23, n.53/2, p. 595-613, maio/ago. 2014.
- CARTÓRIO DO 1º. OFÍCIO POXOREÚ. História de Poxoréu. Disponível em: < <https://www.cartoriorgipoxoreu.com.br/novo/a-cidade/historia/>>. Acesso em: 22 set. 2019.
- CASTRO, Fidel. A grande tarefa da revolução consiste em formar o homem novo. São Paulo: Expressão Popular, 2015.
- CIRANDAS. Município de Poxoréu Assentamento Carlos Marighella. Disponível em: < <https://cirandas.net/assentamentosrondonopolis/municipio-de-poxoreo-assentamento> >. Acesso em: 01 jul. 2019.
- CAMPANHOLA, Clayton; SILVA, José Graziano da. O novo rural brasileiro: novas atividades rurais. Brasília-DF: Embrapa Informação Tecnológica, 2004. v. 6.
- FELICIANO, Carlos Alberto. Movimento camponês rebelde: a reforma agrária no Brasil. São Paulo: Contexto, 2006, 205 p.
- FERREIRA, João Carlos Vicente. História de Poxoréu. Disponível em: < <http://www.portalmatogrosso.com.br/municipios/poxoreu/dados-gerais/historia-de-poxoreu/543>>. Acesso em: 22 set. 2019.
- FRANCISCO, Papa. Carta Encíclica Laudato Si' do Santo Padre Francisco: sobre o cuidado da casa comum. Disponível em: [https://w2.vatican.va/content/dam/francesco/pdf/encyclicals/documents/papa-francesco\\_20150524\\_enciclica-laudato-si\\_po.pdf](https://w2.vatican.va/content/dam/francesco/pdf/encyclicals/documents/papa-francesco_20150524_enciclica-laudato-si_po.pdf). Acesso em: 12 set. 2019.
- IBGE - Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística. Sinopse do Censo Demográfico 2010 Mato Grosso. Disponível em: < <https://censo2010.ibge.gov.br/sinopse/index.php?dados=29&uf=51>>. Acesso em: 05 jul. 2019.
- Dados Econômicos do Município de Poxoréu Mato Grosso. Disponível em: < <https://cidades.ibge.gov.br/brasil/mt/poxoreu/panorama>>. Acesso em: 06 jul. 2019.
- INCRA. Informações gerais sobre os assentamentos da Reforma Agrária . Disponível em: < <http://painel.incra.gov.br/sistemas/index.php>>. Acesso em: 18 jul. 2019.
- LAMERA, Janice Alves. Análise da eficiência dos assentamentos rurais em Mato Grosso. 2008. 149 f. Dissertação (Mestrado em Economia) - Programa de Pós-graduação em Agronegócios e Desenvolvimento Regional, Universidade Federal de Mato Grosso, Cuiabá-MT, 2008.
- OLIVEIRA, Iolanda Lopes; CLEMENTE, Evandro Cesar; STURZA, José Adolfo Irian. O associativismo como promotor do desenvolvimento rural e (re)organização espacial em assentamento rurais. In: XXIV Encontro Nacional de Geografia Agrária: questão agrária e práxis social. 2018. Anais da Universidade Federal da Grande Dourados, Programa de Pós-Graduação em Geografia, 2018.
- VAINER, Carlos. Outras Economias e Outros Modos de Vida São Possíveis. Disponível em: <https://frentedompaulo.com.br/economiadefrancisco/?s=carlos+vainer>. Acesso em: 24 set. 2019.