


IMPLEMENTATION, SHUTDOWN AND NEW PERSPECTIVES: A CASE STUDY ON THE TERRITORIAL DIMENSION OF THE SOCIO-SPATIAL IMPACTS RESULTING FROM THE INSTALLATION OF THE ENSEADA DO PARAGUAÇU NAVAL SHIPYARD, IN THE MUNICIPALITY OF MARAGOGIPE/BA

IMPLANTAÇÃO, PARALISAÇÃO E NOVAS PERSPECTIVAS: UM ESTUDO DE CASO SOBRE A DIMENSÃO TERRITORIAL DOS IMPACTOS SOCIOESPACIAIS DECORRENTES DA INSTALAÇÃO DO ESTALEIRO NAVAL ENSEADA DO PARAGUAÇU, NO MUNICÍPIO DE MARAGOGIPE/BA

IMPLEMENTACIÓN, PARADA Y NUEVAS PERSPECTIVAS: UN ESTUDIO DE CASO SOBRE LA DIMENSIÓN TERRITORIAL DE LOS IMPACTOS SOCIOESPACIALES RESULTANTES DE LA INSTALACIÓN DEL ASTILLERO NAVAL ENSEADA DO PARAGUAÇU, EN EL MUNICIPIO DE MARAGOGIPE/BA

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ABSTRACT

This article emerged from the concerns surrounding economic development in the territories raised in the Economic Changes and Territorial Dynamics discipline (PGSS013) of the Postgraduate Program in Social Policy and Territories (PPG POSTERR) at the Federal University of Recôncavo da Bahia (UFRB). It is worth noting that from reading texts that critically analyze the economic developments that have taken place in the Recôncavo Baiano, it was possible to identify the socio-spatial issues surrounding the process and shutdown of the Industrial Naval shipyard, in the district of São Roque do Paraguaçu, in Maragogipe-BA. In this way, this study is supported by theoretical research, based on documentary and iconographic research as well as a bibliographic survey, in which changes in the territory and the new perspectives that have emerged from this economic dynamic were observed. The results reveal a scenario of territorial transformation marked by expectations of development which, due to the interruption of the project, resulted in frustrations and negative impacts on the local community. In short, the analysis highlights the vulnerability of regions dependent on large industrial projects and the need for public policies that take into account not only economic growth, but also social cohesion and territorial stability.

Keywords: Territories. Shipyard. Development. Socio-Spatial Impacts.

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RESUMO

Este artigo emergiu das inquietações em torno do desenvolvimento econômico nos territórios levantadas na disciplina Mudanças Econômicas e Dinâmicas Territoriais (PGSS013) do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Política Social e Territórios (PPG POSTERR) da Universidade Federal do Recôncavo da Bahia (UFRB). Cabe destacar que a partir da leitura de textos que analisam criticamente os desenvolvimentos econômicos ocorridos no Recôncavo Baiano, foi possível identificar as questões socioespaciais que cercam o processo e a paralisação do Estaleiro Industrial Naval, no distrito de São Roque do Paraguaçu, em Maragogipe-BA. Dessa forma, este estudo se apoia em pesquisa teórica, pautada em pesquisa documental e iconográfica, bem como em levantamento bibliográfico, na qual foram observadas as transformações no território e as novas perspectivas que emergiram dessa dinâmica econômica. Os resultados revelam um cenário de transformação territorial marcado por expectativas de desenvolvimento que, em razão da interrupção do projeto, resultaram em frustrações e impactos negativos para a comunidade local. Em suma, a análise destaca a vulnerabilidade de regiões dependentes de grandes projetos industriais e a necessidade de políticas públicas que levem em conta não apenas o crescimento econômico, mas também a coesão social e a estabilidade territorial.

Palavras-chave: Territórios. Estaleiro. Desenvolvimento. Impactos Socioespaciais.

RESUMEN

Este artículo surgió de las inquietudes en torno al desarrollo económico en los territorios, planteadas en la disciplina Cambios Económicos y Dinámicas Territoriales (PGSS013) del Programa de Posgrado en Políticas Sociales y Territorios (PPG POSTERR) de la Universidad Federal de Recôncavo da Bahia (UFRB). Cabe destacar que, a partir de la lectura de textos que analizan críticamente los desarrollos económicos ocurridos en el Recôncavo Baiano, fue posible identificar las cuestiones socioespaciales en torno al proceso y el cierre del astillero Industrial Naval, en el distrito de São Roque do Paraguaçu, en Maragogipe-BA. De esta manera, este estudio se apoya en una investigación teórica, basada en investigación documental e iconográfica, así como en un estudio bibliográfico, en el que se observaron los cambios en el territorio y las nuevas perspectivas que emergieron de esta dinámica económica. Los resultados revelan un escenario de transformación territorial marcado por expectativas de desarrollo que, debido a la interrupción del proyecto, resultaron en frustraciones e impactos negativos en la comunidad local. En resumen, el análisis destaca la vulnerabilidad de las regiones dependientes de grandes proyectos industriales y la necesidad de políticas públicas que tengan en cuenta no sólo el crecimiento económico, sino también la cohesión social y la estabilidad territorial.

Palabras clave: Territorios. Astilleros. Desarrollo. Impactos Socioespaciales.

1 INTRODUCTION

At least two questions apply in a country where the citizen is often forgotten. How many people in Brazil are citizens? How many do not even know they are not citizens? (Santos, 2012a, p. 19).

This study proposes a relevant discussion for society and its citizens about the socio-economic, environmental, and cultural impacts triggered by major infrastructure projects in environmentally vulnerable and socio-historically constituted territories in direct relationship with nature, characterized mainly by territorial dynamics and by a rural way of life that is strained by the urban and industrial capitalist way of life. In this regard, we reflect on how the impacts of the implementation and subsequent decommissioning of the Enseada do Paraguaçu shipyard (EEP), also known as the Enseada do Paraguaçu Industrial Naval shipyard, in the district of São Roque do Paraguaçu, in Maragogipe-BA, affected social subjects and their local territorial practices, during the phase of the investigation process known in Brazil as “Operação Lava-Jato”⁷.

In this regard, in the year 2024, the federal government is indicating a possible reactivation of the EEP and, with this gesture, certain issues emerge that should be recognized and problematized, focusing on local subjects and groups, as well as their non-hegemonic social practices in the territory, in their relationship with the socio-spatial⁸, cultural, economic and environmental impacts resulting from the consolidation of the neoliberal urban-industrial capitalist project on local social and territorial dynamics.

In addition, the expectations of social groups and subjects in the district of São Roque do Paraguaçu, in Maragogipe-BA, have not been met by the ENI, which is a local expression of developmentalism and power relations understood from the dialectic between the notions

⁷According to Costa (2020), in the initial operation of “Operação Lava-Jato”, approximately 400 federal police officers participated in the operation, carrying out 81 search and seizure warrants, 18 preventive arrest warrants, 10 temporary arrest warrants and 19 coercive driving warrants in 17 cities. According to the Federal Public Prosecutor's Office, contractors used to compete in public tenders to carry out works linked to Petrobras, with the one who offered the lowest price being the winner. However, an alleged scheme was uncovered in which the companies united in a “club” to eliminate real competition. The operation was carried out in six Brazilian states and in the Federal District on March 17, 2014, resulting in the initial arrest of seventeen people, including Alberto Youssef, a money-launderer suspected of leading the corruption scheme, and later Paulo Roberto Costa, Director of Petrobras. The investigations were expanded on March 11, with a search and seizure operation at Petrobras' headquarters in Rio de Janeiro. On May 14, 2014, the Petrobras CPI was installed in the Senate. Construção naval será retomada na BA em 2024? Available at: <http://sinaval.org.br/2023/11/construcaonaval-sera-retomada-na-ba-em-2024>. Accessed on: July 23, 2024.

⁸Souza (2013) argues, after a discussion of the concept, that the social in socio-spatial without a hyphen only qualifies the spatial, and does not consider the social relations that are established in space, while when discussing socio-spatial, the social relations that integrate space and the dynamics generated by these are seen.

of citizen of the place and citizen of the world put forward by Milton Santos (2012b). This author recognizes that the local imposes itself as a live space, reveals the world and the asymmetries of power, and encourages a reassessment of heritage and questions about the present and future of social groups and subjects and their territorial practices and places. These are the (mis)paths of what was promised by modernity, which could never be fulfilled by the urban-industrial capitalist civic model, and which are perceived and felt in places and territories!

Currently, the citizens of a place want to become citizens of the world. The truth is, however, that the “world” has no way of regulating places. As a result, the expression world citizen becomes a vow, a promise, a distant possibility. As effective global actors are ultimately anti-man and anti-citizen, the possibility of a world citizen is conditioned by national realities. In fact, a citizen is only a citizen (or not a citizen) of a country (Santos, 2012b, p. 113).

Thus, it is important to emphasize that the relevance of the subject goes beyond academic limits, as this work provides a broad understanding of the socio-spatial limits of the neoliberal project expressed locally by the EEP, which is guided by developmental logic and is being implemented in the Paraguaçu River inlet, which represents an important surface source that contributes to the public supply of fresh water, both in the Recôncavo and in the Metropolitan Region of Salvador, in Bahia. Based on the tension between the development model that guides the EEP and rural ways of life in the places and territories affected by public power and neoliberal urban and industrial capital, we can see an approximation of social reality, contained in the dialectic of relations between places, territory, and the world. As reflected by Santos (2012b), the relationship between place and the “world”.

[...] It is the space, that is, the places, that make and reveal the world, making it historicized and geographized, that is, empiricized. Places are therefore the world, which they reproduce in specific, individualized, and different ways. They are singular, but also global, manifestations of the totality of the world, of which forms are particular forms (Santos, 2012b, p. 112).

Apart from the political repercussions, the socio-spatial, environmental, and territorial dynamics have been significantly altered since the installation of the EEP and, for this reason, it is considered necessary to discuss the issue in order to think about an alternative, counter-hegemonic development model that encompasses local individuals and social groups, their territorial practices, desires and expectations for a future with dignity and permanence in their

territories. This study is based on the definition of territory proposed by Rogério Haesbaert (2004), who believes that territory encompasses nature and the relations of power contained in social, cultural, and economic connections, and the organization of space and place which is made by individuals.

The aim is to understand the tension between the logic of social groups and their subjects, and their territorial practices and rural ways of life in the municipality of Maragogipe, which are expressed locally in a counter-hegemonic way to the national development model, urban-industrial capitalist, which guides the EEP. This logic is part of the neoliberal, hegemonic political-economic agenda, which is why it is important to understand the socio-spatial, cultural, and environmental impacts of the implementation, decommissioning, and resettlement of the EEP, as well as the power relations contained in social relations, on rural lifestyles and counter-hegemonic practices.

In this regard, the aim of this article is to understand the effects of the socio-spatial and environmental impacts of the Enseada Industrial Naval shipyard, also known as the Enseada do Paraguaçu shipyard (EEP), on the territorial dynamics of local social groups and subjects in the district of São Roque do Paraguaçu, in the Municipality of Maragogipe, Recôncavo da Bahia. The study seeks to answer the following research questions: What socio-economic and environmental impacts have resulted from the implementation of the EEP? What transformations were triggered in the socio-historically constituted territorial dynamics following the installation and subsequent decommissioning of the EEP? How has the implementation of the EEP affected local rural activities, especially fishing and shellfish gathering? What are the environmental, material, and immaterial liabilities linked to the suspension of the EEP in 2015?

To this end, the methodological strategy adopted is based on documentary and iconographic research, including analysis of how the Maragogipe Urban Development Plan (Maragogipe, 2010, p. 17 apud Rodrigues, p. 13), historical facts (Portal Recôncavo, 1976; PAC, 2010), maps (SEI, 2010) were analyzed; and the Bibliographic Survey, in which dissertations, theses and articles were consulted.

Among the productions on the subject, Pereira's (2014) thesis stands out, as it analyzed the socio-spatial transformations in the area of direct influence resulting from the EEP interventions in the Paraguaçu inlet, and the article by Rodrigues (2013), in which the author analyzed the socio-economic externalities of Maragogipe-BA produced by the São Roque do Paraguaçu Naval Pole, in addition to approaching the population's perceptions

regarding the benefits and losses generated by the naval industry. Also noteworthy are the contributions by Pereira (2014), Silva (2015), Da Silva Santana; Santana (2020); De Jesus (2023) who investigated the influence of economic activities associated with the EEP on the socio-spatial transformation of the landscape and place.

In conclusion, the study of the implementation of the Enseada do Paraguaçu Naval shipyard has made it possible to expand the knowledge of the causes of the suspension and the new perspectives, as well as revealing a gap in the study of the vulnerability of regional and local socio-spatial and environmental dynamics dependent on industrial projects and demand, linked to these projects, groups and social subjects for Public Policies that cover, in addition to social, cultural, political and economic dynamics, the territorial basis, fundamental rights, and the territory, and by extension citizenship and its political activity. As a result, groups and social subjects have their territorial practices and ways of life systematically denied and made invisible by the Brazilian state and the neoliberal project, as in the case of the EEP in Bahia.

2 HISTORICAL AND SOCIO-SPATIAL CHARACTERIZATION

2.1 HISTORICAL AND SOCIO-SPATIAL CHARACTERIZATION OF THE RECÔNCAVO REGION OF BAHIA

The Recôncavo Baiano region is characterized by its crescent shape around the Bay of All Saints, with the city of Salvador to the north and the mouth of the Jaguaribe River to the south (Pedrão, 1997). It is located in the humid tropical climate zone, with an average annual rainfall of $\pm 2,000$ mm, and an area of ± 11.000 km², which combines a diversity of socio-spatial types and uses of soils: the lowlands, known as “massapê”, where sugar production was concentrated; the highlands, forming plateaus, which housed most of the tobacco and citrus plantations; and extensive areas of estuaries and mangroves to the south, in its coastal zone, which allowed the socio-historical construction of a diversified economy.

In the history of the state of Bahia, the Recôncavo region stood out for its extensive sugar cane and tobacco plantations, cultivated using enslaved labor to serve the interests of the colonial company (Baqueiro, 2021). In other words, the debate of the Recôncavo's social and natural dynamics led to the emergence of the Lusitanian metropolis' mercantile economy and the slave-owning elite in colonial and imperial Brazil. Therefore, the scourge of slavery and the hostile second nature consolidated the unjust and unequal societal seed that guided the historical socio-spatial production of the Recôncavo region. However, in 2024, the

agricultural practices of extensive plantations, such as sugar cane, and the historical scars of the coloniality of power, the slave-like societal seed, and the hostility towards the social subjects and nature by regional and national elites can still be seen in the Recôncavo.

In this context, Baqueiro (2021) points out that the Recôncavo Baiano region is rich in history, culture, environmental diversity, and ways of life. It is also known for its importance in the socio-spatial and economic formation of Bahia, due to its contribution to sugar production in the colonial period as well as in the struggles for Brazilian independence. Located around the Bay of All Saints, the Recôncavo Baiano region is home to historic cities that preserve Afro-Bahian and Portuguese traditions. Considering this, the political protagonism of the Recôncavo Baiano in the history of Bahia is undeniable (Bahia, 2016).

In the first half of the 21st century, the Recôncavo Baiano is composed, according to the latest IBGE (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics) Census (2022), of 19 municipalities⁹ and a population of 515,168 inhabitants (equivalent to 3.6% of the population of Bahia), covering a total area of 4,570 km² (representing 0.8% of the area of the state of Bahia). Furthermore, this region has an urbanization rate of 69.2%, which can be considered high, especially when you consider the significant presence of agricultural activities and a Gross Domestic Product (GDP) per inhabitant of R\$ 13,269.42 (x 1000). This value can be considered high, however, several indicators need to be taken into account for a proper analysis of a population's quality of life, not to mention the possibility of a lack of fair income distribution.

Considering the socio-spatial inequalities in the distribution of the GDP values of the municipal entities in the Recôncavo region, it should be noted that the municipality of Santo Antônio de Jesus has the greatest economic participation and dynamism in the regional context. Within the distribution of economic assets in the Recôncavo region, trade and services (tertiary sector) represent the most important sectors (78% of GDP), followed by industry (secondary sector) (13.2% of GDP) and agriculture (primary sector) (8.8% of GDP). An analysis of the disparity between the tertiary (trade and services) and secondary (industry) sectors reveals the low level of industrialization in the Recôncavo (IBGE, 2022).

As a historical reason that can explain this low production in industry, based on the analysis and interpretation of the issue done by Teixeira and Guerra (2000), the fall in sugar

⁹In alphabetical order, the list of municipalities that constitute the Recôncavo Baiano Region can be organized as the following: Cabeceiras do Paraguaçu, Cachoeira, Castro Alves, Conceição de Almeida, Cruz das Almas, Dom Macedo Costa, Governador Mangabeira, Maragogipe, Muniz Ferreira, Muritiba, Nazaré, Salinas da Margarida, Santo Amaro, Santo Antônio de Jesus, São Felipe, São Félix, Saubara, Sapeaçu, and Varzedo.

production in the Recôncavo Baiano in the 1940s was evident. Industrialization took off at the end of the 1950s, in the face of the dominance of the agrarian sector of the economy, with the implementation of the Landulfo Alves Refinery in the municipality of Madre de Deus, which brought indirect benefits and socio-spatial changes to the economic base of the Recôncavo region.

Regarding direct benefits, the most evident came with the establishment of the Petrobrás construction site, which, according to Pereira (2014), took place in 1976. Despite this, in terms of Bahia's production, i.e. Gross Industrial Production, according to the latest IBGE Census (IBGE, 2022), the Recôncavo's share of Bahia's industry is 1.5%.

In addition, it is important to think about the need to relativize GDP as an indicator capable of reflecting the condition of human development in this region. For this reason, it was important to reflect on the Municipal Human Development Index (IDHM) of the Recôncavo Baiano region, whose IDHM values varied, based on the IBGE (2010), between 0.500 and 0.799 and were therefore considered average values. It should be noted that the municipalities of Santo Antônio de Jesus and Cruz das Almas had the highest values (IDHM: 0.700 and 0.699) and the municipalities of Cabeceiras do Paraguaçu and Varzedo had the lowest values (IDHM: 0.581 and 0.586) and the municipality of Muritiba, which includes the study area, had an IDHM value of 0.621 in 2010 (IBGE, 2010).

As for education, when analyzing the level of literacy between 2000 and 2010, it can be observed that there was a decrease in the illiteracy rate in the municipalities included in the Recôncavo Baiano Identity Territory (TI Recôncavo Baiano), compared to the state of Bahia. In 2005, the Federal University of Recôncavo da Bahia (UFRB) was created, which marked the beginning of the dismemberment of the School of Agronomy of the Federal University of Bahia (UFBA). In the TI Recôncavo Baiano territory, there are six university campuses, located in the municipalities of Cachoeira, Amargosa, Santo Antônio de Jesus, Feira de Santana, Santo Amaro and Cruz das Almas, where the UFRB Rectorate is located.

The UFRB has a fundamental social role to play in the development of the Recôncavo Baiano, both in educational, as well as in social and economic terms, providing access to high-quality education for a region that has historically lacked higher education opportunities. With a wide range of undergraduate and postgraduate courses, the university promotes the education of qualified professionals in various areas of knowledge, including agricultural sciences, engineering, health, humanities, and arts.

In addition, the UFRB's existence stimulates the local economy through the generation of direct and indirect jobs, from teaching and administrative staff to services and commerce that serve the academic community. This university acts as a center for economic, political, human, and scientific development, promoting various research, extension, and teaching projects that aim to strengthen local productive sectors, such as family farming and community-based cultural tourism.

2.2 HISTORICAL AND SOCIO-SPATIAL CHARACTERIZATION OF THE MUNICIPALITY OF MARAGOGIPE

The municipality of Maragogipe, part of the Recôncavo Baiano Identity Territory, is a remarkable example of Bahia's identity and history. "Maragogipe" means "in the river of the marahús or the maracujás (passion fruits)" (Sampaio, 1987, p. 280). The municipality's history dates back to São Bartholomeu de Maragogipe parish, founded in 1676, which became a town in 1724 and a city in 1850. During the first centuries of Portuguese colonization, the region dedicated itself to the cultivation of manioc for the production of flour.

According to Sá (1959), the toponym Maragogipe is of Tupi-Guarani origin and means "valley and river where war is waged." This municipality is part of an old region in Bahia known and prized for producing coffee of excellent quality. Sá (1959, apud Farias, 2010) described that the coffee produced in this region won a gold medal at the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition in the United States of America in 1876. Following the event, samples of coffee from this region, known as "Indigenous coffee", were sold to several other regions. However, coffee production in the area was affected by the Great Depression in 1929 and by national policies to reduce the supply of the product in order to maintain prices, implemented by the Getúlio Vargas government, which resulted in a decrease in coffee production (Farias, 2010).

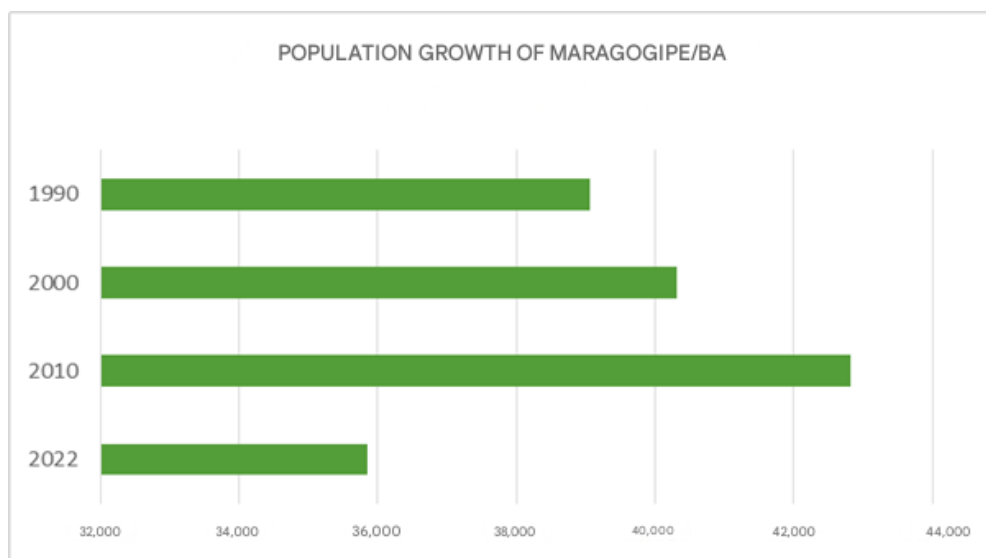
The municipality of Maragogipe is part of the Recôncavo Baiano, in the micro-region of Santo Antônio de Jesus, and is bordered to the North by São Félix and Cachoeira; to the East by the Bay of All Saints and the municipality of Salinas da Margarida; to the South by the municipalities of Jaguaripe and Nazaré; and to the West by the city of São Felipe (IBGE, 2022). The area is located at topographic dimensions almost at sea level and is surrounded by hills, the highest of which is Alto do Cruzeiro, at 130 meters above sea level (Farias, 2010).

According to the IBGE (2022), Maragogipe had a population of 35,859 people, a population density of 81.94 inhabitants/km², and an area of 437.610 km². In terms of demographic dynamics, there was an increase in the municipality's population between 2000

and 2010, while there was a decrease in the population between 2010 and 2022, based on data from the IBGE Demographic Censuses (IBGE, 2000; 2010; 2022) and the Brazilian Ministry of Health (DATASUS, 2022) (Image 1). It can be seen that the implementation of the EEP provided jobs and attracted migrants between 2000 and 2010. Still, its suspension would have contributed to a decline in the population in the following decade.

Figure 1

The population growth bar chart for Maragogipe, Bahia (1990 to 2022)



Source: Prepared by the authors, in 2024, based on IBGE and DATASUS data.

The 15.94% decrease in population between 2010 and 2022 in Maragogipe (Figure 1) was not in line with the demographic dynamics of Bahia, which registered a population increase of 0.88%, based on an analysis of information from the 2010 and 2022 IBGE Censuses (IBGE, 2010; 2022). This data, combined with the urbanization rates for the state of Bahia and Brazil, shows a downward trend ($\pm 72\%$) and (84% in 2010 and 61% in 2022)¹⁰ respectively. It should be noted in this case that Brazil is experiencing a demographic bonus, as described by Alves (2016), with impacts on urbanization, characterized by a scenario in which the working-age population (15 to 64 years old) is larger than the dependent population (young people up to 14 years old and the elderly over 65).

¹⁰It would be worth considering, in another study, the probable reasons for the fall in the urbanization rate in Brazil in the years between the IBGE Demographic Censuses of 2010 and 2022, given the influence of the described increase in the urban population and external causes on the fertility rate and demographic growth. A curious fact can be observed in the history of the district: On October 17, 1961, a law was enacted to separate São Roque do Paraguaçu from Maragogipe, making the district a municipality. However, for unknown reasons, the referendum was not held and the “new” municipality was not legitimized.

In parallel with the demographic bonus mentioned above, another relevant demographic fact is population aging. In Brazil, the number of elderly has increased, and life expectancy is much higher at the start of the 21st century than 100 years ago. Regarding population aging, in 2010, Maragogipe had an aging rate of 7.66% (IBGE, 2010), which is equivalent to the number of people aged 65 or over for every 100 people under the age of 14. In addition, the 2010 and 2022 aging rates for the state of Bahia (7.6% and 13.3%) and Brazil (8.2% and 10.9%) were obtained, respectively, based on data from the IBGE Demographic Census (2010; 2022).

As for the municipality's economy, according to data presented by Atlas Brasil (2013), the monthly *per capita* income was R\$300.10¹¹ (three hundred reais and ten cents) in 2010. In the most recent census (IBGE, 2022), the Gini index, a measure of income inequality, was 0.57 in the same year, indicating the growth of income and social asymmetry in the municipality. This reality is even more glaring when it comes to Maragogipe's districts, as exemplified by the district that will be analyzed in the following section.

2.3 DISTRICT OF SÃO ROQUE DO PARAGUAÇU IN THE MUNICIPALITY OF MARAGOGIPE

The municipality of Maragogipe consists of five districts: Coqueiros, Guaí, Guapira, Nagé and São Roque do Paraguaçu. From the penultimate territorial division, which took place in 1960, to the last, in 2021, this configuration of districts has remained the same. Of all the districts, the one that has been most focused on controversy and national news, in the current decade and the previous one, was the district of São Roque do Paraguaçu because of “Operação Lava-Jato”.

The district of São Roque do Paraguaçu is located near the mouth of the Paraguaçu River, in the Bay of All Saints¹². This makes the district proficient in terms of deep and sheltered waters, a configuration that led it to be considered ideal for setting up shipyards. Given this, according to Santana and Santana (2020), in 2012, a project based on the promise of regional development led to the implementation of the EEP in the district addressed here, focusing on the creation of direct and indirect jobs, the expansion and

¹¹The minimum wage in 2010 was R\$510.00 (five hundred and ten reais).

¹²As Almeida (2020) points out, the Bay of All Saints has a surface area of 1,233 km²; she also mentions that its surface has a past surrounded by predatory profit, which has appropriated renewable, non-renewable and human resources. It is interesting to note that the Bay of All Saints is the mouth of the Paraguaçu River.

diversity of trade in the municipality and surrounding towns, and the expansion of real estate and land.

The implementation of shipyards in Brazil began with the leasing of the Inhaúma and São Roque facilities, in the state of Rio de Janeiro, and the Bay of All Saints, in Bahia. The government's focus was on the manufacture and integration of maritime structures, such as production platforms and specialized vessels. Its main clients included Petrobras and Sete Brasil. At the same time, its shareholders were a coalition composed of Odebrecht Participações e Investimentos S.A., OAS Investimentos S.A., UTC Participações S.A., and finally, Kawasaki Heavy Industries (Almeida, 2020).

Almeida (2020) explains that the location for the Naval Industrial Complex in São Roque do Paraguaçu was chosen for technical reasons that met the prerequisites for setting up a shipyard, which were: the presence of a deep navigation channel and the existence of a relatively flat areas around the channel, which, in this case, leads to the widest part of the Bay of All Saints, near the Iguape bay.

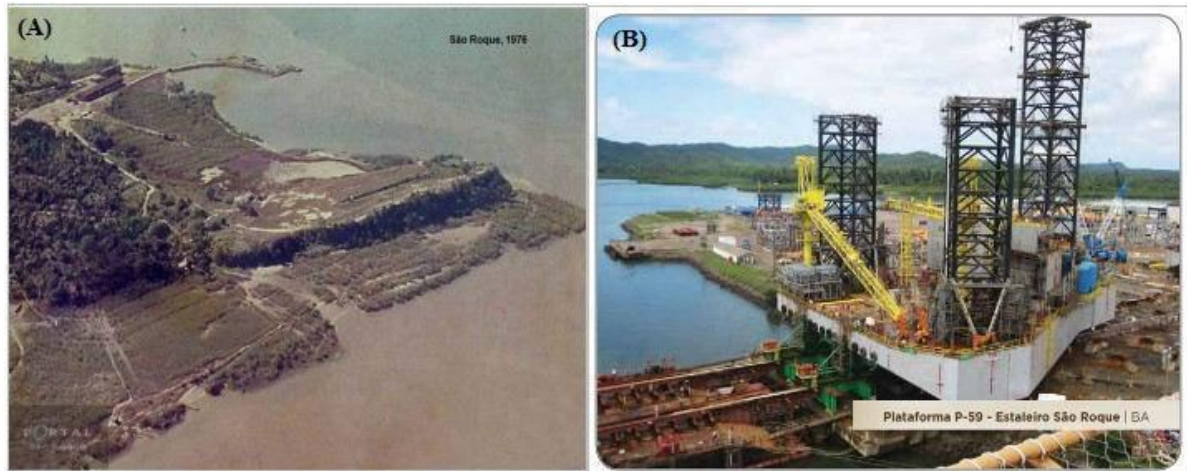
According to this author, other important factors explain the choice of location for the Naval Industrial Complex in São Roque do Paraguaçu:

The area where the shipyard is located is on the right bank of the Paraguaçu River and also on one of the banks of the Baetantã River, in a place called Ponta do Corujão, in Maragogipe, district of São Roque do Paraguaçu, comprising an area of approximately 1.6485 km², a polygonal area located in part of the Iguape Extractive Reserve bay area, which was later modified to allow the inclusion of the shipyard's industrial plant (Almeida, 2020, p. 10).

The activity developed at the EEP was aimed at building vessels and equipment used for extracting oil and gas, as well as building ships and platforms for extracting and handling oil (Silva, 2015). In this scenario, it is important to note that the installation of the shipyard was part of the Growth Acceleration Program (PAC) (Brazil, 2011-2014), which aimed to achieve economic development in conjunction with Petrobras through the construction of platforms and the exploration of the pre-salt layer, generating positive outcomes in the naval, mechanical, steel, and metallurgical industries. The Figures in Figure 2a and 2b illustrate the changes in the area before and after the EEP was implemented.

Figure 2

On the left, the Figure shows the São Roque do Paraguaçu district bar (A), in 1976, and on the right, the same area with the industrial shipyard already in place, in 2010 (B)



Source: Portal São Roque, Facebook¹³, (2024). Source: PAC, (2010).

The area chosen for the EEP was the territory of a traditional quilombola community, recognized and certified by the Palmares Foundation in 2006. According to Jesus (2023), the community of Enseada do Paraguaçu comprised 248 families of African descent, with fishing and artisanal shellfish extraction as their economic base. However, the installation of the EEP took place in the area belonging to this Quilombola Community, which was part of a Marine Extractive Reserve in the Iguape bay, a place considered to be the main point of collection and development of fishing and shellfish gathering activities. This violation of the rights to exist and to the territory was induced by the state to meet the interests of the EEP and the naval industry. This industrial project appropriates spaces for the reproduction of life and makes social subjects and their territories vulnerable (Almeida, 2020).

Almeida (2020) describes in his studies that the Bay of All Saints is considered ideal, from an economic and political point of view, for the installation of shipyards, because it is located in the center of the Brazilian and South American coasts. Furthermore, it is one of the largest bays in the world with protected and deep waters, and the second largest bay in Brazil:

In this way, the strategic conditions for making the Bay of All Saints a focus for development were set in motion. Even before the assessment of the environmental areas where traditional communities use the Bay of All Saints for subsistence activities, among others, in the adjacent territory, the development-driven greed had already

¹³Available at: <https://www.facebook.com/share/p/ncr4iougA9d6MnEE/?mibextid=oFDknk>. Accessed on: May 13, 2024.

identified the Bay of All Saints as a strategically viable location for large-scale projects (Almeida, 2020, p. 9).

In this context, it is worth noting that the area where the EEP was implemented was a territory belonging to a quilombola community recognized by law and which was part of the Iguape Extractive Reserve bay; however, none of this was able to guarantee its protection. Thus, following a proposal from the executive branch, Provisional Measure (MP) No. 462 of 2009, which addressed the provision of financial support by the Federal Government to federal entities intending to overcome emergency financial difficulties and providing other provisions, was converted into Law No. 12,058 of 2009, which in its Article 28 ensured changes to the reserve areas, removing the São Roque do Paraguaçu construction site and the area where the shipyard was installed, in the following terms:

Art. 28 - The Iguape Marine Extractive Reserve bay, created by the Decree of August 11, 2000, located in the municipalities of Maragogipe and Cachoeira, State of Bahia, now has the following Descriptive Memorial, based on Map SD-24-X-AIV, scale 1:100.000, published by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE): it starts from Point 01 with approximate geographical coordinates of 38°51'0. 41"W and 12°51'1.82"S, located on the right bank of the Paraguaçu River, near the community of São Roque; from this point, it continues along a straight line, with an azimuth of 17°30'41" and an approximate distance of 1,461.67 meters, to Point 02, with approximate geographical coordinates of 38°50'46.11"W and 12°50'16. 29"S, located on the dividing line between the municipalities of Maragogipe, Saubara and Cachoeira; from this point, it follows the dividing line between the municipalities of Saubara and Cachoeira, for an approximate distance of 2,105.80 meters, to Point 03, with approximate geographical coordinates of 38°50'6.29"W and 12°49'22.84"S; from this point, following the boundary of the mangrove land area, in the upstream direction of the Paraguaçu River, for an approximate distance of 13. 040.05 meters, to Point 04 with approximate geographical coordinates of 38°52'9.79"W and 12°45'45.29"S; from this point, it follows a straight line with an azimuth of 17°23'32" and an approximate distance of 2,252.37 meters, to Point 05 with approximate geographical coordinates of 38°51'48.24"W and 12°44'33.09"S, located at the source of an unnamed stream; from this point, it follows a straight line with an azimuth of 01°21'17" and an approximate distance of 1,985.52 meters to Point 06 with approximate geographical coordinates of 38°51'44.94"W and 12°43'28.71"S, located at the confluence of the Catu stream with an unnamed stream; from this point, it follows a straight line with an azimuth of 331°24'54" and an approximate distance of 845.61 meters to Point 07 with approximate geographical coordinates of 38°51'59. 05"W and 12°43'6.43"S, located on the edge of the mangrove terrestrial zone; from there, following the edge of the mangrove terrestrial zone, in the upstream direction of the Paraguaçu River, skirting Iguape Bay, for an approximate distance of 67. 028.41 meters, to Point 08 with approximate geographic coordinates 38°56'18.20"W and 12°41'2.35"S, located at the confluence of an unnamed stream with the left bank of the Paraguaçu River; from there, it follows a straight line, with azimuth 310°51'47" and approximate distance of

565.114 meters, to Point 09 with approximate geographic coordinates 38°56'32. 38"W and 12°40'50.31"S, located at the confluence of the Subaúma River with the right bank of the Paraguaçu River; from there, it follows the right bank of the Paraguaçu River, in a downstream direction, for an approximate distance of 1,981.84 meters, to Point 10, with approximate geographical coordinates of 38°56'32.26"W and 12°41'54. 15"S, located on the left bank of the mouth of the Sinunga River with the Paraguaçu River; from this point, skirting the edge of the mangrove land area, in the upstream direction of the Sinunga River, for an approximate distance of 1,633.67 meters, to Point 11 with approximate geographical coordinates of 38°57'14.77"W and 12°42'1. 58"S, located on the left bank of the Sinunga River; from there, it continues skirting the edge of the mangrove land area, in the downstream direction of the Sinunga River, for an approximate distance of 1,364.64 meters, to Point 12 with approximate geographical coordinates of 38°56'31.52"W and 12°41'57. 46"S, located on the right bank of the mouth of the Sinunga River with the Paraguaçu River; from there, it follows the right bank of the Paraguaçu River, following the limit of the mangrove land area, in a downstream direction, for an approximate distance of 69,251.46 meters, to Point 1, the beginning of this descriptive memorial, totaling an approximate perimeter of 163,510.22 meters and an approximate area of 10,074.42 acres.

In other words, since the change was made, the area no longer has environmental protection and was acquired by the EEP Project Consortium, without any legal or environmental discussion about the change (Silva, 2015). The discussion about the alteration of the Extractive Reserve refers to the dismantling discussed by Silvio Luiz de Almeida (2013, p. 05) when he reflects that "it is not surprising that it is through the powers of the neo-developmental state that capital has been articulating the dismantling of the few guarantees that quilombola communities have managed, thanks to their struggle, to raise to a legal level" (Almeida, 2013, p. 5). Thus, it is recognized that the EEP is part of an industrial development project, or "neo-developmental", which is based on the state.

In this scenario, the Municipal Development Master Plan (PDDM) of Maragogipe, in 2010, indicated that the installation of the shipyard would lead to economic dynamism and expressed the intention for the municipality's area to become attractive for various economic investments (Maragogipe, 2010, p. 17 apud Rodrigues, 2013, p. 13).

Thus, based on the aforementioned, it is evident how the implementation and subsequent halt of the EEP generated socio-spatial, economic, and environmental impacts, as discussed in the Environmental Impact Study (EIA) and the Environmental Impact Report (RIMA) (SUDIC, 2009), which altered territorial dynamics. With the suspension of the shipyard's activities in 2015, a sudden loss of jobs and the closure of businesses were observed (Pereira, 2015), along with clear evidence of the socio-spatial changes left behind by its installation.

3 THE DREAMS OF INDIVIDUALS AND SOCIAL GROUPS, NEOLIBERALISM AND THE PROMISES OF THE EEP

Seeking to develop reflections on the individuals' dreams in the neoliberal context, a decision was made to initially recover the trajectory of the dreams and promises that were justified in order to move forward with the shipyard process and then from the rise to the fall, that is, to show the contradictions and environmental impacts of the shipyard's installation.

3.1 PROMISES AND DREAMS: FROM THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE EEP TO THE ECONOMIC "OVERHEATING"

The EEP began to be implemented in 2010, with around R\$2.7 billion in investments, employing 7,000 people in 2014 (Jesus, 2023). Given the promise of regional development, people from different states in the country moved to the Maragogipe municipality in search of the direct and indirect jobs that were generated by the installation of the EEP (Silva, 2015).

According to Rodrigues (2013), the inhabitants of Recôncavo believed that the EEP would significantly increase the standard of living of those employed. For the municipal government and the Bahia Superintendence for Industrial and Commercial Development (Superintendência de Desenvolvimento Industrial e Comercial da Bahia -SUDIC), the EEP would also represent a positive change in the income, schooling, and quality of life indicators of the resident population and immigrants (Figure 3).

The creation of job opportunities and the growth of the regional economy are elements that permeate the concept of economic development and promote territorial changes. In the research carried out by Rodrigues (2013), all the residents interviewed agreed that the Naval Industrial Pole would improve job possibilities and believed that the EEP was a significant and important investment for the Recôncavo area.

Nonetheless, the author highlighted an important contradiction: only 7.6% of the residents interviewed worked directly at the Naval Industrial Pole. This was largely due to a significant proportion of the population not being qualified to take up the job offers. According to Silva (2015), governmental and non-governmental organizations, as well as small companies in the region, promoted professional training only for the implementation phase of the EEP. This training was focused solely on the field of construction. However, access to this free training was not widespread, which led some of those interested in working at the shipyard to enroll in private courses (Silva, 2015).

Furthermore, there is no record of the implementation of technical and professional courses for different areas, covering a range of training and education levels. However, there was a great deal of expectation, not consolidated, in fact, but which formed a kind of unrestricted consent to the EEP project. Perhaps this is because all the socio-spatial disorganization and the dismantling of traditional rural ways of life, as well as the expropriation of territories, took place without much confrontation or accusations, especially in the municipality of Maragogipe.

Another important point of discussion was mobility. According to Pereira (2014), the implementation of the EEP resulted in the need for public authorities to come up with emergency measures to improve mobility, with investments in infrastructure to enable urban and industrial expansion in the region. However, all that was done was a “hole patching” operation on the BR-420, the establishment of financial institutions, and some interventions in the area of basic sanitation, together with the Federal Government. Regarding commerce, Pereira (2014) signaled a significant increase in the hospitality sector, with no impact on the food sector. According to the author, it didn't grow much, since the shipyard's employees ate their meals at the EEP itself. Consequently, it contributed to its decline, which will be discussed below.

3.2 FROM RISE TO FALL: THE DREAM IS OVER AND WHAT CAN BE DONE WITH TERRITORIES WITHOUT SUBJECTS?

The arrival of the EEP in the municipality of Maragogipe brought with it hopes and promises of life improvements. Da Silva Santana (2020) pointed out that women saw the EEP as an opportunity to start training for the urban-industrial world of work. It has been said:

According to reports from the locals, women who started working in operational positions, after a few months, due to the investment in training, were transferred to the administrative area, earning higher salaries than many men. Besides this specific public, there are also traders and entrepreneurs who invested everything they had with the arrival of this enterprise and are now immersed in debt (Da Silva Santana, 2020, p. 123).

During the period in which the EEP was set up in Maragogipe, there was a significant increase in the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), which quadrupled in value. With regard to the tax on the circulation of goods and services (ICMS), it was possible to achieve an eightfold increase and, with regard to the social indicator of job generation, the absolute variation, the

difference between the opening and closing of vacancies, was 4,024 jobs, showing the positive impact on the economy. (Dória, 2017, p. 100).

The presence of the EEP has had both positive and negative impacts: on the one hand, there has been a boost to the economy; on the other, there have been negative consequences, such as an increase in criminalization and sexual exploitation. In this context, the author pointed out that:

Many interviewees pointed out that the number of restaurants, hotels, which didn't even exist in the past, diners, supermarkets, and the sale of industrialized products, which were not found in the locality, had increased. It became clear that the arrival of the Enseada do Paraguaçu shipyard brought economic movement, as the town received thousands of employees every day and some stayed overnight. This led to the establishment of brothels in the area. Violence rates and even drug trafficking became part of daily life in the area (Dória, 2016, p. 36).

Despite the various contradictory opinions on the impacts caused by the installation of the EEP, it is important to note that there are several residents in the area of direct and indirect impact of the project who have not benefited from the desired positive impact on the local economy. On the contrary, for many of them, family income has dropped significantly because their main source of work was fishing, which was significantly damaged by the installation of the EEP in a fishing territory. The following fragment corroborates this understanding: “[...] The interviewee also reports that he has suffered major losses in family income, because there used to be many areas set aside for fishing, including where the shipyard was built, and in the locality, you can no longer fish” (De Jesus, 2020, p. 38).

Also evident in the fragment of the interview with the resident who complained about his economic losses with the implementation of the EEP were the changes in territorial dynamics. These changes were expressed in the restriction of the use of nature; the restriction of access to ancestral spaces; the compromising of the ways of life of fishermen and shellfish gatherers and the material, immaterial, and symbolic dimensions of the reproduction of rural life. There is even a territorial tension between rural and urban-industrial ways of life. This tension is inherent in the advance of the urban and industrial development model and will reflect the dispute over nature expressed between collective and private uses (Porciúncula; Gonçalves et al., 2021).

As Da Silva Santana (2020) emphasizes, the installation of the EEP was crucial for socio-economic development, promoting access to higher education and professional

courses. However, as a consequence of the EEP's shutdown, there were significant changes in the territorial dynamics and a rise in poverty due to unemployment. This situation directly affected the quality of life of residents and bankrupted those who had invested everything they had in the expectation of a financial return, which never happened.

In this sense, while the implementation of the EEP has, on one hand, promoted significant changes in the territorial dynamics of the region, with the establishment of new relations and flows of power around its engineering system, on the other hand, it has expressed the face of a political-economic project that promotes deterritorialization and the violation of fundamental rights. It is considered that the shutdown did not cause deterritorialization and that the transition to a new territorialization was the result of appropriation mediated by capital, where, in this case, the agents who personify capital are not located in the space territorialized, and it is not possible, in this context, to speak of building bonds of affection but of processes of territorialization of capital (Porciuncula, 2011). With evident effects on the conditions for the material and symbolic reproduction of life within the communities and social groups in their territories, whose territorial identities were not properly considered, as the EEP political-economic project ignored them in favor of its interest in the private appropriation of nature and, consequently, of their territories, instituting new power relations.

The shutdown triggered a series of socio-economic crises, including mass unemployment in the municipality of Maragogipe. Residents were forced to look for work opportunities in other cities as an alternative to provide for their families. As a result, "[...] the implementation of an enterprise the size of the shipyard has also greatly altered local socio-economic flows, generating various impacts on the dynamics of the groups that live in the region" (Almeida, 2020, p. 22). The implementation and shutdown of the EEP has therefore created socio-spatial inequalities that affect the lives of communities and territories on different scales, from local to regional.

The author also emphasized that this shutdown not only affected the municipality of Maragogipe, but also the surrounding municipalities, and its effects extended to Bahia and Brazil. Ferreira (2025) discussed the damage caused by the shutdown of the EEP and the weaknesses of the development project that attended to the interests of the market, based on neoliberal public policies that increased local dependence on foreign territorial capital:

The indefinite suspension of work on the Enseada do Paraguaçu shipyard has led to the loss of 7,600 jobs, a setback for the shipbuilding industry, which had been growing at a rapid pace. The consortium responsible for the project, formed by contractors who have been indicted and are therefore involved in corruption, including executives who have been imprisoned, has been rendered unfeasible: weakened by the companies involved in “Operação Lava-Jato”; by Petrobras's political, contractual, and financial reorientation; and supposedly by the fiscal crisis that has repercussions on the priorities of the federal government, leading to financial, political, and credibility-related conflicts with the foreign market (Ferreira, 2015, p. 7).

The author considered that there had been a major drop in the economy of the Recôncavo region, which had negatively affected workers, business owners, communities, and governments. He argued that this economic decline resulted in unemployment, consequently a loss of income, companies being closed, and financial difficulties for residents. Furthermore, he noted that governments were also affected, as they lost projected revenues and investments in infrastructure intended to support the project's viability, as well as experiencing impacts on the economic, environmental, and territorial dynamics of municipalities within the EEP's area of influence.

Continuing the discussion, the author debates the several factors that led to the shutdown of the EEP project, highlighting the lack of effective planning by the federal government and the effects of this gap in planning on social, economic, and territorial dynamics. He points out that excessive optimism and the discrepancy between theory and practice also contributed to the interruption of the project, especially concerning pre-salt exploration. In addition, the author mentions the corruption at Petrobras as one of the reasons for the negative impact on the continuity of the project, as well as the inefficient management of the state-owned company.

Another aspect that must be considered in the process of the implementation and suspension of the EEP is the socio-environmental consequences that have occurred in the territory and, therefore, their effects on territorial identities in time and space must be taken into account. First, there is the concept of development adopted at the time of the EEP's implementation, which was not based on a multidimensional logic, diverging from the concept of territorial development adopted by Saquet (2018), which ensures development with people's participation, dialog, observance of environmental conditions and identities. This is because considering the territorial dimension of development does not disregard the flows of power, expression, and their effects on the socio-spatial dynamics of social groups within territories.

Within this framework, looking at the narratives described in the study by Jesus (2023), the following aspects stand out: first, the words of a 43-year-old shellfish gatherer and fisherwoman¹⁴, who reported the absence of development that included the people and their territorial dynamics, stating that the implementation of the EEP advertised improvements in education and health, yet all that was left to benefit was a square. Secondly, there are the problems related to access difficulties to the fishing territory where fishing and shellfish gathering activities take place. According to another shellfish gatherer¹⁵, aged 54, after the EEP installation, it took her an average of 45 minutes to an hour to get to her workplace. These statements show the impact of the installation of the EEP on the territorial dynamics of the social subjects identified by their rural way of life in the face of the socially constructed invisibilization of their territorialities by the public authorities during the environmental licensing, implementation, operation, and decommissioning of the EEP.

In this regard, Silva (2015) addresses the construction of a gate, a material obstruction for social subjects, highlighting the private appropriation of public space. According to the author, this situation was one of the main complaints of the shellfish gatherers, since the gate prevented them from walking through the fishing and shellfish-gathering territories, damaging the socio-historically established territorial dynamics of the shellfish gatherers and fishermen who, not having their boats, relied solely on a fiber canoe with no engine to access the fishing and shellfish-gathering territories.

After the EEP installation, the shellfish gatherers made several demands to the corporation and the public authorities, seeking a solution to the problem. In response, the corporation hired a boat to transport them twice a day. However, this action did not consider the tide schedule, domestic activities, or any other needs that might arise. The solution presented by the corporation increased the invisibility of territorial identities and fishing and shellfish gathering territories. In addition to curtailing the right to exist, it has restricted and controlled these social subjects' time and access to their territories, promoting tangible threats to the material and symbolic reproduction of these social subjects in their territories.

In Saquet's (2018) discussion, it is evident that the author considers the importance of political-cultural emancipation and the establishment of a counter-hegemonic popular science to promote human development contrary to parasitic capitalism and in favor of social justice, solidarity, and sustainability. In the same point of view, the discussions presented by Jesus

¹⁴ Interviewee #05.

¹⁵ Interviewee #06.

(2023) highlight the lack of effective participation by social subjects and groups throughout the process that involved the implementation of the EEP. Decisions were unilateral, and these individuals did not participate in the agendas addressing the socio-environmental repair methods adopted. These decisions, in turn, did not consider the local's territorial knowledge about the environment and resulted in changes to the space that affected the community's daily life after the EEP installation.

Concerning socio-spatial dynamics, the implementation and sudden shutdown of the EEP resulted in changes that exceeded the economic dimension by causing new social problems that were not diminished by the EEP's shutdown. Rodrigues (2013), while studying the area of direct influence of the EEP, described that 71% of those interviewed reported an increase in prostitution, and 78% noticed an increase in drug consumption in association with the EEP.

In conclusion, Santana and Santana (2020) reported that interviewees indicated individuals had migrated to other states in search of better employment and living conditions. Furthermore, the shutdown of the EEP resulted in debt and bankruptcy for several families, reflecting the precarious state of neoliberal public policies, which are frail when it comes to protecting individuals and social groups and their territories. Such a phenomenon supports Almeida's (2013, p. 01) assertion that one of "the presuppositions of the historical constitution of capitalist society is the dissolution of social ties based on customs and traditions" Consequently, the development model continues to disregard traditional ways of life and the fundamental rights of individuals and social groups to territory and nature, this reduction to socially constructed conditions of vulnerability is reflected in the food insecurity, caused by metabolic disruptions in their relationship with nature and the social and economic issues this causes.

4 FINAL OR TRANSITIONAL CONSIDERATIONS

Considering the issues raised, it can be said that there is much to reflect on regarding the negative impacts caused by the EEP in all its phases: activation, deactivation, and possible reactivation. This study has shown that the implementation of the EEP has caused changes in the socio-spatial dynamics in the municipality of Maragogipe/BA, in addition to exposing the fragility of the process of acknowledging quilombola territories, susceptible to being reversed in the event of economic and political interests. It is possible to infer from the analysis of demographic data that there was significant population growth between 2000 and

2010 due to expectations of economic development in the municipality associated with the installation of the EEP, resulting in job creation, trade expansion and improvements in the local infrastructure.

As for the socio-environmental changes discussed, the implementation of the EEP led to alterations in the Iguape Marine Extractive Reserve bay, specifically in the area belonging to the Quilombo Community of Buri, demonstrating the prevalence of economic interests at the expense of the rights earned by these traditional communities. In these circumstances, there has been a setback of these rights concerning the reduction of these quilombola communities' territory, along with the neglect of territorial identities and dynamics that existed before the EEP. This neglect has resulted in various damages to nature conservation, fishing, shellfish gathering territories, and the communities' rural way of life.

Furthermore, the shutdown of the EEP in 2015 directly contributed to a decline in the economy of the Recôncavo Baiano Identity Territory, with unemployment rising and the various businesses that opened in connection with activities linked to the EEP closing down, causing damage to workers, entrepreneurs, communities and municipal governments.

Therefore, in the context of climate emergency, the activation and, in a short period, deactivation of the EEP caused negative environmental impacts that jeopardized the livelihoods of communities involved in activities directly related to nature. As such, we believe that investing expectations in the hegemonic economic development model has made traditional communities socially, environmentally, and economically vulnerable. Moreover, much of what had been proposed, such as infrastructural and energy development, failed to materialize. The Enseada do Paraguaçu shipyard (EEP) represented only a brief period of economic stimulation, characterized by rapid growth and the creation of thousands of jobs. However, the economic improvement seen in the municipality of Maragogipe and the Recôncavo Identity Territory experienced a vertiginous decline.

It should be emphasized that the political choice of a development model based solely on economic demands, from a classic perspective, is unsustainable. Ensuring popular participation in decisions that directly affect their territories and safeguarding rights that have already been earned are necessary to prevent these communities from being subjects of the market interests.

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