

Family Agriculture, Modernization and Rural Development in Brazil

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Analyzing settlers strategies, this paper discusses modernization in rural settlements in Brazil. Two settlement nuclei in the state of São Paulo are analyzed. The first one was established in the sixties under the government of Carvalho Pinto. The second one, established in the eighties, was part of "Programa Fundiário", the agrarian program of Franco Montoro's government. This first settlement was planned by the State, and the settlers were selected based on existing criteria. Therefore, in this case, there was no struggle for land. On the other hand, the more recent nucleus presents a complex strategy which tries to maintain and reproduce the family on the land. For this reason, these families demonstrate an interest in the use of modern technologies, in spite of the lack of a planned policy on the part of the State. Instead, the State has been present in the settlement establishment more as a response to the landless workers struggle, which started to gain recognition at the beginning of the eighties. It is obvious that the State lags behind in the development process, despite the need for more active intervention on its part.

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Introduction¹

Two settlements were studied for this project. The first one, "Fazenda Capivari," was established in the municipality of Valinhos, State of São Paulo, in the sixties, by governor Carvalho Pinto, in accordance with the law, *Revisão Agrária do Estado de São Paulo* (Agrarian Reform of São Paulo State), Law nº 5994, December 31, 1960. The other settlement, "Sumaré I", was established 25 years later by the governor Franco Montoro at Horto Florestal Boa Vista in Sumaré, São Paulo, in accordance with the governmental program, *Programa de Valorização de Terras Públicas (PVTP)*, (Program for the Use of Public Land), Law nº 4957, December 30, 1985.

The role of the government in defining policies for settlements and modernizing agricultural techniques is discussed comparatively with the family strategies and modernization prospects adopted in each settlement. It is important to point out that each government policy was adopted for its time; therefore, it is not being judged here for its benefit, or lack thereof, since these policies were the expression of contradictory forces, represented by rural workers, the State, the Church, worker unions and political parties (Bergamasco, 1990).

The concept of family strategies is based on the family's behavior as a group, being continuously readjusted in its activities and in the means adopted for the realization of their activities. This concept is fundamental in under-

standing the rural workers' responses to the presence or absence of the State's actions².

The modernization process and the demands of a competitive agriculture is present in the discussion about the inclusion of landless workers in the settlements. It is considered fact that as agriculture becomes modernized the traditional peasantry sector is subjected to great changes related to the dominant laws (*status quo*). Subordination can occur as a result of this process, but the process can also reaffirm the "autonomy" of the family unit (Wanderly, 1988).

It should be pointed out that the modernization process which Brazilian agriculture went through in the last decades presents itself as an incomplete transformation--still partial, unequal, and exclusionary in terms of producers, regions and products. It has also been strongly supported by public resources. In defining this modernization pattern, the feasibility of small family producers has not been considered.

Information was obtained directly from the workers in the settlements, from technicians involved in the project and also from documents and reports. Based on these data, the objective was to characterize the action of the State, the adjustments and strategies of the family unit and the unit's integration into the process of agriculture modernization.

The Presence/Absence of the State

The São Paulo State Agrarian Reform: The Context and Spirit of the Law

In the fifties and sixties, the urbanization process increased quickly in the middle-south, an economically well-developed axis, which demanded a modern agriculture able to provide food. However, in São Paulo State this need competed with an expansion in the acreage of sugarcane plantations and the concentration of large estates in the hands of a few

landowners. This resulted in a great labor offering to industries and sugarcane plantations, since rural workers did not fit into this concentration pattern. A negative aspect of this pattern was the expropriation and adjustment of the small farmers in supplying raw material. Therefore, it became more and more difficult to supply the urban demand for food previously provided by the small farmers.

Along with the crisis of the food supply, contradictions arose between an intense workers mobilization³ and the need to provide the means for a modern agriculture.

At this time, the demands from the rural workers' organization, as well as from the intensive agricultural modernization process, were the basis for the preoccupation of the State of São Paulo, exactly because the most developed Industrial Center in the country was being established there, forcing the agricultural sector to develop by the same mechanisms.

To settle 500-1000 rural workers per year, to encourage cooperation and colonization, and to set up new fiscal measures were the goals of the São Paulo State Agrarian Reform. It was permeated by an ideological character towards fast economical development, and, as mechanisms to increase productivity, it was given support to improve research related to production quality, commercialization and the teaching of new agricultural techniques through the establishment of *Casas de Lavoura* (Offices of Rural Assistance) and *Escolas de Iniciação Agrícola* (Schools of Agricultural Methods).

It seems that the Agrarian Reform⁴ was based on an attempt to establish a middle class which would be able to produce food and to consume industrialized products. Another objective was to encourage the capitalization of small farms equipped with sophisticated techniques like those used in America.

By analyzing the Law Proposal of the Agrarian Reform, it is possible to perceive that it was also an effort to block the advance of the rural social movements that had erupted in the previous decade, which could be detected in various ways, including the mobilization of land tenants in Santa Fé do Sul; strikes on coffee, sugarcane and cotton farms; and land occupation and clashes between workers and landowners in Fernandópolis, Jales, São Joaquim da Barra and the like.

Law nº 5994 of December 31, 1960, known as *Lei Revisão Agrária* (the Agrarian Reform Law), was defined in a political project with the title *Reforma Agrária Paulista* (State of São Paulo Agrarian Reform). Its basic points were the following (Secretaria da Agricultura do Estado de São Paulo, 1960): to lend a social meaning to the *Imposto Territorial Rural (ITR)* (Rural Territorial Tax); to levy a progressive tax on land in the State of São Paulo, exempting small farmers; to increase taxes on productive non-cultivated land; to promote, through the proceeds of the ITR, the purchase of rural property by those interested in exploring it as small farmers; and to encourage, through progressive taxes, production improvement on non-cultivated land in order to balance the conditions of supply, to restrain land speculation and to enhance the adoption of modern agronomic techniques.

An *Assessoria de Revisão Agrária (ARA)*, or Agrarian Reform Advisory Committee, attached to the Agricultural Bureau of the State of São Paulo, was created and charged with establishing the future nuclei of the agrarian reform. It was at this time that the appropriation of private estates, nuclei planning and family selection began.

The Agrarian Reform, although short lived, was responsible for the establishment of three rural nuclei: Fazenda Capivari in Valinhos, the subject of this paper; Fazenda Santa Helena in Marília and Fazenda Pouso

Alegre in Jaú. It resulted in the appropriation of 7,348 hectares and the settlement of 269 families.

The selection of families was done by a committee formed by agronomists employed by ARA (Governo do Estado de São Paulo, 1960). The criteria for priority selection were: 1) rural workers with no land; 2) anyone who had worked in agricultural or cattle raising for over five years as land tenants, sharecroppers, or rural workers; 3) sharecroppers, land tenants, or rural workers who were members of agricultural and cattle raising cooperatives; 4) agricultural technicians who had graduated from any level; 5) agronomists and veterinarians; 6) those who had graduated in any area, but who were experienced in agriculture and cattle raising; 7) those who had fought abroad in the second world war; 8) native or naturalized Brazilians; 9) residents in the settlement municipality area for over 5 years; 10) heads of the largest families.

Besides these criteria, some rules were set up to avoid the possibility of speculation (Secretaria da Agricultura do Estado de São Paulo, 1970). First, the settler had to live with his family on the site for at least five consecutive years, working there directly, but with permission to hire others to complement family labor. Secondly, the settler had to start cultivating the site within one year from the signature of the contract; and finally, the site had to be rationally cultivated in the second year in accordance with a plan proposed by the settler with the assistance and approval of the Agricultural Bureau.

Fazenda Capivari

The rural nucleus Fazenda Capivari originally included 72 families, from which only 21 presently remain on their sites. The settlement expanded by six families during the second and third years. The Government, for the purpose of agrarian reform, expropriated an area

of 672 hectares. The transaction between the government and the Guimarães family, owners of the area, resulted in a friendly purchase. The government became interested in this specific area because it fulfilled the requirements defined in the project. It was close to important urban centers and served by roads to facilitate the transport of the goods to be produced in the settlement. The Fazenda Capivari Rural Nucleus is 15 km from Valinhos, 18 km from Vinhedo, 20 km from Campinas and 25 km from Indaiatuba, all major towns in one of the most important areas of the state. The Bandeirantes highway cuts through the nucleus, while the Anhanguera highway is seven kilometers from its center, with the road linking Campinas to Indaiatuba only six kilometers from the nucleus.

The settlement of the families in their sites was slow, starting at the end of 1961 and continuing through 1962. In the selection of the families, there was a certain preference for immigrants from Japan and Italy, so these families occupied the majority of the sites. Families with no background in agriculture, but who possessed good economic situations were also chosen, in accordance with the requirements of the Agrarian Reform.

The size of the sites handed over to the beneficiaries, which varied from 3.64 to 23.34 hectares, have remained practically unchanged up to the present, except for a few sites whose owners bought part or all of the neighboring sites. Some settlers left the nucleus for various reasons, such as the inability to pay their debts with the bank; the loss of the site for not being able to fulfill, in due time, the requirements; or the sale of the site in order to move to better conditions in town.

The sites were sold to the settlers, with payment either in cash, or through a 15 year loan at six percent interest per year. The sale price included the value of the land, the ex-

penses of the improvements made by the government, and the refundable expenses of the community center.

The nucleus was totally planned. Each family received their site with a brick house, its size varying according to the number of family members. Besides the house, a pigsty and a shed were also built. The present conditions of the buildings is good; some of them have undergone renovation, with mainly the houses being enlarged, in the process changing their original design.

Right after the occupation of the sites, electric power was installed, with water being supplied by a common well and a reservoir. Every house had electricity, sanitation and a gas stove. Afterwards, the water supply was provided by an artesian well.

From the beginning, the settlement had a school building for the four elementary grades; afterwards the building was enlarged in order to offer intermediate classes. In the same building was a small infirmary and the headquarters of an agricultural cooperative. This cooperative received one tractor and a truck for community use. This cooperative, previously a condition of the project, lasted for only a short period (3-4 years) and finally became extinct because of disagreements among the members. At the beginning, most of the settlers produced traditional regional crops such as corn, peanuts, and mainly, cotton.

Crops were unsuccessful due to hard frosts, and at the end of the third year, many farmers were in debt to the banks and grain buyers, with whom they had contracted to sell their products in exchange for seeds and tools. Therefore, after the grace period, some sites were sold; those settlers who remained managed only by refinancing their debts and substituting export crops for traditional ones. These export crops were mainly fruits, such as figs and grapes. Presently, however, there is some diversity, including other species such as

guava, Kaki (persimmon fruit) and the like. Some sites have a significant production of asparagus, a high value product.

The Democratic Government of São Paulo and the Plan for Public Land Use: The Framework of State Agrarian Policy

The end of the seventies and the beginning of the eighties determined in a decisive way a historical period in the country, as the economic model responsible for the "Brazilian Miracle"—conceived and managed by successive military governments—collapsed. This crisis brought along successive urban strikes and considerable progress in rural organization.

The process of migration, from rural areas to the cities and from less developed regions to developed ones, resulted in an intense growth in the urban population⁵, an increase in unemployment, and a growth in the demands for land, work and better living conditions.

The economic model accommodated the establishment of the largest industrial complex of the country in the state of São Paulo, and stimulated the entrance of multinational capital. The application of this economic model continued after the 1964 coup d'état.

Agriculture, following this process, had to become modernized. With this objective in mind, an agricultural policy was established which set up a primary sector able to compete in the international market, employing modern techniques to increase productivity. This policy consisted of rural credit, minimum prices, fiscal incentives and technological policy.

It should be noted that this policy gave more incentives to crops for the international market at the expense of those produced for the national market. Internal market crops developed little and even decreased, so that at certain times it was necessary to import these crops.

In response to this economic model, conflicts over the ownership of land began in the eighties. According to data from Associação Brasileira de Reforma Agrária (ABRA), 53 conflicts over land ownership were registered in 1980/81 in the state of São Paulo, involving 7,870 people disputing 131,108 hectares of land, resulting in two deaths and 14 wounded. In this context, the government plan of Franco Montoro, named *Política Agrária Estadual* (Agrarian State Policy), was defined by the Plan for Public Land Use and the *Programa de Regularização Fundiária* (Program of Agrarian Regulation). This policy played a major role in the solution of conflicts in Vale do Ribeira and Litoral Paulista.

More than a partial solution to the problem of Agrarian Reform, this policy was presented as a mitigation of the conflicts over land ownership. Its objectives were "to promote an effective agriculture, cattle raising or forestry on unproductive, underutilized or inadequately used land; to create opportunities for work; and to provide social and economic progress to rural workers with no land or with insufficient land to guarantee their subsistence" (Secretaria Executiva de Assuntos Fundiários - SEAF, 1986).

The Plan of Public Land Use (PVTP) (Law nº 4.957 of December 30, 1985) established 15 settlement nuclei during 1983-1988, totaling an area of 8,922 hectares and accommodating 539 families. "Sumaré I", an object of this paper, is one of these nuclei. It is noteworthy that around 75 percent of these nuclei were started even before their official sanctioning by the aforementioned law. This was due to the intense mobilization of the landless rural workers in this period. Especially from 1985 onwards, the process of distribution of land was characterized by the strength of the *bóias-frias*⁶ movement, which obtained public recognition after 1984.

The old Agrarian Reform Advisory Committee (ARA), that was set up to complement the Law of Agrarian Reform, was converted into the *Instituto de Assuntos Fundiários (IAF)* (Institute for Agrarian Matters) within the Social-Economical Coordination, having, as support, the Institute of Cooperatives and Associations.

In March, 1986, the government formed the *Secretaria de Assuntos Fundiários (SEAF)* (Bureau of Agrarian Matters) aiming at increasing the number of settlements proposed by the PVTP and to attend the *Plano Nacional de Reforma Agrária (PNRA)* (National Planning of Agrarian Reform), that had assigned part of the duties previewed in it to the government of the state of São Paulo. At that time, the Agrarian Reform gained a new institutional decree in São Paulo State; however, it did not last for very long.

Horto Florestal da Boa Vista: Sumaré I

Most of the area of 855.2 hectares called Horto Florestal da Boa Vista in Sumaré--owned by Ferrovias Paulistas S/A (FEPASA) (Railways of the State of São Paulo S/A), 120 kilometers from the city of São Paulo--were designated to two settlement nuclei: Sumaré I (with 338 hectares) and Sumaré II (with 337 hectares). Twenty-six families were selected initially in Sumaré I⁷, one of whom was transferred to another nucleus due to serious problems in the site's soils; therefore, there remained a total of 25 families.

The settlement, whose association is named *Programa Agrícola de Sumaré I* (The Agricultural Program of Sumaré I), was established in February, 1984, although its story started in the beginning of 1981. It is a story permeated by struggles, pressures, occupations and encampments with the notable presence of clerical members of the Catholic Church.

During this period of struggle, other agents became involved in a direct confrontation with

the State, which saw its proposed policy defeated.

The selection process was done by the workers themselves according to the degree of commitment to the struggle for land, measured by the resistance to the precarious initial conditions. The first shelters were made by voluntary teamwork with pieces of wood, corrugated cardboard, plastic sheets, plywood, etc. The nucleus overcame this phase and at the present, the houses, built by the settlers themselves, are made out of brick and with electric installation. A well, shed and sink hole for sewage are communal. The settlers built an elementary school with material given by a religious community, but the teacher and the cook are paid by the State.

Basic crops are cultivated, such as rice, beans, corn and manioc. The last one has been intensively produced in order to supply the flour agroindustry complex. Coffee has also become an important crop in the settlement; besides providing an income, it also guarantees the settlers maintenance on the land.

As established by the program, the land of the settlement belongs to the State. There is an assignment for the use of the land during an unlimited period, depending on the settlers' performance. This has created a situation of legal insecurity for the settlers in relation to the land ownership. However, this fact has not served to discourage them; on the contrary, they stand firm with the objective of owning the sites.

Common Strategies and Objectives of Reproduction

As mentioned before, the formation and establishment of the settlements occurred in different places and periods. In analyzing the stories of the families in each settlement, differences can be detected, but still, strategies

and objectives of reproduction are common to both.

The idea, though, is not to make a comparative study between these nuclei. We premised the study on the idea that the two settlements are "produced social spaces"⁸. Taking this into consideration, the settlements are socially distinguished, so their structures cannot be considered abstract, but should be thought of according to the objective and subjective reality of the social agents involved within; i.e. the settlers, the State, the Church, unions and political parties, etc.

In this way, it is possible to analyze both nuclei together. Although they have differentiated stories, the strategies and common objectives of family "reproduction" and land maintenance should be emphasized.

In Fazenda Capivari, from the 27 settlers interviewed, 21 had been there since the beginning, and six had joined the settlement later (less than three years after its establishment); in Sumaré I, 25 settlers were interviewed, 24 of whom had been there since the beginning of the struggle for land.

In Capivari, 13 settlers presently live with their whole families on the site; the same is true for Sumaré. In Sumaré I, five settlers live alone on their sites. In general, all or part of the family still live on their sites. In some cases in Capivari, the whole family, including married sons and grandchildren, lives on the site. The sons of 20 settlers live in the settlement and in ten of them, all the sons work in town; therefore, the productive activity of the site is in the hands of the sharecroppers. Some sons, although living on the sites, have off-farm jobs but also help in the productive activity, mainly in marketing and accounting. In Sumaré I, only the sons of 11 settlers do not live in the settlement; the majority of them work in town and help to complement the family income.

Since the nuclei Fazenda Capivari preceded Sumaré I, the increase of family members is higher in the former. In both nuclei, the family plays an active role in the production, following an internal work division.

The families in Sumaré I live in "agro-villages" while in Capivari they live on their own sites. The use of the space on the site is structured hierarchically from housing the head of family, his descendants, the sharecroppers to storage. In Sumaré I, the family lives on a small site inside the "agro-village," while the harvest is stored elsewhere.

The majority of the settlers (77 percent) in Fazenda Capivari were previously rural workers, land tenants, sharecroppers, and the like, working in the municipality area, mainly cultivating cotton. However, this is not the case in Sumaré I; there life on the land was interrupted by working in town as industry employees, bricklayers and even being employed on farms.

In the beginning in Fazenda Capivari, all the family worked on the site, except for the small children. This was necessary to keep the contract with the State to meet the requirements, besides providing for the maintenance of the family.

Based on the previous experience of the settlers, the first crop was cotton. Usually the head of the family, with one or two sons, prepared the soil and sowed the cotton. The wife and small children always worked during harvest and sometimes helped in weeding and applying insecticides. The wife, besides her domestic activities, was also responsible for growing vegetables and taking care of a small number of animals.

At first, a common-property tractor was used to prepare the soil. Sowing and sometimes cultivation were done using animal power owned by the individual settler. In the

eighties, this situation repeated itself in Sumaré I.

Provision for the subsistence of the settler demanded the cultivation of rice, beans and corn in Sumaré I. Today there are other crops, including coffee and castor oil plants.

The cotton plantation, though, did not bring solace to the settlers of Capivari. Due to frosts, the harvest caused much frustration, signifying a tremendous failure in the first years of the nucleus activity. The State, that at this time was always present, structured a special credit scheme and a new planting proposal through the São Paulo State Bank. Agricultural research pointed out that the region was favorable for grape and fig plantations. A technician of Agrarian Reform, working with the settlers, demonstrated the advantages and techniques of this fruit production. This change to an unknown activity was a cause for concern for the settlers, but it was overcome by the confidence they had in the technician. This could be felt through the warm and affectionate reception we had when the former accompanied us to the settlement.

This crisis was overcome with a new adjustment of the family nucleus. It would take four years for the results of the new plantations. In spite of the bank credit, which should have supplied the family needs during this period, some family members were sent to town to sell their labor so as to guarantee a reproduction space within the unit.

In Sumaré I, the settlers stated that, depending on the time of the year, their sons or themselves look for other activity in town or on farms to complement the family income. The traditional basic crops for food have not reached much further than the family reproduction.

The family production assumes, as time goes by, specific forms of working the site. The level of the technology adopted can be perceived by the relocation of the family mem-

bers in the working process. Modern production techniques, exemplified by the use of machinery, pesticides and selected seeds, are present in both settlements. In general, neither the family labor nor the settlement are incompatible with modern technology. On the contrary, modern technology has become a necessary condition for the survival of the family production unit.

A close look at the sites in Capivari settlement takes us to a modern agriculture with adequate soil preparation, irrigation systems, standardization and packing suitable to the international market.

It can be seen that modernization of agricultural techniques deeply affected the family labor organization, modifying its nature, intensity and rhythm. The adoption of a technique can make work less difficult or demand additional complementary activities (Wanderly, 1988). This is the case with the fruit commercialization schemes in Capivari. Sumaré I, with its differentiated story, shows similar signs and could potentially follow the same path. The introduction of an irrigation system demanded a reorganization of the sites which before were individualized. To acquire the necessary implements for bean cultivation, the settlers structured themselves collectively, in this way obtaining high productivity. In Sumaré I, pig raising is also an example that reinforces the settlers' efforts to establish a modern agriculture.

In Sumaré I, a concern about the future was noticed in the family strategies. This preoccupation with, and future commitment to, modernization is demonstrated by their demand for machinery maintenance and agricultural mechanization courses⁹ for groups of young people to attend.

Even with their differentiated stories, a permanence on the land and the claim for a better future are present on the settlers' horizon.

Conclusions

First of all, it should be remembered that the Brazilian development policy, in spite of all its contradictions—for example, the fact that this policy was established and expanded amidst the entrance of multinational capital in Brazil—opened new spaces in all productive sectors for modern reforms. The settlements established by the Agrarian Reform, in the beginning of the sixties, should be considered in this context.

The intense care of the State in respect to the requirements for, and the establishment process of, the families in the settlements can clearly be perceived, definitely demonstrating its interventionist practice.

In the second period, the State, hesitant and unable to restrain the determination of the landless, set up the *Plano de Valorização de Terras Públicas* (Plan for Public Land Use), without offering a framework to guarantee tranquillity or facilities. In Sumaré I, settlers faced an arduous beginning on land without any improvements. Weeds covered the land in the place of the desired crops. Having nothing other than their own resources, as well as the desire and determination to resist, the settlers faced endless hardship. Difficulties have always been constant to those involved in this process, throughout Brazilian history.

However, these productive units have demonstrated their feasibility and their different ways of overcoming hardships. The State, present or absent, lags behind in this process. The struggles, the marches and counter marches entrust these agents to drive the development process forward, by demanding an efficient and precise attitude from the State.

Notes

1. This article is a revised version paper presented at the 8th World Congress for Rural Sociology held

in August, 1992 at Pennsylvania State University, Pennsylvania, USA, in the thematic session "Land and the State." It is part of the research entitled: "Analysis and Evaluation of the Agrarian Reform and Settlement Projects in the State of São Paulo" carried out by the Universidade Estadual Paulista.

2. There is a vast collection of papers on family strategies in Brazilian agriculture in Wanderly (1988) and Garcia (1983). For specific references on family strategies in settlements, see the work *Projetos do Estado e Estratégias nos Assentamentos de Reforma Agrária: A fazenda Monet Alegre no Estado de São Paulo*, by Maria Edy F. Chonchol (CRBC/EHESS- Paris/France) and Maria Helena Antuniassi (CERU-SP).

3. The capitalist expansion which benefited the dominant classes instigated a policy of encroachment of the working class. Their consequential reaction was to organize themselves into rural unions and peasant leagues. See Andrade (1986).

4. More details of *Revisão Agrária Paulista* (Agrarian Revision of the State of São Paulo) can be found in Tolentino (1990); Comejo, et al. (1989); and Bergamasco, et al. (1990). Item II of this paper is based on Comejo, et al. (1989).

5. In the seventies, 14 million people migrated to urban centers, while in the rural zones, the working population did not change in this or the previous decade.

6. Name given to the rural workers temporarily employed on farms. The name derives from the fact that their lunch is eaten cold in the fields.

7. We are considering the phase of the "definitive" establishment of the settlement. In a previous period it was an emergency settlement in which the area was smaller and the number of families larger.

8. Moares et al. (1992) point out the settlement as "produced social spaces," using the concept of social spaces from P. Bourdieu.

9. This was requested by the settlers to UNICAMP and was undertaken by the Department of Agricultural Engineering at FEAGRI.

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Resumen

Agricultura Familiar, Modernización y Desarrollo Rural en Brasil

Este trabajo argumenta las estrategias familiares y la modernización en los poblados rurales de Brasil como forma de lograr la permanencia de los agricultores en sus tierras. Se analizan dos núcleos de asentamiento en el Estado de São Paulo. El primero fue establecido en los setenta durante el gobierno de Carvalho Pinto. El segundo fue establecido en los 80, como parte de un «Programa Fundiário»--el programa agrario del gobierno de Franco Montoro. La vía seguida por el primero de estos programas nos llevó a reflexionar sobre los procesos de desarrollo de las unidades familiares, basados en tecnologías modernas y con una marcada presencia de políticas estatales. Este es un asentamiento planificado por el Estado, donde los colonos fueron seleccionados según criterios ya existentes. Por tanto, en este caso no hubo luchas por la tierra. Por otra parte, el segundo núcleo muestra una estrategia compleja, dirigida al mantenimiento y reproducción de la familia en la tierra. Por esta razón, estas familias muestran interés en el uso de tecnologías modernas, a pesar de la falta de una actitud precisa y eficiente del Estado. Este ha estado presente en estos establecimientos de asentamiento más bien como respuesta a la lucha de los trabajadores sin tierra, la cual empezó a ganar reconocimiento a principio de los años 80.

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