

LAND REFORM AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS OF FAMILY FARMING: THE CASE OF SUGAR CANE AREA IN THE NORTHEAST OF BRAZIL

Ivan Targino, economist

Federal University of Paraíba, Cidade Universitária, João Pessoa-PB, 58.900-090 e-mail: ivantargino@bol.com.br

Emilia Moreira, geographer

Federal University of Paraíba, Cidade Universitária, João Pessoa-PB, 58.900-090 e-mail: erodat@hotmail.com.

Marilda Aparecida de Menezes, sociologist

Federal University of Paraíba, Av. Aprigio Veloso, 196, Bodocongó, 58.102-012 – Campina Grande – PB, Brazil, e-mail: marildamenezes@uol.com.br

ABSTRACT: The article analyses the advances and main challenges to the family farming originated from land reform in the sugar cane area in the Northeast of Brazil. This area has been historically characterized by large properties, monoculture and high levels of labour exploitation. It draws on four main sources are: a) secondary data; b) primary data from 25 Settlement Projects spread over 11 municipalities in the Zona da Mata Region; c) talks to leaders and workers; d) interviews with rural workers from the Settlement and conflict areas as well with members of Land Pastoral Commission (CPT) in July 2003. The work is organized in four sections, first, there is an evaluation of the workers' victories in the fight for land; second, it presents the socio-economic situation in the Settlement Projects and the advances since it has been started, third, the article discusses the challenges put to the advance and consolidation of family farm in the land reform areas and finally, it presents some final considerations.

INTRODUCTION

In the beginning of the colonization in Brazil, the sugar cane plantation took place on the oriental Northeast line due to the soil, weather and location favorable conditions. That space was built based on the sugar cane monoculture, on the large property and on the intense work exploitation. These three foundations have remained untouched in the past five centuries. The slavery labour replacement by free labour did not turn out to be less intense the work exploitation. In the last decades of 20th century, an agrarian policy was practiced allowing the workers to access the land and therefore turning to be small holders.

This paper aims at analyzing the advances and difficulties of small holders made by the agrarian policy. So as not to take into account, the old debate about the small agricultural property remaining possibility in the capitalists'¹ economy contexts, the updating debate has a very determined historic contour: the globalization process advance in the XX century last decades. As it is known with the capital globalization intensification, the rural holders reproduction faces new challenges: big companies

¹ As to a classic discussion see Marx (1975), Lenine (1974) and Kautsky (1979) and as to a more recent discussion see Rey (1976), Oliveira (1976) and Cantalice (1985).

according to several instances in the productive chain influence agricultural product prices.

- a) Insume price control (seeds, fertilizer, insecticides, implements, etc);
- b) Manufacturing industries prices fixation;
- c) Concurrences generated by agriculture and livestock large units which present lower prices;
- d) Great Commercialization Chain Price Control. Not to mention the new Social – Cultural conditioning which are seen as limitative as on the small rural property development.

In order to conduct this research, we had both secondary data (livestock Surveys of Geography and Statistics Brazilian Institution, Agrarian Reform and Colonization National Institute information) and primary data. Those last ones resulted of a survey conducted during April and October 2000 in 25 settlement projects in the following states: Paraíba, Pernambuco and Alagoas² as well as keeping in touch with social work leaders and agrarian reform settled workers during the 2003.

In addition to that introduction, the paper will consist of four more parts. The first one deals with workers quests and conquests on the agrarian reform domain. The second presents the workers social – economical situation in the settlement projects and the advances since the time they were settled down. As to the third, it points to the main changes and difficulties for the family farming consolidation in the land reform areas. The last one, however, exposes the paper final consideration.

WORKERS QUESTS AND CONQUESTS

Though it is possible to find few worker manifestations against the exploitation and/or large properties throughout the social – economic Brazilian Northeast history (Targino, 2002), we see that it is just in the second half of the XX century that the land reform quest assumes the organized mass movements form.

The first great expression of this is the Peasants' Leagues. It initiated in 1955, in Pernambuco, and it spread rapidly throughout Northeast, mainly on the sugar zone. Such movement lasted up to 1964.

The military trick reprimanded violently that movement. Although the Leagues have got very little concerning the land access, they obtained gross profits in legal terms: The Rural Workers Regulation (RWR) promulgation (RWR – 1963) which guaranteed the workers' rights to the rural workers as well as the Land Regulation promulgation (LR – 1964) which established laws for the land reform fulfillment in the country.

During the military regime (1964 – 1984), problems increased in the countryside. As to the RWR, it influenced on the increasing of the work cost payment, whereas the agriculture modernization decreased the demand for manual workers. There is a significant rural owner's offensive. They started to expel the workers from their lands so that they could explore them as much profitable as possible. Then, with the

² Such a fieldwork was conducted on the research ambit "Reform Regional Impact: a study according to the selected areas", a joined task held by the Post-graduation course in Development, Agriculture, and Society of Rio de Janeiro Rural Federal University and also by the Politics Anthropology Center of the Social Anthropology Post- graduation Program of Rio de Janeiro Federal University, since there was formal agreement among the Development Network, Teaching and Society (Networks), the Farming Cooperation International Institute, Rural Development and Farming Studies Center. The research was conducted by Beatriz Heredida, Leonilde Medeiros, Moacir Palmeira, Sérgio Leite and Rosângela Cintrão. As for the Northeast, it was conducted by Emilia Moreira, Marilda Aparecida Menezes and Ivan Targino.

repression, the trade union movement restrained itself to set in motion to the court the expelled workers individual lawsuits. Catholic Church members are to assume such a setting through Rural Catholic Action as well as through Land Pastoral Commission.

Along this period, some expropriations occurred either as a state delayed answer to the Mobilizations Leagues (e.g.: PIC-Caxangá, in Pernambuco, and the PIC- Rio Tinto, in Paraíba) either as a straight pression by the workers reaction to their expelling in the end of the 70's and the beginning of the 80's as for instance, we have Alagamar and Gurugi both in Paraíba³.

With the country's democratization in 1985, a new phase starts on the quest for the landing reform. Such a phase is characterized by the State Propositive Presence (despite of its advances and drawbacks), as to the advance the workers organization through Trade Union Movement, Land Catholic Church Comission, Landless Movement, in addition to other groups with less representativeness and by rural owners reaction either through their National Congress Representations either through specific organizations (National Confederation in the Agriculture, Ruralist Democratic Union). By this time, a discussion on landing reform turns out to focus redistributive criteria and social justice not only productivity facility⁴ criteria as it used to be.

As a result of that, it was seen that in a Sugar Cane Plantation Zone in Pernambuco, 105 from 216 Settlement Projects were introduced up to 1999, congregating 81,456,00 hectares (47,3% of the Rural Settlements Projects in the state) and involving 8,552 families, which corresponds to 56,9% among all settlement families in the state. In the Sugar Cane Zone, up to 1999, 125 Settlement Projects had been introduced (80% of the State total), including 92,2 thousand hectares and 8,177 families, hence 66,6% of agrarian reform area and 760, 9% of settled families in Paraíba.

The required pressure on the workers quest led to a more aggressive State Action on the land structure in the Brazilian Northeast sugar cane zone. Moreover, as for the family farming advance in this area, the great crisis in the regional Sugar Cane production was a kind of contribution around the second half of the 80's and lasted during the whole 90's. It was exactly the upper class political-economical power weakening which allowed the workers success in terms of appropriation of a part of this territory.

SOCIAL-ECONOMICAL SITUATION OF THE SETTLEMENT PROJECT IN THE SUGAR CANE ZONE

Though it has not reverted the current land structure concentration standard, the settling introduction in the Sugar Cane Zone represented a non-despicable small family production expansion. In some municipalities, however, it is no doubt even reversion; such is the case of Cruz do Espírito Santo (PB) in which Gini's Index reduced itself from 0,9 to 0,4.

So as to achieve a wider view of the Settlement Project Creation Impact on the Regional Land Structure, the table 1 conveys data related to the Municipalities Farming Areas, which were the direct research investigation object, and the expropriation areas in the same municipalities.

³ As for a more detailed description of the conquests during this phase, see Moreira, Menezes and Targino (2002).

⁴ By the time pre- 64, the debate on the landing reform used to show that the land structure represented an obstacle to the Industrial development in Brazil, since it imposed restrictions to the increasingly either the industrial raw material offer or food ones.

Table 1
 Northeast Sugar Cane Zone
 “Appropriated⁵ Areas Participation in the Farming Area According to the
 Municipalities”

Sub-zone/ Municipality	Farming Area in 1995/96 (A)	Appropriated Area between 1986 and 1997 (B)	B / A* 100
Zona da Mata – Paraíba			
Pedras de Fogo	27.577	4.363,5	15,8
Cruz do Espírito Santo	11.577	4.819,0	41,6
Pitimbu	5.472	3.120,3	57,0
Sapé	22.241	2.498,3	11,2
Subtotal	66.867	14.801,1	22,1
Zona da Mata - Pernambuco			
Abreu Lima	2.843	956,0	33,6
Igarassu	23.469	460,0	1,9
Goiana	38.160	1.510,0	3,9
Água Preta	38.296	5.801,2	15,1
Rio Formoso	37.943	1.527,0	4,0
Maragogi	23.430	4.285,2	18,3
Subtotal	164.141	14.539,4	8,8
Brejo Paraibano			
Areia	25.874	2.047,3	7,9
Subtotal	25.874	2.047,3	7,9
Sugar Cane Zone	256.882	31.387,80	12,2

Source: IBGE. Censo Agropecuário de 1995-6; INCRA: Relação das áreas desapropriadas entre 1965 e 2000

The appropriate areas participation in the municipality farming total area allowed us identify three distinct situations, as we could see in table I:

- a) Municipality where farming policy impact over the land structure is little meaningful, as it occurs in Goiana, Igarassu and Rio Formoso, in which the participation rate varied between 1% and 4%. As for Rio Formoso, however, since 1998, more 2,026,0 hectares were appropriated which increased to that percentage area to 9,4% whereas in Goiana and Igarassu, the situation remained the same;
- b) Municipalities where the agrarian politics impact on the farming structure convey medium significance, as for instance: Areia, Água Preta and Sapé. Therein, appropriated areas participation as to the farming total area varied from 7% to 15%. In Sapé and Areia, such a rate goes up with new appropriation since 1998.
- c) Municipalities where the farming policy impact on the land structure performed high significance. We find the following municipalities included herein: Cruz do Espírito Santo, Pedras de Fogo, both in Paraíba and Abreu e Lima in Pernambuco. With them the current participation rate was between 33% and 57%.

As for the investigated region, the farming policy impact on the agrarian structure can be considered medium. Concerning the sub-regions, the biggest impact was observed in the Paraibana Zona da Mata (See table 1).

⁵ For “appropriated areas” we mean those land portions, generally possessed by large landowners or the State, which have been transformed into agrarian reform areas.

Thus, it can be concluded that the Government Agrarian Policies repercussion, stressed by lands appropriation and by the creation of Settlement Projects, on the agrarian structure, depends on the appropriation process intensity. As the last one occurred in a much-differentiated way among the region municipalities, the modifications on the land distributive standard tended to stress different intensity degrees among the municipalities. On the other hand, taking into account the adopted procedure results we can state that despite of the territory important fractions conquest by family farming, government agrarian policy execution is still far from breaking the Northeast Sugar Cane Zone land monopoly. The Sugar Cane Plantation still remains as an agro-industrial capital reproduction space, subordinating itself, therefore, to its valorization interest. However, the family farming imposes its changes on the power and interest game, which therein develop themselves. The large state mastering has no absolute place as it used to be, when Antonil thoughts found pertinent instances: “To be a Sugar Plantation Master is a much desired title, since it stresses a role of a respected and feared, man”. The use of old big houses as the workers headquarters plays a symbolic change on the domain and relations, which are on the course and redefine the forces in confront with the new territories.

In relation to the productive dimension of the Settlement Projects, it is worth recalling that the agrarian space organization in the area under analysis has been historically related to sugar plantation production. The importance of such activity, however, has never been homogeneous. Although the sugar cane production was dominant, it was possible to find other farming system based on the extensive livestock together with the food policulture and the raw matter production; In the Brejo Paraibano, the sugar plantation, as usual, shared its space with food policulture and commercial cultures as cotton, sisal, coffee and also with livestock activity (Moreira and Targino, 1997). The introduction of the “PROALCOOL” – a public policy - in 1975 was relevant so as to provide those farming spaces homogenization through the sugar plantation over those other activities. In the Zona da Mata region, sugar plantation advance was only controlled in the areas in which the peasant resistance was more severe and the conflicts avoided its progress. In the Brejo Paraibano, sugar cane disputed the territory with other cultures, since that, therein, tandem its expansion another process had been observed, namely: livestock farming.

From 1986 on, however, with the Pro-alcohol crisis, a drawback was observed either of sugar plantation cultivation area either of the harvest amount in about the whole Northeast Sugar Cane Area. Such a process became worse in the 90's due to many sugar factory bankrupts as well as to the land conquest advances by the working class.

That declining behavior of the sugar cane production is observed in all sub-regions, herein the research investigation goal. In the Zona da Mata in Paraiba, the production and the sugar cultivated area, between 1990 and 1997, declined, respectively into -50,5% and -30,%. In the Zona da Mata in Pernambuco, it was also verified a decline on the production of about 27,89%, and of the cultivated area of about 33,9%. In the Brejo Paraibano, it was the place where bigger retraction occurred. Between 1990 and 1997, a production as well as in the sugar cane cultivated area was 77,5% and 70%. The sugar cane participations in the total planted area was decreased from 46, 6% in 1990 to 13, 5% in 1997.

The drawback verified on the production as well as on sugar plantation area, though meaningful, did not tear with its century domain about the region. In fact, from 1997 to 1998 more than a decade after the PROALCOOL crisis beginning and even taking into account a territory fraction conquest meaningful advance by the family

farming, the sugar cane, though had continued revealing a declining performance, it was still the bigger plantation area parcel in the Zona da Mata sub-region in both Paraíba and Pernambuco (79,5% in 1997 and 74,7% in 1998).

Among the sub-regions of the Sugar Cane Plantation Zone in Northeast, the Zona da Mata was the one, which witnessed more severe sugar cane activity retraction in the 90's. Between 1990 and 1997, the production and cultivated area reduction of the Sugar cane correspond respectively to 77,5% and 70%. That participation according to the total cultivated area of regional farming combinations goes from 46,6% in 1990 to 13,5% in 1997.

Concerning the Settlement areas, the Sugar cane plantation used to be the dominant culture. As to that, among nine of the 25 examined settlement projects (36,0% in all total) still grow sugar Cane. In the 1998/1999 harvest those nine ones produced 2,491 Sugar Cane tones in 78,2 hectares. Such an area with Sugar cane represented 4,3% of the growing area with products of both farm works: permanent and temporary in the Settlement Project, the study investigation goal, in the region and 15,6% of the Settlement Projects growing areas where the Sugar Cane used to be grown. The most expressive production Settlement projects located on the South Zona da Mata is in Pernambuco.

Actually, the Sugar Cane production for the Settlement Project of the Zona da Mata is insignificant. It represented during the 1998/1999 harvest only 0,8% in all total of the Sugar cane cultivated area and about 0,05% of the Sugar Cane total production in all region investigation goal municipalities. In some cases, the Sugar Cane involved in the Settlement Project constituted just a waste of a cultivated sugar cane area which remains during the land appropriation. In several settlements the Sugar Cane sell provided the acquisition of a tractor.

In the Brejo region in Paraíba, although the settlement land regions had been previously a Sugar Cane outwork produced by Santa Maria Factory, there is no single hectare, nowadays, with any Sugar cane. That means that the fact of the appropriation areas has only occurred many years after the factory closing, so that the sugar cane had already been extinguished.

In short, as to the agrarian policy impacts on Sugar Cane activity developed in the region, with the analysis, we can say that, in fact, in the areas before devoted to Sugar Cane production and then converted into Settlement Projects, it occurred a re-conversion of the dominant pattern of the soil use way with neat retraction and even sugar cane total disappearing. That sugar cane activity backs down, just partially, can be attributed to the family farming expansion as a result of the Settlements introduction. In fact, it is much more a consequence of the crisis due to the PROALCOOL dismantlement, mainly in the regional old sugar economy sector domain areas. Such behaviour is far from representing a generalized change in the dominant standard of the land utilization in the Northeast Sugar Cane Zone. That fact is confirmed when it is verified that in 1998, the sugar cane did a sum of about 80% of all sub region cultivated area on the Zona da Mata in Pernambuco; a sum of 86,1% of all sub region cultivated area in Paraíba and also 79,0% of the cultivated area on the Northeast Sugar Cane zone delimited by this research. Still, it is worth stressing the Brejo in Paraíba as a single area in which the sugar cane among the other regional farming combinations declined to lower levels about 20%. That fact, however, could not be attributed to the land redistribution therein executed, but exclusively to the crisis, which was decreased on the closing activity for all region factories and distillery bankrupt, from 1990 on. All Settlement Projects, therein introduced, come as results of the process.

Tandem the Sugar Cane activity fall back, an increasing of the region basic food production was observed. The secondary data analysis allowed us identify beyond the traditional food farming area expansion, the coming and / or the expansion of new farming combination, particularly the irrigated fruit culture, focusing on passion fruit, papaya and banana.

The fieldwork took place in three sub-regions, which make part of the research between May and July 2000, confirms the severe withdrawal of the Sugar Cane culture as expansion trends and food farm work diversification seen by secondary data. It allowed us identify on the basis of that diversification other cultures expansion, in addition to the one pointed by the data of the Municipal Farming Production Issue (PAM – IBGE), such as acerola, watermelon, graviola, cashew fruit, lemon, cajá, araçá, pitanga, peanuts as well as vegetable garden products. That food culture diversification was severely influenced by technician assistance, mainly the one conducted by the Lumiar Project, as it is confirmed by several statements as the ones below:

“The Lumiar Project brought the idea of diversification in the production, then we conducted a project to grow irrigated cashew fruit trees and also we introduced the peanuts, not to mention the traditional cultivation”. (Evaldo Batista Nascimento statement, Settlement of Massanga III Project – Cruz do Espírito Santo (June 13 th, 2000)).

“With the Lumiar Project, we introduced passion fruit, graviola and pepper”. (Stated by Severino, Project Settlement, Nova Vida, June 8th, 2006)

In the 1998/1999 harvest, since the influence the draught imposed restrictions reached the Northeast region achieving both Zona da Mata in Pernambuco and Zona da Mata in Paraíba, and by the delay in the credit verified in all researched Settlement Projects, the cultivated area with food products (Temporary and beach coconut) in the resettlement projects represented 57,1% of the cultivated area total with food in 1998, as to the set of municipalities which compose the sub-regions of the Sugar Cane Zone in Northeast. Those, even taking into account the lower degree of technological incorporation and its almost total submission to natural conditions. It is worth stressing the “sub-line” of the Zona da Mata in Paraíba where the area of the Settlement Projects cultivated with foods represented more than 92% of the total superficies therein grown with food.

Another unquestionable aspect refers to the rare exceptions (as for instance SAMBA Resettlement Project, located in Maragogi – Alagoas), where the banana represents more than 90% of the cultivated area by the interviewed), the most important cultures produced in Settlement Areas in Zona da Mata in Paraíba and Pernambuco and the Brejo Paraibano are still the traditional food in the region, namely: manioc (main product, mostly used for flour production) followed by beans and corn. In the 1998/1999 harvests, those three products achieved 52,0% of cultivated total area by the interviewers in the 25 Settlement Projects, which were investigated in the Sugar Cane Zone in Northeast. Among 14⁶, the relevance of the cultivated area with those cultures in relation to the growing are total was higher than 70%.

Not to mislead the concept that the food production retraction – growing movement in Sugar Cane traditional area keeps a very severe relation with the retraction

⁶ Pitanga Settlement Project in Goiana; Esperança Redenção and União in Areia; Massangana, Massanga II and Massangana III in Cruz do Espírito Santo; Pitanga II in Igarassu; Pau Amarelo in Maragogi; Nova Aurora in Pedras de Fogo; Apasa in Pitimbu; Amaragi in Rio Formoso and Boa Vista in Vida Nova in Sapé.

– expansion process of the sugar-alcohol activity, it is undeniable that in the Northeast Sugar Cane Zone, it has, nowadays, been having great influence on the expansion on land reform areas and, consequently, on the prevailing agriculture model in these areas.

However, it is relevant to draw the attention of the fact that it is still little representative the food cultivated area in the Settlement Project, doing a sum of the Regional farming total area and of its special subunits. Despite the 1998/1999 harvests, as it was already mention not to be the ideal for comparative effect, it is undoubtedly that the food production impact, provided by the Land Reform Areas expansion organized through the creation of Settlement Projects, still do not get to impose a wider reversion of the region soil use ways. The Sugar Cane has been the dominant resource and its presence on the landscape was only replaced by the food production prevailed by the Settlement expansion, then still don't get to impose a wider reversion of the region soil use ways. And as for the Sugar Cane, it is still the dominant resource and it was only replaced by the food production in the areas where there is a concentration of Settlements Projects.

As to the livestock farming production, it was checked that:

- a) Livestock farming is rarely practiced, having bigger focus on the Brejo Paraibano where the settlement production represents 21,5% of the region animal production total;
- b) Sheep and goat production is also small, and again it is seen on the Brejo Paraibano in which Settlement Projects represents 20,3% of the flock total;
- c) Poultry breeding protrudes for its bigger number per head among all analyzed municipalities;
- d) However, pigs breeding represent no place among the Settlement Projects.

All in all, the animal production represents a low level. That can refer to the producer's capitalization insufficient level at the time the Settlement started. Other two elements reinforce such a limitation, namely: the plot small size and the agro-villages, which, certainly, impose a separation between the living place and the working place, bring about difficulties to the breeding demanded attention. Thus, it mustn't be forgotten that two draught running years in the end of the 90's, contributed for the flock decreasing.

On the other hand, animals' possession, in addition to be an internal differentiation factor among producers, is also seen by themselves as savings, which would guarantee the leasing pays. Hence its findings, through several statements, in the survey, which several settlements reserve a finance leasing part for the animal acquisition. Through the Settlement Breeding impact view on life conditions, some aspects must be stressed: substructure improvement (electric energy supply, telephone, fresh water) greater access to both health and public system; living standard improvement incomes and food conditions.

CHALLENGES FOR THE FAMILY FARMING

Despite of the neat advances occurred; some problems have come up as real challenges for family farming consolidation. Those problems can be divided into two groups: organizational order problems and insertion in the market order problems.

Among the main organizational order problems, the following ones are stressed:

- a) The implanted association model: it allowed several practices (politics cooptation, corruption, etc.) that have avoided the active participation, democratic practices and management press conferences tandem it allowed severe divisions in the Settlement Projects. According to Moreira, Targino and

Neto (2000), the management process introduced after the land conquest is spotted: far a power structure verticalization due to the adopted association model whose positions are hierarchically arranged, providing the president figure power personalization; by the public policies decisive influences related to the Settlement Projects so as to favor and stimulate strengthening of such association way; by the gradual quit of organization intermediaries instances which favor all community members active participation. Thus, restraining the family chief participating process by assemblies gradual transformation in formally instances homologate decisions taken by the association direction; by a leadership perpetuation as a result of favor tie consequences and of internal sponsorship and also by settlement group connection to local oligarch groups;

- b) Institutional and Social Settlement workers isolation: Either by the lack of social movement commitment with a subsequent phase for the land fight, or by the little participation in the municipal management structures, as for instance, in the Rural Development Councils;
- c) Religious and Ideological Character Division: The increasingly number of the neo-pentecostal churches in the agrarian reform areas which affect the social movements action.

Among the main problems related to the market insertion, we can mention:

- a) the agricultural production on the Settlements Projects is predominantly the production of traditional foods. The irrigated fruit culture is explored in an insufficient scale;
- b) Lack or precarious technician assistance with the workers quest commitment. So as to introduce an effective rural education in the Settlement Projects, the credit access without a technician tutoring or with a unsuitable one (either in the project elaboration or in their own introduction, resulted in a situation in which most of the Settlements got into debts. In fact, we could see that several projects above all those ones with irrigated-fruit culture investment, they faced problems as to their conception and to its introduction. As there was no office job at first, an effective commitment with the agrarian policy matter⁷ nor even those were in charge of the lack of success of themselves, the errors costs were faced by the workers alone. In several Settlement Projects, the insufficiency or bad quality water damaged the irrigation project introduction resulting in an urgent case as the one in Nova Vida, located in the Pitimbu municipality, in Paraíba. In addition to that problem, it is worth citing the technician assistance discontinuity for the Settlement Project. Herein, it is relevant to mention Lumiar Project case, whose technicians were in charge of several investments project elaboration, which couldn't proceed or contribute for its consolidation, once they were accepted and the resources released. The Lumiar Project had already been shut down. Such a difficulty by the permanent technician monitory has severely damaged the projects, above all those related to livestock farming and draught fruit culture. That situation requires an urgent revision on the credit policy incorporated to the PRONAF (Family Farming National Program);
- c) Almost absolute Lack of Commercialization Alternative Ways: Regarding as exceptions some isolated experiences (Beginner Producer Fair in Barreiros – Pernambuco South Zona da Mata; a production sale point of Settlement Project Ubu in Goiana, Zona da Mata in Pernambuco and Agro ecological Products Fair

⁷ Some Project elaboration offices were created in order to take the opportunity the small rural production financing, for they were paid with 2,5% of the financing total value.

of the Landing Reform Settlement of the Zona da Mata⁸ in Paraíba). Thus, it was observed no commercialization alternative ways, and as for the settlement remained, as a rule in charge of the mediators. In some municipalities, it was observed a considerable increasing on the number of mediators working in the settlement areas, including many settlements playing that role as well. The last decision by CONAB⁹ about the acquisition of family agriculture products will probably have meaningful impacts on the supporting conditions of this national agricultural segment;

- d) The Production cost rise – As to the practice diffusion of agro- toxic utilization in the farm work, moreover connected to the credit resources releasing.

As a result of such a difficulty, it has increased plots abandon /renegotiation/ leasing over the INCRA average. It has also been denounced by the Settlements Project lands in the last years of FHC's government for the Sugar Cane cultivation by distilleries and suppliers or for the secondary living introduction. Such practice requires more attention by INCRA as well as a Settlement selection process revision, plot redirection and infrastructure condition guarantee.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The area expansion in the small family production on the Sugar Cane Zone in Northeast, resulting of the State farming action has put a series of challenges for its reproduction in context of a globalized capitalist economy. Notwithstanding the profits verified in terms of public goods access and also of the improvement of the basic social substructure conditions, it cannot be ignored the difficulties faced by the Settled workers. Those challenges have presented themselves, above all, as its insertion ways in the market. At this time, it is relevant to achieve more dynamic ways as well as to establish articulation organized ones as to the market so as to redefine what must be produced and also how it must be produced. As a result, the updating articulation remained only with the local markets, which rename an orientation for the traditional food production.

This way, the organization alternative ways, which have emerged, must be deepened and enhanced. For sure, they allow market segments to be better exploited, as for instance we have natural product purchasing markets. Such markets permit to overcome restrictions imposed by big companies upstream and downstream productive chains.

⁸ A Brazilian Caritas Project sponsored by Terra Commission Pastoral of Paraíba University, and the popular deputy management Friar Anastácio Ribeiro, who is in charge of the production alternative process as well as of a conflict and settling production commercialization in many areas of the Zona da Mata in Paraíba. The production experience without agro-toxic and the direct commercialization with no intermediaries is the moot point of the Project, which started with a few families. The interlocution with UFPB allowed the introduction of a free market at the campus in João Pessoa with stalls for the products to be sold by the farmers themselves every Fridays from 7:00 to 12:00 o'clock. As for the positive results, a stimulus to other families participation in the project totalize, nowadays 85 and the fair increasing with the introduction of more two commercialization points in two neighborhoods in João Pessoa: Valentina Figueiredo.

⁹ CONAB is instituting 5 initiatives: the family agriculture direct purchase; the rural product identity, Foods, the purchase guarantee contract, the local acquisition and the milk purchase.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

CANTALICE, Dulce. (1985) *Capital, Estado e Conflito: questionando Alagamar*. Campina Grande: CME/UFPB, Dissertação de Mestrado.

LENINE, Vladimir. (1974) *Le développement du capitalisme en Russie*. Paris: Ed. Sociales.

KAUTSKY, Karl. (1979) *La question agraire*. Paris: François Maspero.

MARX, Karl. (1975) *O Capital*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Civilização Brasileira S.A.

MOREIRA, Emília and TARGINO, Ivan. *Capítulos de Geografia Agrária da Paraíba*. João Pessoa: Editora Universitária, 1997.

MOREIRA, Emília; TARGINO, Ivan; NETO, Genaro Ieno. (2000) *Organização interna dos assentamentos rurais na Paraíba: caminhos e armadilhas das formas associativas*. Presidente Prudente: Revista do Núcleo de Estudos, Pesquisas e Projeto de Reforma Agrária (NERA), Série Estudos, Número 1, julho.

MOREIRA, Emília; TARGINO, Ivan; MENEZES, Marilda A. de. (2003) *Espaço agrário, movimentos sociais e ação fundiária na Zona Canavieira do Nordeste*. Recife: FUNDAJ, Revista de Estudos Sociais, vol. 19, N°. 02, julho-dezembro.

OLIVEIRA, Francisco de. (1976) *A economia brasileira: crítica à razão dualista*. São Paulo: Ed. Brasiliense.

REY, Pierre-Philippe. *Les alliances de classes*. (1976) Paris: François Maspero.

TARGINO, Ivan. (2002) *A luta pela terra e os movimentos sociais rurais no Brasil*. Campina Grande: Raízes–Revista de Ciências Sociais e Econômicas. Vol. 21, nº 01 – janeiro a junho.