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Is there a new peasant agriculture project? An analysis based on Brazilian and French examples

Eric Sabourin

CIRAD Tera, 73, Rue J.F. Breton, 34 398 Montpellier Cedex 5 France

Jean Philippe Tonneau

CIRAD Tera, Visiting Scientist in Campina Grande Federal University, Brazil.

Marilda Aparecida de Menezes

Campina Grande Federal University, Av. Aprigio Veloso, 882, CEP 58109-970, Campina Grande, PB, Brazil

Abstract: H. Mendras has taught us that the peasant category was meant to disappear when the peasant societies would disappear. He has well demonstrated this tendency in the European case. However, new evolutions in the social movements updating the peasant identities in Europe, Latin America and Africa have brought this question to the present debate. The paper intends to present a comparative view of the new family agriculture in the Northeast of Brazil and France, considering the resistance, roots and peasant values. The Brazilian Northeast family farming is characterised by the permanence of an irregular and partial relation to diversified markets, as well as, also, by the modernisation or the resurgence of peasant redistribution relations and reciprocity practises. In France, the peasant trade unions' claims is more linked to value the products quality and local identity, although the peasant society does not endure any more. Thus, the integration to segmented markets more and more qualified or still subsidised, questions the future extension and generalisation of the European peasant model.

On the contrary, the Brazilian Northeast has kept peasant communities which are capable of develop regional and local collective projects. Besides the economic integration of the competitive family farming to the markets, there is an alternative for territorial and social integration through pluriactivity and multifunctionality of the agriculture. The challenge is to mobilise and negotiate public policies guided by the modern peasant agriculture, considering the collective attributes and human values, insted of social assistance to poor rural families.

Key words: family farming, peasant society, public policies, agroecology.

Introduction

Henri Mendras in “La fin des paysans” (1967) came up with the matter of peasant farmer category by the end of peasant societies. He has utterly illustrated that process in the European case. The industrial society triumph has apparently ceased the existence of peasant society. However, recent evolutions of social movements defining themselves as peasants in both Europe and Latin American, lead to bring back this matter. The attitude in relation to the peasantry has changed in either side of the Atlantic Ocean. It has stopped being considered as a curious shrine to be regarded as a social transforming power to a family farming which is not just capitalist, in the sense of small family enterprise. The “Confédération Paysanne” in France refers to a non-capitalist way of life and to values linked to the quality of work, product and local life. In Brazil, university scholars and organized farmers, linked in particular, to the alternative agriculture and agro-ecology movement propose a peasant matter revision. The *Via Campesina* movement (Cirad, 1997) and its Brazilian expression, The Movement of Small Farmers (Almeida, 1998) state a peasant agriculture funded by a new agreement between farmers (producers of food and of values) and society, with more demanding customers towards food quality as well as human values.

The communication proposes to deepen this debate supporting itself on a comparative reading of the recent evolution of the family farming in the Brazilian Northeast and in France. It is based on the analysis of the effects of the modernizing policies which support family farming and of the reactions linked to the peasant roots and values. The first part presents the peasant and family farming evolution in France and Brazil and the search for more sustainable alternatives, due to the sharp-pointed crisis by the globalization. The second part discusses the teachings and limits of these analyses in terms of public policies and concerning the conceptual and methodological proposal for the research.

The Evolution of family farming in France and Brazil

The family farming that resists

In spite of being supposed to disappear, family farming is responsible for 41% of the worldwide population maintenance and it also mobilizes 1,3 billion of farmers in the world according to FAO (2004). Family farming resists and ascertains 80% of the production of food. Even in several cases (Africa, Asia and Latin America) in its peasant-like way, however there are peasant societies in mutation.

Notwithstanding this reality, a model of modern “enterprise” family farming totally integrated to the capitalist market has been defended by each side of the Atlantic. However, it has to face some crisis, even in Europe (Gervais et al., 1978).

Table 1: Main characteristics of agriculture policy in France & Brazil

France	Brazil
Selective	Dual (2 different ministers)
Protectionist	Neo-liberal
Partially decentralized	Still centralized and uniform
Family farming diversified discourse but dual approach	Dual approach of family farming
- classic CAP subsidies for cereal and cattle production	- Marketing integration for dynamic units
- territory aid for diversified	- Social assistance for poor

In the case of France, the modernization of family farming has demonstrated first the limits of the peasants' integration. The policy of promotion of the modernizing family farming promoted by Common Agriculture Policy (CAP), by means of subventions, has generated social differences within the category, causing social exclusion. This model has permitted an important increasing in the food production, in particular in developed countries. In France, the active agricultural population surpassed from 7,2 to 2 million from 1936 to 1975; in the same period, the exportation of cereal surpassed from one to ten billion of steady franc (Klatzmann, 1978). >From 1980 to 2001, the active agricultural population turned out from 2 million (8% from the total of French Active population) to 850,000 (3%), but the exportations have duplicated (FAO, 2004). However, it has caused some problems (table 1). The crisis in the mass production has increased in the 80's (with the over production) and above all in the 90's with the sanitary and biological risks (nitrates, mad cow disease and pesticides) led the search for alternatives (table 2). Two outstanding models herein associating resisting elements to the promotion of a new project of peasant agriculture, linked to the sustainability. They refer to the quality of the product, the investment on work and revivability of the agro-ecology rural environment. A model provided by the Confédération Paysanne, gives more value to the quality of life and the products, including via organic (or biological) agriculture. One group of FNSEA (Fédération Nationale des Syndicats d'Exploitants Agricoles) and the JA (Jeunes Agriculteurs), defends the "agriculture raisonnée" (a "reasonable agriculture" reducing the use of chemical inputs) (Claude, 2001). Indeed, the trade union peasant claim is more linked to the valorisation of the quality of products and of the local identity, despite such peasant society no longer exists. However, the integration to a diversity of markets, every day more qualified and segmented or even still subsidized, questions the capacity of extension and generalization of this new European peasant model.

In the Northeast of Brazil, it is based on different configuration: There is still a family farming with peasant-like features, partially but historically integrated, until the last ten years, to commercial exportation productions (tobacco, sugar cane, coffee, cotton, sisal, seed of the castor-oil plant, etc.) and

therefore, in constant evolution (Martine, 1987). It has kept a variety of the productions in such a way to face the irregularity and uncertainties of the climate, as well as on the market (prices). It demonstrates a straight autonomy in relation to the market: practice of self-consumption, use of few external inputs and bank credit, preference for proximity credit, as the consortium and the revolving funds (Caron & Sabourin, 2001). This autonomy is associated to a risky limitation (few inputs, a lot of work, and little investment in capital or cash).

However, the investment on family work is associated to the capacity of innovation and adaptation, due to the mobilization of the inter-personal net, comprising a social, family and organizing dynamics. This investment on human capital is reckoned by the mutual help, the direct selling or via short chains and proximity markets, the redistribution of production factors (land, technology, water, seed, work and even capital via revolving funds) (Sabourin, 2000).

This economy barely assures the production and reproduction of human values linked to these forms of proximity relations, redistribution and reciprocity. These are values of trust, solidarity (affinity, redistribution, mutual help), responsibility (before the natural resources and the future generations). They are also values of quality, for the work (know-how) and for the products (quality and specificity). These qualities are associated to the name (the identity) of the peasant who guarantees his status and his space in society. This specificity ascertains the prestige, the fame which entitles, respect, authority and, as a consequence, power, in the societies of reciprocity (Temple, 1998). It is true that one of the characteristics of peasant society, the dependence on the local political and economical elites, still remains in the Northeast.

In the Brazilian Northeast, indeed, we may find rural peasant communities capable of maintaining local and regional collective projects. Beside the economical integration of the more competitive family farming to the markets, there is an alternative of territorial integration which is socially included by means of pluractivity and the multifunctionality of the agriculture (Adington, 1998, Rémy, 2000).

What is the project for tomorrow's family farming in Brazil?

In the Northeast, the democratic opening, the development of the markets and the government's support were initially effective. The Northeast cattle raise production reached its pike in the end of the 80's, from this moment on, it started to decrease. The crisis of the activities in the cattle-cotton-farming complex led the contribution of the semi-arid area to the regional economy progressively decreased, from 28% (in 1970) to 21% (1980), and the production per capita, turned out from 74,7% to 53,2% (Tonneau, 1994). This productive crisis is essentially an investment one. The classic policies of "modernization" (Green Revolution, bank credit, technical assistance & extension) in the 70's were selective and little effective. They profited few establishments, only those which had - according to the opinion of the services of extension - the potential to integrate the market chains, that is to say: cattle/milk, vegetable and fruit farming. The mono-productive specialization for the market demonstrated itself as risky due to the high cost of intensive external inputs (Tonneau et al, 1997).

The bank credit and the credit practices of inputs firms led the vulnerable productive systems to bankrupt, for the lack of capital reserve. Both the availability on financial resources and the capacity to manage and organize the services do not permit, in the majority, to cope with the agronomic (plague attack), climatic and economic risks.

As the failure of modernizing policies, on the second half of the 90's, the governmental public policies exclusively turned to offer "social compensations" (food aid, minimum income, education cheque, retiring, etc) (table 1). Several scholars have demonstrated the importance of the transferences to stabilize the rural families' income, and even to reduce the number of poor families in the countryside (Delgado, 2000; Abramovay, 2000; Veiga, 2001).

The Northeast family (and peasant) farming is on crisis because the State only supported guided alternatives related to the irrigated fruit-culture for the exporting or national markets. Therefore, the analysis on the Brazilian public power is to duplicate this model with sector and territorial policies of qualification and certification, or via segments of quality and exportation. Such a model may only be adopted by a minority of situations of the family farmers in the Northeast, who are able to handle human and financial capital (Sabourin, 2001). On the other hand, the implementation of this model has especially been accompanied by high environmental expenses. The tendency to the homogenization of productive practice, to the simplification, to the extreme and artificial transformation of the natural environment followed the degradation of agricultural soils, endangered the cultivars and animals genetic diversity and, at least, the food contamination (Bastos, 2002).

Searching for sustainable agriculture

The notion of sustainable development came up from the reflection over the difficulties above mentioned. The notion of sustainable development takes into account the multiple faces of the project of the society, without excessive sharing between production and its purpose (Latour, 1993). It refers to the notions of sustainable agriculture, ecological agriculture or even peasant agriculture, privileging the work (job) and its diverse forms of reward, developing a qualified production and accepting natural, biological and climatic factors (Van der Weid, 2001). In other words: an agriculture which respects the producers, the costumers and nature by a renewed social agreement.

I wonder if the peasant utopia of autonomous collectiveness of the capitalist market may contribute to this reflection? Is it that the peasant utopia of an independent collectiveness of capitalist market has its place in a post industrial society? Mendras (1976) argues if the most recent techniques of a new industrialization would be suitable to the social traditions and to the values of the peasant civilizations. Jollivet (2003) quotes that it is the fact of pertaining to a peasant society that identifies the peasant. The challenge is the definition of a social project renewed for the rural societies and, better, for the all society.

In this perspective, notions as multifuncionalidad of agriculture and pluriactivity of the farmers must be perceived as a opportunity to "discover" and "create" adequate economic activities in the rural regions of the Brazilian Semi-arid (Wanderley, 1990, 2003).

The agro-ecology project in Brazil and France: a peasant project?

The detaching of the government from the agriculture policies towards diversities and specific necessities of the family farming in Brazil paves the way to “productive and alternative projects” by the civil society (NGOs, associations, syndicates, pastorals, etc), specially in the 90’s (Almeida, 1998). These projects are based on agroecology (Altieri, 1987) and turn to have a criticizing reading of social exclusion, inherent to capitalist agriculture. Behind agroecology there is a political project on the promoting of sustainable development and living with the semi-arid, based on the valorization of the peasant (his work, his culture), of the environment, natural resources and on the valorization of human groups which compound the community, with their values (solidarity, justice, simplicity and sharing), valorization of culture and its manifestations.

This posture supports itself on a certain number of central hypotheses. The agriculture sector may continue for a long time as a principal employer on the rural areas. The alternatives of jobs are really rare. A family farming, with reduced use of inputs and intense work investment, may keep a high rural employment level, and this way, avoid the increasing of territorial and social imbalance linked to the strong urbanization. So, it can be economically competitive – in particular, to guarantee the food security of the rural populations, via a partial self-consumption, but also of the poor populations in the cities –more effective in the natural resources management and more socially fair.

Within these certain conditions, the social policies of the State (retiring, scholarship, food-aid, etc) and incomes from pluractivity of families may be invested in the agriculture production (Remy, 2000) (table 1).

The model intends to establish the basis for an autonomous development of the family farming, using goods and natural resources as rational way as possible. The basis principle for the agro-ecological model constitutes of rationally explore the biotic and non-biotic diversity of the rural territories.

The agroecological model is constituted by the mobilization and articulation of the practical and technical understanding of the farmers, confronting the scientific knowledge. This model demands, therefore, the mobilization of the applied research, because it depends on a lot of information and training, on human capital. To fulfill this necessity, it is important to develop the farmer’s competence to manage the local space, the resources and the labor force.

The organization and the invention of new “alternative” services demand the realization of complex institutional policy settings (table 2).

The result of the implementation of this model is competitive products able to give a response through short chains, which generate jobs, to the increasing demand of urban populations in its diversity (the base of food – subsidized– of the marginalized populations) and to the specific or organic emergent markets. The work around the technical innovation and the creation of socio-technical networks (for divulgation, collective saving and proximity credit), permit to develop a new institutional frame, which is a way to more humanized and citizen-like development (Silveira et al., 2002).

In this perspective, the agroecological model may be qualified as “peasant”, as it contributes to criticize the productivist model of the “conservative modernization”, emphasizing the environmental and social aspects.

Such model approaches a lot from the alternatives constructed by the French family farmers

- conversions to technical systems of sustainable, organic or “reasonable” agriculture;
- new ways of autonomy: few external inputs and diversification (Reintjes et al., 1992), less dependence on the circuits of standardized products distribution;
- new relation with society and the customers: quality and proximity, reward of dignity, knowledge, know-how and work, not only raw material;
- new ways of thinking about the markets (proximity) and the work (family work and mutual help, help cooperatives or machine use in common);
- new ways of placing agriculture activity in rural life: pluractivity, multifunctionality ways, solidarity and collective action.

Table 2 : Alternative agriculture projects in France and Brazil

France	Brazil
Historical trade unions (FNSEA, CNJA)	Modern family farming
- “reasonable” agriculture	- segmented market competitive integration
- subsidies	- institutional aid
- sector chain organization	- food chain organization
- product certification	- product certification
Peasant Confederation	Agro-ecology
- Ecological or organic agriculture	- ecological agriculture
- territory & contractual aid	- work investment
- direct sell and food quality	- direct sell, food quality
- peasant nets (seeds, etc)	- participative certification

Lessons & perspectives

Limits and conditions of alternative strategies

It must be aware of misleading an idyllic viewpoint, which may be interpreted as a flashback. Most of the peasants, “old” or “news”, are not militants aware of agro-ecology which repels the international market consume goods so as to value self-consumption or proximity ecological markets. The globalization has arrived and has made irreversible marks. Even if the current change, mobilizes itself as a resistant discourse, “The world is not a merchandize”, it corresponds to an economical change and to a citizen awareness. It also corresponds to a certain promotional ideology of the historic

peasant universal values, or at least of its glorious and positive aspects. However, such a change comes from economical demands which associate work level, family incoming and leisure similar to that of the wage workers. That social demand, as women and children work or study outside the farming unit, especially in France, generated economical adaptations. In fact, smallholders who adopted such an alternative via are deeply interested, as any other human being, in the access to the goods. By the fact, by experience and by collective learning (mistakes and success) they became aware of that both productivist official model and the competitive new model based on segments of products and certification did not work out for them. Therefore, they kept some practices and some peasant values, trying to adapt them to the updating context. For that, they experiment alternatives, as an attempt to assure the social and economical reproduction of their family units as well as of the local life. All young peasants, all over the world, would love to work with better conditions (irrigation/mechanization), with better wages, (fair fees) in addition to more free time and easy access to consume goods. From those general viewpoints on, it is obvious that it does not mean to adhere to standardized mass consumption model or to refute the advantages to achieve a quality food via self consumption or pride and professional commitment so as to sell quality products for the consumers.

Then, would it be viable to achieve the statement of this renewed social project? Would it be viable to keep peasant agriculture in the capitalist world? Would it be a utopia? If it is that way, such a procedure seems to be voluntary and, consequently, has its limits. It is the way thought by many researchers about the notion of family farming itself. For instance, Eliseu Alves (2003) regards two great difficulties in relation to the consolidation of an alternative family farming to the capitalist market.

The former difficulty is the strength and the dynamism of capitalist agriculture. The author wonders what may stop the capitalist agriculture to achieve ownership on markets and technologies, created and opened even by family farming. *"That is the accelerated expansion of organic agriculture within the capitalist agriculture system. What does it avoid the capitalist agriculture adopting technology, expanding production and market dominium as well?"*

The latter, however, is the cultural resistance capacity of family farming. *"Who can be against keeping the local culture? Does, this matter, however concern to this issue being feasible? Is that what the communities want? Again, a macro-social force, impulse by mass communication, which is settled, mainly in Rio de Janeiro and in São Paulo, stresses devastating influence on our society, even on the regional accent".*

E. Alves arguments are strong if they are related to agro-ecology exigencies: work requirement, family model demanding resulting in young little autonomy; lack of monetary income. If the first results are encouraging ones, it should not be left behind that basic problems such as lack of land or low education are really stressed on the real alternative possibilities. But the need strength is also intense. Which other future to be thought of with the great lack of jobs in big cities? What about South Africa model where its population is found in rural shantytown a unique place for living? They are left without activities, being provided with social help spent in supermarkets. It's common knowledge

that some urbanization projects of the small rural municipalities in semi-arid Brazil follow that way. Hence violence dissemination all over the territory, which may come as it result.

Alternative Public Policies

What kind of policies would be able to match such a diverse reality between peasant family farming and enterprising ones? The challenge is to mobilize and deal public policies, not only of social assistance, but as subsidy conditional of modern forms of peasant farming, valuing social attributes and not only the economical ones of its productive system, sociability forms, collective human values and practices.

Farmers from France as well as from Brazilian Northeast have conveyed and dealt through their organizations some guidelines towards those public policy instruments.

First, local production protection systems, which limit in a way the wild concurrence with no penalty for poor country peasants, must be considered. It may be with new modalities of the quality certification. Not only a single guaranty of the product quality is being on focus and even its origin; be it by means of certification which reduces capitalist concurrence or by means of protectionism such as subsidized prices, which penalize the poorer country peasants. The fairest alternative would be the certification and qualification of sustainable production farming systems: biologic, organic and agro-ecological (table 2). In France there are already concrete issues (agriculture biologique & agriculture raisonnée) and in Brazil (Pro-ambiente project in Amazon region).

Second, as for the autonomy related to the capitalism market it must be reinforced through all possible ways. Self-consumption is relevant, however, it does not provide a solution, nor a free excess redistribution, even if it must be encouraged and valorized among close people. The true autonomy starts by dependence reduction of the input industries, promoting local input use inside the production units. The alternative to the bank credit goes through proximity credit (revolving funds adapted for trust relationship and for small investment.) or at least cooperative banks while there is grassroots social control (Brazil Bancoop case but not France Agriculture Bank, the *Crédit Agricole*). Finally, the third autonomy way goes through implementation of direct sell, as well as the proximity and short chain or local markets. Those are through competent mediators, which valorize the product quality and the producer's name by means of inter-personal relations. It's a matter of quality guarantee through non-normative personalized certification.

Another guideline consists of attributing acknowledgment and public support to the farmer collective devices, which assure the natural common resource management (water, fields, forest, biodiversity and seeds) or local public goods production, such as: rural schools, innovation and experimentation groups. Such devices based on a complementary interaction between collective and public action have had a good experience in France and have conquered them by Paraíba's peasant trade union. (Sabourin, 2003). Those four instruments

of public policy instances are easy to be introduced. They're adapted so as to revitalize the reproduction of peasant structures and systems, because they associate individual and collective responsibility of farmers, guaranteeing their dignity and identity, favoring attribute expression and territorial specificities; in other words they contribute for production and reproduction of human values, commonly found in the peasant reciprocity. The proximity market, as the direct sell, also guarantees the producer's name, as well as revolving funds or the sharing systems (redistribution of products and of production factors), because it demands, its responsibility.

Conceptual lessons and new research perspectives

Both in France and Brazil we can refer to contemporary peasant model. But to what extent does the term deserve such a classification?

I wonder whether it corresponds to Mendras (2000) definition or to Wolf (1976) or even to Shanin (1990). If the main peasant model features remain, I wonder if it develops itself a sign of peasant society or just of a rural society? What are those features (values and structures)? Thus we may conclude that peasant production systems can exist without peasant purely society (France) or just rural society (Brazil, Northeast).

First of all, we find in Brazil and in France, the remaining of peasant productions system in rural areas, despite of no longer existence of a peasant society in France, furthermore the peasant communities are changing in the Brazilian Northeast. The notion of "rural spaces" seems to be broader than "rural societies" ones considering social group diversity -peasants and non-peasants (Wanderley, 1990). We see "space" as a social construction, resulting of actor multiple practices, and this way we question the views which conceive the space as something out of groups and individuals actions.

Thus, there are no societies purely peasant, but the remaining of diverse social groups have revealed historically that it is not only the peasant who survive, but also his social, economical and cultural practices which are fundamental in the resistance to the exploration logic, human and environmental degradation of capitalism society. Above that, they are building differentiated development practices for the dominant model, either in France or in Brazil, in Pyrenees or in Amazon as well, in Bretagne as in the semi-arid Brazilian *Sertão*.

Following that thought, the peasantry remains a way of living, which deals with a production system based on the work and on the quality; a certain autonomy in relation to the capitalist market; a space organization based on land, work and family; a sociability ground on inter-personal relation; mutual help; solidarity; but also permeated with conflicts and collective and individual interests (Menezes, 2002).

Barbosa (1998) proposes to work on the peasant concept in a theoretical level, allowing a certain comprehension about group specific historical configurations such as: fishermen, rubber workers, family farmers, etc. A research guideline would focus precisely on the concept the peasant not as an essence, but as a process one and also verify demographic relations, parenthood, the territory use and handle, partial autonomy related to the capitalist market.

Concerning this perspective, the concept of peasantry is essentially a set of analysis and as well as public policy purposes for the rural world and ever wider for the society as a whole. So, it is necessary to convince that there are possibilities of another evolution. The incentive instruments and support to the multifunctionality has conveyed a fundamental role in France during the elaboration of another agriculture view in which the production function for selling is not the only one therein recognized.

The statement of a peasant life way in a society depends on its constitution while political actors, or through social movements and states policies. Thus, it is a great challenge to be faced and the one by which many peasant groups in Europe and in Latin America have passed through. That way, the peasants, a social group which has led historically movements once considered a great threatening to dominant power in Brazil, such as: "Canudos" and "Peasant Leagues", emerge again in a hard situation, apparently definitive without returns, when the neo-liberal economy and politics are guiding society paths, both national and international.

Conclusion

Such a debate, which invaded the Brazilian scenery and permeates the renewing of CAP in Europe about the relationship between family farming and public policies, deserves to be emphasized. Such communication attempted to rescue the rural reality, mainly, the one from Northeast of Brazil, which it could not be neglected from an integration perspective through the market. The researches in favor of the elevation of family farming competitiveness have also observed the exclusion mechanisms as well as the creation of a less numerous category of capitalist family farming. It concerns the reproduction of the an agriculture modernization model of the European countries and USA as well, which privilege, above all, the social or marginal resolution of the excluded problem of development integration. However, the propositions of rural job introduction or ever-social treatment of this problem are little convincing.

On the other hand, the first results of the agro-ecological model seem to be promising and justify the possibilities of original rural development strategies that refute the fatality of the rural population decreasing. In the meantime, so as to provide more credibility to that model, it must be achieved a great effort of systematization and result valorization. In short, the agro-ecology seems to allow the maintaining and the reconstitution of the four capital types, regarded as being necessary for the rural development: ecological, economical, human and social capital.

Thus, as we convey the peasant agriculture importance in the local development dynamics, we are not defending a flashback in which the peasant agriculture was mainly toward to self-consumption, nor even a rejection to the integration forms to the competitive market.

Last, but not least, in a conceptual level it would be interesting to think about peasants as a culture according the terms purposed by Geertz (1989, 1997) as "a meaning net", that is to say, not only as a model constituted by a set of quite

fixed features which identify a group, but also through practices and representations of diverse social individuals. Thus, there is no peasant or peasant culture model; on the contrary there are social and economical practices, peasant groups with their mentalities and political actions which build rural spaces.

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POSTOJI LI PROJEKT NOVE SELJAČKE POLJOPRIVREDE ? NEKE ANALIZE BAZIRANE NA BRAZILSKIM I FRANCUSKIM PRIMERIMA

- originalni naučni rad -

Eric Sabourin

CIRAD Tera, 73, Rue J.F. Breton, 34 398 Montpellier Cedex 5 France

Jean Philippe Tonneau

CIRAD Tera, Visiting Scientist in Campina Grande Federal University, Brazil.

Marilda Aparecida de Menezes

*Campina Grande Federal University, Av. Aprígio Veloso, 882, CEP 58109-970,
Campina Grande, PB, Brazil*

Rezime

Anri Mendra naučio nas je da se za kategoriju seljak smatralo da će nestati kada budu nestala seljačka društva. On je dobro izložio ovu tendenciju u evropskom slučaju. Ipak, novo prestrujavanje u društvenoj dinamici, osavremenjavanje seljačkog identiteta u Evropi, Latinskoj Americi i Africi postavilo je ovo pitanje sadašnje rasprave. Ovim člankom nameravamo predstaviti komparativno gledište nove porodične poljoprivrede na severoistoku Brazila i Francuske imajući u vidu otpor, korene i seljačke vrednosti. Porodičnu poljoprivredu na brazilskom severoistoku karakterisala je stalna neregularnost i delimični odnosi raznovrsnih trgovina (tržišnih cena) kao i, takođe, modernizacija ili ponovno oživljavanje seljačkih odnosa preraspodele i uzajamnog delovanja. U Francuskoj seljački sindikalni zahtevi više su usmereni na vrednost kvaliteta proizvoda i lokalni identitet, premda više ne postoji seljačko društvo. Otuda, ujedinjenje podeljenih trgovina sve više i više osposobljenih ili još više subvencioniranih, pitanja su budućeg širenja i uopštavanja evropskog modela zemljoradnika.

Nasuprot tome, brazilski severoistok je održao seljačke zajednice koje imaju sposobnost razvoja regionalnih i projekata lokalnih zajednica. Pored toga, ekonomske integracije zasnovane na utakmici porodične poljoprivrede sa trgovinama postoje kao alternativa za teritorijalnu i društvenu integraciju kroz pluralističko delovanje i multifunkcionalnost poljoprivredne proizvodnje. Zahtev je mobilizacija i sporazumevanje državne upravne vlasti s modernom seljačkom poljoprivredom, imajući u vidu kolektivne atribute i ljudske vrednosti, umesto socijalne pomoći za siromašne seljačke porodice.