

FENCING AND INFRASTRUCTURE CONDITIONS OF AGRARIAN SETTLEMENTS: THE CASE OF THE IRMÃ ADELAIDE SETTLEMENT IN MIRACEMA DO TOCANTINS



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ABSTRACT

The objective of the text is to analyze the fencing and the conditions of housing, water, health and transportation infrastructure in the agrarian settlement of Irmã Adelaide in Miracema do Tocantins. The time frame of analysis is from the 2000s, when the expropriation of the Boa Nova Farm, with an area of 4,766.2740 ha and approximately 106 families in the settlement, was already underway. The article is the result of theoretical and empirical research of a master's thesis. The methodology applied for the elaboration of the text, at first, was based on a bibliographic review on the topic under debate and, secondly, on an empirical research through fieldwork with the application of interviews. Agrarian settlements are created from public policies due to the need to apply agrarian reform to meet the social and economic demands of rural workers. The agrarian reform policy in practice creates agrarian settlement projects from the National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform (INCRA). However, during the empirical research it was found that the physical and social infrastructure conditions are precarious and do not meet the social demands of the settlers in their fullness.

Keywords: Agrarian Settlement. Basic Infrastructure. Workers. Peasants.

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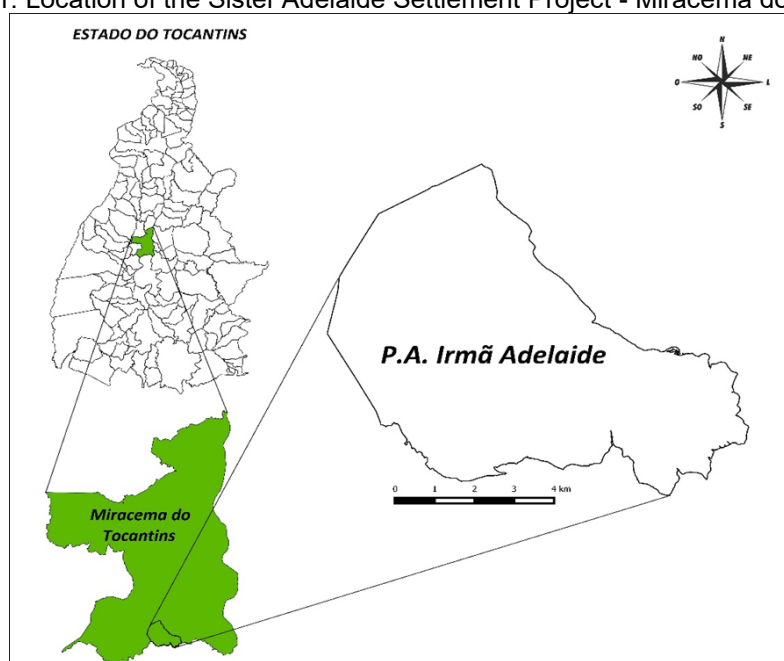
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INTRODUCTION

The text presents an analysis of the fencing of the conditions of basic transportation, housing, health and water infrastructure of the settlement of Irmã Adelaide in Miracema do Tocantins, created on May 22, 1998, through Ordinance INCRA/SR – 26 nº 036 from the expropriation of the Boa Nova Farm, with an area of 4,766.2740 ha and approximately 106 families. Figure 01 below shows the location of the settlement geographically located in the south of the municipality of Miracema do Tocantins. The methodology applied for the elaboration of the text took place in two stages. First, a bibliographic review was made on the topic under discussion. The second was based on an empirical research through fieldwork with the application of interviews.

Figure 01: Location of the Sister Adelaide Settlement Project - Miracema do Tocantins



Source: Tocantins State Planning Secretariat (2012). Organized by Maia (2018).

The text consists of four topics. The first topic - Contradictory conditions in the settlements: the enclosure, presents an analysis of the contradictory situation of the enclosure present in the settlement under analysis. The enclosure happens when the latifundio and agribusiness expand territorially around the settlement, so that in decades of years the settlers are surrounded. The second topic - Conditions of health, water, transport and housing infrastructure in the settlement, addresses the conditions of basic infrastructure that partially meets the demands of the settlers in the local community. It is a common issue in settlements where their infrastructure does not meet the social, physical and cultural

demands of the community. The third topic - Perspectives of the settlers to continue living in the settlement, emphasizes that the majority of the settlers are still willing to live in the settlement. Finally, the final considerations that present the conclusions of theoretical and empirical research.

The text addresses a theoretical and empirical discussion about the socioeconomic conditions and the physical infrastructure conditions available to meet the social demands in the settlement, from the 2000s onwards. At first, the government plans and creates agrarian settlements, to settle peasant workers, including with a certain basic infrastructure to meet the demands of the settlers. However, there is a need for the government to institute policies that meet the needs regarding housing, water supply and transportation, among other demands of the settlers.

Historically, agrarian reform in capitalist society arises from the need to implement a land policy to ensure the social function of land. The bourgeois state, in order to avoid possible revolutionary movements, creates government actions in the sense of "throwing a bucket of cold water" on the mobilization of these movements, that is, it creates specific mitigating public policies to partially meet the demands of the settlers. In fact, the capitalist bourgeoisie fears a revolutionary movement that could shake its capitalist interests. Public policies to mitigate social inequalities aim to reduce social contradictions in the countryside and not to end inequalities.

For Gehlen (2004), agrarian reform is legitimized as a public policy because it meets economic development, linked to the reduction of poverty in the countryside, offering new jobs, boosting local development, to meet the peasant and the collective interest of the peasant population. Agrarian settlements are a political alternative to mitigate inequalities and social contradictions in the countryside, but not to solve these social issues. While nothing revolutionary happens in the Brazilian agrarian structure, agrarian reform policies are necessary to create better social and economic conditions for peasants and workers. Agrarian reform is a State policy that establishes norms regarding the rights on the use of property and the possession of land and agricultural assets, with the aim of reducing social inequalities in the countryside. In the Brazilian case, what happens most often is a government policy and not necessarily a state policy.

Interpreting Article 184 of the Federal Constitution, we can ensure that it is up to the Union to expropriate the land ownership of rural property to meet the demands of social interest and for the purposes of agrarian reform. The transfer of properties expropriated for

the purposes of agrarian reform are exempt from federal, state and municipal taxes precisely to meet the social issues of access to land by those who need the land to meet the conditions of existence. However, if the workers and peasants do not mobilize and organize politically, these constitutional rights will not be guaranteed in practice. The policy of agrarian settlements promoted by the Brazilian State is necessary to alleviate poverty in the countryside. But we need to affirm and make it clear that the agrarian reform policies implemented by the State happen through the pressure and organization and political mobilization of the social movements of peasants and workers.

INCRA was created on July 9, 1970, during the military dictatorship, a time when land conflicts were getting worse. In the possibility of neutralizing land conflicts, the military government instituted a policy of colonization and agrarian reform to put into practice a security geopolitics to maintain its conservative geopolitics. For Barbosa (2019), agrarian settlement projects are generally understood as a set of agricultural units independent of each other, where this property in the past belonged to a single owner. Then, after the creation of government policies, there was a reorganization of land use, contemplating peasant workers who did not have land and who were unable to acquire a property. In this way, an agrarian settlement consists of a project permeated by several elaborated and multicultural actions, with the purpose of meeting the social function and environmental protection of peasant property.

However, what we perceive is that the creation of agrarian settlements does not always imply improvements in the fulfillment of basic rights and services for the settlers. Among which, we can highlight: health care, education, basic sanitation, housing, transportation and obtaining land ownership. In order for the settlers to have these services and social demands met, it is necessary for the government to institute public policies for this purpose. What happens is that most of the settlers live in precarious conditions, because the public policies to meet these demands do not reach the communities of the settlers in an adequate way and in the necessary time.

At first, the settlers have access to the land by obtaining the property, through the creation of a Settlement Project, the contribution of credit resources to support the installation and credit for production, basic infrastructure (access roads, water and electricity, etc.) which is the responsibility of the Union through INCRA. Secondly, in the settlements, the government must institute public policies aimed at the creation of infrastructure (roads, basic sanitation and electricity, etc.) in the agrarian settlements to

ensure the effectiveness of agrarian reform and the permanence of the peasant with a minimum possible quality in the countryside. However, empirically, what is perceived is an absence of productive and social infrastructure on environmental and socioeconomic issues related to the living conditions of peasants. There are several challenges faced by peasant workers, mostly with regard to the effectiveness of public policies aimed at improving the life of the peasantry. Next, we will address the fencing and the challenges faced and the precariousness of infrastructure regarding water, housing, transport and health issues in the settlement under analysis.

LAND FENCING: CONTRADICTIONARY CONDITIONS IN THE SETTLEMENTS

The precarious conditions of transportation, health, supply infrastructure, housing are common in agrarian settlements. However, there are other concerns that keep settled workers up at night. Among them, we can highlight the enclosure of the peasants' territory. This happens when their territory is "surrounded" by agribusiness. Let's see how this happens. This social phenomenon occurs due to the process of territorialization of agribusiness in the Brazilian countryside from its spatial expansion, which "surrounds" the territory of the peasantry. This also happens due to the concentration of land in the hands of agricultural capital, which even buys or grabs even the land of peasants. It is a mechanism for appropriating the land in a way, which is increasingly concentrated in the hands of capital, disarticulating and expelling peasants from their lands to new frontiers or to urban areas.

According to Silva (2018), siege is revealed in the appropriation of land rent, in the creation of life rents, in the monopoly of prices, in the destruction of the farmer's knowledge, in symbolic and physical violence. The peasantry is subject to various enclosures, such as the right to land and the means of production. The encirclement begins with the primitive accumulation that is outlined theoretically by Marx. Primitive accumulation corresponds to the barbaric life of the worker and the peasant. Marx says that (...) "The renewed, intermittent expropriation and expulsion of the rural population provided urban industry with ever new masses of proletarians entirely detached from the corporate sphere." (2011, p. 858). Primitive capitalist accumulation creates a scenario in which workers are driven from their land and then forced to work in the factories. There is a separation between the workers and their land of work. At this point Marx points out that:

The capitalist system presupposes the dissociation between workers and the ownership of the means by which they perform work. When capitalist production becomes independent, it does not merely maintain this dissociation, but reproduces it on an ever larger scale. The process which creates the capitalist system consists only in the process of depriving the worker of ownership of his means of labour, a process which transforms the social means of subsistence and production into capital, and converts the direct producers into wage earners. The so-called primitive accumulation is only the historical process that dissociates the worker from the means of production. It is considered primitive because it constitutes the prehistory of capital and the capitalist mode of production. (MARX, 2011, p. 828)

As Marx says, primitive accumulation is the historical process that dissociates the worker from the means of production, which constitutes the first moment of formation of the capitalist mode of production. It is the history of enslavement. That is, "... The great role played in true history by conquest, enslavement, rapine and murder, in short, by violence, is well known" (2011, p.828). It is the history of the mass forced migration of workers and the history of the withdrawal of workers' rights. In England and Scotland, enclosure promoted the destruction of towns, villages, huts and houses. "Peasant lands were plundered and commodified, which impoverished the expelled subjects and men were replaced by sheep and even hunting" (SILVA, 2018, p. 62). The landed aristocracy even appropriated church land and usurped communal land.

This fact allows us to affirm that the process of enclosure of the peasant territory is historical. The enclosure of peasants historically derives from land-grabbing farmers, industrialists, among other capitalist agents supported by the State, with a legal framework favorable to capitalist property, the use of private militias and the repressive apparatus of the State, with impunity for the violence committed, (SILVA, 2018). It is an immaterial encirclement with concrete, symbolic, instrumental and material elements that dilapidate the way of life and the conditions of existence of the peasantry.

Currently, the use and appropriation of space by *commodities* has generated the enclosure and asphyxiation of peasant agriculture, for example, the monoculture of soybeans and Tocantins eucalyptus. Agribusiness appropriates natural resources to produce surplus value. One of the natural resources that agribusiness appropriates is water resources for the generation of *commodities that can compromise the agricultural production of the peasantry. As a result, conflicts arise over the use of water, whether for industrial use, irrigation and energy production. This fact shows the enclosure of the peasantry by the privatization of water. The invasion of the pesticide used in monoculture can reach the source of the streams.*

With the expansion of agribusiness in the Amazon region, environmental and social problems tend to increase. The effects of pesticides are visible. Pesticides end up causing the poisoning of flora and fauna. In fact, the elements of modernization are alien to the people of the place. Transnational corporations such as Bunge, Cargill and Multigrain control the process, that is, it is a stranger who arrives in the Amazon and appropriates natural resources unilaterally (with the support of the State). From this process of territorialization of capital, the failure of small production and the economic bankruptcy of the peasantry affects their self-esteem, already weakened by the prejudice of "outsiders".

Another form of "enclosure" of the peasantry's territory is when agrarian capital seduces or attempts to get the peasant to sell his land. It can even happen in the form of enticement, in which farmers, land grabbers and businessmen in rural areas offer to buy the peasants' properties, for a price even above the market. The peasants, faced with this situation, are being unable to continue in the countryside. On the one hand, the State establishes policies that favor agribusiness, leaving little room for the existence of the peasantry as a social subject of the countryside, on the other hand, agribusiness closes the "siege" for the peasantry, based on its territorial expansion, including on peasant lands through land grabbing or expulsion with death threats or by "legal" means (the legality agreed by the bourgeois State to defend the interests of the capitalists). In other words, the spatial expansion of agribusiness compromises the social and economic continuity of the peasantry.

This reality of the peasantry is present in the Amazon, even though it is a more recent frontier of the country. One of the struggles of the peasantry in the state of Tocantins today is to overcome the impacts of agribusiness, because it compromises the sustainability and social and economic continuity of agrarian settlements in the region. This places the peasant within a contradictory and perverse logic, since in the settlement under analysis, the search for the purchase of land has already demonstrated its facets of the enclosure of the settled peasants. One of the ways that this mechanism has manifested itself is the "pasture rental", in the areas within the lots used by the extensive livestock activity, as empirically verified in the fieldwork. The rent of pasture is a rent of the land that takes place within the settlement that characterizes the capitalist logic, therefore, it can expand the capitalist logic within the assent, as a result, the social function of the land can be compromised.

Another is the attempt to offer the purchase of the settlers' lots, a type of "strategic harassment", with the intention of buying the settlement's land over time. It is as if he threw a bait to the peasant and, if he accepts the sale of his property, the capitalist buys it, doing the same procedure for the other settlers. It is a perverse strategy that can generate land concentration again, which is the tragedy of the peasantry, a mechanism that was found in the settlement researched. The report of one of the settlers reinforces this reasoning.

[...] there are some farmers who have already offered me to buy my farm but I didn't want to, here in the region there are many farmers, and they want the land near the Santa Luzia River, because there is a lot of water, this for cattle to drink water, so if these lands are more valued, the more I will continue here until the end, I will not surrender, when the title to the land comes out, I will take out a loan from the bank to plant a good swidden, to buy some cows, and thus develop my life and that of my family (Interviewee 35, 2018).

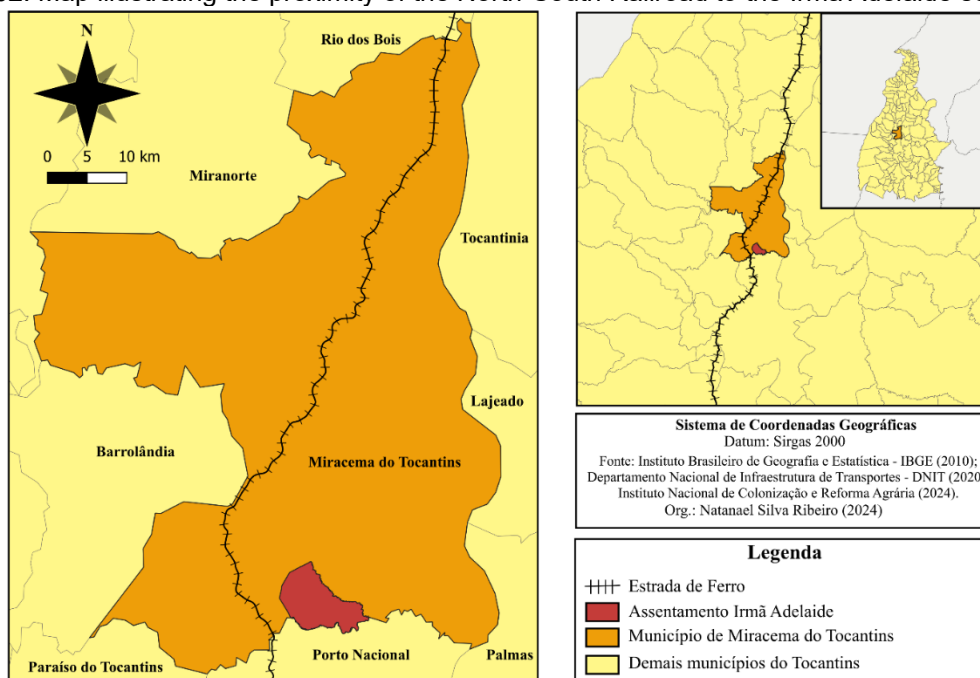
From the above statement, when the interviewee states that he will not surrender and will continue until the end on his farm, it is possible to infer that there are peasants who are not willing to become victims of agribusiness. This position of the peasant translates into his resistance in the face of the destructive perversity of agribusiness and agrarian capital. The resistance and defense of their culture, economy, ways of thinking and especially their land, is a continuous struggle of the peasantry, that is, the character of the continuous resistance struggle has two moments that are well defined in the life of the peasants – the struggle for land and the struggle for the land.

Silva (2005, p. 142) says that we can call it a movement of struggle on land, which denotes a phase after the struggle for land. The struggle for land is an earlier phase in which the peasantry mobilizes to acquire a piece of land. On the other hand, the "[...] struggle on the land is an expression used to mean that the peasant has already territorialized himself, guaranteed his right and access to the land of work, that is, to his productive family space [...]". It means the peasant reaction to the expropriation and perversity of the State, agribusiness and the latifundia, that is, it wants to continue to be a working peasant – to be free and autonomous.

Another reason for the practice of "strategic harassment" happens when the properties are valued due to the infrastructure implemented or by natural resources within the settlement, which is of interest to the capitalist. In the case of the Irma Adelaide Settlement, there are plenty of water resources to quench the thirst for cattle. The interest of agribusiness in expanding in the region of the settlement is real. The North-South Railroad

passes near the region, which is another attraction for agribusiness penetration in the region, in full expansion throughout Tocantins. And there is also a Multimodal patio in Luzimangues near the settlement that enhances the values of the land in the immediate surroundings. In Figure 02, we can see how much the North-South Railroad passes close to the settlement. In an interview with a leader of the MST in the region, he assured that the settlement could be compromised, even by speculative real estate capital, because it is close to the urban areas of Palmas and Luzimangues. These are factors that over time surround the settlement.

Figure 02. Map illustrating the proximity of the North-South Railroad to the Irmã Adelaide settlement.



In Figures 03 and 04 below, we can see that pastures increased considerably between the years 2000 and 2015. In 2000, pastures were circumscribed in the south of the settlement, and in 2015, pastures entered the entire settlement. This is a testimony that we affirmed in the previous paragraphs of the rental of pasture within the settlement. In Figure 03, we can see that in 2000, there was still no soybean cultivation in the vicinity of the settlement, however, in 2015, we can already observe the presence of soybean cultivation near the settlement in its western orientation. It is another fact that represents the process of fencing the settlement.

Figure 04, in the southeastern portion of the settlement, also shows the presence of water resources composed of the waters of the reservoir of the Lajeado Hydroelectric

Power Plant. This large volume of water sharpens the interests of agribusiness capital in the region of the settlement. Silva (2018) shares this thought, stating that water is a natural resource that triggers a dispute between agribusiness and peasants. For the author, conflicts over water arise, in which one class (the agrarian aristocracy) can pollute water or appropriate it, either for industrial use, or for irrigation and energy production, to the detriment of the needs of other classes (peasants and rural workers). Therefore, this process evidences the enclosure of the peasantry by the privatization of water. And if this happens, the process of territorial fencing of the settlement will be enhanced.

Figure 03

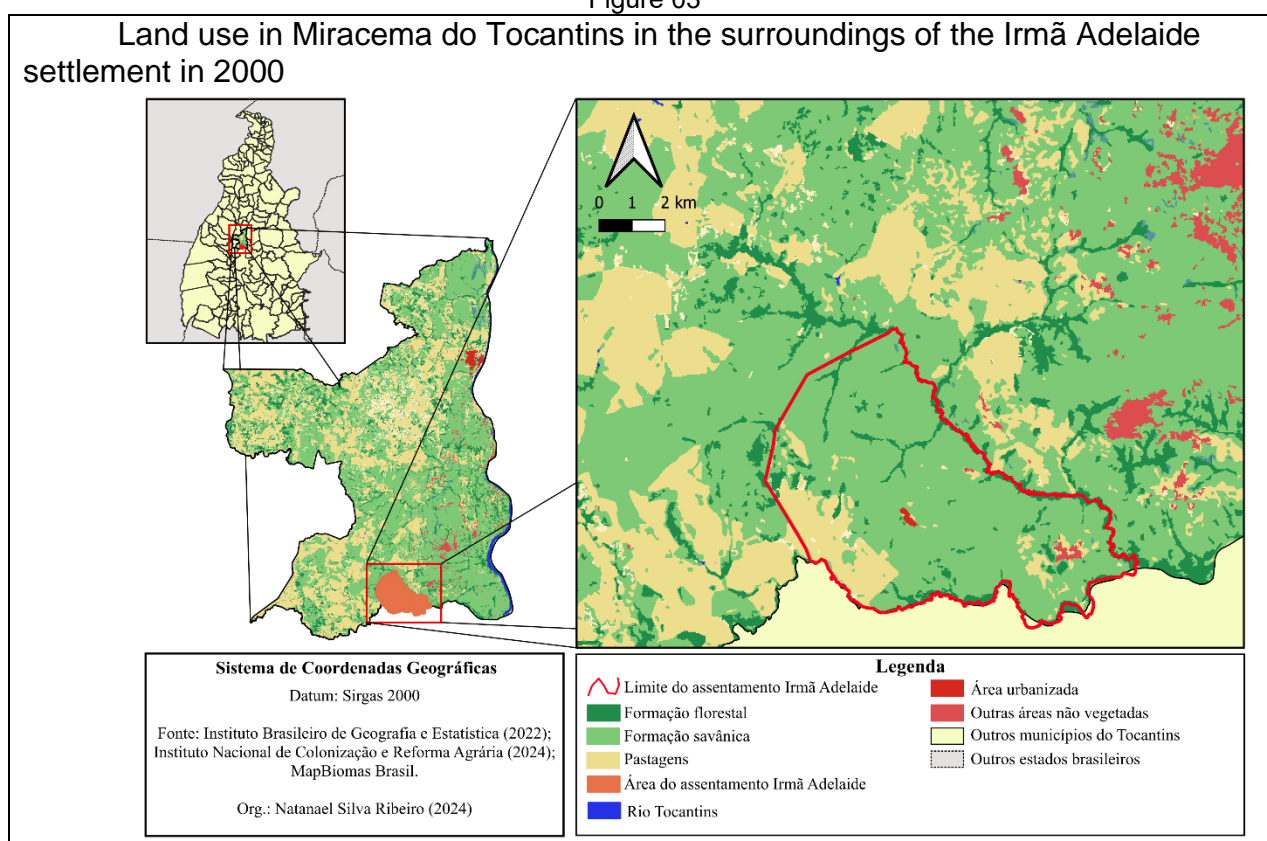
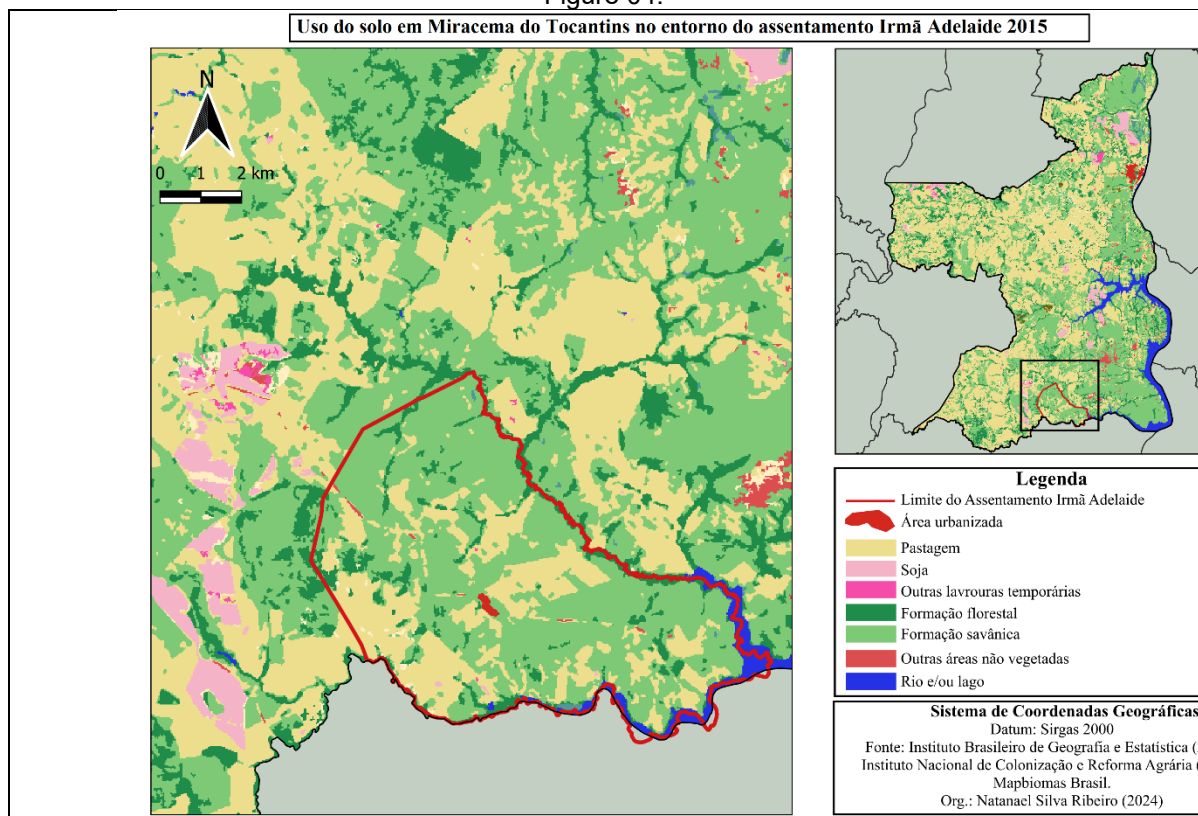


Figure 04.



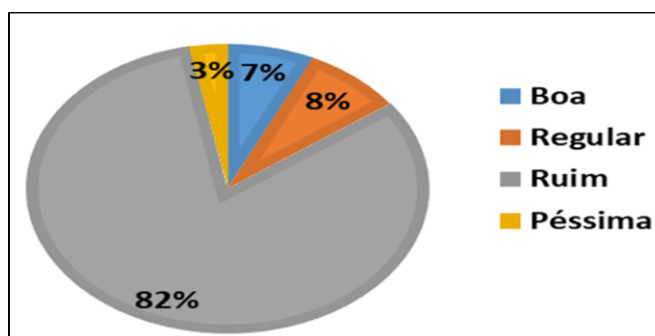
Silva (2018, p. 54) emphasizes the process of enclosure of agrarian settlements and peasant territories. For the author [...] "There is no perfect capitalist market which, guided by the principles of efficiency and effectiveness, guarantees the peasants the appropriation of their labour. On the contrary, its materialization promotes the enclosure of the conditions of peasant social reproduction." The proximity of soybean cultivation in the vicinity of the settlement represents one of the facets of the capitalist market that is expanding towards the settlements and, consequently, suffocating the peasant territories. This expansion of monoculture is a phenomenon of the large property that expands the enclosure of the peasantry, that is, with the expansion of the latifundia, the expansion of agribusiness is also expanded. Silva (2018) points out that the enclosure promoted by commodities causes the historical decline of agricultural crops cultivated by the peasantry.

In the face of these perversities and coercion, it is necessary for the peasantry to constantly assert its resistance through the struggle for the land and the struggle for the land, because of the volume of problems and difficulties of all kinds (social, political, economic) that the peasants encounter daily. This mobilization is what makes the social and economic continuity of agrarian settlements possible.

HEALTH, WATER, TRANSPORTATION AND HOUSING INFRASTRUCTURE CONDITIONS IN THE SETTLEMENT

The socioeconomic conditions in the agrarian settlement under analysis are precarious. A worrying issue in the settlement under analysis is the side roads to access the lots, built in the period of formation of the settlement in 1998. The maintenance of the roads, which is the responsibility of the city hall, does not happen in the desired way. This fact directly affects the life of the peasants, especially in the flow of production from the lots. For 82% of the peasants in the settlement, the conditions of use of the side roads are considered poor, contrasting with only 15% who consider the roads good or regular, as shown in Graph 01. If the government does not maintain the roads, the settlers need to mobilize to solve the logistics problems.

Graph 01. Perception of the settlers who gave their opinion on the conditions of the access roads to the Sister Adelaide Emergency Room



Source: Organized by the authors (2017).

The struggle of those who live in a settlement is not easy, because the daily battles are daily, that is, the confrontation of social and political issues is constant for the peasants. For example, the struggle for quality education, access to land and efficient medical care is part of the reality of peasants in Brazil, as demonstrated by Silva (2018) and Carvalho (2013). In view of this, the social subjects of the countryside, all the time, need to act in the conquest of these rights within the social and political process. Carvalho (2013) helps us in this reasoning, stating that:

Although the settlements are achievements of the State, often poorly planned and executed, they constitute a space of peasant existence and the settlers constitute, through their struggle and resistance, the subjects of the social and political process. These settlements are not only places dedicated to agricultural production; they are also the place of political debate, in which they discuss issues such as the conquest of land and the articulated continuity of struggles; they are a space for collective actions in which they

express themselves politically through the representation of class interest [...] (CARVALHO, 2013, p. 59).

This thought by Carvalho (2013) points out that in agrarian settlements, the struggle of social subjects is constant. It is not only an environment of shelter, of production for the existence of the peasantry, but it is, above all, a space of resistance and political struggle. The struggles range from access to land to the basic needs of human beings such as education, health, food and transportation. On the issue of health, for example, the settlers had to mobilize to have medical care. The provision of this service in the community is the responsibility of the municipality of Miracema do Tocantins-TO, which in 2010 made an agreement with the federal government for the construction of an Emergency Care Unit (UPA) in the settlement. In Figure 05, we can see the UPA of the settlement. In this UPA, consultations and outpatient care are carried out. The physical structure of the place has three medical offices, two administrative rooms and two bathrooms, with five servers working in the health unit, two in the administrative area, a nursing technician, and 2 general service assistants, in addition to the driver who is responsible for the UPA ambulance services.

Figure 05: View of the Basic Health Unit of the Irmã Adelaide Settlement.



Source: Organized by the authors (2017).

Another form of basic health care used in the settlement is the work of community health agents. This work consists of identifying possible diseases, informing and providing guidance on prevention and treatments, scheduling appointments and delivering medicines to the community. The work of community health agents in the settlement has provided good results. These community agents live in the settlement. Basic health care is an old demand of the settlers to meet the local demand. Despite having these health services, the

most important thing is missing, which are the doctors, one of the constant demands of the settlers.

As for the water supply infrastructure in the settlements, there must be a minimum availability of quality water to supply the settlement. The availability of water for use and consumption in the settlements happens through artesian wells, others use water from streams and streams in the case of the Amazon region, a significant portion uses the shallow well (manually opened wells up to 25 meters deep) and there are also those who use the well. In the settlement under analysis, an artesian well was created in 1998, along with an electric pump that does the pumping process for the houses of the community's Agrovila. However, there is dissatisfaction among the majority of the settlers, who claim that the water does not reach the houses farthest from the well, because the pump cannot properly distribute the amount of water needed to all the residents. The point is that INCRA, the agency responsible for implementing the water supply infrastructure, did not worry about buying equipment that would meet all the demand.

In an attempt to solve the problem, there is already a mobilization of the settlers to demand both from the federal government, as well as from the municipal and state powers, a solution for the water supply. There is a need to build a new artesian well, with the most appropriate equipment. Several letters have already been sent to the competent bodies, but we found that the settlers had no responses until the time of this survey, which took place in 2017. Therefore, the struggle of the settlers will continue, however, on the other hand, what is observed is that the demands of the agribusiness segment are met promptly. Figure 06 illustrates the community's water supply station.

Figure 06: Water Supply Station in the Irmã Adelaide Emergency Room



Source: Maia (2017).

In terms of housing, the current houses in the settlement are built of masonry, as shown in Figure 07. The houses were built exclusively in the Agrovila, where each of the 106 settled families built their homes according to the conditions of each one. According to the testimony of the settlers, the houses were built a little after the period of implementation of the settlement through a contract between a Ceramics company in the municipality of Miranorte-TO and INCRA. The settlers waited for 3 years to have their houses built in masonry. During this period of 3 years, the settlers lived in a straw shack, as assured by one settler in an interview: [...] "INCRA, changed us and put them in an Agrovila, then, made the straw shacks and we stayed 3 years, then, after the registration, the houses were built, by a company from Miranorte, and a contract was made to build the houses of the Agrovila", (Interviewee 25, 2018).

Figure 07. Houses built in the Agrovila of PA Irmã Adelaide.



Source: Maia (2017).

In the construction of the houses, the settlers could help in the construction, and those who could not enter with their labor, would pay a sum of money. The houses were built in 1998 and, at the time of the field research (in 2017), there has not yet been any type of renovation, including some that are already deteriorated. As most of the settlers do not have financial resources, they continue to live in a precarious environment. Complaints about housing is a frequent report among the interviewees. According to a settler in an interview, there is a promise made by the mayor of Miracema do Tocantins in 2016, to donate a housing check to carry out the renovation, but the fact is that there is still nothing concrete so far.

PERSPECTIVES FOR THE SETTLERS TO CONTINUE LIVING IN THE SETTLEMENT

In addition to these problems already described above, there are others, such as the lack of technical assistance to develop agricultural production and the absence of accessible bank credit lines. Of the 60 residents interviewed in this survey, only 08 have credit with the National Program for the Strengthening of Family Agriculture (PRONAF). The settlement has a Farmers' Association that, according to the interviewees, has the purpose of raising funds for the settlers. According to the president of the association, Mr. Edvan Pereira da Silva, the association has 106 members, of which 48 actively participate in the meetings. Regarding the association's performance in the claims for improvement of the settlement, one of the settlers said:

There are them who are not interested in solving anything, I've heard that they embezzle money from the association, that it was to fix things, then this hurts a lot, then the members end up not paying the association because they don't trust, they don't believe in anything, or in anyone. It's the way to participate in the meetings because I don't want to leave here, I myself brought a piece of land that I paid for out of my pocket, I took 250 reais to help, but no one values it, I was the first to arrive at this settlement, me plus Mr. Adão, Tainã and Izaque, and Borges, who was the broker who wanted to sell the farm, Today no one recognizes our struggle for everyone to have their piece of ground. (Interviewed 35, 2018.).

Another interviewee reported that:

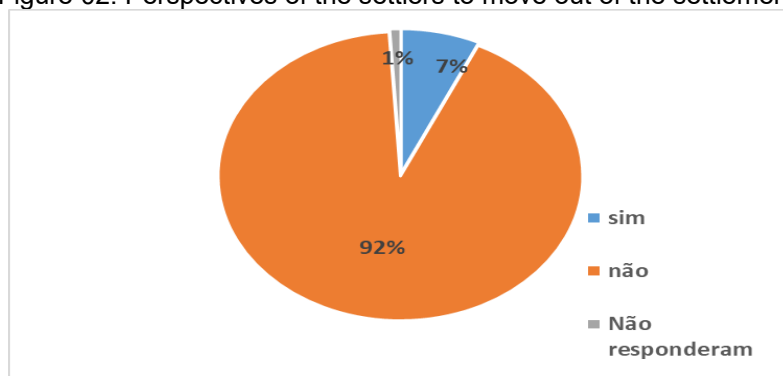
It needs to improve, the association in the beginning here developed work, then there was a big mess that it was divided into 3 associations, now with a lot of talking, we managed to bring it to a single association again, so the process now is to have an improvement in the association, because it needs, all things need a person to be representing, It has to improve yes. (Interviewee 40, 2018.).

In the first statement, interviewee 35 shows little optimism in the association, however, soon after, he contradicts himself when he states that the settler should participate in the association's meetings. The important thing is that the settler has the political awareness to participate in the associations that represent him. The second statement of interviewee 40, he comments on the non-political organization of the association that represents the settlers. It is a smart observation of the interviewee in stating that it is necessary to improve the association, because a big mess with 3 associations, and with a lot of dialogue they managed to return to a single one again. That is, it was an advance in the political mobilization of the settlers.

To politically strengthen an association and a community, it is necessary to have the union of all and the political articulation of the members to create and maintain the institution well representative and unified. The fragmentation of the association into 3 groups is tragic for the social continuity of the settlement, and this is another intelligent political observation of the interviewee when he states that they need to have an association to represent them. Despite the difficulties faced, a relevant factor noted in the settlement is that the settlers have social perspectives of improvements in infrastructure and the continuity of agricultural production for self-consumption. In the case of interviewee 35, he stated that (...) "I don't want to leave here, I myself brought a piece of land that I paid for", (...), which enhances his willingness to continue living in the settlement.

Another interviewee said the same, reporting that: "I have no desire to change, we are already 20 years old, the place I have lived the most in my entire life is here in the Sister Adelaide Settlement, I have a son who was born here, I have a grandson who was born here, and we have roots here, we hope that every day there are more improvements". (Interviewee 40, 2018). In general, the interviewees were almost unanimous in answering that they do not intend to move from the settlement. Among the 60 interviewees, 55 answered that they do not intend to move, which corresponds to a percentage of 92%, and only 4 intend to move from the settlement, corresponding to 7%, as shown in Graph 02.

Figure 02. Perspectives of the settlers to move out of the settlement.



Source: Organized by the authors (2017).

It is perceived that the majority of the settlers do not want to move from the settlement, which means that there are perspectives of social and economic continuity of the settlement, as a place of residence, work and reproduction as social subjects. It also shows that the majority of these peasants (92%) are politically aware of social class and of the difficulties in accessing land in the Brazilian context. Even when he is already settled,

he has to fight constantly for his permanence, if he goes to another place, he will certainly have to start all over again, that is, to struggle again. In fact, according to Barbosa (2019), evasion in Amazonian agrarian settlements is a reality already observed in several studies. The precariousness in the settlements is one of the reasons for this evasion.

But there are also those families who have spent a lot of time in urban spaces and the link with the land has been weakened, they are peasants who have little experience with agricultural activities and the peasant way of life. To serve these peasants who move, a new spatial arrangement is necessary, or a political and economic reorganization, which is generated through new public policies. This is what is proposed for the new modalities of agrarian settlement projects, with the purpose of agrarian reform.

According to the settlers, another way to give sustainability and social and economic continuity to the settlement would be to have the title of possession of the land as definitive. For them, it is the key to social and economic continuity and providing them with the desired improvements. In an interview, a settler exposes his thought:

I think the title is good because of the guarantee we have, because the agency that assists us here, which was supposed to be our protector, is INCRA, and many times when something happens that we need to complain to the agency, they say that we don't have land, and we have our titles in hand [...] (Interviewed 25, 2018.).

The settlers believe that with the title to the land, they would have more security to get, for example, financing and technical assistance in food production. However, the definitive title to the land can generate a very tragic problem, which is the possibility of speeding up the process of selling the lots to the farmers, who make generous offers and can buy several lots and form a new farm by extinguishing or drastically reducing the settlement. This scenario has great potential to happen and, if it happens, there is a great possibility that some settlers will sell their property and move to the city or to new frontiers. The public power creates settlements for workers to have where and how to produce for their existence, however, it is necessary to create public policies to support the settlers to continue existing as a social subject. Unfortunately, this is not what happens. Even in the face of these challenges, the settlers remain willing to live in the settlements and fight for their existence.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Empirically, it is possible to assess that the socioeconomic conditions of the Irmã Adelaide Settlement have the productive capacity for the settlers to continue to exist as social subjects of the peasant world. During the interviews, it was found that most of the settlers intend to continue living and working in the settlement, this statement signals that the social continuity of the settlement is enhanced. It is also necessary to defend this idea of social continuity of agrarian settlements and, above all, it is necessary that the scientific community, together with the political leaders of the social movements of peasant workers, mobilize politically, in defense of the social and economic continuity of the peasantry. Professors, researchers in the areas of human sciences from public universities and intellectuals must take up a pragmatic work in defense of peasant workers, which will result in yet another political force to bring together the social movements of the peasants.

We also verified, with regard to the social demands of the settlement, such as housing, water, health and transportation, the public power did not fully meet them. In order for their demands to be met, there was a mobilization and a political effort by the community as a form of pressure. However, on the side of capital, things happen as planned, that is, the social classes linked to agrarian capital ally themselves with industrial and financial capital, creating a fortunate social class, the "agribusiness bourgeoisie". This social class allies itself with the public power; creates agreements with public and private universities; it makes technical-scientific knowledge an instrument for the construction of surplus value, all with the support of the State. With the alliances between industrial, financial and agrarian capital and with the support of the State, the "agribusiness bourgeoisie" flows into a terrain of political and economic power that becomes a giant before the small peasant.

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