



## ***Emigration Movements of Rural Women in Itapejara d'Oeste/PR: facing relations of patriarchal power***

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### **Abstract**

This article analyzes the relations of power, of knowledge and of being that, since colonialism, have constituted hierarchies around gender classifications. Our culture labels as non-civilized and non-human those who do not fit the hegemonic model; this label is used to understand the role of women in rural contexts. In rural areas, modern women seek to break with established relations of power, seeking greater independence and access to public leadership. Given these questions, it is worth asking: what are the factors that empower rural women? It is observed that education and non-agricultural income alternatives make it possible to break their invisibility in rural establishments. For the construction of the analysis, the statistical data are presented from a sample of 95 cases of the rural population of Itapejara d'Oeste / PR. The initial survey was carried out in 2005 and later updated in 2010 and 2015. Econometric tools, based on the limited dependent variable model (LDVM) were used. The results indicated the occurrence of a greater emigration of women related to higher education, as well as a decrease of this emigration when women started to have greater access to non-agricultural income in rural areas. Both forms of access to public space have given rural women greater independence and probably helped to break out of their invisibility.

**Keywords:** Rural Women. Rural emigration. Education. Income. Decolonial Perspective.

## Movimentos de Emigração de Mulheres Rurais em Itapejara d'Oeste/PR: enfrentando relações de poder patriarcais

### Resumo

Este artigo analisa as relações de poder, saber e ser que, desde o colonialismo, constituíram hierarquias em torno das classificações de gênero. Nossa cultura rotula como não civilizada e não humana aquelas(es) que não se enquadram no modelo hegemônico, esse rótulo é usado para entender o papel da mulher no meio rural. Nas áreas rurais, as mulheres modernas buscam romper com as relações de poder estabelecidas, procuram maior independência e acesso à liderança pública. Diante dessas questões, vale a pena perguntar: quais são os fatores que empoderam as mulheres rurais? Observa-se que a escolaridade e as alternativas de renda não agrícola possibilitam quebrar sua invisibilidade nos estabelecimentos rurais. Para a construção da análise, são apresentados os dados estatísticos de uma amostra de 95 casos da população rural de Itapejara d'Oeste/PR, cujo levantamento inicial foi realizado em 2005 e posteriormente atualizado em 2010 e 2015, nesta análise, utilizou-se de ferramentas econométricas, com base no modelo de variável limitada dependente (MVLDD). Os resultados indicaram a ocorrência de uma maior emigração de mulheres relacionadas à maior escolaridade, bem como uma redução dessa emigração quando as mulheres passaram a ter maior acesso a rendimentos não agrícolas no meio rural. Ambas as formas de acesso ao espaço público deram às mulheres rurais maior independência e provavelmente ajudaram a sair de sua invisibilidade.

**Palavras-chave:** Mulheres Rurais. Emigração Rural. Escolaridade. Renda. Perspectiva Decolonial.

## Movimientos de Emigración de Mujeres Rurales en Itapejara d'Oeste/Pr: enfrentando relaciones de poder patriarcales

### Resumen

Este artículo analiza las relaciones de poder, saber y ser que, desde el colonialismo, han constituido jerarquías en torno a las clasificaciones de género. Nuestra cultura etiqueta como no civilizada y no humana a aquella(o)s que no se encuadran en el modelo hegemónico, esta etiqueta se utiliza para comprender el rol de las mujeres en el medio rural. En las zonas rurales, las mujeres modernas intentan romper las relaciones de poder establecidas, buscan más independencia y tener acceso al liderazgo público. Ante a estas cuestiones, cabe preguntarse: ¿Cuáles son los factores que empoderan a las mujeres? Se observa que la escolaridad y las alternativas de renta no agrícolas les permiten traspasar su invisibilidad en los establecimientos rurales. Para la construcción del análisis se presentan los datos estadísticos de una muestra de 95 casos de la población rural de Itapejara d'Oeste / PR, cuya investigación inicial fue realizada en 2005 y actualizada en 2010 y 2015, en este análisis, se utilizó herramientas econométricas basadas en el modelo de variable dependiente limitada (MVLDD). Los resultados indicaron la ocurrencia de una mayor emigración de mujeres relacionada a más alta escolaridad, así como una reducción en esta emigración cuando las mujeres comenzaron a tener más acceso a ingresos no agrícolas en el medio rural. Ambas formas de acceso al espacio público han dado a las mujeres rurales una mayor independencia y probablemente les han ayudado a salir de su invisibilidad.

**Palabras clave:** Mujeres Rurales. Emigración Rural. Escolaridad. Renta. Perspectiva Decolonial.

## 1 Introduction

The present society was constituted, while modern-world-system (WALLERSTEIN, 2001), from the 16th century onward, and has been shaped by

Eurocentered economic, political, cultural and social models. Racial, religious, gender and other classifications were established and they produced dichotomies among the subjects who were considered “civilized” and the disregard for those who were diminished to “savages”.

The characteristics of colonialism, for Ochy Curiel Pichardo (2014), are based on the relations of power, of knowledge and of being, which create hierarchies that are perpetuated through modern and colonial institutions, such as the State, the medicine, the science, the law, the industry, among others. Labels were applied to the “others”, who were classified as “irrationals” when contrasting with the “rationals” and, in this context, women were placed in the sphere of irrationality.

Even after the end of colonialism, the coloniality remained, dictating the rules and the relations of power. Coloniality is present in modern institutions and it is centered on the patriarchal power, which established the white, European, heterossexual, urban and wealthy man as the exponent of power. That colonial classification irradiates on the institutions and on the social representation until this day.

The populations which are labelled as uncivilized were gradually forced to adapt to the consolidated Eurocentered civilization model, sidelining their own knowledge. They were compelled to adapt to the system parameters, in accordance with the notion of social evolution, in which their modes of existence and their institutions should be adequate to that model.

The concepts of gender and sexuality were stipulated in the colonial society, marked by the patriarchal power (the paternal power). Adriana Piscitelli (2009) highlights that the patriarchy is responsible for determining women’s freedom in the most diverse social spaces.

According to Helena Hirata (2007), in modern society, women were assigned the private space and the invisible, unpaid and reproductive work. Schwendler (2009) approaches the invisibility of women in the public space, where their productions, when sold, are credited to men, as producers and traders, while to women is left the status of (re)producers. In their research, Hirata and Kergoat (2007) noticed a reconfiguration of the private and public spaces, starting from changes in the labor market with the higher insertion of women. The housework is still, almost exclusively, their responsibility though.

The coloniality of power operates in rural spaces as well. It is within that perspective that the following question is raised: what are the factors that empower the rural women? It is recognised that education and alternative incomes allow women to rupture with the invisibility in the rural context and to access the public space.

Therefore, the general objective of this article is to verify whether the access to higher levels of education and income enables the visibility of rural women and their mobility in the public space, reconfiguring the patriarchal relations. For that purpose, this study aims to: 1) describe the level of education and the composition of external incomes in those cases studied in Itapejara d’Oeste; 2) apply an econometric limited dependent variable model, enabling the identification of characteristics that contribute for the emigration process of women in the studied region; 3) understand whether the access to the public space, by rural women, allows them more financial independence and visibility.

The sexual division of labor is permeated by occupational hierarchic responsibilities, such as the attribution of household care to women, which is perceived as reproductive, unpaid and invisible work. From men, though, it is expected to provide the family through paid and productive work. This division marks the separation between the private and public space. This research is substantiated by the assessment of women farmers' movements with the aim to access the public space and to rupture with the invisible work, highlighting then their importance in the economic and social scenario.

The study goes beyond this introductory debate, so it was organized in four other sessions; the first one approaches the decolonial perspective around the hierarchies of power, of knowledge and of being, entering the discussion of sexual division of labor. After that, the methodological procedures are presented, which involve the database and the tools for analysis. The results are in the following topic, where the analysis was separated according to two different perspectives, the first one is a descriptive exposition of the data, while the second focuses on the econometric limited dependent variable model (LDVM). The concluding remarks are by the end of the result discussion.

## **2 Colonialism and Coloniality: hierarchies of power, of knowledge and of being**

The colonial/modern system imposed a set of dualisms: nature and society, rational and irrational, man and woman, center and periphery, developed and underdeveloped, human and non-human, Western and Eastern, etc. (LATOURET, 1994). These dichotomies created the basis for the hierarchization of people into "civilized" and "primitive".

As colonialism came to an end, through the independence of Nation-States, there was the continuity of the coloniality of power, of knowledge and of being. Regarding the coloniality of gender, it is perpetuated at "the intersection of gender/class/race as central constructs of the capitalist world system of power" (LUGONES, 2010, p. 746).

Silvia Federici (2004, p. 30) points out that, in the passage from the Middle Age to the Modern Age, women started to be persecuted in the great "witch-hunt". These violences were associated with changes on the access to the land, which was transformed from common good into private property. The women who were persecuted were mostly peasants who resisted the fences and fought for the land possession and the protection of their knowledge. Accessing the land became a barrier to women, as "they were further excluded from land possession, especially when single or widowed". That caused intense movements of emigration to the cities, besides poverty and submission in "low-paid jobs as maids, hucksters, retail traders (often fined for lack of a license), spinsters, members of lower guilds, and prostitutes".

The fences casted the peasant families out of the rural areas, meanwhile women (widowed, rejected, elder) became the resistance to the installed model of power (patriarchal power) and started to be persecuted. This model of power was rooted and left behind traces of privation of access to the land (inheritance, rural succession) for women until these days.

Piscitelli (2009) discusses the imposition of the modern institutions in the creation of docile bodies, prepared and domesticated for the labor centered on capital accumulation. The disciplinary power, which produces the docile bodies, was installed during the transition into the Modern Age, when mechanisms to produce the docile bodies for factory work were instituted, besides pathologizing the “soft” or lazy body and criminalizing vagrancy (FOUCAULT, 1997).

According to Michel Foucault (1997), women’s bodies were disqualified after evidence of pathologies related to fertility or to the moral and biological responsibility they were attributed through education. Body disciplining took over the entire sexuality mechanism, and it started to be regulated by law. In this transition to the modern world, Federici (2017) understands that the body control, which previously belonged to the woman, was handed to the State and other institutions.

The way society shapes the bodies reflects Butler’s (2016) concept of performativity, connected with an ontological and epistemological production, which is guided by a heteronormative notion in the Eurocentric modern society. Behaviors, clothing etc. denote the performativity with which the subject is socially constituted and how the bodies are shaped since birth.

Therefore, the social construction of gender, marked by the patriarchal power and by the state’s regulations, labels bodies and creates spaces to be occupied by each subject, detaching the public from private spaces and paid from unpaid labor. Piscitelli (2009) enhances how the modern society defined a pattern in the division of labor that attributed the public space and the paid work to men, while the private space and the unpaid work was attributed to women. Fabíola Rohden (2001) points out that the private space was reserved to women, more specifically regarding reproductive household work.

Numerous fights had to occur in order to enable women to access the public space and the productive work. Nonetheless, many women who ruptured with the logics of the sexual division of labor were addressed as barren and mad (ROHDEN, 2001). They were also accused of hysteria when they ruptured with what was considered normal, which means, when they did not follow the model of submission and dedication to reproductive labor (BUTLER, 2016).

The subjects who were considered abnormal had no right to be in the public space, which creates a stereotype of who could access that space (BUTLER, 2016). The access, mainly to work and to the symbolic roles, exposes the gender inequality between men and women.

## **2.1 The sexual division of labor**

Hirata (2007) outlines the dissemination of part-time, precarious or illegal employment when it comes to women. That is a sort of inequality that occurs even when they rupture the barrier dividing public and private spaces. The high-levels, stable and leadership positions are, in their majority, attributed to men, while the temporary and more precarious occupations employ women.

The flexibilization of work is sexed; the internal flexibilization, characterized by the polyvalence and integration of tasks (which is positive, in terms of career) is directed to men, though the external flexibilization (which is negative, in terms of

precarity and hours) is destined for women, raising the inequality of labor and employment conditions (HIRATA, 2007).

When women leave the private space, focused on the unpaid and reproductive labor, and enter the public space, where paid and productive work dominates, they are faced with the inequality of work positions and worse conditions if compared to men's work (PISCITELLI, 2009). Hirata (2007) emphasizes this division is marked by the principle of separation of duties between men and women, labeling attributions that are under the responsibility of women, exclusively, such as the household, which is quite common in rural spaces as well.

When it comes to the unequal appraisalment of men's and women's labor, the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics - IBGE (2018), through the Brazilian National Household Sample Survey (PNAD), selected eleven careers and compared the average salaries in it; the conclusion was that, in all those categories, women gave a lower income in comparison to men. In the average of the analyzed positions, women perceive only 79,4% of men's income in the same occupation. Regarding the occupations in agriculture activities, the difference is even higher: women perceive R\$ 882,00, which corresponds to 64,2% of the amount perceived by men, that is around R\$ 1.373,00.

The sexual division of labor is addressed by Florence Weber (2009) as well. Weber approaches the issue of leisure and work outside the residence, stressing the male discomfort to perform housework. The author ponders how the naturalization of housework as female occurs, since men, when not at the paid work space, would rather perform leisure or external activities, as the domestic space, for them, is reserved only for resting.

Relations of work that are unequal between men and women are imposed by the capitalist economy. To Marilyn Strathern (2006), the housework is placed outside the capitalist institutions (markets) and inside the private space, so it is not appreciated or compensated. Despite the domestic work being fundamental for the maintenance of life, it is not socially or economically acknowledged.

To Hirata and Kergoat (2007), the separation of productive work from reproductive work results in a greater additional value, socially and economically, to the man and that reaffirms the hierarchization and the segregation. The principle of division denotes the existence of male occupations and jobs which are destined for women. The hierarchical principle highlights the differentiation, in terms of value, where the male work presents higher value than the one performed by a woman.

The authors reinforce that a reconfiguration of roles has been occurring recently, with women taking on new job positions in the public and productive space and delegating the domestic work to other women who had less social opportunities. They also warn that the ancient structure persists and that the housework, even when delegated, is still assigned to women.

A great part of the work is performed gratuitously by women and "this work is invisible", executed, not for themselves, "but for others, and always in the name of nature, of love, and of maternal duty"<sup>1</sup> (HIRATA; KERGOAT, 2007, p. 597). Female work is considered less of a work, or it does not hold the same visibility as the male

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<sup>1</sup> Our translation.

labor (STRATHERN, 2006). The theoretical debate has forced the appreciation of female, domestic and reproductive work, even though some gaps still remain.

This scenario is present in rural areas and in the region under analysis as well: women, besides working alongside men in the field, are yet responsible, almost exclusively, for the domestic work, which is considered “not work”.

## 2.2 The division of labor in the rural space

Registers from the field research by Ternoski (2013) and Kempf, Ternoski and Caldas (2019), indicate that in the rural context, women take over a double working day, which perpetuates the unequal relations between men and women. When coming back together from the field activities to have lunch, for example, it is expected from women to prepare the meals and take care of the house; in the meantime, the men rest. By the end of their resting break, both return together to the field activities.

Piscitelli (2009) understands that the domestic work is labeled as unproductive, reproductive and, therefore, undervalued. In the rural context, the tasks women perform at the vegetable gardens, orchards etc. generate food for their own consumption, though that remains invisible in the accounting of labor and household income.

To Siliprandi (2013, p. 341 – 342), those

issues are connected to the gender attributions and to the models of masculinity and femininity which were socially built and are strongly present in the rural environment: the men, as economical providers, are urged to to prioritize the cash income, which gives them immediate social recognition, meanwhile women are more inclined to resign to living on less financial resources, as long as the family subsistence is assured in the long term, even if it is at the expense of exploring their work<sup>2</sup>.

Strathern (2006) mentions a typical tendency in rural spaces, regarding the common money (indivisible income) and the way tasks are assigned. The access to the public space, especially for negotiations and sales, is done by men, even when women have taken part in the productive process. In other words, besides performing invisible tasks and double working hours, the rural women, in general, do not commercialize their production, so the income is concentrated in the hands of the head of the household.

The author remarks that, in the activity of pig farming among the people from Hagen in the Western Highlands Province of Papua New Guinea, “whereas men are both producers and transactors, women are by and large only producers” (STRATHERN, 1988, p. 148). Therefore, the nurturing is divided to men and women, although the trading of the pigs is performed only by the men.

Strathern (2006) stresses that the rewards of their work are not destined for women, as they are considered to be part of their duty to feed their families.

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<sup>2</sup> Our translation.

Women are also restrained from the access to land property, which is usually acquired by means of marriage to someone who possesses lands, since women are not appointed to be successors of their families' production unit.

The prestige and the rewards of work, according to Zanini and Santos (2013), are acquired by the man, even when they were jointly produced; the role in the public space is given to the man, so the woman gets the social role of the domestic sphere and the care for the children.

Schwendler (2009, p. 213) observes this dynamic as well, and points out that "in most cases, it is not up to the woman to decide on how to produce, negotiate, commercialize the products or discuss agricultural credits. Those tasks are presented as masculine"<sup>3</sup>.

As Anita Brumer (2004, p. 210) argues, the work performed by women in the fields is considered "help". On the "sexual division of labor in agriculture [...] women (and [...] children and teenagers) occupy a subordinated position and their work generally seems like 'help'<sup>4</sup>." The author also underlines that the penosity, the time and the activities performed by women are the same or even higher than those performed by men.

The rural women find barriers to have access to the public space, to paid labor and even to the land. The access to the land represents an obstacle for them, considering that the model of succession is patriarchal and grants priority to male children. Paulilo (2009, p. 179) restates that the land has the husbands or male siblings as destination, since women used to take their dowry, commonly a sewing machine or house utensils. In many cases, the agricultural areas go to the men, due to the invisibility of the female labor and the hierarchization of what is considered productive or unproductive work.

As Paulilo (2009) observed in her research, the woman has always been known as a farm worker by marriage and the male son has preference in the land possession. Women are always considered the farmer's daughters or wives and even when they do obtain the land, the husband is responsible for it. When they get a stretch of land, it usually is less valuable than the part assigned to the male children; frequently, the woman sells the land to a brother for a much lower price than what is established by the market.

Oxfam Brasil (2016, p. 10) assessed the existence of inequalities of handholding, as well as of gender, and reveals that "the men are the ones to control most part of rural establishments and are in charge of the larger lands: they hold 87,32% of all rural establishments, which represents 94,5% of all the Brazilian rural areas"<sup>5</sup>.

In a similar thought, Zanini and Santos (2013, p. 91), in their study, ensure that the inheritance is usually left to the male younger child, while financial incentive and subsidy for land purchase are given to the other male children, allowing the continuity of the family model. Women, on the other hand, do not inherit lands, only their dowry or the bride's trousseau. These practices persist, but they were redesigned, since the dowry given nowadays "might be an investment for them to

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<sup>3</sup> Our translation.

<sup>4</sup> Our translation.

<sup>5</sup> Our translation.



graduate or the purchase of a land, legally attributed to them so that the men in the family remain in charge of it”<sup>6</sup>. The female non-legacy is still a rule.

This way of labelling women, depriving them from the access to the land, has been rooted since the persecutions occurred due to the policy of fencing of common lands that happened in England in the 17th and 18th centuries. Federici’s (2017) narrative highlights that the persecution and the witch hunt, which was essentially focused on peasant women, happened because they possessed the land and the knowledge associated with it. That form of treatment has been rooted to the hegemonic model of land ownership ever since, and it prevails in the unequal distribution of inheritance and in the family succession till this day.

Besides that, the uneven condition of women contributes to the masculinization and ageing of the rural population. The predominantly-female migratory parcel causes a higher percentage of male population in the countryside, since young people “have been leaving the rural area and, among those, the participation of women is preponderant”<sup>7</sup> (CAMARANO; ABRAMOVAY, 1999, p. 2).

Some changes regarding the recognition of peasant women have occurred since the 1980s, when they organized social movements across the country, which culminated in securing rights with the Federal Constitution of 1988 (PAULILO, 2009; SILIPRANDI, 2013). The strengthening of reivindications and the involvement in social movements, including those to fight for their land, besides the participation in labor unions, has made it possible to rupture with some aspects of the subordination of rural women.

Paulilo (2009) indicates that, despite the successes of social movements and the transformations achieved with the Federal Constitution of 1988, it does not necessarily imply that the expansion of women’s rights represents significant changes in the relations between men and women. Kempf e Wedig (2019) noticed that the inequalities in the countryside are visible through women’s double or triple working hours, when they seek external income while still in charge of a series of tasks in the context of the household and of the Production Unit.

The agricultural and non-agricultural external incomes provide financial security for the families, making it viable to have incomes from several different sources, both from agricultural work in neighboring establishments, as well as from non-agricultural labor in rural spaces or urban centers (SCHNEIDER, 2007; SCHNEIDER, 2010; PERONDI; SCHNEIDER, 2012; and FULLER, 1990).

Women’s access to these external incomes allow them to have more independence, but it might also ensure a better visualization of their work when it comes to the family unit. The access to those incomes becomes a mechanism through which they might rupture with the work that is only reproductive, giving access to the productive work as well or even enabling them to leave the private space and enter the public space.

In addition, the decrease of rural population may occur. Data from the IBGE (2020a) indicate that the rural population totalled 63,84% of Brazil’s entire population in 1950, which became 15,64% in 2010. Regarding the population percentage according to sex in the rural context, it is noticeable that, according to

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<sup>6</sup> Our translation.

<sup>7</sup> Our translation.

the IBGE (2020b), considering the data obtained from the 2010 Census, the percentage of women is 47,38%, against 52,62% of men; that scenario is reversed in the urban area, where women total 51,71% against 48,29% of men.

### 3 Methodological Stages

#### 3.1 Database and the characteristics of the place of study

The research is built on grounds of a theoretical reflection and a quantitative analysis; the data are part of a sample of 95 rural establishments in the town of Itapejara d'Oeste/PR, which were collected in the years of 2005, 2010 and 2015 in a panel research project coordinated by Professor Miguel Angelo Perondi, at the Federal University of Technology - Paraná (UTFPR), in partnership with the Institute for Rural Development of Paraná IAPAR-EMATER (IDR Paraná).

The data collection instrument (questionnaire) is presented by Perondi (2007); the choice of location took into account secondary data about the Southwest of Paraná, such as population and density, rural proportion, agrarian structure, rural establishments and the presence of family farming. Itapejara d'Oeste was the closest to the average of indicators of population, demographic density and per capita income, both in the microregion of Pato Branco and in the Southwest mesoregion of Paraná. In addition, the local Municipality offered their support by providing a registration of family farmers.

The sample range sought to achieve a representativeness of 95% of the family farmers population in that town; it contemplated the information provided by the Municipal Administration, such as farmers' names and land areas. Considering the 968 family farmers of which there was information, whose land distribution presented standard deviation of 16,09%, and taking into account an error margin of 3%, it was estimated that the sample would be of 99 rural establishments, though the number was rounded up to 100 establishments (10,3% of the population in 2005).

The sampling was systematized by communities, considering the percentage of establishments in each one of the 15 locations in town, compared to the total number of establishments. This procedure made it possible to have 10% of rural establishments in each community interviewed. As the database is based on a 5-year panel survey, the same establishments interviewed in 2005 had their registration updated in 2010 and 2015.

Currently, the database follows 95 rural establishments, since 5 families no longer live in the rural area. Nonetheless, the data collection about migrations occurred in the 2015 update only, therefore they constitute cross section data that considered the period of time from June 7 to September 8, 2015. This study assesses the answers about female emigration only.

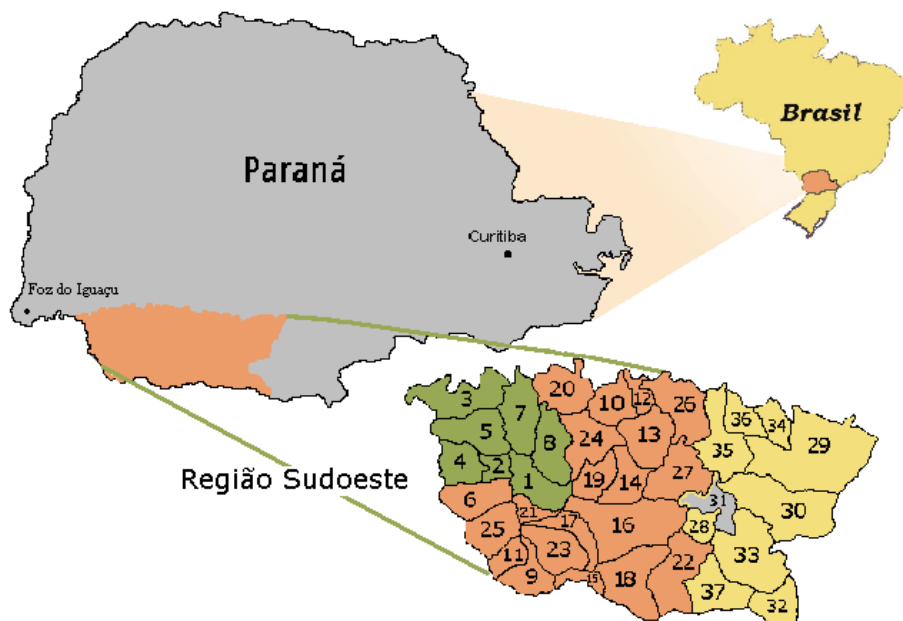
The data from the 2006 Agricultural Census attest the relevance of family farms in the South Region of Brazil, which represents 89% of all rural establishments; in Itapejara d'Oeste, though, the percentage of family farms is 94%. In terms of land area, in Itapejara d'Oeste as much as in the South Region of Brazil

as a whole, it is possible to notice a higher number family establishments with up to 10 hectares of area, which corresponds to 43% in the South Region and 48% in Itapejara d'Oeste (IBGE, 2006).

Regarding the production system, the IBGE (2006) identified a diversification, not only in Itapejara d'Oeste, but in the Southern Region as a whole. The production gross value is essentially explained in a group of grains (soybean, corn, beans and wheat) – which correspond to 32 and 37% in the Southern region and in Itapejara d'Oeste, respectively – followed by milk production and small and medium animals farming (poultry and pigs) – 14 and 23% in the Southern region and in Itapejara d'Oeste, respectively. The location of the town under analysis is represented in Picture 01.

The population of Itapejara d'Oeste is currently estimated at 11.831 inhabitants, according to the IBGE (2019). The Institute of Economic and Social Development - IparDES (2019) indicates that the rural population corresponds to 33,65% of the total population, of which 52,43% are men and 47,57% are women.

Picture 01 – Southwest Mesoregion of Paraná and the location of Itapejara d'Oeste



Note: The microregions forming the Southwest mesoregion of Paraná are: Capanema (towns in numbers 1 to 8); Francisco Beltrão (9 to 27); and Pato Branco (28 to 37). The town of Itapejara d'Oeste is located in the microregion of Pato Branco; it is represented by number 31. Source: IBGE (2001).

There are currently 709 rural establishments in town, which occupy an area of 21.204 hectares (IPARDES, 2019). This data is relevant in the sense of placing the representativeness in the sample analyzed in this context, since 95 establishments are investigated (13,4% of the total) and they concentrate an area of 2.696,77 hectares of land (12,72% of the total area of establishments in town).

### 3.2 Methods for data analysis

The analysis of data on migration is made using two different tools: the first one is the descriptive statistics to evaluate information about emigration as well as immigration; the second tool is the inferential analysis that aims to evaluate the answers related to female emigration only, considering the cross-section data collected from June to September 2015. Therefore, the response variable ( $D_{Emigr_{Female}}$ ), described in equation 01, identify the answers/reasons which lead to female emigrations, registered in 40 cases.

The survey of data on migration, despite being held from June to September 2015, enabled the identification of migration occurring during the past time (years) the person answering it could recall. The following data about migration were identified: people who emigrated; age at the moment of departure; sex; level of education at the moment of departure and now; marital status; year of departure; destination; current residency. In cases of immigration (new or return), it was possible to identify: people who immigrated; the year it occurred; reasons to return.

The econometric inferences consider a Limited Dependent Variable Model (LDVM), or qualitative models, or latent variables, where the “dependent variable whose range of values is substantively restricted”, capturing qualitative traces in terms of “yes” or “no” answers. “A binary variable takes on only two values, zero and one” (WOOLDRIDGE, 2012, p. 583).

The sample is formed by censored data, decurring from the emigration register. Out of the total of 61 establishments where emigration was registered, 40 of them had female emigration. For the purpose of this analysis, the Tobit model was used as corner solution response, which allows to compare conditions or chances of the event occurring, which means, when the “variable is zero for a nontrivial fraction of the population but is roughly continuously distributed over positive values” (WOOLDRIDGE, 2012, p. 596). See model in equation 01.

$$\begin{aligned}
 D_{Emigr_{Female}} = & \alpha + \beta_1 X_{Age_{fem}} + \beta_2 X_{Esc_{fem}} + \beta_3 X_{Age_{Res}} + \beta_4 X_{Esc_{Res}} + \\
 & \beta_5 UTHf + \beta_6 SAU + \beta_7 Ragf_{female} + \beta_8 Rna_{female} + \beta_9 X_{Esc_{migr}} + \\
 & \beta_{10} X_{Age_{migr}} + \beta_{11} Rout + \beta_{12} Ragf + \beta_{13} Rna + \beta_{14} O_{Kptdispo} + \\
 & \beta_{15} O_{Ra_{seg}} + \beta_{16} O_{Rtrs} + \mu
 \end{aligned} \tag{01}$$

In which:

$D_{Emigr_{Female}}$  = Variable in which 1 (one) for cases of female emigration and 0 (zero) to cases of no occurrence;  $\alpha$  = constant related to emigration that is not explained by the variables of the model;  $\beta_1; \beta_2 \dots \beta_k$  = Parameter that expresses the chance (probability) of emigration occurring;  $X_{Age_{fem}}$  = Interaction variable between the condition of the female gender and age, it registers the average age only of the women who left;  $X_{Esc_{fem}}$  = Interaction variable between the condition of the female gender and the education level, it registers the average schooling in years of the women who left;  $X_{Age_{Res}}$  = Age average of the current residents in the establishments;  $X_{Esc_{Res}}$  = Average years of education of the current residents;  $UTHf$  =

Current sum of the Man-Work Unit of the establishment, being 1 (one) for 300 days/year per family resident;  $SAU$  = Utilised Agricultural Land in hectares;  $Ragf_{female}$  = Income from agricultural work external to the production unit, attained only from women's work;  $Rna_{female}$  = Non-agricultural income attained only through women work;  $X_{Age_{migr}}$  = Age average of people who left the establishments (men and women);  $X_{Esc_{migr}}$  = Average education level of the people who left, both men and women;  $Rout$  = Income from other sources;  $Ragf$  = Income from agricultural work outside the production unit;  $Rna$  = Non-agricultural income;  $O_{Kptdispo}$  = Ordinal variable according to 5 categories (0 to 4) of total available capital, resulting from the sum of the capital in machines, equipments and improvements;  $O_{Ra_{seg}}$  = Ordinal variable according to 5 categories (0 to 4) of agricultural income (farmer remuneration), with insurance;  $O_{Rtrs}$  = Ordinal variable according to 4 categories (0 to 3) of social income transfers;  $\mu$  = residual.

The model is restricted due to the sample being censored, considering the fact that not all establishments registered emigration (departure of women in 40 of the cases and from men and women in 61 of the 95 of the cases), besides the fundamental premise of non-acceptance of the normalcy of residual distribution (ordinal variables were used to minimize dispersion). The results, mainly from variables with a high variation coefficient, must be analyzed with caution.

#### 4 The Resident Population and the Female Migration in Rural Spaces

When dealing with specific data from the samples, an initial analysis seeks to reflect on the total population contingent of inhabitants in the group, beyond the immigration and emigration data, since it also encompasses birth rates and deaths. Concerning the variation in the number of people among the residents, it is possible to notice a significant decrease in populational contingent between 2005 and 2010, in which the population decreased from 407 residents to 356 (-12,53%). However, in the following period there was a small increase in this population contingent and the population went from 356 to 373 residents (4,78%). Despite this positive variation, the total population contingent decreased 8,35% (34 people), from 2005 to 2015.

The most significant variations in this number of residents are also noticed in terms of gender. It is observed that between 2005 and 2010 the number of female residents went from 186 to 166 (-9,14%) whereas male residents decreased from 221 to 190 (-7,69%). In the subsequent period (2010-2015), there was an increase in the populational contingent of residents of both sexes, in which the number of women went from 166 to 169 (1,81%) and men went from 190 to 204 (7,37%).

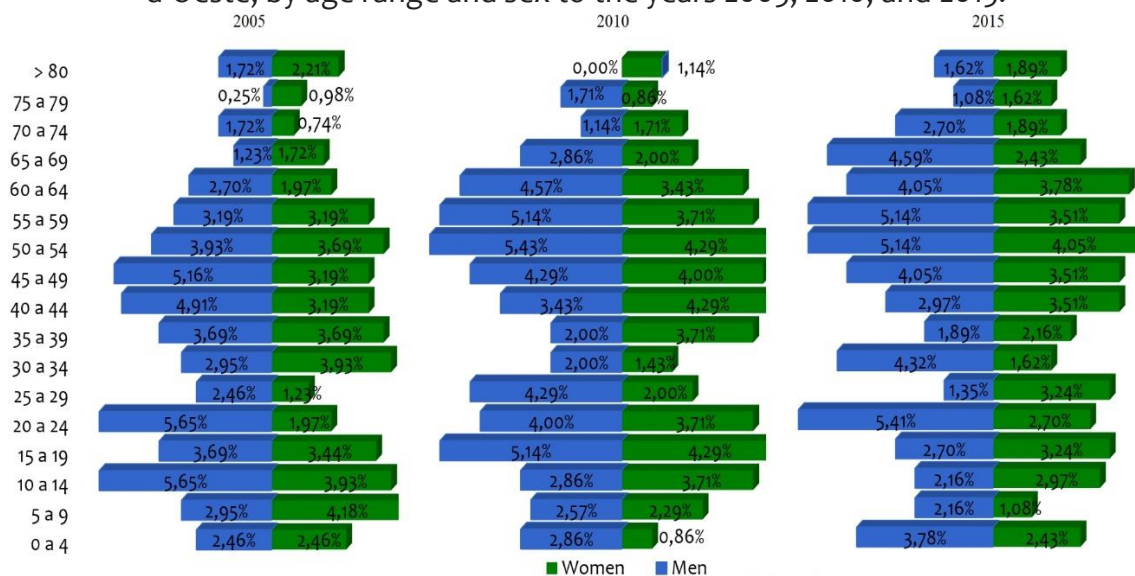
In this period (2005 to 2015) the number of both women and men residents decreased in 17 cases: -9,14% and -7,69%, respectively. Nevertheless, the men percentage in 2015 corresponds to 54,69% of the total population, a percentage that is in accordance with Camarano and Abramovay (1999) research which reinforces masculinization in the rural area. The data concerning the total of residents in the 95

establishments investigated are detailed in Picture 02 by age range and gender, regarding the three time-periods.

The populational aspects of the contingent of people point to the aging of the group of residents, a notion that is in accordance with Camarano and Abramovay (1999) research. To the age range above 60 years old (elderlies), the population increased from 15,23% to 19,43% between 2005 and 2010 and reached 25,67% in 2015. This aging is felt in the decrease of the populational contingent through the lower rate in natality as well as in the decline in productive activities through the lower incomes from agricultural, non-agricultural and other sources of work. On the other hand, it causes the income of social transfers, like social security.

In the age range from 0 to 14 years old, the decrease is substantial over the series, corresponding 21,62% in 2005, 15,14% in 2010 and reached 14,59% in 2015, which can represent a lower populational contingent in the categories over the following years. This fact can be assessed in the analysis of the age range from 15 to 29 years old, precisely the age range with the highest percentage of the populational contingent that emigrated from the establishments, which will be further explained later on.

Picture 02 – Total population of residents in the 95 establishments in Itapejara d'Oeste, by age range and sex to the years 2005, 2010, and 2015.



Source: Survey Data

The emigration in the age range from 15 to 29 years old (age by the time of emigration), see data from Chart 01, indicates that from the total of emigration cases within this age range (62 cases), 54,84% correspond to women and 45,16% to men. Although this age range presents a higher emigration rate, its populational contingent, as shown in Picture 02, did not decrease significantly, the result of a higher number of children in 2005 that reached ages between 15 to 29 years old in the following years and minimized the impacts of emigration. However, according to the total contingent of residents, the scenario shows a considerable population decrease of children in the 2015 research which might reflect a considerable decrease of the populational contingent of young people in these spaces in the coming years.

The youth present in the age range of 15 to 29 years old, as seen in Picture 02, corresponding to 6,63% of women and 11,79% of men in 2005. In 2010, the percentage of women increased to 10%, and the percentage of men to 13,43%, as a result of the higher contingent of children in 2005. In 2015, though, there is a decrease in the number of women (9,19%) as well as men (9,46%), as the result of two factors: number of emigration and a lower contingent of children up to 14 years old in 2010.

Regarding an age range more stable (30 to 59 years old), considering that (in theory) they have already set life goals, it was observed, as shown in Chart 01, the occurrence of 16,67% of the total emigrations, in which 7,29% are women and 9,73% are men, a percentage that incite new researches that may also enlighten about what motivates men in this age range to emigrate. The resident population within this age bracket in 2005, according to Picture 02, was 44,72% of the total population of residents, going to 43,71% in 2010 and ending in 41,89%.

The data suggest a tendency towards the increase of aging for the next years, allied to the reduction of the total contingent, the product of two factors: the decreasing of natality rate and the rural exodus of young people. The emigration numbers indicate the departure of 96 people between 1979 and 2015; the higher incidence in the age range was from 15 to 29 years old, in which 35,42% are women, with an average age of 20,03 years (age at the time of the departure), and 29,17% of men, with an average age at the time of departure of 20,32 years old.

Chart 01 – Cases/Percentage of Emigration and Immigration in the sample of farmers of Itapejara d'Oeste in the 2015 survey

Migratory Movement in Itapejara d'Oeste by age range and sex				
Age Range	Cases/Percentage of Emigration		Cases/Percentage of Immigration	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
0 to 4	2 (4,44%)	3 (5,88%)	-	-
5 to 9	2 (4,44%)	1 (1,96%)	1 (8,33%)	-
10 to 14	4 (8,89%)	4 (7,84%)	-	-
15 to 19	<b>14 (31,11%)</b>	<b>21 (41,18%)</b>	-	-
20 to 24	10 (22,22%)	6 (11,77%)	4 (33,34%)	-
25 to 29	4 (8,89%)	7 (13,73%)	-	3 (42,85%)
30 to 34	3 (6,67%)	1 (1,96%)	3 (25%)	1 (14,29%)
35 to 39	3 (6,67%)	2 (3,92%)	1 (8,33%)	-
40 to 59	3 (6,67%)	4 (7,84%)	2 (16,67%)	2 (28,57%)
Above 60	-	2 (3,92%)	1 (8,33%)	1 (14,29%)
<b>Total of Cases</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>7</b>

Source: Survey Data

The emigrations were registered in 61 of the 95 sampled establishments (64,21%), where the higher incidence of emigration is detected among women (53,12% of the total of emigration cases) in contrast to 46,87% of men. When the emigration is analyzed based on establishments that registered departures (61 cases), it is observed that in 65,57% of the cases there was the departure of a

woman and, in 60,65% of a man (the percentage sum exceeds 100% because a few establishments registered the departure of both). It is concluded, descriptively, that the frequency of women emigrating is higher in the sampled establishments.

Studying another movement (immigration), it is possible to observe the return of a few members that had emigrated in previous years. It is noted that the immigrants totaled 19 cases, the higher number (63,16%) being formed by men; the higher percentage was within the age range of 20-24 years old. Among women, the higher percentage of cases are within the ages 25-29 years old.

The collected data concerning the emigrations reflect the profile of these men and women, and they are in accordance with theoretical perceptions. Paulilo (2009) and Zanini and Santos (2013), for instance, discuss about the member who will take over the family lands, combined with the direction of the investments on schooling as a way of compensating the men and women who will not take over the lands, a fact that raises the necessity to investigate the education of these emigrants, their motivations and destination. See Chart 02.

Chart 02 – Main Motivations and Education of Emigration Registers among the Sampled Cases in Itapejara d'Oeste in 2015

Emigrant's Education Level and Motivation					
Reason for Emigrating	Cases/Percentage		Emigrants Education	Cases/Percentage	
	Men	Women		Men	Women
Omitted	7 (15,56%)	6 (11,77%)	Omitted/Illiterate	8 (17,78%)	9 (17,65%)
Work	28 (62,23%)	18 (35,29%)	Incomplete Basic Education	4 (8,89%)	6 (11,76%)
Study	4 (8,89%)	17 (33,33%)	Complete Basic Education	6 (13,33%)	6 (11,76%)
Marriage	2 (4,44%)	2 (3,92%)	Incomplete High School	4 (8,89%)	7 (13,73%)
Accompany	2 (4,44%)	5 (9,81%)	Complete High School	20 (44,44%)	18 (35,3%)
Other	2 (4,44%)	3 (5,88%)	Incomplete Higher Education	3 (6,67%)	5 (9,8%)
<b>Total Cases</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>Total Cases</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>51</b>

Source: Survey Data

Among the residents, the average education level went from 5,52 years in 2005 to 6,42 in 2010, and then back to 6,27 years in 2015 (6,05 was the average education level of the residents in the whole period). Part of the decline in average education is related to the senior population growth, which results in a decrease in the schooling level. The other part is explained through the departure (emigration) of people who studied for longer, seeing as, among the emigrants, the average is 8,03 years of studying. Therefore, the bigger portion of the population that leaves the rural areas has a higher education than the ones who stay since 51,04% of these emigrants have already started High School (39,58% completed High School), and 8,33% are already in college.

Education in terms of gender indicates that the average years of study among women when emigrating was 7,96 years, considering 58,82% of them had at least started High School at the time of emigration. Among men, though, it is observed that, at the time of the departure, the education level was 8,11 years and 60% had already started High School when leaving the property.

An emigration with multiple motivations, as indicated in Chart 02, was perceived with men seeking work (62,23% of the cases), and women leaving in order to seek work (35,29%) and study (33,33%). These different pursuits are reflected in



the current education level of these emigrants, taking into account that, between the moment of departure and the moment of data collection (2015) the average education level of men who left is 8,38% year old (an increase of 3,33%). Among women (to whom one of the main motivations for departure was studying), this average went from 7,96 years to 8,8 years (an increase of 10,55%).

Besides the data shown in Chart 02, it was noted through the research that the main destination for emigrant men were cities in the region (28,89% of the cases) and the town itself (24,44%). Among women, the main destinations are cities outside the State (27,45%) and the town center (25,49%).

A significant part of this percentage of emigrants (47,92% of the cases), left the establishments between 2010 and 2015. The data reveal a resemblance with the theory regarding who receives the investments in education, mainly as a way of compensating the ones who are not successors. It occurs since emigration has a strong relation, at least in the descriptive data, with the highest level of education and the pursuit of a job by the non-successors of the land. On the other hand, some emigrations were registered, a few being the return of these emigrants, as shown in Chart 01. To understand what motivated it, see Chart 03.

Chart 03 – Main Motivations among the cases of Immigration Records in the Itapejara d’Oeste sample of 2015

Immigration motivations based on gender		
Reason for Immigrating	Cases/Percentage	
	Men	Women
Not informed	3 (25%)	1 (14,29%)
Unemployment	1 (8,33%)	-
Insufficient Salary	1 (8,33%)	-
Pursue other activities in the region	1 (8,33%)	-
Distance from Family	1 (8,33%)	2 (28,57%)
Being a farmer	2 (16,67%)	-
Other	3 (25%)	4 (57,14%)

Source: Survey Data

Among the 61 establishments that registered the migration process, in 26,22% (16 cases) the return of a member occurred. The cases of return or new residents that immigrate indicates a higher percentage of men, seeing as 63,16% (19 cases) of the total are from the male group, and 54,55% of the immigration cases happened between 2014 and 2015. Among women, the immigrant percentage is lower (36,84%) and the highest percentage (42,86%) happened between 2012 and 2013.

Another aspect depicted by the theories of Paulilo (2009), Strathern (2006), Zanini & Santos (2013) is about the possession and property of the lands. Women were deprived of possessing lands, taking over only by means of marriage or, in some cases, with payment through dowry or investing in education, as analyzed previously.

The research questionnaires did not allow the obtention of data regarding the land property that appears on the official document, but it enabled the verification of the declared head of the family, an important point to theory since

the discussions affirm that women are deprived of having access to the land, for the son is the one who has the preference in the inheritance.

Paulilo (2009) emphasizes that even when the woman receives the land, the husband is the one who ends up managing it. This is reflected in the data of the studied groups, establishing that in 2005, from the total of cases (95 establishments) only 4% had women as the declared head of household or people in charge. In other cases, they identify themselves as spouses, daughters, etc. In 2010, only 3,15% declared themselves as head of the family even though 5,26% of the questionnaires were answered by women. In 2015, 7,36% were answered by women, and 6,31% declared themselves as the head of the family. It is an inferior scenario if compared nationally, in which 12,68% of the establishments are controlled by women and 5,5% of the rural area is represented by them (OXFAM BRASIL, 2016).

On another line of analysis, it is important to look at the occupations of the establishment residents to find motivations and/or characteristics that explain the emigration, considering that many members (mainly women) aim to integrate the public space, especially in works that can guarantee independent income and greater visibility. Women's aspirations revolve around active participation and gaining more visibility within their occupations, which can be one of the responsible aspects, aside from not having access to the land, for their higher emigration frequency from rural to urban.

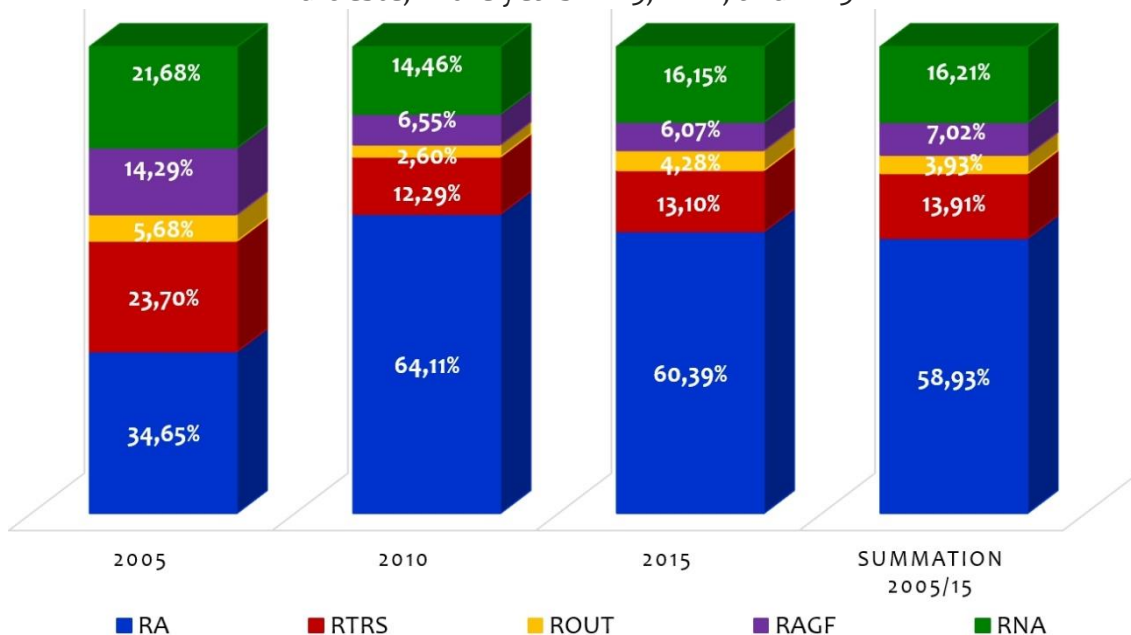
It is not possible to distinguish and measure in the data the participation of women in the structure of agricultural income; however, it is possible to notice their contribution to the generation of external income at the establishments. Those incomes are of agricultural as well as non-agricultural origin, obtained from external sources.

A bigger amount of external income, achieved by women, amplifies access to public spaces, gaining visibility to their work, which might reduce female emigration since one of the reasons for their departure from the countryside is to participate in productive work and to have access to public spaces. The data shows that, between 2005-2015, 7,02% of the total income comes from farm work outside the establishment and 16,21% from non-agricultural work. See Picture 03.

Excluding the 2005 scenario, when a severe drought happened in the region and as a consequence the agricultural was only 34,65% of the total income, inflating the participation of other incomes, it is possible to notice that, between 2010 and 2015, there was an increase on non-agricultural incomes (RNA) that represented 14,46% of the total income in 2010 and 16,15% in 2015. Allied to this fact, the contribution of agriculture in the total income (between 2010 and 2015) went from 64% to 60%, precisely during the period with higher immigration registers (73,68% of the cases of immigration in the whole period), while a bigger part of agricultural income in the total amount is noticeable.

Other means of external income comes from the agricultural work outside the establishments (RAGF); in 2015, R\$598.260,00 were generated, of which only R\$4.350,00 (0,73%) were through women's work. This fact depicts the persistence on breaking paradigms of sexual division of labor in rural spaces. Piscitelli (2009) points to a process of naturalizing the discourse by means of family, law, State and Economy, which naturalize the social roles, attributing one a certain role and determining the social position and, therefore, one's professional future.

Picture 03 – Total income structure of the 95 sampled establishments in Itapejara d’Oeste, in the years 2005, 2010, and 2015



Note: Ra: Agricultural Income; RTRS: Retirement Incomes, Pension and Transferences; ROUT: Income from other sources; RAGF: Other work incomes; RNA: Income from non-agricultural activities  
Source: Survey Data

This construct of sexual division of labor excludes women from certain activities; agricultural work outside the establishments are an example of that (only 0,73% of the income comes from women). However, when the income originates from an external, non-agricultural source, like the activities in the community school, health center or even at the urban center, the participation of women broadens considerably. From the total income generated in 2015, 38,9% came from women.

The external income can explain the emigration to urban centers, since one of the reasons for women leaving may be related to the pursuit of financial independence. The results from the Tobit model are shown in Chart 04, concerning the individual variable significance and its effect when noticing the emigration movement (decrease or increase of outward movements).

Chart 04 demonstrates the variables’ behavior explaining the emigration from rural to urban based on the chances of it happening. They are analyzed separately (*coeteris paribus*), but it is important to highlight that emigration is also the result of a combination of factors that form a scenario inside the establishments. The variables that did not reach a 5% margin of error were: age and education level of the residents; man-work unit; utilised agricultural land; average education level of men and women who migrated; other sources of income; non-agricultural income from the establishment; and agricultural income.

The non-significance of these variables, as it is the case of some incomes, can be related to the absence of values in many occasions and to the number of cases of the sample. Even if they are not of significance, the sign that was found is in accordance with what is expected of the answer regarding, for example, the utilised

agricultural land indicating that, if the amount of land is higher the chance of emigrating is lower or even the sign found in agricultural income that indicates a decrease in emigration, but both are statistically insignificant. To these variables, a research encompassing more cases is suggested.

As to the significant variables, it is concluded that age and education of women increase the chance of female emigration when compared to men. Concerning age, as women get older, there is an increase of 3,15% in the chances of emigration. However, it is important to emphasize that this effect is more visible in age range from 12 to 28 years old, which comprise 74,51% of emigration cases; 7,84% of the cases are below this rate and 17,65% are above. Women within this age range (12-28 years old) have 3,15% more probability to leave the rural establishment if compared to men from the same age group.

Chart 04 – The influence of explanatory variables on the emigration in rural establishments in Itapejara d'Oeste in 2005, 2010, and 2015

Probability and effects on emigration			
Variable	$D_{Emigr_{Female}}$	p-value	Effects on emigration
$\alpha$	-0,2677	0,46903	-
$X_{Age_{fem}}$	3,149363	0,00000	Increase
$X_{Esc_{fem}}$	10,70131	0,00000	Increase
$X_{Age_{Res}}$	-0,77514	0,20679	Decrease
$X_{Esc_{Res}}$	1,786801	0,47454	Increase
$UTH_f$	-1,98808	0,75726	Decrease
$SAU$	-0,35809	0,12626	Decrease
$Ragf_{female}$	-0,23694	0,00000	Decrease
$Rna_{female}$	-0,00093	0,06564	Decrease
$X_{Esc_{migr}}$	-0,7359	0,70252	Decrease
$X_{Age_{migr}}$	-1,8962	0,00113	Decrease
$Rout$	-0,00055	0,46977	Decrease
$Ragf$	-0,00069	0,00463	Decrease
$Rna$	0,000277	0,31623	Increase
$O_{Kptdispo}$	16,82415	0,00562	Increase
$O_{Raseg}$	-6,7891	0,29454	Decrease
$O_{Rtrs}$	19,3012	0,01700	Increase

Source: Tobit model data

This scenario is reversed when all the ages from both emigrants and residents are taken into account. In this case, the more the population grows old the less chances are of female emigration (even though this parameter shows no sign of significance). When only the emigrating group is taken into account (men and women), the result is a significant 1%, indicating that as they grow older, there is a decrease of 1,89% in the possibility of emigration, contrary to the tendency perceived in the group of women between 12-28 years old in which there is an increase of 3,15% of chance the female emigration will happen, when compared to men.

The age group that represents young people is important for professional consolidation and it also influences the State policies in the strengthening of family-based agriculture. Maneschy (2013), for instance, in an analysis about migration and life-cycles, perceives a strong emigration around the age of 16 with the purpose of seeking a formal job (both sexes). This fact was reaffirmed by Neves (2013, p. 416), pointing out the expectation of 15 to 24 years old in having access to “distinct agricultural activities, through the access to other work/job/professional education.”<sup>8</sup>

The expectation from the young generation for reassurance to become a farmer or to seek other occupations finds limitations, according to Sartre *et al* (2013), when it concerns women, to whom the expectations are more limited in terms of having a future in agriculture, taking into consideration the difficulties to access the lands and the social invisibility that restricts the access to paid work and public spaces. These restrictions concerning their expectations reaffirm the emigration movements of women in pursuit of recognition, especially the young farmer.

Based on the theoretical analysis and the data, it was concluded that the outward movements (emigration) happen between the ages of 12 and 28 years old, a moment of social and economical assurance. Rural women do not see themselves as recognized individuals in a social environment and in their jobs, so they end up emigrating to urban spaces.

Concerning education, women with a higher level of education have 10,7% more chances of leaving the rural establishments if compared to men with the same education (significance of 1%). The influence of education is reaffirmed in the theory that addresses professional recognition, seeing as a higher level of education creates professional opportunities to them. Besides, the education of women may represent a compensation (as a dowry) for not inheriting the lands. (ZANINI&SANTOS, 2013).

The results to the variable *education* points out that women find in education the chance to leave the rural area and pursue their professional reaffirmation, the acknowledgment of their work and access to productive work. The women eventually emigrate when they receive education but not access to the land, and thus have low perspectives in the rural context. This emigration is strongly connected to education, considering that in 58,82% of the cases they had at least already started High School.

The analysed variables and the emigration of women are a clamor against centuries of a society defined by the coloniality of power and for the repositioning of their bodies in the social environment. Rural women define their position against the structure of power, of knowledge and of being that revolved around their outward movement to seek access to the public space and their recognition regarding productive work. They aim to confront the patriarchal chains, the submission and the invisibility. Having an external income to keep living in the rural area is also an alternative for them to gain a higher financial autonomy and circulation in public spaces.

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<sup>8</sup> Our translation

The studies about other incomes in the public space allow us to understand its effect on the decrease of female emigration. Some cases registered agricultural work outside the rural establishment performed by women, reducing 0,24% the chances of the emigration happening when compared to the rural establishment in which this income comes from men. Considering the non-agricultural income with results of 10% of significance, the rural establishments where women access this kind of income show a lower number of emigration if compared to the ones where the men are the ones to access it.

The effect of other external incomes (agricultural and non-agricultural), despite the methodological restrictions, suggest similar results to the ones found in theoretical research, indicating a way for women to take part in public spaces, therefore reducing the pressure of leaving the rural space permanently. On the other hand, income from social transfers stimulates more emigrations, and may indicate an already defined succession. It was observed that in each variation of the retirement age, considering the ordinal variable from 0 to 3 in accordance with the income category, generate an increase of 19,3% of chance of female emigration.

Finally, the ordinal variable from 0 to 4 of the total available capital is responsible for the increase in emigration, and this increase has 16,82% more chance of being of women. This information creates a hypothesis to other studies that relate the women exclusion of the generational succession of wealthy families through the raise in education investments that create opportunities outside rural spaces, as the approaches studied by Menasche & Escher (1996).

## 5 Final Considerations

Centuries of a social structure that established rules of power, of knowledge and of being, and positioned bodies inside a social environment, also limited horizons of opportunities to those bearing physical marks that differ from the ideal being. Bodies marked by gender, race, religiosity, sexuality and other nuances had their space ruled by colonialism and, later on, by coloniality. Marks shaped by coloniality remain in society to this day and are replicated and noticeable even in rural spaces.

The patriarchal society, centered in the State and in the economic power of modern capitalism, reinforces the naturalization of inequality, one of them being the gender inequality that creates the invisibility and the submission of women in rural spaces. It builds a sexual division of labor that favors men and determines the access to the income and paid work to them and the reproductive work, invisible in terms of economy, managing the house and taking care of their children are for the women. Thus, the access by women to public spaces and work outside the production unity allows them to earn money, providing a partial rupture from the sexual division of labor.

This tendency that is taking space within the rural context encourages women to go after their access to public spaces and income from paid work, outside the production unit, causing the female emigration movements. In conclusion, the pursuit for higher education contributes to female emigration movements but, above all, helps the achievement of access to public spaces, an

establishment of their position against the power structure and the pursuit for their recognition and rupture from their invisibility.

The external incomes also enable, in some cases, the decline of emigration; even though, they also seem to be an attempt from women to increase their autonomy facing the patriarchal structure. These incomes allow more visibility and recognition of their work, questioning the relations of power that rule the organization of rural spaces.

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