



Outlining family farming social space in rural Tocantins State

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Abstract

The aim of the present article is to identify and objectify smallholder farming families' specific livelihood types and related *habitus* in order to outline their social space. Family farming social space in Wanderlândia municipality, Tocantins State, was assessed. Data collection was carried out through questionnaires applied to 41 families. The study's conceptual basis lies on the sense of livelihood types, as well as of social space and *habitus*. Data were analyzed through Multiple Correspondence Analysis. According to the results, there are three livelihood types and related *habitus*: a traditional rural one; a type influenced by the urban world, by schooling and formal relationships with the State; and a type influenced by the urban, commercial, financial worlds, and by relationships with the State.

Keywords: Family Farming. Tocantins State. Livelihood. *Habitus*.

Delineamento do espaço social da agricultura familiar no meio rural tocantinense

Resumo

O objetivo deste artigo é identificar e objetivar os meios de vida específicos de famílias de agricultores familiares e os *habitus* correlatos, com a proposta de delinear o seu espaço social. Foi pesquisado o espaço social da agricultura familiar de um município tocantinense: Wanderlândia. O levantamento de dados se deu a partir de questionários com 41 famílias. A base conceitual é a noção de meios de vida e as noções de espaço social e *habitus*. Os dados foram analisados via Análise de Correspondências Múltiplas. Os resultados apontaram para a existência típica de três meios de vida e *habitus* correlatos: um rural mais tradicional; um mais flexionado pelo mundo urbano, escolar e pelas relações formais com o estado; e um mais flexionado pelo mundo urbano, comercial, financeiro e pelas relações com o estado.

Palavras-chave: Agricultura familiar. Tocantins. Meios de vida. *Habitus*.

Delineación del espacio social de la agricultura familiar en el medio rural tocantinense

Resumen

El objetivo de este artículo es identificar y objetivar los medios de vida específicos de familias de agricultores familiares y los *habitus* relacionados, con la propuesta de perfilar tu espacio social. Se investigó el espacio social de la agricultura familiar de un municipio tocantinense: Wanderlândia. La recopilación de datos se dio a partir de cuestionarios con 41 familias. La base conceptual es la noción de medios de vida y las nociones de espacio social y *habitus*. Los datos fueron analizados vía Análisis de Correspondencias Múltiples. Los resultados apuntaron para la existencia típica de tres medios de vida y *habitus* correlatos: un rural más

tradicional; uno más flexionado por el mundo urbano, escolar y por las relaciones formales con el estado; y uno más flexionado por el mundo urbano, comercial, financiero y por las relaciones con el estado.

Palabras clave: Agricultura familiar. Tocantins. Medios de vida. Habitus.

1 Introduction

The aim of the present article is outline livelihood types observed in Tocantins State's rural environment by focusing on common features and habitus in family farming rural social space. Accordingly, practices of families living in Wanderlândia municipality, Central-Northern Tocantins State, were used in the study. The idea was not to generalize these families' livelihood types in order to avoid assuming their repetition in all cities in Tocantins' hinterlands or in other states in the country. However, the goal was to show how these families socially organize, structure and reproduce themselves, based on a research aimed at investigating an outlined and dated space to represent other aspects that, in their turn, highlight more general and shared structures.

Rural space is herein understood as place of constant transformations (Wanderley, 2009). In his research on the livelihood types of São Paulo country folk, Candido (2003) showed how contact between the rural and urban cultures led to changes in rural populations' livelihood types from 1948 to 1954. Accordingly, other studies have focused on this perspective, namely: understanding social processes in rural areas, mainly those dedicated to assess the rural multiple-activity profile (Pereira, Souza and Schneider, 2010; Perondi, 2007; Schneider, 2003; Ploeg, 2006; Villwock and Perondi, 2016; Tonezer, Corona and Cerrati, 2022; Petarly and Pedroso Neto, 2021; Petarly, 2021). Based on these findings, rural areas are not static agricultural places far from urban usual practices and social relationships. Access to public policies, technical assistance and financial credit policies have boosted families' activities and enabled them to take advantage of a whole set of typical urban area devices, such as frequent visits to banks and financial institutions, to public offices, to local companies that prove technical assistance services and design financing services, and to institutional markets' public hearing assemblies held at the headquarters of entities implementing the National School Feeding Program (PNAE) and the Food Acquisition Program (PAA), among others.

Family farming social space in Tocantins State is not a frequent object of study among researchers assessing rural areas, mainly those seeking to understand rural areas as places of living rather than just as places of market production. Studies of this kind in Tocantins State target agrarian reform settlements, *quilombola* and indigenous communities, and populations resettled due to hydroelectric power plant projects (Parente, 2011; Parente and Guerrero, 2012; Parente, 2015; Cecchin, 2016; Cecchin and Parente, 2018). Whenever they aim at analyzing family farming, they do so from the perspective of its ventures or of its political and social organization (Carvalho and Pedroso Neto, 2016; Ribeiro and Finco, 2015; Segura, Rodrigues and Castrillon, 2016; Petarly, 2021). Thus, the present article followed provisions on law n. 11306, from 2006, about criteria for farmers' inclusion in family farming policies and

for eligibility for PRONAF¹ (DAP), namely: farmers who own rural properties matching up to 04 fiscal modules, who mostly depend on family labor; whose property management is on the hands of the family nucleus and whose economic activity mostly comes from their rural property.

It is possible including family farmers, land concession policy settlers, foresters, artisanal fishermen, aquaculture farmers and extractive properties in these criteria. Accordingly, the goal is to fill out the gap observed in family farming social space in a municipality located in Central-Northern Tocantins State. The study's object of analysis lies on families that had access to public productive inclusion policies, mainly to the National School Feeding Program (PNAE) and the Food Acquisition Program (PAA). Research questions to be answered are: are there different livelihood types specific to family farming in Wanderlândia? Are there related *habitus* in this social space?

Chambers and Conway (1992) were herein adopted as theoretical references. They created the concept of livelihood types as feature enabling individuals to keep and/or reproduce their social and daily practices. Thus, in order to understand these livelihood types, empirical data were applied to investigate productive and educational features, as well as to assess professional production activity qualification in order to share tasks and documental sexual division within families (this variable was identified after questionnaire application), and to achieve family members' participation throughout all research stages (this variable was identified through observation).

The question raised in the current research can help developing specific public policies aimed at this population. Furthermore, it can clarify social features observed in social spaces experienced by productive inclusion policy beneficiaries.

2 Theoretical reference: concept of social space and *habitus*

Bourdieu is the starting point of the present research. According to him, it is necessary understanding 'social reality' as relational element. However, assumingly, it is only possible understanding human behaviors or social practices by assessing relationships between social agents within a field that determines and is determined by the group's *habitus*, which is the very foundations of these relationships (Bourdieu, 2008).

The global social space is defined by Bourdieu (2001, p. 164) as "structure overlapping social positions, i.e., it is defined as positions in distribution structures set for different capital types". Overall, "two differentiation principles" are the social space structures determining agents' allocation within this space in contemporary societies, namely: economic and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 2008, p. 19). The "active properties" (or lack of them) owned by these agents are what locate them and, yet, one property is always located in relation to the other (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 134).

This finding implies that spatial distances between agents also reflect on the social distances they experience. This structure can also be seen as interaction and intersection spaces among different fields, which turn the social space into a field of forces. Thus, agents interact with each other and exert power relationship with one another. In order to achieve such a task, they use different means and ends determined by their own position within this field. It is important highlighting that

¹ National Program to Strengthen Family Farming

these classifications or positions are not intentionally set by the agents themselves. These properties act as external forces imposed over the agents through their social relationships, besides shaping their actions in a pre-reflexive manner (Bourdieu, 1989; 2008).

This sort of fight for power helps keeping or changing the field where agents are inserted in. This process happens because social positions reproduce the *habitus* and guide agents' decision-making process. Assumingly, the *habitus* is the generating principle tending to gather social groups based on their specific positions in this field (Bourdieu, 1989). The unique social paths these individuals experience over life only tend to unify rather than homogenize individual *habitus* within a field (Bourdieu, 2013). Each individual influenced by his or her unique path to embody the *habitus* or new behaviors in the field singularly internalizes and expresses these elements. These social paths are featured as a series of chronologically ordered and mutually independent determinations (Bourdieu, 2013) that both structure, and are structured by, previous experiences shaping the individual, based on its selection criteria (Bourdieu, 1989; 2008; 2013).

In order to understand the concept of *habitus*, it is necessary recalling that, according to Bourdieu (2008), structure is a social space where relationships between relationally set individuals. Individuals' position within this space is determined by relational differences existing and subsisting between them. This statement highlights that historical processes and objective conditions experienced by individuals (in comparison to other individuals) determine their social position in this structure. Thus, the dialectics among historical processes, classificatory mechanisms, social representation, other elements of individuals' subjectivity and the objective conditions of spaces experienced by these individuals lead to *habitus* (Bourdieu, 2008). In the words of this author, "the structures constituting a particular type of environment and that can be empirically apprehended in the form of regularities associated with a socially structured environment produce *habitus*" (Bourdieu, 2002, p. 163).

It is essential understanding that *habitus* materializes itself as determining agent of classificatory schemes influencing agents' worldviews and the moral divisions of their subjectivity. These schemes ensure that different groups have identity signs distinguishing them from other groups. Yet, because they are relational, they end up coming into conflict and positioning themselves as if in a field of forces (Bourdieu, 2008). In short, it is likely understanding social space as place where relationships allow each agent to be located in based on their proximity to other agents — based on the pertinent properties they own. According to Bourdieu (1989, p. 136) "knowing [one's] position in this space means having information about agents' intrinsic (condition) and relational (position) properties".

Changing positions in this space is a process always taking into account aspects related to work, time and, most of all, to established social relationships that can reinforce their position or change it. Furthermore, "the position of a given agent in the social space can [...] be defined by its position in different fields, i.e., in the distribution of power acting in each one of them" (Bourdieu, 1989, p. 134). It is important emphasizing that grouping agents in the social space is an action that should not ignore essential economic and cultural similarities forming their *habitus*. However, it is possible adopting other principles to differentiate agents besides these

two ones, among them one finds ethnic, generational and gender principles (Bourdieu, 1989).

Based on such a logic, it is possible picturing *habitus* as the very result of a set of existence conditions. It is a structured fixture that anticipates the practices, creates a representation structure and whose composition is collectively set (Bourdieu, 2013). In other words, its functioning produces practices determined by the anticipation of their consequences; therefore, it reproduces structures that are their very product (Bourdieu, 2002). Accordingly, *habitus* comprises a set of cognitive and bodily dispositions that derive and are the outcome of “a deposit where the most precious values are preserved in” (Bourdieu, 2013, p. 112). This deposit becomes a kind of reminder for learnt behaviors, of controllable procedures unreflectively established by social agents (Bourdieu, 2013).

This set of dispositions is structured to ensure the continuity of a bodily and cognitive behavior; thus, it becomes a device aimed at maintaining different social orders to “reposition the body to an adequate global posture in order to call in feelings and thoughts associated with it, within one of those inducing states of the body [...] that trigger the states of the soul” (Bourdieu, 2013, p. 113). Therefore, the bodily behavior is a permanent disposition guiding the speeches, the way of walking, of behaving under certain circumstances, how to feel, and even what and how to think.

Habitus is the element explaining why individuals have a certain attitude, chosen to take a certain action and to anticipate certain consequences. It is through these elements that they reproduce the structures they are inserted in and that they are the very product of. The *habitus* represents a set of perceptions, values and practices that reflect the behavior of the social-group’s individuals adopted to participate and interact in the social structure (Bourdieu, 2002; 2008). Among other factors, this behavior avoids individual decisions only taking into consideration individual gains, but also past and collective experiences.

The individual does not recognize social practices as “embodied story” allowing social practices to acquire certain autonomy in comparison to the external determinations of experienced moments (Bourdieu, 2013, p. 93). Unconsciously, this practical sense of acting influences each person’s individuality and enables the individual to get to know how to behave without the need for instructions or corrections (Bourdieu, 2001). The greatest influence from a given behavior is that embodied by the individual, but that is not identified as influence, after all (Bourdieu, 2002).

The action taken by an individual tends to be repeated when it is experienced within the same context, and it explains the perpetuation of certain practices, values and attitudes, over time. The repeated actions are not deterministic, but rather the maintenance of the *habitus*. As the *habitus* is set by the group - it is built through social relationships within a social space where power relationships are organized -, individual actions are changed by socially imposed pressures and limits aimed at guaranteeing *habitus* maintenance (Bourdieu, 2013).

When it comes to structures embodied by agents, Bourdieu (2002) explains that, children learn a series of practices by imitating adults’ behavior since childhood. This embodiment is taught by adults who also teach the ‘right’ behavior for children to be accepted by society. Pedagogical work is the tool to make a body get used to

be a structured body. This body structuring turns its sexual “marks” into elements explaining the sexual division of labor perpetuated by traditional societies. Yet, children can embody sexual division of labor structures by living with their parents. Generational conflict is another example of it; in addition to being a conflict between people of different ages, it is mostly the reflex of incompatibility among the *habitus* set by features of different times, circumstances and classification systems (Bourdieu, 2002).

The concept proposed by Chambers and Conway (1992) to define rural livelihood types was adopted to help better understanding how the *habitus* defines, and is defined by, these livelihood types. According to them, they are the path people and communities take to get their resources, to manage their activities and to interact with the environment in order to ensure their livelihood and well-being. Thus, it regards income generation, rather than just social, cultural and environmental aspects of their daily lives. Accordingly, livelihood types can be seen in strategies adopted by people to meet their basic needs, such as food, shelter, health and education, by taking into account the available resources and local conditions. It is a holistic approach aimed at pinpointing practices’ complexity and community decisions regarding their subsistence and development. In short, these authors define livelihood types as skills developed by individuals, as assets owned by these same individuals, and as activities required and developed by them to keep their way of life.

Skills developed by individuals refer to abilities, knowledge and resources individuals acquire throughout life that, altogether, allow them to perform certain activities, face challenges and achieve their goals, such as technical and social skills, knowledge acquired through formal or informal education, cognitive and physical abilities (Chambers and Conway, 1992). Assets owned by individuals refer to tangible and intangible resources individuals have and use to improve their livelihood, to generate income and to ensure their livelihood, including physical, financial, human, social and natural assets (Chambers and Conway, 1992).

Activities required and developed by individuals in order keep their way of life aim at ensuring their survival and that of their families, among others. They change depending on socioeconomic, demographic, environmental and cultural features. Among them, one finds productive activities; healthcare and maintenance; pets and family’s hygiene and nutrition, and their necessary natural resources; learning and training in their productive activities; and community-participation activities (Chambers and Conway, 1992).

In conceptual terms, Chambers and Conway (1992) stated that practices must present the following features to be seen as sustainable way of life: being sustainable in the long term; ensuring agents’ continuity of resources and well-being; activity diversification enabling the practice’s resilience and its adaptive capacity; respecting and valuing local traditions and knowledge.

An essential aspect in describing the livelihood types of the way family farmers in Wanderlândia organize their family to carry out economic activities related to agricultural production is an essential aspect to describe these livelihood types. It is essential identifying these family features capable of consolidating their livelihood types in order to understand their family *habitus*.

3 Methodological procedures

The methodological procedures were substantiated by two data collection strategies in combination to the theoretical references, namely: observation and questionnaire² application. Observation allowed collecting information that extrapolated interviewees' reports or perceptions, besides allowing the researcher to make "what is familiar, strange, and what is strange, familiar" (Beaud and Weber, 2007, p. 99). According to Triviños (2009), observing means highlighting a group of elements inserted in a social phenomenon based on previously set criteria and features. Observations carried out over the current research were recorded in a field journal and analyzed based on the theoretical framework.

Thus, observation followed a script, which was systematized and followed specific items to allow finding the answers to the raised questions. Notes in the field journals described family behaviors and were naturally reflective given the observation process conduction (Triviños, 2009). Observation aimed at identifying disclosed gender relationships during questionnaire application. It was possible observing who answered the questions, where women and men had sat, and who approached the researcher during questionnaire application.

The questionnaire comprised open and closed questions, and it was used to collect data featuring families based on general profiles (Triviños, 2009). Setting these features is important to find the morphology of the assessed group and to locate the families in the social space they are inserted in. A survey involving all interviewees who accessed the programs through Wanderlândia City Hall (one project in 2013 and the other one, in 2015) and RURALTINS³ (2015 to 2018) was conducted at this research stage. Several criteria were adopted to select the participants at this stage, namely: having delivered some products for at least one year, owning a rural property in the assessed municipality, living in the assessed municipality, having only one registration per family production unit⁴. In total, 41 families filled out the questionnaire.

The questionnaire was applied to map the families' features. Economic information (type of developed agriculture, rural property size and ownership), social information (family members' schooling, and rural property and residence locations) and production information (produced items, access to health inspection certificates, Pronaf Eligibility Declaration and sharing tasks).

² This article uses part of data from a doctoral thesis. Field data collection was carried out from July to December 2019, from February to March 2020, from October to November 2020 and in July 2021. It was answered by key respondents, rural extension agents, city hall representatives and members of smallholder farming families who had access to PAA and/or PNAE. For a complete overview of the dataset, see Petarly (2021).

³ RURALTINS is the Rural Development Institute of Tocantins, which is the state agency accountable for providing technical assistance and public rural extension services in the state.

⁴ In total, 48 registers were identified, but 7 families did not participate in the research for different reasons: no one in the region knew who they were; they were not found at home when they were summoned; they refused to be visited due to the COVID-19 Pandemic; they refused to participate in the research.

Data were analyzed through Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA) after defining the question capable of helping to identify the elements making up rural families' livelihood types. This method enables presenting the structure of social spaces formed by families because it predicts the features of each family in a specific location within this space. This method is also substantiated by a system of differences; in other words, statistically similar individuals are grouped together, whereas statistically different individuals are set apart from each other (Duval, 2017). This methodology allows building point clouds by identifying the main axes of variables to structure data dimensionality and to understand the clouds projected on these axes and on subspaces formed by these clouds (Lebaron and Le Roux, 2015). Therefore, MCA informs the most structuring features to set individuals' position in the social space.

In operational terms, 10 active variables, with 35 active categories, were selected for the study. In other words, 10 questions influenced individuals' position in the social space based on 35 likely answers that, in their turn, also influenced families' positioning in this space. MCA was carried out in Coheris Analytics Spad (SPAD) software. The analysis resulted in 25 axes. After Benzecri's modified rate was found (Le Roux and Rouanet, 2004), it was possible finding 72.6% inertia in the first two axes: 51.8% in the first one and 20.7% in the second axis. The contribution method (Bonnet, Lebaron and Le Roux, 2015) led to the analysis of categories contributing to the first two axes and to general inertia above the average ($100/35 = 2.9$). In practical terms, MCA allows visualizing the categories (active properties) contributing to families' positioning in the social space at factorial level. The positioning is always based on the existing oppositions between categories; the opposite sides of each axis present two groups of categories that are different from each other. The next section provides the gathered information and the performed analyses.

4 Outlining Wanderlândia family farming livelihood types

Table 1 is based on the concept by Chambers and Conway (1992) and presents the features identifying the families. The second column expresses the variables and the third one, their categories. Other theories will be added to those presented throughout the analysis. They will be used to help better understanding the collected data and their categories.

Table 1 – Features outlining the rural life means

Rural livelihood types' composition (CHAMBERS and CONWAY, 1992)	Herein analyzed features	
Skills developed by individuals	Agriculture type	Subsistence
		Business
		Multi activity
		No longer work with agriculture
	Adults' schooling	Low schooling
	Medium to high schooling	
Assets owned by the individuals	Ownership of rural property	Male ownership
		Female ownership
		Ownership by third parties
	Size of rural property	Up to 5 bushels
		Up to 10 bushels
		Up to 15 bushels
		More than 15 bushels
		Unknown size
	DAP ownership	Male ownership
		Female ownership
		Ownership by third parties
	Geographical location of the rural property	Location – Ipê Amarelo
		Location - Costa Rica
		Location - Other villages (Estrela, Floresta, Araçulândia, Correntino, Córrego Areia)
Location - Serra de São Félix		
Location - Urban area of Wanderlândia		
Location - Serra Curta		
Activities required and developed by them to keep their way of life	Access to health inspection certificates	No access - difficulty in accessing it
		No access - lack of information
		No access - lack of interest
		No access - too much bureaucracy
		Access - requirement to sell
	Developed productive activities	Production - fresh
		Production - fresh and processed
		Production - processed
	Family organization to keep the productive activities they carry out	Sharing – they do share
		Sharing - they do not share

Source: Elaborated by the authors.

When it comes to the activity developed by individuals, it was possible observing the developed agriculture type and family adults' schooling. The first observation was substantiated by Chayanov's proposal to feature family production units based on the labor force needed to meet internal consumption demands. Chayanov (2014) defines criteria, such as search for balance between production and using family members as labor force, as well as the criterion applied to hire employees to achieve balanced production size.

It is necessary hiring workers outside the family when the amount of products for trading is set and when production exceeds the internal domestic consumption demand and

the available manpower in the family. Accordingly, it is essential selling the production to cover additional costs generated by surplus production. Thus, families were separated into two different groups: subsistence family farmers who use the family's manpower to balance production and family consumption without hiring workers outside the family; and entrepreneurial family farmers whose families need more manpower than that available within the family, since they produce more than their family consumption demands.

The recent specific literature points out the need of understanding other categories of productive unit identified among the herein assessed families in order to better understand that rural livelihood types are not only those linked to agricultural and livestock activities used by individuals to afford their living and family growth, namely: multi-active family farmers. According to Schneider (2003), multi-active families are those whose family income is not only composed of farming income but also of different activities that exceed agricultural and livestock barriers. The current research data evidenced another existing category in the analyzed social space, namely: families that no longer perform any productive agricultural activity. These families abandoned their production due to several reasons, among them, water shortage in their properties, not favorable economic analysis to keep their productive activity or paid job in the city impairing agricultural productive activity to go on.

Observing parents' schooling is another necessary factor to understand livelihood types in this social space. Two categories were created after surveying family adults' schooling: low access to education - adults who did not study or who only completed elementary school; and medium and/or higher access to education - adults who completed high school or attended higher education.

Geographic location, ownership of rural properties, Declaration of Eligibility for Pronaf (DAP) and properties' size stood out among individuals' features. These features were selected because they highlight families' economic capital accumulation. In addition, they highlight how families are close to, or far from, urban areas in the municipality, the strategy types applied to access the land and how gender differences guide, or not, the access to public policies (since public policies are accessed by DAP holders).

It was also possible observing that geographic location is a factor distinguishing families in the social space. Families can be grouped into different location types: agrarian reform settlements (Ipê Amarelo and Costa Rica); in land credit areas (Serra de São Félix); in rural areas that are not linked to land access policies (other villages and Serra Curta); and in urban areas (Wanderlândia City). Based on the current data, some families experienced different types of access to rural properties; there were families accessing their properties through the National Agrarian Reform Policy and the National Land Credit Policy, and other families that have accessed their properties through inheritance, purchasing and sales contracts, as well as through donation or assignment.

Rural property ownership is a necessary factor to better understand families' livelihood types. It is so, because owning the land allows farmers to settle in it, to build their life story in it, to plan for the future and to make long-term investments. According to gender analyses, land ownership remains as decisive factor for greater or lesser female autonomy in rural areas, because it allows women to participate in both productive and family decision-making processes (Carneiro, 1994; Butto, Dantas, 2011; Zarzar, 2017). According to questionnaire data, 59% of properties are owned by men and 24% of them, by women. The ownership of the remaining properties ranges from being owned by a relative, to being in legal exchange, owned by a partner or institution, or unknown ownership.

Observing DAP ownership is essential to analyze these families' livelihood types since this document proves that families can have access to public policies aimed at productive inclusion, as well as to credit, technical assistance, among others. Thus, assessing these data from the gender perspective gives a DAP holder the possibility of achieving female economic autonomy in rural areas, as investigated by Siliprandi and Cintrão (2011), Brumer and

Spavanello (2011), and Bruno et al. (2011). The present research data highlight that men hold 56% of family properties, women hold 37% of them and other people hold 7% of family properties. In other words, most DAP holders are men.

Rural property size is another item necessary to outline assets owned by families. As previously mentioned, this feature is closely related to families' positioning in the assessed social space. The present data points out that 24% families own properties up to 5 bushels; 39% own 5 to 10 bushels; 12% own 10 and 15 bushels; 20% of families have more than 15 bushels and 5% of them do not know how large their property is. In short, most families own medium-sized properties ranging from 5 to 15 bushels, whereas the smallest number of families own larger properties (over 15 bushels).

Activities required and carried out by families to keep their way of life are the last item specified by Conway and Chambers to outline livelihood types. The following information was used to feature these items: access to health inspection certificates, developed productive activities and family organization to carry out these activities. These features were chosen because they show some principles of collective construction of reality, namely: compliance with the health legislation aimed at the sales of certain products; products sold based on this legislation; and how families organize gender social roles and generation in family division of labor.

Accordingly, access to health inspection certificates that allow selling animal or plant origin products subjected to some processing is a feature positioning families in different places within the social space. Data in the current research points out that 90% of family farmers do not have any inspection certificate type (state or municipal) and that only 10% of them have access to it. According to these families, excessive bureaucracy and lack of information on this topic are the reasons for this discrepancy, since they impair the access of a larger number of families to it. Lack of interest is another listed reason for it, because families do not produce items that require using or presenting this certificate.

Accordingly, Garcia Jr.'s (1983) presentation helps better understanding the difficulty of these families in accessing the bureaucracy required by the Brazilian legislation. He states that the creation of a specific category by the government to classify a group of farmers does not, in itself, represent these agents' inclusion in the practical levels of such new classification. In other words, including family farmers at legal level through access to public policies does not result in their inclusion in the practical daily level of legal requirements linked to these public policies. Although 43% of families fall under these policies' specific legislation, they cannot meet the specific requirements in this legislation — in this case, marketing certificates required for certain products.

The productive activities carried out by the families stand out for the whole variety of items produced in the herein assessed municipality: 22 families produce fruits and vegetables⁵, 18 produce fruits, 17 grow pumpkins, 16 grow cassava, 13 grow corn, 8 produce fruit pulps, 8 breed poultry, 8 produce flour, 7 sell green coconuts, 7 grow banana, 7 live on processed products⁶, 6 grow watermelon, 6 grow lettuce and 5 families grow chives⁷. Products were organized into two categories in order to be systematized and analyzed, namely: fresh products or processed products. Families in the present research showed 3 different situations: only produced fresh products, only produced processed products, families that produced both fresh and processed products.

Family organization aimed at carrying out its production tasks was also analyzed. It was possible observing that families sharing tasks among their members and those that do not do so presented quite different gender features when it comes to the performed tasks.

⁵ Fruits and vegetables were categorized as products that only came up a few times during the research: meat, eggs, peanuts, sesame, beans, arugula, vegetables, foliage, sweet potato and yam.

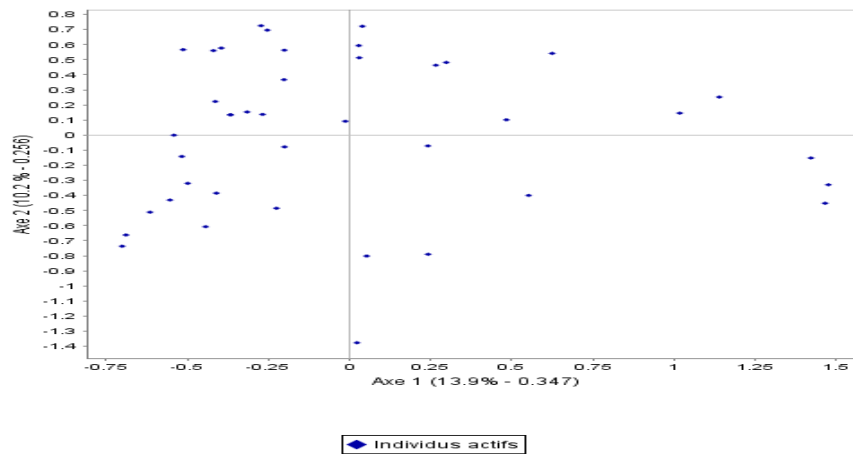
⁶ Bread, cakes, cookies and seasonings.

⁷ The combination of chives and coriander in the herein assessed region is known as Green Scent.

5 Family farming social space in Wanderlândia municipality

In addition to descriptive statistics, Multiple Correspondence Analysis was applied for data analysis purposes, based on the gathered information. It allowed identifying families' position in the family farming social space. It is important highlighting that category grouping helped identifying such a position, i.e., the set of family features described in the previous topic enabled identifying how they are positioned in this social space. Thus, MCA allows visualizing the social space, as follows:

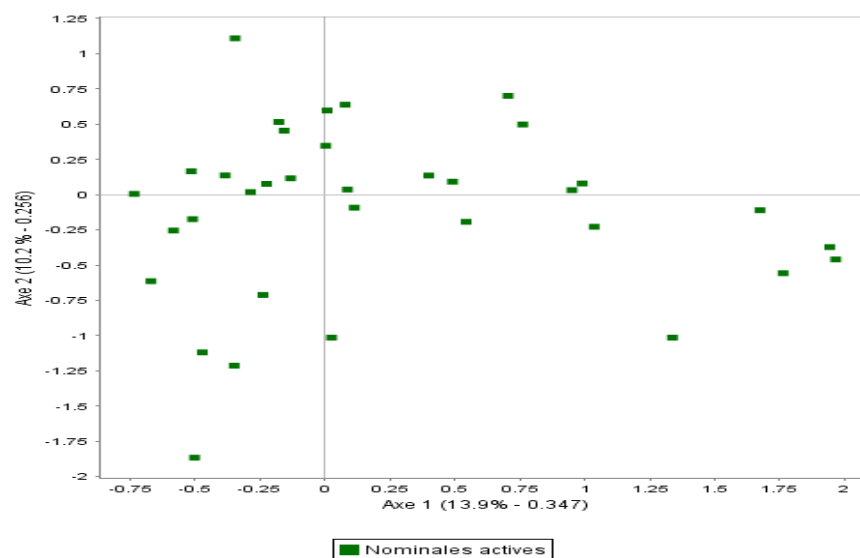
Figure 1 – Family farming social space in Wanderlândia
Individus - Axes 1 & 2



Source: Elaborated by the authors.

The process to group the 35 categories allowed MCA to position these categories in such a way as to help consolidating the herein assessed social space.

Figure 2 – Positioning the Active Variables
Variables - Axes 1 & 2



Source: Elaborated by the authors.

Next, the composition of the axes and categories contributing to their consolidation are introduced.

5.1 The multi-activity and subsistence agriculture axes

The first axis (horizontal) comprises twelve categories. Four categories to the left side: agriculture – subsistence (CpTagS); property size up to 10 bushels (CpTpD); unknown property size (CpTPN); sharing – shares (CpCTpS). Eight categories to the right side: schooling – medium or high access to it (CsEm); property size up to five bushels (CpTpC); third parties own the land (CpTtT); agriculture – no longer carried out (CpTagN); positioning – urban (CsPU); location –Wanderlândia City (CsLW); production – processed (CpTPP); certificates – yes, requirement to sell (CpSiEV).

Categories to the left side can be systematized into skills developed by individuals (CpTagS), assets owned by individuals (CpTpD; CpTPN), and activities required and developed by families to keep their productive activities (CpCTpS). With regards to skills developed by individuals, the further to the left the families are, the more they tend to be featured as subsistence farmers. This category points out that the agriculture type developed by a given family features its members as subsistence farmers. In other words, the family balances productive family-labor based on its own consumption demands and does not hire any manpower for its production outside the family.

Yet, two categories contribute to assets owned by individuals: property size up to ten bushels and unknown property size. According to these categories, families on this side of the axis tend to belong to the unknown property size group or to that of average-size properties (up to 10 bushels).

Finally, the last category concerns activities required and developed by families in order to keep their productive activities: sharing – share, according to which, production work performance is shared among family members, i.e., it is not carried out by any specific member and the division of labor tends to be egalitarian. Thus, it is possible pointing out that the further to the left on the axis, the more the families tend to develop subsistence agriculture, they tend to do not know the size of their properties or to own properties up to 10 bushels, besides tending to share production tasks among family members.

The categories to the right side can be systematized into skills developed by individuals (CsEm; CpTagN), assets owned by individuals (CpTpC; CpTtT; CsPU; CsLW) and activities required and developed by families in order to keep their productive activities (CpTPP; CpSiEV).

Two categories contribute to the skills developed by individuals: schooling – medium or high access to it; according to which, family adults attended high school, higher education or post-graduation courses; and agriculture – no longer carried out, which points out that, although the families owned their rural properties, they no longer developed productive activities on them at the time of the present study.

Yet, four categories contribute to assets owned by individuals: property size up to five bushels; third parties are landowners; positioning – urban; and location – Wanderlândia City. According to these categories, families often own small properties (up to 5 bushels); property ownership is not on the hands of any family member and tends to present relative or collective organization - families live in urbanized areas, in this case, Wanderlândia City.

Finally, two categories feature activities required and developed by families in order to keep their productive activities, namely: production – processed, according to which, families sell or sold products that have undergone some processing before being sold. In other words, they did not sell fresh products; and certification – yes, requirement to sell, families complied with the health standards required for municipal inspection certificates to sell processed products.

In short, families to the right of the axis tend to live in Wanderlândia City and to have adults with higher schooling levels, besides tending to do not develop productive agricultural activities. However, whenever they develop them, their activities are carried out on small properties owned by a third party and they sell processed products granted with municipal inspection certificate.

Therefore, the first axis separates families into two typical family farming lifestyles. The group of families more to the right of the space are featured as multi-active ones, according to which, the family's social reproduction strategy does not involve agriculture, alone. These individuals' features are closer to an urbanized lifestyle, since they have access to higher schooling levels. They live in Wanderlândia City; yet, their agricultural products have bureaucratic marks linked to health inspection certificates. Access to these bureaucratic devices points out that families are more familiar with documentary and legal issues linked to access to certification requirements. Oftentimes, this group of families is represented by families F5, F10 and F41.

The other group of families, which is located more to the left of the space, comprises agricultural and subsistence families, i.e., family's social reproduction strategy only regards agriculture itself. In addition, division of labor is shared among family members, i.e., families do not hire manpower outside the family. Yet, there is no imbalance between family consumption demands and the manpower needed to meet them. Typically, this group of families is represented by families F22 and F39.

5.2 Gender marks' axis

The second axis (vertical) comprises 11 categories. Six categories are at the bottom: woman as land owner (CpTtM), woman as DAP owner (CpTdM), location – Ipê Amarelo (CsLI), certificate – no, difficult access to it (CpSiDA), property size up to 10 bushels (CpTpD), agriculture – no longer carried out (CpTagN). Five categories are at the top: location – Serra de São Félix (CsLSSF), man as DAP owner (CpTdH), man as land owner (CpTtH), certificate – no, lack of information (CpSiFI), property size larger than 15 bushels (CpTpMQ).

Categories located at the bottom of the space can be systematized into skills developed by individuals (CpTagN), assets owned by individuals (CpTtM; CpTdM; CsLI; CpTpD) and activities required and developed by families in order to keep their productive activities (CpSiDA).

When it comes to categories representing the skills developed by individuals; the lower the families are, the more they tend to be involved in agriculture, although they no longer work with it. According to this category, despite owning rural properties and having already developed agricultural activities, these families' income no longer came from any agricultural activity type, at the time of the present study. In other words, they no longer develop any agriculture type.

Four categories contribute to assets owned by individuals: woman as landowner, woman as DAP owner, location – Ipê Amarelo and property size up to 10 bushels. According to these categories, rural property and DAP ownership in these families, as well as documents required to access public policies aimed at family farming, tend to be on the hands of women. Thus, adult women hold this documentation. Yet, these families own their rural properties in Ipê Amarelo National Agrarian Reform Policy settlement and tend to own medium-sized properties (up to 10 bushels).

Finally, the last category concerns activities required and developed by families in order to keep their productive activities: certification – no, difficulty to access it. Despite being necessary to sell certain product types, families do not have the necessary sanitary inspection certificates due to bureaucratic difficulties to access it because of the required documentation and of the structural adjustments necessary to get a certificate.

In short, the further down on the axis the families are, the more they tend to no longer carry out agricultural activities, to have medium-sized rural properties in Ipê Amarelo settlement, to have their property owned by women, to not having an inspection certificate due to difficulty in accessing it.

Categories located at the top of the axes can be systematized into assets owned by individuals (CsLSSF; CpTdH; CpTtH; CpTpMQ) and into activities required and developed by families in order to keep their productive activities (CpSiFI).

Four categories contributed to the inertia of this axis, namely: man as DAP holder, man as landowner, location – Serra de São Félix, property size larger than 15 bushels. These categories point out that rural properties and DAPs are owned by men. In other words, documents required to access public policies for family farming are on the hands of men. Assumably, families live in a settlement of the National Land Credit Policy, in Serra de São Félix region, on properties larger than 15 bushels.

Only one category contributed to activities required and developed by families in order to keep their productive activities: certificate – no, lack of information, these families do not have the necessary health inspection certificates to sell certain products due to lack of necessary information on this topic.

In short, the higher up on the axes the families are, the more they tend to own rural properties larger than the local average in Serra de São Félix, owned by men and to do not have a health inspection certificate to sell their products because they do not have the necessary information to do so.

Therefore, the second axis divides families into two livelihood types; they are organized based on assets owned by individuals. On the one hand, some families tend to no longer engage in any agricultural activity type. However, whenever they do so, they do not have health inspection certificates to sell their products because they have difficulty in accessing them. Rural properties in this group of families are located in Ipê Amarelo settlement, and their property was acquired through the National Agrarian Reform Program. They tend to present average size (up to 10 bushels). Property and DAP ownership, and documents to access public policies for family farming, tend to be on the hands of women. On the other hand, some families do not have a health inspection certificate to sell their products because of lack of information on how to access it. Rural properties in this group of families are located in Serra de São Félix region, were acquired through the National Land Credit Program and tend to be larger than 15 bushels. Rural properties and DAP ownership tend to be on the hands of men.

It is possible observing two groups of families presenting different livelihood-type features. There is one group of families whose female gender features prevail at the time to access public policies and women have the autonomy to make decision on property issues. This group comprises families benefited by the National Agrarian Reform Policy in Ipê Amarelo settlement - properties were won through collective land dispute processes. These families develop their productive activities on medium-sized properties and do not have an inspection certificate due to difficulty in accessing it. Typically, this group of families is represented by families F22 and F39.

The other family group is featured by male gender prevalence to access to public policies and to make decision on property issues. This group comprises families that benefit from the National Land Credit Policy in Serra de São Félix, where land is granted through bank credit acquisition, i.e., without the need for collective dispute to access it. These families have rural properties larger than the local average and they do not have inspection certificates because of lack of information on this topic. This group of families is often represented by families F17, F19 and F25.

It is possible understanding the features forming three typical family farming livelihood types in the current study by analyzing the social space presented by MCA and families positioning within it. It is important emphasizing that, although it was expected to

find 4 different livelihood types (since two axes correspond to four oppositions), MCA data did not allow identifying these oppositions. Data have shown only features corresponding to 3 oppositions between types, i.e., features of one of the quadrants are also observed in the other four social space quadrants. Thus, it is possible understanding that oppositions are observed in only 3 locations within the social space. Finally, if one takes into account that livelihood types and their respective positioning within the social space can highlight these families' *habitus* composition, then, it is possible describing three different *habitus* types.

The first livelihood type was consolidated by the following feature: developing a subsistence agricultural activity, according to which, the family's reproduction strategy is not primarily focused on access to markets. The family does not focus on formal work in urban areas. Productive activities are carried out by sharing tasks among family members, without the need of hiring external manpower and imbalance between workforce and family consumption demands (subsistence agriculture, according to Chayanov). They do not sell their products with health inspection certificates and claim difficulty in accessing them. These families are beneficiaries of the National Agrarian Reform Policy and live in Ipê Amarelo Settlement, on medium-sized properties. The female gender marks are clearer in this livelihood, since they access public policies for productive inclusion, besides making decision on property issues.

In short, based on elements by Chambers and Conway (1992) to define livelihood types, skills developed by families feature subsistence agriculture. Assets owned by families have gender marks in documentation ownership and families live in medium-sized properties in Ipê Amarelo Agrarian Reform Settlement. Activities required and developed by families to keep their way of life do not regard access to productive activity bureaucracy, such as access to health inspection certificate, but they involve understanding the relevance of sharing work, regardless of gender marks usually observed in the division of rural family labor.

This group of families is often represented by F22 and F39. These families were only formed by couples during the research time. Youngsters in F39 no longer live on the rural property, as they live and work in Wanderlândia City. Therefore, the division of labor was carried out between the couple. The only son in F22 died months before the research and the couple was still trying to adjust their productive routine to be absence of his help. Both families had to relearn how to divide production and domestic tasks in their daily lives based on the absence of young people in the property. Both families actively participate in religious activities in the region, and the woman in F22 leads the association of the settlement she lives in.

Income of both families comes from selling their domestic production even lacking access to public policies for productive inclusion. Family F22 relies on the help of a taxi driver who picks up the woman and the property's production, and takes her to the city to sell it. This family's income was supplemented by the man's daily wage earned by working on other properties in the region⁸. The income of family F39 is supplemented by the man's retirement pension, which is used to pay household expenses. Both families make it clear that the agricultural production income is used to afford their own production costs and that the little fraction remaining of it is used to afford other household needs.

Typically, this *habitus* is closer to a traditional rural one, besides being less influenced by the urban world, the extension of the formal state and of schooling. However, it heads towards commercial and collective activities highlighted by social insertion in collective conquest processes focused on access to land without the need of bank credit. These families own medium size properties and their survival strategies are based on agriculture, alone. They have no access to inspection certificates and present clear female gender marks in family documentation.

⁸ This couple got divorced during the research time. The woman remained on the property and kept working on her production.

The second livelihood type is consolidated by the following features: they develop multi-active agriculture, i.e., the family adopts other economic alternatives for their social reproduction in addition to agriculture and livestock, such as legal work, jobs in rural and adventure tourism sectors, and veterinarian activities. They live in urbanized areas, have greater access to formal education than families in the first livelihood type, and sell their products with health inspection certificates, which also differentiates them from the group described above. In short, and taking into account the elements by Chambers and Conway (1992) to define livelihood types, skills developed by families are linked to multi-active activities. In other words, they carry out productive activities in addition to agriculture and livestock, and their access to formal education by family members is high. Assets owned by families are located in more urbanized villages and the activities required and developed by the family in order to keep their way of life regards access to production activity bureaucracy, since they access health inspection certificates to sell their products. It is important emphasizing that none of the elements in this second way of life are featured by gender marks.

This group of families is often composed of F5, F10 and F41. Family F5 lives in an urbanized settlement in Wanderlândia and its family income is supplemented by fruit-pulp selling. The family's main income comes from the couple's retirement pension. Although they only live with a granddaughter, who is a law student, they have a daughter who is a lawyer and lives with her parents on a regular basis. According to this couple, this feature allowed them to access the inspection certificate necessary to sell fruit pulp. Some features pointing out the woman's shyness during the research were recorded in the field journal: she had low voice, was introspective and always sat far away from the conversation circle. The man and his daughter (the lawyer) actively participated in answering the questionnaire. It was possible observing different generational *habitus* within the family.

Family F10 only comprised one man who, despite owning the rural property, lived in Wanderlândia City. He was the municipal Secretary of Agriculture during the research time. He became Secretary of Environment after changes in municipal public management in 2020. His expenses are covered by this second income source, which is supplemented by fruit-pulp selling – he sells pulps at night and at lunch break. It is important highlighting that all families joining the research pointed out this man as responsible for their access to productive inclusion policies. Thus, his role as local social family-farming mobilizer stood out.

Family F41 comprised a young couple, both under 40 years old. Their relationship with agricultural activities ended when they stopped accessing productive inclusion policies. Currently, this family income results from self-employment in third parties' properties. It was recorded in the field journal that the woman was never present at data collection times. The man was the only one meeting the researcher and, consequently, answering the questions, even when she was at home and invited to participate in it.

This *habitus* can be often considered more urbanized than the first one. It is more influenced by urban world and by school extension, and even more influenced by formal state devices. In other words, greater access to bureaucratic devices points out families' proximity to documentary and legal issues to access inspection certificates' requirements. They access higher education levels and the family's income sources exceed its agricultural activities, which is supplemented by formal jobs in Wanderlândia City.

Finally, the third livelihood type is consolidated by the following features: productive activities are developed on rural properties larger than the local average in Serra de São Félix; properties were acquired through the National Land Credit Policy through bank credit. Products are sold without inspection certificates because families do not have the necessary information on this topic. The most prevalent gender marks in this livelihood type were men because documents necessary for decision-making regarding the property are held by them. In short, and by taking into account the elements by Chambers and Conway (1992) to define livelihood types, it was possible observing that skills developed by the families are based on

corporate agriculture. This agriculture type requires external manpower to carry out the daily activities, including health issues among family members. Assets owned by these families have male gender marks in documentation ownership; yet, these families live in large properties acquired through land credit in Serra de São Félix. Finally, activities required and developed by the family in order to keep their way of life do not involve access to production activity bureaucracy, since they do not have access to health inspection certificates. There is no decision-making sharing, and decisions are made by adult men in the family.

This group of families comprises F17, F19 and F25. Family F17 is currently composed of a couple whose main income source is their retirement pension. The couple hires a farm worker to take care of the cattle, pasture and physical maintenance of their rural property because the man has back issues. Household tasks and care provided for the small animals are mainly carried out by the woman.

The F19 couple lives in different houses: the man lives on the rural property and the woman lives in their family home in Wanderlândia City. She runs a fruit shop that her husband opened for her. The woman has neurological issues and the couple's children work abroad. The family income comes from the products produced by the husband and sold by the woman in the fruit shop. The family was surveyed at different times: first on the property, with the husband, and in the city, with the wife. The woman's fear of providing information without her husband's presence was recorded in the field journal.

F25 is also composed of only one couple, and the family income is supplemented by retirement pensions, by daily payments for services they provide on other properties and from selling domestic animals like cattle. The woman suffers from back issues and it does not allow her to help producing some goods. The woman's active interest in answering questions and interacting during the research was recorded in the field journal.

This *habitus* is more influenced by the urban world, by commercial activities carried out by middlemen and cattle trading, as well as by the formal state devices, such as access to retirement and bank credit. These features are highlighted by social insertion in collective conquest processes aimed at accessing land based on bank loan, at owning large rural properties, at not having inspection certificates because of lack of information and at male gender markers in families' documentation.

Finally, in response to the initial question of the present article, it is possible stating that family farming in Wanderlândia is inserted in a social space formed by three typically different livelihood types. Yet, there are three *habitus* types that oppose each other in several aspects. Thus, public policies aimed at this population must take into account these disparities and the diversity observed in this social space.

6 Final considerations

As previously described, the aim of the present research was to outline the livelihood types of families living on family farming in the rural area of a municipality in Tocantins State. The Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA) methodology was applied to analyze the collected data. It allowed identifying differences and oppositions between family groups, as well as highlighting the rural environment diversity, which was herein understood as space of life, rather than just space for productive activities.

Three main *habitus* types were herein identified, namely: a more traditional one, which is less influenced by the urban environment, but depends on increasing involvement in commercial and collective activities; a more urbanized one, which shows greater integration with State devices, bureaucratic activities and with greater access to formal education; and a third one, which is even closer to urbanized activities, to the sales of products by middlemen, to cattle trading and linked to State devices, such as access to credit from banks and social policies like retirement pensions.

The analysis also evidenced different features contributing to the understanding of these ways of life and the complexity observed in the category of families classified as family farmer units. According to the results, it is necessary conducting further studies to extrapolate other variations in different social contexts, production chains and cultural practices in Brazil.

The present research achieved its aim and filled a gap by highlighting the dynamics of families in rural Tocantins State and provided a solid basis for future investigations, including these families' relationship with public policies and with transformations in different *habitus* types due to both the COVID-19 pandemic and the scrapping of public policies over the years.

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