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PUBLIC POLITICS IN THE STATE OF MARANHÃO: THE ROLES OF PRONAF AND PAA

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ABSTRACT

The research aims to characterize family farming in the State of Maranhão as well as presenting and discussing the public politics that influences the development of family farming in the State, in this case, the PRONAF and the institutional purchases through the PAA. The methodology assumed an exploratory characteristic, with quantitative approaches. As a result, it was demonstrated that Maranhão is the second State in the northeast with application of PRONAF's resources, 21% of the resources are concentrated in five cities, being the main financial agent is the Bank of the Northeast (BNB). In relation to the PAA, in the state of Maranhão, 27,278 families were aided, 591 projects and 50,357,610.27 kg of food commercialized in the value of R\$ 106.865.450.08 in the period from 2003 to 2017. It was concluded that the programs contributed for the local rural development in the State, inputting financial capital with the commercialization of products from the family farming.

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INTRODUCTION

Data from the Demographic Census of 2010, from the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) demonstrated that in Brazil, about 15.63% of the inhabitants live in rural housing situation. Specifically in the State of Maranhão, which is the subject of this study, it is verified that 37% of the rural population is of inhabitants in rural housing situation (BRASIL/IBGE, 2010). In this way, the percentage of people living in rural housing situation in Maranhão highlights the potential that the State has to promote family farming (AF). The Agricultural Census by IBGE of 2017 showed that in Maranhão the number of establishments with areas of up to 4 fiscal modules represents more than 87%, according to the Law nº 11.326/2006, considering the fact that those establishments have characteristics in which family farming can be practiced, since the size of the area is considered as a pre-requirements, that establishes the practice of the AF of until 4 fiscal modules. According to the chart of basic indexes of the National System of Rural Register, the fiscal module in Maranhão is fixed in varied sizes between 15 to 75 acres (BRASIL/INCRA, 2010).

The AF in Maranhão has relevant importance in the economy of the State, because besides generating occupations in the Field, it is also responsible for ensuring good part of the food that gets to the Free Fairs and to the Ceesa of the State. Thus, the AF is an important segment for the income of thousands of citizens of Maranhão, being the fortification of this segment the key to reduce hunger and poverty, because it allows that the small producer have access to the soil, water, markets, technology and credit (United Nation Organization for Food and Farming - FAO, 2012), besides ensuring the food safety of the worldly population and of the future generations (FAO, 2012). Important changes occurred in the scenario of public politics turned to Family Farming in Brazil. The initial mark of this transformation is due to the considerable increase of rural credits to encourage the AF. To Grisa and Schneider (2014) the family Farming is present in all the national territory being a social and political category that started being recognized by the State about 1990. The recognition given to the family farming and the construction of different politics for a wide social group that until then had not been given specific actions was not a trivial change, and that is the reason why they reverberated in the national and international scenarios, that

were decisive for the creation of the National Program of Agriculture Fortification (PRONAF) in 1995 (GRISA and SCHNEIDER, 2014). Since 2003, rescuing the experiences of some Brazilian cities and states, the Project Zero Hunger highlighted the potential of the institutional market in the fortification of the family farming (creation of commercialization channels and generation of income), in the promotion of economy in the cities and regions, meeting the food needs of a vulnerable and numerically expressive share of population. It was estimated that an important part of the public budget was destined to the purchase of food for various ends and this institutional demand should be channeled for family farming (GRISA and SCHNEIDER, 2014). In this context it was instituted by the Program of Food Acquisition (PAA), by the Article 19 of the Law nº 10,696 and regulated by the Decree 4,772, both of July the 2nd of 2003. The Program presents two main objectives: encouraging family farming and making possible the access to food by the people. In this way, the PRONAF and the PAA give support to the rural development by mean of the family farming, as an activity that generates income and occupation in the field.

Specifically in the literature there are works that analyze the public politics of support to the family farming in Maranhão: works as those of Silva (2017), Araújo (2018), Rodrigues (2015) and Reis (2017). In this way Silva (2017) studied the PRONAF in Maranhão emphasizing the resource concentration in the year of 2012 to 2015. Araújo (2018) realized a study about the contextualization of land reform in the State of Maranhão and Rodrigues (2015) focused his study in the trajectory of the PAA in Brazil and in Maranhão in the period of 2011 to 2015, highlighting the need of improving the institutional management of the program as a way to reach effectively the beneficiaries by rights in the State. In the same way Reis (2017) analyzed the PAA, but focused in the city of São José do Ribamar, in the State of Maranhão. The study demonstrated clearly that there was an improvement in the quality of life and work of the farmers that became beneficiaries of the program. In the same way as Rodrigues (2015), Reis (2017) also concluded that the PAA presented difficulties and weaknesses in its operationalization. In face of these facts, the importance of the AF in Brazil deserves special attention for the attendance of this above-mentioned public with public politics that generate positive results. "For being the AF a great generator of richness, besides producing food, today it is an important social factor. There are thousands of families that depend on and live of the Family Farming" (Zyger, 2017).

With this context of importance of the family farming and the acting of public politics for the AF in the State of Maranhão, the article presents the following questions guided as the problematic of the research: How many rural establishments exist in Maranhão with evidences of practicing family farming? How much was invested in resources for the PRONAF in the State of Maranhão? How are distributed the PAA operations in Maranhão in the period from 2003 to 2017? Thus the general objective of this article consists in analyzing the trajectories of PRONAF and PAA as politics that provide support to the family farming in the State of Maranhão. As specific objectives: 1) contextualizing the family farming in Maranhão; 2) analyzing the evolution of PRONAF in Brazil and in the State of Maranhão; and 3) analyzing the evolution of the PAA in Brazil emphasizing the State of Maranhão. The present article is structured, besides this introduction, in four

more sections. In the second section it is approached the contextualization of family farming with highlights on the PRONAF and the PAA. In the third section the methodology and the data source are discussed. In the fourth section the results and the discussion of the research are analyzed. In the fifth and last section are the final considerations of the present article.

Contextualization of Pronaf and PAA

Contextualization of Pronaf: According to Carneiro (1997), the guidelines of the PRONAF have as reference the European experiences, mainly from France, that elected the family farming as the form of production of which were implemented, in the period post-war, the modernization of the agriculture production and the rural society. By mean of the PRONAF, it was attributed to the family farming a central role in the promotion of the economic development with the objective of improve the life conditions of the population, overall, those that are in the rural area, contributing for the reduction of social inequalities and income generation in a decentralized form. In the Brazilian scenario, the PRONAF appeared in 1995, in the context of the high cost of production and credit scarcity, pointed as the main problems faced by the farmers, in special the familiars (Guanziroli, 2017). For Nunes (2007), the emergence of this politic had as focus the fortification of the rural development, overall in which relates to the public politic of the Government. Thus, the family farming started being observed with a different point of view by the social movements and the Government politics" (Nunes, 2007). For Grisa and Schneider (2014): "fruit of the social mobilizations that were realized by social movements attached to family farming, of a paradigmatic change in the rural studies that passed to highlight the permanence and the importance of the family farming in the developed countries (SCHNEIDER, 2003; LAMARCHE, 1999, 1993; ABRAMOVAY, 1992; VEIGA, 1991), and of the own interests of the Federal Government in keeping the social order in the field and a certain influence in the syndicalism of rural workers (GRISA, 2012), it was created the first agrarian national politic that was directly specifically for the family farmers. It is the institutionalization of the PRONAF in 1995, that marked the political and institutional recognition of the Brazilian State to the social category, configuring itself in a 'critical moment' (MAHONEY, 2001) that opened international possibilities for the creation of new politics for the family farming" (GRISA e SCHNEIDER, 2014).

Reflecting about the subject, Lucca et al. (2019), affirm that the guidelines that drive the PRONAF aim to, among other improvements:

"Quality of life, in the section of family farming, through the sustained rural development; to the increase of productive capacity; to the creation of new work opportunities and income, beneficiating the rural producers that are decapitalized and with low productivity. Also aim to the access to adequate Technologies for the family farming, searching its enhancement, as well as the increase of work productivity of the agrarian work through the professional growth, protecting the environment". For Zyger (2017), the development and sustainability of the rural producers are reasoned by the rural credits, generator of opportunities that approaches the beneficiary to the politics that stimulate investments in technological advances, besides it provides the modernization

of the Field, stimulating his permanence in agriculture and the familiar succession. The PRONAF is managed by the Special Secretary of Family Farming and Agrarian Development – SEAD and has diverse credit lines with the lowest interest rates of the rural financings, varying from 0,5% to 4.6% each year. The credit lines are: PRONAF Costing; PRONAF More Food; PRONAF Investment, PRONAF Agrarian Industry, PRONAF Agroecology, PRONAF Eco, PRONAF Forest, PRONAF Semi-arid, PRONAF Woman, PRONAF Youth, PRONAF Costing and Commercialization of Family Agrarian Industry, PRONAF Share Quota and Rural Micro-credit. These credit lines are divided in specific financings considering the characteristics of each rural producer and of each region (Brasil/MDA, 2018).

Contextualization of the PAA: The Program of Food Acquisition (PAA) was instituted by the article 19 of the Law n° 10,696 and regulated by the Decree 4,772, both from July the 2nd of 2003. The program presents two main objectives: to encourage the family farming and making access to food possible to the people. To reach these two objectives, the program purchases food produced by the family farming, destines them to people in situation of food and nutrition unsafety that are helped by the social-assistance network, by the public equipments of food and nutritional safety and by the public network of education (MDA, 2012). Grisa and Schneider (2014) affirm that with the expansion of the Program, the exposition of it results for the local dynamics and for the fortification of the family farming organizations, and the growing debate in Brazil, in this period, about social construction of the markets, the Program reached an important projection both nationally and internationally, being an example to be “replicated” or “exported” to other countries. Researches were realized showing the economic importance of the PAA, as an example, the studies of CUNHA, FREITAS and SALGADO (2017) and BERGAMASCO, BORSATTO and SOUZA-ESQUERDO (2013). The cited researches identified the main economic advantages attached to the income enhancement, to the local development of the families and the obstacles related to the difficulties of commercialization, documental bureaucracy, and logistical bottlenecks, among others.

Cunha, Freitas and Salgado (2017) affirm the importance of the PAA for the local economy, searching to foment the development of the family farming, confirming its end of aid the farmers in one of the most complex aspects of the productive process, that is the assurance of commercialization of the rural production. The PAA enhances the acquisitive power of the rural producer, providing positive changes, among them, the success of the fortification of local and regional circuits of food distribution, as well as commercialization networks (BERGAMASCO, BORSATTO and SOUZA-ESQUERDO, 2013). Besides this, the results that were gathered by the authors showed that the PAA allowed the investment in the agrarian properties and provided economic and social inclusion of the farmers, stimulating them to keep their agrarian activities, that is one of the objectives of the program. This scenario stimulated many cities to join the PAA. The Program presented certain shyness in the initial years with low movement of financial resources. Grisa and Schneider affirm that: “After breaking with important institutional barriers (as the Law of Bidding), the PAA unleashed a new trajectory to the institutional markets to the family farming, that was fortified in 2009 with the change in the National

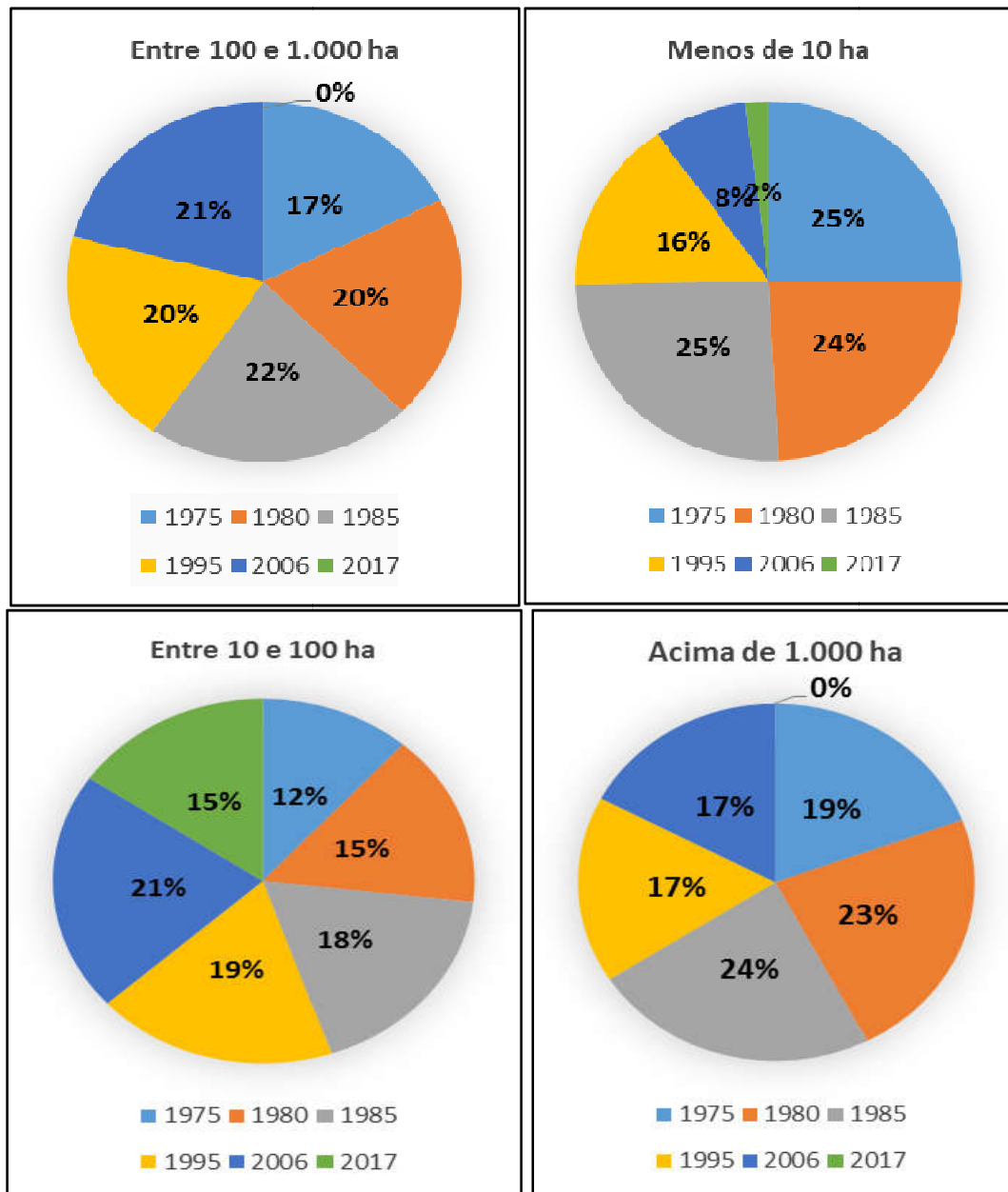
Program of School Feeding (PNAE) and the creation of the Law n. 11,947 that determined that at minimum 30% of the Federal resources are destined to the acquisition of school feeding” (Grisa and Sergio Schneider 2014, p.15). According to the Manual of the Ministry of Agrarian Development, the rules of the PAA are in charge of the Management Group (GGPAA) that is composed by representatives of the Ministry of the Social and Agrarian Development (MDSA), of the Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Supplying (MAPA), of the Ministry of Planning, Budget and Management (MPOG), the Finance Ministry (MF), of the Ministry of Education (MEC) and of the special Secretary of Family Farming and Agrarian Development (SEAD); while the organization of the actions is of the MDSA and the National Company of Supplying responsibility (CONAB) (Brasil/MDA, 2018). The PAA acts in five modalities: Direct Purchase, Purchase with Simultaneous Donation (CDS), Support to Stock Formation (CPR-Estoque), PAA-Leite (Support to the Production for the consumption of Milk) and Institutional Purchase. Each one with its ending and characteristic (BRASIL/CONAB, 2017). The institutional purchase magnifies the market opportunities for the family farming with the finality of attending to regular demands from University Restaurants, prisons, hospitals, Police academies, among others, being this done by exemption of bidding reasoned in the dispositions of the Law n° 8,666, of June 21st of 1991 and using the rules of the PAA also predicted in the Law (Brasil, 2018).

METHODOLOGY

The present work realized an exploratory research by mean of bibliographic study of the subject, as well as a quantitative research by mean of a secondary data collection. The data were analyzed by the analytical method, in which the analysis makes possible to order the data to provide answers to the proposed problem (Gerhardt; Silveira, 2009). The researches were done in published articles about the subject and also laws, decrees and Government websites, such as the portal of the National Company of Supplying (CONAB), of the Ministry of Agrarian Development (MDA) and of the Central Bank of Brazil (Department of Regulation, Supervision and Control of Rural Credit Operations and the Proagro (Derop) System of Rural Credit Operations and the Proagro) - for the period from 2010 to 2017.

RESULTS

Family farming in the State of Maranhão: In Maranhão the fiscal module is fixed between 15 and 15 acres (Brasil/Inca 2019). On the other hand, the definition of family farmer and family rural entrepreneur given by the Law n° 11.326/2006 also includes the concept of fiscal module when establishing that, among other requirements, it does not have at any title an area bigger than 4 fiscal modules. The study found that in the State, the number of establishments with areas of until 4 fiscal modules represents more than 87%, these, according to the law, have characteristics which family farming can be practiced, this taking in consideration the pre-requirement of size of the area. In Figure 1 the data from the agrarian census by IBGE from 1975 to 2017 point out that in Maranhão the establishments smaller than 10 acres presented some reduction, that it, in the census of 1975, they represented 25% of the total of establishments, on the other hand in the year of 2017 they represented only 2%.



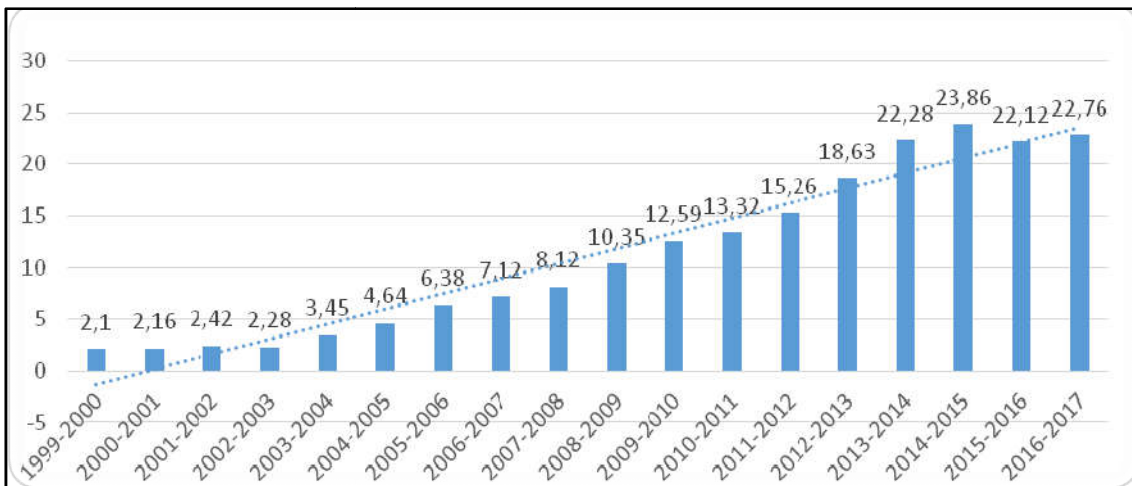
Source: Data that was systematized by the author of the IBGE census (1975-2017). Note: In the Year of 2017 the establishments with more than 100 acres are 135,528.

Figure 1. Number of rural establishments of the census between 1975-2017 in the State of Maranhão

However about the establishments from 10 to 100 acres, it was observed their increase between the census from 1975 to 2006, but in the year of 2017 there was some reduction in relation to the census of 1995 and 2006. In the establishments between 10 and less than 100 acres, in the census of 2006, they represented 21%, and in the census of 2017 a reduction was observed in which were registered 15% of the total of establishments (Brasil/IBGE, 2018). The most surprising change when comparing the data about the number of registered establishments in Maranhão, between the years of 1985 and 1995 refers to the decrease of the number of establishments from 163,222, what corresponds to 30.7%, and between 1995 and 2006, the decrease was of 81,152, registering a decrease of 22.04%. One of the explanations for this change refers to the advances of agrarian borders that happened in the last four decades in the State (Brasil/IBGE, 2018). The decade of 1970 was marked by the application of the Law n° 2,979, of June 15th of 1969, that highlighted the beginning of the “modernization” of the agrarian sector in the State of Maranhão for economic groups (Araújo, 2015).

This context could be one of the determining factors for the reduction of numbers of rural establishments in the State. In the years from 1972 to 1978 there was an incentive for the concentration of the land properties in Brazil (Silva, 2003). In this way the government programs made the acquisition of land and the taken of bank financings easier, mainly in the State of Maranhão where: The cheap land during the years of 1970 eased the investments, the incentives given by the SUDAM, to the special lines of credit that were created by the government to stimulate the occupation of great empty spaces in the areas of agrarian frontiers, attracted the investors, taking advantage of the favorable natural conditions that the cerrado presented for the cultivation of commodities such as soy, as an example of the temperature, the distribution of rain, the light and the topography, presenting wide plane and continuous areas that favored Scale economy, although the soils needed some correction (Bernardes, 2005 p. 1823).

Pronaf in Brazil and in the State of Maranhão: PRONAF is the main public politic for the segment of family farming.



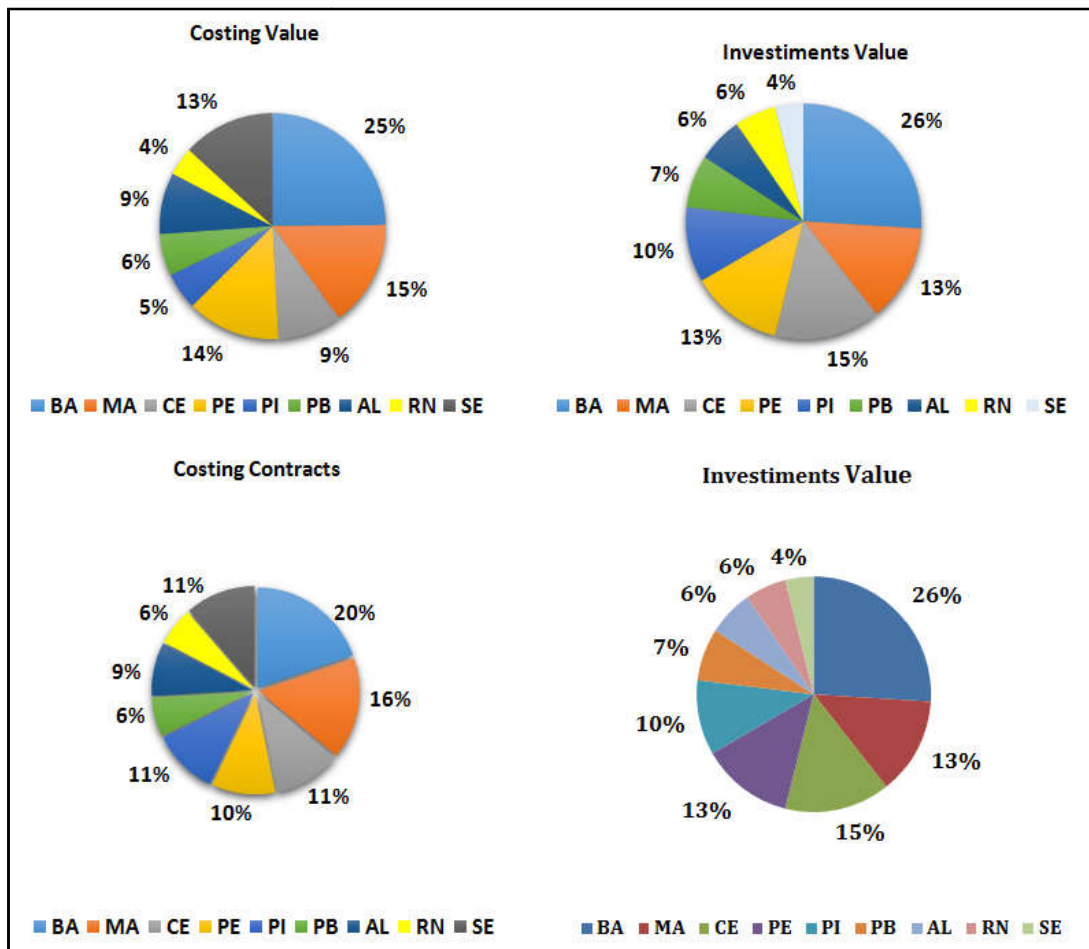
Source: Ministry of Agrarian Development-MDA (BRASIL 2018).

Figure 2. Evolution of PRONAF 1999-2017 (in current billion of R\$)

Chart 1. Hiring of investments and costing per Region of Brazil by PRONAF in the period of 2013 to 2017

Total	N° of invest. + Costing	Investvalue + Costing (R\$)	Quant.(%)	Value (%)
South	2.520.905	56.820.629.546,53	30,12	51,94
Southeast	1.228.296	21.429.609.819,79	14,67	19,58
Northeast	3.975.563	15.098.248.925,12	47,50	13,80
North	380.036	8.035.606.729,70	4,54	7,34
Midwest	263.290	8.009.447.043,45	3,14	7,32
Total	8.368.090	109.393.542.064,59	100	100

Source: Central Bank of Brazil (BCB) – Department of Regulation, Supervision and Control of Rural Credit Operations and the Proagro (Derop) System of Rural Credit Operations and the Proagro (Sicor).



Source: Central Bank of Brazil (BCB) – Department of Regulation, Supervision and Control of Rural Credit Operations and the Proagro (Derop) System of Rural Credit Operations and the Proagro (Sicor).

Figure 3. Percentage the values of the contracts per State of the Northeast in the period from January of 2013 to December of 2017

Since its launch in 1995 the program has been increasing its level of reach. Between 1999 and 2000 the number of cities attended was of 3.403. Between 2007 and 2008 more than 5.300 cities were contemplated by the PRONAF. In terms of resources made available, in 1999/2000 it was a little more than R\$ 2 billion. Between 2006 and 2007 the amount corresponded to about R\$ 7,2 billion (Brasil/MDA, 2018). In a first moment, the program focused basically in the South region, being in 1996, 78% of total contracts and 65% of resources destined to this region.

In the harvest of 2012-2013, R\$18,63 billion were applied, considering that in this period emergency credit lines of investment were operationalized due to the dry, with bonus of until 20% in the South of the country and until 40% in the Northeast, and the good prices of agriculture caused this increase in demand (Bianchini, 2015). For Bianchini (2015), the principal measures in the years-harvest 2013-2014 and 2014-2015 that contributed for the increase of liberated resources were the increase in support to the farmers that belong to the B Group and the extension in the methodology of



Source: Central Bank of Brazil (BCB) – Department of Regulation, Supervision and Control of Rural Credit Operations and the Proagro (Derop) System of Rural Credit Operations and the Proagro (Sicor).

Figure 4. Cities with the largest concentration and values (in Reais) of PRONAF in the State of Maranhão in the period of 2013 to 2017

These percentages can be explained due to the economic weight and the pressure of the agrarian industry over the farmers, the largest organization, the productive integration of the family farmers in this region and to the most limited organization of producers from other regions. Since 1999 there was a better distribution of contracts and resources. In this year for example the South region had a participation of 60.5% of total contracts and the Northeast region of 22%. In 2004 the South region had 38,5% of participation in the total of contracts and the Northeast of 36% (Mattei, 2005). Figure 2 shows the evolution of resources of the PRONAF, by Harvest-Plan in the period of 1999-2017. The harvest-plan of 2013-2014 and 2014-2015 were the planes that presented larger financial resources for the family farming.

the Oriented Productive Microcredit; the new modality of the PAA Institutional Purchase; and the interests of costing and investments with a lower tax. According to Chart 3, the Northeast is a great receiver of resources by PRONAF, being the region that used the most, in numbers, the hiring of costing and investments by mean of the PRONAF (47.50%). The South region is in second place (30.12%) and the Southeast in third (14.67%). In terms of value of hiring costing and investments, the biggest amounts are observed in the South Region (51.94% of the values), followed by the Southeast and Northeast (19.58% e 13.80%). Maranhão was the second State in the Northeast Region in volume of resources, financed by the PRONAF, in the 2013/2014 harvest, a total of R\$ 462.6 million to 97,470 credit operations according to the data from

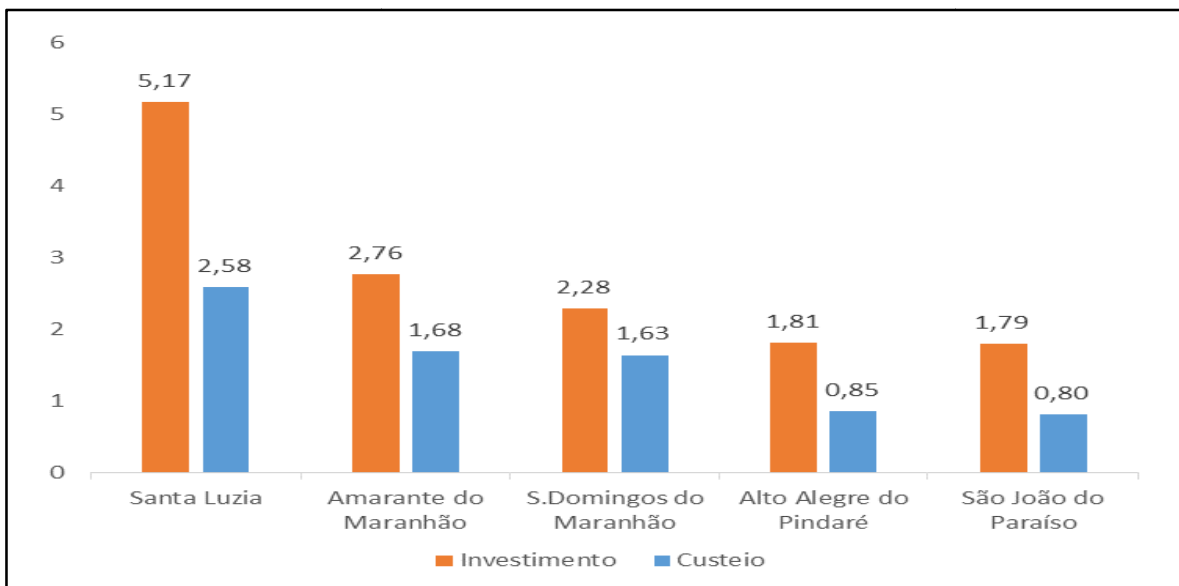
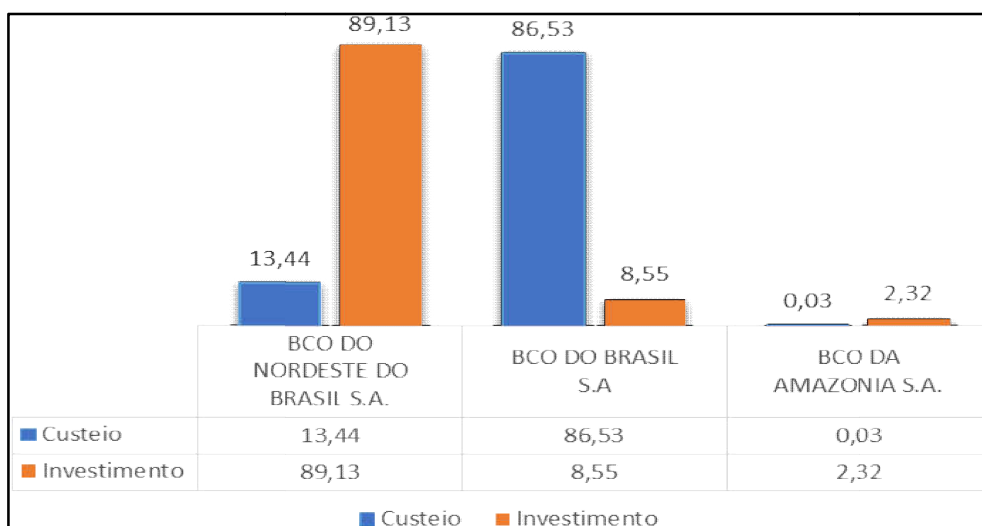


Figure 5. Contracts of investment and costing (%)



Source: Central Bank of Brazil (BCB) – Department of Regulation, Supervision and Control of Rural Credit Operations and the Proagro (Derop) System of Rural Credit Operations and the Proagro (Sicor).

Figure 6. Publicfinancing agents

the Ministry of Agrarian Development (Brasil 2018). According to the State Secretary of Social Development - SEDES (2018), in Maranhão, 262 thousand families of family farmers exist, that respond for 65% to 75% of the production of food cultures in the State, as corn, beans, rice and manioc. Only in terms of manioc, the family farming participates with 80% of the production. In Figure 3 are expressed in percentage the values of the contracts per State of the Northeast in the period from January of 2013 to December of 2017. In the last five years (2013 to 2017), Maranhão executed 410,340 contracts, being the modality of investments with 10% and costing with 16% of the contracts. Also, it was the fifth state to realize most contracts in the Northeast region according to the gathered data. In relation to the financial resources, Bahia and Maranhão were the states that hired through the PRONAF the most in the period. Figure 3 –In Maranhão, 217 cities participated of the PRONAF in the period of 2013 to 2017. The investments were done by Public Banks, as *Banco do Nordeste do Brasil S.A.*, *Banco do Brasil S.A.* and *Banco da Amazônia S.A.*, the amount of resources reached R\$ 1.990.022.163,17 in costing agrarian and livestock

investments. In Figure 4 are ranked the five cities (Santa Luzia, Amarante do Maranhão, São Domingos do Maranhão, Alto Alegre do Pindaré and São João do Paraíso) with the largest application of resources of PRONAF in the period from 2013 to According to the data from the Central Bank, the city of Santa Luzia, was the city that accessed the most the credit of investment and costing of PRONAF, reaching 5,17% and 2,58%, respectively of the total resource applied in the 217 cities of Maranhão. The execution of PRONAF in the State or Maranhão was given through Public Banks (*Banco do Brasil*, *Banco do Nordeste do Brasil* and *Banco da Amazônia*). The *Banco do Nordeste do Brasil* is the financial agent that applied more resources into PRONAF in the State of Maranhão with 89.13% of the number of credit of investment for agrarian and livestock operations and answers for 13.44% of the costing. The participation of *Banco do Brasil* in the operations of credit of costing for agrarian and livestock in the region is very expressive, responding to 86.53% and in the case of credit operations of investment *Banco do Brasil* responds for 8,55% as shown in Figure 6. “The PRONAF has different stages and credit values that are adequate to the size of the enterprise in

Chart 2. Quantity and hired value per value rate in the State of Maranhão in the period of 2013 to 2017.

Faixa-Valor	Modalidade	Qtd.Custeio	Vlr. Custeio	Qtd.Invest.	Vlr. Invest.	Quantidade	Valor	(%)
Até 10.000	Agrícola	25.058	126.175.026	71.358	179.358.893	96.416	305.533.920	
	Pecuária	5.913	34.814.641	255.622	780.004.666	261.535	814.819.307	
	Total	30.971	160.989.667	326.980	959.363.560	357.951	1.120.353.227	56,29
10.000,01-20.000	Agrícola	1.765	26.130.618	863	12.513.199	2.628	38.643.818	
	Pecuária	2.878	43.169.850	14.559	209.943.863	17.437	253.113.714	
	Total	4.643	69.300.468	15.422	222.457.063	20.065	291.757.532	14,66
20.000,01-30.000	Agrícola	287	6.917.767	115	2.742.510	402	9.660.277	
	Pecuária	1.198	29.116.270	4.576	113.407.848	5.774	142.524.118	
	Total	1.485	36.034.037	4.691	116.150.359	6.176	152.184.396	7,64
30.000,01-50.000	Agrícola	288	11.801.112	79	2.933.188	367	14.734.301	
	Pecuária	1.376	53.906.939	4.214	165.087.554	5.590	218.994.494	
	Total	1.664	65.708.051	4.293	168.020.743	5.957	233.728.795	11,74
50.000,01-100.000	Agrícola	125	8.485.630	39	3.078.062	164	11.563.692	
	Pecuária	318	20.017.435	1.960	135.980.943	2.278	155.998.378	
	Total	443	28.503.065	1.999	139.059.006	2.442	167.562.071	8,41
100.000,01-200.000	Agrícola	6	692.448	10	1.183.779	16	1.876.228	
	Pecuária	4	468.429	185	21.882.593	189	22.351.022	
	Total	10	1.160.877	195	23.066.372	205	24.227.250	1,21
200.000,01-300.000	Pecuária	0	0	1	246.000	1	246.000	
	Total	0	0	1	246.000	1	246.000	0,01

Source: Central Bank of Brazil (BCB) – Department of Regulation, Supervision and Control of Rural Credit Operations and the Proagro (Derop) System of Rural Credit Operations and the Proagro (Sicor).

each stage” (Alide, 2008). In this way, Chart 2 demonstrates the value rates of financings of PRONAF (costing, agrarian and livestock investments) inferior to R\$ 10,000.00 and until R\$ 300,000.00. It is also possible to verify that the program operations between 2013-2017 concentrated 56.29% in the value rate of until R\$ 10.000,00

PAA in Brazil and in the State of Maranhão

PAA in Brazil: From 2003 to 2017 the resources applied in the acquisition of food aiming for the PAA operationalization reached R\$ 3.957 billion. The regions that stood up in the period were the Northeast and the South, that together represent more than 60% of the applied resources. According to the CONAB, the demand by the PAA is variable due to the characteristics of each region, in terms of local social organization and the access to information by part of the supplying beneficiaries or their legal representation (Brasil/Conab, 2018). The Figure 7 shows the percentage of resources applied in the PAA from 2003 to 2017 in the Brazilian regions. The Northeast is responsible for 31% of the hired resources in the period. The second region that hired the PAA resource the most was the South with 30%. On the other hand, the North region presents the worst index of hiring, of only 6.83% of the total of hired resources. These data are important to confirm the difference that exists in Brazil related to the application of resources from this politic. In this way, the presented numbers configure as an important instrument to evaluate the local questions from each region of Brazil in relation to the disparity of applied resources.

Between 2003 and 2017, the South region had the highest rate of annual growth (19.38% a.a.); followed by the Southeast region (12.48% a.a.); the Midwest (10.23% a.a.); the Northeast (5,9% a.a.) and the North region (4,76% a.a.). The growth rate of applied resources in Brazil was of 5.54% a.a. It can be noticed that all the regions had growth superior to the national growth rate with exception of the North region. In Figure 8 it is possible to verify the indexes of applied resources per Brazilian region in the PAA (base year of 2003) through the fourteen years executing the program. It can be observed in Figure 8 that the highest indexes found are in the Southeast region. From 2003 to 2017 there was an increase of 14% in

resources that were applied in this region. The other regions presented a fall in the indexes, from 2013 to 2017 (68%, 32%, 26% and 33%, respectively for the Midwest, Northeast, North and South). In the Northeast region, the largest increase in resources, considering the calculation of the mentioned index, was between 2010 and 2012 (in comparison to 2003, the applied resources increased 160%, 202% and 187% in 2010, 2011 and 2012, respectively). This growth, in 2010 and 2012 can be explained by the launch of the Plan Brazil without Misery (*Plano Brasil Sem Miséria* - BSM) by the Federal Government. The Plan was organized in three axis: one of income guarantee for immediate relief in the extreme poverty situation; other of access to public services to improve the conditions of education, health and citizenship of the families; and a third of productive inclusion and to increase capacities and work opportunities and also income generation among the poorest families. The low budget producers that accessed the PAA in 2010 represented 32% of the total of beneficiaries. With the launching of the Plan Brazil without Misery the participation of these producers passed to 53% between 2011 and June of 2014, (totalizing 301.6 mil operations that were done by families registered in the *Cadastro Único* – Unique Registration) (Brasil/MDS, 2018). Also in 2012 it was promulgated the Decree n° 7,775, with the aim of guaranteeing that states, Federal District and cities, beyond Federal Organs can also purchase food from family farming with their own financial resources, dismissing in this way the bidding process to attend regular demands of food consumption. Thus, hospitals, barracks, prisons, university restaurants, kindergarten refectories and philanthropic schools, among others, can be supplied (Brasil/MDA, 2018).

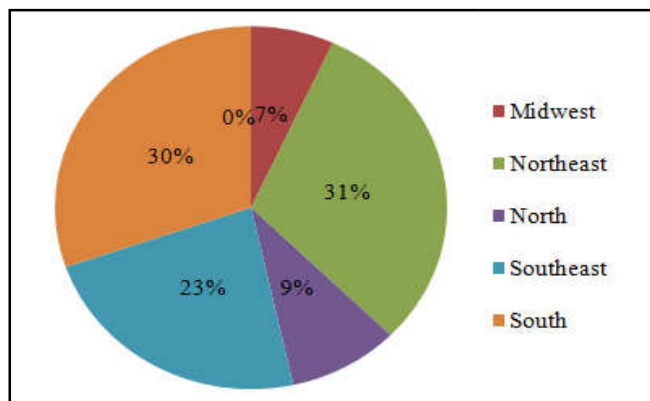
PAA in Maranhão: The State of Maranhão applied an amount of R\$ 106.86 million of the PAA resources since its implementation from 2003 to 2017 (CONAB, 2018). In 2012 the highest value was executed, moving about R\$ 25.39 million that corresponded to 23.75% of the State operations in this period. These results put the program as one of the foundations of public politics that support family farming and an insurance of food safety promoted by the Brazilian government in the last years. The year of 2012 was also marked by the highest number of families being aided and also by the biggest number of realized projects (130 projects).

Chart 3. Performance of PAA / Conab in the State of Maranhão 2003 to 2017

Year	Numeros of Family farmers	Numeros of projects	Amount(kg)	Resource spent on acquisition (R\$)
2003	1.288	0	3.377.649	2.600.789
2004	1.357	1	5.693.381	3.074.426
2005	1.395	4	3.339.564	2.781.675
2006	1.580	28	5.141.329	4.016.465
2007	1.899	40	2.980.338	6.074.329
2008	3.863	96	4.788.196	12.961.957
2009	255	4	158.360	532.000
2010	2.292	63	4.549.069	10.078.880
2011	4.148	99	7.464.590	18.331.690
2012	5.524	130	7.483.343	25.387.477
2013	1.815	41	2.329.891	8.709.479
2014	60	1	118.950	390.000
2015	68	2	128.254	542.595
2016	824	29	1.475.576	5.713.056
2017	910	53	1.329.120	5.670.633,34
Total	27.278	591	50.357.610,26	106.865.450,08

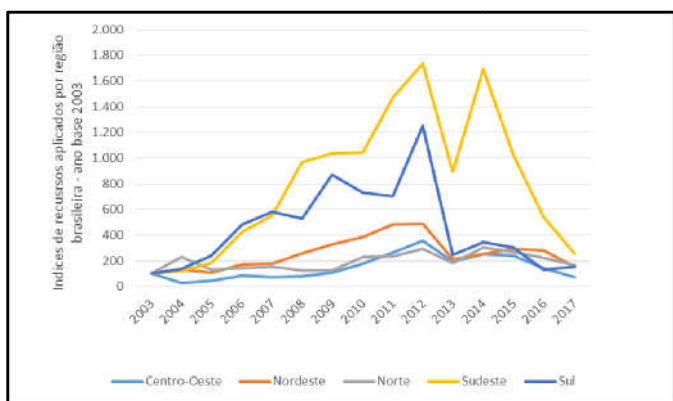
Source: Elaborated by the author with data from CONAB, (2018)

This result also matches the high application of the PRONAF in the State of Maranhão that carried out in the year-harvest 2012/2013, 91,784 contracts and the liberation of about R\$ 353.9 million. According to the State Secretary of Family Farming – SAF, of the 217 cities from Maranhão, 104 already joined the Program of Food Acquisition (PAA), what reinforces the importance of the program for social, economic and productive inclusion and also for the fortification of local development of family farmers of the State, in a way to contribute to minimize social inequalities. It can also be highlighted that since 2011/2012 Brazil incorporated the so called New Economic Matrix “that was based in a strong intervention by the Government and encompassed a reduction of the basic interest rate, price control, direct investments and subsidies” (Barbosa Filho, 2017).



Source: Elaborated by the author with data from CONAB, (2018)

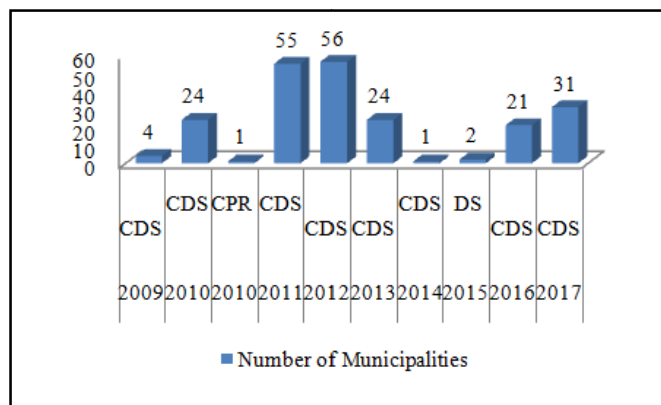
Figure 7. Application of the PAA in Brazil from 2003 to 2017



Source: Elaborated by the authors with data from CONAB (2018).

Figure 8. Indexes of resources applied in the Program of Food Acquisition (PAA) in each Brazilian region – year base 2003

In this way, these politics and government action could have been the basis for the PAA acceleration that increased the number of cities that were attended in the years of 2011 to 2013. Barbosa Filho (2017) affirms that the “total of loans from the BNDES increased more than 8% of the PIB between 2009 and 2013”. According to the BNDES (2013) and the National Company of Supplying (Conab) a public call notice of R\$ 5 million was released to support cooperatives and family farmers associations in 2013. The public call had the finality of selecting entities that are formally constituted that should invest the resources in the structuring of local and regional circuits of production, beneficiation, processing, storage and commercialization to increase their actuation conditions in the government and private markets of food. Each organization could obtain non refundable support of until R\$ 50 thousand. The target audience in the above-cited public call was constituted of cooperatives and associations that operated in the Program of Food Acquisition (PAA), the National Program of School Feeding (PNAE) or the Politic of Insurance of Minimum Prices for Products of the Social-Biodiversity (PGPM-Bio). The notice had as main focus the North, Northeast and Midwest regions (with the minimum focus of 70% of the amount of resources in these regions). According to the CONAB (2018), the modality that was most attended by the program in Maranhão was the Purchase with Simultaneous Donation – CDS. In the year of 2017, R\$5.6 million were destined to this modality. The Figure 8 presents the number of cities in the State of Maranhão that are aided by the modalities CDS and CPR. In the period of 2009 to 2017, Maranhão hired two modalities, the CDS and CPR, being the best development observed in the modality CDS. The success of this modality in relation to the others is due to its design and characteristic, when makes possible the commercialization of products that are characteristic of the Family Farming, as vegetables, fruits, sweets, homemade biscuits, among others that are acquired by mean of Supplying Organizations and delivered to the Receiving Units (CONAB, 2018).

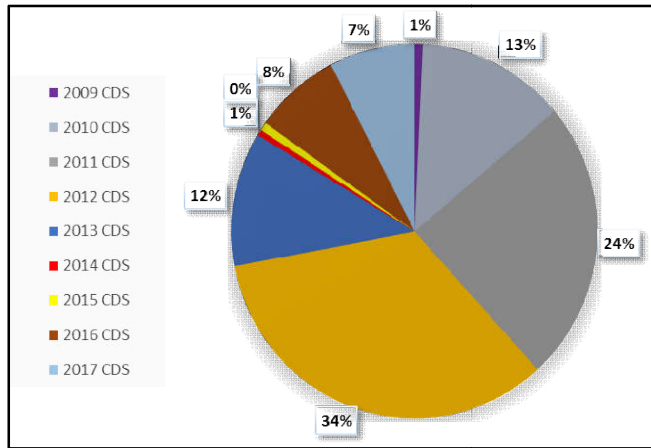


Source: Elaborated by the author from the data from CONAB, (2018)

Figure 9. Number of cities in the State of Maranhão aided by the modalities CDS and CPR of the PAA in the years of 2009 to 2017

The total value of applied resources in the CDS modality in the period above-cited reached R\$ 75,159,812.68. It was also possible to notice that 34% of this value was implemented in 2012, what matches the same period of the increase of the Plan Brazil Without Misery, as above-mentioned (Figure 10). The other modality that was operationalized in Maranhão in this period was CPR-Storage. It was noticed that the execution of the modality was done only in 2010, with shy participation, also with the applied value of R\$ 195,996.00. The modality CPR-Storage is constituted as a financial support for the

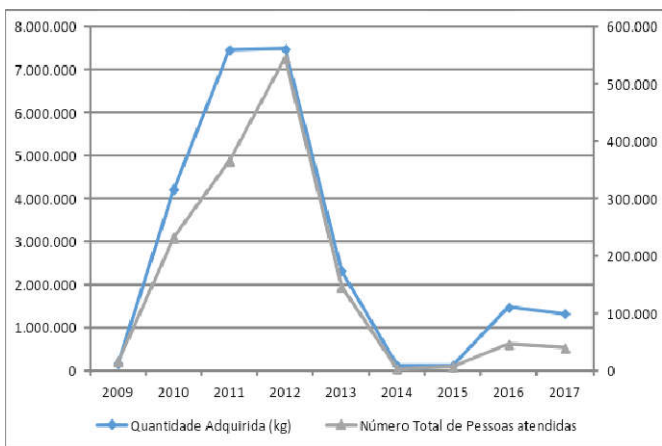
formation of food storages by partof the supplying organizations for later commercialization and devolution of resources to the public power. Since 2013 this modality is only managed by resources coming from the SEAD, former MDA (Brasil/Conab, 2018). It is important to highlight that the PAA as an instrument of food commercialization is constituted as a complement to the National Program of Family Farming Fortification in an active formof support to the family farmer in the processes of commercial insertion and also as a promoter of rural development. For the CONAB (2018), the products that are acquired by the PAA are extremely diversified, totalizing about 380 kinds of products. Many of these products are regional, with the objective of valorize and respect local food habits and the regional agrarian vocation.



Source: Elaborated by the author from the data from CONAB, (2018)

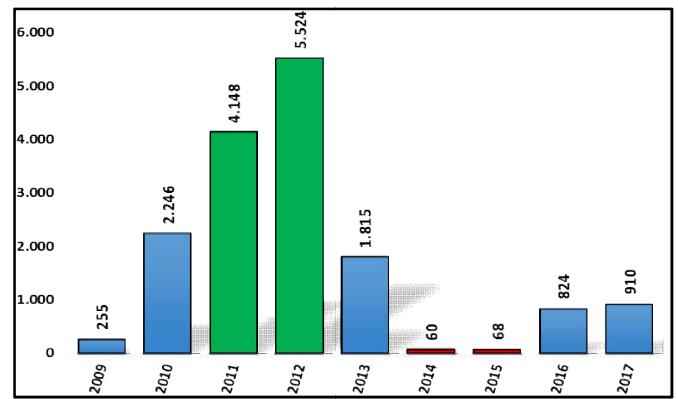
Figure 10. Percentage of Total value of PAA/Conab Projects in the State of Maranhão with the modality CDS from 2009 to 2017

In this way, besides the economic value these products must internalize the social, environmental and cultural values attributed to these products. In Figure 11 it can be noticed that the years 2011 and 2012 had the biggest participation of people that were reached with the food coming from the PAA purchases, such years were marked by the launching of the Plan Brazil without Misery, the homologation of the decree nº 7,775 of 2012 and the Call New Economic Matrix as already highlighted in this study. The discontinuity of PAA’s growth since 2014 is notorious in Figure 11.



Source: Elaborated by the author from the data from CONAB, (2018)

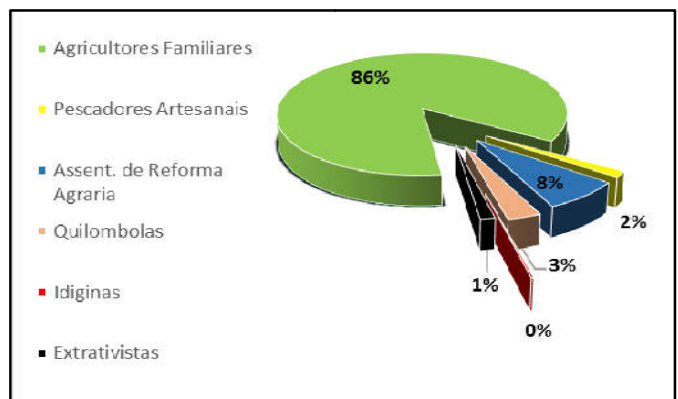
Figure 11. PAA/Conab actuation in the State of Maranhão, 2009 to 2017, in relation to the acquired quantity (kg) and attended people



Source: Elaborated by the author from the data from CONAB, (2018)

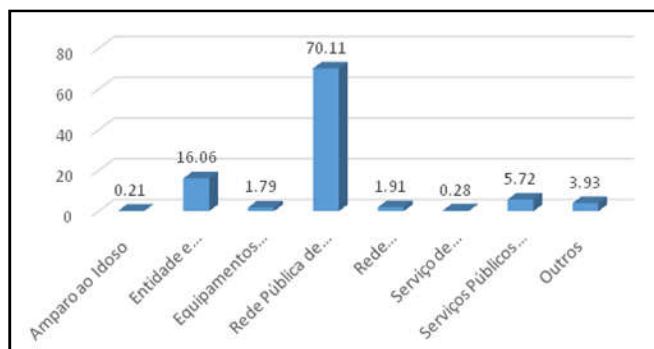
Figure 12. Number of suppliers of the PAA/Conab in the State of Maranhão, 2009 to 2017

This period matches the crisis that initiated in 2014 according to Barbosa Filho (2017). In this way, Mello (2017) affirms that “Brazil lives its greatest crisis in the history that is documented in statistics, considering the PIB contraction and the increase in unemployment”. The year of 2014 was marked by the economic slowdown, dragged by the strong concentration of investment. However, the consumption of the families continued contributing positively for the growth even with the decreasing rates (Rossi and Mello, 2017). In Rossi and Mello (2017) understanding, Brazil passed to have a recession in the first trimester of 2015, when the PIB passed to register followed decreases and the family consumption, the employment and income passed to decrease continuously, facts that were not visible until the ending of 2014. However, the crisis that was initiated since 2014 could have contributed with the inattention of countless people in food and nutrition insecurity that would be reached with food coming from the PAA purchases. Figure 11 –PAA/Conab actuation in the State of Maranhão, 2009 to 2017, in relation to the acquired quantity (kg) In relation to the number of suppliers, that is, farmers that sell their production to the PAA, in the period of 2009 to 2017, great variations occurred in the State. In Figure 12 the year of 2009, it appears with 255 supplier producers, getting in 2012 with 5,524 and in 2017 with 910. Since 2009 with the launching of the new version of the PAAnet (Program of Proposal Transmission), it was possible to verify the number of supplying participants separated by their categories. Besides that, the update allowed the addition of a field in which the family farmer declares to which category he belongs to. In Figure 13 it is possible to verify the participants per category of producers between the years of 2010 and 2017.



Source: Elaborated by the author from the data from CONAB, (2018)

Figure 13. Percentage of supplying participants separated by their categories from 2010 to 2017



Source: Elaborated by the author from the data from CONAB, (2018)

Figure 14. Distribution PAA/Conab by Consumer Category 2009 – 2017

To do so, according to data from Conab, 86% of the participants are family farmers. It was verified a shy participation of indigenous groups and quilombos in the program, with less than 4% of the contracts from 2009 to 2017. In Maranhão, the food distribution by the PAA is focused more than 70% in the Public Network of Education and 16% in Entities and Social Assistance Organizations, leaving the Elderly Support with 0.21% and Hosting Services with 0.28%. In this way, public politics as the PAA have been contributing for the development process of the family farming in the State of Maranhão. As Reis (2017) highlights, with the PAA in the State of Maranhão, there was an increase of income and capital gain that refers to the agrarian production itself, making possible the acquisition of machinery and inputs for the productive increase and the diversification of production, as well as it highlighted the social development in the studied community and the empowerment of women farmers that are involved with the program. Reis (2017) also points out that the Program of Food Acquisition presented an important mark for the development of the productive activities by the farmers, increase of family incomes, Access to credit, to the consumption, an improvements in welfare and quality of life.

Considerations

The present work demonstrated that in Maranhão happened a reduction of rural establishments with less than 100 acres, according to what was registered in the last six agrarian censuses and that in the last demographic census the rural population represented more than 37%. In relation to the importance of family farming the study shows the importance of implementing public politics that give impulse to the food production and that generate income in the rural midst for the farmers and their families. From 2013 to 2017, the PRONAF presented some evolution in hired operations and in the liberation of financial resources. The Northeast region presents itself as the great resource receiver by this program, being the third Brazilian region in usage of these politics. In numbers of contracts of investments and costing, The Northeast region operationalized 3,975,592 of contracts that corresponded to R\$ 15 billion in the period of 2013-2017. In the State of Maranhão 410,340 contracts were executed (investments and costing). In relation to the applied resource, it is the second state in the Northeast with bigger participation in the application of this resource (R\$ 2,064 billion). Besides the expressive numbers of contracts in terms of cities, the reach of PRONAF is still limited and concentrated, being that of the 217 that participate

of PRONAF, five cities in the period of 2013 to 2016 sum more than 21% of the total value that was invested in the State. From 2003 to 2017, the State of Maranhão attended through the PAA 27,278 families, being 591 projects commercializing 50,357,610.27 kg of food and moving in the rural midst R\$ 106,865,450.08. It is concluded that the program contributes for the local rural development in the State, injecting financial capital with the commercialization of products from local family farming. A new market opening for the family farmers was also found so they can commercialize their production. Since 2011/2012, conditions and stimuli that gave impulse to the public politics of the PAA and the PRONAF have been witnessed. However, the crisis initiated from 2014 to 2017 also could have contributed with the lack of attendance to the public politics above-cited. The study presented limitations about the data gathering. It was not possible to characterize the operations of PRONAF in relation to the financed activities and the credit lines that were most accessed by the beneficiaries in the State of Maranhão. Other limitation refers to the data bank of the PAA, once it was not possible to verify and describe by each city the main activities that are commercialized by the program. From this article it is suggested that new researches are done deepening the in this subject of public politics that contribute for the development of the family farming with focus in case studies applied to the cities in the State of Maranhão.

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