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Sem Terrinhas No More: The Place of Second Generation MST Settlers in the Agrarian Reform Movement Sem Terrinhas Não Mais: A Posição da Segunda Geração dos Assentados do MST no Movimento de Reforma Agrária

Lorraine Keeler
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Sem Terrinhas No More:
The Place of Second Generation
MST Settlers in the Agrarian Reform Movement

*Sem Terrinhas Não Mais: A Posição da Segunda Geração
dos Assentados do MST no Movimento de Reforma Agrária*

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Abstract

After 28 years of fighting for agrarian reform, social justice, and sustainable agriculture, Brazil's Landless Worker's Movement (MST) is facing new challenge, one of which is how to retain maturing *sem terrinhas*, children of land recipients, in the rural settlements and in the movement. The southern region of the Amazonian state of Pará, where this study takes place, is a violent area badly in need of agrarian reform and sustainable development. At the same time, it has some of the highest levels of rural youth outmigration yet virtually no literature on the MST youth there. Through interviews conducted with youth ages 17-25 in two MST settlements, the study addresses factors affecting settlement youth involvement in the MST, specifically the issues of outmigration and activism. The results are promising for the movement, suggesting that youth involvement is high and that they share the same overarching political goals as the MST. There is a high level of satisfaction with settlement life, indicating the corruptive effects of foreign media are not as severe as the literature suggests and that the movement's efforts to valorize rural life have been successful. Unfortunately a critical lack of education and employment are giving youth little option but to leave for cities; however, the movement has reason to believe that a more investment in the settlements will have a positive effect on youth retention and on the agrarian reform movement as a whole.

Keywords: MST, youth, agrarian reform, migration

Abstract

Após 28 anos de luta pela reforma agrária, justiça social, e agricultura sustentável, o Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra do Brasil (MST) está enfrentando novos desafios, dos quais, como reter os "sem terrinhas" amadurecidos nos assentamentos rurais e no movimento. A região do sul do estado amazônico do Pará, onde este estudo se realiza, é uma área violenta e precisa da reforma agrária e de desenvolvimento sustentável. Ao mesmo tempo, a região tem alguns dos níveis mais altos de emigração pela juventude rural, mas praticamente nenhuma literatura sobre a juventude do MST de lá. Através de entrevistas realizadas com jovens de 17-25 anos em dois assentamentos do MST, o estudo aborda os fatores que afetam o envolvimento da juventude no MST, especificamente, as questões da emigração e ativismo. Os resultados são promissores para o movimento, sugerindo que o envolvimento dos jovens é alto e que eles compartilham os mesmos objetivos políticos gerais do MST. Há um alto nível de satisfação com a vida assentada indicando que os efeitos de corrupção da mídia internacional não são tão graves como a literatura sugere e que os esforços do movimento para valorizar a vida rural foram bem sucedidos. Infelizmente ainda falta muito em educação e em empregos, mas o movimento tem razões para acreditar que um maior investimento nos assentamentos terá um efeito positivo na retenção da juventude.

Palavras-chaves: o MST, a juventude, reforma agrária, migração

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Thank you to my wonderful family in Palmares II, Bete, Letícia, Tamires, Rander, Vinícius, Moisés, and little Eros, for treating me like family once again and taking care of me when I was sick, and especially to Letícia for letting me follow you everywhere for the week; to my family in 17 de Abril, Maria, Wanderlan, Wanderleia, and Cintia, for taking me in, showing me your lives and, and introducing me to everyone, and especially to Wanderlan for introducing me to your friends and for the insights into your life there, they were especially helpful; to Charles for your help and for driving me everywhere, you inspire me!; to everyone at IALA; to Prof. Beatriz Ribeiro for your comments; and to Gustavo for introducing me to this country and these people.

Reconhecimentos

Graças a minha família maravilhosa em Palmares II, a Bete, a Letícia, a Tamires, o Rander, o Vinícius, o Moisés, e o bebê Eros, por me tratar como família mais uma vez e para cuidar de mim quando eu fiquei doente, e especialmente à Letícia por me deixar seguir em toda parte com ela; para Charles por sua ajuda, por me dirigir em toda parte, e por os poemas—você me inspira!; para a minha família em 17 de Abril, a Maria, o Wanderlan, a Wanderléia e a Cintia por aceitar-me, mostrar-me suas vidas, e apresentar-me a todo mundo, e especialmente para o Wanderlan por me introduzir junto de seus amigos e por as introspecções na sua vida, gostei; para o Jean por sua ajuda em 17 de Abril também; para todo mundo ao IALA por sua amizade; para Profa. Beatriz Ribeiro por seus comentários; e para o Gustavo por me introduzir ao este país e estas pessoas, obrigada.

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Glossary

Agroecology: the application of ecological principles to agriculture; a science, practice, and movement that considers productivity, stability, sustainability and equitability.

Bolsa de estudos: a grant or scholarship for studying.

Campo: the countryside, or the rural portion of the settlement.

Ensino médio: the equivalent of high school, although the age range of *ensino médio* students in the settlements visited ranged from 14 to 60.

Faculdade: “college;” the basic level of higher education in Brazil, can be public or private, differ from universities in that they do not have focus on research and have fewer professors with doctorates.

Fazenda: large rural land holding or farm used for cattle ranching or agriculture.

Lote: an individual family’s rural property within the settlement.

Mercado do trabalho: a small employment agency.

Militante: activist; the MST uses the word “militante” rather than “ativista” because there is more of an implication of fighting against the system rather than from within it.

Sem terrinhas: lit. “little landless ones,” or youth in the MST.

Vila: the “urban” portion of the settlement, a cross between a town square and a small village.

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Sem Terrinhas No More:

The Place of Second Generation MST Settlers in the Agrarian Reform Movement

When a small group of poor, displaced families in desperate need of land began to occupy a large *fazenda* (ranch) in Rio Grande do Sul in 1979, they could not have imagined that their efforts would grow into one of the most successful social movements in the world. Now 28 years old and active in 24 of Brazil's 27 states, the Rural Landless Workers Movement (*Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra – MST*) has a membership of roughly 1.5 million people and has assisted 350,000 landless families in securing land and creating a new life for themselves. (Wright & Wolford, 2003; MST “Organização, 2009; Landertinger, 2009).

The MST is Brazil's oldest and arguably most successful social movement, the largest in Latin America, and has been called “the most important and exciting popular movement in the world” by American philosopher Noam Chomsky (The Economist, 2005; Landertinger, 2009). Standing in the center of an MST settlement, one cannot help but be moved by the thought that what was once one person’s illegally-held property is now where that thousands have a chance to improve their lives, a chance that most of Brazil’s 18 million poor will never have (Peduzzi, 2011). Under the umbrella of agrarian reform, the movement also addresses social and environmental issues such as inequality, corruption, exploitation of workers, the use of agrotoxins, and the industrial agriculture complex (MST “Nossos Objetivos”, 2009).

Yet, now with more than a quarter-century of work behind it, the MST is facing questions of sustainability. Critics (and there are many in Brazil) claim that the MST’s work has failed to change as a whole, as the inequality of land distribution has only increased. They say that the MST’s model of familial agriculture is at odds with Brazil’s current export economy, that these farms simply cannot survive in the market, and that government support has fallen with each successive administration (Carvalho & Aggege, 2011).

Supporters argue that these claims are just some the latest in a long history of media attacks against the movement. The need for agrarian reform is more urgent than ever, they say, and the fact that family farms no longer fit with the government’s vision for the Brazilian economy is a reason *for*, not against, agrarian reform (Carvalho & Aggege, 2011).

Even while it fights off criticism, the MST is also continually self-assessing: What can it do better? What does it need to move forward? How are the needs of the organization changing?

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The movement has identified one vulnerable population, the maturing *sem-terrinhos*, children of land-recipients that have grown up within the movement but never been landless themselves. The MST has always placed a focus on children, using them to evade violence in conflicts with police, making education a priority in settlements, and striving to instill in them not MST doctrine but independent thinking (Wright & Wolford, 2003). Yet the needs of older youth on the brink of adulthood are more complex and immediate than those of children, and the movement faces many obstacles that hinder the effort to keep youth on the settlements.

Furthermore, research suggests that addressing the needs of the youth will be vital to the movement and to Latin America as a whole. Youth are acknowledged as a key part of the future of social movements and specifically to the agrarian reform movement (Ghimirie, 2002; Ribeiro, 2011). With the highest level of social inequality in any sizable country in the world (Wright & Wolford, 2003), and a government beset by corruption and inefficiencies, Brazilian politics and society are badly in need of reform. With “pervasive institutional obstacles” to reform from within, Weyland (1995) asserts that Brazil needs “a broad-based, long-term effort at comprehensive, yet gradual institutional transformation,” exactly the sort of work the MST pursues.

Meanwhile, where does the MST fit in the frame of environmental reform in Brazil? Although not founded with environmental goals, the movement has realized that the long-term survival of its settlements depends on using sustainable production practices, and has since invested in environmental education and sustainable agriculture programs. However, Whether the movement is “good” for the environment is still debated as ranching and slash-and-burn are common among settlers. Yet viewed through the frame of environmental justice, which takes into account the exploitation of people *and* the environment, the MST is a small win for both, creating a population that is invested in the health of the land, and directly challenging the two biggest sources of deforestation, *fazenda*-style cattle ranching and industrial agriculture (de Mayola & Giles, 2001). For this reason, the MST has an important role to play in improving the lives of the Brazilian people and also in pursuing environmental sustainability. This work is critical in the fast-developing edges of the Amazon, where this research takes place, and considering the importance of the Amazon to the global climate, the success of the MST’s efforts there could have ramifications on a global scale.

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Goal

The goal of this study is to address what elements affect youth involvement in the MST in settlements in the south of Pará by exploring two problems that the MST has identified within its own movement: rural outmigration to cities, and a lack of involvement in the movement among settlement youth. The research endeavors to characterize 1) the extent to which outmigration is happening within the two settlements; 2) reasons for outmigration, such as dissatisfaction with the rural life and a lack of resources; 3) the level of involvement in the MST among settlement youth; and 4) whether the youth feel represented by the movement and whether this correlates with their level of involvement.

Background

The MST

In Brazil, 50 percent of the land is owned by a mere 4 percent of the population, just one byproduct of the deep inequities in Brazilian society (Wright & Wolford, 2003). There are technically laws that support agrarian reform, but the government has little incentive to spend the time and money focusing on this issue. The MST is one organization that has stepped in to fill this void by pressuring the government to distribute land to the poor and landless.

How does the movement do this? First, it selects a piece of land that is being used unproductively and whose legal ownership is in question. Both of these are common in the south of Pará state, where this study takes place, because of the popularity of cattle ranching and the lack of proper land-holding records. Once it has found a suitable property that it is likely to win, the MST recruits the poor from nearby cities and they establish a camp on part of the land. These camps are run like small villages with a house for each family (in this region, often made of thatched palm), a school, and a collective farming plot to feed the community. The occupation phase can last anywhere from months to years and many families drop out during this extremely difficult period.

If the movement is successful, the government deems the current holder's claim unlawful, purchases the land from the previous owner, and sells it to the occupying families. This is an important detail of the movement that the media often leaves out when it portrays the movement as trespassers and thieves. The MST then helps the families establish a settlement. In the ones used in this research, the families initially built houses close together—forming the *vila* or

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“urban” area of the settlement—and farmed collectively until the *lotes* (plots) were distributed and ready to farm. Most families build a house on the *lote* as well and commute between the *lote* and the *vila*. The MST helps establish a school, a health post, and entrepreneurial community members establish shops and bars in the *vila*. In the most developed examples such as *Palmares II*, the settlement resembles a small rural town. Notably, the MST assists with many services that are normally responsibilities of the government, but in cases that the government does not provide, the MST steps in to take over these tasks.

In the south of Pará state, which sits on the deforested edge of the Amazon rainforest, there are many such occupations and settlements along the highways yet there is an acute need for more reform. The area is one of the most dangerous in the country and much of the violence is over land issues (Negreiros, 2011). The area has been colonized relatively recently—some areas were only deforested in the early 2000’s—and the influx of migrants looking for land to farm coupled the prevalence of enormous *fazendas* and ranching set the stage for conflict, violence, and deforestation and creates a pressing need for social and agrarian reform.

Youth and the MST

The MST has historically made youth an important part of its movement. Since the start, the MST has used women and children to diffuse violence in encampments and has made education a top priority. The MST now has an active youth movement advocating for its interests in the context of the movement’s broader goals. They host workshops and seminars specifically for youth and each year train a group of young activists from each region to be movement leaders.

Yet despite this effort, it remains difficult to meet the needs and wants of the settlement youth. Ribeiro (2011) describes the obstacles that hinder the effort to keep youth on the settlements: 1) *minifundização*: the generational shrinkage of property as the original *lote* is divided among children; 2) poor infrastructure and lack of resources that make it difficult to provide for the needs and wants of the youth; 3) environmental devastation: a characteristic of much of the land in settlements as a result of the history of being held successively by loggers, ranchers, and squatters that makes it difficult to make a living off the land, much less pass it on to a successive generation.

In its publications, the MST has identified several needs that the youth are currently lacking, including employment opportunities, access to and involvement in youth and global

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culture, media access (especially internet), educational opportunities, and support for sexual issues such as unwanted pregnancies (MST “Exôdo”, 2011; MST “Levanta”, 2011). Ghimire (2002) also identifies the lack of control over decisions of income and family resource use as an important issue for rural youth. The MST has tried to address some of these issues by increasing educational and occupational opportunities for youth in the settlements, especially through technical courses and *bolsas de estudos* (scholarships). Notably, the MST is forced to address these because of inaction on the part of the state, a problem that goes far beyond youth issues and dilutes the movement’s efforts towards agrarian reform.

A major concern for the health of rural youth is the increased exposure to media that is “not appropriate to the local social, economic, and social realities” (de Mayola & Giles, 2001). Things such as advertisements for products outside the purchasing power of rural families and popular TV programs that valorize consumerism and urban lifestyles are seen as real threats to the happiness and well-being of rural youth. The MST combats this by encouraging cultural expression of rural life in order to combat the “valorization of foreign lifestyles” that can trigger dissatisfaction with the youth’s own rural culture (De Mayola, 2001).

The importance of these efforts in the south of Pará cannot be understated, as the region has the highest rates in Brazil of youth working outside the *lote*, and the highest rate of people leaving settlement families (Ribeiro, 2011). Different studies have concluded both that the rural youth almost always migrates out of the *campo* and that there is a tension between leaving for jobs and staying to be close to family but, as Ribeiro points out, none of these studies have been conducted in the Amazon. The differences in context and heritage between other parts of Brazil and the Amazon are too different to allow conclusions made elsewhere to be transposed onto Amazonia. This fact, coupled with the importance of agrarian reform and sustainable development in the south of Pará demonstrate an acute need for more research on youth in Amazonian settlements

Social Movements and the Youth

Despite the fact that Latin American countries are historically young—in Brazil, 1 in every 5 people is between the ages of 15 and 24—youth are “rarely prominent in scholarly investigations in Latin America” (Wolseth & Babb, 2008). Ghimirie (2002) calls this omission “deleterious, not least because the main victims of globalization are the young of impoverished rural families.”

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Meanwhile children, especially the poor, have historically been subject to deep-rooted discrimination in Brazilian society, viewed only as passive receptors of others' actions (Butler, 2008). Yet a growing body of work recognizes that youth hold the key to Latin America's economic and social development. Wolseth and Babb (2008) contend that "the future of the democratic transition in Latin America will depend on the engagement of young women and men in calling for, securing, and preserving their citizenship rights," and that they have, more specifically, "great significance to the youth within the fight for agrarian reform" (Ribeiro, 2011).

Although they potentially hold the keys to the future, the political involvement of Brazil has been widely denigrated (Butler, 2008; Murphy, 2010). But it is misguided to solely blame youth apathy for the lack of involvement; the social and political instability of Brazil clearly has a large part to play in the reluctance to vote. As one 16-year old Brazilian explains, "If I vote for a politician who does something stupid, I will also be responsible. I intend to put off this responsibility for as long as I can" (Murphy, 2010). More scholars are arguing that to deduce that Brazilian youth are not political is too simplistic—"the conception that rural youth are passive, uninformed and incapable of acting should be rejected," states Ghimirie (2002). Rather than supporting individual parties, youth tend to organize around issues and through unconventionally political outlets such as music or capoeira. Mandel (2008) suggests that the literature may have to re-conceptualize what it means to be "political" to truly understand the youth participation.

Rural youth represent a particularly important demographic. Rural families produce eighty percent of Brazil's food and the social well being of this population is essential not only to agrarian reform movements but the country as a whole. Ghimirie (2002) asserts that social movements of the rural youth are "critical if authorities and more dominant classes in society are to listen to powerless and property-less rural population groups."

Methodology

This study's demographic is youth age 17-25 who have lived in an MST settlement since childhood. This age range was chosen because the MST and the literature has identified the issues of outmigration and lack of involvement among this population, as well as a vulnerability to the effects of globalization, specifically the influence of foreign culture that valorizes consumption and urbanism and devalues rural life.

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The settlements of *Palmares II* and *17 de Abril* were chosen because they are approximately the same age (17 and 16 years, respectively) and in the same region (the south of Pará) yet have different access to resources. *Palmares II* is located in the Parauapebas municipality, the second richest in the state and is a short drive away from Parauapebas, a wealthy city next to Carajás, the world's largest iron mine (Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, 2009). Because of the proximity, residents can access the shopping mall and cinema with relative ease via a bus or van and as Parauapebas has expanded, the settlement has experienced the effects, good and bad, of increasing urbanization. Some residents of *Palmares II* have also allowed mining activities on their land, a source of both income and conflict within the community.

In contrast, *17 de Abril* (named for the anniversary of the Eldorado dos Carajás massacre) is only a little over an hour from *Palmares II*, but is in a poorer municipality. While *Palmares II* is a 20-minute drive down a paved road from Parauapebas, *17 de Abril* is about 20 minutes down a rutted dirt from the highway, and from there it is a short ways to the nearest town, Eldorado. In addition to being in a wealthier municipality, *Palmares II* also has more of the MST leadership living in and around it because of its proximity to the city, a fact that is not lost on residents of *17 de Abril*, some of whom voiced resentment over the perceived wealth of *Palmares II*.

The interviews were semi-structured, with a list of mandatory questions (Table 1), but with the option to ask participants to elaborate on their answers. Some participants that seemed comfortable talking and interested in the subject spoke long after the “interview” ended. Useful information was gathered in this manner and is included here, but it should be noted that information from these conversations is only anecdotal.

To address the question of whether the youth wanted to leave the settlement and why, they were asked whether they wanted to live in the settlement their whole lives, whether they liked living there, and whether the settlement lacked anything that they needed. The open-ended nature of the question was able to reveal whether lack of resources or lack of pop culture were more important (through answers like “internet” or “shopping”) or if basic resources were more of an issue (through answers such as “jobs” and “education”).

The participants were asked whether they thought the MST was trying to procure the things missing from the settlement to gauge if they felt like the MST was working towards their interests, and were asked about their desires for the future of Brazil to see if they correlated with

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the political desires as the MST. They were then asked whether they were involved in the movement to see if involvement correlated with the feeling that their interests were represented by the movement.

Methodological Issues

There were a few shortcomings in the methodology. Primarily there are the inherent limits to semi-structured interviews. Information gathered outside of the structured questions is not standard across the sample and can only be assessed as anecdotal. However, the information herein provides a basis for future and more comprehensive studies.

Second, the sample of participants was not a random sampling. Many of the participants were friends of the two host families, and since the host families were both politically active in the MST, their friends may have been as well, making the sample over-representative of politically active youth. For the interviews that were with strangers, these people were selected in the *vilas* of the settlements. Unfortunately, it was not possible to interview randomly in the *campo* because of lack of transportation.

Third, in some interviews there was a lack of privacy. During some of those conducted in public spaces, friends tried to stand around and listen, and in homes parents occasionally tried interjecting their own opinions. After this happened a few times, more of an effort was made to ensure privacy.

Fourth, the settlements were meant to provide a contrast, but both settlements shared two significant things in common that may not be “normal” for an MST settlement. Both had very large and beautiful school buildings that were a source of pride for the communities and were probably anomalies among other settlements. The MST was also very visible in both communities, *Palmares II* because many of the regional leadership lived there or in Parauapebas, and *17 de Abril* because it had a large and well-developed MST worker’s association in the center of the *vila*.

Fifth, health problems after only a few days of research hindered collection of interviews.

Results

In total, 28 interviews were collected, 11 from *Palmares II* and 17 from *17 de Abril*. They were conducted between November 21 and December 1, 2011. Participants ranged from family members to friends to strangers and they were collected in homes, schools, and public places.

The distribution of the sample by sex was roughly equal, with 13 females and 15 males, with slightly more females interviewed at *Palmares II* and more males at *17 de Abril* (Figure 1). The respondents were between the ages of 17 and 25, with more 18 - 21-year-olds represented in the sample (Figure 2). All of the participants had lived at the settlement for the majority of their lives, many since the initial encampment phase.

Fig. 1: Distribution of Participants by Sex

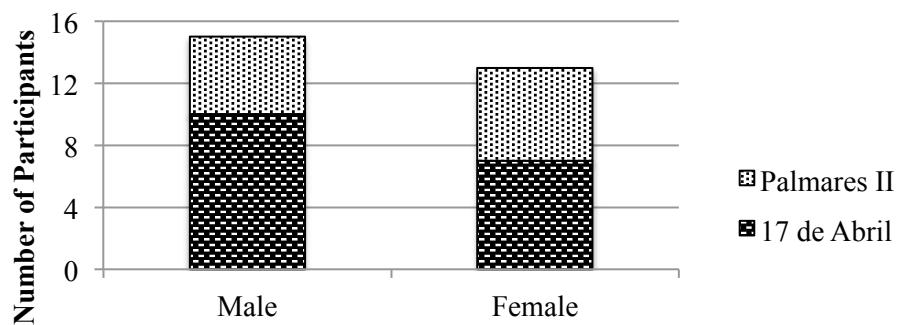


Figure 1: Sex Distribution of Participants. Overall there were more males represented in the sample (15 males vs. 13 females). More males were interviewed in *17 de Abril*, and slightly more females in *Palmares II*.

Fig. 2: Distribution of Participants by Age

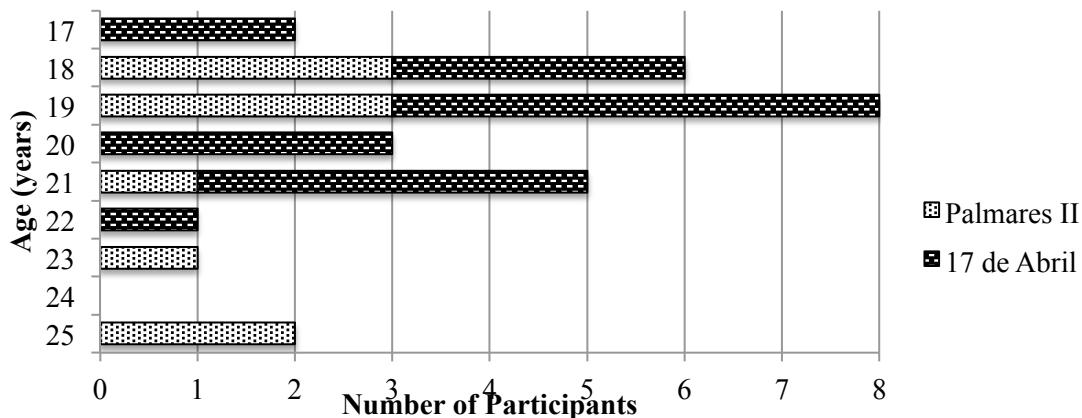


Figure 2: Age Distribution of Participants. The desired age range was 17-25 with more of a focus on the younger end of the range, those who were still finishing *ensino médio*. Accordingly, more 18 – 21-year-olds were represented in the sample.

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An overwhelming majority of the participants liked where they lived (Figure 3). 100 percent of respondents from *Palmares II* and 82 percent from *17 de Abril* responded positively. Several replied to the question with “I like it a lot,” “I love it” or “I adore it.” In *17 de Abril*, two respondents were unsure, and only one person adamantly disliked it. Between the two settlements, 89 percent liked the settlement and 4 percent disliked it.

A majority of participants (59 percent) also expressed a desire to stay in the settlement for their entire lives (Figure 4). Some respondents said they wanted to live there because they liked knowing everyone in the community, another said she had experienced life in the city and she preferred it in the settlement. More youth from *17 de Abril* expressed a desire to leave than in *Palmares II*, 44 and 18 percent, respectively; in *Palmares II*, only two respondents wanted to leave, both to cities while in *17 de Abril*, two were unsure and seven wanted to leave the settlement. Of the seven, some wanted to move to cities while others wanted to move to other states they had visited and liked or to return to families living there. Several wanted to leave for university and then return to the settlement. In *17 de Abril*, respondents were more likely to qualify a positive response with “if possible” or “...if I can find work here,” indicating that the settlement is in greater need of employment opportunities.

A majority of the respondents (61 percent) were also involved in the MST, many through their settlement's MST youth group (Figure 5). *17 de Abril* had a slightly higher involvement rate, with 65 percent of participants involved versus 55 percent involvement in *Palmares II*. The question of involvement caused some confusion among participants as some said they were involved through their parents getting land thorough the MST or through the fact that their school was run by the organization, but they were only counted as “involved” if they did extracurricular organizing or activist activities with the MST.

Fig. 3: Satisfaction With Settlement Life

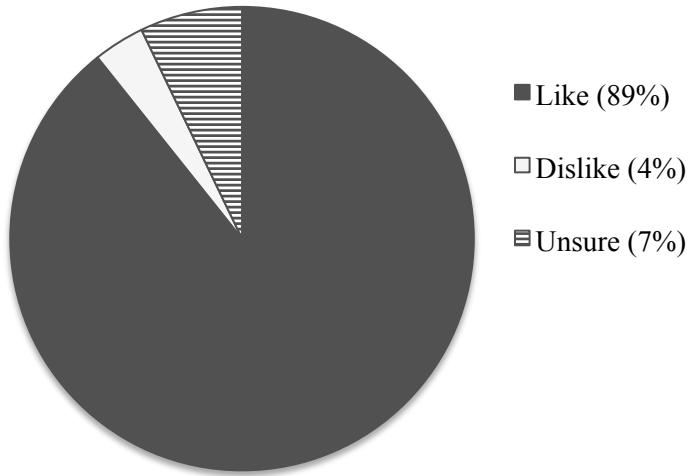


Figure 3: Participants’ Satisfaction With Settlement Life. A large majority of participants enjoyed life in the settlements, with a full 100 percent of participants from *Palmares II* reporting that they enjoyed life there.

Fig. 4: Desire to Live Permanently in Settlement

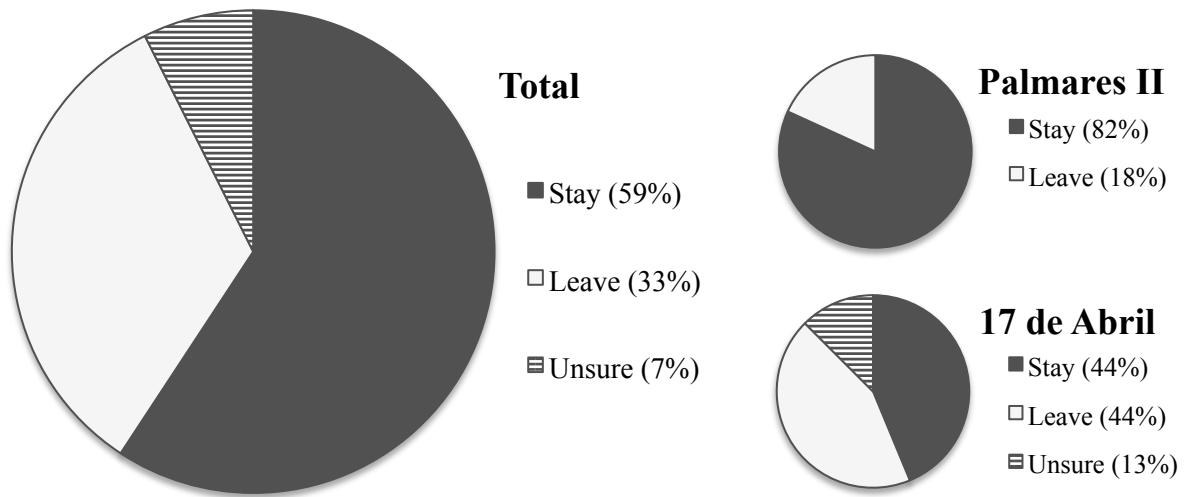


Figure 4: Desire to Live Permanently in Settlement. Almost twice as many respondents wanted to remain in the settlement as wanted to leave. More youth in *17 de Abril* wanted to leave the settlement than from *Palmares II*; 44 percent of *17 de Abril* respondents wanted to leave, while only 18 percent from *Palmares II* wanted to.

Fig. 5: Involvement in the MST

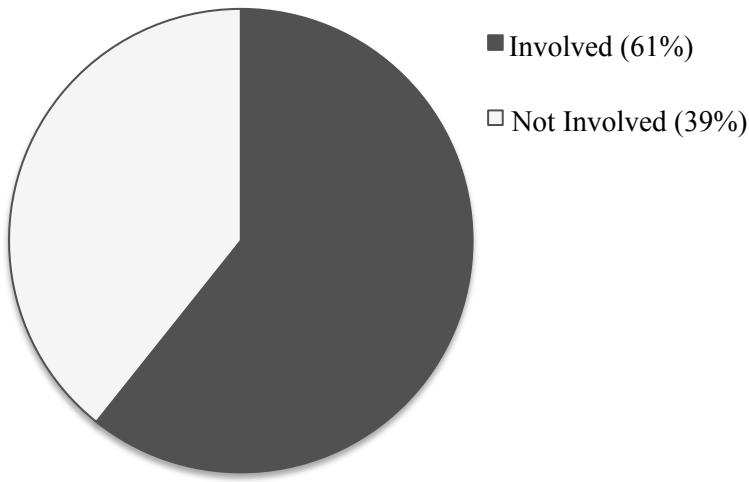


Figure 5: Participants’ Involvement in the MST. A majority of participants were involved in extracurricular activist activities with the MST. Slightly more participants from *17 de Abril* were involved, with 65 percent involvement there versus 55 percent in *Palmares II*.

To the question of what the settlement lacked, six common answers surfaced: *education, communication, recreation (lazer), employment, health, and infrastructure* (Figure 6). Other less-common responses were sports, transportation, a library, and “access.” Overall, respondents were most concerned with the lack of employment and education. The lack of jobs was especially a concern for respondents from *17 de Abril*. In contrast, recreation was a greater concern than employment for *Palmares II* residents, and communication was solely a concern for *Palmares II*. Almost half of *Palmares II* respondents cited communication as an issue, while none did from *17 de Abril*.

When asked whether the MST was trying to procure the resources that the participant identified as lacking, the results show that respondents are reasonably confident that the MST was trying to procure more resources in the *campo*. 77 percent thought the MST was making an effort, 12 percent did not think they were trying, and 12 percent were unsure. The proportions were similar between settlements.

When asked what they wanted for the future of Brazil, seven main concerns were cited repeatedly: *education, employment, peace* (and an end to violence), *youth opportunities, development and improvement (“melhorar”)*, *equality and justice*, and *improvement of the political system* (Figure 7). Other desires for the future of Brazil, included more respect,

ambition, communication, health care, *bolsas de estudos*, and acceptance of rural life, to end hunger and poverty, to address drug usage and youth prostitution, and to create the state of Carajás. Notably, none of the respondents directly referenced agrarian reform or environmental as a priority. Overall, there was more of a consensus over what the settlements lacked than what the youth wanted for the country's future.

The most common desires for the future were the same as those for within the settlement: *education* and *employment*. Interestingly, the data between the two settlements were quite different. In *Palmares II*, *equality and justice* was the most represented category, followed by *education* and *development*, and finally *employment*. On the other hand, in *17 de Abril*, *employment* and *youth opportunities* were the most cited categories, followed by *peace* and *education*. When asked whether the MST was working on what the participant wanted for the future of Brazil, 74 percent thought the movement was working towards what they wanted, 19 percent did not, and 7 percent were unsure.

There was no correlation between whether the youth felt “represented” by the MST and whether they were involved in the movement. Some felt the MST was working to improve what they wanted on the settlement and that the MST was working towards their personal goals for the country, yet still were not involved. The only hint of a pattern was that the two who felt unrepresented in both categories were also not involved, but this not enough to reach a conclusions.

Fig. 6: Services Lacking from Settlements

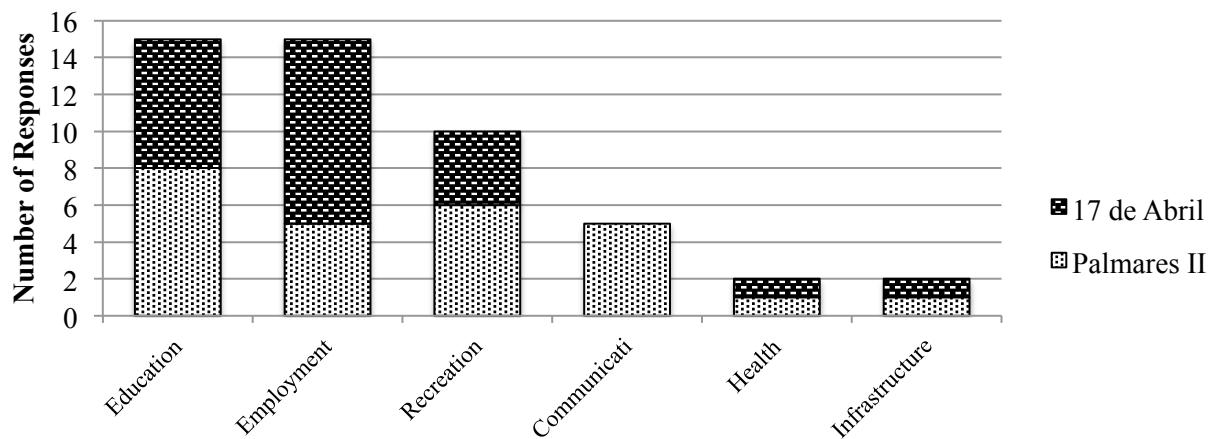


Figure 6: Services Lacking from Settlements. Participants were asked, “Are there things lacking from settlement that you need?” Shown are all categories cited more than once. Note that while education and employment were the biggest concerns for the total, employment was the largest concern in *17 de Abril* yet only the third most cited concern in *Palmares II*.

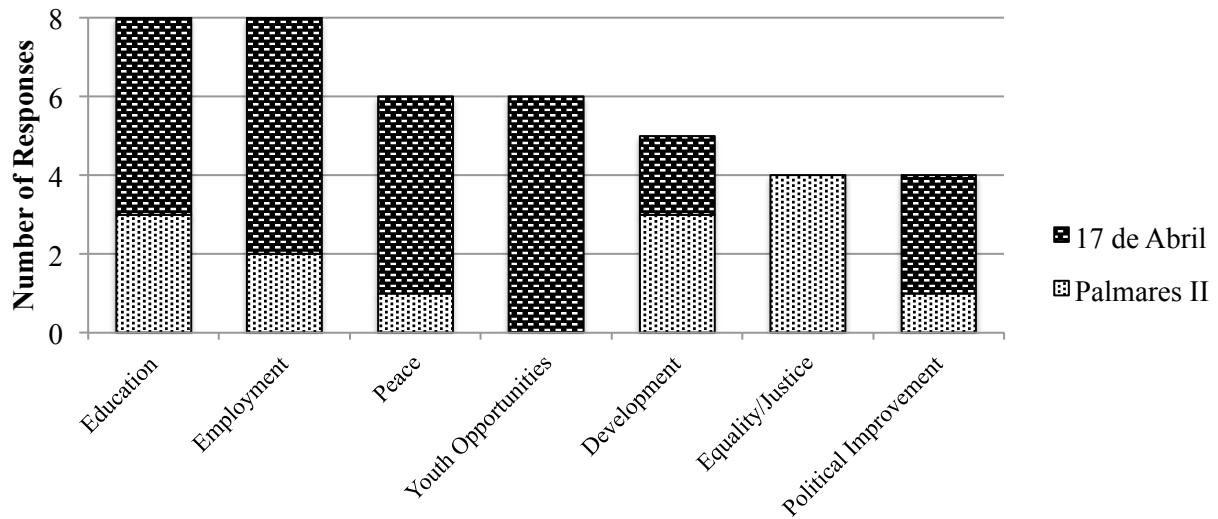
Fig. 7: Desires for Brazil's Future

Figure 7: Desires for Brazil's Future. Participants were asked, “What do you want for the future of Brazil?” Shown are all categories cited more than once. Note that while *education* and *employment* are still the top concerns, the others are different than the desires for the settlements (Fig. 6). While participants in *17 de Abril* cited *employment* and *youth opportunities* most often, *equality and justice* and *development* were the most common in *Palmares II*.

Discussion

The data provide some interesting conclusions. First, youth are quite satisfied with life in the settlements. Second, considering the lack of resources, a significant proportion of participants want to remain in the settlement for their whole lives. However, both settlements are lacking important resources, notably educational resources, employment opportunities, and recreation. The above suggest that, with increased investment in settlement resources, a higher percentage of rural youth would remain in the settlements and that youth are not leaving in pursuit of greater access to popular, urban culture, but for more pressing reasons, specifically employment.

In terms of the question of whether the youth are represented by the movement, the desires of the settlement youth are well represented and a good proportion of the youth are active in the movement, but there is no apparent correlation between the two.

Satisfaction

While the threat of popular, materialist media is a concern to the health of rural youth, the data suggest that in the MST settlements surveyed, the effects are less sever than described in the

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literature. While television, radio, and popular music are omnipresent in both settlements (and internet is accessible to some extent), the fear that popular media are creating dissatisfaction with rural life is not supported. The high level of satisfaction indicates that if the MST can address the several structural aspects that encourage or force youth to leave, retention of youth in the *campo* will increase which, according to the literature and the MST, is both a goal and necessity.

In *Palmares II*, 100 percent of respondents liked life there and 9 of the 11 wanted to remain in the settlement. In *17 de Abril*, 44 percent of respondents wanted to stay, not a negligible figure, and not all that wanted to leave were leaving for cities. At least two were moving because they had visited another state and preferred it, or because they wanted to join their families that were living elsewhere. There was a correlation between satisfaction with the settlement and wanting to stay or leave: the three participants who did not like life on the settlement or were unsure all wanted to leave. However, not every participant that liked life there wanted to stay.

Settlement Resources

Unfortunately, the data show that the settlements are in dire need of investment, especially in *17 de Abril*. There were few recreational or employment opportunities for youth and there was a need for more educational investment especially in *ensino médio* (high school) and beyond. One respondent described it this way:

“In the US, every student is preparing for their future, they all have a dream. But here you can’t ‘follow your dreams’ so easily. If a guy gets his girlfriend pregnant, he has to drop everything and find a job. It’s a more improvised life. For those who really try, it’s possible to achieve something, but if you are waiting for your future to fall from the sky, it won’t.”

Teen pregnancies were certainly a problem at the settlement. A few of the girls interviewed had children already and some of the girls in the 9th grade class had to take their children to class with them. The pregnancy levels could be both a cause and effect of this feeling of entrapment. Pregnancies are no doubt a barrier to pursuing higher education, and it would be interesting to study whether there is a correlation between the lack of recreational opportunities and teen pregnancies in the settlement.

Jobs were the biggest worry for youth at *17 de Abril*, and for many, staying at the settlement depended less on preference and more on job opportunities. Many said they needed to leave to find a job, and one respondent said those whose stay at the settlement can only find work

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with their parents. *Palmares II* was not without worries either; youth there wanted more jobs and a *mercado do trabalho* (employment agency). Because of the lack of local jobs, teens were not able to work during school even though they had only a few hours of class per day, a missed opportunity that was probably keenly felt by poorer families.

In terms of type of work the youth want (which was not part of the interview, but was discussed with some participants), it appears that they do not want to continue the hard, subsistence lifestyle of their parents; however, they have not necessarily rejected the agricultural lifestyle. Some respondents from *Palmares II* (which has an agroecology institute on site) said they would be willing to work in agriculture but with more sophisticated technology, education in agro-ecology, and more investment. One respondent said he thought the younger generation was more open to agroecology than the older, but this sort of work was only possible with more resources. In *17 de Abril*, some participants were studying to become teachers at the large school there, and with more resources to hire teachers and expand the school, this could be a popular employment option.

One surprising finding was that, even though both settlements are considered to have exceptional educational facilities compared to other rural communities, both had a pressing need for more resources. The school at *Palmares II* was built entirely by residents there and is the largest MST school in a settlement (Negreiros, 2011). The school in *17 de Abril*, a municipal school, is even larger, has air conditioning in every room, and has a large covered sport court. Both schools are obvious sources of pride in the respective communities. Yet both schools are beyond capacity and based on anecdotal evidence, the students in *ensino médio* feel the lack of resources most acutely.

In *Palmares II*, the upper-level students are taking classes in the school director's house that has been remodeled to accommodate three classrooms. Compared to the primary school, the quality is much lower. The walls are unfinished brick, the windows are unfinished and covered by mismatched shutters, there is no air conditioning and the rooms are lit by bare bulbs rather than the fluorescent lighting of the primary school. In *17 de Abril*, the school is also at capacity but the community has dealt with this by pushing classes until 10 at night for the older students who walk to and from school in the dark.

When identifying the lack of education, some specifically identified a need for primary education, *faculdade* (college), or technical courses. Of the three, *faculdade* was the most

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mentioned. With opportunities for higher education in both Eldorado and Marabá (a nearby city, the largest in the south of the state), it was surprising to the researcher that youth in *17 de Abril* still saw a need for a *faculdade*. The standard model of higher education puts colleges in cities, concentrating resources where there are more people. With the economic barriers to traveling to and living in a city, it's understandable that the settlement youth expressed a desire to have a *faculdade* right in the settlement, but would that ever be economically possible? Perhaps instead, the MST should address the biggest barriers to rural youth studying in cities. Are they transportation costs? housing costs? the distance from family? This could be an interesting next topic to research.

Another interesting finding was that, contrary to what the literature suggested, youth there were not craving the amenities of an urban or capitalist lifestyle valorized in the media. No one said that they would like a *shopping*, cinema, or other urban comforts. However, this is not to say that recreation was not an issue in the communities. Recreation came in third in things most lacking from the settlement, and the need was especially clear in *17 de Abril*. There, students in *ensino médio* only had class for an hour during the day and two hours late at night. The rest of the day the only things for them to do were watch TV, play football, and socialize. The unfettered lifestyle may sound like the utopian country lifestyle to some, but it was obvious the teens were bored and wished they could work. They were shocked to learn that students in the U.S. are in school most of the day. The boredom and lack of occupational opportunities were certainly reasons that there was less satisfaction with the lifestyle there and a greater proportion that wanted to leave.

The situation was better in Palmares II, which had a *praça* (plaza) for socializing, a more developed *vila*, a small dance club, and relatively easy access to Parauapebas. Yet students still complained of a lack of resources, and a few people cited the lack of a sports complex or exercise facility.

Respondents were reasonably confident (77 percent) that the MST was trying to procure more resources for them, but many said the process was slow. One participant said that although she was unhappy with the level of development now, she was planning on returning after *faculdade* because she was confident the MST would work on improving the quality of life. Many attested that the MST did a good job of providing courses for them, both technical courses and personal development ones such as photography classes. Some had even taken classes at the

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MST school in Rio Grande do Sul. It was unclear how much the courses helped youth find jobs. Others said that the MST provided good opportunities, but only to those who were involved in the organization. Some wanted still more technical courses and a *mercado do trabalho* on the settlement.

Involvement

With 61 percent involvement in the MST, youth involvement was good considering the preconceptions that Brazilian youth are apathetic. Both settlements had youth groups and the MST obviously provided great opportunities to a small group of *militantes* including sending them to meetings and reunions in cities such as Belém, Brasilia, and Rio de Janeiro. Some of those who were not involved simply said they did not have time. A few said they had been involved in the past but had stopped because the work was not rewarding. One participant specifically said he was not involved because he did not like the MST but when asked why he would not say except that he did not like politics.

It is possible that *Palmares II* and *17 de Abril* have more youth *militantes* than usual because much of the movement's leadership is centered around *Palmares II*, and *17 de Abril* has the building of the local MST-run workers association centrally and visibly located. Looking at youth involvement across more settlements is another avenue for further research,

The Future of Brazil

The purpose of asking what youth wanted for the future of Brazil was to see if their desires matched with the goals of the MST. In this respect, they seem well represented. The most common desires were *education, employment, peace, youth opportunities, development, equality and justice*, and *improvement of the political system*. According to the MST, it has three main objectives: to fight for land, to fight for agrarian reform, and to fight for a more just and “brotherly” (*fraterna*) society. But, to achieve these, the movement “supports and is involved in initiatives that work for a solution to the serious structural problems in our country like social and income inequality, ethnic discrimination, the concentration of communication resources, the exploitation of the urban worker, etc.” (MST “Nossos Objetivos”, 2009). In this way, all of the desires above could be goals of the MST.

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When asked directly, the participants were also reasonably confident (74 percent) that the MST was working on their own goals for the country. To those who said they were not or they were unsure (19 and 7 percent, respectively), some said it was because they were not sure if the MST was effective, and some said it was because they did not work on the issues that the participant was interested in. There was no apparent correlation between whether the participant thought the MST was working towards their political dreams and whether they were involved in the MST.

Youth and the Environment?

Although the environment was not the direct focus of this research, the environmental health of the Amazon is one of the reasons for the need for agrarian reform in the south of Pará. While the MST attempts to pursue environmental practices, there is often a gap between movement rhetoric, theory, and actual practice of farmers in the settlements. Not only is it difficult to change the practices of farmers, but agroecology is difficult for the poor to practice without credit and investment. There is anecdotal evidence to suggest that the MST may have more success with sustainable agriculture techniques among the new generation, as one participant testified, but this will depend on keeping they youth in the *campo* and providing resources that allow the youth to practice more sophisticated agricultural methods.

Among those that were asked if the MST had a positive effect on the environment, there was much uncertainty. Cattle ranching and slash-and-burn are widely practices in both settlements, yet other settlers have preserved forest on their land or reforested. In comparison to the *fazenda* that was there previously, the settlement may be marginally better environmentally-speaking. It is still a topic that requires more study.

In talking about the youth's desires for the future, the environment came up in only one interview, showing that it simply not a concern among the settlement youth. This is disheartening considering these youth live in a region with a high level deforestation. A further direction for research could be around environmental attitudes in the settlement or environmental education in the MST schools.

Conclusion

As the MST combats questions of sustainability, it must address the changing needs of its more mature settlements. A new generation is taking the place of their parents who initially fought for land, and the movement must decide what place these young adults, who themselves have never been landless, will have in the settlements and in the movement. Addressing the complex and urgent needs of the youth will take significant investment by the MST, a move that would dilute the movement's resources (Landertinger, 2009). But if, as the literature suggests, rural youth have an essential role in the progress of Latin America and the agrarian reform movement itself, then focusing more resources on the needs of settlement youth is a prudent and strategic decision on the part of the MST. Of course, these questions ignore the bigger issue that the government is not providing these services in the *campo* that it provides to urban youth. Attempting to provide these sorts of resources puts a great strain on the movement, and although the MST has done admirably so far, continually stepping in where the government has failed in its responsibilities is ultimately unrealistic for any popular movement.

The biggest concerns with settlement youth are outmigration from the *campo* to the cities, and a lack of involvement in the movement. This research attempted to assess 1) the extent to which outmigration is happening within the settlements; 2) reasons for outmigration, such as dissatisfaction with the rural life or lack of resources; 3) the level of involvement in the MST among settlement youth; and 4) whether the youth feel represented by the movement and whether this is a factor affecting involvement.

The results are promising. The level of satisfaction with settlement life was very high, 100 percent in one settlement. Although one-third of participants were planning to leave the settlement, a majority planned on staying and the results indicate that with more investment in opportunities for the second generation, the youth would be more open to staying in the *campo*.

Unfortunately, the settlements are in dire need of investment in the youth's quality of life. Many youth worried about getting a job in the future, and said the only jobs available were in the cities. Even those that wanted to stay in the settlement felt they had little choice but to leave. While both settlements surveyed had good educational facilities, there was much room for improvement. Looking beyond graduation, the youth wanted more higher educational resources as well: a *faculdade*, technical courses, and *bolsas de estudos*. The lack of employment and educational resources in the settlement made the lack of recreational options more keenly felt, as

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youth had no work and little studying to occupy their time. These three issues badly need to be addressed if the youth are going to have a chance of staying in the *campo*.

One significant and surprising finding was that, contrary to what the literature suggested, the youth were not leaving because of the “corruption” of popular media that valorizes urban, capitalist lifestyles. Although popular foreign culture was omnipresent in both settlements, this did not seem to affect their satisfaction with the rural lifestyle. This finding should give hope to the MST because although procuring more jobs and resources in the settlements is not an easy task, it is much more realistic than bring a *shopping* or other urban amenities to the settlements. It also shows that the MST has been successful in instilling an appreciation of the rural lifestyle in its youth interviewed, one of the goals of the MST’s unique educational philosophy.

On the subject of involvement in the movement, the MST also has reason to be hopeful. Involvement in the settlements was relatively high considering the widespread preconception that Brazilian youth are politically apathetic. More importantly, the goals of many of the youth were in accord with those of the movement, if not specifically on the issue of agrarian reform, then on the movement’s desire for social reform in Brazil. To recruit “landless youth” that have never been landless themselves into the movement is a difficulty the MST is struggling with, and the results suggest that the movement may have more success recruiting youth to work on related social issues that complement agrarian reform.

To briefly address the environmental aspects of the issue, there is anecdotal evidence to suggest that the MST may have more success with sustainable agriculture techniques among the new generation, but only if they can secure more resources. Among those that were asked if the MST had a positive effect on the environment, there was much uncertainty, and in terms of the youth’s interest in environmental issues, the environment was simply not a concern. This is disheartening considering these youth live in a region with a high level deforestation and is in need of further examination.

This topic demands more attention, using the evidence presented here as a starting point for a more comprehensive, qualitative study. Other further directions for research could be a closer look at environmental education in the MST schools, a study of the obstacles to rural youth pursuing higher education in cities, and looking at youth involvement across more and less-developed settlements.

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Overall, this project indicates that, considering the obstacles, in *Palmares II* and *17 de Abril*, the MST is succeeding in its goal of instilling an appreciation of rural life and combatting the damaging influence of foreign media on rural youth. There is still much work to be done, but resources spent on improving the quality of life in the *campo* should reward the movement with a higher retention rate of the second generation. While the future is never certain and other questions of the MST's sustainability have yet to be addressed, the movement has reason to see hope in its grown-up *sem terrinhas*.

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Sem Terrinhas Não Mais: A Posição da Segunda Geração dos Assentados do MST no Movimento de Reforma Agrária

Quando um pequeno grupo de pobres e, famílias deslocadas em necessidade desesperada de terra começaram a ocupar uma grande fazenda no Rio Grande do Sul em 1979, eles não poderiam imaginar que seus esforços iriam crescer e se transformar em um dos movimentos sociais mais bem sucedidos do mundo. Agora com 28 anos de existência e ativo em 24 dos 27 estados do Brasil, o Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra (MST) tem uma adesão de cerca de 1,5 milhões de pessoas e tem ajudado 350 mil famílias sem-terra a garantir terra e criar uma nova vida e ao mesmo tempo representa um desafiador contra outras injustiças na sociedade brasileira (Wright & Wolford, 2003) (MST "Organização", 2009) (Landertinger, 2009).

O MST é o movimento social mais velho e talvez mais bem sucedidos do Brasil, e era chamado de "*o movimento popular mais importante e emocionante do mundo*" pelo pensador americano Noam Chomsky (The Economist, 2005) (Landertinger, 2009). Quando uma pessoa tem experiência de viver num assentamento, não pode evitar de ser movido pelo pensamento de que o que antes era a propriedade improdutiva de uma pessoa é agora o lugar onde têm sido dado a oportunidade de melhorar a vida de milhares de pessoas, a chance que a maioria dos 18 milhões de pobres no Brasil nunca terá (Peduzzi, 2011). Ao lado da luta para reforma agrária, o movimento também luta contra assuntos como desigualdade, corrupção, exploração dos trabalhadores, o uso dos agrotóxicos, e agricultura indústria (MST “Nossos Objetivos”, 2009).

No entanto, agora com mais de um quarto de século de trabalho o MST está enfrentando questões a respeito sustentabilidade do movimento. Os críticos (e há muitos no Brasil) afirmam que o trabalho do MST falhou em mudar o país em geral, porque a desigualdade de distribuição de terras não tem mudado. Eles dizem que o modelo da agricultura familiar do MST é incompatível com o modelo de economia que o governo adota para o Brasil, que agricultura familiar simplesmente não pode sobreviver no mercado, e que o financiamento do governo para o movimento tem caído a cada governo (Carvalho & Aggege, 2011).

Já os defensores do movimento argumentam que essas afirmações são apenas as últimas de uma longa história de ataques da mídia. A necessidade de um movimento de reforma agrária é mais urgente do que nunca, dizem eles, e o fato de que os pequenos produtores não se encaixam mais com os objetivos do governo para a economia brasileira é uma razão a favor reforma agrária (Carvalho & Aggege, 2011).

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Enquanto o MST luta contra a crítica, também continuamente se avalia a respeito das suas ações. O que pode fazer melhor? O que é necessário para avançar? Como as necessidades da organização têm mudado? Uma população vulnerável que o movimento tem identificado é o de adolescentes dos assentamentos, aqueles que cresceram em assentamentos e agora estão se preparando para começar suas próprias vidas. O MST quer recrutar no movimento os jovens "sem terra" que nunca foram realmente sem-terra, uma dificuldade que o movimento está enfrentando. A doutrina do MST sempre colocou um foco em crianças, utilizando-as para fugir da violência em conflitos com a polícia, tornando a educação uma prioridade em assentamentos, e lutando para incutir neles não uma doutrina do MST, mas um pensamento independente. No entanto, as necessidades dos jovens no final da adolescência e o início da vida adulta (a partir dos 20 anos), são mais complexas e imediatas do que as das crianças, e o movimento enfrenta muitos desafios que impedem o esforço para manter os jovens nos assentamentos. Infelizmente, o movimento é obrigado a fornecer serviços que, normalmente, o governo ou estado seria obrigado a fornecer.

Ao mesmo tempo, os jovens são reconhecidos como uma parte fundamental do futuro dos movimentos sociais e, especificamente, do movimento de reforma agrária (Ghimirie, 2002) (Ribeiro, 2011). O Brasil tem o maior nível de desigualdade social dos países com economias estáveis (Wright & Wolford, 2003), e um governo afligido pela corrupção e ineficiência, por isso precisa de reforma política e social. Com "obstáculos institucionais profundos" contra a reforma interna, Weyland (1995) afirma que o Brasil precisa de "um esforço de base ampla, de longo prazo em transformação institucional abrangente, mas gradual," exatamente o tipo de trabalho que o MST almeja.

Assim, onde é que o MST se encaixa na reforma ambiental no Brasil? Embora não fundado com objetivos ambientais, o movimento percebeu que a sobrevivência de seus assentamentos dependeu do uso de práticas de produção sustentáveis e desde então tem investido em educação ambiental e programas de agricultura sustentável. Mas ainda tem dúvida se o movimento é "bom" para o meio ambiente porque a pecuária e corte-e-queima, fundos de desmatamento, ainda são comuns entre os assentados. No entanto, visto a partir da perspectiva da "justiça ambiental", que considera a exploração das pessoas e do ambiente, o MST é uma pequena vitória para ambos, a sociedade e o meio ambiente. O movimento cria uma população que protege a terra, e desafia diretamente as duas maiores fontes de desmatamento, fazendas de

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pecuária e agricultura industrial. Por esta razão, o MST tem um papel importante na melhoria da vida do povo brasileiro e também na busca da sustentabilidade ambiental no campo, algo que, na Amazônia, onde esta pesquisa foi realizada, pode ter ramificações numa escala global.

O Objetivo

O objetivo deste estudo é abordar quais elementos afetam o envolvimento dos jovens no MST, um movimento maduro e social bem-sucedido que agora enfrenta questões da sustentabilidade. Este projeto explora dois problemas que o MST tem identificado dentro de seu movimento: emigração dos jovens dos assentamentos para as cidades e uma falta de envolvimento com o movimento pelos os jovens dos assentamentos. Ao nível que é possível com a metodologia, esta pesquisa procura caracterizar: 1) o nível em que a emigração está acontecendo dentro dos assentamentos; 2) as razões para emigração, como a insatisfação com a vida rural ou a falta de recursos; 3) o nível de envolvimento no MST entre os jovens dos assentamentos; 4) se os jovens se sentem representados pelo movimento e se este é um fator que afeta o nível de envolvimento.

Metodologia

A demográfica estudada pelo projeto é a juventude que tem entre 17 e 25 anos e morou num assentamento do MST desde a sua infância. Esta idade foi escolhida porque o MST e a literatura identificaram os problemas de migração e a falta de envolvimento nesta população, e também uma vulnerabilidade aos efeitos da globalização e capitalismo que valorizam o consumo e a vida urbana.

Os assentamentos de *Palmares II* e *17 de Abril* foram escolhidos porque eles têm aproximadamente a mesma idade, mas um nível dos recursos diferente. *Palmares II* fica perto do município de Parauapebas, o segundo mais rico no estado do Pará, e a cidade é acessada facilmente pelo assentamento. Por isso, *Palmares II* tem mais recursos e possui liderança dentro do MST. Em contraste, o assentamento *17 de Abril* fica num município mais pobre e é mais longe de uma cidade e a rua entre os dois não tem asfalto.

As entrevistas foram semi-estruturadas (Tabela 1). Conversas realizadas depois da entrevista foram muito valiosas para entender mais sobre a situação de lá, mas a informação delas só é uma amostra.

Para abordar a questão de saber se o jovem queria deixar o assentamento e o porquê. Eles foram questionados se queriam morar no assentamento a vida toda, se gostava de viver lá, e se no assentamento faltava algo que eles precisavam. Como as entrevistas foram semi-estruturadas, havia liberdade para elaborar perguntas com outras questões. Um dos objetivos do estudo era descobrir se a falta de recursos ou falta de cultura popular dos jovens foram fatores na decisão de sair do campo. Então a questão aberta sobre o que faltava no assentamento poderia revelar se o problema é uma falta de cultura (com uma resposta de "internet" ou "shopping") o se a problema é uma falta de recursos (com uma resposta de "empregos" ou "educação").

Os participantes também foram questionados se eles achavam que o MST estava tentando conseguir o que faltava no assentamento para avaliar se eles se sentiam representados pelo MST e se o sentimento de representação estava relacionada com o nível do envolvimento no movimento. Além disso, eles foram questionados sobre os seus desejos para o futuro do Brasil para avaliar se eles tinham os mesmos desejos políticos como o MST e se esta é relacionado com a sua participação.

Resultados

No total, 28 entrevistas foram coletadas, 11 em *Palmares II* e 17 em *17 de Abril*. Elas foram conduzidas entre o dia 21 de novembro e dia 1 de dezembro, elas foram coletadas em casas, escolas, e lugares públicos, e com membros da família, amigos, e estrangeiros.

A distribuição por sexo ficou entre 13 mulheres e 15 homens (Figura 1). Havia mais mulheres em *Palmares II*, e mais homens no assentamento *17 de Abril*. A faixa etária desejada foi 17-25, mas focalizando os mais jovens, aqueles que ainda estão terminando o ensino médio. Assim, a amostra representa mais os jovens entre 18 e 21 anos (Figura 2).

A grande maioria dos participantes gosta de onde eles moram (Figura 3). 100 por cento dos entrevistados de *Palmares II* e 82 por cento de *17 de Abril* disseram que eles gostavam. Muitos responderam, “Gosto muito,” “Amo,” ou “Adoro.” Em *17 de Abril*, dois entrevistados não tinham certeza, e só uma pessoa não gostou.

A maioria dos participantes (59 por cento) expressou o desejo de ficar no assentamento por toda sua vida (Figura 4). Alguns entrevistados disseram que eles queriam morar lá por que eles gostavam e conheciam a todos. Outra entrevistada disse que ela tinha conhecido a vida na cidade e ela preferiu o assentamento. Mas os jovens de *17 de Abril* expressaram um desejo maior

de sair do assentamento que os de *Palmares II*, 44 e 18 por cento, respectivamente; em *Palmares II* só dois entrevistados queriam sair enquanto em *17 de Abril*, dois não tinham certeza e sete queriam sair do assentamento.

Fig. 1: A Distribuição por Sexo dos Participantes

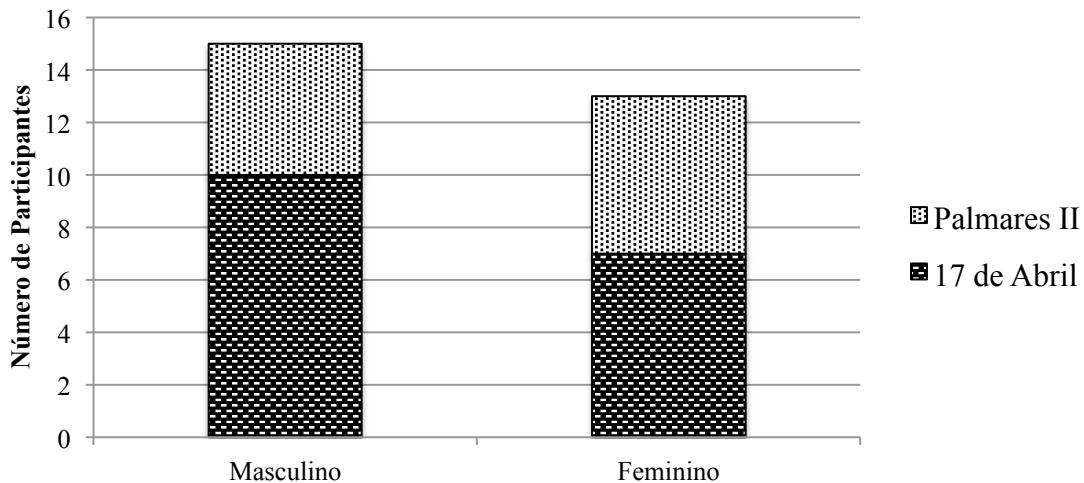


Figure 8: *Distribuição por Sexo dos Participantes*. No geral, havia mais homens representados na amostra (15 homens e 13 mulheres). Mais homens foram entrevistados em *17 de Abril*, e poucas mulheres em *Palmares II*.

Fig. 2: A Distribuição Etária dos Participantes

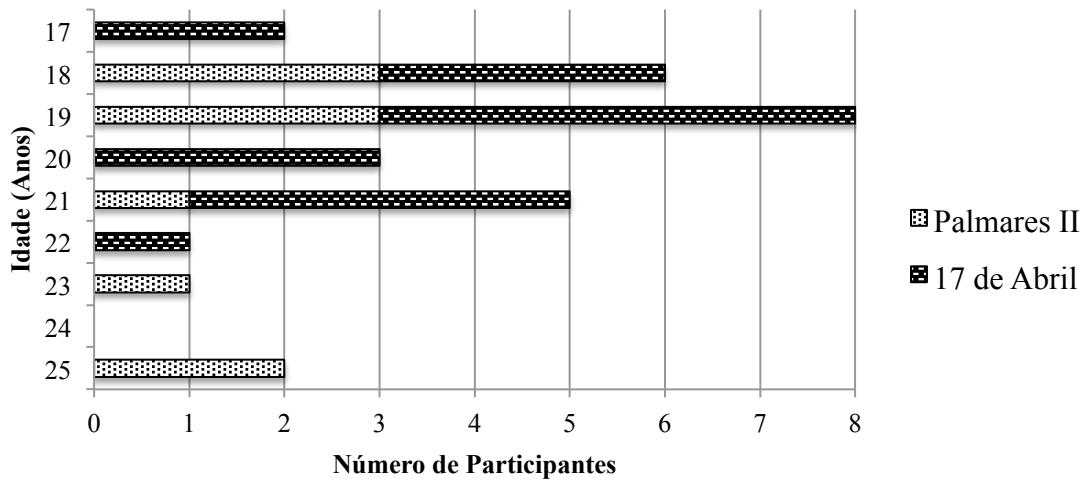


Figure 9: *Distribuição da idade dos participantes*. A faixa etária desejada foi 17-25, com mais de um foco sobre os mais jovens, aqueles que ainda estão terminando ensino médio. Assim, mais dos que tem 18-21 anos foram representados na amostra.

Dos sete, alguns queriam ir para uma cidade, enquanto outros queriam ir para outros estados que tinham visitado e gostado. Vários queriam sair para faculdade e depois voltar. Em *17 de Abril*, mais entrevistados qualificaram as respostas positivas com “...se possível” ou “...se posso procurar um emprego,” indicando que existe uma necessidade para mais empregos lá.

A maioria (61 por cento) era envolvida no MST, muitos pelo grupo de juventude no seu assentamento (Figura 5). Com 65 por cento de envolvimento, no *17 de Abril* teve uma taxa de envolvimento um pouco maior que *Palmares II*. A pergunta criou um pouco de confusão para algumas pessoas eles se consideram envolvidas porque seus pais tinham terra do MST ou se eles frequentavam uma escola do MST. Mas eles só seriam considerados “envolvidos” se eles fizessem atividades com os militantes, como ir a reuniões ou organizar eventos, por exemplo.

Fig. 3: A Satisfação com a Vida Assentada

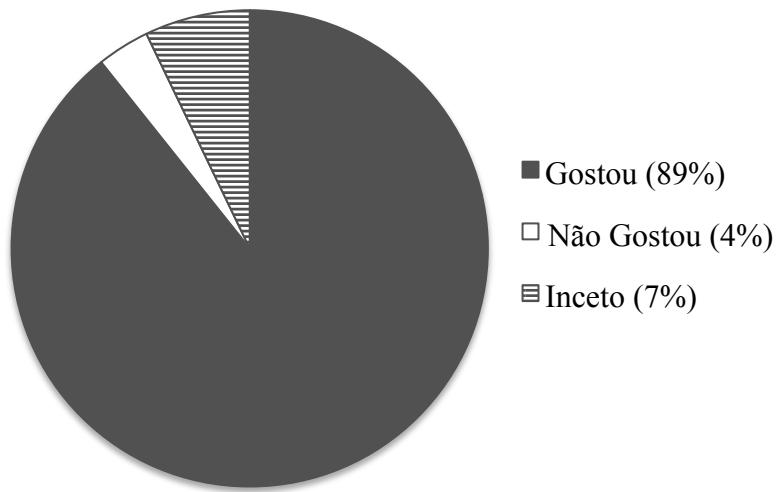


Figura 10: Satisfação com a Vida Assentada. A grande maioria dos participantes gostaram de vida nos assentamentos, com um total de 100 por cento de participantes de *Palmares II* relatando que apreciaram vida lá.

Fig. 4: O Desejo Ficar no Assentamento

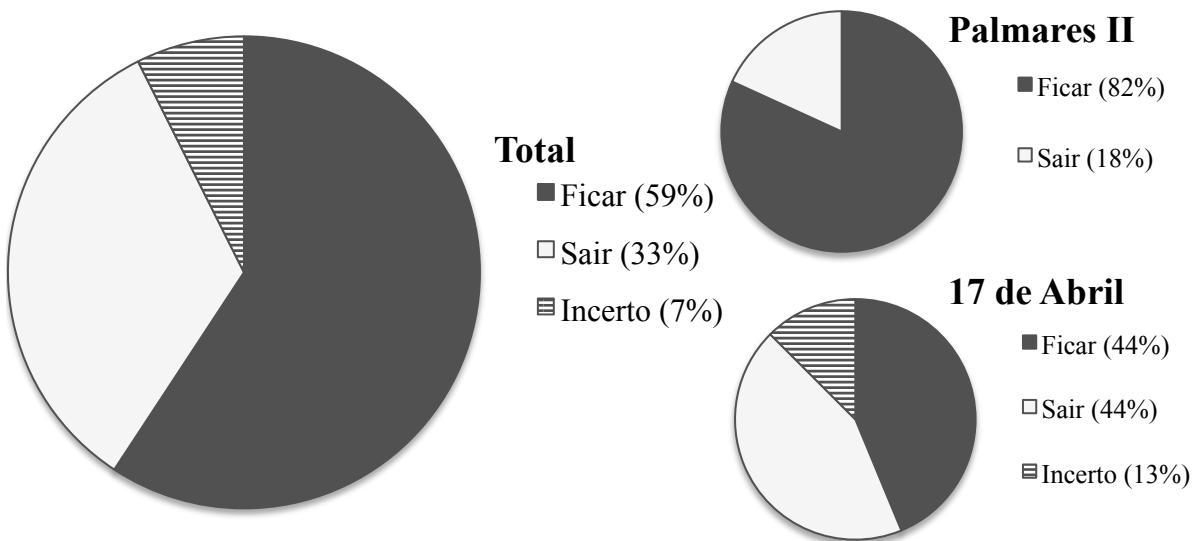


Figura 11: Desejo Ficar no Assentamento. Quase o dobro dos entrevistados quis ficar no assentamento quanto queria ir embora. Mais jovens em *17 de Abril* queria sair o assentamento do que em *Palmares II*; 44 por cento dos *17 de Abril* participantes queria sair, enquanto somente 18 por cento de *Palmares II* queria.

Fig. 5: O Envolvimento no MST

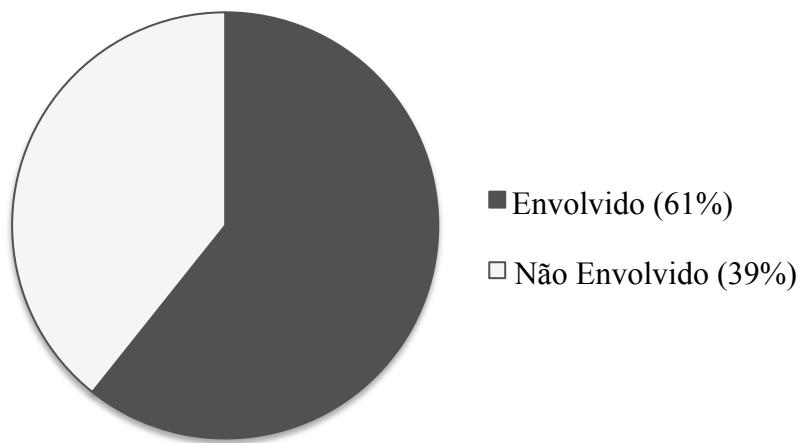


Figura 12: Envolvimento no MST. A maioria dos participantes foram envolvidos em atividades extracurriculares ativista com o MST. Há um pouco mais envolvidos em *17 de Abril* com 65 por cento envolvido contra o 55 por cento em *Palmares II*.

Para a pergunta sobre o que é que falta no assentamento, seis respostas comuns surgiram: *educação, comunicação, lazer, empregos, saúde, e infraestrutura* (Figura 6). Havia outras respostas menos comuns: esportes, transporte, uma biblioteca, e acesso. Ao todo, os entrevistados estavam mais preocupados sobre a falta de empregos, educação, e lazer. A falta de empregos era especialmente uma preocupação para os entrevistados de *17 de Abril*, reforçando a conclusão de que a comunidade precisa de oportunidades de emprego mais seriamente que *Palmares II*. Em contraste, a recreação foi uma preocupação maior do que o emprego para os moradores de *Palmares II*, e a comunicação era apenas uma preocupação para *Palmares II*. Quase metade dos entrevistados de *Palmares II* citou a comunicação como um problema, enquanto nenhum de *17 de Abril* respondeu assim.

Quando perguntado se o MST estava procurando os recursos que o entrevistado identificou, os resultados mostram que os participantes estão razoavelmente confiantes que o MST está tentando procurar mais recursos no campo. 77 por cento pensa que o MST está tentando, 12 por cento não acredita, e 12 por cento não tem certeza.

Quando perguntado sobre o que é que eles querem para o futuro do Brasil, sete preocupações principais foram identificadas: *educação, empregos, paz* (e um fim à violência), *oportunidades para os jovens, desenvolvimento e melhorias em geral, igualdade e justiça, e melhorias na política* (Figura 7). Outros desejos incluíram: respeito, ambição, comunicação, saúde, mais bolsas de estudos, mais aceitação da vida rural, um fim para fome e pobreza, o fim do tráfico de drogas e da prostituição de jovens, e a criação do estado do Carajás.

Embora os desejos populares em relação ao Brasil sejam os mesmos que eles desejaram para os assentamentos (*educação* e *empregos*), é interessante notar que os níveis dos desejos de cada assentamento foram diferentes. Em *Palmares II*, os mais populares foram (em ordem) *igualdade e justiça, educação, desenvolvimento e melhorias em geral*, e depois, *empregos*. Em *17 de Abril*, os mais populares foram *empregos e oportunidades para os jovens* seguido por *paz e educação*. De novo, *17 de Abril* estava mais preocupada com empregos do que *Palmares II*.

Quando perguntado se o MST estava tentando procurar estas coisas para o futuro do Brasil, 74 por cento achou assim, 19 por cento não achou nada, e 7 por cento não tinha certeza.

Fig. 6: Os Servícios Faltantes dos Assentamentos

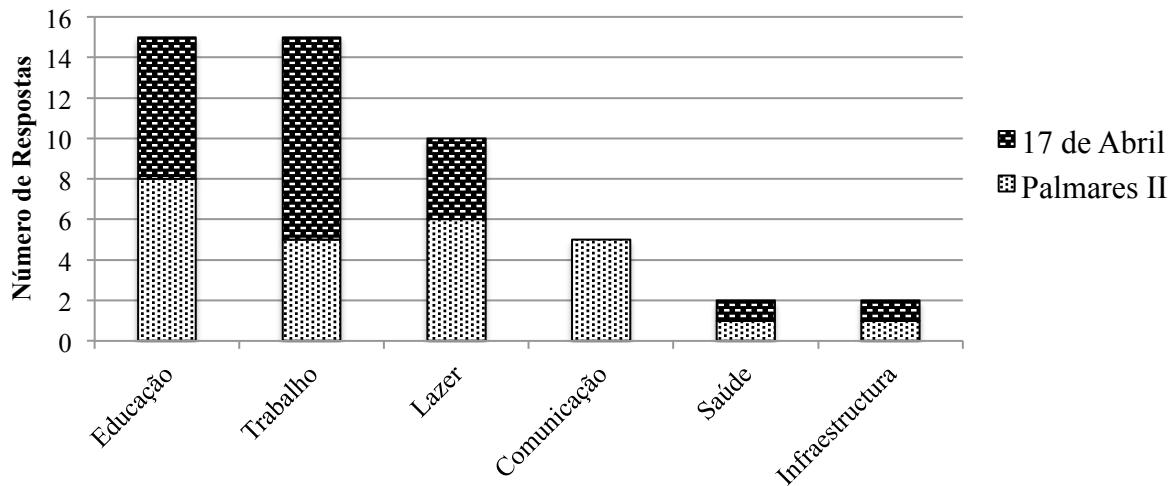


Figure 13: *Serviços Faltantes dos Assentamentos*. Os participantes foram perguntados, "Existem coisas que o assentamento não tem que você precisa?" O acima são as respostas mais citadas. Observe que, embora a educação e o emprego foram as maiores preocupações para a população total, o emprego era a maior preocupação em *17 de Abril* mas só era terceira para os em *Palmares II*.

Fig. 7: Os Desejos para o Futuro do Brasil

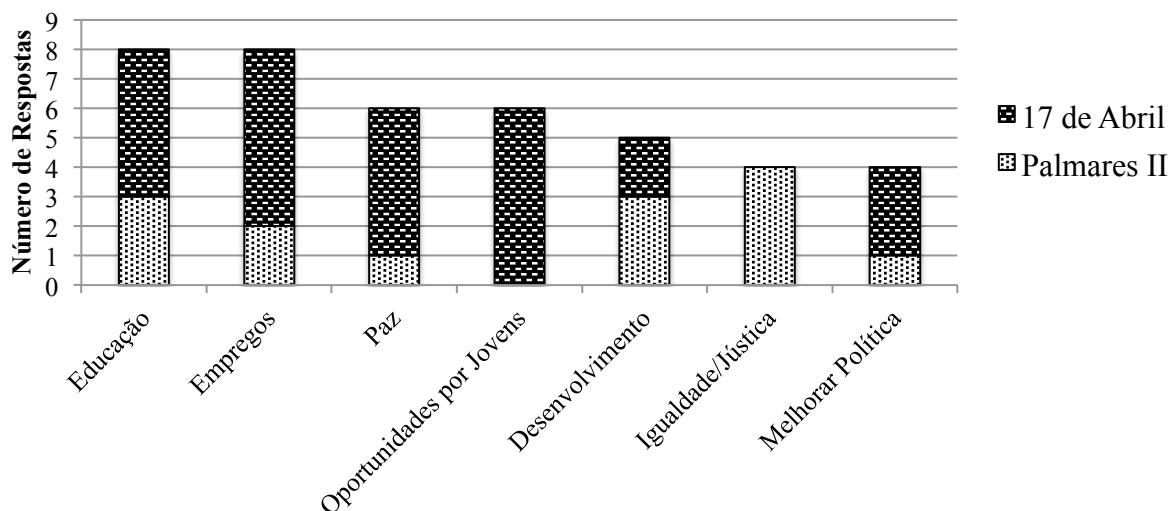


Figura 14: *Os desejos para o futuro do Brasil*. Os participantes foram perguntados, "O que você quer para o futuro do Brasil?" O acima foram as sete respostas mais comuns. Observe que, embora a educação e os empregos são ainda os dois principais preocupações, os outros são diferentes do que os desejos para os assentamentos. Enquanto os participantes em *17 de Abril* queria mais empregos e oportunidades por jovens, em *Palmares II* igualdade/justiça e desenvolvimento foram os mais comuns.

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Discussão

Os dados fornecem algumas conclusões interessantes. Primeiro, os jovens estão bastante satisfeitos com a qualidade da vida nos assentamentos. Segundo, considerando a falta de recursos, uma proporção significativa de participantes querem permanecer no assentamento por toda a vida. No entanto ambos os assentamentos são carentes de recursos importantes, nomeadamente as oportunidades de educação e emprego, e recreação. Os dados acima sugerem que, com maior investimento em recursos no assentamentos, uma maior percentagem da juventude rural permaneceria nos assentamentos e que os jovens não estão saindo em busca de maior acesso à cultura internacional, mas por razões mais prementes, especificamente de emprego

Em termos da questão de se os jovens são representados pelo movimento, os desejos dos jovens dos assentamentos são bem representados pelo movimento e uma boa proporção dos jovens também são ativas no movimento onde eles moram.

Satisfação

Uma grande parte da literatura interpreta a juventude rural como uma população que tem sido corrompida pela mídia capitalista e norte-americana e agora aspira a uma vida na cidade e um modelo de consumo norte-americano. No entanto, os dados sugerem que nos assentamentos do MST pesquisados, este não é o caso. Enquanto a televisão, rádio e música popular são onipresentes em ambos os assentamentos (e internet é acessível até certo ponto), o medo que a mídia popular está criando insatisfação com a vida rural não é embasamento. O alto nível de satisfação com a vida no assentamento indica que se o MST pode resolver os diversos aspectos estruturais que incentivam ou forçar os jovens a sair, os assentamentos poderiam ter uma alta taxa de retenção dos jovens, que com base na literatura é tanto uma meta como necessidade do movimento.

Em Palmares II, 100 por cento dos entrevistados gostam de suas vida e 9 dos 11 querem ficar. Em *17 de Abril*, 44 por cento dos entrevistados queriam ficar. Nem tudo o que queria deixar estavam saindo para as cidades, pelo menos dois estavam se mudando porque eles tinham visitado outros estados e preferiram um outro, ou porque queria se juntar a suas famílias. Isto sugere que, com mais investimentos nos assentamentos que melhorarem as oportunidades para os jovens poderiam ter uma alta taxa de retorno em termos de manter mais jovens no campo.

Os Recursos dos Assentamentos

Infelizmente, os dados mostram que os assentamentos têm uma grande necessidade de investimento, especialmente em *17 de Abril*. Empregos foram uma grande preocupação para a juventude, e para muitos, permanecer no assentamento dependia menos da preferência e mais da oportunidade de emprego. Muitos disseram que precisavam sair para encontrar um trabalho, e um entrevistado disse que aqueles preferem permanecer no assentamento só podem encontrar o trabalho com os pais. Os jovens em *Palmares II* também queriam mais empregos e um mercado do trabalho.

Em termos de tipo de trabalho que os jovens querem (o que não fazia parte da entrevista, mas foi discutido com alguns participantes), parece que eles não querem continuar o estilo de vida de subsistência dos seus pais, no entanto eles não necessariamente têm rejeitado o modo de vida agricultura. Alguns entrevistados de *Palmares II* (que tem um instituto de agroecologia no local) disseram que estariam dispostos a trabalhar na agricultura, mas com a tecnologia mais sofisticada, a educação em agroecologia, e mais investimento. Em *17 de Abril*, alguns participantes estavam estudando para se tornarem professores em uma escola maioria, e com mais recursos para contratar professores e expandir a escola, esta poderia ser uma opção de emprego popular.

Uma descoberta surpreendente foi a necessidade premente de mais recursos educacionais. Ambos os assentamentos são considerados como detentores de recursos educacionais excepcionais em comparação com outras comunidades rurais. A escola em *Palmares II* foi inteiramente construída por moradores locais e é um das escolas maiores nos assentamentos do MST (Negreiros, 2011). A escola em *17 de Abril*, uma escola municipal, é ainda maior, tem ar condicionado em cada sala de aula, e tem uma grande quadra de esporte. Ambas as escolas são fontes óbvias de orgulho nas respectivas comunidades. No entanto, ambas as escolas estão além da capacidade e baseado em evidências testemunhais, os alunos em ensino médio sentem a falta de recursos de forma mais aguda.

Em *Palmares II*, os estudantes de nível superior têm aulas na casa do diretor da escola que foi remodelada para acomodar três salas de aula. Em comparação com a escola primária, a qualidade da infraestrutura é muito inferior. As paredes são de tijolos inacabados, as janelas estão inacabadas e cobertas por persianas incompatíveis, não há ar condicionado e as salas de aulas são iluminadas por lâmpadas comuns em vez da luz fluorescente da escola primária. Em *17 de Abril*,

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a escola também está na capacidade, mas para corrigir isso, eles fizeram os alunos mais velhos estudam à noite, até 22:00hs.

Ao identificar a falta de educação, alguns especificamente identificada uma necessidade para o ensino primário, Faculdade ou cursos técnicos. Dos três, Faculdade foi o mais mencionado. Com oportunidades para o ensino superior em ambos os Eldorado e Marabá (uma cidade próxima, a maior do sul do estado), foi surpreendente para o pesquisador que a juventude em *17 de Abril* ainda sentiam a falta de uma Faculdade. O modelo padrão do ensino superior coloca faculdades nas cidades, concentrando recursos onde há mais pessoas. Com as barreiras econômicas para viajar e viver numa cidade, é compreensível que os jovens assentamento expressam um desejo de ter um direito da faculdade bem no assentamento, mas seria economicamente possível? Talvez em vez disso, o MST deve abordar as maiores barreiras a estudar nas cidades para a juventude rural. Elas são os custos de transporte? os custos da habitação? a distância da família? Isto poderia ser um passo próximo interessante na pesquisa.

Outra descoberta interessante foi que, ao contrário do que sugere a literatura, a juventude não havia ânsia as comodidades de um estilo de vida urbana ou capitalista, como é valorizado na mídia. Ninguém disse que gostaria de um cinema, shopping, ou outros confortos urbanos. No entanto, isso não quer dizer que a recreação não era um problema nas comunidades. Recreação ficou em terceiro lugar nas coisas que mais falta no assentamento e foi uma necessidade especialmente clara em *17 de Abril*. Lá, estudantes de ensino médio só tinha aula por uma hora no dia e duas horas à noite. O resto do dia eles tinham muito pouco a fazer. A infraestrutura de lazer só havia uma quadra desportiva. Os adolescentes estavam entediados e desejavam trabalhar durante o dia. Eles ficaram chocados ao saber que alunos dos EUA estão na escola a maioria do dia. O tédio e a falta de oportunidades profissionais foram certamente razões para haver menor satisfação com suas vidas e uma maior proporção que queria ir embora.

A situação foi melhor em Palmares II, que tinha uma praça para a socialização, uma vila mais desenvolvida, um clube pequeno de dança, e acesso relativamente fácil de Parauapebas. No entanto, os estudantes ainda reclamaram da falta de recursos, e algumas pessoas citaram a falta de um complexo desportivo ou academia.

Os entrevistados foram razoavelmente confiante (77 por cento) de que o MST estava tentando obter mais recursos para eles, mas muitos disseram que o processo foi lento. Um participante disse que, embora ela estivesse descontente com o nível de desenvolvimento agora,

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ela estava planejando voltar após a faculdade, porque ela pensou que o MST trabalharia na melhoria da qualidade de vida. Muitos atestaram que o MST fez um bom trabalho de oferta de cursos para eles, ambos os cursos técnicos e os de desenvolvimento pessoal como aulas de fotografia. Alguns tinham feito aulas na escola do MST no Rio Grande do Sul. Não ficou claro o quanto os cursos ajudaram a juventude a encontrar empregos. Outros disseram que o MST dá boas oportunidades, mas apenas para aqueles que estivessem envolvidos na organização.

O Envolvimento no MST

O envolvimento dos jovens foi boa, com 61 por cento envolvido entre os dois assentamentos. Ambos os assentamentos tinham grupos de jovens e o MST dá grandes oportunidades para um pequeno grupo de militantes, incluindo enviando-os para reuniões e encontros em cidades como Belém, Brasília e Rio de Janeiro. Quando aqueles que não estavam envolvidos foram solicitados porque, alguns disseram que simplesmente não têm tempo e alguns disseram que haviam sido envolvido no passado, mas pararam porque o trabalho não foi gratificante. Um participante disse especificamente que ele não gostou do MST, mas não disse o porquê, exceto que ele não gostava de política.

É possível que *Palmares II* e *17 de Abril* tenham militantes mais jovens do que o normal porque O MST é muito visível em ambos assentamentos. Uma grande parte da liderança do movimento é centrado sobre *Palmares II*, e *17 de Abril* tem a construção de uma associação de trabalhadores gerido pela central MST e visivelmente localizado na vila. Esta é uma outra avenida para futuras pesquisas, olhando para o envolvimento dos jovens em mais outros assentamentos.

O Futuro do Brasil

O propósito de questionar o que a juventude queria para o futuro do Brasil era ver se os seus desejos estavam de acordo com os objetivos do MST. A este respeito, eles parecem bem representados. Os desejos mais comuns foram educação, emprego, paz, oportunidades para a juventude, desenvolvimento, igualdade/justiça e melhoria do sistema político. De acordo com o MST, tem três objetivos principais: lutar pela terra, lutar por Reforma Agrária, e lutar por uma sociedade mais justa e fraterna. Mas, para alcançar estes objetivos, o movimento" apóiam e se envolvem nas iniciativas que buscam solucionar os graves problemas estruturais do nosso país,

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como a desigualdade social e de renda, a discriminação de etnia e gênero, a concentração da comunicação, a exploração do trabalhador urbano, etc. (MST "Nossos Objetivos ", 2009). Desta forma, todos os desejos acima poderia ser objetivos do MST.

Quando perguntado diretamente, os participantes também foram razoavelmente confiante (74 por cento) de que o MST estava trabalhando em suas próprias metas para o país. Para aqueles que disseram que não estavam envolvidos ou não tinham certeza (19 e 7 por cento, respectivamente), ou porque eles não tinham certeza se o MST era eficaz, ou porque eles não trabalhavam sobre as questões em que o participante estava interessado. Não havia correlação entre se o participante pensou que o MST estava trabalhando em direção de seus sonhos políticos e se eles estavam envolvidos no MST.

Conclusão

Enquanto o MST combate as questões de sustentabilidade do movimento, deve atender às novas necessidades de seus assentamentos mais velhos. Uma nova geração está tomando o lugar dos seus pais, que inicialmente lutaram pela terra, e o movimento deve decidir onde é o lugar destes jovens nos assentamentos e no movimento. Abordar as necessidades complexas e urgentes dos jovens precisará de um investimento significativo pelo MST, uma ação que pode diluir seus esforços de reforma agrária. Mas, como sugere a literatura, se a juventude rural tem um papel essencial no progresso da América Latina e do movimento de reforma agrária, então concentrar mais recursos para as necessidades da juventude assentada é uma decisão prudente e estratégica por parte do MST. Claro, estas questões ignoram o problema maior, que o governo não fornece estes serviços que ele fornece para a juventude urbana. No final, tentar substituir para um governo que não realiza as suas responsabilidades não é realístico para qualquer movimento popular

As maiores preocupações relacionadas à juventude dos assentamentos são emigração do campo para as cidades e a falta de envolvimento no movimento. Esta pesquisa procurou avaliar 1) a medida em que a emigração está acontecendo dentro dos assentamentos; 2) razões para a emigração, como a insatisfação com a vida rural ou a falta de recursos; 3) o nível de envolvimento no MST entre os jovens dos assentamentos; e 4) se os jovens se sentem representados pelo movimento e se este é um fator que afeta o nível de envolvimento.

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Os resultados parecem bons. Embora a pesquisa tenha descoberto uma grave necessidade de investimento em emprego, educação e lazer no assentamento, o nível de satisfação com a vida no assentamento foi muito alta. A maioria planeja ficar e os resultados indicam que, com mais investimento em oportunidades para a segunda geração, a juventude seria mais motivada para permanecer no campo.

Um dado significativo e surpreendente foi que, ao contrário do que sugere a literatura, os jovens não estavam saindo por causa da "corrupção" da mídia popular que valoriza a vida urbana e capitalista. Embora a cultura estrangeira e popular sejam onipresente em ambos assentamentos, isso não parece afetar sua satisfação com o estilo de vida rural nos dois assentamentos. Este resultado deve dar esperança ao MST porque, embora a aquisição de mais empregos e recursos nos assentamentos não seja uma tarefa fácil, é muito mais realista do que trazer um shopping ou outros equipamentos urbanos para os assentamentos. Ele também mostra que o MST teve sucesso em instalar uma valorização de estilo de vida rural em sua juventude nos assentamentos, um dos objetivos da filosofia educacional do MST.

Sobre o tema da participação no movimento, o MST também tem motivos para estar esperançoso. O envolvimento foi relativamente alto nos dois assentamentos, considerando o preconceito generalizado de que a juventude brasileira é politicamente apática. Mais importante, os objetivos de muitos dos jovens estão de acordo com os do movimento, embora eles não sejam especificamente sobre a questão da reforma agrária. O recrutar no movimento do MST os jovens "sem terra" que nunca foram realmente sem-terra é uma dificuldade que o movimento está enfrentando, e os resultados sugerem que o movimento pode ter mais sucesso ao recrutar jovens para trabalhar em questões sociais que complementam a reforma agrária.

Ao abordar brevemente as questões ambientais, há evidências para sugerir que o MST pode ter mais sucesso com as técnicas de agricultura sustentável entre a nova geração, mas só se o movimento puder garantir mais recursos. Entre aqueles que foram perguntados se o MST teve um efeito positivo sobre o meio ambiente, havia muita incerteza, e em termos de interesse dos jovens em questões ambientais, o meio ambiente simplesmente não era uma preocupação. Isso é desanimador, considerando que esses jovens moram em uma região com um nível de desmatamento alto e este assunto precisa de uma análise mais aprofundada.

Este assunto demande mais atenção. Os dados apresentaram aqui pode ser usados para um estudo mais comprehensivo e quantitativo. Outras direções para pesquisar poderia ser sobre a

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educação ambiental nas escolas do MST, os obstáculos para a juventude rural ingressar na faculdade nas cidades, e o envolvimento dos jovens nos assentamentos menos desenvolvidos.

No geral, este projeto indica que, considerando os obstáculos, o MST está conseguindo seu objetivo de instalar uma valorização da vida rural e combater a influência prejudicial da mídia estrangeira sobre a juventude rural. Ainda há muito trabalho a ser feito, mas os recursos gastos na melhoria da qualidade de vida no campo deve recompensar o movimento com uma maior taxa de retenção da segunda geração de sem terras. Enquanto o futuro não for certo e outras questões de sustentabilidade do MST ainda precisarem ser abordadas, o movimento tem razões para ver a sua esperança nos “sem-terrinhos” crescidos.

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Appendix

| Table 1: Interview Questions / Tabula 1: Questões da Entrevista |
|---|
| Quantos anos você tem? <i>How old are you?</i> |
| Há quanto tempo você mora aqui? <i>How long have you lived here?</i> |
| Você gosta daqui? <i>Do you like it here?</i> |
| Você quer morar aqui por sua vida toda? <i>Do you want to live here your whole life?</i> |
| No assentamento falta de coisas que você precisa? <i>Does the settlement lack things that you need?</i> |
| Você acha que o MST está tentando procurar estas coisas? <i>Do you think the MST is trying to get these things?</i> |
| Você está envolvido/a no MST? (O que você faz?) <i>Are you involved in the MST? (What do you do?)</i> |
| O que você quer para o futuro do Brasil? <i>What do you want for the future of Brazil?</i> |
| Você acha que o trabalho do MST está ajudando estas coisas? <i>Do you think the work of the MST is helping these things?</i> |

Table 2: Raw Data / Tabula 2: Dados Brutos*

| Code | Age | Sex | Lacking/Faltantes** | | | | | | | | | | Dreams for Brazil/Desejos por Brasil** | | | | | | |
|------|-----|-----|---------------------|------------|------------|--------|-------------|---------|-------|-------------|--------------|-----------|--|------------------------|-------------|--------------|-----------|------------|-----------|
| | | | Likes/Gostas | Sawy/Ficar | Leave/Sair | (Edu.) | (Faculdade) | (Tech.) | Comm. | Recre/Lazer | Jobs/Empreg. | MST helps | Edu. | Opps. for youth/jovens | Equal/Legal | Jobs/Empreg. | Politicas | Dev./Desn. | MST helps |
| P-01 | 18 | M | x | x | 1 | x | | | 2 | | | x | x | | | | | | x |
| P-02 | 18 | F | x | x | | | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | x | x | | | | | | x |
| P-03 | 19 | F | x | x | 2 | x | | | 3 | | | x | x | | | | | | x |
| P-04 | 25 | F | x | x | 3 | | x | | 2 | 1 | 4 | x | x | | | | | | x |
| P-05 | 23 | F | x | x | 1 | x | | | 2 | 3 | | x | x | | | | | 1 | x |
| P-06 | 21 | F | x | x | | | | | 1 | | | x | x | | | | | 3 | x |
| P-07 | 18 | M | x | x | | | | | | | | x | x | | | | | 1 | x |
| P-08 | 19 | M | x | x | 1 | x | | | 3 | | | 2 | x | | | | | 2 | x |
| P-09 | 18 | M | x | x | 2 | x | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | 1 | x |
| P-10 | 25 | M | x | x | 1 | | | | 2 | 5 | 4 | x | x | | | | | 2 | x |
| P-11 | 19 | F | x | x | 2 | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | | |
| A-01 | 20 | M | x | x | 1 | x | | | | | | x | x | | | | | 1 | x |
| A-02 | 17 | F | x | x | 1 | x | | | | | 2 | x | x | | | | | 1 | x |
| A-03 | 19 | F | x | ? | | | | | | 2 | 1 | x | x | | | | | 1 | x |
| A-04 | 17 | F | x | x | | | | | | 1 | | x | x | | | | | | x |
| A-05 | 19 | F | x | x | 1 | x | x | | | 2 | x | x | | | | | 1 | x | |
| A-06 | 20 | F | x | x | | | | | | 1 | | x | x | | | | | 1 | x |
| A-07 | 22 | F | x | x | | | | | | 1 | | x | x | | | | | 1 | x |
| A-08 | 21 | M | x | x | | | | | | 1 | | ? | x | | | | | 2 | x |
| A-09 | 20 | M | x | x | | | | | | 1 | 2 | x | | | | | 1 | 1 | x |
| A-10 | 18 | M | x | x | | | | | | 1 | | x | x | | | | | 1 | x |
| A-11 | 18 | M | * | x | 2 | | | | | 1 | | x | x | | | | | 2 | x |
| A-12 | 18 | M | | x | | | | | | 1 | | ? | x | | | | | 1 | x |
| A-13 | 19 | M | x | ? | | | | | | 1 | | ? | x | | | | | | x |
| A-14 | 21 | M | x | x | | | | | | 1 | | | | | | | | | x |
| A-15 | 19 | M | x | x | 2 | x | | | | 3 | | x | x | | | | | 1 | x |
| A-16 | 19 | M | ? | x | 1 | x | | | | 2 | x | x | x | | | | | 2 | x |
| A-17 | 21 | F | x | n/r | 1 | x | | | | 1 | | 2 | x | | | | | 3 | x |

* Respondents “P” from Palmares II, “A” from 17 de Abril; “?” signifies the person was unsure or said “*mais ou menos*”; “n/r” signifies “no response”; responses in numbers signify the order in which the responses were given.

* Respondentes “P” são de Palmares II, “A” de 17 de Abril; “?” significa resposta incerta ou “mais ou menos”; “n/r” significa “não resposta”; respostas com números significam o ordem em que as respostas foram dito.

** Only responses given by more than one person are shown.
** Somente respostas dadas pelo mais que uma pessoa são mostradas.