



THE DIVERSIFICATION OF THE SUCCESSION ARRANGEMENTS ON NON-AGRICULTURAL RURAL PROPERTIES IN THE NORTHWEST OF RIO GRANDE DO SUL

A DIVERSIDADE DOS ARRANJOS SUCESSÓRIOS EM PROPRIEDADES RURAIS NÃO AGRÍCOLAS NO NOROESTE DO RIO GRANDE DO SUL

LA DIVERSIDAD DE ACUERDOS SUCESORIOS EN PROPIEDADES RURALES NO AGRÍCOLAS EN LO NOROESTE DEL RIO GRANDE DO SUL

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ABSTRACT

This article aims to analyze the methods or succession arrangements carried out by farmer's children whose properties develop non-agricultural activities. Twenty-six young people have been interviewed in the town of Crissiumal, located in the Northwest Region of Rio Grande do Sul state. These young have been selected following some specifications: to live in rural areas on their paternal properties or to be independently settled on other properties; to live in rural areas, performing non-agricultural, pluriactive or para-agricultural activities as a way of generating income. The results demonstrate that non-agricultural activities are important both in keeping the youth in the rural areas and in maintaining the properties' succession. Therefore, it is possible to find three succession arrangements: generational succession, rural succession, and hereditary succession. It means that the permanence of young people, children of farmers, in the rural area goes beyond the traditional model of generational succession. There are other arrangements in progress when working within the possibilities of non-agricultural activities.

Keywords: Continuity. Rural Area. Succession. Rural Development.

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RESUMO

Este artigo objetiva analisar as formas ou arranjos sucessórios realizados pelos filhos de agricultores cujas propriedades desenvolvem atividades não agrícolas. Foram realizadas entrevistas com 26 jovens no município de Crissiumal, localizado na região Noroeste do estado do Rio Grande do Sul. Os jovens foram amostrados intencionalmente seguindo algumas características: residir no meio rural nas propriedades paternas ou estabelecidas de forma independente em outras propriedades; residir no meio rural, exercendo atividades não agrícolas, pluriativas ou para-agrícolas como forma de geração de renda. Os resultados mostram que as atividades não agrícolas são importantes na manutenção dos jovens no meio rural e na sucessão das propriedades, sendo possível encontrar três arranjos sucessórios: sucessão geracional, rural e hereditária. Isso significa dizer que a permanência dos jovens, filhos de agricultores, no meio rural perpassa a tradicional forma da sucessão geracional, a outros arranjos em curso quando se trabalha com possibilidades de atividades não agrícolas.

Palavras-chave: Continuidade. Meio Rural. Sucessão. Desenvolvimento Rural.

RESUMEN

Este artículo tiene como objetivo analizar las formas o arreglos de sucesión que realizan los hijos de agricultores cuyas propiedades desarrollan actividades no agrícolas. Se realizaron entrevistas a 26 jóvenes en el municipio de Crissiumal, ubicado en la región Noroeste del estado de Rio Grande do Sul. Los jóvenes fueron muestreados intencionalmente siguiendo algunas características: vivir en áreas rurales en sus propiedades paternas o establecerse independientemente en otras propiedades; residir en zonas rurales, realizar actividades no agrícolas, pluriactivas o paraagrícolas como medio de generación de ingresos. Los resultados muestran que las actividades no agrícolas son importantes en el mantenimiento de los jóvenes en las zonas rurales y en la sucesión de propiedades, siendo posible encontrar tres arreglos de sucesión: sucesión generacional, rural y hereditaria. Esto quiere decir que la permanencia de los jóvenes, hijos de agricultores, en el medio rural impregna la forma tradicional de sucesión generacional, hacia otros arreglos en marcha cuando se trabaja con posibilidades para actividades no agrícolas.

Palavras clave: Continuidad. Área rural. Sucesión. Desarrollo Rural.

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1 INTRODUCTION

The studies relating to the Brazilian rural youth are marked by two distinct moments. The first one encompasses the decades from 1960 to 1980. Within this period, the young were seen as a forgotten category inside the rural lands, target by development rural projects aiming to improve, perfect, and direct these young farm children into the agricultural work.

From 1990⁵ onward, these same youth has been receiving a different outlook inside Brazil. Such a change has happened, especially, due to its emergence inside academic studies and research, which have started revealing: the disappointment of these young rural people with the agricultural activity and the rural way of life; their migratory process to the urban environment, and the impacts of this process to the rural areas. Specifically, these studies that have started pointing to the social reproduction of rural properties, exhibit as their main characteristics, the maintenance of the business' management and assets through and between the generations. This process is known as generational succession, in which the children assume their parents' place regarding the continuity of the agricultural activities, the land's management, and the assets' control (SILVESTRO et al., 2001; SPANEVELLO, 2008).

Inside the Brazilian context, specifically in the Southern Region of the country, as shown in the works of Silvestro et al. (2001), the generational succession is the primary form of assuring the continuity of families, properties, communities, and rural populations. As affirmed by Champagne (2002), in the French context, the families' social-cultural internal logic was that every farmer's son had to become a farmer as well, and would thus succeed his parents in the business, being this the natural process in the rural environment.

However, the rural environment's social-economic and cultural transformations, as well the proximity with urban areas, have brought changes to this process of generational succession, and to the logic that a farmer's son must also become a farmer (BOURDIEU, 2000). This fact has generated a change of habitus⁶, motivated by production technologies, access to the communication mediums, structural changes in the rural work, set forth by the bigger supply of education to the rural population, and by the acquisition of transportation, leisure, among other factors.

This is equivalent to saying that the children aim for other occupational and professional possibilities; the choice for agriculture is pondered against the overall possibilities these children have. Thus, many times, the children sever their families' projects of maintaining agricultural activities and properties, to go on living their individual professional projects, which can be related to leaving the property and the rural environment – taking an urban profession, staying in the rural but without living of agriculture, or staying on the property following the parent's agricultural business plans (MOREIRA et al., 2020).

⁵Among whom can be highlighted Stropasolas (2002), Tedesco (1999), Woortmann (1995), Abramovay et al. (1998), Silvestro et al. (2001), Weisheimer (2009) e Spanevello (2008).

⁶Habitus is defined as a system of durable and transferable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as generators of principles and organizers of practices and representations.

These projects pursued by the children, tend to be directed to the rural (and properties) or to the external (urban environment) when certain economic and social conditions are considered favorable. Concerning succession perspectives, succession is more probable to occur on larger properties (ALDANONDO OCHOA; CASANOVAS OLIVA; ALMANSA SÁEZ, 2007; GLAUBEN et al., 2009), with greater availability of assets and a satisfactory income originating from agricultural sources (WHEELER et al., 2012). The possibilities also increase on properties that are prosper and more efficient, specialized, or more technologically advanced (CAVICCHIOLI; BERTONI; PRETOLANI, 2018, GLAUBEN et al., 2009, DUESBERG; BOGUE; RENWICK, 2017). Additionally, the diversification of properties' activities is also positively related to the possibility of succession existing, seen that additional activities reduce risks and increase revenue (SOTTOMAYOR; TRANTER; COSTA, 2011). The valuing of the rural space, the occupation of a farmer, the guarantee of children's autonomy when managing the productive activities, housing, and income also work as motivational aspects (FOGUESATTO et al., 2020; MATTE et al., 2019; MOREIRA et al., 2020; PESSOTTO, et al., 2019; CHISWELL, 2018). On the opposite side, aspects such as a larger portion of rented land (CAVICCHIOLI; BERTONI; PRETOLANI, 2018), the reluctance of the older generation in retiring from work, especially from the properties' management (CONWAY et al., 2017), rural properties located on more distant areas from the urban centers (ALDANONDO OCHOA; CASANOVAS OLIVA; ALMANSA SÁEZ, 2007) can demotivate succession.

However, one cannot conceive the Brazilian youth as a population share whose horizon comprises only the rural environment or the denial of the rural. Works such as the one from Kageyama (2008) demonstrate that beginning in 1990, the rural no more was defined as a space exclusively designed to agricultural production. According to Kageyama (2000), the rural has been considered a multi-sector space, being agriculture just one of its activities, while other non-agricultural activities are also present. Silva (1997) attests that the non-agricultural activities that stand out in the rural are the result, in the first place, of the industrial increase in the rural area and the surging of peri-urban zones, which are neighboring zones very close to the city. In second place comes the rural as a home, and thirdly and lastly, comes the propagation of ranches and rural business destined to the leisure and entertainment of families residing in the city. In resume, the non-agricultural activities are those in which the person does an activity in the rural environment that is not an agricultural work, such as the case of providing services. An example is the renting of machinery from outside the property to exert some type of task (LAURENTI, 2000). Beyond this type of activity, there are also the pluriactivity and para-agricultural activities.

The pluriactive families, according to Schneider (2009), are those that develop various types of activities and whose members develop functions inside and outside the property, combining agricultural, non-agricultural, and para-agricultural activities. Silva (1997) corroborates this by exposing that pluriactivity can be understood in two ways: the first, as the one that combines agricultural activity with the supplying of services, both happening inside the fields and inside urban areas (industries for example); the second way, consists of activities carried out essentially in the urban areas, combined with the agricultural activities' management in the rural establishments. Oyamada et al. (2007) mention that pluriactivity is brought as a new form of agricultural economic behavior. It is seen as a reproduction model belonging to families that reside in the rural environment, especially concerning their social reproduction, in which their agricultural character is kept, even though they also develop other non-agricultural activities.

The combination of farming activities with off-farming activities is possible because, with mechanization and modernization, less time needs to be dedicated to production. In this manner, it is possible to exert other activities outside of the land. In some properties, with modernization, just one family member is enough to take care of the agricultural production. Thus, the other members can develop activities outside of the property, therefore adding to the family's income allowing its upkeep (SILVA, 1997). Therefore, the importance of pluriactivity is highlighted, mainly due to its ability to generate income to the families (OYAMADA et al., 2007). Tonini (2013) confirms that pluriactivity is the practice of activities with the objective of generating new gains; these activities can be executed inside or outside the property.

Schneider (2009) states that para-agricultural activities are those resulting in the transformation and processing of raw agricultural material and its derivatives. These can be produced on the family's property or can be obtained from other properties. The transformation and processing of raw materials can be used to the family's consuming or destined to be sold, thus generating income (SCHNEIDER, 2009; ESCHER et al., 2014). As para-agricultural activities that stand out, we have the agribusiness industries on the rural properties.

The study made by Lima and Piacenti (2009) has demonstrated that the income generated by off-farm activities holds great importance to the lessening of familial poverty in the rural areas of Brazil's Southern Region. He has identified that families restricted only to agriculture receive 70% of the total income that is earned by other families that combine both on-farm and off-farm activities. The authors also highlight that the increase of families holding non-agricultural activities will continue to occur, because being restricted only to on-farm activities, often, has shown to be economically inefficient. These non-agricultural activities can be done both outside of the property, as in supplying some type of service to neighbors, and inside the own property, for example, the rural tourism and the transformation of raw materials into other products, through familial agribusiness industrial processes, among others. In a study done in Belgium, it has been demonstrated that the main changes and factors that have been occurring in the rural environment are the transformation of the economy; before it was based mainly in agriculture, and now is being changed into an economy based on the diversification of activities done in the rural environment. With these changes, the rural environment begins to hold activities such as silviculture, preservation of nature, non-agricultural activities, and as well it is becoming residence to only a small amount of families (VERHOEVE; DE ROO; ROGGE, 2012).

In the conception of Aldanondo Ochoa, Casanovas Oliva e Almansa Sáez (2007), pluriactivity and the realization of agriculture activities in a part-time format can be an option, especially in situations where on-farm income is limited. In these cases, the possibility of combining agricultural activities, with work from outside of the property constitutes a central factor in the children's decision of assuming the family's rural property.

Naafs and Skelton (2018) state, that even though the rural youth seems to be ever more oriented to a non-agrarian future, as their relations towards the land change, they seek new possibilities of remaining in the rural environment, for example, the non-agricultural work. These new opportunities include the perspectives of seeing both the properties' business and the rural environment as promising. Zanol e Stropasolas (2019) suggest that the young people are protagonists of these new forms of facing the rural, particularly, when concerning the development of non-agricultural activities.

The work carried out by Signor (2019) demonstrates that life projects of young people attaining superior education linked to the agribusiness are based on entrepreneurship actions to be developed in the rural environment. According to the author, the young have the entrepreneurial potential of enhancing already existent business on the properties, and also the potential to start new ones in the rural environment. This means that the young have an eye in the rural, but not necessarily to the agricultural work or to the farming occupation.

These new possibilities demanded by the young, children of farmers, signal to that which Milone e Ventura (2019) denominated as “the new generation of farmers” in Italy. It’s about a great number of young people attracted by the agricultural sector, having as their conceptions, the idea that this sector offers an opportunity of them becoming entrepreneurs. Their ideas are distant from the traditional agricultural models. These young are managing to administrate rural properties, usually really small-sized ones, their success owing to their creativity, innovation, and their capacity of attending to society’s new demands and expectations related to agriculture. This new generation refuses to follow the same destiny of the majority that chooses to migrate into the urban environment. Even though they have limited resources of land and capital, they pursue autonomy, focusing on technical planning and economic planning (MILONE; VENTURA, 2019).

The prospect of business’s development in the rural environment can occur in two forms: improving the already existing, or increment the new ones. Farmers take advantage of rural entrepreneurship opportunities in a variety of ways, such as: diversifying productions, rural tourism, processing products, and raw materials at the property, new production models, and new marketing strategies. To Arnold (2011), entrepreneurship strategies go beyond the agricultural production, and they carry the possibilities of maintaining families on the fields, reducing the youth migratory flux, making use of familial labor that allows for the individual remuneration of each family member, beyond other benefits linked with the generation of employment and income to the rural areas. Innovative businesses or traditional businesses under new management’s and productive perspectives can encourage young people into returning to the rural lands, as many of them leave the fields due to conflicts with their parents, conflicts mainly related to the lack of autonomy inside the rural household and due to not possessing an autonomous income (SPANEVERELLO *et al.*, 2014).

This article aims to analyze the forms of permanence adopted by the farmer’s children whose properties develop non-agricultural activities. It is understood that, within the current context, the young may choose to remain on the properties or depart from them. The focus is to comprehend what are the forms, arrangements, and characteristics of succession desired by the farm children on properties where labor and income are predominantly non-agricultural.

2 METHODOLOGY

The information utilized to proceed with the analysis of the succession arrangements originates from the municipality of Crissiumal, localized in the Northwest Region of the Rio Grande do Sul State, Brazil, according to figure 1:

Figure 1 – Location of the study



Fonte: Arquivo disponível na Fundação de Economia e Estatística

The municipality of Crissiumal has, according to data from the Agricultural Census of 2017, 1.592 rural properties. Considering the age range of the properties' owners, those with 35 years or less constitute the number of 100 producers, while of those aged over 55 years old, the number is 803. These data reinforce the perspective of aging farmer's in face of the youth exit, and the difficulties in renewing the properties' management, as already pointed out by the studies of Matte et al. (2019) e Spanevello et al. (2017).

In this municipality, have been assessed 26 rural properties that develop non-agricultural activities, doing so in an independent manner, with labor participation being restricted to one or two family members, or with the labor division holding the complete participation of the family members. Another criterion utilized in the selection of properties was that the farmer's children were laboring on it. The young have been sampled intentionally, following some characteristics: residing in the rural environment, on the parental properties, or being independently established on other properties; residing in the rural environment, exerting non-agricultural activities, pluriactive activities, or para-agricultural activities as a form of income generation.

As highlighted by Moraes, Borges e Binotto (2018), inside Brazil exists a difficulty in identifying the rural properties that have a successor or a potential successor, above all, because there is no official record that officially displays such information. Therefore, to assess the

desired targets, a previous contact has been made with the technicians from EMATER (Empresa de Assistência Técnica e Extensão Rural / Technical Assistance and Rural Extension Enterprise). The communication with this entity was paramount in the identification and in obtaining engagement with the families.

Regarding the gathering of data, an interview form was used as the gathering instrument, consisting of a script of open and closed questions, aiming to understand the relation of the young people towards the non-agricultural activities, income generation, and the properties' succession. This information has also been studied through the technical analysis of the content. The procedure applied to the study was the analysis of the content, for we have been supplied with the participant's narratives. As attested by Hernández Sampieri et al., (2013), a study of this genre is contextual, demands profound immersion of the research team, the construction of categories and signification, and afterward, the constitution of similarities and differences. Thus, the results exhibited in the next section derive from a contextual and meticulous analysis of the information obtained from the interviews.

3 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The objective of this item is to detail the research's results, encompassing the presentation of the social-economic profile concerning the young, the rural properties, and the referred succession arrangements.

3.1 SOCIAL-ECONOMIC PROFILE OF THE YOUNG AND OF THE RURAL PROPERTIES

The young are aged between 17 and 32 years old. Of the total, 17 belong to the male sex and 9 are females. Regarding marital status, eighteen are single, four are married, and four of the interviewed possess civil union. Regarding education, five still frequent some form of education, while twenty have completed high school education. Within those that are yet studying, two are doing a Post-Graduate education, and three are in the process of attaining a college degree.

Concerning the properties where the young reside, they can be considered as being small-sized, therefore, familial. Of the total, twenty young reside on properties consisting of an area of land up to 30 hectares maximum, out of these, three young reside on properties with areas inferior to 5 hectares. Almost the complete sample (24 young people) has affirmed that the land is their own (belonging to their parents), another two have affirmed that one part is owned (belongs to parents) and the other part is rented (parents rent lend from others). In seventeen cases, the young live in the same house as their parents, and the other nine cases reside in separate houses (although within the parent's property).

On the rural properties, different activities are developed. On some, it is just one activity, while on others, it can be verified a combination of more than one activity, apart from the non-agricultural ones. The agricultural activities that are more common are milk, grains, swine, and tobacco. There's the record of two properties where the family members are engaged in developing non-agricultural activities, which are going to be shown later in this paper. In 24 of the properties, the activities are of the agricultural genre, combined with non-agricultural activities, developed both internally and outside the property. The importance of the non-agricultural activities to the family's income varies. Among 17 cases, they exert no relevance to the familial context, belonging exclusively to the young children that develop them.

These results go against the arguments made by Silva (2009). The author affirms that the income originating from non-agricultural activities has an individual character, being destined mainly to women and to the young people in the pursuit of financial independence. According to the author, this condition allows these individuals to remain in the rural environment. Marin (2017) and Silva, Silva, and Pereira (2015) corroborate and say that non-agricultural activities are done by the young to guarantee goods of personal and individual use, goods which, often, the agriculture income does allow them to possess.

In the case of this study, the results pointed out that, to twelve young people, the lack of individual income was the main reason for the exertion of non-agricultural activities combined with agricultural activities. The non-agricultural activities range from those developed inside the property, such as the production of wine and the juice agribusiness industry, beyond those developed outside the property, but still within the rural area, such as the case of supplying services through machinery, and also those done in the urban areas, such office auxiliary, seller, delivery, among others.

Each young person has its function in the non-agricultural activity that is developed, be it done on the rural property or outside of it. When concerning those done on the property, we can verify that the young usually do more than one activity. Such is the case of three youngsters that work with some aspects of management and workforce, combined with external work in which is included the selling and buying of production materials and other bureaucratic tasks. In another case, aside from working as a wine oenologist, a young lady is also responsible for sales. In the remaining cases, the young are designated to do some specific type of job.

3.2 SUCCESSION ARRANGEMENTS

Among the twenty-six young farmers' children that have been interviewed, nineteen have affirmed their aspiration to become the successors of their parents' property, due to the fact of them enjoying the activities, enjoying the rural way of life, and due to their desire of giving continuity to the properties' functions. On the other side, between the seven children that had no desire in remaining on their parental rural property, all of them have affirmed that their older brother is going to assume.

When concerning the aspects related to the exertion of non-agricultural activities and succession, many young children pointed out the search for these kinds of activities as a way of staying in the rural environment while securing an extra income, since many families have

no way of sustaining themselves only through the agricultural income. Spanevello et al. (2019) demonstrate that non-agricultural activities work as enhancers to the permanence of the young in the rural environment (especially the young women).

When questioned whether the non-agricultural activities do support in the permanence of the young on the rural lands, the twenty-six interviewed have affirmed positively. This support is given, mainly, according to the opinion of thirteen of the interviewed, because the activities allow the generation of income. Others have said that: the experience acquired outside of the property can later be brought into practice inside the property; that the non-agricultural activity secures a monthly income; that they can maintain proximity with the property while diversifying income sources; they can do what they love and also have a monthly income just for them. These and some other examples are the forms, according to these young, of non-agricultural activities helping the permanence of the youth in the rural lands. The non-agricultural activity holds great importance in guaranteeing income and encouraging the permanence in the rural environment (SCHNEIDER; FIALHO, 2000).

When questioned whether they considered non-agricultural activities as important to the succession process, a total of 88.46%, that's twenty-three of the interviewed, answered that yes, while the remaining three of them said that no. Within those answering positively, the justification has been that through income generation, the acquisition of experience and knowledge occurs, encouraging the children in remaining on the land and thus preserving the familial maintenance, as they learn to hold responsibilities while guaranteeing financial steadiness. Another interesting aspect was that one of the young interviewed raised the reflection of what would have been done with the invested money, had them regarded the non-agricultural activities as unimportant to the succession process, as already pointed out in the work of Spanevello et al. (2019).

As it has been highlighted by the interviewed, non-agricultural activities act as enhancers of the succession processes happening on the properties and in the rural environment. However, even before analyzing and discussing the relationship between these activities with the business' and the properties' succession, it's necessary to ponder that the very appearance and valuing of this kind of work within the Brazilian rural environment imposes other productive and social-economic dynamics to the regions where this modality of work is taking place. These are new social relations (between producers and consumers) that allow the young people and the other family workers to hold a productive activity that is less risky than farming, while potentially bringing autonomy to the children which grow to have their own income. The work done outside of the household greatly amplifies the communication and interaction spaces linking both urban and rural, generating a unique perspective of development that trespasses the last decades' conception in which the rural is viewed as being exclusively agricultural. The valuing of these kinds of activities occurs thanks to the more positive outlook that has been extending (due to academic research and public policies) over the rural environment, the rural way of life, and the mechanisms of food production.

The work of Spanevello et al. (2019) carried out in the Rio Grande do Sul State, with women involved in non-agricultural activities (pluriactive, non-agrarian, para-agricultural), suggests that to the involved ones, the social and economic gains deriving from non-agrarian income generated autonomously or through the family labor, have their positive meaning. Among them, stands out women's financial independence, as well the social-economic improvements, amplifying their social living and their quality of life. In this manner, according

to the authors, the non-agricultural activities within the family agricultural context are favorable to the autonomy of the rural women, considering their monetary and non-monetary benefits, especially in the contexts where the non-valuing of female labor within the agricultural traditional activities occurs.

Considering the context highlighted above, in special the effects of the non-agricultural activities over the productive and social-economic dynamics in the rural environment, it is possible to ponder that business' and assets' succession between families and properties that develop non-agricultural activities is diversified. This diversification can be considered when compared to the way in which succession used to happen in the last decades, when the rural environment represented only the space of agricultural production. According to Abramovay *et al.* (1998), in the past generations, the father would, through the inheritance, chose which son should remain in charge of the business and in charge of the land, and that son would follow the paternal occupation, managing the agricultural businesses already developed on the property. This arrangement is named generational succession and is present in the almost complete totality of Southern Brazil (ABRAMOVAY *et al.*, 1998).

The results of this work showcase that the succession arrangements described by the interviewers hold distinct characteristics, the generational succession is not their only exclusive model. The work of Moreira e Spanevello (2019), devoted to the understanding of the rural properties' succession models, confirm the existence of six models, constructed from variables such as the place of living, business administration, and income managing. This diversification of models reinforces the transformations that have been taking place in the traditional succession model, including the possibility of the successors residing in the urban environment, with greater or less autonomy in the businesses' control and income.

In this work, the responses given by the young people interviewed permit to identify the presence of three arrangements: generational succession, rural succession, and hereditary succession, as shown in Table 01. The generational succession consists of young people staying on the property and exerting the activity that is already currently practiced (there have been identified eleven cases and another four as generational succession with their particularities and ramifications). The rural succession is defined as the one where the children are successors but do not exert the same activity that is currently developed at the property. The field research has identified five cases as being classified as rural succession. When referring to the hereditary succession, it is defined as being the succession where the young successor does not assume the business, but only the patrimony (mainly the land or the property), however, he either sells it or rents it, thus neither residing on it, neither living on it (four cases).

Table 1 – Succession Arrangements

Succession Arrangement	Characteristics of the Arrangement	Number of Cases
Generational Succession	Generational Successor stays on the property and carries out the property's activity.	11
Ramifications of the Generational Succession	Generational Successor stays on the property and carries out the property's activity, also developing another activity, such as the agribusiness industry.	2
	Generational Successor stays on the property and does only one of the activities that are currently developed at the property.	2
	Generational Successor stays on the property, carries out the property's activity, and also works on increasing the land's area.	1
	Generational Successor stays on the property and does one or two activities that are currently being developed on it.	1
Rural Succession	The successor does another activity.	1
	Successor lives in the rural, and works on both agricultural and non-agricultural activities.	1
	Successor lives in the rural, and works on only non-agricultural activities.	2
	Successor lives in the rural and does the same agricultural activity that is currently done at property;	1
Hereditary Succession	Resides in the rural area and works in the city, intends to sell the parents' land.	1
	Does not intend to remain on the rural land, is going to move to the city.	3

Source: Elaborated by the Authors (2020)

In the following section will be separately presented the succession arrangements, characterized accordingly to each young person interviewed:

a) Generational Succession

In the study, eleven young people have affirmed their intention to remain as generational successors, this can be observed in Table 01. Out of these, six belong to the male sex and 5 are female. The age range varies from 17 to 31 years old. In general, this group of interviewed considers the way of life in the rural faring from good to great. Regarding education, the minimum educational degree held is incomplete high school, other educational levels range from a college degree and technician degree. In this group, the ladies stand out: out of the 5 interviewed, two hold a college degree (Administration and Oenology) and two others are concluding a Bachelor in Administration and Geography. About 50% of the interviewed reside in houses separate from their parents but live on the same property.

Concerning the activities that are developed, pluriactivity and non-agricultural activities (such as transformation and processing of the property's products) are predominant. The interviewed have affirmed their interest in assuming the parents' property. Seven of them have confirmed that, if they do not assume the parental property, they intend on remaining in the rural environment doing agricultural and non-agricultural activities, or just non-agricultural activities. The remainder young have exposed the following scenarios: one of them intends on staying, although doing only agricultural activity; another stated that, if he does not assume the property, he is going to live in the city; another one affirms planning to establish himself in the rural environment, but only exerting agricultural activities; while the last one, says if he does not assume the parental property, he is not going to remain in the rural environment.

Succession arrangements geared towards generational succession have been identified, however, with certain differences or ramifications. The ramifications of the generational succession are defined as such, because they remain as successors on the parental property, but modify some productive characteristics. We can observe six of these cases in Table 01, being four of them young children belonging to the male sex, and two belonging to the female sex.

The age range of the interviewed varies from 18 to 32 years old. Regarding education, it ranges from complete high school, technician, to a college degree. The majority of the interviewed lives in their parents' house (living together). In general, they evaluate the rural environment from good to great, and pluriactivity is the predominant developed activity. All of them intend to assume the succession, if this does not occur, half of them intend to stay in the rural working on agricultural and non-agricultural activities, while the other half is going to work only on non-agricultural activities.

b) Rural Succession

Within the rural succession group, five young people have affirmed their intention of staying on the rural properties with certain conditions, as can be observed in Table 01. Out of these five, four are from the male sex and one is a female. Their age ranges from 18 to 32 years old. Only one of the interviewed does not live in the same house as his parents. In general, they evaluate the rural environment's way of life as good to great. In this specific case, the four properties where the young sons live are pluriactive, and the young son represents the workforce leaving the property. Concerning the young daughter, her whole family carries out non-agricultural activities outside of the property.

Within this group, three intend to assume the property and the business, while two do not show this intention. Those who said no, have justified the fact they are not able to carry out all the work by themselves, while another interviewed already has hectares of land where he is going to live, thus shows no need to assume his parents' property. The third young son has said that even though he is not going to assume the parental property, he intends on remaining in the rural environment, working on non-agricultural activities. This same condition applies to a young daughter, reinforcing the idea of the rural as a place to live and not necessarily as a place of work. This tendency of permanence in the rural albeit not in an agricultural activity, according to the work of Dorigon and Renk (2014), done in the Western Region of Santa Catarina, happens among farmers' sons whose parents have converted the agricultural properties into non-agricultural ones (especially through the agribusiness) and among the young that have returned to the rural after a period of work in the urban centers of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, and since then have initiated another dynamic of income generation inside the properties, through transformation, processing, and value-aggregating activities that have allowed for a superior income than the one earned in the urban centers.

c) Hereditary succession

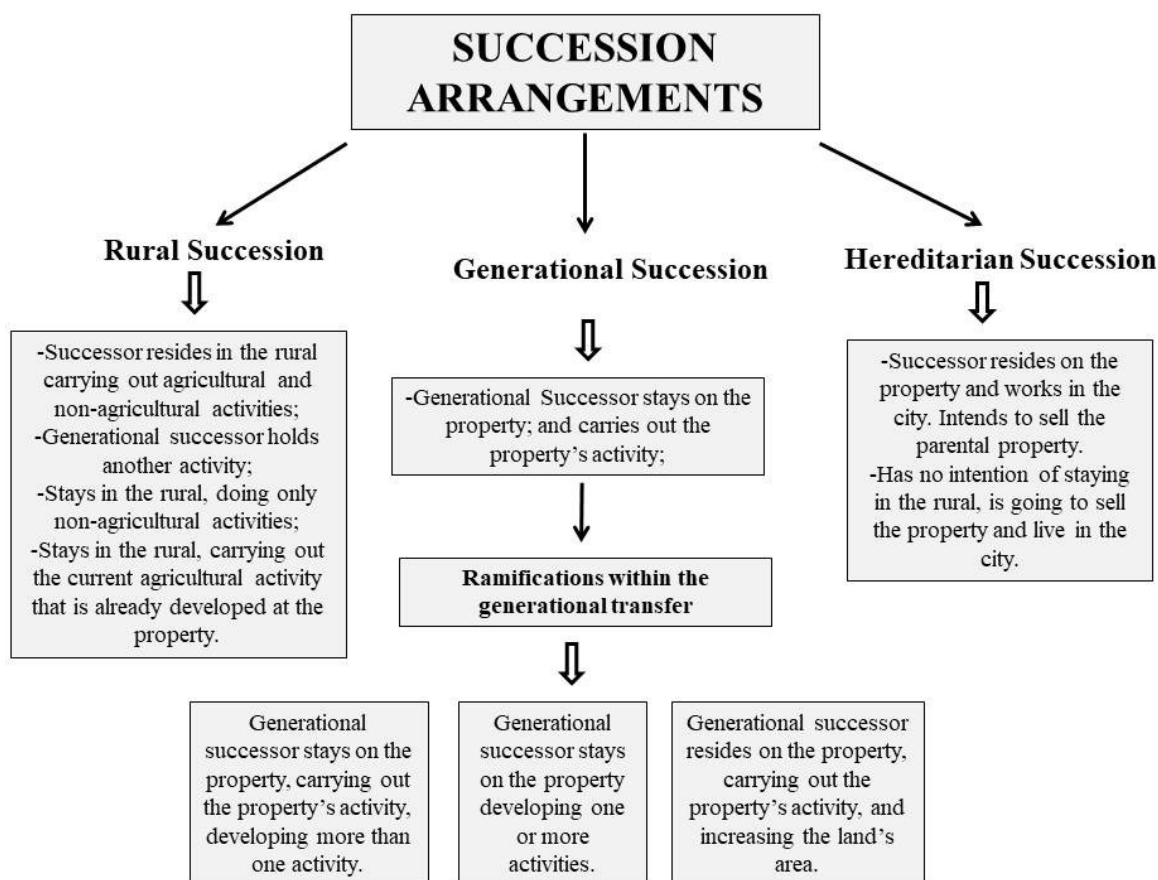
Four young people have said that they have no intention of becoming the generational successor or the rural successor, thus they are going to sell the parental property, as can be observed in Table 01. This group of young consists of three males and one female. Their age ranges from 20 to 27 years old. All of them have completed high school. Although they do consider the rural lifestyle as faring from good to great, they have no intention of remaining in it as successors, on the contrary, they intend to establish themselves in the urban environment

for they prefer working in the city (or because they have a sibling already staying in the rural). In the case of the young lady, the property is considered non-agricultural, the property functions only as a residence for both her and her parents, they all develop non-agricultural activities outside of the property, and the property is absent of any agricultural or para-agricultural activity.

The generational succession is highlighted in the works of Matte et al. (2019); Boscardin e Conterato (2017) e Spanevello et al. (2017) under the view that, to the children, the hereditary succession means the acquisition of the patrimony (mainly the property) during the moment that the parents consider appropriate and fit. However, according to the authors, to the parents, the children's forfeiting the business' control and succession means that the land area will be rented to third parties, or even sold; the old age ends up limiting the older generation's work capacity, which in many cases, have the necessity of moving to the urban environment in order to remain closer to their children, grandchildren, and to have access to health care.

The Figure 2 illustrates the succession arrangements highlighted above as a way of synthesizing the main results discovered by this study.

Figure 2 – Succession arrangements



Source: Elaborated by the Authors (2020)

4 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The results of this work elucidate the changes inside the succession archetypes of both businesses and patrimony within rural properties, in contrast to the traditional model of generational succession. These changes are related to the development of non-agricultural activities, which have shown great importance to the permanence of the young people in the rural lands, observing that all of these young have highlighted these changes as factors contributing to them choosing to stay in the rural. Within the 24 properties that have been analyzed, agricultural activities are developed together with non-agricultural activities, revealing that, even though non-agricultural activities are developed, the young people keep a bond with the rural and with the agrarian, helping in the agricultural activities when they are not doing the non-agricultural ones.

The non-agricultural activities contribute to the succession arrangements as affirmed by the interviewed, for they bring differentiating characteristics to properties and to the families, demystifying the generational succession as the only model of creating succession. Are present as models: the hereditary succession, the rural succession, the generational succession, and its ramifications and particularities. These particularities are associated with the young people,

who want to stay on the property and in the activity, however, intending to modify the land, be it through the aggregation of more than one function to the land (such as the agribusiness industry activities), doing one or more of the activities that are already practiced on it, or increasing the land's area. These particularities, therefore, characterize the ramifications of the generational process.

These new succession arrangements oriented around the succession of the rural young people, suggest the creation of actions, such as public policies that focus on the development of non-agricultural activities. The aim is to support the permanence of the young generations in the rural areas, especially, of the youth belonging to properties that face great difficulties in securing their children's succession (due to the land area, issues with revenue generation, investment, among others).

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