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Henrique M. Silva<sup>1</sup>

## **The Social-environmental Aftermaths of Paraguay Eastern Boder Region Colonization and Occupation<sup>2</sup>**

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<sup>1</sup> Doctor in cultural history, Professor of the Department of Foundations of Education of the State University of Maringá - Brazil

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**ABSTRACT:** *The present article aims at pointing out the historical conditions of migration and settlement of the Eastern border region of Paraguay that began in the early 1960s, and its social-environmental aftermaths. Such a phenomenon involved different ethnic groups in different occupations as well as space organization, which for their part, involved arrangements and conditionings specifically adapted. The present estimates show that the approximate number of Brazilians living on the Eastern Paraguayan border is of 500.000 or in other words, more than 10% of that country's population. Of that percentage, 60% are originally from the Brazilian meridional states, and for the most part German descendents. Nevertheless, the relevance of this group does not just express itself in terms of numbers, but also in terms of its role in the process of the agricultural modernization and the structure of the country. Given the actuality of the phenomena studied in this binational frontier and consequent complexity of the economic, social, cultural and political relations involved in this process, the theoretical methodology took place through a multidimensional bias, as considered by the ecological anthropology carried out by the studies of John W. Bennett. The sources used involved oral stories, field work observations and official documentation, as well as ample bibliographical research, based on a methodology in which an intercrossing of sources was thus used.*

## INTRODUCTION



Adapted Source: (WILSON; HAY; MARGOLIS, 1984).

The expansion and colonization of the Eastern Paraguayan border undertaken by Brazilian-Germans and their descendants as of the 1960s should be understood under the micro and macro variables that elapsed from the socioeconomic and political changes of that time in the Southern Cone.

In Brazilian geopolitical terms, the due attention and an urgent need to re-enter the Hispanic world, as a way of consolidating its hegemonic role in the region, created the conditions for a more active foreign policy that broke away from the long prevailing lethargy period between the 1880s and early 1940s. (Menezes, 1987)

This new focus with regards to the Hispanic world, and particularly the Southern hemisphere (Southern Cone) was put into practice after the narrowing of bilateral relations with the small and strategic landlocked country of Paraguay.

Beyond the historic symbolism contained in this articulation development, there was evidently a whole calculation on the economic and geopolitical potentials

involved in this option, where its formulation, despite preceding the military government, was widely implemented by it (Silva, 2010).

On the Paraguayan side, however, this process was only possible due to the rise of Stroessner into power, who shrewdly realized that the economic and political ramifications of this approach capitalized on his own “maintenance” in power, when considering the troubled and unstable Paraguayan political institution before his government and which insisted on remaining or perpetrating.

With his ability as a strategist, while negotiating with the rival factions within his own Colorado Party and other military, with clerics as well as other opposition parties, he sought to divide his opponents. According to Paul Lewis (1982), in his now classic study of the Stroessner Era, the consolidation of a monolithic party served as a counterweight to the military, considered as the most powerful group within the Paraguayan State, and carefully cultivated by Stroessner who distributed privileges and highly lucrative positions. Besides this, of course, a massive propaganda effort was put in place in order to make the regime more popular and thus manipulate the masses.

For the author, Stroessner’s ability and success lie not only in the longevity of his regime, but having remained in power in a country where since the death of Solano Lopez, had seen 44 presidents up until 1954.

Externally, Stroessner sought to raise greater independence from the historical influence and to some extent from Argentina, especially regarding trade. Thus, its shift to the East would become a way to ensure an alternative pathway for foreign trade through the Brazilian seaports and its significant market, which in fact occurred with the opening of the Friendship Bridge (ponte da Amizade), on March 27, 1965, under the military rule of Castelo Branco (in Brazil) (Menezes, 1987).

However, it was with the paving of the Asunción highway – Stroessner Port (currently Ciudad del Este) and with the construction of the Itaipu mega dam which established an enormous infrastructure, that such paradigmatic change in the international relations of the country changed dramatically, creating a schism in the modernization of the Paraguayan State.

However, the infrastructural needs and resources were immense, making it impossible to meet internal demands, therefore social issues became a growing problem that mere repression could not contain. The solution would be to take advantage and occupy the large areas of fertile land with very low demographic density in the Eastern region. Those areas would become an effective way of minimizing the agrarian and social pressures in the central region of the country as well as a means of modernizing agriculture through the introduction of modern technologies by Brazilian farmers and settlers, coming mainly from the South and the Southeast.

This migratory movement, originating from the Southern regions of Brazil, was in turn, a product of the intense modernization process and structural change in

the standard agrarian land which had been ongoing since the 1950s. On the one hand, "farmerization" of commercial agriculture, which required more and more fertile areas, was gradually taking over the lands of the old settlements of European origin. On the other, the demographic pressure in these colonies became a bottleneck that prevented smallholdings and the bases for family exploitation. Moreover, with modernization, the need for external inputs such as credits and agricultural inputs exposed these small companies to the vulnerabilities of the market (Kohlhepp 1984; Fleischfresser, 1988; Jensen, 1991).

As a result, a significant number of small farmers and Southern settlers were set off in search of better opportunities and ways of life along the border that was opening and that offered, in fact, favorable conditions for their establishment (PÉBAYLE, 1994).

Thus, in the late 1960s, the Paraguayan territories of the Paraná basin became paths for a significant migration flux of thousands of Brazilian rural workers, a migratory flux coined "The March to the West." This process occurred at the same time that the Paraguayan government directed its march in the opposite direction, "The March to the East" under the auspices of the Instituto de Bienestar Rural known as IBR (The Rural Wellbeing Institute), aiming at settling the potentially rich but virtually uninhabited lands of the East.

Demographic data available regarding the flow of Brazilians up to the early 1980s, involving migratory currents, are somewhat controversial and to some extent are estimates. Authors such as Fogel (1982), Nickson (1981), based on the Paraguayan census data of 1982 make approximate calculations to 300,000 people. Miranda (1982) on the other hand, based on data from FETAEP (Federation of Agricultural Workers of the State of Paraná) and Pébayle (1994) provide an approximate number of 400,000. Others, such as Kohlhepp (1984), Nagel (1991), suggest a number of around 320,000, but confined to only three departments in the Eastern region: Alto Paraná, Canindeyú and Amambay.

Of this total, an estimated quarter of the population was made up of German-Brazilians who, in James Eston Hay's terms, became for Paraguay an agricultural modernizing forefront.

The explanation for this phenomenon must be understood by taking into account the characteristics and the specific historical trajectory of that ethnic group within the process of modernization and expansion of Brazilian agriculture, a process that involved the very embodiment, direct and indirectly, of the agricultural Paraguayan border. According to Delich (1981) and Herken (1975):

At the vanguard of that movement was a population of about seventy thousand Brazilians of German origin (Euro-Brazilians) who were generally very successful as small farmers in the region because of their advantages over the Paraguayan and Brazilian peasants in terms of capital holdings, familiarity with mechanized agriculture and, hence, preferential access to credit and modern marketing systems. (apud. HAY,

1982: 2-3)

This particularly significant trend in population terms has no equivalent in the history of Paraguay, which was a country that had never been the path of great migrations in the nineteenth century nor the twentieth century, and was characterized by small cultural diversity until that time.

Despite Paraguay hosting migrants from various parts of the world, such migrants were generally absorbed into the dominant culture, which was characterized more by their intense sense of nationalism than by their alleged homogeneity.

For James Eston Hay, this characteristic is based on a kind of evolutionary genesis:

“The small Guaraní speaking population consolidated as a true nationality through a shared cultural heritage and the commonly shared history of tragic warfare and struggle to remain independent from its giant neighbors, Argentina and Brazil. Indeed, the country’s remarkable history has been an epic in its struggle to maintain its integrity as a state (HAY, 1982, 1).

Such a feature would become, before the new phenomenon of migration, a potential point of conflict between different social groups established in the region, especially when considering the rapid and early process of socioeconomic differentiation which occurred among these farmers. This differentiation, as mentioned by Herken and Delich, occurred due to the adaptive conditions and especially by the “antecedents” of the groups involved.

Another aspect to be observed, and that also took place from this process was, without a doubt, the intense change in the landscape, particularly in environmental terms. Like other expansions to frontier regions, this particular one was characterized by fast and intense devastation, to the point of making many properties and the very survival of many settlers unsustainable (FOGEL, 1994) (SOUCHAUD, 2002).

A striking feature which had also characterized the old agricultural region of central Paraguay in the 1960s, which, due to a misguided land policy based mainly on poorly structured settlements, managed merely to intensify the unsustainable social crisis. The observation made by Kleinpenning & Zoomers is an eye opening in the sense of how the process occurred:

Most of the subtropical rainforest has been - or will be burned after the extraction of a few commercially valuable species. This means breaking down, largely unnecessary, valuable natural resources. Since the process of forest exploitation and colonization has not yet come to an end, and

there is no practice of reforestation of any kind, the subtropical forest of Eastern Paraguay is declining so rapidly that within two decades they will have disappeared completely. The clearing of land has also caused erosion, since many poor settlers do not take - or can not take appropriate measures to conserve soil fertility, there is, thus, a process of degradation. (KLEINPENNING & ZOOMERS, 1990: 116)

Because the central Paraguayan region had become a zone of expulsion, a considerable part of the population surplus that had not migrated to the metropolitan area of Asunción and surroundings sought an alternative in the Eastern Departments, attracted by the possibilities of colonization. This was the solution found by the Stroessner's government to alleviate the agrarian tensions in the central zone, transferring the conflict to the border region, through a policy implemented by the IBR (Instituto de Bienestar Rural). According to the Dirección General de Estadística y Censos, in a span of two decades, there was an impressive increase in population, going from 333,000 in 1962, (in other words 18% of the national population) to 890,000 in 1982 (or 29.45% of the national total) (KLEINPENNING & ZOOMERS, 1990; RIVAROLA, 1988).

The data stands out in the fact that in the early 1960s, 61% of the population of the country was squeezed into only 7% of the national territory, concentrating in an area of a little over 140km from the capital. During that same period 50% of the total *minifundios* (small holding) had access to only 2.6 hectares of land on average, with very low productivity, and were living with an unparalleled concentration of land: in 1981, only 1% of the total farms within the country still monopolized 78.5% of the total arable land (KLEINPENNING & ZOOMERS, 1990). But for the Eastern region, it was not only the Paraguayan peasants who were attracted to the availability of land, much vaunted by the government. Many of the big landowners and senior officials and high-ranking military officers saw in the easy access to public land (tierra Fiscal)<sup>3</sup> a true Eldorado for speculative gains and even for economic activities due to the low cost of manpower, which became more abundant.

The rapid increase in agricultural production in areas of colonization was potentialized by the fact that the foreign settlers (particularly the German-Brazilian) and agricultural enterprises specializing in large scale farming

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<sup>3</sup> According to R. Andrew Nickson TIERRA FISCAL Name commonly-used in Paraguay to refer to the massive state-owned lands which were inherited from the Nationalist Period. They were estimated at 30,000,000 hectares by the end of the Triple Alliance War. Much of this land, especially in the Chaco, was sold off during the Land Sales of 1883 and 1885. The remainder was sold by the Instituto de Bienestar Rural during the 1960 and 1970 to Brazilian land companies, or was used to establish new agricultural colonies. By the late 1980s, *tierra fiscal* had virtually disappeared in Paraguay. Nickson, R. Andrew. Historical Dictionary of Paraguay. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., rev., enl., and updated. London, The Scarecrow Press, 1993, p. 580.

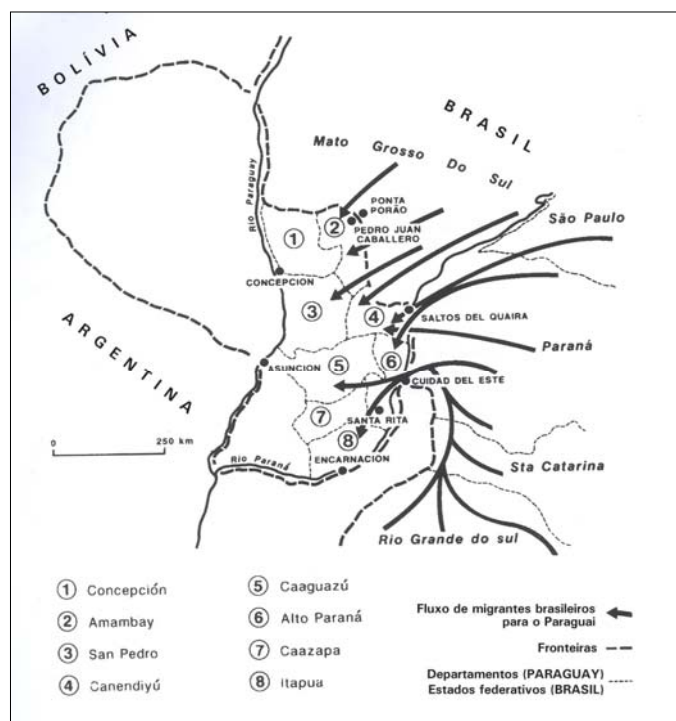
operations, established themselves in the pioneering area (RIVAROLA, 1981; HAY, 1982; PÉBAYLE, 1994; SOUCHAUD, 2002).

Due to the open characteristic of the pioneering Eastern front and the unreserved governmental support, the region rapidly became an extensive private domain, dominated by Brazilian companies and settlers. In contrast, Paraguayan peasants who left the central region and didn't have sufficient means to purchase their lots on a provisional or permanent way, even if supported by the IBR, had no effective conditions to establish themselves and commercially explore the available land (WILSON, HAY, MARGOLIS, 1989).

Thus, few options were in fact left to the Paraguayan peasants who settled in the region. Many were forced out, joining the swelling numbers of cheap laborers used to open farms and exploit wood. Among those who remained in their small farms eventually turned to a traditional agriculture lacking in productivity and having low market prices, which required them, at times, to sell a portion of land in search for new frontiers.

In fact, few reports mention successful adaptive strategies among small farmers, mainly Paraguayans. However, some reacted to the commercial economy in creative and unconventional ways. Sometimes these solutions took place by adapting to the production of commodities, mainly soybeans, or in other cases organizing themselves into associations of small producers, like the ASAGRAPA (Farmers Association of Alto Paraná) (NAGEL, 1991).

## THE OCCUPATION AND COLONIZATION PROCESS



Adapted Source: (PÉBAYLE, 1994).

The colonization of the Eastern border was not done uniformly, but rather by specific flows, involving different *social actors*. We adopted this nomenclature because it contains some specific roles, which somehow have become conventional in these processes of frontier expansion. From 1959 until around 1967 the Paraguayan government allowed the massive influx of Brazilians explorers who, for their time, constituted the spearhead of the pioneer expansion front of the coffee plantation in Southeast Brazil into Paraguayan lands. Geremia Lunardelli was

undoubtedly the largest private grower to settle in the region and therefore the one who most took advantage of the cheap labor of those workers, mostly originating from the Northeastern Brazilian states.

However, the failure of this venture in Southern lands did not prevent the continuous flow of these workers, who in a way, had to compete with the arrival of settlers of German descent. These settlers brought better conditions and resources because they owned a bit of capital obtained through sale of their old properties. Furthermore, they had greater familiarity with modern farming techniques, especially those of a commercial nature. Facing this new reality, the explorers of the Northeast were gradually pushed to the forest areas, settling on public land without a title and without the slightest concern about legalizing their occupation. Under the title of “posseiros” (squatters), or these immigrants began practicing mixed farming for survival in the vicinity of small Guarani farms. At times they were also considered sharecroppers (meeiros), working on the opening and on the first commercial crops of the German-Brazilian settlers (HAY, 1982; PÉBAYLE, 1994; SOUCHAUD, 2002).

In general, the difficulties and the lack of services equally penalized all migrants regardless of their social and ethnic origin. However, those who had a bit more financial resources had better chances of overcoming these initial hardships. The possibility of paying for the lots (settling payments) and obtaining a title, even if provisional, no doubt became an immense adaptive advantage, as this would ensure, among other things, access to financial credit, the same way that it ensured the survival of their families up until the first harvests.

Thus, the strong interest on the part of government agents and by the own private colonizing enterprises, Brazilian and Paraguayan, fell on such a settler, seen as diligent and productive. The observation by the geographer Raymond Pébayle, who studied the region, is quite an informative perception over this trend which became frequent at that time and somehow reflected the social prejudices with regards to poor farmers, both Paraguayans and Brazilians, coincidentally of indigenous and Northeastern descent. According to him,

On the Paraguayan side, many large landowners supporters of the regime of General Stroessner sought to sell plots of land to Brazilians capable of paying the price they were asking for a less valued land. Soon it was discovered that the descendants of German settlers in southern Brazil were an ideal client: serious, hardworking and not revolted by some questionable business practices they already knew, thus these farmers flocked to Paraguay. In doing so, they adopted an attitude perfectly consistent with the tradition forged by their pioneer ancestors in the vast forest in the state of Rio Grande do Sul and in the woodlands of the valleys of the states of Santa Catarina and Paraná. It was enough to radically change the official policy of the Paraguayan colonization in favor of these farmers who enjoyed the friendliness from the local population of German-Paraguayan ancestry. (PÉBAYLE, 1994: 76)



Some authors, such as Pébayle himself, Souchaud and to some extent Eston Hay, are unanimous in recognizing that the colonization of Eastern Paraguay by German-Brazilians could have been a faithful copy of that found in Southern Brazil were it not for the presence of a poor Paraguayan community in the region, and, according to these authors, did not take long to revolt against the invasion of those Brazilians who, besides not integrating the mainstream national culture, aimed merely at a fast enrichment.

In late 1970 and subsequent years, this outrage also became latent among some Paraguayan intellectual sectors and political circles, mostly the opposition to the regime. In 1984, the influential newspaper ABC Color frequently published reports from their correspondents in the region focusing on the "Brazilianization" of the Eastern border, which caused great indignation among its readers. Such apprehension was not unfounded or unreasonable especially taking into account how many Brazilians saw and handled the new condition, as a natural extension of their former way of life in Brazil. The large audience and scope of the Brazilian media, such as newspapers and television soap operas, contributed quite a bit to that perception. Among German descendents, endogamy and the establishment of affective and commercial bonds that were ethnically circumscribed contributed further to the intensification of conflicts, making it difficult for any integration mechanisms.

Perhaps this phenomenon was not the mere segregationist posture of the settlers, but to the fact that the migration of German-Brazilians had been community oriented, based on the historical experience of their own ancestors who had lived on Brazilian land. This ended up becoming an adaptive advantage, even when taking into account that not all settlers had been individually successful in their business. This assumption is shared by Eston Hay (1982), whereby

(...) the German-Brazilians do maintain such community cohesiveness, if not through direct family or community ties, through cultural solidarity. In other words, the German-Brazilians migrate not as individuals, but as a community, and their migration is very much directed by the community itself to the place - - the newest frontier - - which offers the greatest advantages for survival for the community (HAY, 1982: 97).

In fact, observing the reports of some longtime residents, there is a clear vision of the problems faced in the early days, such as the high incidence of infant mortality, lack of medical and hospital care, in addition to insecurity or lack of basic public services, such as water and sewage, electricity, schools, not to mention the inconvenience of untrafficable roads during the rainy seasons, which put those people in an almost total isolation. Under these conditions, the arrangement of a community became the only effective way to provide the settlers with services and the necessary support for their survival and subsequently one of the reasons for this migration, which despite all, was more

successful than any other ethnic group that settled and colonized the region.

### **SOYBEANS AND FARMERIZATION OF AGRICULTURE**

The presence of a vast basaltic plateau, which provided rich and deep soils on the Eastern border region of Paraguay, was one of the factors that attracted the attention of speculators and Brazilian farmers in their continuing search for proven fertile land. Due to the existence of these patches of basaltic soil, the colonials implemented their propaganda among the rural people in southern Brazil, in the same way they established their agenda and criteria for division, extension, and sale of lots. This posture conditioned, in a way, the very differentiation of properties, marginalizing farmers who did not have sufficient resources to acquire the best land, or that could only acquire small land, considered inappropriate for a more intensive commercial use.

This would predispose the small farmers (so-called weaker) who were living adjacent to the main highway, or whose lots were located on unconsolidated land consisting of marshes, the practice of polyculture, which ended up becoming a way of resistance to the advance of soy as a monoculture. But this resistance would not be very long lasting among those located along the highway, due to the loss of what would be essential, in other words, the direct connection with the consumer market; those located in the swamps and rough terrain, however, resisted due to the impossibility of mechanized exploitation of those lands. In general, this phenomenon ultimately forced many colonists to re-migrate (out-migration) to new frontiers that were opening in Paraguay as well as the Northern and Mid Western Brazil.

In other words, the causes of this phenomenon are in the very selective nature of modern capitalist agriculture as well as in the cultural behavior with respect to migration, which often reinforced the tendency towards the expulsion of farmers with little success or those who were less suitable for modern agriculture of commodities (HAY, 1982; SOUCHAUD, 2002). For the latter author, "la progression du soja c'est davantage opérée par concentration foncière et expulsion de la polyculture traditionnelle que par déforestation" (SOUCHAUD, 2002:164-165)<sup>4</sup>.

When those less fortunate farmers could sell their land and seek, with their accumulated money, some opportunity in a new frontier, they did, rather than staying behind or looking for employment within the region. Similarly, successful farmers, when aware of the appreciation of their farms, they would put them up for sale and with the money obtain they would increase their possessions tenfold, subsequently getting cheaper land elsewhere (HAY, 1984; PÉBAYLE, 1994).

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<sup>4</sup> The progress of soy was further operated by the concentration of *latifundios* and the expulsion of the traditional polyculture rather than deforestation. (Souchaud, 2002: 164-165)

The soaring price of land had become an encouraging factor for the fractioning of farms, consolidating the land into large blocks, which threatened the economic viability of small farmers, the same way that mechanized monoculture was driving them out of the business. The low profitability per hectare planted with soybeans, for example, somewhere around U\$ 32 per acre, or about U\$ 76 per hectare (HAY, 1982), is due largely to modern inputs required by that culture, that is, *par excellence*, a mechanized culture that demands high investment costs. It requires adequate topographic conditions for mechanization, completely clean land, constant levels of correction and fertilization of soils, permanent care and attention in relation to pests and weeds, and the cost of silage which also needs to be considered. For these fundamental reasons, small farmers and land owners, even when having some access to credit lines would, in the short and medium terms have little chances of seeing their businesses prosper. The persistence of many settlers in this business has put them in a permanent cycle of debt, and the solution to this dire situation has been selling parts of their land to more naïve neighbors.

### **SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ROLES**

Although the mechanisms that allowed the establishment and colonization of that border obeyed the apparently rigid ethnic lines, they did not consubstantiate in terms of social stratification, although some roles have remained tied to the condition of ethnicity, or the extraction of certain groups. In other words, some groups predominated in certain areas and some areas were functionally closed to certain groups. Paraguayans living in small townships, for example, are predominantly store owners or occupying public offices or having government representation. The bureaucratic machine of the State remains entirely in Paraguayan hands. Although many German-Brazilians and Brazilians were naturalized, making them eligible for such functions, this rarely occurred. Proof of this predominance is that, in the town of Katueté, half of the commercial establishments were concentrated in the hands of Paraguayans and these accounted for only a quarter of that population, the same way as the potentially most lucrative businesses, such as the buying and selling of agricultural products, remained in their hands. Such predominance in these sectors was because these activities were traditional in the localities of Paraguay and their operation depended upon the good relationships established with the government and its agents. In contrast, the Paraguayans and their elite did not have a great representation between the businessmen of the so-called industrial services sectors, such as sawmills, timber production, metallurgies, machine shops and farming implements. In terms of leisure and sociability, the prevalence varied depending on the concentration of groups in various localities. Given these differences, there was little room for integration and such spaces were generally segregated. Even when the festivities were open to the entire community, segmentation apparently diminished, despite the widespread willingness of people in such spaces. Such situation reinforced the tendency

of endogamy among German-Brazilian, in a much more intense way than among native Brazilians and Paraguayans. In the context of work and business, the same occurred, but in a more accentuated manner within the German-Brazilians, who always had, if not exclusively, the preference in employing or establishing business with those of same origin. Although, according to Hay (1982), some occupational choices were largely conditioned by tradition and culture, other occupational possibilities were almost entirely socially and economically determined, and the predominance of certain groups in different areas of economic activity was a strong indication of both social and economic segregation.

Much more than the churches, which in fact had a strong cultural bond, schools ended up forming a more permeable space for the integration of the groups, given the predominance of Hispanic teachers and the public nature of basic education in Paraguay. The plurality of cultural experiences and the opportunities for exchanges became, among children, the true substrate of the new culture that was fomented: a mosaic of languages and customs which overlapped and intersected on a day-to-day basis, like the language of business with that of chores, the language of affection and knowledge transmitted even to the veiled loves.

## **POLITICS**

The long dominance of the monolithic Colorado Party and its entanglement with power became one of the most important, if not the most effective, for the integration and participation in Paraguayan politics.

Becoming a member of that party was not forbidden to native Brazilians and Euro-descendants, but the opportunity for advancement for these groups to a leadership position, a more relevant one, was nonexistent. In practice, many German-Brazilian settlers manifested little interest in politics. However, due to the vicissitudes of the Paraguayan society, based on a social patrimonialistic and clientelistic structure where corruption was widespread throughout the bureaucratic apparatus of the State, it would not be in any way convenient to be in opposition to such structures, especially considering the potentially unstable situation of these migrants. Despite these impediments, the settlers had also made it clear that membership would provide them the opportunity to solve some problems with small scale local and political authorities or even larger scale ones as well.

Despite the changing trends in the last few years that point to the re-democratization of Paraguay and the emergence of a significant economic elite, the prevalence of that political system among landowners and German-Brazilian settlers would not provide much room for political integration of those migrant populations. It would, on the other hand, provide more exclusion from the political process, which might become, in Hay's terms (1982:119), "one of the

greatest factors militating against the possibility for social integration”.

The supposed anachronism of this migration which occurred in the opposite direction to the patterns of international migration, from suburb to the center, can only be understood if considering the traditional Brazilian pioneer drive, which involved in its dynamics of speculative and modern expansion the Eastern Paraguayan lands. Perhaps because of a conceptual mistake this incorporative process was seen by some writers of the period as a kind of subimperialism, disregarding the puzzling fact that, despite the complexity of Brazilian society and economy, the country was underdeveloped, with enormous social inequalities that strained the continuous movement of populations around the country (interior) and sometimes due to the immense border which was absolutely permeable. Thus, the bi-national character of the East of Paraguay should not be reduced to mere absorption by Brazil or a simple bargaining down by Paraguay. It should be seen as a product of precise materialistic conditions: population growth, technological change, economic constraints, and availability of resources. This certainly led to an alliance of social classes on both sides of the political border (Wilson, HAY, MARGOLIS, 1989). There remains, finally, to reflect on the future of these people who for a semantic reason we call Braziguayans.

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