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PEASANT SOCIOTERRITORIAL
CAMPAIGNS
COUNTRYSIDE
EDUCATION: THE
CONQUEST OF
PRONERA AND
PRONACAMPO PUBLIC
POLICIES

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Abstract: This study aims to analyze the agrarian issue and Rural Education in Brazil, pointing out the points that generate conflicts and territorial disputes in the countryside, following the bias of rural education, listing the public policies that emerged as a result of socio-territorial campaigns. For this, the methodology used in the development of this research was the method of bibliographic and exploratory research. Then, a descriptive and explanatory research was used, in order to, after exploring the theme and the realities of the object of study, describe the fact that permeates the problem. The results indicate that the relations involving the agrarian question and rural education have always been conflicting, because even with some advances and public policies aimed at meeting the educational specificities of peasants, indigenous peoples, quilombolas, riverside people, there is a clear weakening with the loss of territory and of its peasant identity. This way, it is considered that the engagement and strengthening of socio-territorial campaigns in claiming the creation and maintenance of public policies that promote rural education that values peasant identity is vital.

Keywords: Conflicts; territories; Field Education; Public policy.

INTRODUCTION

The research aims to relate territorial disputes and conflicts in the countryside, with the achievements, from the Law of Directives and Bases of National Education (LDB), of public policies carried out by the action of peasant socio-territorial campaigns aimed at Rural Education.

In recent years, governments are undermining Rural Education by reducing funds, reducing and/or interrupting the continuity of projects that encourage the practices of rural activities that represent little or little expressiveness in the international

financial market and that do not plays a significant role in the export of agricultural production, putting pressure on small rural landowners, who are discouraged from maintaining the way of life and production that normally has characteristics of peasant agriculture, being forced to migrate to urban centers.

From this perspective, Rural Education tends to be misconfigured, being forced to use in its curricula content that meets national bases, which have neoliberal ideologies at their core, making it difficult for issues related to the way of life and the territorialities of the populations of the countryside, waters and forests, can be treated in an adequate way, which culminates in the valorization of the resistance of the peasantry and, thus, in the heart of the school, it is possible to know and understand, "the different forms of reproduction of the subjects of the countryside and the multidimensionality of their territories (political, economic, cultural, environmental), their dialogues and conflicts" (CAMACHO, 2019).

The debate on these issues is fundamental for the strengthening of schools and Rural Education, enabling the promotion, creation, implementation and maintenance of public policies that respect and value the specificities of rural populations in their multidimensionality. In agreement with Arroyo (2007), public policies must from the peasantry, as a socio-territorial class and way of life, involve as founding elements the issues of culture, identity, territory, gender and ethnic-racial conflicts, etc., that is, this means thinking about policies focused on these specificities.

One of the initial conditions for this objective to become effective in practice is to understand the actions of peasant socioterritorial campaigns, which in the history of Brazil, present important results of

conquest of rights, but which, gradually, due to the implementation of neoliberal policies, arising from a government whose ideological conception is "ultraliberalism", are losing the power of impact of the force of their actions (SANTOS, 2021).

This study aims to analyze the relationship between the Agrarian Question and Rural Education in Brazil, pointing out the points that generate conflicts and territorial disputes in the countryside and listing the advances and setbacks of public policies of the National Education Program in Agrarian Reform (PRONERA) and the National Rural Education Program (PRONACAMPO) that emerged as a result of the struggle of peasant socioterritorial campaigns.

The methodology used in the development of this research was bibliographic and exploratory research. According to Gil (2002), bibliographic research is developed based on material already prepared, consisting mainly of books and scientific articles, based on technical criteria, being qualitative and quantitative.

Within the perspectives of obtaining satisfactory data, the research was based on the exploration and survey of existing data in a bibliographic way, from published texts (articles, books, dissertations, theses) and the Dictionary of Rural Education. In the debate on the themes: Agrarian Question, Territorial Disputes/Conflicts, Rural Education and Public Policies, authors such as Camacho (2010, 2014, 2019, 2020), Fernandes (2005, 2008, 2009, 2010), Santos (2002), 2008), Saquet (2007, 2009), Caldart (2010, 2012), Nardoque (2016), Arroyo (2007), Almeida and Paulino (2010), Molina (2010), Martins (1981), among other authors, who reveal, with theoretical and empirical discussion, the problems faced by peasants in the resistance to stay on the land with the guarantee of basic rights, such as Rural Education, developed

in an appropriate way to the socio-territorial characteristics of the peasantry.

In the documental analytical phase of the public policies of Rural Education, between 1996 and 2020, we based on the discussion based on laws, regulations, ordinances that analyze the theme, among them, law no 9.394, of 20 December, stands out. December 1996, which establishes the Guidelines and Bases for National Education; the PRONERA Operations Manual; MEC Portal; PRONACAMPO Portal; National Curriculum Guidelines.

From the Struggle for Land Database (DATALUTA), which is an extension and research project of the Center for Studies, Research and Agrarian Reform Projects (NERA), linked to the Department of Geography of the Faculty of Science and Technology of the Universidade Estadual Paulista (Unesp), Presidente Prudente Campus and the Pastoral Land Commission (CPT), research results that deal with the Agrarian Question and socio-territorial conflicts were investigated and presented.

PEASANT SOCIO-TERRITORIAL CAMPAIGNS IN ACTION

We seek to reflect on territorial disputes intertwined with the actions of socioterritorial campaigns. We intend, therefore, to make a theoretical reflection about the importance of understanding what the field is for Rural Education...

[...] and for this the debate on peasant territories/territorialities is paramount. We are defending the perspective that Rural Education is a product, but dialectically, it is also an instrument of the struggles of peasant socio-territorial campaigns for conquest and resistance in their territories. Therefore, it is a product/producer of the multidimensionality of/of peasant territories/territorialities (CAMACHO, 2020, p. 1).

Socio-spatial relationships are formed by systems of actions and objects, which, according to Milton Santos (2002), "are contradictory and supportive". "Social relations are predominantly producers of fragmented, divided, one, singular, dichotomized, fractional spaces, therefore, also conflictive" (FERNANDES, 2005).

The contradictory and conflicting relationships allow the countryside to be a social space permanently built by constant significant changes. In this case, Rural Education gains more strength from the creation of a specific public policy, the result of struggles and demands of socio-territorial campaigns.

Social campaigns are formed from sociopolitical actions built by collective social subjects belonging to different classes articulated to a particular socioeconomic and political situation in a country (GOHN, 1997). We are living in a historical period of mobilization, where multiple peoples are presented to the political scene: peasant populations, indigenous peoples, quilombolas, etc. who struggle to conquer and/or resist in their territories (CAMACHO, 2021).

The social campaigns that build/rebuild territories are called by Fernandes (2005) socio-territorial campaigns. Socio-territorial campaigns "refer to the set of popular mobilizations that, in addition to conquering the territory, have their existence conditioned to the maintenance of their territoriality" (PEDON, 2009, p. 227).

Scherer-Warren (1999) indicates that social campaigns can be understood as collective actions that react to the historical and social contexts in which they are inserted. The author also states that the same social campaign can present a contesting, solidary and propositional dimension. They manifest themselves in the form of denunciation and protest, cooperation and partnership to

solve social problems and build alternative and change projects. In other words: "Social campaigns are formed from sociopolitical actions built by collective social subjects belonging to different classes articulated to a particular socioeconomic and political situation in a country" (GOHN, p.25, 1997).

[...] There are 05 main categories of social campaigns: 1st – Campaigns built from the social origin of the institution that supports it or shelters its representatives; 2nd – Social campaigns built from the characteristics of human nature: sex, age, race and color; 3rd – Social campaigns built around certain social problems; 4th – Social campaigns built around issues of a nation's political conjuncture (socio-economic, cultural, etc.); 5th – Social campaigns built from ideologies (GOHN, p. 26 1997).

According to Fernandes (2005), socioterritorial campaigns build political spaces, specialize and promote spatialities. Thus, the construction of one type of territory almost always means the destruction of another type of territory, so that most socio-territorial campaigns are formed from the processes of territorialization and deterritorialization.

To avoid misunderstandings regarding our thinking, we emphasize that social campaign and socio-territorial campaign are the same collective subject or social group that organizes itself to develop a certain action in defense of its interests, in possible confrontations and conflicts, with the objective of transformation. of reality. Therefore, there is no "one and the other". There are social campaigns from a sociological perspective and socio-territorial campaigns or socio-spatial campaigns from a geographical perspective (FERNANDES, 2005, p. 8).

The subjects of socio-territorial campaigns, or territorial classes, have the need to fight for territorial conquest and control in order to continue to exist. If we are to think about these social campaigns "in the countryside

and in the forest, socio-territorial campaigns are predominantly peasant campaigns, indigenous-component campaigns and indigenous campaigns in struggle for land and territory. [...]". (FERNANDES, 2005, p. 22, emphasis added).

It is among the main socio-territorial campaigns in the countryside, MST, National Confederation of Agricultural Workers, Federation of Family Agriculture Workers, Campaign for the Liberation of the Landless, Indigenous Campaigns and Campaigns of Small Farmers (MPA). (DALPERIO, 2015).

In the period from 2000 to 2018, 119 socioterritorial campaigns were recorded in the DATALUTA report (2019), which acted in land occupations in Brazil. These actions result in the modification of the land tenure structure, the pressure exerted on governments, the deterritorialization of agribusiness, (re) territorialization of campaigns, among other developments.

In relation to the areas where socioterritorial campaigns are most active, we have the Midwest and Northeast regions. The confrontation in these two macroregions occurs due to the territorialization of agribusiness (soybean, sugarcane, fruits and cattle). In these regions, we highlight the state of Bahia with 67 occupations and 2,142 participating families and the MS with the mobilization of 5,935 families in 63 occupations, mainly in the south of that state (DATALUTA, 2019).

When analyzing a time period of the demonstrations in Brazil, in figure 1, one can see the large number of participants, that is, many fronts of struggle, that socio-territorial campaigns project, within a conflicting society, from the need to search for rights, such as, for example, rural education with quality, equity and respect for culture, work and knowledge.

These confrontations have several lines of claims, such as agrarian reform and the distribution of territories that meet the needs of peasants, quilombolas and indigenous people, as well as Rural Education, which is a demand, because the conquest of land is not enough, it is necessary guarantee all aspects of constitutional rights through public policies.

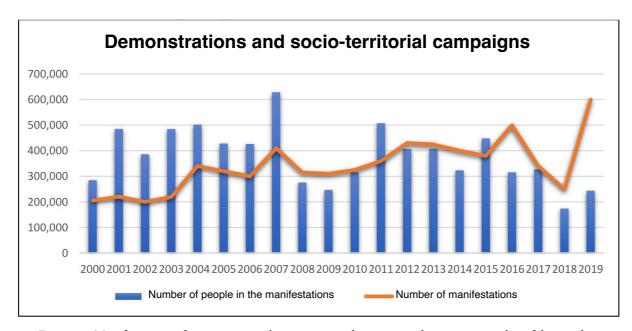


Figure 01: Manifestations of socio-territorial campaigns in the countryside 2000 – 2019 - list of the number of manifestations and people involved.

Source: CPT. Org - Rede DATALUTA, 2020.

These policies have to reach the field. There are many residents in rural Brazil, which according to the National Household Sample Survey (PNAD) (2015), managed by the IBGE, 15.28% of Brazilians live in rural areas, which means about 33 million people. This expressive number highlights the need for rural schools to exist and expand, demanding the planning, implementation and management of public policies for Rural Education, respecting their characteristics.

In agreement with Fabrini (2011), it is through manifestos and socio-territorial organizations that the most acute problems of agrarian issues are exposed to all civil society and public managers, which is a necessary action to amplify voices and struggles in all modalities. that involve the issues of the most oppressed in the countryside, in this case, the peasant class. With the social campaigns these manifestations gain body, strength and legitimacy.

Social campaigns can be characterized as organized manifestations of civil society with the aim of contesting the established order and the way in which society is organized. They are present in the struggle for major transformations in society, such as the struggle for changes in the economic system and mode of production, as well as localized claims linked to citizenship and the guarantee of rights. Thus, the contemporary collective actions carried out in the campaigns can be manifestations of the workers for the improvement of salary and working conditions, the peasants' struggle for land, as well as campaigns of a cultural, ethnic, age, etc. nature. (FABRINI, 2011, p. 08)

Caldart (2000), when talking about the Pedagogy of the Campaign, refers to the Landless peasant who is educated in the process of struggle, as a "new" subject, who, by transforming himself in this process, overcomes the condition of oppression. Thus, "how to look at the Landless, in order to

understand the meaning of their occupation and specific concern with the issue of education and school?" (CALDART, 2000, p. 19, author's emphasis). In order to arrive at an answer, she shows us that, in the first place, it is necessary to understand the broader experience of human formation that takes place in the MST, and to understand that the school is only a part of this experience.

PUBLIC POLICIES OF COUNTRYSIDE EDUCATION: PRONERA AND PRONACAMPO

We understand that although it is the responsibility of the State to create conditions for the guarantee of fundamental rights to students and educators, through the implementation of public policies, so that the results are expressive and real in the school routine, these policies were never granted, but conquered by the social subjects of the countryside organized in socio-territorial campaigns. These achievements can be analyzed historically.

For Aguilar (2009) the situation of education in the Brazilian countryside is a consequence of a process of economic, social and cultural exclusion and of public educational policies. The same author emphasizes that the historical neglect with the educational system in rural areas led to the lack of specific political and pedagogical guidelines, and of financial endowment, to the institutionalization and maintenance of a quality school at all levels.

The countryside has never been seen as a priority space for the institutionalized action of the State through different public and social policies. On the contrary, it was always treated by the government with compensatory policies, through projects, programs and emergency campaigns and without continuity, with juxtaposed actions and even contradictory conceptions of education. (AGUILAR, 2009, p. 38).

From the 1990s onwards, with the pressure of socio-territorial campaigns in the countryside, some initiatives aimed at education in rural areas that point to the construction of public policies began to emerge, among them the creation of PRONERA.

In the territory of public policies for Rural Education, we have PRONERA. According to the PRONERA Operations Manual, the National Program for Education in Agrarian Reform is a public policy for Rural Education developed in the areas of Agrarian Reform. Its main objective is to strengthen the rural environment as a territory of life in all its dimensions: economic, social, political, cultural and ethical (CAMACHO, 2019, p.6).

Speaking of Rural Education, we have, historically, conquered some laws, decrees and regulations that guide the guarantee and execution of actions. The creation of adequate public policies to the specificities becomes important for the classes that resist the agrarian conflicts and defend their territory, even in the face of a great contradiction brought by the economic relations of the capitalist system. It is with the emergence of these educational policies for the countryside that the achievements begin.

The initial milestone in the history of Rural Education is when, in 1997, the Landless Rural Workers Campaign (MST) carried out, together with the University of Brasília (UNB) and Unicef (United Nations Children's Fund), the I ENERA (I National Meeting of Agrarian Reform Educators). The second historic landmark of Rural Education was the I National Conference for Basic Rural Education. There were a thousand participants gathered in Luziânia-GO, from July 27 to 31, 1998, who formed the National Articulation for Basic Rural Education. (CAMACHO, 2014, p.187).

Education in rural areas in Brazil has always played a marginal role in education policies,

with the rural population having restricted access, even to the basic level of education. According to the PRONERA Operations Manual (2004), if in the general context education in the country still presents great problems, in the countryside these problems are even greater.

In 2000, 28.3% of people aged 15 or over living in rural areas were not literate, so three in every group of ten young people or adults in rural areas were in a situation of absolute illiteracy, in a population where schooling average did not even reach four years of study. (PRONERA Manual, 2004, p.81).

According to Molina (2010), there are many meanings in relation to Rural Education and the social subjects that implement it, both in the political sphere of social struggles and in the production of knowledge. The author understands that Rural Education aims to understand the complexity of the struggle in terms of human emancipation and the transformation of social relations that constitute capitalism. In this bias, it is necessary to have as a principle the emancipation of the working and peasant class and the action in the sense of opposition to the advances of capital, forming critical subjects of capitalist society.

Rural Education is understood as a particularity of a historical campaign that is universal. It is the particular expression of the knowledge of universal education and schooling. Therefore, it cannot reinforce the duality between countryside and city and between Rural Education and city education, which must be understood in terms of differences. One of the references for Rural Education is Freire's dialogic theory: unite to free, synthesize to free, build to understand, with the intention of enabling subjects to read the world in a transforming perspective. (MOLINA, 2010, p. 40).

Rural Education, - which is formed by workers subsumed by the logic of capital

(ribeirinhos, quilombolas, Landless, indigenous, peasants, etc.), collective political subjects, historical subjects, organized in the perspective of class struggle, - allows them to recognize themselves as people who have rights, who must engage, unite and, through militancy, conquer those rights in which they were historically excluded (MOLINA, 2010, p.40).

In the course of the debate, in relation to aspects about the constitution of Rural Education, we understand that it is born and strengthens as a paradigm built by collective subjects, organized in Socio-territorial Campaigns of the countryside, with the MST at the forefront. In the historical process of the emergence of Rural Education, we have as reference the I ENERA, the National Conferences for Rural Education I and II, which culminated in the emergence of public educational policies such as PRONERA and PRONACAMPO.

As a result of the conquest of the struggle of peasant socio-territorial campaigns, we have the National Program of Education in Agrarian Reform (PRONERA). In the PRONERA Operations Manual, PRONERA is referred to as a public policy for Rural Education developed in rural areas, or which serve students residing in the countryside. Its objective is "to strengthen the countryside as a territory of life in all its dimensions: environmental, economic, social, political, cultural and ethnic. The Program originated in 1998 from the struggle of peasant social campaigns and unions" (BRASIL, 2011, p.37).

Nowadays, more than ever, the importance of thinking about the epistemological dimensions of Rural Education, but also about the complex of economic, social and political relations that it implies is emphasized.

The conquest of Pronera, which enabled practices and accumulations that led to the conquest of Pronacampo, are concrete

experiences of an occupation that is intended to be consolidated as an effective conquest as a public policy. Thus, the history of its creation and its practices can only be interpreted from the tensions that involve the relationship of the social campaigns of the countryside, with the State: of the dispute of conceptions and of the societal project within the State itself. In this sense, walking on the razor's edge of contradiction poses the challenge of understanding not the fact itself, as something isolated, but the campaign of its construction, immersed in the tensions and contradictions that surround it, in the historical moment of its conception, conquest and creation. (MOLINA, 2014, p.228).

Escola da Terra is a constant action of Axis **nº 1** of PRONACAMPO and seeks to promote access, permanence and improvement of the learning conditions of rural and quilombola students in their communities as an objective.

I – To promote specific continuing education for teachers so that they meet the operating needs of rural schools and those located in quilombola communities; II - offer didactic and pedagogical resources that meet the training specificities of rural and quilombola populations (BRASIL, 2013, p. 03).

PRONACAMPO, linked to SECADI, became a public policy aimed at Rural Education, establishing guidelines at the municipal, state and federal levels, with the aim of training teachers to work in rural schools, preparing them according to the structural, political and socio-territorial reality and specificities. This policy arises with the advancement and strengthening of socio-territorial campaigns, from the 1990s.

Therefore, the need to understand the configurations of Social Campaigns from their manifestations and conflicts and their relations with the State, in view of the need to advance emancipatory projects. This way, one of the strategies for the political-ideological confrontation consists of identifying the

difficulties faced by the campaigns in relation to the State and the consolidation of the fulfillment of their demands by the municipal, state and federal governments, so that with arguments and ownership of the cause, debates and clashes with the spheres of the State, may have greater possibility and success.

> It is also up to the Social Campaigns to know, reveal and reject the mechanisms of cooptation present in the actions of the State and in the political game of governments, in order to overcome difficulties and avoid cooptation. Knowledge of this reality makes it possible to strengthen the campaign and the achievements of Public Policies demanded and assumed by the State. (MOLINA, 2010, p. 39).

According to Camacho (2019, p. 19), the Rural Education experiences that are being developed, from PRONERA, as well as from PRONACAMPO, allow us to visualize three main characteristics:

The first is the protagonism of socioterritorial campaigns in the elaboration of a public policy aimed at building a new form of development for the countryside with social and environmental sustainability; the second is the production of knowledge by the peasant campaigns themselves, establishing a dialogue between popular knowledge and the technical-scientific knowledge of the university; and the third is Rural Education as an instrument of peasant political and cultural resistance.

In the last 20 years we have had many literate people, trained and trained by PRONERA and PRONACAMPO, which uses a methodology appropriate to the sociocultural reality of the countryside, respecting the socio-territorial specificities of each locality, applying, based on Freire, a Pedagogy of Alternation¹, giving protagonism to the peasant education.

However, with the political-ideological coup of the ruling class of 2016, these programs were weakened, undermined, with reduced funds, reduced projects with multiple educational institutions, cut costs and personnel, among other actions against these programs aimed at Field Education. The devaluation of the rights of rural subjects (because they are a social class subaltern to the capitalist system), and the worsening of this situation by neoliberal policies, deliberate for a dismantling of Rural Education policies, with budget reduction, cut of investments, reduction of of the physical structure with the closing of schools and classrooms.

The successor federal administrations of the year 2016, do not act for the benefit of public Basic and Higher Education, cutting investments, canceling projects, reducing scholarships. In this tune, Rural Education has been suffering abruptly the loss of rights conquered with a lot of struggle of socioterritorial campaigns, having to swallow the appointment of non-educator managers and, yes, administrators who analyze education in a mechanical and marketing way, disregarding the pedagogical processes of Escola do Campo.

Therefore, the need to maintain and strengthen socio-territorial campaigns is evident, so that achievements do not succumb, and other demands and needs are met, as PRONERA and PRONACAMPO have been gradually weakening.

We understand that the relationships that involve the achievements of public policies

^{1.} Alternation Pedagogy is a teaching method that seeks the interaction between the student who lives in the countryside and the reality he experiences in his daily life, in order to promote a constant exchange of knowledge between his life and work environment and the school environment. This is a model of education that was born between the two world wars of the 20th century, around 1935, in France. At that time, French agriculture was undergoing a strong transformation and an increase in the rural exodus. To face the problem, farmers in the country, concerned with the education of their children, organized themselves into associations and created the Escola Família Agrícola (EFA). The experience, according to Jean Rubyo, was successful, it expanded in Europe and later to other continents, reaching America and Brazil, being largely strengthened by popular education. Available in:http://portal.mec.gov.br/.

for Rural Education, such as PRONERA and PRONACAMPO, have always been linked to conflicts/disputes involving the struggle for/in the land carried out by peasant socio-territorial campaigns. In this context, we have made some progress in the conquest of public policies in order to meet the educational specificities of peasants, indigenous, quilombolas and riverine people, but, at the same time, there is a weakening with the deterritorialization of these socioterritorial classes in the countryside due to the advance of capital in the countryside and the seizure of the political power of the State by an ultra-liberal government that has been commodifying public education, destroying social policies and imposing its ideology on national curricula. This way, it is considered that it is of fundamental importance to engage and strengthen socio-territorial campaigns in the clash with capital and the State, in order to claim the creation and maintenance of public policies that promote Rural Education that values the identity peasant territory.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The results point out that, starting from the theoretical-methodological principles of the relations that involve the Agrarian Question and the Rural Education, as history shows us, the conflict between social classes, and these with the State, has always been present, because even with some advances in public policies in order to meet the educational specificities of rural populations, an attempt to weaken them is evident, through neoliberal policies, causing loss of peasant territories, blocking access to land, closing schools in the countryside, destruction of emancipatory public policies and the intervention of the State in the curriculum of rural schools, leading to the weakening of the formation of an identity of the peasant socio-territorial class.

This way, it is considered that the engagement and strengthening of socioterritorial campaigns, so that they can claim the creation and maintenance of public policies that promote Rural Education that values the identity of the peasant socioterritorial class, is fundamental to allow the formation of critical citizens who understand the importance of the militancy of socioterritorial campaigns and allow the dialogue between theoretical and practical knowledge (praxis) to be effective in actions in their communities, thinking about their socioterritorial development and the elaboration of public policies adequate to your reality.

Continuing in the fight for rights is a need for resistance, where Rural Education contributes to the understanding of the current context of the class struggle in the countryside, as a result of the tension caused by the advance of agribusiness and salaried work in the rural area.

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