

**POLICIES OF RURAL EDUCATION IN THE IDENTITY TERRITORY PRODUCTIVE HINTERLAND IN BAHIA-BRAZIL: RESEARCH NOTES**

***POLÍTICAS DE EDUCAÇÃO DO CAMPO NO TERRITÓRIO DE IDENTIDADE SERTÃO PRODUTIVO NA BAHIA-BRASIL: APONTAMENTOS DE PESQUISA***

***POLÍTICAS DE EDUCACIÓN DEL CAMPO EN EL TERRITORIO DE IDENTIDAD SERTÃO PRODUCTIVO EN BAHIA-BRASIL: APUNTES DE INVESTIGACIÓN***

Tatyanne Gomes MARQUES<sup>1</sup>  
Eugênia da Silva PEREIRA<sup>2</sup>  
Priscila Teixeira da SILVA<sup>3</sup>

**ABSTRACT:** This text has for objective to present and to analyze the policies of Rural Education in the microcontext of the Territory of Identity Productive Hinterland in Bahia - Brazil. The study is located in the field of educational public policies and focuses on the proposals implemented and/or claimed by different actors and actresses who are protagonists of life and act in the focused micro context. For this, it uses a methodology of bibliographic review of the productions from 2009 to 2020 of the research line “Rural Education, Education of Youths and Adults and Social Movements”, of the Center for Study, Research and Educational Extension Paulo Freire (NEPE), from the State University of Bahia (UNEB), which has the Productive Hinterland as the main locus of its investigations. The survey of the productions shows a diverse production - theses, dissertations, Course Conclusion Work, articles in periodicals and annals of events. The analysis of these productions confirms, in the local scenario, the contradictions of the public policy for Rural Education: an increasing visibility of this educational modality and its protagonists; the insertion of this agenda in the legal frameworks and in the municipal policies, at the same time as the closure and the out-of-field nucleation of schools, universalist formation policies and teaching work, as well as pedagogical practices that, as political choices, deny the identity and culture of the people from the rural..

**KEYWORDS:** Educational public policies. Identity territory productive hinterland. Rural education.

**RESUMO:** *Este texto tem por objetivo apresentar e analisar as políticas de Educação do Campo no microcontexto do Território de Identidade Sertão Produtivo na Bahia – Brasil. O estudo se*

<sup>1</sup> Bahia State University (UNEB), Guanambi – BA – Brazil. Professor at the Department of Education – DEDC XII. Researcher linked to the Center for Study, Research and Educational Extension Paulo Freire (NEPE/UNEB) and to the Postgraduate Program in Education (PPGED/UESB). Doctorate in Education (UFMG). ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3076-3220>. E-mail: [tmarques@uneb.br](mailto:tmarques@uneb.br)

<sup>2</sup> Bahia State University (UNEB), Guanambi – BA – Brazil. Professor at the Department of Education – DEDC XII. Researcher linked to the Center for Study, Research and Educational Extension Paulo Freire (NEPE/UNEB). Professional Master's Degree in Rural Education (UFRB). ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8867-9481>. E-mail: [eniagbi@hotmail.com](mailto:eniagbi@hotmail.com)

<sup>3</sup> Bahia State University (UNEB), Guanambi – BA – Brazil. Doctoral student in the postgraduate program in Education and Contemporaneity. Researcher linked to the Center for Study, Research and Educational Extension Paulo Freire (NEPE/UNEB). ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5042-8767>. E-mail: [priscilats4@hotmail.com](mailto:priscilats4@hotmail.com)

*situa no campo das políticas públicas educacionais e centra-se nas propostas implementadas e/ou reivindicadas por diferentes atores e atrizes que protagonizam a vida e atuam no microcontexto focalizado. Para isso, faz uso de uma metodologia de revisão bibliográfica das produções de 2009 a 2020 da linha de pesquisa “Educação do Campo, Educação de Jovens e Adultos e Movimentos Sociais”, do Núcleo de Estudo, Pesquisa e Extensão Educacional Paulo Freire (NEPE), da Universidade do Estado da Bahia (UNEB), que tem o Sertão Produtivo como locus principais de suas investigações. O levantamento das produções evidencia uma produção diversa – teses, dissertações, Trabalho de Conclusão de Curso, artigos em periódicos e anais de eventos. A análise dessas produções confirma, no cenário local, as contradições da política pública para a Educação do Campo: uma crescente visibilização dessa modalidade educacional e seus/suas protagonistas; a inserção dessa pauta nos marcos legais e nas políticas municipais, ao mesmo tempo que ocorre o fechamento e a nucleação extracampo das escolas, políticas de formação e trabalho docente universalistas, bem como práticas pedagógicas que, enquanto escolhas políticas, negam a identidade e cultura dos povos do campo.*

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** *Políticas públicas educacionais. Território de identidade sertão produtivo. Educação do campo.*

**RESUMEN:** *Este texto tiene por objeto presentar y analizar las políticas de Educación del Campo en el microcontexto del Territorio de Identidad Sertão Productivo en Bahía – Brasil. El estudio se ubica en el campo de las políticas educacionales y se centra en las propuestas implementadas y/o reivindicadas por diferentes actores y actrices que protagonizan la vida y actúan en el microcontexto enfocado. Para ello, se utiliza una metodología de revisión bibliográfica de las producciones de 2009 a 2020 de la línea de investigación “Educación del Campo, Educación de Jóvenes y Adultos y Movimientos Sociales”, del Núcleo de Estudio, Investigación y Extensión Educacional Paulo Freire (NEPE), de la Universidad del Estado de Bahía (Uneb), que tiene el Sertão Productivo como locus principal de sus investigaciones. La recopilación de las producciones evidencia una producción diversa – tesis, disertaciones, Trabajo de Conclusión de Curso, artículos en revistas científicas y anales de eventos. El análisis de esas producciones confirma, en el escenario local, las contradicciones de la política pública para la Educación del Campo: una creciente visibilidad de esa modalidad educacional y sus protagonistas; la inserción de esa pauta en los hitos legales y en las políticas municipales, al mismo tiempo que ocurre el cierre y la nucleación extra-campo de las escuelas, políticas de formación y trabajo docente universalistas, así como prácticas pedagógicas que, como escuelas políticas, niegan la identidad y cultura de los pueblos del campo.*

**PALABRAS CLAVE:** *Políticas públicas educacionales. Territorio de identidad sertão produtivo. Educación del campo.*

## Introduction

Research in the field of educational policy studies the power relations and dispute for the realization of education. As such, Oliveira (2010) emphasizes that, although the State's public policies present themselves as directed by the universal interest, they must be understood as resulting from the correlation of forces between different projects. It is from this understanding

that we analyze in this text the Rural Education policies in a broader context and also in the Identity Territory Productive Hinterland<sup>4</sup>.

Rural Education has in its genesis a project of society, countryside and education that is in dispute with the project of society, countryside and education of capital. While capitalism is configured in the rural areas through agribusiness and mining business, generating an appearance of progress, the popular project of Rural Education is based on a matrix beyond capital (FRIGOTTO, 2010; MÉSZÁROS, 2011; RIBEIRO, 2010). Therefore, as Santos, Barbosa and Rosset (2017, p. 17, our translation) state, “Education in the Countryside becomes a historical project to consolidate another field paradigm” that is based “on peasant identity, on the historical memory of resistance and on the whole of knowledge that shape the ways of being, living and living in the countryside”.

Rural Education and, consequently, public policies for Rural Education link the struggle for education to the set of struggles for the social transformation of living conditions in the countryside (CALDART, 2002). In this perspective, when we focus here on public policies for Rural Education in the Identity Territory Productive Hinterland, Bahia, we analyze a set of actions undertaken in the micro-contexts of the municipalities to ensure and implement the guidelines of the legal frameworks, programs and policies for Education in the Countryside conquered on the national stage.

For the analysis proposed here, we take as reference data from studies developed by a group of researchers that make up the Center for Study, Research and Educational Extension Paulo Freire (NEPE) of the Department of Education – DEDC XII – of the State University of Bahia (Uneb). The aforementioned studies were developed by the research line “Rural Education, Youth and Adult Education and Social Movements” over more than 10 years – 2009 to 2020. We take research from this line as a reference because we understand that they have been focusing Rural Education policies in the Productive Hinterland Territory, the locus of our analysis.

In order to access the research and the resulting productions, we surveyed the researchers of the referred line and analyzed, from their curricula, the publications that give centrality to the Rural Education policies in the Identity Territory Productive Hinterland– Bahia, Brazil. For this, we used the descriptors “*Educação do Campo*” (Rural Education), “*Educação Rural*” (Rural Education), “*Políticas públicas educacionais*” (Educational public policies), “*Políticas públicas e educação do/no campo*” (Public policies and education of/in the countryside). From this survey, we identified two hundred and seventy-five productions dealing with Rural Education policies,

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<sup>4</sup> We are referring to a micro-context formed by twenty municipalities in the southwest region of Bahia, as presented in item 2.

including theses and dissertations by researchers; full articles published in event proceedings; articles published in journals; book chapters; Undergraduate TCC<sup>5</sup> and Lato *Sensu* Specialization TCC; and even Scientific Initiation research.

Of these publications, 100 focus on the context of the territory analyzed from a perspective of analysis of educational policy for basic education. These productions, being the object of analysis, were grouped and categorized into four thematic axes: public policies for Rural Education and management; closing and nucleation policy of schools in the city; policy of formation and work of teachers and, finally, the axis that deals with political and pedagogical choices articulated to the practices and identities of schools of the countryside in the Productive Hinterland.

For a better understanding of this text, we initially present the disputed development models in rural territories and their implications for Rural Education policies. This presentation is necessary for understanding the Identity Territory Productive Hinterland as a micro-context for research and also as part of disputes over education projects.

### **Development models - in dispute - in rural territories: implications for rural education policies**

Brazil has historically had an agrarian organization that demarcates the division of two development perspectives for the rural environment. Even with continental proportions, it is one of the countries with the highest concentration of land, a Gini index<sup>6</sup> of 0.73, according to the study “Who are the few owners of agricultural land in Brazil – The Map of Inequality”, published in 2020. According to data from the 2017 agricultural census, 41% of the national area is devoted to agriculture. Large properties hold 47.5% of this area (IBGE, 2017).

Such configuration highlights the conflict of classes and development models present in rural areas. One of them, based on the latifundium, on agribusiness, on the countryside as a space for economic production only; and the other of the small property, of the peasantry, of the countryside as a space of totality, of life, where sociocultural relations demarcate a way of living and persisting.

According to Fernandes (2013), the analysis of this reality has been based on paradigmatic disputes: the paradigm of the agrarian question and the paradigm of agrarian capitalism. While agrarian capitalism corroborates the end of the peasantry by the advance of capital in rural areas,

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<sup>5</sup> Course conclusion work, Portuguese initials

<sup>6</sup> The Gini Coefficient, created to analyze income concentration and then used to calculate land concentration, consists of a number between 0 and 1, where 0 is total equality and 1 is total inequality..

represented by agribusiness, the paradigm of the agrarian question “takes as its starting point the class struggles to explain territorial disputes and their conflicts in the defense of models of development that make the autonomy of the peasants viable” (FERNANDES, 2013, p. 69, our translation).

In this dynamics of territorial disputes, Fernandes (2015) states that the peasantry has organized itself to defend another development model based on the field as a space of totality. And he cites as examples of documents that have shown this “The Agrarian Program of the Landless Workers' Movement (MST, Portuguese initials)” and the “Peasant Plan” of the Small Farmers' Movement (MPA, Portuguese initials). Both define the main points or guidelines of a development model.

The MST's Agrarian Program is guided by the guarantee of a dignified life for countryside people through access to land, food sovereignty, education against labor exploitation, based on sustainability. The MPA's Peasant Plan seeks to define the conceptual identity as a way to demarcate space in public policy, the technical, financial and organizational conditions for production from an agroecological perspective, and aspects related to access to goods and services that guarantee quality of life. Education is one of the elements in common in both proposals and absent in the Paradigm of Agrarian Capitalism, since in this the field is doomed to a population vacuum.

We highlight these perspectives in this analysis because they are the ones that have guided the definition of public policies for rural and of/in the Rural Education in the country and in the micro-context to which we refer. According to Fernandes (2015, p. 382), “the elaboration of public policies is the result of the correlation of forces between institutions that are or represent class interests. It is the interested parties who, in their policy proposals, defend their respective development models”. The complexity of this fact is visible when observing the concurrence of divergent policies in the same government and/or historical moment, as in recent decades, when the Movement for a Rural Education was born and legal milestones, programs and policies were achieved, concomitantly with the high state investments in agribusiness, with the closing of schools in the countryside and the dismantling of these recent achievements.

Such dispute over projects has recently tipped to the capital, after a political coup that took place in 2016 and came to power of the subsequent government. This has further strengthened the bourgeois state's support for agrarian capitalism.

Having made these considerations, we emphasize that analyzing public education policies is to demarcate the disputes of interests of antagonistic development projects which, according to Fernandes (2015), depending on the correlation of forces, can be characterized as subordination

public policies or emancipatory public policies. The way in which the countryside is seen ends up determining what kind of education is offered to those who live in it. When people believe in the depopulation of the countryside, education forms for the city; if developmental models linked to agrarian capitalism are advocated, technical formation linked to the capitalist mode of production is implemented. When the countryside is recognized as a living space, it tends to foster education linked to the struggles and concerns of countryside peoples (SILVA, 2015). The first two perspectives, linked to the creation of subordination public policies, force countryside peoples to adapt to the logic of capitalist development and production. In contrast, emancipatory public policies are based on a counter-hegemonic logic.

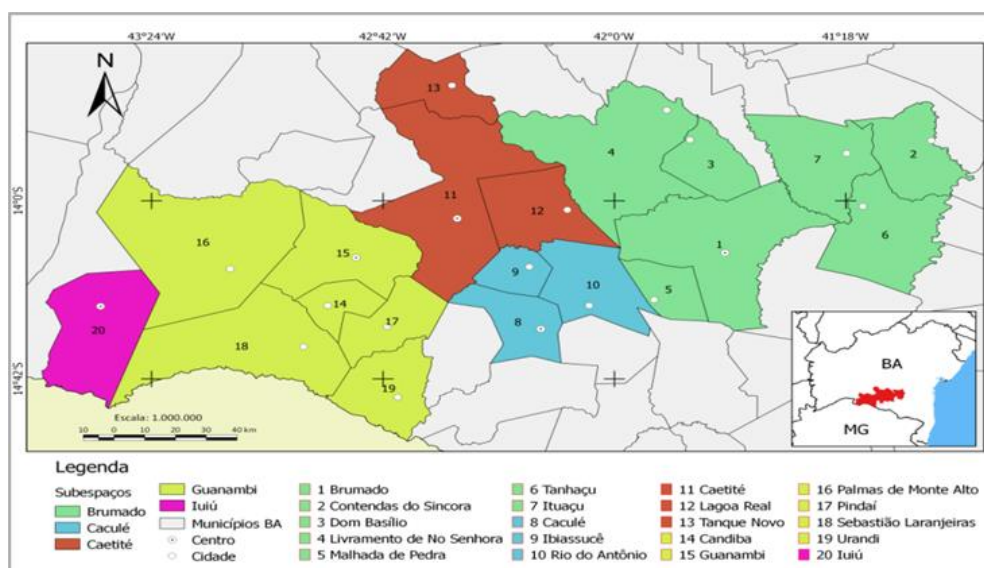
It is, therefore, the analysis of these antitheses that we propose to present and understand in the context of the Identity Territory Productive Hinterland. Our gaze turns to the Rural Education policies proposed, implemented and/or claimed by different actors and actresses who play a leading role in life and performance in this micro-context.

### **The Identity Territory Productive Hinterland – Bahia/Brazil: micro-context of research**

The Ministry of Agrarian Development (MDA), with the creation of the Territorial Development Secretariat (SDT), and the State Coordination of Territories in the state of Bahia/Brazil, in seeking development in all regions, instituted territoriality as an instrument for the planning and shared decision-making between civil society and public authorities. In Bahia, there are currently twenty-seven Territories of Identity, one of which is called Productive Hinterland.

The Sertão Productive Territory comprises 20 municipalities and has a population of 460,794 inhabitants (IBGE, 2010).



**Figure 1 – Productive Hinterland Territory Map**

Source: Silva, Lima e Bebé (2016)

The Productive Hinterland Territory, due to its population and socioeconomic characteristics, was defined as a rural territory. This is a context with a high rate of rural population in the territory, as there are 210,174 inhabitants, which is equivalent to 45.6% of the total (IBGE, 2010). It is noteworthy that fifteen of the twenty municipalities in the territory have a higher percentage of rural population than the urban one.

According to information from the Territorial Development Plan of Productive Hinterland – PDTSP (PDTSP, 2010), this region, in the colonial period, was occupied by indigenous “tapuias” (the oldest in Brazil) and “tamoios”. Later, in the second half of the 19th century, by remnants of Botocudos, Pataxós, Mongols, Imborés, Camacãs, Maracás. Many Indians from these ethnic groups were decimated, others were expelled or absorbed as labor in agriculture, losing their ethnic-cultural identity after the interiorization of cattle ranches in the São Francisco River Valley, due to the advance of cocoa and sugarcane plantations on the coast, and the exploitation of gold and diamonds as a result of the *sesmarias* system.

It was also due to mining that the first settlements were formed. Mining is still currently a strong economic determinant of the territory, as it is in this region that the largest concentration of ores in the state of Bahia is found.

In addition to the strong presence of large cotton farms, cattle raising and mineral extraction throughout the territory, in 2012 the largest wind farm in Latin America was inaugurated in the municipalities of Caetité, Guanambi and Igaporã, under the command of the company *Renova Energia* (SILVA, 2015).

The configuration of this territory is characterized by inequality in economic, political, cultural and social aspects, where the supremacy of large farmers and, currently, of large enterprises, is opposed to the majority of the illiterate population, without resources and punished by drought (PDTSP, 2010).

Thus, in the historical-geographic configuration of the Productive Hinterland Territory, guaranteeing public policies for rural worker peoples becomes an extremely difficult task, which makes up the scenario of strengthening the migration of rural peoples from the countryside to the urban centers of the region and, mainly to the center-south of Brazil. When comparing the number of inhabitants in rural areas from 2000 to 2010, it is observed that most municipalities have reduced the rural population. In the territory as a whole, from 2000 to 2010, according to data from the Demographic Census, there was a decrease of 7% of the rural population and an increase of 5.6% of the urban population.

This is the micro-context that has been the field of study for most of the line's research, and its historical, geo-economic and social characteristics are the basis for an analysis of the paths of public policies in Rural Education.

## **Emerging themes in the Rural Education policy in the Identity Territory Productive Hinterland**

### **Public Policies for Rural Education and Management**

Of all the productions in the line, we identified twenty-two works that specifically discuss rural education as a public policy and the school management of institutions. Of these, seventeen address the rural education policy and bring the debate on this educational modality in general. The other texts articulate the struggle of social movements for rural education and analyze this in the Municipal Education Plans and in the framework of vacancies.

The works that discuss Rural Education, in general, bring the debate on the historical trajectory of Rural Education, the materiality of the concept and its legal legitimacy, the limits and possibilities. They conceive rural education as a necessary articulation in the struggle for transformation in the countryside, as a path to human formation and social visibility for countryside peoples. In some of these works and in the specific work on social movements, the articulation and struggle of movements, social organizations and unions for rural education stand out.

Rural Education, the result of the struggles of social movements organized in collectives in the late 1990s (MOLINA, 2010), today constitutes one of the modalities of basic education in



Brazil and has its legal legitimacy guaranteed in the Normative Frameworks of Rural Education, highlighted, in the Educational Guidelines – Resolution No. 1 (BRASIL, 2002) and No. 2 (BRASIL, 2008a) and in Decree 7352 (BRASIL, 2010).

However, despite this entire process of institutionalization as a way of demanding the State to pay a historic debt regarding access to school education by countryside peoples, research shows that, in reality, the municipalities in the territory have not yet been able to implement the wishes of this movement that took place at the federal level. Vilhena Júnior and Mourão (2012) highlight that, in general, the actions for those who live in the countryside are born at the federal level and are often not carried out at the state and municipal levels, which becomes even more worrying in light of the current federal government in Brazil, which openly defends agribusiness and large estates by ignoring the environmental and social impacts of capital in rural areas. Municipal and state governments, and especially social movements that do not agree with such a political perspective, will have to organize themselves even more to guarantee the rights of countryside peoples.

In this scenario of antitheses, the works that analyze the reality of the municipalities of Productive Hinterland show a policy of closing rural schools and the non-offer of early childhood education in the children's community itself, as required by the Guidelines (BRASIL, 2002, 2008a). Although most of the Municipal Plans bring discussions of important issues related to Rural Education, such as teacher formation, curriculum, school transport, there is no deeper debate on rural education as a concept of education, and it is verified a certain invisibility about the closing of schools. While rural education gained space in the legal documents, dozens of rural schools were closed in the Territory, as will be discussed in the next topic.

Another aspect to be highlighted is that the Municipal Education Plans that were built with the effective participation of organized social groups in the countryside are the ones that bring a more critical analysis of the reality of the municipalities and show the disagreement with national legislation and with the wishes of the movements social.

Such challenges of institutionalizing rural education in schools can be one of the elements that hinder the conditions of rural school management. In these, the political nomination is predominant in the position of principal; the principals do not live in the countryside and the position has a high turnover of professionals. Added to this is the fact that school councils meet only once a year and there are a considerable number of schools without councils; and that the Political Pedagogical Projects of the schools are, in most cases, built with ready-made models, without the participation of the community.

According to Nunes, Silva and Silva (2017), the perspective of democratic management present in the rural education guidelines expands the participatory subjects and inverts the logic of management, as it puts schools, community and social movements together in favor of economic development fair and ecologically sustainable for the countryside. For this, direct elections for directors, an active and deliberative management council, and a Political Pedagogical Project collectively built with an effective local diagnosis are essential.

The line's productions that deal with this theme demonstrate how rural education has been strengthened as a movement in the struggle for the right to education in and of the countryside, whether in the dimension of collective, theoretical struggle or in the field of public policies. However, ensuring its effectiveness in the reality of municipalities in the Productive Hinterland Territory is still a challenge. It is necessary to guarantee the existence of schools in the countryside, the expansion of the debate on the concept of rural education and democratic management with the participation of the community, social movements and unions in the region.

### **Denial of rural education as a policy: from the closure to the nucleation of schools in the city**

In the production of the researchers in the line, there are thirty works that address the nucleation policy and the closing of rural schools in some municipalities in the Territory.

Of these, we identified eleven productions on nucleation: four (4) dealing with nucleation policy; five (5) on the impacts of the process of closing schools, whether on learning or on students' lives; one (1) on the practice of teachers and one (1) on changing the multi-series model to the series. Ten works specifically deal with extra-field nucleation, bringing the view of rural students about the city school, the representations, the lived and the desired, the implications in daily life and the schooling process and the provision of early childhood education for the country children in the city.

Five productions have as object of analysis the closing of rural schools. They address the history of closing schools in the countryside, including Agrarian Family Schools, the uncertainties of the continuity of operation of some institutions and the impacts on the lives of students and their families.

The wear and tear of students regarding displacement, the risks they are exposed to in the home-school-home route and for being in the city are described through methodologies that take the narratives of these subjects as the empirical basis of the analyses. Likewise, school practices that do not dialogue with the realities and identities of countryside peoples in the semiarid territory are problematized. The naturalization of closing schools is so striking that in the reports

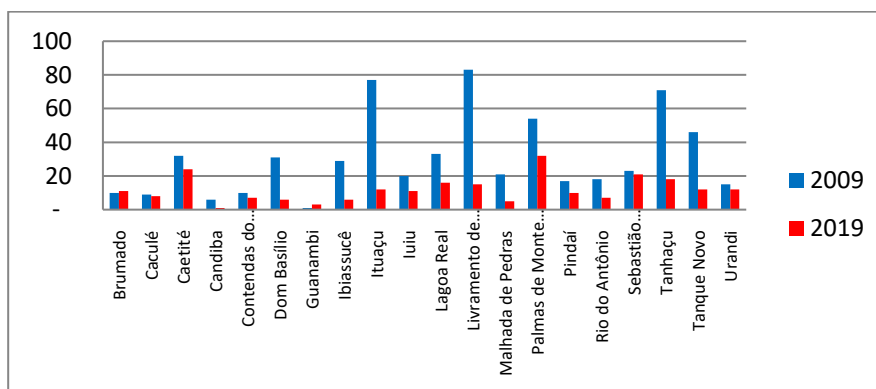
of countryside children who study in a core school in the city, the existence of a rural school is something far from their imagination, reflecting the non-policy of education in their communities.

The significant production on this theme is certainly related to the current practice of intra- and extra-field nucleation in the territory's municipalities. With the rationale of reducing costs, improving the structural quality of rural schools and ending multigrade, many municipalities have nucleated schools in more populated rural communities and, mainly, in cities, which consequently leads to the closing of rural schools.

Despite the achievement of the legal frameworks of rural education and the institutionalization of rural education as a public policy by Decree 7352 (BRASIL, 2010), the right to schooling in rural areas is still a latent challenge in the country and in the municipalities of the micro-context focused here.

Productive Hinterland, among the territories of the state of Bahia, was considered in 2014 as the fifth territory in terms of closing rural schools. When analyzing the data on the number of educational establishments in the countryside of the territory, in the last ten years (2009-2019), it is possible to identify that, of the twenty municipalities, eighteen have reduced the number of schools – in some cases, drastically.

**Graph 1** – Number of rural schools in the municipalities of the Productive Hinterland Territory (2009-2019)



Source: Basic Education Census 2009 – 2019 – INEP

In the territory as a whole, three hundred and sixty-nine schools were closed, which is equivalent to 60.9%. The municipalities of Livramento de Nossa Senhora and Ituaçu, the ones with the greatest decrease in schools, closed together one hundred and thirty-three schools in the countryside.

It should be noted that one of the municipalities that increased the number of schools, Guanambi, two more schools, did so by simply renaming schools that already existed in the

districts as “rural schools”. Most of the research we have identified is about this municipality, highlighting the impacts and condition of countryside people studying in the urban environment. Growing searches point for an ever-decreasing number of schools in the countryside.

Another aspect highlighted is that, although the Complementary Resolution of the Rural Education Guidelines (BRASIL, 2008a) has regulated the nucleation process, recommending that it can only happen intra-field from the planned study of the location, the demand for the supply of early childhood education in the communities themselves and considerations about school transport, the municipalities have been carrying out the nucleation in a disorderly way, which is even denounced as urbanization of education.

Therefore, although Law 12,960 (BRASIL, 2014), which amended article 28 of LDB 9,394/96 and added a regulation on the closing of rural schools, states that this process can only take place upon approval by a regulatory body, considering the justification, the analysis of the diagnosis of the impact of the action and the manifestation of the school community, the research data show that the struggle for the realization of the right to school education in the countryside is still a challenge posed in public educational policies. The awareness of the right has advanced, as stated by Caldart (2002, p. 18, our translation): “[...] the countryside people have the right to education in the place where they live; the people have the right to an education designed from their place and with their participation”, now it is necessary to create a movement of struggle and resistance.

### **The policy of formation and work of countryside teachers in the Productive Hinterland territory**

The research and extension projects developed over ten years in the identity territory Productive Hinterland, systematized in more than twenty-one publications (dissertation, TCC, book chapters, articles in journals and event proceedings), show that formation and the work of teachers for a rural school is characterized as a non-place. That is, a place denied, not occupied, as was thought by Certau (1994).

From the formation prior to the requirement of LDBEN 9394/1996 for licensed teachers to work in Basic Education to the guidelines of the most recent legal frameworks, such as the Operational Guidelines for Basic Education in rural schools (BRASIL 2002; 2008a), courses that form teachers, for the most part, were little occupied/occupied with the specifics of teaching in rural contexts.

Marques (2016) shows that, in undergraduate courses, there is an invisibility of Rural Education, whether as content, discipline or internship practices. In the specific case of undergraduate courses at Uneb, present through three campuses in the Identity Territory Productive Hinterland and one of the institutions responsible for the formation of teachers in this context, Marques *et al.* (2016) found that only the undergraduate teaching course in Pedagogy (offered on the Guanambi and Brumado campuses) includes in its curriculum a subject called “Rural Education” (60 hours). In the other degrees, which form teachers to work in the final years of Elementary and High School, offered at the Uneb Campus in Caetit , at the Federal Institute of Bahia (IFBaiano - Campus Guanambi) or at private institutions present in the Distance Education modality in all municipalities in the territory, there is no discipline or internship in rural schools.

What can be observed in this context, common to the national scenario, is that the debate on the specifics of teaching in schools in the countryside, does not exist or is incipient. Only teachers who work in Kindergarten, Early Years of Elementary School and Youth and Adult Education (cycles that correspond to the early years of elementary school), when graduated in Pedagogy at the State University of Bahia, come closer the debate about the singularities of teaching with students of the countryside and/or in rural schools. Still, when Marques *et al.* (2016) conducted a research with undergraduate students of this course, the statements of the majority demonstrate that the 60-hour discipline, by itself, is not enough to prepare future teachers.

The only formation experiences that oppose the presented reality refer to policies that are articulated with the struggles of social movements for Rural Education (Teacher degree in Pedagogy of the Land) and research groups that stand as protagonists of continuing education projects (*Lato Sensu* specialization course in Rural Education). However, it is noteworthy that the Pedagogy of the Land course, although researched by Marques (2010), was developed on the Campus XVII of Uneb and has little incidence in schools in the Productive Hinterland Territory. On the other hand, the *Lato Sensu* specialization course in Rural Education, even though it is characterized as continuing education, attended only 21 teachers who work in schools in the territory, out of a total, in 2019, of one thousand six hundred and ninety-six teachers of the countryside (INEP, 2020).

The productions we analyzed do not indicate the existence of policies and plans for formation of teachers in countryside schools, such as Active School (BRASIL, 2008b); School of the Land (BRASIL, 2013) and the Support Program for Teaching Degrees in Rural Education (Procampo) in Productive Hinterland. These policies, if implemented in the region, have little impact or have not yet been the object of study in the field of Rural Education, Youth and Adult Education and Social Movements of NEPE/Uneb.

What studies carried out on the theme of teacher formation and work in schools that serve countryside students demonstrate is that countryside realities are absent from the formative curricula of most teachers who work in the territory whose municipalities have majority of rural population. Consequently, the knowledge pointed out by Silva and Pereira (2018) as necessary for the educator of the countryside are not present in the performance.

In this context, universalist teacher education and work policies are configured, as Arroyo (2007) discusses. For this author, “our thinking and our practice assume that policies should be universalist or generalist, valid for everyone, without distinction” (ARROYO, 2007, p. 160, our translation). Therefore, research show that, even in the Productive Hinterland, where there are many children, young people and adults in the countryside or who live there, the formation of teachers and their practices is based on the discourse that “everyone is equal in school”. Differences and the different, therefore, are left out and people become uniform.

### **Political and Pedagogical Choices: Implications for the Practices and Identities of Rural Schools in the Productive Hinterland**

The analysis of twenty-seven of the productions in the research line highlights pedagogical practices as political choices. This is because the texts evaluated deal with curriculum and teaching practices, both in Early Childhood Education and in the early and final years of Elementary School, and are marked by choices of a school-education-society project. These choices are presented in the denial of a curriculum that considers the specificities of countryside people, from (and mainly) Early Childhood Education. The study by Ferreira, Silva and Marques (2018) points out that, despite the efforts of some school institutions, the principles of rural education are still not effective in pedagogical practices, especially in Early Childhood Education.

In this sense, we observe that in the various studies there is a gap in relation to legislation and the effectiveness of actions. Baleeiro and Silva (2018) point to a distance between the legal and the real in educational policies that work with countryside peoples. Pereira, Ribeiro and Trindade (2017, p. 38, our translation) state that “We increasingly perceive the implementation of a policy of expropriation of peasants and the strengthening of education based on an urban vision, which does not consider the particularities of the countryside”.

In this way, we can see that the political choices start from the denial of quality education, which allows countryside students to take their reality as a basis for expanding their knowledge. These choices reflect and often define the identity of the rural school. When analyzing the research on the identity of schools in the territory, we realize that the process of extracampus



nucleation has caused the uprooting of peasant subjects (OLIVEIRA; REIS; COTRIM, 2011). On the other hand, there are schools that resist, showing themselves to be integrated into the community, as the study by Marques, Pereira and Pereira (2019) points out. These schools seek in this articulation with the community to guide a curriculum that dialogues with the specificities of students.

Duarte, Morais and Silva (2017) indicate that, even being in the countryside, the school may not provoke a feeling of belonging in the community. This reaffirms the importance of a curriculum and a Political Pedagogical Project that listens to local demands, as recommended by the Operational Guidelines and Decree 7,352 (BRASIL, 2010). The authors point out the need to understand the students' sense of belonging to the school in the countryside in order to promote quality education.

The reflections and results of the studies contribute to understand that educational policies, implemented in pedagogical practices, need to consider the identity of the schools, the context of the community and the identity of the subjects – basic principles of Rural Education.

### **Final considerations**

The Identity Territory Productive Hinterland is marked by the dispute of antagonistic development models, a strong historical presence of large estates and large enterprises in the field of mining and energy, in contrast to the reality of eminently rural municipalities that suffer from the denial of rights, among them that of education.

Understanding the paradigmatic models in dispute at the local and national level makes the analysis of the real challenges posed to the realization of rural education as a policy and conception of education more precise.

The analysis of the productions of researchers in the Line "Rural Education, Youth and Adult Education and Social Movements", of the Center for Study, Research and Educational Extension Paulo Freire (NEPE) of the Department of Education - DEDC XII - of Bahia State University (Uneb), showed that the researches that dialogue with the basic education policy in the countryside deal with the following themes: Public policies and management; politics as a denial of rights, since there is a considerable number of productions on the closure and nucleation of countryside schools; the formation and performance of teachers and pedagogical practices. We also identified other emerging themes in research, such as those that centralize the protagonism of women, youth and social movements while demanding public policies, but which, for the scope of this text, we chose not to look into.

Regarding the proposed objective - to present and analyze rural education policies in the micro-context of the Identity Territory Productive Hinterland in Bahia/Brazil - the results show the contradictions of public policy for Rural Education: a growing visibility of this educational modality and its protagonists; the insertion of this agenda in legal frameworks and municipal policies, at the same time as the closure and extra-field nucleation of schools; universalist formation policies and teaching work, as well as pedagogical practices that, as political choices, deny the identity and culture of countryside peoples.

This scenario reinforces the relevance of the research carried out by the line as a form of denunciation, historical record and as indicators of propositional paths for actions in the field of local educational public policies. These are scientific data that show the need for emancipatory public policies in opposition to public policies that have kept countryside peoples subordinated to the capitalist logic.

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### **How to reference this article**

MARQUES, T. G.; PEREIRA, E. S.; SILVA, P. T. Policies of rural education in the identity territory productive hinterland in Bahia-Brazil: research notes. **Revista Ibero-Americana de Estudos em Educação**, Araraquara, v. 16, n. esp. 2, p. 1267-1285, maio 2021. e-ISSN: 1982-5587. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.21723/riaee.v16iesp2.15125>

**Submitted:** 15/12/2020

**Required revisions:** 28/01/2021

**Approved:** 03/03/2021

**Published:** 01/05/2021