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## Education / work in the city-countryside relationship

## Educação/trabalho na relação cidade-campo

## Educación / trabajo en la relación ciudad-campo

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#### **Abstract**

The urban areas are propagated as spaces modernfor, while the countryside has become synonymous with backwardness and in that same context education is inserted in both spaces. Thus, the objective of this study is to analyze the city/countryside relationship from the back and forth of the countryside children to an full-time urban school and what this mobility causes in the social reproduction of the countryside subject. Thus, a methodological path was traced from bibliographic research to fieldwork in order to achieve the proposed objective. From the data and information collected, it was possible to understand that the State provides for schools in the countryside, but with teachers who often reproduce the urban education mode.

Keywords: Education; Urban; Field; Land; Farmer.

#### Resumen

Lo urbano se propaga como el espacio moderno, mientras que el campo se ha convertido en sinónimo de atraso y en ese mismo contexto se inserta la educación. Por lo tanto, el objetivo es analizar la relación ciudad / campo de ida y vuelta de los niños campesinos a una escuela urbana de tiempo completo y qué causa esta movilidad en la reproducción social del sujeto campesino. Para lograr el objetivo propuesto, se trazó una ruta metodológica, desde la investigación bibliográfica hasta el trabajo de campo. A partir de los datos y la información recopilada, fue posible comprender que el Estado proporciona escuelas en el campo, pero con maestros que a menudo reproducen el modo de educación urbana.

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Palabras llave: educación; Urbano; Campo; Tierra; Campesino

Resumo

O urbano é propagado como o espaço moderno, enquanto o campo passou a ser sinônimo do atraso e nesse mesmo contexto é inserida a educação nos dois espaços. Assim, o objetivo consiste em analisar a relação cidade/campo a partir do vai e vem dos filhos dos camponeses para uma escola de tempo integral urbana e o que essa mobilidade ocasiona na reprodução social do sujeito camponês. Para alcançar o objetivo proposto, traçou-se como percurso metodológico, desde pesquisa bibliográfica a trabalho de campo. A partir dos dados e informações coletadas, foi possível entender que o Estado propicia escolas no campo, mas

Palavras-chave: Educação; Urbano; Campo; Terra; Camponês.

com professores que muitas vezes, reproduzem o modo de educação urbana.

Introduction

Education is a specific way of appropriating the material and spiritual forces of humanity. In addition to this broad and generic aspect, according to Santo Neto (2014, p.26).), education needs depend on the development of productive forces and values which are fundamental to the process of society's reproduction. For the author, "since society is a class society, education fundamental to the process of social reproduction will be that which is oriented towards preserving and expanding the accumulation rates of surpluses generated by productive workers"

Following this line of reasoning, Amboni (2017, p. 79) illustrates that,

"if, on the one hand, education is the process of intergenerational mediation for transmitting knowledge accumulated in man's historical becoming, its nature is also transformed as society becomes more complex. On the other hand, it serves the reproduction interests of the dominant class, meaning it becomes domain and, thus, what to teach and how to teach become a field of pedagogical knowledge, whose class nature is manifested in the socialization process of the knowledge."

In this sense, the full-time schools in the urban space in the State of Pernambuco, created by Law No. 125, of July 10, 2008, have promoted an "attraction" centered on professional ascension, and therefore contribute to the mobility of young

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people in the country to city, often because schools, although they are in the countryside, do not return to the reality in which they are inserted.

Public education needs to be understood as a right, since it is the State's duty to offer schools close to the students. This means recognizing that granting the educational right presupposes guaranteeing the conditions of access, permanence, knowledge appropriation and construction, content, languages, and resources to each subject in different spaces which allows them to fully exercise their lives. Thus, in order to develop the countryside territory<sup>3</sup>, an educational policy which meets its diversity and breadth and understands countryside individuals as proactive subjects of policies and not as beneficiaries or users is needed (FERNANDES, 2011).

Following this perspective, the National Education Guidelines and Bases Law 9394/96 (LDBEN) and the Operational Guidelines for Basic Education in the countryside (2002) guarantee countryside spaces an education which takes into account the specificities and cultures of its subjects.

Herein, Countryside Education<sup>4</sup> and not full-time school in the urban mold is attributed as an educational policy aimed at developing the rural territory as part of the Brazilian countryside. This territory is a specific and diverse field which has uniqueness in its organization through family work centered on the land. Therefore, it it is not a generic field, but a field as a territory of countryside/family agriculture.

Thus, the study was carried out at the Clementino Coelho High School Reference School - full time - located in the urban area of the city of Petrolina-PE: the aforementioned institution has a total of 804 students enrolled, distributed as follows: 296 in the first grade of High School; 257 in the second grade, and 214 in the third grade. The choice for the school is based on the following reasons: 1 - it operates full time; 2 - among all full-time schools, it is the one with the best access to

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Countryside territory is the living space. It is the place or places where a huge diversity of farmworker cultures builds their existence. It is a family production unit and a place of residence, which can often be made up of more than one family.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> When talking about Countryside Education, emphasis is placed <u>on</u> Countryside contraction. Because the Countryside is the starting and ending point of our analyses. It is not <u>in</u> the countryside, because the territory is not secondary, it is the foundation for the reproduction of life (FERNANDES, 2011).

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transportation in rural communities; 3 – it presents a significant contingent of farmworkers' children who make daily commutes between the countryside and the city to study at the aforementioned institution.

In order to understand the illustrated reality, this study was guided by the following problems: 1 - Why do students who are children of farmworkers leave the countryside to study in the city? 2 - How does city-countryside commuting to full-time schools affect the social reproduction of the countryside subject? 3 - How can an education which is in/from the countryside break with the attraction of the urban space? Based on this issue, the objective was to analyze the city/countryside relationship from the coming and going of farmworker children to a full-time urban school (Clementino Coelho Reference School) and what this mobility causes in social reproduction of the farmworker subject.

In order to discuss the problem presented and reach the objective, we started with a critique about the mobility of young countryside subjects to full-time urban education as an appropriation of the capital system for its reproduction via education, as opposed to human training which aims to allow these young people access to the fullest possible set of goods necessary for their performance as farm workers.

For this reason, dialectics is fundamental to understanding contradictions, as, according to Konder (2008, p. 08), it is "the way of thinking about the contradictions of reality, the way of understanding reality as essentially contradictory and in permanent transformation".

By the method of historical and dialectical materialism, "social reality is not an amorphous or inarticulate totality: it has form, is structured, concrete, dynamic and has rationality. It is not arbitrary or random [...]" (NETTO, 2011 p. 339).

For Minayo (1993, p. 24).) "dialectics works with the valorization of quantities and quality, with contradictions intrinsic to human actions and achievements, and with the perennial movement between part and whole and the interiority and exteriority of phenomena"

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Within this understanding, the methodology followed the following themes and steps: **first** – a survey and bibliographical analysis in authors who deal with: **land as a condition of existence:** Santos Neto (2014); Stedile and Fernandes (2005); Martins (1982); Arroyo (2006); Ribeiro (2015). **The countryside reality:** Marques (2008); Conceição (2005); **The city-countryside relationship and student mobility:** Carlos (2002); Neto, Santos and Nascimento (2017); (Martins, 1982), among others.

The **second** - mainly composed of field work, in the locus of the study (School) according to the Opinion Embodied in no. 3.031-762. Semi-open interviews were conducted during fieldwork, and questionnaires were applied to students who leave the countryside in communities such as: Bebedouro, Terra Nova, Ponta da Serra, among others, and who make daily commutes to the urban full-time school, totaling 44 students. As a result, 25 high school students participated in the study, with 10 from the first grade, 10 from the second and 5 from the third.

The analysis of statistical data in the **third** step was of paramount importance for the work. Thus, the commute of young people from the countryside - Bebedouro, Terra Nova, Ponta da Serra - to the urban full-time school - Clementino Coelho High School Reference School - was established because it is possible to analyze the consequences of this mobility in the reproduction of the countryside subjects.

This study does not end at the end of this work, but can be further developed in other studies. Even though it has already been concluded, it is important to emphasize that knowledge is procedural and not linear, but movement, because "social reality is a totality that moves towards its destructuring to generate a new structure" (NETTO, 2011, p. 339).

### The land as a condition for work and education

The unity between land, work and education must exist when it comes to the development of subjects who live in the countryside. Thus, work in its ontological sense in which the being recognizes itself, which differs from the mercantilist sense

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of capital, must walk in a dialectical pair with education, because by distancing itself, it runs the risk of the continued perpetuation of capital.

In this sense, "capital can only reproduce itself by appropriating the surplus labor time of workers and placing society's wealth at the disposal of a certain fraction of it. Hence the urgency of establishing an education that is truly superior to the imperatives of command of capital over work" (SANTOS NETO, 2014, p. 36). In this regard, Gómes and Oliveira (2014, p. 173) highlight that "education through methodologies and techniques is responsible for allowing individuals to appropriate the knowledge, skills and values necessary to become members of the human race."

Having the land as a condition of existence means struggling, having to work; however, the two do not materialize without education, meaning without adequate training for the subjects who reside on it. "The education battlefront is as important as the occupation of a large estate or the mass. Our fight is to tear down three fences: that of latifundium, that of ignorance and that of capital" (STEDILE & FERNANDES, 2005, p. 74).

Therefore, in addition to going against the concentration of land, struggling for the right to remain in it, the rural subjects linked to social movements demand an education which is democratic, taking into account the singularities of the countryside/farmworker subjects.

It is not possible to appropriate work and school without the land, as it is through it and only through it that there is farmworker reproduction. Therefore, as highlighted by Sousa (2012, p.144) "[...] for the farmworker, it is a condition of work, of life", in contrast to land for capitalism, "the land, given its immobile character, is "globalized" as capital moves, creating new expansion frontiers, buying or renting land and promoting changes in its use and/or property regime" (MARQUES, 2008, p. 55).

Corroborating the idea of the two authors, Martins (1982 p. 59)) emphasizes regarding the land:

[...] it is not the property of those who exploit the work of others; it is the direct property of work instruments by the person who works. It is not capitalist property; it is the property of the worker. Its social results are completely different, because in this case the production and reproduction of the living conditions of workers is not regulated by the need for capital profit, because it is not capital in the capitalist sense of the word. The worker and farmer receive no profit. Their earnings are earnings from their work and the work of their family and not earnings from capital, precisely because these earnings do not come from the exploitation of labor instruments.

Thus, the land has a use value for the farmworkers, it is on it that they produce food, while for capitalists it has an exchange value and is aimed at the production of *commodities*<sup>5</sup>.

In order for big capital to enter the territory of the farmworkers and remove or subjugate them to its dictates, it needs to create a mechanism, expelling them to urban centers and expropriating their land, or exploiting their workforce.

From the point of view of analyzing this process, the violence that usually accompanies expropriation is not its main aspect. The main thing is that expropriation is an essential feature of the growth process of capitalism, it is a component of the capital reproduction logic. Capital can only grow, it can only reproduce itself, at the expense of creating wealth. So a basic law of capital is to subjugate labor. There is no capitalism without the subjugation of work. Thus, as the worker sells his labor power to the capitalist through wages, the fruits of their labor will necessarily appear as fruits of the capital they have purchased as capitalist property. For this to happen it is necessary to separate the worker from their work instruments; to prevent the worker from working for themself, meaning to prevent him from quitting working for the capitalist (MARTINS, 1982, p.54).

Within this perspective, the countryside subject in Brazil emerges with specificities that differ from other regions around the world, especially the European, as it has a slave matrix and is highly focused on land concentration. It is noteworthy

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Commodities are products of mineral or vegetable origin, generally in their raw state or with little processing, mass produced and with homogeneous characteristics, regardless of their origin. Their price is normally defined by demand and not by the producer. Some examples of commodities are: soy, coffee, sugar, iron and aluminum (DICIONÁRIO DA EDUCAÇÃO DO CAMPO, 2012).

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that the ruling classes throughout the Brazilian historical process worked with the intention of concentrating land and wealth in the hands of a few.

Thus, our country's countryside/farmworker class is marked by intense mobility. As Marques (2008, p. 60) emphasizes: "the predominance of precarious land tenure systems in the forms of existence developed by this social class has resulted in a condition of structural instability, which makes the constant search for new land an important strategy for social reproduction". The search for survival refers to the struggle against agribusiness<sup>6</sup>, as they are antagonistic and conflicting categories.

The countryside class refers to a diversity of social forms based on the family work relationship and different forms of access to land, such as the squatter, the partner, the foreiro, the tenant, the small owner, etc. The centrality of the family's role in organizing production and in the constitution of their way of life, together with work on the land, constitute the common elements to all these social forms (MARQUES, 2008, p. 60).

As land is a condition of existence for farmworkers, Marques (2008) considers that they are a social organization with specificities which submits to capital, but is not always subordinated by it. A social class with strong connections to the land, which for them has a usage value and not a sale value. Ethics is based on the tripod: land, family and work, and depending on the group's relations with its degree of subordination to capital, it can be to a greater or lesser extent.

It is understood that land alone does not guarantee freedom, whose meaning, in the analysis of Netto (2011, p. 339) "[...] is the possibility of choosing between concrete alternatives. If there are no alternatives, there is no freedom". For this reason, land cannot be separated from work, because if there is no land, it is not possible to have work, and it is not possible to have education. Thus, it is not possible to choose only the last two, the land is a condition of life.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Agribusiness in the Brazilian sense of the term is an association of large agribusiness capital with large land ownership. This association conducts an economic strategy of financial capital, pursuing profit and income from the land under the sponsorship of State policies (DELGADO, 2005 p.66).

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In this way, education must be responsible for allowing the subjects to reproduce in the relationship with the land through work, as well as in the appropriation of knowledge which is done in their daily toil, as the farmworker's training goes beyond the school walls.

The school must provide knowledge that is capable of building theories and practices which help in the construction of new subjects, new schools and new societies, because without the link between land, work and education, rural subjects end up leaving for the city and selling their labor power to capital.

With this understanding, the Brazilian countryside class, together with teachers and researchers on the subject launched the *PRONERA* (National Program for Education in Agrarian Reform) around the 1990s, which marked a new way of thinking and fighting for an education for the people who work and live in the countryside.

Based on the explanation of Fernandes and Tarlau (2017, p. 557), the Program is characterized "as a national public policy, defended by farmworker movements which resisted and persisted in the consolidation process and its institutionalization in 2009, with Law No. 11,947". The authors continue to explain that "it was the struggles of the farmworker class for land, agrarian reform, to live with dignity, to produce food, which turned into a territorial struggle in which rural education is inseparable from development" (FERNANDES; TARLAU, 2017, p.557).

This type of education in/from the countryside requires understanding of the particularities of farmworker everyday life, as it is characterized by a direct relationship with the land, as highlighted by Fernandes (2011, p. 15) when analyzing education for farmworkers,

[...] in our journey, we enter the fields of challenges and plant resistance, persistence, hopes and overcomings. In the movement of walking and planting, we face the inclement weather and the strong attacks of the old and new giants to expropriate us from the fields and challenges.

Therefore, rural education comes from social movements which seek the conquest/permanence of land, work, education and health, and consequently a dignified life for people who live and work in the countryside.

These movements contest the formation of rural schools which reproduce the exclusionary educational system, which does not contribute to developing farmworker subjects. Thus, they demand an education that is planned from the inside out and not a standard that is imposed from the outside (RIBEIRO, 2015).

Public education has always been unequal throughout its historical process, and when it comes to education in/from the countryside, this disparity significantly increases; even so, urban public education surpasses that of the countryside. It is necessary and urgent to discuss the historical inequalities suffered by farmworkers, including educational.

The school bears the marks of the inequalities suffered by the subjects who are entitled to it. It does not only bear the marks of inequalities in income, conditions, *Fundeb*, *Fundef*, nor even the distances and dispersion of the population. The rural school bears the marks of subjects fundamentally marked by differences converted into inequalities. This shame of inequality based on social, racial, ethnic, rural differences follows our entire history of rural school construction. (ARROYO, 2006 p. 104).

Education in/for the Brazilian countryside is marked by a duality that disputes interests: on the one hand we have a construction process which aims at a connection in the development between the subject and farmwork, intertwined by the struggle for land, mainly based on *PRONERA*, of the other hegemonic forces linked to big capital that defend the permanence of large rural properties and training subjects for the labor market.

Rural education is not guided by a finished model, defined from the outside, but is built on the struggle for agrarian reform or for working land, without which it is impossible to materialize this rural education. For this reason, it is crossed by antagonistic interests and consequently by conflicts between the forces that represent work in the countryside - associated with agrarian reform and education - and the forces that represent capital - linked to large rural properties, to

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agribusiness and the financial system, which is responsible for its investments and credits (RIBEIRO, 2015, p. 81).

The education that is imposed in most rural schools in Brazil is totally dissociated from ontological work and comes loaded with an apologetic discourse to improve the living conditions of farmworkers, which in most cases ends up expelling them from the right to education contributing to capital expansion.

Education for the countryside was forgotten for a long time, placed in the background, or used for mere training for work, understood as an exchange value, and at the same time building a mass of cheap, semislave labor, and a technically specialized workforce with the modernization of the field from the 1960s to the 1990s (GÓMES E OLIVEIRA, 2014, p. 175-176).

The schools that are imposed on farmworkers/countryside subjects are not in the principle of rural education based on *PRONERA*, they continue with teaching centered on the teacher and not on the students, therefore guided by the textbook and with pedagogical training focused on the general and not the specific, because as Ribeiro (2015, p.96) highlights: "thus, the school can be a way of abandoning the field by the children and/or families because of the content it transmits, the conditions in which it works and the unpreparedness of teachers". The author continues:

[...] the school modality offered to countryside populations, not only because of its curriculum, working conditions, teachers, but mainly because of the formulation of the school year dissociated from productive activities, is a way out to abandon school and/or the countryside. With this, the link between school and work in agriculture, fishing, livestock or gathering is broken, the conditions and justifications for abandoning the land are created, and in this case the struggle and thinking about agrarian reform are left behind (RIBEIRO, 2015, p. 96).

When the subject loses the right to live on their property, their reproduction is consequently threatened. Arroyo (2006, p. 109) warns: "[...] as the land is threatened and the production forms are threatened, the production of existence is threatened, the production of childhood and adolescence is also threatened".

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Thus, education must go hand in hand with work and be guided by training in its broadest sense, which is capable of providing a decent life for people who live and work in the countryside. It must be articulated with farmwork, have curricula and teachers who are able to break the huge fences that are placed for the subjects who live in the countryside, as indicated by rural education, according to operational guidelines for Basic Education in Countryside Schools<sup>7</sup>.

## The city-countryside relationship in the comings and goings of students

City/countryside is differentiated by the content of the social relations contained in them, and these today gain substance in their articulation with the construction of urban society. According to Carlos (2002 p. 02), "the regulatory State imposes the relations of production as the domination of space, intertwining dominated/dominant spaces to ensure the reproduction of society". In this sense, according to the author, the production of space by society and under the aegis of the State gains a strategic character and with it the contradictions arising from the reproduction of society at a time of generalized urbanization announced by the development of the city, which is with its "explosion". Thus,

from the urbanization of society, a crisis emerges marked by a set of transformations related to the intense migration from the countryside to the city, and the consequent emptying of the countryside. The countryside class, which made up the vast majority of the population of countries such as Brazil, came to know a modernization process considered "late" from an evolutionary point of view, and came to be seen as backwardness, archaic, insofar as which represented an obstacle to the "full development of the national productive forces", with its "subsistence economy" (MIRANDA, 2013, p. 02-03).

In the expansion process of the capital system, the countryside would need to be captured by modernization policies to guarantee profit from the production of "new" spaces following the dominant/dominated logic. Within this assumption, education is fundamental as a legitimizer of this model, and for this reason, the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> (Opinion no.36/2001 and Resolution 1/2002 of the National Education Council).

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importance of creating schools for the children of farmworkers which separate them from their cultural traditions. Thus,

> work and education are characterized by a contradiction. Knowledge is needed for the worker to perform some activity, because man does not produce without knowledge. So, the worker is offered the necessary minimum through education, so that they are not aware of this domination process and does not want to rebel (SANTOS NETO; SANTOS; NASCIMENTO 2017, p. 56).

Santos Neto, Santos e Nascimento (2017) will show how education in the capitalist system is directly linked to the school and as an institution it works as an element of perpetuation of inequalities; or access, permanence and completion, as this does not occur at the same level for everyone.

With this line of reasoning, the education of countryside communities is precarious, the system sells the logic that life in the city is better, thus, the full-time school enters, as Santos Neto, Santos e Nascimento (2017, p. 61) highlight: "the capitalist system foresees a dependence logic on the worker and makes them continue in this condition, however, with an ideology which will totally mask this situation".

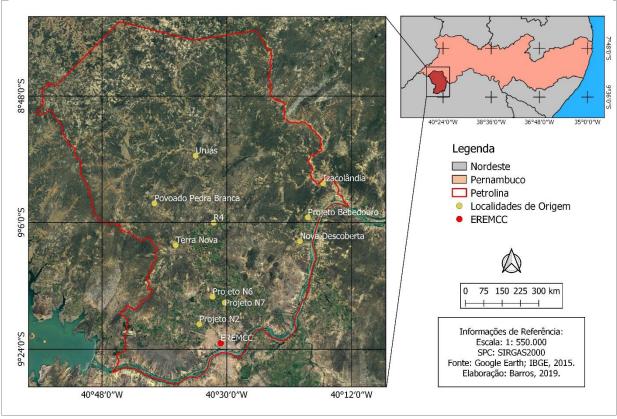
The farmworkers' children believe that leaving the countryside for the city is made to improve their lives, as highlighted in the statements about the reasons for this departure: "In search of higher education and the job market." (verbal information)8; "In search of better living conditions." (verbal information)9; "City. To go to college." (verbal information)10

Unlike the testimonies, the experience of farmworker children in the city can change their way of life. Map 01 shows that some travel more than 70 km to study in the city.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Interview with Student P – written information – question 11(April/20219) Interviewer, D.O. Petrolina, 2019.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Interview with Student O – written information – question 11(April/20219) Interviewer, D.O. Petrolina, 2019. <sup>10</sup> Interview with Student D – written information – question 11(April/20219) Interviewer, D.O. Petrolina, 2019.

Map 1- Place of residence of students who commute to study in the city.



Elaboration: Barros, 2019.

The students were asked if commuting from the countryside to the city would lead to the disappearance of countryside traditions and 100% answered no, with the following justifications: "because the coexistence I have in the countryside does not allow me to do that". (verbal information)<sup>11</sup>; "because I'm going to continue living in the countryside and living in the countryside I continue with the traditions there." (verbal information)<sup>12</sup>; "because being there constantly and remembering the place reminds me of all the traditions" (verbal information)<sup>13</sup>.

The speeches come into contradiction with the objective of urban schools, especially those which are full-time whose intention is to prepare young people to be successful, to be entrepreneurs, as they continue to consider that their traditions are important and will be maintained. In reality, an urban school is not prepared for

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Interview with Student F – written information – question 3 (April/20219) Interviewer, D.O. Petrolina, 2019.

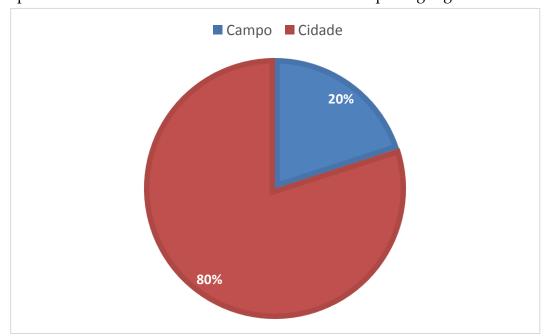
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Interview with Student G – written information – question 3 (April/20219) Interviewer, D.O. Petrolina, 2019.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Interview 1 Interview with Student G– given by students in [April/2019]. Question: Do you consider that the commuting from the countryside to the city leads to the disappearance of the traditions of countryside life? Interviewer: D.O. Petrolina, 2019.

rural youth. The training school for countryside subjects is the daily life itself and its own political organizations and not the one established in and for the city.

However, the system forcing this mobility from the countryside to the city ends up removing one basic thing for the reproduction of these traditions - the permanence of the farmworkers children in the community as a crucial point for maintaining their cultures. Oliveira (2001) will highlight the importance of the socialization of the farmworker, as the reproduction of the family work force is effected by creation and complementation through the socialization process of children and young people. However, this experience becomes unfeasible with the departure of the farmworkers' children to study in a full-time urban school.

The observation that this mobility is causing the loss of the identity of these subjects is evident in Graph 1, in which they were asked where they intended to reside after completing High School.



Graph 1- Place where students intend to live after completing high school.

**Source**: Field research, 2019.

For students, the city will be their destination at the end of High School, especially because they believe that work there is more guaranteed, when they could

reproduce on their own lands in the countryside not only after finishing High School, but also University.

Thus, the school in general contributes to sharpening this process within farmworker production,

it has been preparing the youth for wage labor in the city. These young people who only has the workforce as a qualification, is expropriated. Thus, the countryside unit itself is responsible for reproducing its own labor force and that which capital needs, since the expanded reproduction of the countryside unit does not occur as a result of the subjection of the land rent of these units to capital (OLIVEIRA, 2001, p.61).

Asking the interviewees about the fact that they are from the countryside, did they not prefer to study in the community they live in, 30% said no, according to the answers: "the State does not take the same care in the countryside as the city; we do not have the same opportunities for studying there as we have here". (verbal information)<sup>14</sup>; "because there isn't good education there, qualified for my future". (verbal information)<sup>15</sup>; "because schools in the countryside are forgotten, they let anyone teach". (verbal information)<sup>16</sup>.

And they continued to report about what schools in the countryside should be like: "a school with more qualified teachers and better teaching". (verbal information)<sup>17</sup> "it would be full time". (verbal information)<sup>18</sup>; "more qualified, with teachers, structures and more opportunities". (verbal information)<sup>19</sup>.

The thinking of young people reflects the type of education they had in their final years with urban teachers far from the countryside reality, since, as a standard-setting body, the State provides rural schools, but they are not always rural. These teachers often reproduce the urban education mode. To contain people in the countryside and guarantee the country's agricultural vocation,

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Interview with Student J – written information – question 4 (April/2019) Interviewer, D.O. Petrolina, 2019.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Interview with Student A – written information – question 4 (April/2019) Interviewer, D.O. Petrolina, 2019.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Interview with Student C – written information – question 4 (April/2019) Interviewer, D.O. Petrolina, 2019.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Interview with Student B – written information – question 4 (April/2019) Interviewer, D.O. Petrolina, 2019.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Interview with Student D – written information – question 4 (April/2019) Interviewer, D.O. Petrolina, 2019.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Interview with Student H – written information – question 4 (April/2019) Interviewer, D.O. Petrolina, 2019.

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the government seeks to ensure public policies for providing education. To this end, it created the Pedagogical Ruralism which aims to combat the high rate of illiteracy present in the countryside, seeking to combat the rural exodus, fixing people on the land, qualifying them for work within the bourgeois national development project (AMBONI, 2017, p.84-85).

Since farmworkers/countryside people have distinct characteristics from urban people, the way of living and reproducing in the countryside differs from the urban one, corroborating Martins (1982, p. 14) "a farmworker does not have the slightest condition to think and act like a worker, because socially they are another person, meaning that they belong to another social class, whose social relations are of another type, whose horizons and limits are different".

Rural subjects have a connection with the land that is not seen in the same intensity as urban subjects, despite suffering from the actions of the capital; Martins (1982) continues: "both the rural farmer and the factory worker are antagonized and violated by capital, but in different ways."

Thus, "they give different answers to the same opponent" (MARTINS, 1982, p. 16). While the urban subjects are exploited by the capital, selling their labor power, the rural subjects are expropriated from their lands; therefore, different struggles are in place and which take into account the particularities of both."

That is why the subjects in the countryside fight for an education that is from the countryside and not in the countryside, as they are different ways of life and need training which encompasses these singularities.

The poet Patativa do Assaré, in his poem Cante de lá que eu canto de cá (1978), expresses these singularities well:

Notice that my life
It's different from yours.
Your pale rhyme
He was born in the hall on the street.
I'm very deferential,
My verse is like the sily
Which is born from the ground;
I have no education or art,
My rhyme is part

SOUSA, R.A.D; RODRIGUES, D.C. of the works of creation. (PATATIVA DO ASSARÉ, 1978)

Even the verse portraying the difference between the spaces does not mean that there is no studying in the countryside. The struggle is for an education of/in the countryside - with the starting point for the farmworker, meaning an education that links man to the land, which seeks to reproduce the countryside subject in the countryside.

Education as a public policy is fundamental for farmworkers. This territorial dimension is an essential space to develop their territories. Although Rural Education is still in its infancy, it is being thought out and practiced in the breadth that territorial multidimensionality requires. From technical and technological training for production processes to training at various educational levels, from fundamental to higher education for the practice of citizenship (FERNANDES, 2017 p.03).

An education to meet the needs of countryside communities must be guided by working with the land as a knowledge producer and learning generator, something which breaks with urbanized logic. It must be linked to the entire natural cycle of the subjects who reside there, taking into account the work-time with the study-time. In this way, farmworkers/countryside people will be able to have an education process which reconciles the production activities of material life with school culture.

#### Final considerations

It is important to highlight that urban space started to be produced for consumption, because all production in a capitalist society becomes a commodity, and in order to keep the system working, it needs to have use value. The city creates a social value which needs to be linked to the global value, and this involves a whole imaginary issue that there is an investment space and that everything works.

In this sense, it (city) was created to be the cradle of modernization, the center that would absorb the population contingents that were being expropriated from land, from work. Thus, "the State territorially reorganizes the capital and labor

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relationship, transforming the regional structure into a center-periphery, making the country urban with an intense metropolization process" (CONCEIÇÃO, 2005, p. 168).

With this purpose, there is now a separation attributed between the countryside and the city through modernization policies, also permeating education. It is observed that in childhood from the 1st to the 5th year (early years), children drop out of school due to the distance from their home as they are implemented in places with a greater number of inhabitants, which affects secondary education with no existence of this follow-up. Thus, educational institutions are designed with the purpose of precarious access to knowledge in the field, and therefore, in contradiction, show evasion as if children or young people did not study by choice and not by the continuous action of the State.

In addition to the distance and closing of schools, which has an impact on the reduction in the number of students in rural areas, there are also those who leave the countryside and go to the city seduced by full-time schools. The attraction exercised by the city not only occurs because of what the capital system causes via the consumption discourse, but also because of the State's action in the countryside in an attempt to deny education as a right of the subjects who live there. According to Harvey (2005, p. 886), "this type of state embodies a powerful ideological and legal defense of the equality, mobility and freedom of individuals, while being extremely protective of the right to property and the basic relationship between capital and labor".

Faced with the imposition of capital to show that the city offers the best conditions for education, the children of farmworkers should have a school in the countryside on their own land which is focused on their reality, so learning would be more significant. In this way, the full-time school model currently imposed by the State does not approach the daily life of countryside people; on the contrary, it ends up succumbing to their cultures. Girotto and Cássio (2018, p. 3) emphasize: "the ability of capital to reinvent – without, however, resolving its fundamental

contradictions – implies the appropriation of new territories and the re-signification of the old ones, giving them new uses".

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