
Schooling, professionalism and development in the rural school: the case of ex-students from the CEPE in the Island of Cotijuba, Belém, Pará

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ABSTRACT. The objective of this article is to analyze the socioeconomic and educational development of students enrolled in the House School of Fisheries (CEPE), a full-time municipal public rural school in the EJA modality, with professional qualification in the fishing area, corresponding to Elementary School and High School levels. The current reality of ex-students living on the island of Cotijuba, Belem, Para, who completed basic training in the year 2015, was taken as an empirical reference. Methodologically, this work is based on qualitative field research, with collection of documents, application of questionnaires, interviews and local observations. It's concluded that the material conditions of the interviewees, coupled with the absence of day by day relations in organizational contexts, negatively affect the socioeconomic and educational development of the CEPE graduates, which would imply that the school had the associativism as an educational principle.

Keywords: House School of Fisheries, Rural School, Development, Ex-Students.

Escolarização, profissionalização e desenvolvimento em escola do campo: o caso de egressos da CEPE na Ilha de Cotijuba, Belém, Pará

RESUMO. O presente artigo objetiva analisar o desenvolvimento socioeconômico e educacional de egressos escolarizados na Casa Escola da Pesca (CEPE), uma escola pública municipal do campo, em regime de tempo integral na modalidade EJA, com habilitação profissional técnica na área da pesca, correspondente aos níveis de ensino fundamental e médio. Tomou-se como referência empírica a atual realidade vivida por ex-alunos moradores da ilha de Cotijuba, Belém, Pará que concluíram a formação básica no ano de 2015. Metodologicamente, o trabalho baseia-se em pesquisa qualitativa de campo, com recolhimento de documentos, aplicação de questionários, realização de entrevistas e observações in loco. Conclui-se que as condições materiais objetivas dos sujeitos da pesquisa, associada à ausência de relações cotidianas em contextos organizativos condicionam negativamente o desenvolvimento socioeconômico e educacional dos egressos da CEPE o que pressuporia que a escola tivesse o associativismo como princípio educativo.

Palavras-chave: Casa Escola da Pesca, Escola do Campo, Desenvolvimento, Egressos.

Escolarización, profesionalización y desarrollo en escuela del campo: el caso de egresos de la CEPE en la Isla de Cotijuba, Belém, Pará

RESUMEN. El presente artículo tiene como objetivo analizar el desarrollo socioeconómico y educativo de egresados escolarizados en la Casa Escuela de la Pesca (CEPE), una escuela pública municipal del campo, en régimen de tiempo completo en la modalidad Educación de Jóvenes y Adultos, con habilitación profesional técnica en el área de la pesca, correspondiente a los niveles de enseñanza fundamental y media. Se tomó como referencia empírica la actual realidad vivida por ex alumnos de la isla de Cotijuba, Belém, Pará que concluyeran la formación básica en el año 2015. Metodológicamente, el trabajo está embasado en investigación cualitativa de campo, con investigación documental, aplicación de cuestionarios, realización de entrevistas y observaciones in situ. Se concluye que las condiciones materiales objetivas de los sujetos de la investigación, asociada a la ausencia de relaciones cotidianas en contextos organizativos condicionan negativamente el desarrollo socioeconómico y educativo de los egresados de la CEPE, es esta eduque con base en el asociativismo como principio educativo.

Palabras clave: Casa Escuela de Pesca, Escuela del Campo, Desarrollo, Egresos.

Introduction

The Casa Escola da Pesca (CEPE – House School of Fisheries) is a municipal public school of integral education and specialty (EJA), corresponding to the levels of primary and secondary education. It is located in Outeiro, insular area of the municipal area of Belém Pará. The school aims to integrate the processes of basic education along with the professionalization of its students. According to the Political Pedagogical Project (Belém, 2017) and its Creative Ordinance (Funbosque, 2010), the CEPE aims to graduate the children of fishermen and those in that line of work that reside in the area of the islands of Belém. Its main goal is to contribute to the local growth, reducing poverty and improving the ribeirinho/riparian community relationships to the environment.

From a pedagogical standpoint, CEPE promises to teach the subjects interdisciplinarily, using Alternating Pedagogy as a teaching method. In this context, the efforts are put as a structural educational principle of the professor-student relationship, from the thematic axes and the pedagogy of projects, made possible by Environmental Education. The idea is that CEPE is able to implement a school system that respects two distinct learning timetables: fifteen (15) days with

school and professionalizing subjects within a boarding school system (school time) followed by fifteen (15) days living with their family and community spaces (community time), with the goal to put into use what they learned in the school time.

The goal of this article is to expose and analyze the matter of the socioeconomic and educational development of the graduates from CEPE based on the reality of former students that reside on the island of Cotijuba, after all, the school aims to contribute in the qualification of “entrepreneurs, ecologists and multipliers of information, as well as individuals capable of performing as technical professionals in fishing resources”. (Belém, 2013, p. 18 – translation by us). In this sense, there are some questions regarding this reality: has CEPE and its current formative process been able to constitute itself as relevant means for the development of its graduates and the place they live or is it just certifying youth and adults looking for school in the EJA program? Has CEPE been contributing for the development of the social, economic, cultural and environmental conditions of its graduates?

In addition to this introduction, conclusion and references, this paper is structured in the following: First, there is a brief theoretical discussion about the

concept of development in a critical perspective; subsequently, the materials and research methods are presented; then follows a characterization of CEPE, focusing on its historical, geographical and legal aspects that gave this formal existential school as an educational institution.

Next, there is a presentation of administrative and pedagogical aspects of the school, in which it was intended to briefly outline how CEPE is constituted from the stand point of management and pedagogical practices, with special emphasis on the proposal of pedagogical alternation. Finally, an empirical and analytical presentation was made of the current reality of school graduates, with a priority focus on those living on the island of Cotijuba.

Development: what is that?

Every concept has a certain socio-historical process and, therefore, is based on an ideological perspective. The concept of development (and its current version of sustainable development) is emblematic in this regard. In many online dictionaries of the Portuguese language (Dicionários, 2018; Dicionário, 2018), the word development appears as synonymous with developing, adding or improving/perfecting something in a

person, family, community, region or country. This concept can also be related to technological and economic processes and, in this case, resembles the idea of growth. One can then say that the word development itself negates the movement of introspection, seeking to reverse a possibly repressed and oppressed reality, limited by the act of expansion, in a movement of outward reaction.

According to Silva (2009), the idea of development meaning economic progress took hold during the middle of the last century or more precisely from the end of the Second World War in 1945. It was in this context that part of the Western European countries, and prominently the United States of America, began to disseminate a set of theoretical and ideological thoughts aiming to include the so-called underdeveloped countries in the patterns of industrialization and consumption achieved by the central capitalist nations. Developmentalism, as it became known, pointed to economic factors as the essential foundation for the improvement of collective life, and the industry would be the "locomotive" of this whole process.

Thus, developing a given territory would be the same thing as increasing your industrial production capacity, increasing the population's consumption, enabling

employment and income. That is why in the 1960s and 1970s governments of peripheral countries promoted public policies intending to increase gross domestic product and increase in population income *per capita*¹. These developments, Furtado affirmed (1961, p. 115-116, our translation), allowed "... basically an increase in the flow of real income, that is, an increase in the quantity of goods and services per unit of time available to a given collectivity". After this increase in production the other benefits – the socio-cultural improvements – would come to be almost "naturally".

As a matter of fact, post-World War II developmental ideologists strongly believed that they possessed the "magical formula" for social welfare in all countries. The key to this was in the economy (technical progress, increase of human capacity to explore nature, increase of services and production of goods, etc.) (Porto-Gonçalves, 2012). Growth would automatically generate positive transformations in the areas of health, education, housing, transportation, food, leisure, among others. Growth (technological and industrial) therefore appears as the beginning, middle and end for the solution of social and human problems in a given territory.

Generally speaking, it can be said that development from this perspective would be the same as a growth process in which maturity is reached once the industrial capacity to grow without limits, in a continuous, constant and sustained way is achieved. In the name of this developmentalist ideology, market values are taken to the last consequences and penetrate the most varied social fields. Singer (2004) calls this model "capitalist development," which is determined by the logic of capital, market, competition, individualism, and a minimal State.

Over time, it has been observed that developmentalism has increased the material wealth of nations, but it also has concentrated income, increased poverty, intensified social ills in peripheral countries, and has ferociously impacted natural processes on a macro and micro scale. In this context, the greatest criticism of the concept of capitalist development was made in Europe by local environmentalists in the 1960s and 1970s. In fact, the internal contradictions between economic growth and the maintenance of natural ecosystems have generated one of the strongest critiques of the current state of affairs.

The capitalist Western model of production and consumption, based on infinite economic growth is now put in check from the point of view

of its material durability. The idea of the limits of growth begins to be put: the planet is not infinite and its resources are not endless. The depletion of resources and the entropy generated by the industrial mode of nature appropriation translate into pollution and deterioration of environmental quality. (Silva, 2012, p. 206, personal translation).

Ignacy Sachs, with his proposal for eco-development, will raise global issues that prevent the improvement of life imposed by capitalist development, which imposes itself on Southern countries and against nature itself. Sachs (1986) will show that the capital-based economy is the source of the current socio-environmental problems, since it increases alienation, promotes individualism, stifles participation and democracy, making it impossible to emerge from more self-sufficient economic models. This ideology of eco-development has been replaced by the United Nations that has globalized the concept of sustainable development as one that satisfies current needs without compromising future generations from meeting their own needs (CMMAD, 1988).

As it can be seen, the concepts of development and sustainable development were seized by large capitalist organizations and companies, turning it into an ideology that enables the processes of plundering the natural wealth of peripheral countries such as Brazil, as well

as employing local workers and disrupting traditional communities and its people.

But this ideology of sustainable development is disguised by a powerful 'Nature Protection' discourse, with the appearance of the 'world salvation seal', which confers an illusion of a less aggressive discourse towards man's domination of nature. By absorbing even the dominated classes, the ideology of sustainable development configures itself as a domination mechanism. With this platform well founded, today, it is difficult to remain immune to its repercussion. This ideology reaches its great goal when it becomes, undoubtedly, common sense. (Oliveira, 2005, p. 45, personal translation).

The ideology of sustainable development can be considered as the third version of the ideology of progress, the most current ideology that legitimizes capitalist development.

It is about exploiting, giving value, taking advantage of natural and human resources. Whatever adjective is added to it, the implicit or explicit content of development is economic growth, capital accumulation, with all the positive and negative effects we know of: ruthless competition, unlimited increase in inequalities, uncontrollable looting of nature. The fact of adding the adjective 'durable' or 'sustainable' only confuses things further. Today there is a manifesto for sustainable development circulating, signed by numerous celebrities, including Jean-Claude Camdessus, former FMI president. (Latouche, 2009, p. 17, personal translation).

For this reason, the idealizers of sustainable development preach for green economy, green consumption, clean development and productive eco-efficiency (Layrargues & Lima, 2014). All these nomenclatures are placed as novelties and goals to be achieved by individuals, families, public authorities, etc. in cities and countries all over the globe. This discourse is repeated as many times as necessary to become common sense and thus fulfills its legitimizing function of growth and appropriation of resources until the defects and contradictions of this new/old ideology of progress are made explicit.

For analytical purposes in this paper, it will be based on the conceptual perception of Singer (2004) that differentiates the capitalist development from the solidary one. For this author, theoretical discussions about development need to take into account the importance given to competition or cooperation as motivators of behaviors understood as the most appropriate. Capitalist development regards

... by the values of the free functioning of markets, the virtues of competition, of individualism and the minimal State. Solidarity development is the development carried out by communities of small associated firms or workers' cooperatives, federated in complexes, guided by the values of cooperation

and mutual aid between people or firms, even when they compete with each other in the same markets. (Singer, 2004, p. 9, personal translation).

The local development that will be conceptually accepted in this paper is the one based on small enterprises, individuals or groups that possess a ribeirinho/riparian rationality. (Silva, Santos & Souza, 2016; Silva, 2009) and that aren't goal oriented. The concept of development of CEPE graduates, their families and communities, will take into account the empowerment and use of productive forces singular to artisanal fishing, the increase of values that strengthen the bonds of trust and solidarity, favoring of self-realization and improvement of the educational, scientific and technological aspects of the graduated local students.

Materials and method

According to Pires (2010), in the scope of qualitative research a sample can be understood as a determined part of the objective reality, which will serve as an empirical basis for the analyzes linked to the objectives and issues previously raised. It is the result of any operation aiming to constitute the empirical *corpus* of a research, understood as the arbitrary clipping of reality elements that the researcher defines so that, when applying a

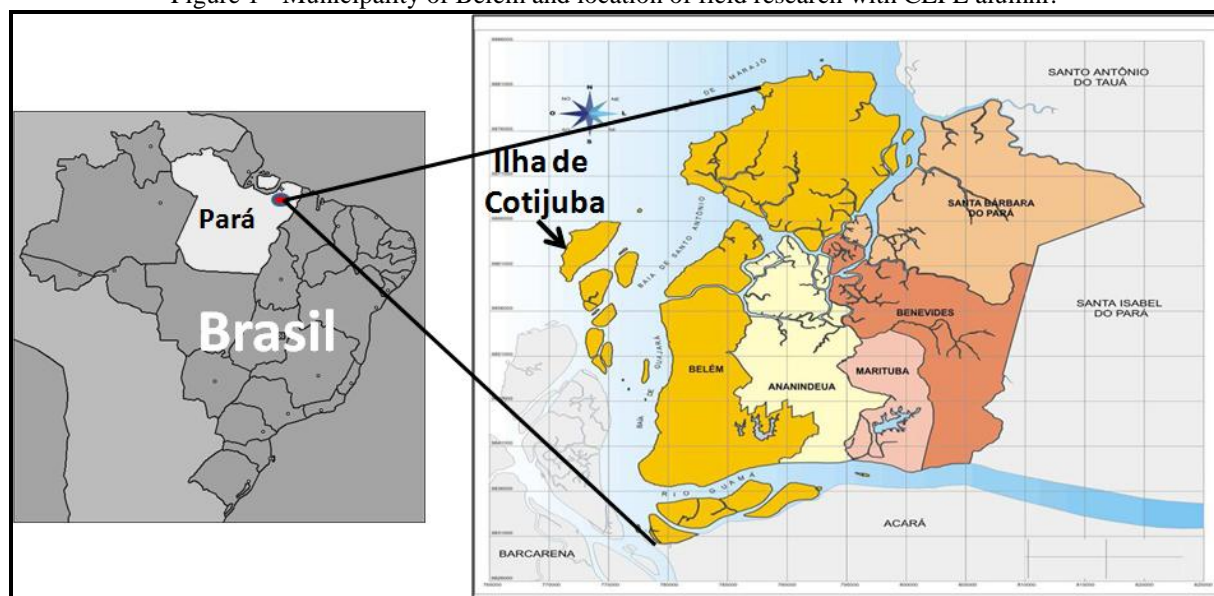
methodology to it, one can achieve the objectives outlined.

In this perspective, the island of Cotijuba was selected as the sample, which provided the empirical *corpus* of this research, materialized in the speeches of the educated subjects of CEPE, in the documents about the school processes and in everyday situations perceived, that can be registered in field reports, research forms, voice recording devices and cameras. This data helped understand and analyze the mediations and determinations underlying the phenomenal expression of the object (Kosik, 1976). This material was essential to the critical construction of totality (theoretical generalization) as a unit of diversity or concrete thought. "...

synthesis of many determinations, that is, unity of the diverse". (Marx, 2008, p. 258, personal translation).

In order to achieve the goal outlined, as well as possible answers to the questions raised, qualitative data (interviews and observations) were taken from a field survey carried out during the months of January, February and March of 2018 together with graduates in December 2015 by CEPE, which are residents of the island of Cotijuba, Belém, Pará, Amazônia, Brazil, (Figure 1, below). This research is part of the research project titled "School Innovation and Full-time Municipal Schools in Belém do Pará: A Study in the Mosqueiro and Caratateua Islands". (Silva, 2018).

Figure 1 - Municipality of Belém and location of field research with CEPE alumni.



Source: Constructed by the author from Silva, Santos & Souza (2016).

In Cotijuba, six (06) questionnaires were applied with 12 closed and open questions that sought to collect information about the egresses' work practices, their current educational conditions and some aspects related to the matter of local social or economic organization. In the end, the questionnaire presented an inquiry gave the motto for an individual interview that addressed the dreams and desires of the six (06) graduates of CEPE who have completed elementary and high school in this school.

These students were selected because they have a long formative trajectory, that is, they spent four (4) years or more at CEPE for the completion of elementary and high school. For that, they are students who have both certifications, one at a fundamental level with certification in Fisheries and Aquaculture and the other at the intermediate level, with Technical qualification in Fishing Resources.

The collected material was analyzed based on Singer's ideas (2004) and his dichotomous proposition between capitalist development and solidarity development. This way, the development of the graduates (and their families) was considered from the improvement of working conditions, from the usage of the productive forces peculiar to the

artisanal fishing, to the strengthening of the organizational capacity of the graduates, to the increase of collective values that increase the ties of trust and solidarity in the class, the favoring of self-actualization and improving the educational, scientific and technological aspects of young rivetian fishermen.

It should also be noted that the information contained in documents, such as CEPE's Political and Pedagogical Project (PPP), was part of the empirical *corpus* of the research, the legal framework for its operation given by Ordinance No. 031/2010, the PPP of Escola Bosque that is the maintainer of CEPE and data contained in the certificates and diplomas awarded by its graduates in elementary and secondary education. The statements of the manager and teachers of the school were also used, obtained in field visit activities at CEPE during the months of October and November of 2017.

The House School of Fishing: conjectural aspects

The House School of Fisheries (CEPE) is part of the Municipal Education System of Belém and is administratively linked to the Foundation Reference Center in Environmental Education Forest School Professor Eidorfe Moreira

(FUNBOSQUE), which is its main sponsor. FUNBOSQUE is an indirect administration body, with legal personality of public law, headquartered at Av. Nossa Senhora da Conceição, s/n, Bairro do São João do Outeiro, Caratateua Island, District of Outeiro, Municipality of Belém, state of Pará (Belém, 2017).

CEPE was legally institutionalized on February 2, 2010, however its implementation actually dates April 17,

2008 from an "... Agreement signed between this Foundation² and the Federation of Fishermen of the State of Pará (FEPA)". Its goal is "... the formation of children of fishermen and fishing workers in the Islands Region with the purpose of reducing poverty and improving the management of the natural resources of the Municipality of Belém/Pará". (Funbosque, 2010, p. 10, personal translation).

Figure 2 - House School of Fisheries and elementary school students.



Source: CEPE archive, 2014.

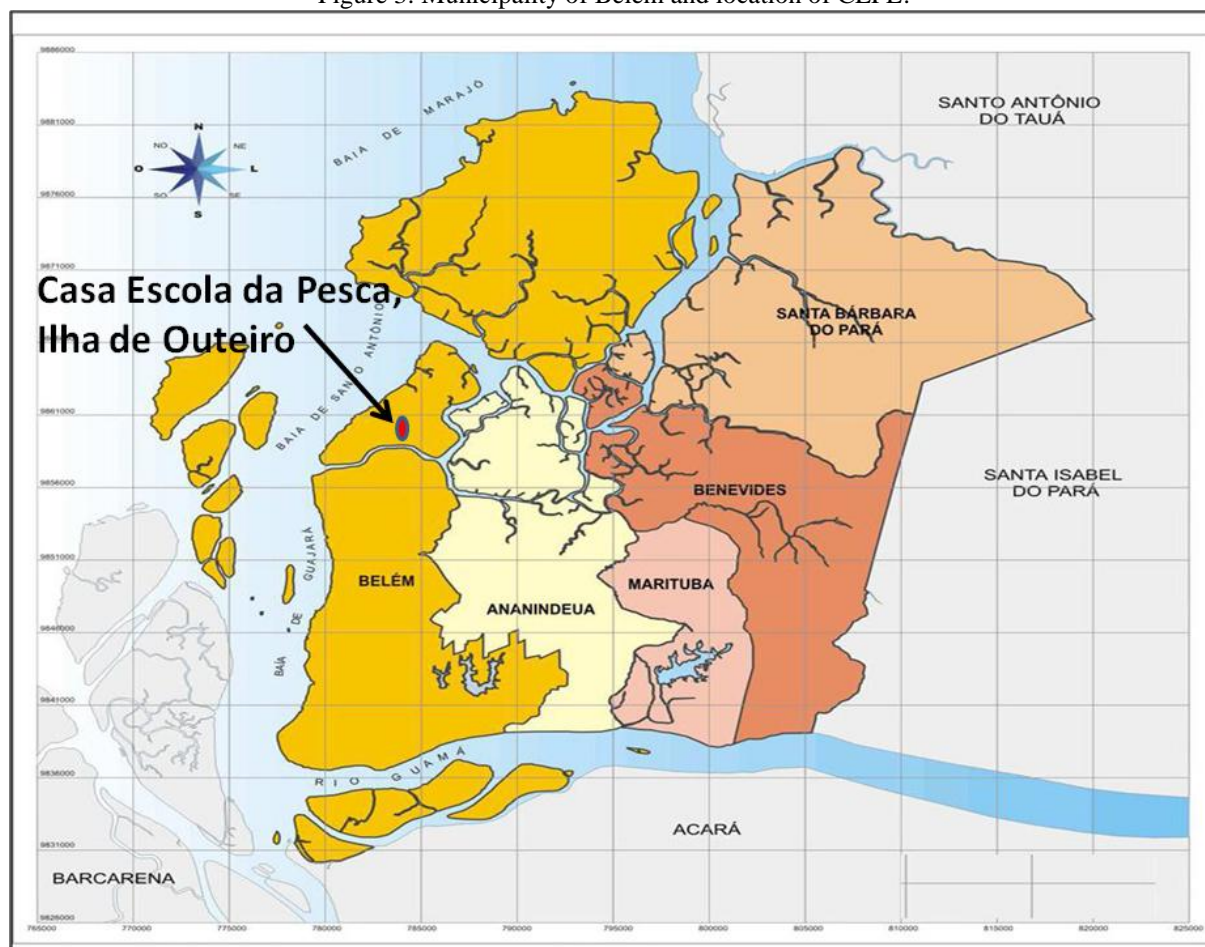
The municipality of Belém has continuous and insular areas, which make up a total of 39 (thirty-nine) islands (Silva, Santos & Souza, 2016), including

Caratateua Island where CEPE is located at Evandro Bona Street, São José, n. 70, Itaiteua neighborhood, Outeiro district. In the following figure, Figure 3, is a general

representation of the Municipality of Belém. In this image it is possible to observe the continental and insular part, in which one can see, represented the island of Outeiro and a red dot indicating the place where CEPE is based. Despite

attending mainly to an expressive demand of the island where it is installed, the School has students from other riverside communities bordering Belém, such as: Mosqueiro, Santa Cruz, Jutuba, Paquetá, Urubuoca, Jararaca and others.

Figure 3: Municipality of Belém and location of CEPE.



Source: Constructed by the authors from Silva, Santos & Souza (2016).

As it is observed in its Pedagogical Political Project (Belém, 2013), CEPE is a Teaching Unit designed to serve, preferably, riverine students that, as stated by LDBN, "... did not have access or continuity of studies in primary and secondary education in their own age".

(Brazil, 1996, Art. 37, personal translation). Precisely, CEPE "is characterized as a unit of education intended for students in the age group of 15 to 24 years for Elementary School, and from 18 years for the entrance in High School, as long as they have completed

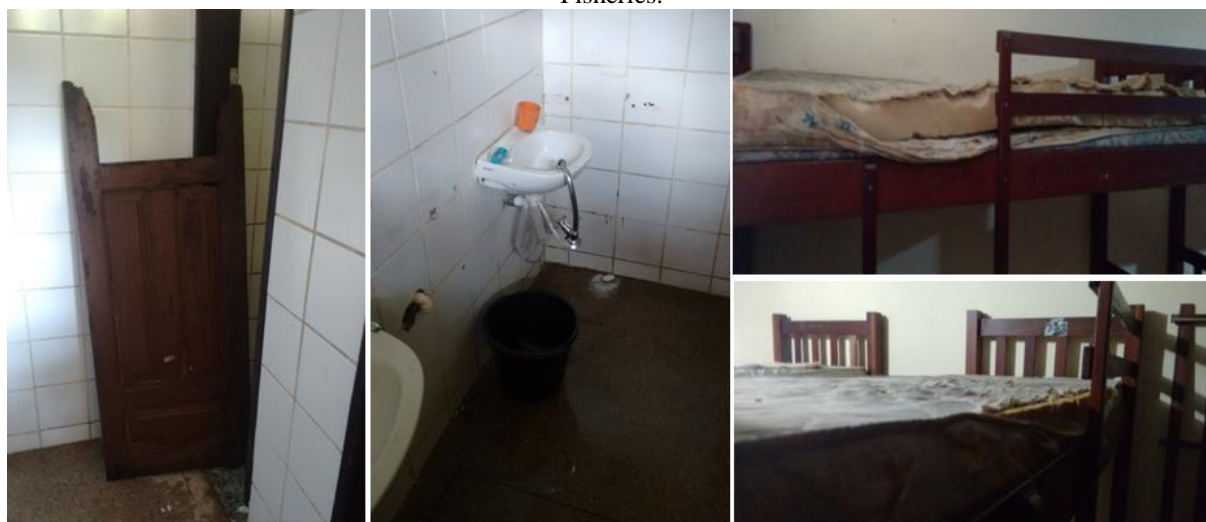
Elementary School". (Belém, 2013, p. 27, personal translation).

As a schooling space in the EJA modality, CEPE proposes to combine full-time school education with preparatory courses and professional qualification. Thus, in two years of formation, primary school students can complete their training course with certification in Fisheries and Aquaculture, or at an intermediate level integrated with technical qualification in Fishing Resources.

As can be seen in Figures 4, 5, 6 and 7, CEPE is currently facing infrastructural problems, requiring the replacement of materials, repairs and building paintings and improvements in general for its operation and reception of its educational

subjects. The images show bunk beds and mattresses in bad conditions, bathrooms with damaged doors and dishes and many other things that denote a current conjuncture of the precariousness of the School.

Figures: 4, 5, 6 and 7 - Images that denote some of the infrastructural reality faced in the House School of Fisheries.



Source: José Bittencourt da Silva (2018).

Currently, CEPE's school management is linked to the group set up under local governmental power. In reality,

as there is no election for the choice of the managers, the direction of the school relies on the indication of the municipal mayor of

Belém. Therefore, when the mayors are changed, the leaders of the school are changed and, consequently, the perceptions and pedagogical practices are switched to those of the group in power. In this way, the school may have a conservative, neoliberal or critical and transformative orientation depending on the political game that is established outside the institutional framework of CEPE.

The Political Pedagogical Project (PPP) can be considered as one of the most important management documents, constituting an excellent indicator of the administrative and formative proposal of a school. It indicates certain intentionalities about the formative course of its students and expresses the possible relations that must be established among the different educational subjects of school. The PPP brings with it a school proposal in the most global sense of the term, including demonstrating the possible interfaces to be established with the social world outside the walls.

The political-pedagogical project has to do with the organization of pedagogical work on two levels: as organization of the whole school and as organization of the classroom, including its relationship with the immediate social context, seeking to preserve the vision of totality. In this journey, it will be important to emphasize that the political-pedagogical project seeks to organize the pedagogical work of the school as

a whole. (Veiga, 2002, p. 3, personal translation).

CEPE's current PPP was built and publicized in 2013. Its pedagogical proposal is based on the methodology of the Alternation Pedagogy, which presupposes two different times/formative spaces conjugated with each other. It is the so-called alternation pedagogy that is constituted as a pedagogical proposal of the Brazilian Movement for a Field Education that emerged in the 1980/90 within the framework of the struggles of the Landless Movement (MST).

Alternation training in the Brazilian countryside was inaugurated by the Escola Família Agrícola (EFA) to attend specially to the children of the farmers. The social movements of the countryside, when verifying the demands of the young and adults to continue their formative processes through school education, seek, in this form of pedagogical organization, a possibility of raising the schooling of the young and adults of the Brazilian countryside, especially with the the achievement of the Pronera in 1998. As of this date, countless peasants were able to complete their trajectory in school education through the EJA/Pronera³. (Araújo, 2012, p. 257, personal translation).

The main objective of the pedagogy of alternation is the possibility of uniting theory and practice in the context of student education, especially those residing in a non-urban environment whose integral development is the great schooling

education utopia, since this methodology intends to contemplate the multiple dimensions of the condition of the learning subjects, that is, their economic, social, political and environmental aspects with direct repercussions in their local community life (Estevam, 2001).

A very striking feature of CEPE's PPP is the idea that the school should contribute to the development of the riverside region. In fact, the word development appears 44 times in this document and is always related to processes of personal or collective improvement of its students. It is not uncommon to find in the PPP expressions such as "... the need for education to be seen as a set of important elements for the intellectual, social and integral development of the learner". (Belém, 2017, p. 11, personal translation). Or even

Educational activities can be considered as developed and leveraged activities for the social and cultural development of the region, and also enable professional training to leverage the development of riparian communities at a regional level, and for that fishing resources will be used for the generation work and income. (ibidem, p. 12, personal translation).

Schooling, professionalism and development: an approach with CEPE graduates on the Island of Cotijuba

As shown in Figure 1 above, the island of Cotijuba, a "golden trail" for the Tupinambá (Fernandes, Fernandes, 2016), is part of the municipal territory of Belém and is part of the Administrative District of Outeiro (Belém, 1994). With being only accessible by river the island presents a natural landscape of forest and Amazonian beach. The place has become an attraction for nature contemplation tourism, which has become the main economic activity in the area, despite the fact that there is an important artisanal fishing production in Cotijuba and family farming that guarantees the residents a source of food and income (Silva, 2014).

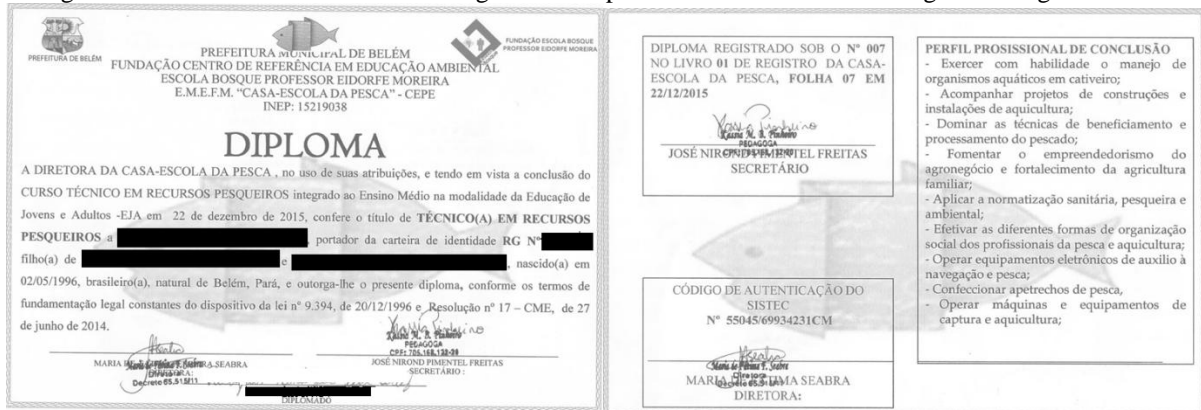
On the island you can observe the physical existence of an administrative agency of the Municipality of Belém, a small health station, pedagogical units of elementary education, catholic and evangelical churches, inns, hotels and bars. However, Cotijuba lacks some public services, such as potable water supply (the water consumed by the residents comes from wells), basic sanitation, regular collection of solid waste, street paving and electric energy (on the island electricity comes from generators that run on diesel oil).

It is in this island that the graduates of the School of Fishing that were selected for the interviews and application of

questionnaires live. They are young adults between the ages of 22 and 30 and have completed basic school education in CEPE in the year 2015. From a formal stand point, these alumni are with the two certifications offered by the School, that is,

a elementary school certificate in Fisheries and Aquaculture and another high school certificate, with technical qualification in Fishing Resources (Figures 8, 9, 10 and 11).

Figures 8 and 9 - front and back of the high school diploma with Technical Training in Fishing Resources.



Source: field research data, 2018.

Figures 10 and 11 - front and back of the diploma at primary level and with initial training in Fisheries and Aquaculture.



Source: field research data, 2018.

The teaching of EJA in CEPE should also build in its students an educational development capable of giving the conditions for their graduates to attend the higher education (Belém, 2013). However, what was observed in the period in which the interviews were carried out was that

none of the former students had attended or were attending higher education or participated in courses of improvement in the area of fisheries. Only one egress claimed to have taken part in a course at the Capitania dos Portos (Port Authority)

aimed at regulating drivers of small vessels.

Beyond this phenomenal expression observed *in loco*, one can understand this reality as revealing the structures that are repeated in other educational spaces on a national scale. To Frigotto (2009) this situation is not an aberration of the educational systems that the school could easily solve. Indeed, this precarious situation of EJA/vocational students reveals how dependent capitalism develops with inequality.

Brazil would be a composition of a small, rich, modern Belgium, and a backward, semi-literate India with traditional values and a large contingent of informal workers. The India part would be responsible for the backwardness, underdevelopment and would prevent us from becoming a country of advanced capitalism. On the contrary, critical social thought shows us that it is a social construction that defines the specific form of our dependent and subordinate capitalism. A society whose unequal and combined development presupposes illiteracy, the dual school with an education impoverished for the masses, the informality and inequality. (Frigotto, 2009, p. 74, our translation).

From the labor point of view, all were in the informal sector, working without a formal contract, as providers of various services, usually as drivers of motor vehicles belonging to small local merchants. In fact, CEPE graduates in the island of Cotijuba have their main source

of income linked to tourism, such as motorcycle drivers, carriages, motorretes (a "hybrid" type of motorcycle and cart) taking visitors to the most sought-after tourist areas, such as Praia do Farol (Figure 12) or the ruins of Educandário Nogueira de Faria (Figure 13). They also work with civil construction, extractivism of the açaí, as street vendors or as workers in snack bars of kiosks and tents by the waterfront.

This results from a proposal of professional education based on the ideology of capitalist development, which according to Singer (2004) is effective from the logic of capital, that is, determined by the dictates of the market, competition, individualism, and so on. In reality, the school is reproducing in the practical life of its graduates.

The exploitative development of capitalism, the massification of social relations, the mismatch between the high technological development and the social misery of millions of people, the frustrations with the results of the insatiable consumption of goods and products, the disrespect for human dignity of social classes treated as pieces or gears of a machine, the disenchantment with the destruction generated by the fever of capitalist profit, etc. (Gohn, 1992, p. 15-16, personal translation).

With this educational perspective, CEPE ends up curtailing the right to emancipatory education and promoting an educational course aimed at mastery of the

skills and competences demanded by the market, offering the students vocational training and elementary knowledge of reading, writing, accounts and primary notions of sciences for employability in precarious jobs (Arroyo, 2012).

By its own characteristics as a school, that is to say, as an educational and formative space of riverine populations, what is really expected of CEPE is an education as complete as possible, an

education that aims to enable their students to develop their multiple physical, intellectual, emotional or aesthetic sides. For this reason, its proposal of educational integrality (Belém, 2013) presupposes a scientific, artistic, literary, philosophical formation, in short, of all the best that humanity has produced in its historical development (Libâneo, 2018).

Figures 12 and 13: Lighthouse Beach and ruins of the Nogueira de Faria Educandário, Cotijuba Island.



Source: image captured in virtual environment (A ILHA, 2018).

Here I get by doing odd jobs. To make a living, I do everything. I pitch, work as a mason's helper, work on the motorrete, on the carriage leading people to the beaches farther away ... (interviewee 1).

I work in the motorrete and also during harvest season I help my family that has an açazal near here. I have a dream of getting a good job, but for that I think it would be better if I were a fishing engineer, but I think this dream is very difficult. Because you need money, everything here is very difficult ... (interviewee 2).

I even wanted to work with fishing, but I have to have money to buy the materials. I wanted to work in the merchant marine to get money to start a project in the fishing area here.

I think if I had about three thousand reais I could start my project. I wanted to continue studying, go to university, but I have no support, neither from my family nor my friends (interviewee 3).

I wanted to have a steady job that would give me security for myself and my family. I went this November to Amasei⁴, I went to the CEPE. I did a test there, but so far they have not told me anything. Then I heard about another fishing company in Outeiro, but I did not go there, because I learned that they were going to give me a job for three months, then after that period they would see if they were going to hire me. But I was not going to get anything in those three months. I did not want to go there. I'm working on a motorrete today,

but not at the moment because I had an accident. I burned my legs with gasoline in an accident with the motor. I wanted to continue studying, but for this I need money. Only me, my father and my mother get more money to support ourselves in my house. So this is difficult. Because if I go to school, it will be more difficult for my family (interviewee 4).

Our development here we still can't. Because our family is low income, I help my father with civil construction, with tourism taking people to the beaches of the Farol, beaches of Saudade, beaches of Amor, beach of Vai Quem Quer, ... (interviewee 5).

I was born in Belém and my grandmother took me in to raise. I came to live here in Cotijuba, I really like to live here. Sometimes I go to Belém and spend some time there, sometimes I stay here. I work here, I help my family, I make do some odd jobs, I do student transportation ... that's how we get by (interviewee 6).

On the obverse of the high school diploma (Figure 10 above), it is stipulated that the student must present knowledge and skills regarding the "making of fishing gear and others". In the elementary school certificate (Figure 12 above) and in the school's PPP (Belém, 2013, p. 20) it is pointed out that the graduate should have expertise regarding the practice of "sustainable fishing according to the code of conduct of responsible fishing ". When asked about these knowledge and knowledge about artisanal fishing, respondents 4 and 6 stated that:

In the School we had more theoretical classes than practical. For example, we were going to have a training to build a fishing net. Then the teacher gave a theoretical lesson, only in the data show. But if you ask me to make a fishing net, a tarrafa, a longline, a matapi I don't know how to do it. Because we did not practice these things. What I can say that I have a little more knowledge about is the breeding fish in tanks, mainly because I interned at UFRA⁵. But I still need more training, because we don't practice after we leave school and we end up forgetting (interviewed 4).

We study all these subjects, mathematics, history, sociology ... and also subjects about fishing, but it's all very theoretical. If the teacher were to talk about the size of the mesh, the types of fish, the types of tide, these things, it was all talk. There wasn't any practice (interviewed 6).

The island has a fairly interesting social organization from the formal point of view. In fact, in Cotijuba there is the Association of Producers of the Island of Cotijuba (APIC), the Cotijuba Island and Adjacent Islands Residents' Association (AMICIA), Belém Islands Women's Movement (MMIB), Cooperative of the Charreteiros of Cotijuba Island and others. All this would already be an input to be considered as capable of generating the objective conditions for local community development, based on the principles of solidarity development.

Nevertheless none of the graduates said that they belong to any colony of fishermen, association or cooperative of

workers directed to fishing or aquaculture. Nor are they affiliated with any political party and have a certain rejection of this sphere of human life. Of all the interviewees, only one said to be associated with the Cooperative of the

Charreteiros of Cotijuba Island, but did not inform the benefits that he has as a member. He only knows that this is a condition for him to be able to carry out his mackerel activity more safely.

Table 1 - Participation of ECE alumni in a collective organization on the island of Cotijuba.

Identification	N. of economic or social organizations involved in	Identification of the organization
Interviewee 1	0	
Interviewee 2	0	
Interviewee 3	1	Cooperative of the Charreteiros of Cotijuba Island
Interviewee 4	0	
Interviewee 5	0	
Interviewee 6	0	

Source: field research (2018).

When asked about the question of associativism as learning in the context of their formation, all the graduates showed themselves without any conceptual or practical basis on this subject.

We had very little study about cooperatives. I don't even remember about it very well. It was only in high school that we saw this very fast. I don't remember much about it. What I remember more or less is that cooperatives have to have more people to function and the association doesn't need a lot of people. I don't remember very well, I know practically nothing. It was our fishing teacher who told us about it (interviewee 4).

In fact, what was observed in the field was the precariousness of the graduates' work, reflected mainly in the legal uncertainty of their labor relations. In fact, they present degrading remuneration,

non-existent labor rights and no guarantee of social security assistance. On the other hand, the graduates do not have initial monetary conditions for the much-publicized individual entrepreneurship (Belém, 2013), much less credit for the purchase of materials needed for trips to the high seas, nor can they buy fish catching instruments, logistics for the storage, transport and marketing of fish in local markets or elsewhere.

The alternative would be the creation of cooperative enterprises, which would require, in addition to capital and credit, a certain accumulation of values of trust and mutual solidarity, capacity to form cooperation networks, sanction mechanisms and rules of behavior that can improve collective actions (Putnam, 1996). Viewed as something of all belonging to

the given community, these collective values are generated historically in the context of horizontal organizational practices (unions, cooperatives, associations, clubs, etc.), in which face-to-face relationships are established that improve trust between people. The greater the time spent in organizational participation, that is, in meetings, deliberations, meetings, tasks to resolve community issues, etc., the more the groups are strengthened in terms of trust, solidarity, mutual recognition, self-esteem and interfering positivation in actions collective agreements.

It is in this sense that the daily experiences in social, political and economic organizations are fundamental in the process of building social bonds that contribute to the collective actions necessary for local development. As there is no organizational *habitus*, the graduates can only think of individual enterprises, in the same way as the social relations of employers of the great fishing capitalist enterprises, and end up being stuck on dreams more and more distant from their completion. It should be noted that *habitus* here must be understood as "the generating principle of our practices, of our actions in the world, the foundation of the regularity of our conduct". (Araújo, Alves & Cruz, 2009, p. 38, our translation). For

Bourdieu (1983) *Habitus* is the disposition that individual people possess in relation to certain social structures that are introjected in a conscious or unconscious way, which condition their feelings, social views of the world, their collective actions within the social fields of which people are part.

According to Gohn (1992, 2011), organizations and Social Movements are, in principle, collective educators of society, education being understood as a component of culture (Brandão, 2006), that is, a fundamental part of the process of hominization of individuals in the community.

For us, education is not limited to school education, carried out in the school itself. There are learning and knowledge production in other spaces ... One of the examples of other educational spaces is the social participation in movements and collective actions, which generates learning and knowledge. There is an educational aspect in the practices that take place in the act of participating, both for the members of civil society, and for the more general society, and also for the public agencies involved—when there are negotiations, dialogues or confrontations. (Gohn, 2011, p. 333, our translation).

As for the educational character of social movements, the author affirms conclusively that they are fertile spaces for innovation and sources of knowledge. Therefore, it would be of great value if CEPE put cooperativism or associativism

as a structuring component of its students' training path, putting into effect what is on the obverse of the CEPE high school diploma (Figure 10, above). In it can be read that the professional profile of the conclusion of this level of education, should guarantee to the egress knowledge and skills regarding the different forms of social organization of fishing professionals.

With regards to primary education, it should be pointed out that the final students should be able, among other things, to "... know and distinguish the different forms of organization of fishing professionals, in associations, unions, cooperatives, colony and federation of fishermen". (Belém, 2013, p. 20, Figure 12, above, our translation). This is a reality that needs to be built and CEPE cannot escape its role of building this associative base for its students. Otherwise this precarious reality of the graduates, residents of Cotijuba, will be replicated to the other riverside communities of Belém assisted by the School.

Conclusion

CEPE is a municipal vocational public school in the EJA modality that corresponds to the primary and/or secondary levels, developing its educational activities in the island of

Outeiro (Caratateua), Belém, Pará since 2008. Its target audience are the sons and daughters of fishermen and those that work in the field from the coastal areas of the municipality of Belém. From the formal point of view, their graduates from the EJA/high school can continue to study at a higher level and/or develop fishing activities in their communities.

In the PPP of this school it can be observed that the word development constitutes a fundamental category for its educational objectives. In fact, the word development is spelled out 44 times, always associated with individual and collective aspects of socioeconomic or cultural-environmental improvement of its students. In order to do so, it is proposed the implementation of an educational route integrating basic training with the professional, with fishing activity as a labor reference. For the formative effectiveness of the students, CEPE proposes to contemplate integrating the school times with the local community knowledge and practices based on the Alternation Pedagogy.

If the school is considered in isolation, it is possible to affirm that CEPE presents total and objective possibilities for the realization of a quality and innovative education for the sons and daughters of the workers of the insular areas of Belém, not

only in what concerns their pedagogical autonomy, as well as the commitment and the formative quality of their educational subjects.

However, what was observed with the field research with CEPE graduates was that there is a very large gap between the local development objectives proposed by the PPP of this school and the reality lived by its graduates. The case taken as reference for the analysis, the island of Cotijuba, was a sample of the current situation experienced by the CEPE graduates, demonstrating that there is a gap between the said and the perceived.

In practice what was seen was the precariousness of the work of the graduates, with legal insecurity in their labor relations, demeaning remuneration, denied labor rights, no guarantee of social security assistance and distant from what they studied for years as students of the Casa Escola da Pesca. Precisely, CEPE alumni work as drivers of motorcycles and “motorretes”, in civil construction, cleaning of residential areas, street vendors and even as waiters in bars and kiosks for drinks and food in the beach areas.

Graduates cannot access the higher education level, nor can they afford the initial financial conditions to individually or collectively undertake business ventures. For this reason, they have the

only possibility of guaranteeing income for their livelihood and for their families in informal service provision. As if all this were not enough, they presented very low organizational capacity and, therefore, of building a network of trust and solidarity, in addition to the family domestic reality.

The school cannot escape its status as a learning space and therefore must teach its students how they are inserted in the social, political and economic structures of a given social formation (capitalist society). The students need to understand critically the way this society works, its social relations of production and cumulative rationality of dominant wealth and, thus, to be able to observe the concrete conjunctural reality of the Amazonian tributaries as a whole and, in particular, in Belém.

CEPE will certainly not solve the problems related to the socioeconomic and educational development of its graduates, nor of the assisted riverside communities. There are other variables that need to be put in this context. However, the school cannot neglect problematizing, critical and creative learning, revealing the social reality of its students, even showing that development is a worldview, which can be capitalist or solidarity, and in this sense can be more individualistic or associative. These information's are essential for a

qualified analysis of local problems and possible propositions and alternatives to community-based coastal development, so that it is socially just and environmentally sustainable.

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1 Latim expression that means “by head”.

2 Foundation Reference Center in Environmental Education Forest School Professor Eidorfe Moreira (FUNBOSQUE).

3 National Program for Education in Agrarian Reform (PRONERA) was created in 1998, based on the mobilization of Social Movements, in particular the Movement of Landless Rural Workers (MST). This program has as main proposal to literate and raise the educational level of young people and adults of agrarian reform settlements projects. About PRONERA see Marialva (2011).

4 Amazon Seoul Import and Export Ltda (Amazonia Seoul Importação e Exportação Ltda - AMASE) is a large company that works with fishing crustaceans and molluscs in salt water and fresh water, located at Rua Manoel Barata, 1789, Icoaraci, Belém, Pará, Brazil.

5 Rural University of Amazon (Universidade Rural da Amazônia - UFRA).

Article Information

Received on December 05th, 2018

Accepted on May 14th, 2019

Published on May, 28th, 2019

Author Contributions: The author was responsible for the designing, delineating, analyzing and interpreting the data, production of the manuscript, critical revision of the content and approval of the final version to be published.

Conflict of Interest: None reported.

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How to cite this article

APA

Silva, J. B. (2019). Schooling, professionalism and development in the rural school: the case of ex-students from the CEPE in the Island of Cotijuba, Belém, Pará. *Rev. Bras. Educ. Camp.*, 4, e6247. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.20873/uft.rbec.e6247>

ABNT

SILVA, J. B. Schooling, professionalism and development in the rural school: the case of ex-students from the CEPE in the Island of Cotijuba, Belém, Pará. **Rev. Bras. Educ. Camp.**, Tocantinópolis, v. 4, e6247, 2019. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.20873/uft.rbec.e6247>