

The Antônio Conselheiro Settlement: The Importance of the Collective Map in Reading Peasant Reality¹

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ABSTRACT. The conquest of rural settlements in the Brazilian countryside has led to the certainty of new daily challenges for the settlers, including the struggle for public policies that boost production, income generation, and good quality education. The article aims to analyze the use of social cartography in the Antônio Conselheiro Settlement, located between Ocara and Aracoiaba in Ceará, Brazil. The methodological procedure is part of a research project carried out between 2016 and 2018 and was developed based on pedagogical workshops conducted with students of the Education Service for Youth and Adult Rural Workers (EJA) at Raimundo Facó School. Additionally, fieldwork, interviews, preliminary sketches, and the collective map were used in the research. This Social cartography was developed at a time when the communities were experiencing conflict with public agencies and looking for ways to demonstrate their work and autonomy in the management of spaces for production, marketing, and leisure. The results show a consolidated rural settlement with the production, consumption, and commercialization of agricultural and artisanal products. The introduction of social cartography to the community through adult elementary education is a differentiated approach to the dialogue between popular and geographic knowledge and is fundamental for interpreting the peasant reality.

Keywords: rural settlement, agrarian conflicts, social cartography.

Assentamento Antônio Conselheiro: A Importância do Mapa Coletivo na Leitura da Realidade Camponesaⁱⁱ

RESUMO. A conquista dos assentamentos rurais no campo brasileiro leva à certeza de que novos desafios estarão presentes na vida de assentado, entre eles: a luta por políticas públicas para dinamizar produção, a geração de renda e uma educação de qualidade. O objetivo do artigo é analisar o uso da cartografia social no Assentamento Antônio Conselheiro, localizado entre Ocara e Aracoiaba no Ceará. O procedimento metodológico parte de pesquisa realizada entre os anos de 2016 e 2018 e foi desenvolvido com base em oficinas pedagógicas realizadas com educandos da Educação de Jovens e Adultos (EJA) do Campo, na Escola Raimundo Facó. Contou, ainda, com trabalhos de campo, entrevistas, elaboração de croquis e mapa coletivo. A cartografia social foi desenvolvida quando as comunidades estavam vivendo uma situação de conflito com órgãos públicos e procurando caminhos para revelar trabalho e autonomia na gestão dos espaços de produção, da comercialização e do lazer. Os resultados revelam um assentamento rural consolidado com produção, consumo e comercialização de produtos agrícolas e artesanais. A introdução da cartografia social dentro da comunidade (via escola básica) é um caminho diferenciado para o diálogo entre os saberes populares e o conhecimento geográfico, e é fundamental para interpretarmos a realidade camponesa.

Palavras-chave: assentamento rural, conflitos no campo, cartografia social.

Asentamiento Antônio Conselheiro: La Importancia del Mapa Colectivo en la Lectura de la Realidad Campesinaⁱⁱⁱ

RESUMEN. La conquista de los asentamientos rurales en el campo brasileño lleva a la certeza de que nuevos desafíos estarán presentes en la vida de los pobladores de los asentamientos, entre ellos: la lucha por políticas públicas para dinamizar la producción, la generación de ingresos y una educación de calidad. El objetivo del artículo es analizar el uso de la cartografía social en el Asentamiento Antônio Conselheiro, ubicado entre Ocara y Aracoiaba en Ceará. El procedimiento metodológico surge a través de una investigación realizada entre los años 2016 y 2018 y se desarrolló a partir de talleres pedagógicos realizados con estudiantes de Educación de Jóvenes y Adultos (EJA) del Campo, en la Escuela Raimundo Facó. También contó con trabajo de campo, entrevistas, elaboración de bocetos y un mapa colectivo. La cartografía social se desarrolló cuando las comunidades vivían una situación de conflicto con los organismos públicos y buscaban formas de revelar el trabajo y la autonomía en la gestión de los espacios de producción, comercialización y esparcimiento. Los resultados revelan un asentamiento rural consolidado con producción, consumo y comercialización de productos agrícolas y artesanales. La introducción de la cartografía social en la comunidad (vía escuela básica) es una vía diferente para el diálogo entre los conocimientos populares y el conocimiento geográfico, y es fundamental para interpretar la realidad campesina.

Palabras clave: asentamiento rural, conflictos en el campo, cartografía social.

Introduction

In the process of fighting for land in the Brazilian countryside, rural settlements are the "fractions of territory" conquered by rural workers during this struggle (Fernandes, 1996, p. 17). In the state of Ceará, the peasants' battle for land led to the creation of rural settlements, especially after the political opening that occurred in the mid-1980s. The New Republic's first national agrarian reform plan (1985) allowed some peasants access to land and consequently new actions to fight for the right to housing, work, education, and dignity in the countryside. For this reason, for some scholars writing on the agrarian issue, the rural settlement is "the arrival point of the peasant struggle in the access to land" (Feliciano, 2006, p. 113) and, at the same time, its "departure point as a conquest of a new level from which an important set of policies can be accessed, (credit, for example)" (Leite, 2012, p. 111).

In the struggle and conquest of rural settlements in Ceará, the settler's peasant organization's structuring reasons were based on family work, land tenure, freedom of work, kinship ties, and rural religiosity (Oliveira, 2017). These relationships established within the family, with their neighbors, and with the land and work allow the reproduction of culture, techniques, and peasant identity. As a

result, reading the peasant reality in the settlers' daily life involves bearing in mind that the relationship between land, work, family, and freedom identifies the social and political subjects who are developing actions and mobilizations in the struggle for grassroots agrarian reform in the Brazilian countryside. Furthermore, through associations, these subjects build ways to negotiate with the government via public agencies to search for a life with dignity in the countryside.

The proposal to use social cartography in the Antônio Conselheiro Settlement was a challenge that arose during the research (Sousa, 2018) and the unfolding of novelties in Ceará's rural communities. During the dialogue with settlers from the Umari community, the conflict between the State government through the National Department of Infrastructure and Transport (DNIT) and the peasants was evident. The issues included redefining the location and materials used in the shacks along the BR-122 highway, which transects the settlement. According to the DNIT, masonry structures are prohibited close to highways and should be a minimum distance away to avoid accidents. The peasants strongly contested this proposal and felt cornered by the presence of the agency's experts in the Settlement, who

were set to intervene at the points of sale for their goods. The conflict gained recognition, and everyone wanted to see the possible changes on paper, which is why the proposal for the community to produce a collective map arose.

Qualitative research was developed together with the subjects involved in the communities. The researchers' participation in the daily life of the Settlement was fundamental for a critical reading of the social and local reality. The methodology consisted first of academic and technical readings on the agrarian question in Ceará and rural settlements. There was also fieldwork with semi-structured interviews and didactic workshops with methodological procedures based on the social cartography proposed by Batista (2014) and Santos (2016). The research subjects are referred to using letters, such as peasant A or peasant B.

According to Santos (2016), social cartography "is seen as a process of collective construction that brings together, in the same category of importance, researchers and the mapped social agents" (p. 274). Thus, we understand that social cartography is carried out with the community, revealing the subjects' viewpoint as social actors, individuals of a collectivity that, through social, political,

economic, and cultural relationships, produce territories in agrarian reform areas.

The proposal was developed with students from the Youth and Adult Education class (EJA do Campo) at Raimundo Facó School in Umari, in the Antônio Conselheiro Settlement, Aracoiaba, Ceará. The production of the collective map is relevant due to the lack of representations of the settlement's social, economic, and cultural practices. The results show that using social cartography in the community (through the elementary school) is a differentiated path for dialogue between popular and geographic knowledge. It is a fundamental choice to interpret the actual conflicts in the countryside from the peasants' standpoint.

The Formation of the Antônio Conselheiro Settlement

The origin of the Antônio Conselheiro Settlement was the occupation and expropriation of the Córrego de Quinxiné farm on May 20, 1995. The settlement's name honors the messianic leader Antônio Vicente Mendes Maciel, popularly known as Antônio Conselheiro, who created the Canudos community in the *sertão* of Bahia in the nineteenth century.

From the beginning, the Antônio Conselheiro Settlement was designed as a welcoming place that offered the possibility of land and work to peasant families, as was recorded in the words of Professor Zélia, director of the Francisca Pinto da Silva Rural School: "... the intention behind creating the settlement was to form a new Canudos here in Ceará" (Assentamento Antônio Conselheiro, 2017). The Córrego de Quinxinxié farm was selected for occupation based on a survey of unproductive properties in the northern region of Ceará. As part of the First National Plan for Agrarian Reform, the survey was carried out by collectives and the leaders of unions and social movements.

Once the farm had been selected, the peasants' representatives organized the families of landless peasants for the occupation: tenant farmers^{iv} and squatters. According to Sales (2003), most of them lived on farms close to the target area, were not landowners, and had problems related to conflicts with landowners. The author recalls an extensive preparation with meetings, information exchanges, and supervision of the groups in the lead-up to the occupation of the farm.

The Antônio Conselheiro Settlement's history began with the arrival

of the families who occupied the farm from different cities and locations in the state.

The families started arriving here on May 19, 1995, there were many families from various municipalities in Ceará, I think there were about 12 municipalities and localities, I remember that families came from Boa Viagem, Quixadá, Quixeramobim, Canindé, Madalena, Caucaia, Itapebussu, Ibaretama, Ocara, Aracoiaba, Umirim and Itapagé. About 400 families were camping under tarpaulins; until the possession of the land came out, there was a lot of resistance (Peasant A. Antônio Conselheiro Settlement, 2017).

According to Peasant B, the families had experience with agriculture, despite having worked in non-farming jobs.

The families that arrived lived off the land; they were all farmers, planting to support their family. I left the community of Rufino in Aracoiaba with my family and worked for four years at Cione (Companhia Industrial de Óleos do Nordeste), with the cashew nut, because my husband and I had no land to plant. When we found out about the occupation, we quit our jobs and started fighting, resisting to guarantee our piece of land to plant and live on (Peasant B. Settlement Antônio Conselheiro, 2017).

The occupation generated fear and discomfort among the tenants on the farm, mainly due to fear of the Landless Rural Workers Movement (MST)^v, which was often perceived as a movement formed by troublemakers. As a former tenant stated,

We were afraid; we didn't know what kind of people they were. The MST we knew was the one we saw on the television that showed that they brought confusion. So, we were afraid to do something or what they would do to us. Over time we saw that most came to live in dignity, planting, and everything, but some only came (sic) to mess about, they were dishonest, they ate our animals, and they made trouble on the farm, but these were expelled, they didn't stay (Peasant C. Settlement Antônio Conselheiro, 2017).

In the case of unproductive land, the land occupation movement is a complex challenge, mobilized by the struggle for rights and social justice. According to Stédile and Fernandes (1999), "if we do not occupy it ourselves, we do not prove that the law is on our side. Therefore there were only expropriations when there were occupations" (p. 115).

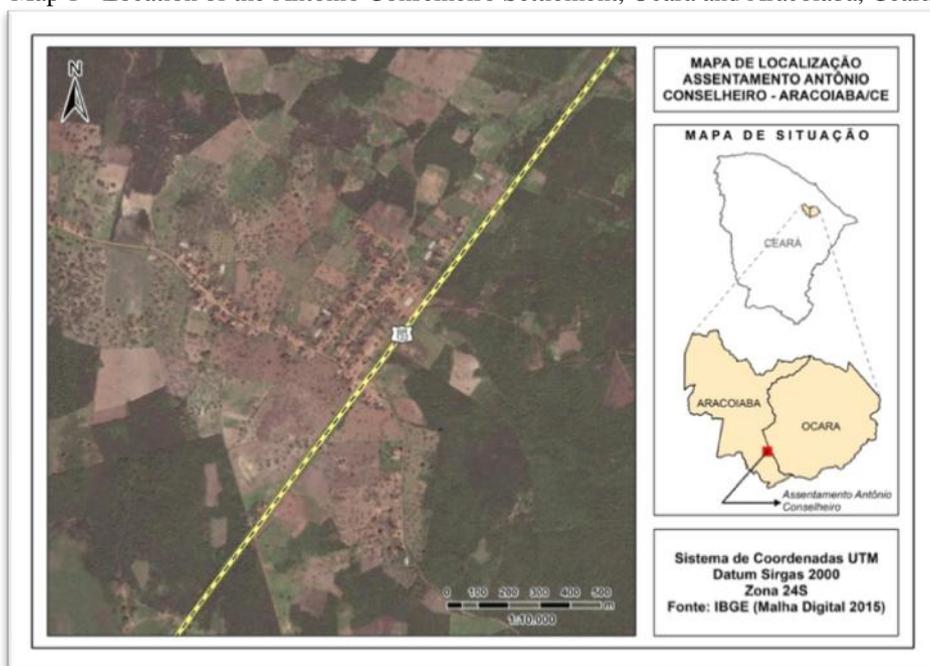
At the camp^{vi} at Fazenda Córrego de Quinxinxé, between 1995/96, there were moments of tension between the squatters and farm managers, who threatened to set fire to the stalls, and conflict between the peasants and the police force, which threatened eviction orders^{vii}. At that time, the MST created action fronts to attract the public authorities' attention to what was happening at the farm. Among the mobilizations, it is worth mentioning the occupation of the BR-122 highway, followed by a walk to the Aracoiaba forum, ending with a dramatization by

children telling the story of life experiences in the camp (Oliveira & Sampaio, 2017).

The victory of the action fronts mobilized by the peasants happened with the eviction order being overturned in 1995 and the Farm's expropriation after being deemed unproductive. Therefore, eleven months later, on April 2, 1996, the National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform (INCRA) issued the possession to the Antônio Conselheiro Settlement, and the settlement was formed on May 20, 1995. More than five thousand acres were divided between the families from the camp and residents of the farm; each family received about thirty-eight hectares (Sales, 2003).

Antônio Conselheiro is located between the municipalities of Aracoiaba and Ocara in Ceará, about 101 kilometers away from the capital Fortaleza. Access is via the BR-122 highway, the main entry to the Settlement, as it cuts it in half (Map 1). The continuous flow of people and vehicles inside the Settlement favors the flow of production and the trade of agricultural and artisanal products by the settlers.

Map 1 - Location of the Antônio Conselheiro Settlement, Ocara and Aracoiaba, Ceará.



Source: Sousa, 2017.

Once the land had been conquered, the struggle for decent housing, living, and working conditions in the countryside began. It was a lengthy undertaking driven by the mobilization of struggle and the dialogue between the associations and the State government. Associations, churches, schools, dwellers, and their land dynamized the socio-spatial ordering of the Settlement as a whole. In the process, the peasants prioritized the search for government projects that made work, education, and health viable.

The settlement is divided into four agro-villages, which are also considered communities: Córrego do Facó and Sede, in the municipality of Ocara, and Furnas and Umari, in the municipality of Aracoiaba. They are deemed fundamental

for the social, political, and economic development of the territory as a whole. The communities are organized into farmers' associations that find ways to negotiate with the state government through public agencies to discover projects and public policies for the settlement.

In the process of the families' territorialization in the settlement, land tenure and liberty at work are fundamental conditions in developing "peasant agriculture" (Carvalho & Costa, 2012, p. 26). It is a form of production and relating to nature. A way of life based on family farming in the following activities: cultivating swiddens (maize, beans, and manioc) and productive yards (pumpkin, maxixe (*Cucumis anguria*), vegetable

gardens, and others); livestock (raising small animals: pigs, birds, goats, and cattle); artisanal production of sauces, butter, and cakes; the products are sold in stalls on the roadside of the BR-122.

Currently, the Settlement has two priority projects: 1) the One Million Cisterns (P1MC) project achieved through the Semi-Arid Association (ASA), which enables storage of potable water for consumption and use in the productive yards; and 2) the Campo Francisca Pinto High School gained through the MST, providing young people with a high school with technical training in agriculture.

The cisterns project has boosted food production in productive yards by peasant

families, especially women, both for the families' diet and for sale. At the high school, young people learn and teach popular and scientific knowledge and essential social technologies to work on the land. In addition, these projects help young people avoid migration to large urban centers, thus guaranteeing their permanence as a labor force in family farming.

The Settlement's twenty-third birthday in 2018 was celebrated with a Mass (Figure 1), theater, folk poetry, and *reisado* dances with presentations produced and performed by the young people.

Figure 1 - Thanksgiving Mass at the Antônio Conselheiro Settlement, Ceará.



Source: Sousa, 2018.

Thus, the Antônio Conselheiro Settlement has renewed itself over the years, persisting on the land conquered

through family work, the use of new social technologies, and education, which

generate opportunities for the younger generation.

The experience of social cartography in the community

The research's first stage involved fieldwork and lived experience at the Antônio Conselheiro Settlement, with the support of leaders and teachers. Two points emerged from the dialogue: first, the lack of cartographic representations of the Settlement; second, the conflict between the state government via the DNIT and the peasants. According to staff from DNIT, the masonry stalls were too close to the hard shoulder, which could impair drivers' vision and cause accidents on the highway. For this reason, the agency asked INCRA to redefine the location and materials used in the stalls selling the Settlement's products along the BR-122. It was agreed with some of the peasants that the stalls' regulation would be made available in the Terra Sol project (INCRA, CE). The proposal was to replace the masonry stalls with canvas-covered mobile stalls, which were not always welcomed by the settlers, mainly due to the heat caused by the tarpaulin.

A valuable contribution to the dialogue was the suggestion of using social cartography with the group of EJA do Campo^{viii} of the Raimundo Facó School of

Infant and Elementary Education, located in the community of Umari. This community was chosen because it is the most populous and most affected by the conflict presented above. The school teaches Infant Education, Elementary I and II, and an evening group from the EJA do Campo with about 40 adult students.

The survey used semi-structured interviews conducted in the field that led to a diagnosis of the Settlement (Sousa, 2018). After the diagnosis, we felt the need to map the Settlement by tracing its productive units and social and economic practices. Contact was made with the EJA teacher, MST leaders, and the students at the school, presenting the proposed procedure for the social cartography. With the subjects' consent, we returned to Fortaleza with the idea of creating a didactic sequence.

The planning of this sequence (Pernambuco, 1993) aimed to build a spatial representation of the social practices in the Settlement from the students' viewpoint. The methodological procedure was divided into three stages: the production of sketches, feedback, and socialization of the results at the school.

Next followed what can be described as a study of reality. To this end, we chose to organize a sequence of contents about the rural settlement, its communities, and

its surroundings. The class was preceded by a simple questionnaire that investigated the students' reading of their community: streets, the layout of houses, backyards, gardens, and water resources, among other elements. At this point, the comments revolved around specific readings such as "we have productive yards" or "we sell our products in the shacks on BR-122, and now DNIT wants to change that". For the students, the income from agricultural and artisanal production and the sale of products is fundamental in the community's reality, leading them to emphasize the conflict caused by the state government via DNIT. This information was essential to organize the construction of knowledge. This was the moment to listen to and understand the research

subjects, be attentive to explain and build the importance of our proposal and give it meaning in the student's universe.

The next moment was the expository and dialogued class (Figure 2), in which we placed the Settlement in the context of the world system, presenting the basic elements of cartography: title, key, scale, and orientation. We continued to talk about official cartography and social cartography and introduced the essential elements to develop the sketches: roads, dwellings, areas of gardens, and water resources. Subsequently, each group was tasked with making a drawing/sketch of the Settlement.

Figure 2 - Expositive class discussed at the Raimundo Facó School, Settlement Antônio Conselheiro, Ceará.



Source: Sousa, 2018.

The scene shown in Figure 2 reveals the class's activity, preceded by a broad study of the local reality. From this initial study, curiosities emerged about the students' relationship with the social space of the Settlement. In this context, we took the next step: choosing strategies to develop related content and methodological procedures.

The second stage can be described as the expectations phase. At this point, the researchers looked for ways to overcome the weaknesses identified, absorb information, and develop the skills required to address the issues posed. "Here, *the speech of the organizer predominates*" (Pernambuco, 1993, p. 34, emphasis added). It is noteworthy that this stage was

guided by the discourse of the peasants, which was an attempt to provide the leaps that could not be made without the scientific knowledge systematized in books and the organizers' qualifications. Therefore, this was to time to organize the available knowledge while respecting the contribution of the knowledge of the students and teachers being trained.

The medium selected in this organization process was the production of sketches. Groups of students (an average class size of 35 adults) were provided with didactic materials: cardboard, A4 paper, colored pencils, and colored pens. The participants were challenged to apply knowledge of their reality by creating sketches of the Settlement (Figure 3).

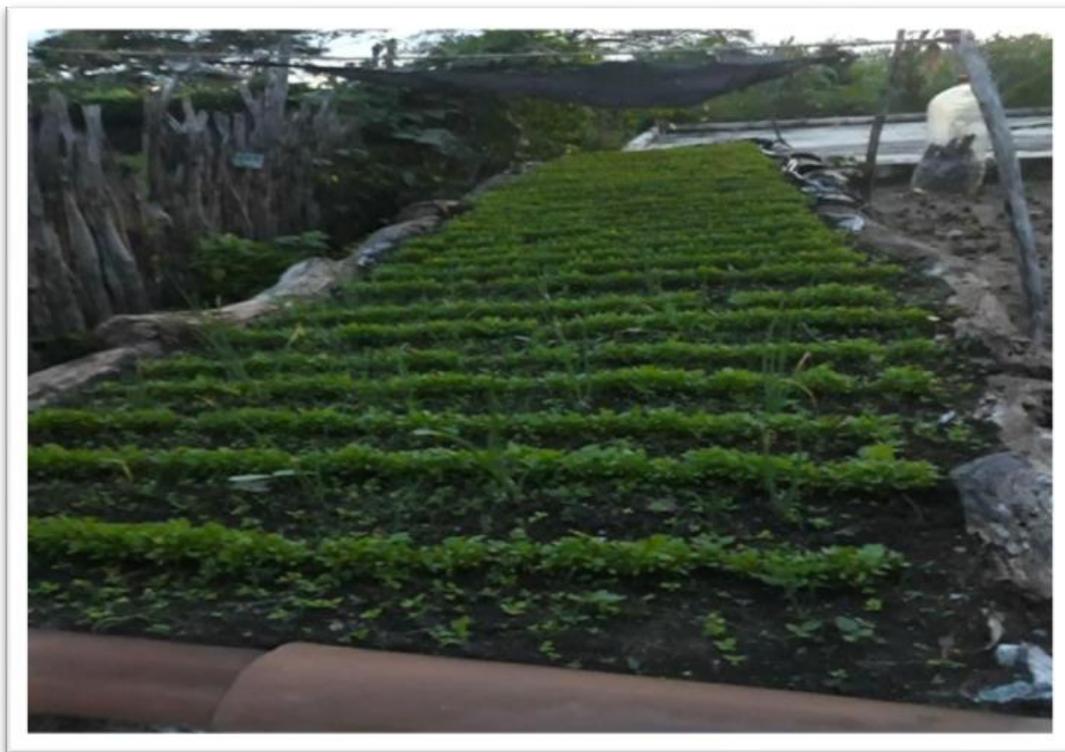
Figure 3 - Production of the Collective Map at the Raimundo Facó School, Antônio Conselheiro Settlement, Ceará.



Source: Sousa, 2018.

On that occasion, we had the unconditional support of the Geography

teacher, who made our stay at the Settlement possible and encouraged the



Source: Gonçalves (2018).

In Figure 4, the productive backyard filled with vegetables is the home of a settler who highlighted the importance of backyards in providing fresh and healthy food, which helped his family's development and livelihood.

According to Batista (2014), the productive backyards in the *sertão* of Ceará form "a system of polycultures, preferably grown close to the residence, often being an extension of the house" (p. 56). These backyards have become

increasingly important in the struggle for food sovereignty. In the settlement in question, the option of healthy eating also involves the school through the didactic garden described by Oliveira & Sampaio (2017).

Another fascinating representation can be seen in Sketch 2.

Sketch 2 - Spatialization of the Antônio Conselheiro Settlement. Ocara and Aracoiaba-CE.

conflicts involving the INCRA's participation.

In the current conflict between the state government and the peasants, the solution outlined with INCRA was to replace the masonry stalls with canvas stalls that could be dismantled. During this

process, the canvas stalls were erected, but the masonry stalls were not demolished (Figure 5). Many peasants claimed the new stalls were unhealthy due to the heat trapped by the plastic sheeting.

Figure 5 - Commerce on BR-122 in the Umari Community, in the Antônio Conselheiro Settlement. Aracoiaba-CE.



Source: Sousa (2018).

Figure 5 shows the community's traditional masonry stalls on the left and on the right, the canvas stall designed in the INCRA project resulting from the conflict mentioned above between the government (via DNIT) and the peasants. From the viewpoint of many peasants, the solution was to aggregate the stalls. Thus, the "new stalls" represent an achievement by yet another Settlement project to preserve the sale of agricultural and artisanal products to contribute to the community's income.

The peasant option forged in the conflict was instrumental in revealing the dynamics and diversity of agricultural and artisanal production in the Agrarian Reform Settlement in Ceará. According to peasant D. "who isn't in the fields, comes to sell the products on the BR highway". The stalls pictured in Figure 6 sell the following goods: fruit (mango, soursop, cashew nut, jackfruit, Barbados cherry, and sugar apple); seasonings (chili peppers, *manteiga da terra*^{ix}, and cream); honey

(jandaíra and Italian bees); industrialized products (snacks and candies).

Figure 6 - Products sold on BR-122. Umari Community. Antônio Conselheiro Settlement, Aracoiaba-CE.



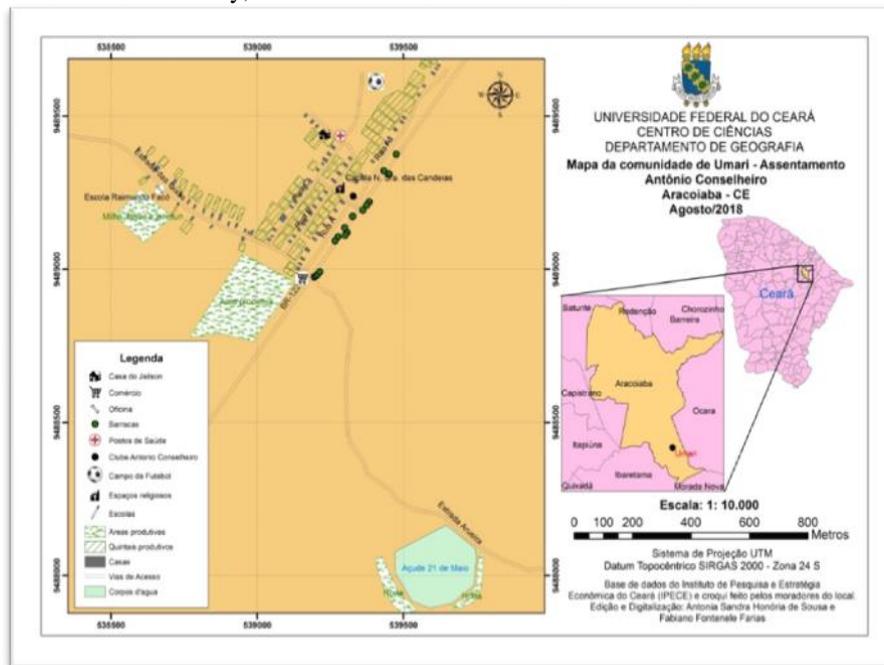
Source: Gonçalves (2018).

The result of the production and socialization of the sketches, with feedback and adjustments to create the collective map, was energized by the exchange of knowledge between the peasant students and the field researchers. The production of a "peasant cartography" (Batista, 2014) was mobilized in the world of land reform. As a result, the peasants, organized in the school environment, went beyond mapping the conflicts to reveal the potential in the Settlement. In this context, the peasant E.

stressed: "It is easier for people to see that we're working, that in addition to the swiddens, we have other projects in the communities that strengthen the peasant struggle."

In the third stage, the didactic sequence with the settlers, we opted to digitize the collective map and, in possession of the printed document (Map 2), disseminate it in the community.

Map 2 - Umari Community, in the Antônio Conselheiro Settlement. Ocara and Aracoiaba-CE.



Source: Farias (2018).

The collective map was handed over to the EJA teacher at Escola Raimundo

Facó, who promised to share it with the students (Figure 7).

Figure 7 - Delivery of the Collective Map. Umari Community, in the Antônio Conselheiro Settlement. Aracoiaba-CE.



Source: Gonçalves (2018).

The use of social cartography was very pertinent for the Settlement, as the mapping was carried out when the leaders were looking for ways to introduce a survey on local activities to the community and reorganize new spaces for production, marketing, and leisure. According to peasant F.,

This has been the time for decisions about cultivation areas, changes in the stalls' materials, and the restructuring of floodplain areas. With the map, the division of communities and the location of the houses, productive yards, schools, and other facilities are materialized, hence the importance of this simple cartography (Camponesa F. Antônio Conselheiro Settlement, 2018).

She continues

The good thing about the map was the richness of the details. The division that you made into agro-villages was also very cool, as the settlers can see the dimensions of parts of the settlement. Because the Settlement consists of four agro-villages, it is very spatialized, and this often means the settlers themselves do not have a dimension of their agro-village; this division is clearer with the maps (Peasant F. Antônio Conselheiro Settlement, 2018).

According to Batista (2014), "the maps also contain the desire for autonomy, freedom, people's control over their desires and the meeting of their needs" (p. 66). The collective production of the representations rekindled the ideas of unity

and collaborative organization, which are fundamental in overcoming the challenges experienced in the Settlement, involving the need to reveal the community's autonomy in its decisions and life and work choices.

The sketches created by the settlers revealed the meaning given to some of their social practices, memorably: 1) the use of agroecology in the productive yards to overcome the dependence on capitalist logic that favors the sale of products using pesticide in supermarkets. Peasant logic involves providing poison-free food for family consumption and society as a whole; 2) the search for autonomy in the commercialization and self-management of the conquered land is an option to remain a peasant; 3) the need to reveal the Antônio Conselheiro Settlement as a productive and consolidated social space with a diversity of social, economic and political practices.

Collective maps are instruments full of subjective and objective feelings, fundamental to recognizing values and interests regarding the territory. Therefore, they act as instruments of the struggle for autonomous management, emancipation, and agrarian reform. Thus, we are reminded of the need to consider the settlement as more than an area of expropriated land in compliance with the legal provisions of agrarian reform

destined to agricultural and / or extractive production. It is also a heterogeneous space composed of peasant families, who organize themselves and struggle for a rural development project that includes land, work, education, and dignity, among other rights, in favor of rural peoples.

Final considerations

Rural settlements are "fractions of the [capitalist] territory" (Fernandes, 1996, p. 17) conquered in the struggle for agrarian reform in Brazil. Initially, this land is a condition for the recreation of family work and life in the countryside. Therefore, it is evident that the struggle to move into the land is only the beginning; the conquest of the settlement happens every day with creativity, dialogue, and work. The struggle for productive projects, education, the recognition of autonomy in the territory's management occurs daily, and public bodies often doubt their competency.

The experience with the methodological procedure of social cartography with students from the EJA do Campo of the Francisco Facó school, located in the community of Umari, was a challenge born in the dialogue with the settlers, but which was fed by other experiences described in the academic literature. The dialogue at the school

between everyday knowledge and scientific knowledge brought us closer to social subjects concerned with and committed to the struggle to restore peasants through land reform.

Far from being incoherent line drawings, the sketches developed by the peasant students reveal a productive settlement. These illustrations of reality used objective and subjective symbols to link practices in the fields and productive yards and alternative paths in commercializing products, together with other food sovereignty and quality education projects. All of these are fundamental in revealing the peasant's autonomy in the management of the conquered settlement.

During the production of the social map, the peasants welcomed us with sociability, collectivity, and organicity, revealing a clear intention both to map conflicts and uncover opportunities in the Settlement. As a result, the map showed the territorialization of the struggle for work, rights, justice, education, food sovereignty, and grassroots land reform.

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ⁱⁱ Artigo resultado do aprofundamento de resumo completo intitulado, “**Cartografia social no Assentamento Antônio Conselheiro/Ceará**” publicado no **14º ENPEG** <https://ocs.ige.unicamp.br/ojs/anais14enpeg/index>, no ano de 2019.

ⁱⁱⁱ Artículo resultante de la profundización del resumen completo titulado “**Cartografia social no Assentamento Antônio Conselheiro/Ceará**”, publicado en lo **14º ENPEG** <https://ocs.ige.unicamp.br/ojs/anais14enpeg/index>, en el año 2019.

^{iv}A tenant farmers does not own any land but has permission from the owner to live on and farm the land. In many cases the payment for this permission involves the exchange of days of service for their dwelling.

^vThe MST is a “socio-territorial movement that brings together different categories of peasants (squatters, sharecroppers, salaried workers called landless people) and also several social activists to develop the struggles for land and Agrarian Reform” (Fernandes, 2012, p. 496).

^{vi}The camp “is a space of struggle and resistance. It is the materialization of a collective action that makes public the intention to claim the right to land for production and housing ” (Fernandes, 2012, p. 21).

^{vii}Document signed by a judge authorizing “police or private actions of forced removal of communities or families from farms ... occupied by social movements when these properties do not fulfill their social function” (Escrivão Filho, 2012, p. 210).

^{viii}Youth and Adult Education (EJA) in the countryside is a specific modality of basic education, “aimed at subjects in the countryside and in city who have been denied the right to access and remain in basic school education throughout their lives” (Araújo, 2012, p. 250).

^{ix}*Manteiga da terra* is a type of butter that stays liquid at room temperature. Generally sold in glass bottles, it is consumed with maize couscous or cooked cassava.

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