


Military ideology and culture of violence in school communities in the Amazon context

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ABSTRACT

This article presents a vision of the current project in the educational field called the Civic-Military Schools Program (PECIM) in the Legal Amazon (AL), taking as a reference the State's actions investing in shared management with the armed and auxiliary forces to serve schools classified as areas of social vulnerability. PECIM was implemented in 2020 and reached a significant number of school institutions on the national scene that decided to adopt the model. By the end of 2022, 49 schools were recorded in AL. The pedagogical conception that favors militarized indoctrination in areas considered to be socially vulnerable is an educational proposal from the national State that exposes political-ideological interests in the region. Document analysis was the proposal used to extract information from the legal documents that guide PECIM within a qualitative methodological approach to reference the historical milestones that contextualize the role of the National State in a critical-reflexive perspective on combating violence in school communities and the rise of the military narrative as a political educational project from a hegemonic perspective. The region, which lives with environmental crimes and the rise of organized crime, sees military participation expand its functions, establishing a power project with education as its pillar.

Keywords: Public Policy in Education, Amazon, School Community, Civic-Military Schools, Militarization of schools.

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INTRODUCTION

This article is interested in addressing the general aspects of the allocation of military and auxiliary forces to combat violence and crime; the political use of the conception of public security as a project of power, and the implications in the Amazonian context. The discussion produces an excerpt of the federal government's policy, in the mandate (2019-2022), to adopt the civic-military schools program (PECIM), as well as encompasses reflections on the protagonism of the police discourse of punishment in the process of militarization of schools and its relations with the educational political conjuncture (SANTOS, 2020).

The theoretical-methodological contributions are based on historical-dialectical materialism, based on the concepts of the use of the militarization of education as an ideological apparatus of the state (ALTHUSSER, 1985) and the role of PECIM as a hegemonic cultural construct of neoconservatism in Brazil (GRAMSCI, 1988, 2000). The arrangement of ideological discourse to justify the militarization of schools to confront chronic social problems within the scope of public schools is an attempt to associate neoconservative ideology with the willingness to correct challenging educational issues in a reality of unequal educational quality and scrapped in the midst of neoliberalism.

The propositions of the military doctrinal model to convince society of its authoritarian project of the State aim at a consensus that militarized social control has a supposed efficiency for the existing historical conditions, expressing a constitutive process of hypermilitarization (CAMARGO; BORDIN; DE MORAES, 2018). The analysis of the conduct of the project of militarization of schools, which was organized before Bolsonaroism took over the national government, indicates an instrumentalization of Brazilian neoconservatism directing a new dominant social class through education and reactionary political agendas.

The civic-military school, being a project for Basic Education in public schools, must be problematized with the references of achieving full democratic citizenship. The access of the working class to the militarized public school requires a critical and reflective look at the project. These processes, which involve a greater or lesser adherence and permeability in the collective construction of an emancipatory nature, gain new contours in the face of the institutional legitimacy of hierarchical military indoctrination and subordination of the popular classes (SANTOS, 2021). For Fraser (2018), it is necessary to deepen the neoconservative project in the midst of neoliberalism, contrasting with progressive neoliberal orientations and, if fed by the crises of capitalism.

The permissiveness of the population in the face of the educational project of political and social co-optation at the national level relies on the demobilization of the popular sectors and the lack of criticality of the working class. The inclusion of discriminated social groups in political agendas is a challenge to understand the specificities and risks of each collective (ARROYO, 2015).



According to Gonzaga and Cavalcanti (2020), the Legal Amazon (AL) region is witnessing a phase called demographic bonus that provides an age considered active in conditions to qualify professionally and academically. In scenarios in which education in the Amazonian context has as references: educational access in Basic and Higher Education, dropout and dropout rate, and Professional Education, the region's results are worse than the national average (CRUZ and PORTELLA, 2021). The political-ideological motivation of the program conceals the chronic-structural problems and the educational model in the LA region.

This study endorses the position of the National Research Network on the Militarization of Education, namely, to qualify PECIM as a military school, regardless of whether the program uses the rhetoric that distinguishes the civil-military project from other experiences of militarization of schools underway in the country. In the neoliberal context, the scrapping of education has produced a fertile field for a conformism of the worker of a deteriorated state and of few motivations of the political class to satisfy their social rights. The problematization of this study is based on the analysis of how educational challenges are adhering to the responses of the militarization of schools as a set of actions aimed at solving complex issues of daily school life in the Amazon. The research has a scholarship from the Amazonas Research Support Foundation (FAPEAM) and the support of the Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (CAPES).

CIVIC-MILITARY SCHOOLS IN THE AMAZONIAN CONTEXT

Decree No. 10,004, of September 5, 2019 (BRASIL, 2019) established the National Program of Civic-Military Schools (PECIM). Its creation is justified to offer quality for Elementary and Secondary Education. The management model entitled as excellence comprises the educational, didactic-pedagogical and administrative spheres. It is noteworthy that the officers and enlisted men of the military police and military fire brigades are qualified to work for the three areas of management in schools.

In the first year of PECIM's implementation, in 2020, the North region achieved the highest number of partnerships between the Ministry of Defense and the state secretariats in the national territory, totaling 35 schools. In addition to municipal schools, there are 39 civil-military schools in the North, and 49 schools under the aegis of PECIM in the Legal Amazon region.



Table - 1 Number of state and municipal departments that signed the Technical Cooperation Agreement (ACT) for the implementation of PECIM in the Legal Amazon

STATES (AL)	PECIM SCHOOLS
Acre	5
Amapá	4
Amazonas	7
Maranhão	3
Mato Grosso	7
Pará	9
Rondônia	4
Roraima	1
Tocantins	9
TOTAL	49

Source: prepared by the author (2022)

In the scenario of militarization of schools in the Amazonian context, data point to a significant incursion of PECIM in the region. The area of the Legal Amazon comprises the largest number of ACT's signed with the governments of the states of LA, and, added to the municipalities of the Amazonian municipalities, a percentage of 25% of the schools implemented in Brazil was totaled.

It is important to analyze the project of militarization of schools in the Amazon within its historical context, its execution as a national policy, its ideological links and power relations in the Amazonian context. A document entitled Nation Project: Brazil in 2035, released a neoconservative strategic plan for society with clear visions that substantiate Bolsonaro's authoritarian vision for the formulation of policies in several areas. The material shows the military intention to be present in the Amazon region.

The Amazon has always demanded from Brazil — and now more than ever — the capacity of our Armed Forces for extra-regional military deterrence and power projection. With the maturation of society and with greater participation of Conservatives and Liberals, it is possible to affirm that, in recent years, significant social segments have begun to identify the potential and real threats to the country and, particularly, to the North Region. As a result, the Legislative and Executive Branches allocated resources to strategic National Defense projects, despite international pressures against our military and scientific-technological strengthening. (SAGRES, 2022, p.22).

The influence on public opinion of defenders of the militarization of schools deserves attention in view of their motivations as a project of power and the performance of their claimants and their functions in society articulated with the interests of conservatives and liberals in the North region. Among the responsibilities of the armed forces, the defense of national sovereignty and territory brings together the conditions for the execution of prompt employment regarding the objective mobilization of their actions, which obey a vertical and centralized command, respecting, hierarchically, the decision-making structure of their scale of power. In view of its specific training, the mirrored model of the administration of war issues for the management of a school imprints a



militarized educational conception that is inhabited in attending to issues in the social sphere in a context of escalating violence in the region.

In the Amazonian context, the complexities related to the media expression of the war on drugs and other types of violence that plague the region stem from several factors. This relationship between miners, land grabbers, illegal fishing, mining and loggers with natural resources perpetuates a predatory logic with economic interests orchestrated by criminal organizations. The fragility of border policies and the flows of drug trafficking that establish connections with the Amazon highlight a range of crimes that generate instability in national security policies.

The presented matrix goes beyond the concept of "environmental crime" to encompass a wide range of organized human activities that are changing the landscape, societies, and climate of the Amazon Basin. Some of these activities occur primarily in rural areas, while others are more common in urban or peri-urban areas. The participants involved can range from isolated individual actors to highly organized legal and illegal organizations at different geographic scales (ABDENUR et al. 2020, p.130).

Social relations in vulnerable communities coexist with distortions of police practices in the face of violence, coercion and behaviors that strain territories with present criminality. The police conduct aimed at arresting the marginal in the logic of getting caught in the act, approaching drug users, fighting petty crimes, robberies and other transgressions corresponds to a military *modus operandi* that moves the interests of the State towards alternatives that have been extended to the school communities. For Anunciação et al. (2022), this specific view is not consistent with practices of care for school violence that articulate integrated policies with multiprofessional contributions that reflect on humanizing actions.

Military lethality tarnishes the image of police employment in areas of social vulnerability, but it is accepted by a portion of a social stratum as a way to guarantee a feeling of security and to fight a war. The constitutional competence that refers to ostensible policing and the use of integrated intelligence and articulated with other public policies does not gain the priority it deserves from the perspective of hypermilitarization of society (BORDIN, 2020). Because these actions are frequent in favelas, peripheries and regions with a population in poverty, the daily life of the communities carries hostile impressions associated with police actions and their violent approaches, especially with the racial profile and the age classification that makes up the youth.

Among the principles of PECIM, institutions should preferably be adopted in areas considered to be of social vulnerability, have an appropriate school environment for the improvement of the teaching and learning process and a management model concerning the military colleges of the army, military police and fire department. According to the objectives of PECIM, the program's investment to combat problems in areas of social vulnerability stands out. In the cultural imaginary of society, this model fosters a discourse that excels in the hardline to solve social problems that not



only plague a school institution, but its communities. Thus, issues related to social vulnerability will be pointed out by the program, in addition to the pedagogical concern, as a military issue, translated into the general line of PECIM regarding its main objectives of service, such as:

I. Students in situations of social vulnerability, where there are usually high rates of violence, influence of drug trafficking, prostitution, low rates of urban sanitation and precarious living conditions. II. Schools with IDEB lower than the municipal, state or national average. (BRAZIL, 2022, p.17)

The categorization of the target audience and the territorial identification that concerns the classification of socially vulnerable, from the military perspective, expose a stereotype of criminalization of poverty. The selection of the educational program of PECIM collaborates with the structural thinking of racism and with the institutionalization of the archetype of stigmatization of the transgressor in view of his social class and age classification.

It is important to understand the violent scenario in the Amazon region that can provoke a deep reflection on the subject. The data extracted by the Brazilian Public Security Yearbook-2022 indicate that there was an increase in the rate of intentional violent deaths in the North region, contrasting with the decrease in the other regions. In the North, there was an increase of 7.9%, while a decrease was recorded in the South (-7.4%); Southeast, (-7.9%); Midwest, (-13.5%); Northeast (-7.9%). When the typology contemplates the Rural-Urban issue, the cut of the Legal Amazon region reached, in the rural area, the index of 25.0 per group of 100 thousand inhabitants and the average of Brazil reached 21.8 per group of 100 thousand. In the classification of territorial planning of intermediate municipalities, the Legal Amazon obtained 33.8 per group of 100 thousand people and the Brazilian average achieved 27.1 per 100 thousand people. In the urban area, there were 30.9 per 100,000 people in the Legal Amazon, compared to 22.0 per 100,000 people in Brazil.

Issues related to environmental crimes such as land grabbing, illegal mining and deforestation present a problem on a local, regional, national and international scale. Another important situation is drug trafficking and its power relations with regard to public security. Organized criminal factions and groups arrived in the Amazonian context, as the study points out:

It is in this context that the organized crime factions that operate in Brazil have come to see the Amazon as a strategic region for the geopolitics of drug trafficking, which is constituted by this cross-border relationship that involves multiple agents, each with its own specific function in the criminal universe. Factions from the southeastern region of Brazil, such as the Red Command, which originated in Rio de Janeiro, and the First Capital Command (PCC), which came from São Paulo, then became interested in operating in border areas, as well as in cities considered important for the flow of drugs. (FBSP, 2022, p.8)

Faced with the complexities of the Amazon issue and the military responsibilities of the armed forces to defend national sovereignty and issues of internal security and the auxiliary forces in guaranteeing the ostensible police and guaranteeing public order, these strategic demands should



belong to the hall of priorities of the responsibilities that are given. The mobilization of military personnel to devise an educational policy provides a legal, legal, and functional misunderstanding of their actions to point out solutions to the serious problems of national security in the current situation of the Amazon.

POLICE IDEOLOGY IN THE FIGHT AGAINST SCHOOL VIOLENCE

When we analyze paragraph 6 of item IV of Article 144 of the Constitution (BRASIL, 1988) where the police are militarily organized, being an auxiliary and reserve force of the Army, the orders and organizational formats similar to the armed forces will be characterized. Thus, some aspects related to the military model of severe punishments, inflexible hierarchization and centralized decision-making processes underlie the theoretical frameworks and modus operandi of the country's auxiliary forces. By transposing this format to managerial and curricular practices in the school space, the application of this functionality present in the barracks allocated to educational processes requires an inquiry into how these issues influence school work and its acceptance or not in society as a binding form of militarized discourse of quality management.

In the research entitled "Opinion of Brazilian Police Officers on Reforms and Modernization of Public Security" (FBSP, 2016). Several positions of police officers on the forms of organization of the police corporations present in the country were collected. In the questions produced that cover issues of hierarchy and discipline in the police, two stand out regarding their results, 77.2% of police officers disagree that the military police and military fire brigades should be subordinated to the Army, as auxiliary forces, and organize themselves like it, and 58.3% agree that hierarchy in the police and other security forces causes disrespect and professional injustices. From these data, the premises that the hierarchical organization and discipline in the police are questioned by the members of the corporations themselves are corroborated. Thus, what philosophical motivators accredit the hierarchical and disciplinary model to be a militarized pedagogical conception accepted as successful or promising?

This draconian model³ of vertical hierarchization, subordination and disciplinary subservience will be defended by the State as an ideological possibility to change a school reality in the context of Brazilian public education. In other words, it would be appropriate to understand the political use of the police for the militarization of Brazilian public schools.

The legal provisions and official curricular proposals that advocate the project of civic-military schools at the national level condition a militarized organization that will influence decision-making in the aspects related to the school community and its degree of participation. The documents

³ Dracon was a lawgiver of Athens, Greece, in the 7th century BCE, and was commonly characterized by his codes of law of high severity and severity in his penalties.



that guide the program indicate a model of democratic management on the condition that it is shared with the armed forces and auxiliaries. Democratic precepts become fluid when a project of military aspiration seeks to defend imperatives, for example, in the field of human rights.

In fact, justifications for human rights education appear strongly in all of these scenarios, whether we adopt a fixed or malleable conception of human rights, or a conception of banking education or knowledge construction. From a top-down human rights perspective, people need to be informed and adopt the relevant values; From a bottom-up perspective, people need to be empowered to participate – both perspectives involve education (albeit in different ways). (McCOWAN, 2015, p.35).

The debate on the pedagogical conception in the Amazonian context also needs to be pointed out that the collective organizations of the teacher. The singularities of the teacher cannot be neglected in their authorship in the production of the classroom and in the systematized scope of the regional curriculum. The possibilities of non-compliance or disagreement with an ideological and curricular project within a school may be more permissive to originality and resistance within a democratic school.

The educational experiences of each school and the autonomy to be sought in teaching will be delimited as orders already established in militarized philosophy in issues, for example, of representations and acceptances of minorities. What possibilities could be made feasible in a militarized school for a black student to manifest in the growth of his hair a way of expressing his blackness? What would be the conditions for a transgender student to be able to wear the uniform of the gender they identify with? For Silva Neto and Carvalho (2022), disciplinary transgressions in everyday school life have expressions and receptions that are different from the imaginary expected by male and female students.

These questions do not polarize schools with different pedagogical conceptions, avoiding conflicts of positions in the questions presented. Therefore, it would not be reasonable to disregard the conjuncture of society and the political-social pressures to modulate the behaviors and curricular dictates of any school. However, the opportunities to change, adapt or resist ideological antagonisms within a verticalized hierarchical and disciplinary structure are unfeasible in anti-democratic processes in the organization of the school.

The intersection of an educational project with mass education aims to standardize a structure of ideas and actions that systematize school production. This organization, which permeates the administrative, legal and even curricular practices, designs arrangements that not only achieve pragmatism in providing solutions to educational demands. Publicizing a successful project in the field of education establishes ideological links that promote the State model. The policy of military schools in the light of the military civic project propagandizes its results within a neoliberal perspective of evaluation and instills the ordering of marginalized populations through police



ideology, according to data from the CGGE (2021) on the incidence of drug trafficking in the vicinity of schools and the transport of bladed weapons and firearms in the school environment.

The recruitment of police officers in the organization of the school does not only enable its task of ensuring overt policing or police presence in areas of unleashed violence; The role played in the school community will regulate behavior, culture and social relations in the organization of workers, students and families mediated by the fear of police repression characteristic in areas of social vulnerability.

The legitimization of the police ideology in the school institution promotes the belief in the militarization of the police as a projection of power extended from the interiors of the barracks. The concept of demilitarization of the police force is weakened when the state's political use of the police validates militarization and its supposed organizational effectiveness. The authors Santos and Alves (2022) point out that the militarization process was established with electoral ambitions to meet the demands of conservative segments and an affirmation of the policy of repression and social control.

In order to understand the project of militarization in education, it is necessary to understand which political-social claims are able to reproduce a narrative of educational quality concerning their philosophical conceptions in the school context. In this case, the militarized conception organized in barracks, the use of uniforms, the hierarchical discipline reflected in continence and subordinations, and the other specificities belonging to the molds of the military forces will characterize the functions of the Brazilian police, leading to a pedagogical philosophy and conception.

The intentionality of the educational policy to solve conflicts resulting from social problems or the adequacy of cultural aspects in a confluence of what is planned with the real production of culture and knowledge carried out by the school institution are subject to reflection. Public policies in education articulated with social policies, in the areas of health, basic sanitation, employability, income, among other actions, are essential to create a collaborative network in search of serving people in high social vulnerability (DUARTE, 2004). The search for the model of militarization of the school to standardize its concepts of educational quality contributes to the promotion of a distorted process of effective public policies.

From the responsibility of the police management to expedite actions in the school context that produce in the cultural imaginary a set of competencies that cannot be attributed exclusively to the school, an obsession with results that boast of the defended educational model can be enhanced. When considering the processes of knowledge construction, the valorization of erudite and formal knowledge that refers to education transits in multiple experiences that are expressed in the popular field. The daily life of the school called the hidden curriculum (SACRISTÁN, 1998) is an expressive field to capture what the institutional and official discourse do not delimit and/or do not want to expose.



Within a history of police corporations and disrespect for human rights in slum and peripheral areas, this historical-cultural multiplicity and the references to the role of the police in the favelas are complex and conflicting both for the school community and for the military police. The distancing from ostensible and communal work, strengthening ties of citizenship to play the role of direct confrontation in settling violence and the fight against drug trafficking, has generated harmful arbitrariness in the relationship between society and the police institution. For Souza and Serra (2020), the defense of a repressive method in favelas and peripheries dominated by drug trafficking and paramilitary forces established a coexistence of violence as a real scenario in daily social life, producing a state of exception.

To understand the heterogeneity of the school space in the educational processes is to give visibility to the practices of the school routine and social dynamics. The idea of homogenizing the school curriculum and standardizing the meritocracy project will be determined by the political use of police ideology as a vertical and inflexible project to the opposition of ideas. In the social fabric of the school, it is the experiences of denial, concession and affirmation that condition a self-criticism of the current educational project. Democratic assumptions cannot be imagined as dialogues that are always harmonious and convenient to what is proposed. The conflict of ideas is in the daily school life concerning the student's life, the claims of the families, the concerns in the teachers' room, the authorial and directive processes in the pedagogical sphere and the other articulations of the social actors involved in the school project complexity within the plurality of the school community.

The desire to transform the harsh Brazilian educational reality imposes challenges in the formulation of policies for society. Each process devised by the public administration shares inducements in the application of the state budget and in the desire to contemplate the demands of sectors of society. It is appropriate to interpret the process of militarization of Brazilian public schools as an endogenous movement, since it began in Brazilian municipalities and states before the implementation of PECIM by the federal government. The capture of political and social demands at the local level and the guidelines of the schools organized by the police produced experiences in the country that solidified this educational project at the national level.

NEOLIBERAL REFORMS IN THE LIGHT OF A NEOCONSERVATIVE EDUCATIONAL PROJECT

Education policies will be carried out within the scales of power that are incumbent on each actor involved, theoretical foundations, projects that aim at propositions of different durations and practices guided by the demands in question. In this relationship between the State and education, neoliberal guidelines have provided an adequacy of educational policies, resulting in agendas defended by groups financed by the market and big capital. The U.S. framework points to the



emergence of a neoconservative movement in the period after World War II. For Apple (2000), neoconservatives are those who make a movement to exalt the values of the past and defend cultural traditions. The author indicates an alignment of neoconservatives with neoliberal groups, authoritarian populists, and a new professional middle class constituting a New Right in the US.

Thus, the management of educational policies will be institutionally advised, through NGOs and private educational organizations, being influenced by the beliefs of big capital for the professionalism of public policies. The perspective of managerialist ideals gained hegemonic contours based on neoliberal beliefs. According to Burgo and Bellato (2019), the critique of managerialism left a void of alternatives to management and public administration. From this perspective, militarized management has co-opted the discourse of managerialism with philosophical values that dialogue with neoconservative thought.

In the understanding of the organization of an educational system, such as the Brazilian one, the structural problems of educational governance carry challenges of various natures in the implementation of policies with ideological diversities, added to the complexity of the educational system being federative and collaborative between states and municipalities. The category of Gramscian ideology dimensioned to the subaltern classes is admitted. The dominant nature of ideological manifestation dialogues with a social organization and forges identities by establishing forms of consensus that revolve around hegemonic interests (SIMIONATTO, 2009).

In the context of globalization, the demands that prevail in education as global and contemporary demands, generating a false sense of symmetry in the challenges of regions and countries with different economic conditions, call on educational policies to organize themselves and carry out efficient actions, disregarding the singularities of the Amazon. In the hegemonic sphere, for example, it is noticeable that pedagogical projects will aim at curricular practices that reach competencies and skills that meet the demands of a global education. The author Almeida (2020) highlights a set of macro efforts for teacher training, restructuring of the evaluation system, and articulation with entities guided by the managerialist logic in the design of policies for the area.

In this conjuncture in which globalization and education have a strong confluence, the complexity of the discussion about the ideologies that lead the debates in question in Brazil is drawn in their behaviors and practices in their formulation. Thus, the project of militarization of schools competes with the attempt to present solutions to educational demands.

It is important to emphasize that the crisis implanted by the need for capitalist accumulation and the growing popular demand for education were dismembered into conflicting, divergent and even antagonistic actions and proposals that placed the public school at the center of the disputes for a project of socialization of knowledge for all (RODRIGUES, 2007, p.150).



The combination of the neoliberal and civic-military project is similar in the form of instrumentalization of its theories and practices when it is established in public schools at the national level. The school's infrastructure and human resources will be made available for managerial experiments credited to the military orientation legitimized by the state. Thus, military ideology strives to call itself qualified to present solutions to educational issues, keeping its interests and contradictions. The environment of competition between educational projects creates an atmosphere of attacks with the aim of asserting the hegemony and legitimacy of the neoliberal philosophies themselves.

The economic factor will also influence which governments will be convenient for adhering to their agendas and interests. The adequacy of capitalism to accommodate its interests is modifiable and includes the opportunities for gains and maintenance of its beliefs. The intentionality of the projects and the narratives present in education aim at a national project as a reference of power. Giving visibility to the results ensures an air of effectiveness in the context of globalization.

This issue requires a critical commitment to confront policies that ignore Amazonian experiences and realities. It is essential to demand democratic schools that consider social agendas in a region with a historical process marked by oppression and struggles against the present social inequalities. According to Carvalho and Estevão (2013), critical hermeneutics encompasses the various forms of oppression and struggle for a more just society. The demand for quality Basic Education gains strength through the banners of struggle nicknamed in defense of social justice and equal rights.

FINAL THOUGHTS

The Amazonian context demands alternative actions that can reconcile a policy of local and regional scale, with national dimension and haughtiness, and that positions itself in the international discourse of forest conservation to expand the eco-sustainable agenda of the Amazon as a priority on the public agenda. Education as a public policy needs to mediate a strategic agenda that provides a quality educational model that points to an ecological transition of its actions and serves the Amazonian peoples in the face of their singularities.

In this sense, the Civic-Military Schools Program (PECIM) forwards philosophical propositions and military curricula that do not contemplate the cultural identities and regional diversity of the Amazonian peoples as a participant in a plural pedagogical proposal with social impact. In the imagination of the target audience of students in social vulnerability, the involvement of the school community with social inclusion projects from the perspective of qualification and generation of sustainable opportunities is replaced by a public security project that intervenes in social problems through disciplinary concepts and the moralistic orbit, crediting neoconservative



civism as a project of social modulation. The coercive idea in the cultural process of the Amazon and the criminalization of poverty in the context of violence, are confronted with a vision of equitable social transformation in a democratic relationship between the State and education, reproducing the mistakes in the historical process of the Amazon.

The military ideological alignment of the federal government, under the command of President Jair Bolsonaro, protagonist of the Brazilian far right, disregards, in its discourse, a balance of ethnic groups, indigenous peoples and local populations, projecting a narrative to combat the environmentalist discourse, considered by the Bolsonarist movement as a provider of obstacles to the economic growth of the Amazon. The loosening of environmental legislation, the increase in deforestation, the encouragement of exploitative practices such as mining and land grabbing, among other inappropriate placements for eco-sustainable policies have weakened the international image of the conservation of the Amazon rainforest and weakened relations with important political actors in the region who defend the environmentalist agenda.

The disarticulation of the regional production chain with an educational project for the Amazonian context disfavors the identification of local potentialities that achieve social justice for the local population. Respect for biodiversity, investments in biotechnology and economic diversification need to be guided by a State project that articulates an educational policy from a counter-hegemonic perspective. The production of sustainable agricultural crops and respect for the environment permeate a curricular proposal that understands this relationship between the subject of nature and as an imperative of the Amazonian peoples. The diversity of the ecosystems of the Amazon is of vital importance to understand the appropriate education projects for each reality, fostering eco-training (PINHO and PASSOS, 2018).

The national project to change the management model and the pedagogical conception of schools that have adopted the PECIM do not meet the expansion of the supply of plural schools and access to enrollment in Basic Education, manifested in LA due to the fact that they are carried out in existing school institutions. The prioritization of an educational project that points to an investment in professional and technological education, optimizing a demographic bonus in the region, is imperceptible in the intention of the national State for education in the region. The initiative would be more viable for the public identified as socially vulnerable, generating opportunities for young people and adults in each sector produced in the Amazon. The investment in science and technological innovation of the local potentialities linked to universities and production centers can culminate in greater access, permanence and expansion to Higher Education of students coming from Basic Education. Thus, the hegemonic approach of giving visibility to the policy of militarized conception of schools to confront social inequalities is simplistic, reductionist and does not signal an efficient alternative to the educational challenges in the Amazonian context.



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