

MILITARIZATION OF PUBLIC EDUCATION IN BRAZIL IN 2019: ANALYSIS OF THE NATIONAL SCENARIO

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Abstract

As a cross-section of a master's research project, this article presents and analyzes the militarization processes of Brazilian public schools until December 2019. To this end, it presents a mapping indicating the respective federative units of the schools, their administrative ties (municipal or state), and the military body responsible for guarding the unit after militarization (military police, military firefighter corps, or other militarized arrangement). This is, therefore, a panoramic approach focused on national exposition and analysis of the data. The systematization of the data shows a preponderance of militarized schools in the Northeast, Midwest, and North regions. It is found, therefore, that until 2019 it was a more widespread policy in the poorest localities of the country.

MILITARY EDUCATION • MILITARY SCHOOL • CIVIC EDUCATION • DIFFERENTIATION

MILITARIZAÇÃO DA EDUCAÇÃO PÚBLICA NO BRASIL EM 2019: ANÁLISE DO CENÁRIO NACIONAL

Resumo

Recorte de uma pesquisa de mestrado, este artigo apresenta e analisa os processos de militarização das escolas públicas brasileiras até dezembro de 2019. Para isso, apresenta um mapeamento indicando as respectivas unidades federativas das escolas, suas vinculações administrativas (municipais ou estaduais) e corpo militar responsável pela tutela da unidade após a militarização (polícia militar, corpo de bombeiro militar ou outro arranjo militarizado). Trata-se, portanto, de uma abordagem panorâmica, focada em exposição e análise nacional dos dados. A sistematização dos dados demonstra uma preponderância das escolas militarizadas nas regiões Nordeste, Centro-Oeste e Norte. Constatou-se, portanto, que até 2019 se tratava de uma política mais difundida nas localidades mais pobres do país.

EDUCAÇÃO MILITAR • ESCOLA MILITAR • EDUCAÇÃO CÍVICA • DIFERENCIAÇÃO

MILITARIZACIÓN DE LA EDUCACIÓN PÚBLICA EN BRASIL EN 2019: ANÁLISIS DEL ESCENARIO NACIONAL

Resumen

Recorte de una investigación de maestría, este artículo presenta y analiza los procesos de militarización de las escuelas públicas brasileñas hasta diciembre de 2019. Para ello, presenta un mapeo que indica las respectivas unidades federativas de las escuelas, sus vínculos administrativos (municipales o estatales) y los cuerpos militares responsables de la protección de la unidad después de la militarización (policía militar, cuerpo de bomberos militar u otra entidad militarizada). Se trata, por tanto, de un enfoque panorámico, centrado en la exposición y el análisis nacional de los datos. La sistematización de datos demuestra una preponderancia de escuelas militarizadas en las regiones Noreste, Centro Oeste y Norte. Se observa, por tanto, que hasta 2019 era una política más extendida en las localidades más pobres del país.

EDUCACIÓN MILITAR • ESCUELA MILITAR • EDUCACIÓN CÍVICA • DIFERENCIACIÓN

MILITARISATION DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT PUBLIC AU BRÉSIL EN 2019 : ANALYSE DU SCÉNARIO NATIONAL

Résumé

Cet article extrait d'une recherche de maîtrise présente et analyse les processus de militarisation des écoles publiques brésiliennes jusqu'en décembre 2019. Il dresse une cartographie des écoles au sein de leurs respectives unités fédératives, indiquant leurs liens administratifs (municipaux ou des états) et les organes militaires qui les tutellent depuis leur militarisation (police militaire, pompiers militaires ou autre organisation militarisée). Il s'agit d'une approche panoramique, axée sur une présentation et analyse des données à l'échelle nationale. La systématisation des données révèle une prépondérance des écoles militarisées dans le Nord-Est, le Centre-Ouest et le Nord du pays. On constate aussi que, jusqu'en 2019, cette politique était plus répandue dans les endroits les plus pauvres du pays.

ÉDUCATION MILITAIRE • ÉCOLE MILITAIRE • ÉDUCATION CIVIQUE • DIFFÉRENCIATION

Received on: NOVEMBER 10, 2021 | Approved for publication on: MARCH 23, 2022



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ON MAY 25, 2021, IN THE MIDDLE OF THE UPSURGE OF THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC IN Brazil, a video made by a public agent wearing Rio de Janeiro Military Police uniforms circulated on Brazil's social networks in the courtyard of a school, with students lined up repeating the war cry: "Many want to but cannot! We want and we can! We are who we are, the rest is the rest! Brazil, above all! Below God! This is our motto here at school!". Despite all the controversy caused by the crowding of students in an aggravated phase of the pandemic, an issue that we will not address here, the video reveals a Brazilian phenomenon that has been visibly growing in recent years: the presence of military agents (especially police officers) in the daily life of public schools.

This presence, which has been dividing opinions and gaining support from part of Brazilian society especially since mid-2012, has been denounced by various groups and media: the press, academic research, and publications on the websites of social movements and unions. This process can be characterized as the militarization of public schools, i.e., an increasing "transfer of management" of many civilian public schools of basic education to state military corporations. In general terms, from a national perspective and without going into the countless specific regional configurations, this is a transfer of political-pedagogical management of public schools in full operation, inserted in the organization chart of the Education Departments, financed, and constituted by public funds for education, to the political-bureaucratic jurisdiction of the Military Fire Brigades and, above all, to the Military Police. We classify these situations of transfer or military tutelage of civilian schools as a policy of militarization of public schools.

The data we have collected shows that, until December 2018, this policy was carried out exclusively by state governments and, to a lesser extent, by municipal governments. The state and municipal executive branches who decided to apply it – despite trying to be inspired by school units in other places where such a transfer had already occurred – did so in a decentralized way, through local political articulations. In this article we intend to analyze specifically systematized data on the militarization of public schools by state governments and municipalities. However, considering the prominence given to the theme in recent years, it is important to make some remarks about the recent participation of the federal government in this process.

In January 2019, with the inauguration of President Jair Bolsonaro, the federal government also became an agent of this policy, since in his first week in office, it enacted Decree n. 9. 665 (2019) – creating the Undersecretariat for the Encouragement of Civic-Military Schools (Secim – in the original acronym), linked to the Secretariat of Basic Education of the Ministry of Education (MEC) – and, a few months later, through Decree n. 10.004 (2019), established the National Program of Civic-Military Schools (Pecim – in the original acronym), under the responsibility of the MEC, with support from the Ministry of Defense. Such decrees aim to articulate policies to foster the militarization of public schools in the municipal and state education networks.

However, if the militarization carried out by municipalities and federal units had state police and fire departments as military actors, the militarization foreseen in the federal decrees also brings military personnel from the Armed Forces to the school scene, without discarding the participation of state corporations. Moreover, because the political-pedagogical conceptions of these decrees are not anchored in the country's educational legislation, a conceptual confusion is created concerning the terms "military school" and "civic-military school" or confusion is accentuated between the policies of transforming civilian public schools into militarized schools and the creation of military schools (Reis et al., 2019).

This first approach to the topic indicates the complexity that the phenomenon of militarization has assumed in recent times, which drives us in this article to carry out the presentation and analysis of militarization processes in Brazilian public schools until December 2019. Considering the time

frame, we selected and the fact that the militarization of public schools, via adherence to Pecim, will begin in 2020, this article does not analyze the numbers referring to federal policies to promote militarization.

Regarding the organization of the data that will be presented, it should be noted that they were collected through careful documentary research. The first step was to search Google with descriptors based on the research objectives and chosen by considering how the site presents its results.

An extensive and unprecedented database (composed of laws, decrees, bills, technical agreements, cooperation agreements, and journalistic texts) was formed at this stage, making it possible to compile, organize, and quantify data on militarized public schools in the country and to count the number of military schools of basic education created by military corporations (army, fire brigade, and police). The insertion and organization of the data in the tables were carried out after a careful crossing of information taken from official journals (laws, decrees, bills, technical agreements, cooperation agreements) with information published by the press and information about the effective operation of each school tabulated (registration in the school census¹ of enrolled students linked to that school). In addition, we also used data collected from academic research (scientific articles, theses, and dissertations) found throughout the literature review, using them as one of the documents to check the official data tabulated.²

To present the data in the article, the text is organized into two topics: the first topic presents the differences and approximations between federal military schools (*Colégios Militares* – as in Portuguese – and the Osório Foundation), state military schools, and militarized public schools; the second topic presents an analytical mapping of the militarization of public schools in Brazil, followed by some summaries.

Federal military schools, state military, and militarized schools

Since the 2018 election campaign, which culminated with the arrival of the far-right to the federal government in 2019, “military schools” or “military doctrine in schools” has gained prominence in the national debate about the directions of education in the country, mainly, because these ideas for education are in line with the conservative and moralistic values of the current government.

It is worth noting that, in this process, the following have distinguished themselves in defense of a supposed “education with military principles”: politicians enthusiastic about this perspective, military personnel, and subjects linked to the bases of conservative political parties; on the other hand, educators, education workers in general, specialists in education, and academia have been dismissed from these discussions, or their positions have been ignored (Santos et al., 2019).

The enactment of Decree n. 9.665 (2019) and Decree n. 10.004 (2019), which established, respectively, Secim and Pecim, followed by their dissemination by the federal government as a showcase of its policy for Brazilian education, could induce sectors of the population who are unaware of the processes of militarization of public schools that have been occurring in Brazil since the 1990s (according to data that will be presented in the next point) to think that this policy or

1 It is the Statistical Synopsis of Brazilian Basic Education, whose data are collected and systematized annually by the National Institute of Studies and Research Anísio Teixeira (Inep). Inep, in turn, is a federal agency linked to the MEC, responsible for official studies on education in the country.

2 Considering the characteristics of a scientific article and the limitations of space, we chose to indicate only one reference to prove each data on the militarization of school units that we will present throughout this text. This way, while for the construction of the database we tried to contrast official references with academic references and with information from journalistic sources, in this article we will present only one reference capable of indicating to the reader where it is possible to confirm the data.

even the promotion of a “military education” or an education guided by “military principles” is an unprecedented creation of the Bolsonaro government. Therefore, it is pertinent to point out here the differences between basic education military schools, militarized schools, schools that adhered to Pecim, and civic-military schools (which we understand as another type of militarization).

Creation of federal and state military schools

We consider military schools of basic education those created within the organizational chart of their respective military corporations, using, in general, funds allocated to defense (in the case of federal military schools) or public security (in the case of state military schools). According to the data gathered in our master’s research³, by December 2019, the following were accounted for: 15 federal military schools of basic education – being 14 military schools of the Military School System of Brazil (SCMB – in the original acronym), and the Osório Foundation (FO) – and 60 state military schools. In addition to these units, 18 private basic education military schools, managed by military associations, were also accounted.

In addition, we account the year 1889 as a significant temporal milestone of the institutionalized entry of the military in basic education. It was the year in which the *Colégio Militar do Rio de Janeiro* (then the federal capital) was founded and named, for some months, *Imperial Colégio Militar*. Initially, it intended to serve the children and dependents of military personnel victimized by the Paraguay War – initially, only male students were accepted (Alves & Nepomuceno, 2010; Diretoria de Educação Preparatória e Assistencial – [Depa], n. d.; Decreto n. 10.202, 1889). The foundation of this school is also a historical landmark of the SCBM, because, from 1912 on, other units of military schools, with the same political-pedagogical proposal, began to be created in other capitals until the consolidation of a network of federal military schools of basic education, as we know today.

The 15 federal military schools in operation until December 2019 are supervised by the Directorate of Preparatory and Assistential Education (Depa – in the original acronym), subordinated to the Department of Education and Culture of the Army (Decex – in the original acronym). Although these schools are subject to the Brazilian Army’s organizational chart, they currently direct their vacancies preferentially to the children and dependents of officers of the three different Armed Forces (Army, Navy, and Air Force). The dependents of officers of the Armed Forces are compulsorily entitled to these vacancies, and in the case of vacancies not being filled by them, there is a selective process (tests) for the admission of civilian children. The welfare nature of federal military schools is emphasized in the texts made available on the Depa website as one of the reasons for the existence and operation of these school units (Portaria n. 9.006, 2018).

Also, according to Depa, one of the missions of federal military schools is to offer education based on “military values” for children and dependents of officers of the Armed Forces who need a school whose political-pedagogical project is the same in its different units. By reason of, these students would need to transfer schools when their parents move cities to fulfill institutional missions of their respective corporations (Depa, n.d.). For example, if a parent – responsible for the student is an officer in one of the Armed Forces – is on a military mission in Manaus (AM) and is assigned to Rio de Janeiro (RJ), his child could be transferred from the *Colégio Militar de Manaus* to the *Colégio Militar do Rio de Janeiro*. In theory, this would bring less academic/school-related loss to the student.

3 Santos, E. J. F. (2020). *Militarização das escolas públicas no Brasil: Expansão, significados e tendências* [Dissertação de Mestrado]. Universidade Federal de Goiás. <https://repositorio.bc.ufg.br/tede/handle/tede/11015>

The federal military schools of the SCMB, besides offering basic education (2nd cycle of basic education and high school), they also offer, during high school, professionalizing education integrated to basic education with a view to admission to the Armed Forces' careers (Depa, n.d.; Vianna, 2000).

On the other hand, the FO, founded in 1921 to attend daughters and dependents of military personnel (since until 1989, the SCMB's military schools did not accept girls), despite also being based on military values and customs, offers propaedeutic education in the two cycles of elementary school and propaedeutic high school with integrated technical training in an area other than the military. It is worth noting that, although the FO is not linked to the SCMB's organizational chart, it is also supervised by Depa and is guided by "military values" (Fundação Osório, 2020).

According to Castro (2016), this propaedeutic training integrated with vocational training with a view to military careers shows that in addition to serving a welfare mission, the political-pedagogical project of these schools is based on the hermetic values of the Armed Forces and that one of the goals of training in these schools is to provide future officers for the Armed Forces with the least possible interference from sociocultural values external to the military quarters, thus maintaining an endogenous and static training in these corporations, "free", therefore, of influences from the "civilian world".

As mentioned, the insertion of the military in basic education through the creation of schools within the organizational chart of their respective corporations was not restricted to the Armed Forces. According to the survey and cross-referencing of information and academic research conducted in this paper, the first state military school was created in 1949 in Belo Horizonte, subordinated to the organizational chart of the Military Police of Minas Gerais (PMMG, 2018; Lei n. 480, 1949).

In the 1940s and 1950s, driven by the consolidation and expansion of the army's military schools, some military police forces demanded the construction of public military schools run by the corporations, with vacancies for the children and dependents of military police officers, as already occurred with the dependents of officers of the Armed Forces (Jesus, 2011; PMMG, 2018; Lei n. 480, 1949; Polícia Militar do Paraná, 2019).

According to Castro (2016) and Vicentini (2014), the Armed Forces and the military police corporations keep in common moral conceptions, traditions, and political values; moreover, these corporations are closed and constantly seek ways to keep themselves free from the "negative influences of the civilian world". Regarding these characteristics, we verified in the documents surveyed the desire of military police corporations to build basic education schools that would encourage or even prepare the children and dependents of military police officers to follow the same career as their progenitors. For this reason, we understand that the institution of military schools for basic education – built, maintained, and funded by the corporations – in addition to meeting the welfare claims of their members, also meets an understanding of these troops that it is necessary to keep their members and families free from the influences of the civilian world. Therefore, by following the example of the path followed by the Armed Forces, they seek to maintain a hermetic education of potential future members of these troops.

Besides the military police, guided by similar yearnings and with similar political motivations, some military firefighting corporations also created their organizational charts for basic education schools of the late 1990s (Colégio Militar do Corpo de Bombeiros [CMCB], 2017; Lei n. 2.393, 1999; Lei n. 4.133, 2003). In general, we see that the process of creation, consolidation, and expansion of federal military schools, linked to the army, and state schools, linked to military police or military fire departments, has advanced over the years.

Regarding federal military schools, this research recorded, that by December 2019, 13 SCMB military schools' units in operation were distributed in different municipalities, 11 of them being capital cities (Depa, n.d.). In addition to the military schools, there is also the FO in the city of Rio de Janeiro (Fundação Osório, 2020).

The creation and operation of 60 state military schools of basic education were also registered, 56 of which belong to the military police of different federal units and four to military fire departments.

Military police schools are divided as follows: 30 schools in Minas Gerais (PMMG, 2018; Lei n. 480, 1949); seven in Rio Grande do Sul (Sauer, 2017); four in Santa Catarina (Colégio Policial Militar Feliciano Nunes Pires, 2015); three in Rio de Janeiro (Lei n. 3.751, 2002); the states of Alagoas (Carvalho, 2016), Bahia (Jesus, 2011), Ceará (Decreto n. 31.869, 2015), and Paraná (Polícia Militar do Paraná, 2019) have two in each federative unit; Brasília (Decreto n. 37.321, 2016), Paraíba (Lei n. 9.492, 2011), Pernambuco (Lei n. 1.210, 1966), and Roraima (Colégio Militar Estadual de Roraima [CME-PMRR], 2020) have one school in each state.

The four military fire department schools are in the following municipalities and cities: Brasília (Lei n. 2.393, 1999), Fortaleza (CMCB, 2017), Miguel Pereira, and Volta Redonda (Lei n. 4.133, 2003).

The documentation survey that we conducted in this research revealed that these state police and fire department basic education school units have diverse characteristics, specificities in their creation histories, and are organized administratively in different ways; we also observed different forms of financing.

Through the documents analyzed in this research, the state military schools were categorized into two large groups according to their similar characteristics. On one side, the PMMG, PMSC, PMBA, PMPR, and PMDF state military schools, in which is observed a more evident policy of constituting military schools aimed at the endogenous formation of troops and the promotion of assistance policies to the military, through resources destined to public security.

In the second group are the state military schools of the PMPE, the Military Brigade of Rio Grande do Sul (BMRS), the PMPB, the PMAL, the PMCE, the CBMCE, the PMRJ, the CBMRJ, and the PMRR, whose objectives related to the endogenous training of troops and assistance policies are somewhat more obscured. In addition, the administrative ties between these schools and the respective corporations and their financing through public security funds are not very evident since these schools – despite being part of the administrative organization chart of the respective corporations – have been established over the years and/or still establish partnerships with education departments for the use of public buildings and/or human resources.

On the other hand, federal military schools present more homogeneous characteristics among themselves, and no administrative ties or financial dependence on the Ministry of Education were found in the documents analyzed. We understand that this is since federal military schools have a more centralized structure and can count on more public resources.

It is known that military corporations are institutions that have not developed – nor do they tend to develop – knowledge, skills, practices, and theoretical formulations related to the field of education in the strict sense, especially when it comes to basic education since their purpose is different from education and the actions and daily activities of corporations are focused on their core activities. For this reason, it is observed that these schools tend to demand from the education secretariats human resources (education professionals) and even physical structures, such as buildings, for the installation of their schools. In the case of state corporations in federal units where public resources are more disputed, there will be pressure for corporations not to use security funds for military schools of basic education.

Militarization of state and municipal public schools

According to the data analyzed in this research, in 1990 there were 14 PMMG schools, 10 federal military schools of basic education, and PMBA, PMPR, PMPE, BMRS, and PMSC with one school each. We understand that this context encouraged the corporations that did not yet have basic education schools in their organizational charts to articulate policies aiming at the creation of schools in their organizational charts. It also encouraged the members of these troops to demand this type of school for their children and dependents. It is worth noting that the members of the six military police corporations that at that time had public military schools, with places specifically for their children and dependents, enjoyed a privilege since their children and dependents could access public schools that stood out concerning civilian public schools, since they were more closed to the civilian world (something important to the military culture), had specific funding (with public security funds), and, therefore, had the privileged infrastructure and operating conditions.

In this scenario, the Military Police State Elementary School “Tiradentes” was created in Cuiabá in 1986, currently: Military Police State School “Tiradentes”⁴ (Decreto n. 2.364, 1986; Decreto n. 3.107, 1991). We understand that the name given to the unit reveals the intention of creating a state military school, as had been happening in other states since 1949.

However, such policy did not materialize because, according to the official documents reviewed, the unit was created with funds from the education portfolio, inserted in the organizational chart of this secretariat, without ever having had any formalized relationship with the PMMT. In addition, in the documents analyzed we did not find policies to reserve vacancies for children and dependents of military personnel, which indicates that the unit functioned like other schools in the Mato Grosso state network. According to the history of the school unit, available on the teaching section of PMMT’s official website, when the school was founded, “nothing identified it with the Military Police, since it worked as a normal public school and was directed by civilians without any connection with the Military Police. For 03 (three) years, the School functioned this way” (Polícia Militar de Mato Grosso, 2020).

The documents surveyed indicate that, on June 13, 1990, the Mato Grosso state government promulgated a decree transforming the Tiradentes Elementary School into the Tiradentes Military Police Preparatory School for Elementary and Secondary Schools. The administrative act also determines that the “Military Police will be responsible for the placement of teaching and administrative personnel, through *an agreement with the Secretariat of Education and Culture*, and of the necessary resources for the operation of primary and secondary education, *in the terms of the legislation pertaining to the corporation*” (Decreto n. 2.650, 1990, p. 1, our emphasis).

In line with the decree enacted in 1990, the following year, Decree n. 3,107, dated January 18, 1991, is enacted, determining that

Article 1 – The Military Police State School of 1st Grade “Tiradentes”, created by Decree n. 2.364 of 22/12/86, is *deactivated and extinguished* due to the new name and *change of administrative subordination*, contained in Decree n. 2. 650 of 06/13/90, *being governed by a military regime*, and consequently specific legislation, based on Article 66 of Law n. 5.692, of 03/11/71, which establishes the guidelines and bases for teaching 1st and 2nd grades. (Decreto n. 3.107, 1991, p. 1, our emphasis, own translation).

We understand the transformation of this state school – which served students from the general public, built with education funds, located in the organization chart of the state education

4 The name Tiradentes is in quotation marks in all the official acts of the MT that this research found. We chose to record it in the same way.

secretariat – into a “military police” school, submitted to a “military regime”, as a policy diverging from that of construction or creation of military schools. When we cross-reference the data gathered in this research, we can also affirm that the process experienced by this school in Cuiabá constitutes the first militarization of a public school that we have been able to register.

Throughout the 1990s, other federal units also militarized their first public schools. The official documents cataloged in this research, when using expressions such as “creation,” indicate that these processes were marked by an attempt by state governments to make it seem that the militarization of state schools in full operation corresponded to the creation of military schools along the lines of the policies carried out in Bahia, Paraná, Pernambuco, Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, and especially Minas Gerais. Therefore, the militarization of public schools, at least in the 1990s, was a precarious way that some state governments found to offer “military schools” to state corporations that did not yet have “differentiated” schools for their children and dependents. This observation is not to rule out other possible political and ideological objectives that may have driven the militarization of public schools.

According to the data presented in the next topic, the militarization of public schools gained momentum in the country after the 2000s and, in 2018, it is no longer a policy that affects only state networks but is still applied to municipal schools.

Until 2019, the terms “military school,” “military police school,” “military fire department school,” and “Tiradentes school” appeared in the debates as recurrent names to refer to both authentically military schools and militarized schools. That year, another term appeared in the debates on the thematic: “civic-military schools.”

Considering the precepts of Decree n. 10,004, dated September 5, 2019, which “Establishes the National Program of Civic-Military Schools,” these schools would be the state’s and/or municipal’s public schools administered and maintained by their respective secretariats of education that adhere to the federal government’s program to encourage the “creation of civic-military schools” (p. 1).

It is not, therefore, about the “creation” of more military schools (according to the project’s government propaganda) but about a program that aims to give even more body and capillarity to a process of militarization of public schools that has already been carried out by state governments for three decades (with more significant growth since 2012) and by municipalities for some years. This time, however, as a way of registering their adherence to the federal government’s program, these schools would change their name to “civic-military schools”.

Different configurations of the militarization of public schools in Brazil

The documents analyzed indicate that the militarization of public schools in Brazil has followed different paths in each federative unit. Therefore, we can speak of different configurations of militarization of public schools. Although we live in a country under the same broader legal system, each federative unit can develop specific laws, but state and municipal laws cannot clash with the federal legal system. We understand that the various forms of militarization are due precisely to the fact that each of the federated entities seeks specific ways to circumvent the national legal norms for education since this policy disrespects the legal precepts for public education defined by Article 205 of the 1988 Federal Constitution and by the 1996 Law of Directives and Bases for Education (LDB), especially concerning gratuity, democratic management, professionals qualified to act in the educational field, freedom to learn and teach, and equal access and permanence of students.

Hence, we will not delve into the specifics of militarization processes in each municipality and/or federal unit. It is worth, however, according to the objectives of this text, pointing out some possible generalizations.

First, if state schools officially baptized as “military” or “Tiradentes” can be the result of policies of creation/implementation of authentically military schools or militarization of civilian public schools, on the other hand, municipal schools under military guardianship are all the result of the militarization of civilian public schools in full operation. That said, it is now worth listing some common features concerning militarization configurations.

Considering the research sources cataloged, in relation to militarized state schools, we identified that:

1. In Bahia, Paraná, Roraima, and the Federal District, the entry of military personnel from state corporations into basic education first occurred through the creation of military schools (Polícia Militar da Bahia, 2012; Decreto n. 7.485, 1998; Lei n. 2.393, 1999; Jesus, 2011; CME-PMRR, 2020; Lei Complementar n. 192, 2011). Later, taking advantage, in some way, of the consolidation of these units, the governments of these states inaugurated another policy: the militarization of civilian public schools through the “transfer of management” of several school units linked to the respective secretariats of education to their respective military corporations. However, the militarized units continue to officially belong to the organizational chart of the respective education portfolios in their states and be financially maintained by these education secretariats (Portaria n. 9.006, 2018; Secretaria de Estado de Educação do Distrito Federal [SEEDF], 2019; Jesus, 2011; PMPR, 2018; Decreto n. 20,907-P-E, 2016; Decreto n. 24,851-E, 2018).
2. The militarized schools of Tocantins, Amapá, Pará, and those militarized through the transfer of management to the Amazonas Fire Department are not recognized in the official documents analyzed as part of the organizational chart of the military corporations that came to manage them after militarization. The official administrative link of these units is only with their respective secretaries of education; the militarization is supported by “cooperation agreements” signed between the respective military corporations and the respective secretaries of education of those states (Acordo de Cooperação n. 004/2017-SEED, 2017; Corpo de Bombeiros Militar do Amazonas [CBMA], 2020; Carrera, 2019; Polícia Militar do Estado do Tocantins, 2020).
3. The militarized state schools in Goiás, Maranhão, and Piauí have ambiguous official links because, after militarization, they became recognized as part of the organizational structure of the respective corporations and, at the same time and contradictorily, maintain their administrative links with the respective secretariats of education. Nevertheless, all these school units were civilian public schools of the respective state education network, which were created with funds from these secretariats and, at a given moment, when they were in full operation, had their managements “transferred” to military corporations (Ferreira, 2018; Lei n. 20,046, 2018; Lei n. 10,664, 2017; Assembleia Legislativa do Piauí [Alepi], 2019).
4. The militarized state schools in Acre, Mato Grosso, Rondônia, and those militarized by the Military Police of Amazonas – as well as schools in Goiás, Maranhão, and Piauí – also have ambiguous official links since they are recognized as part of the organizational structure of the respective corporations and the respective secretariats of education. Part of the units, however, has never functioned as civilian schools, i.e., a part of it was already created, by the education secretariat, with the intention of being militarized, and another part, when fully functioning as a civilian school, had its management “transferred” to a military corporation (Lei n. 3.362, 2017; Decreto n. 15.264, 1993; Decreto n. 15.831, 1994; Decreto n. 36.845, 2016; Polícia Militar de Mato Grosso, 2020; Decreto n. 2.364, 1986; Decreto n. 3.107, 1991; Decreto n. 22.567, 2018).

5. As for militarized municipal schools, it is worth noting that we found the application of this policy in Amazonas, Bahia, Maranhão, and Goiás. In Amazonas, militarization took place via a partnership between PMAM and the municipality of Presidente Figueiredo (Decreto n. 2.797, 2019). In Bahia, the state government instituted a policy that facilitates partnerships between municipalities and the PMBA for the militarization of municipal schools. Thus, municipalities that show interest must agree with the PMBA by signing a “Term of Agreement for Technical Cooperation”⁵ between the corporation and the respective education secretariat. In Maranhão, the state government also allowed the CBMMA and PMMA to sign “cooperation agreements” with municipal education departments to militarize schools (Prefeitura Municipal de Caxias, 2019). In Goiás, meanwhile, the militarization of municipal schools has occurred through agreements signed between municipalities and social organizations (SOs) or nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) that, without the official consent of any military corporation, military police officers, through these private organizations, have been implementing “military doctrine” in municipal schools through agreements signed between these organizations and municipalities (Alcântara, 2019).

By December 2019, there were 240 militarized public schools in operation in Brazil, distributed in 14 federative units. Of these, 155 (65.58%) are state ones⁶ and 85 (35.42%) are municipal.

Of the 155 militarized state schools, 128 (82.58%) underwent this intervention through administrative arrangements with the respective PMs, nine (5.81%) through the CBM, and 18 (11.81%) from Roraima via an administrative arrangement with the Voluntary Corps of Inactive Military Police and Firemen (CVPBMI). It is worth noting that Roraima has created a military corps that receives both firefighters and police officers, who are away from their duties for various reasons, to work in militarized state schools. Table 1 presents this data side by side so that one can visualize, on a national level, the involvement of each corporation in these processes.

Table 1

Number of militarized state schools as of December 2019, separated by UF and military corporations

	Military police	Military fire departments	Other administrative arrangements
Mato Grosso	7	1	-
Rondônia	7	0	-
Amazonas	9	1	-
Goiás	60	0	-
Bahia	13	0	-
Maranhão	5	1	-
Tocantins	12	0	-
Piauí	1	0	-
Roraima	-	-	18

(To be continued)

5 The data on Bahia’s municipal schools were consolidated because we had access, through a member of the Examining Board during the Qualification Examination, to the model of the Technical Cooperation Agreement Term and a list drawn up by the General Command of the PMBA containing the names of all the schools that adhered to militarization and their respective municipalities.

6 Or in districts, in the case of the Federal District.

(Continuation)

	Military police	Military fire departments	Other administrative arrangements
Amapá	2	1	-
Acre	1	2	-
Pará	1	0	-
Distrito Federal	7	3	-
Paraná	3	0	-
BRASIL	128	9	18

Source: Prepared by the authors with data from the survey.

Concerning the 85 municipal schools, 71 (83.53%) were militarized through the Military Police of the respective federative unit, seven (8.24%) through agreements with the CBM, and seven (8.24%) from Goiás through partnerships with the private sector. Table 2 presents this data side by side for better visualization.

Table 2

Number of militarized municipal schools as of December 2019, separated by UF and military corporations

	Military police	Military fire departments	Other administrative arrangements
Amazonas	3	0	-
Maranhão	1	7	-
Bahia	66	0	-
Goiás	-	-	7
Pará	1	0	-
BRASIL	71	7	7

Source: Prepared by the authors with data from the survey.

When we analyze the set of 240 militarized public schools, we have 79 (32.92%) in Bahia, 67 (27.92%) in Goiás, 18 (7.5%) in Roraima, 14 (5.83%) in Maranhão, 13 (5.42%) in Amazonas, 12 (5%) in Tocantins, 10 (4.17%) in the Federal District, 8 (3.33%) in Mato Grosso, 7 (2.92%) in Rondônia, 3 (1.25%) in Acre, 3 (1.25%) in Amapá, 3 (1.25%) in Paraná, two (0.83%) in Pará, and one (0.42%) in Piauí.

By looking at the data according to the five geographical regions, we note that, of all the militarized public schools, 94 (39.17%) are in the Northeast, 85 (35.42%) in the Center-West, 58 (24.17%) in the North, and 3 (1.25%) in the South. We did not register militarized public schools in any state in the Southeast region. In the South, we only registered schools of this type in Paraná.

Final considerations: in dialogue with the data

All the data set out in this text are a snapshot of this situation in December 2019. However, in other periods, the picture was different. To follow the evolution of these numbers over the years, a more detailed exposition of the data would be necessary, with the cycles and periods of militarization of these schools as the axis for writing. Despite having this data available, we chose not to present it in this article due to space limitations and the choice of delimitation that needed

to be made. In any case, considering the beginning of the implementation of Pecim and the fact that the data do not show any process of demilitarization of public schools, we observe a trend of continuity and expansion of this policy, which encourages us to continue cataloging and monitoring the data on the subject and writing about the phenomenon of militarization of education in Brazil.

By way of conclusions, the data gathered so far show a preponderance of militarized schools in the Northeast, Midwest, and North regions and a tendency for these schools to prevail in inland municipalities. However, more research would be needed to understand this in more detail and depth, for example, analyzing whether it is possible to observe a trend toward militarization of schools in poorer neighborhoods or whether these schools serve strata of the middle classes in these regions.

In any case, although different federal units adopted different paths to militarization, the analysis of the data allows us to affirm that the first militarized public schools were the result of a precarious policy of “creating” military schools. The documents analyzed indicate that faced with the demand from particular sectors of society (especially the military) for the installation of these schools in some federal units, the “low budget cost” solution found by the executive powers was to militarize civilian public schools. It is interesting to note that such “solution” was not adopted in the South, Southeast, and Northeast where there are military schools for basic education. This data reinforces our conclusion that the demand for more military schools in federal units with smaller public budgets initially drove the militarization of public civilian schools.

However, when analyzing the processes of expansion, we find that, in a second moment, the demand for the creation of new military schools ceases to be a significant element in the continued militarization of public schools. The more massive militarization of school units beginning in 2012 and the consequent offer of places in militarized schools to the public no longer restricted to the children and dependents of military personnel show that the militarization policy began to be driven by other demands.

In this second moment of militarization expansion, the defense of an endogenous education in military circles as a justification for the creation of military schools loses strength since the massive militarization goes beyond a public connected to the military headquarters and enters civil society in an increasingly massive way. The massive militarization of state units, the militarization of municipal schools, and partnerships with the private sector for the militarization of public schools reinforce this conclusion.

Based on the data from the documents used to characterize the different configurations of militarization and following the different contexts of the expansion of this process, we identified that the expansion of militarization was driven by two complementary demands: 1) militarization as electoral currency, aiming to please particular conservative sectors in visible growth in the country; 2) militarization as a policy of repression and social control, given the gradual growth of social movements (especially the student movement) from mid-2010, peaking in 2013. It is also worth noting that the impeachment of President Dilma Rousseff in 2016 and the complex political-economic scenario of that moment highlighted in the public scene ultraconservative and extreme right-wing political tendencies while igniting the warning for the possibility of larger social uprisings than those of 2013.

Thus, given the numerous research clippings that the theme offers, we understand that the militarization of public schools should also be the object of research by other fields of knowledge since it is a public policy linked to political-ideological interests that are consistent with the strengthening of the extreme right in the country and the growing role of the military in various areas of society. It is important to point out that the role of the military in education is incompatible with the institutional role determined by the 1989 Constitution for the military police, the Armed Forces, and the military fire departments, since the Constitution assigns to the Armed Forces the

role of acting in national defense, to the military police in public security, and the military fire departments the role of civil defense.

Finally, we understand that militarization subverts the principles and purposes of the school by prohibiting the plurality of ideas, democratic management, the autonomy of schools and education professionals, the possibility of learning, among other aspects, clashing in this way also with the precepts established by the set of laws that regulate basic education in Brazil. Therefore, the picture presented in this article demands attention from educational researchers, school professionals, students, and all sectors of society committed to free, quality, and socially referenced public education.

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Note on authorship

Eduardo Junio Ferreira Santos – collected the data and organized it in a database for his master's research. In this article, the author wrote the first version that was revised and improved by the second author and made the final adjustments to the text, considering the contributions of the second author. Miriam Fábila Alves – the master's research supervisor, reviewed the data presented in this text and included information and analysis.

Data availability

The data underlying the text of the research are reported in the article.

How to cite this article

Santos, E. J. F., & Alves, M. F. (2022). Militarization of public education in Brazil in 2019: Analysis of the national scenario. *Cadernos de Pesquisa*, 52, Article e09144.
https://doi.org/10.1590/198053149144_en