

ARTICLE

“CADET! GOING TO COMMAND, LEARN TO OBEY”¹ HOW GENERALS OF THE FUTURE ARE FORMED²**ANA AMÉLIA PENIDO¹**ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0110-4840>
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ABSTRACT: At the Military Academy of Agulhas Negras, officers of the Brazilian Army are trained in their professional, political, social, and cultural aspects. In this article, it is proposed to identify the profile and how those who, in the future, will be generals, are formed. For this, the research uses quantitative data from the cadets' profile from 2002 to 2012 and analyzes formal teaching characteristics, such as curricula and schedules. The informal and equally relevant dimension of the learning process also deserved attention: the re-socialization of the student through permanent exposure to situations with a strong symbolic load, when notions of hierarchy, discipline, and what it means to be military in the face of the 'civilian' are formed. The conclusions dialogue with related studies, questioning the Army as the image of the nation, confirming trends, and bringing news, such as the growth of recruitment among civilians and the permanence of endogenous recruitment, but now among the low-ranking military.

Keywords: military education, Agulhas Negras Military Academy, Army, teaching, professional profile.

“CADETE! IDES COMANDAR, APRENDEI A OBEDECER” COMO SE FORMAM OS GENERAIS DO FUTURO

¹ AMAN's motto, written on its main pediment.

² The translation of this article into English was funded by Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior - CAPES-Brasil.

RESUMO: Na Academia Militar das Agulhas Negras, ocorre a formação dos oficiais do Exército brasileiro em seus aspectos profissionais, políticos, sociais e culturais. Neste artigo, propõe-se identificar o perfil e como são formados aqueles que, no futuro, serão generais. Para isso, a pesquisa usa dados quantitativos do perfil dos cadetes de 2002 a 2012 e analisa as características formais do ensino, tais como currículos e horários. Também mereceu atenção a dimensão informal e igualmente relevante do processo de aprendizagem: a ressocialização do aluno através da exposição permanente a situações com forte carga simbólica, quando se formam noções de hierarquia, disciplina e sobre o que é ser militar diante do 'civil'. As conclusões dialogam com estudos correlatos, questionando o Exército como a imagem da nação, confirmando tendências e trazendo novidades, como o crescimento do recrutamento entre civis e a permanência do recrutamento endógeno, ainda que agora entre os militares de baixa patente.

Palavras-chave: educação dos militares, Academia Militar das Agulhas Negras, Exército, ensino, perfil profissional.

“¡CADETE! AL IR A MANDAR, APRENDÍ A OBEDECER” CÓMO SE FORMAN LOS GENERALES DEL FUTURO

RESÚMEN: En la Academia Militar de Agulhas Negras, se lleva a cabo la formación de oficiales del Ejército Brasileño en sus aspectos profesionales, políticos, sociales y culturales. En este artículo se propone identificar el perfil y cómo se forman quienes, en el futuro, serán generales. Para eso, la investigación utiliza datos cuantitativos del perfil de los cadetes de 2002 a 2012 y analiza características formales de la enseñanza, como currículos y horarios. También ha merecido atención la dimensión informal e igualmente relevante del proceso de aprendizaje: la resocialización del alumno a través de la exposición permanente a situaciones de fuerte carga simbólica, cuando se forman nociones de jerarquía, disciplina y lo que significa ser militar frente a 'civiles'. Las conclusiones dialogan con estudios relacionados, cuestionando al Ejército como imagen de la nación, confirmando tendencias y trayendo noticias, como el crecimiento del reclutamiento entre civiles y la permanencia del reclutamiento endógeno, pero ahora entre los militares de bajo rango.

Palabras clave: educación militar, Academia Militar Agulhas Negras, Ejército, enseñando, perfil profesional.

INTRODUCTION

Military professional education is considered a pillar of democratic civilian control throughout the world. It is part of an education system under civilian supervision is a relevant objective, particularly for recent democracies (BRUNEAU, 2016). In Brazil, the autonomy between the civil and military education systems is constitutionally foreseen and was reaffirmed in article 83 of the Law of Directives and Bases for Teaching (Law 9394/96), which establishes: “military education is regulated by a specific law, admitting the equivalence of studies, according to the norms established by the education systems” (Brasil, 1996). In this way, each of the Forces - Army, Navy, and Air Force - instituted their education systems, regulated by specific laws. In other words, Brazil has four education systems³, one for civilian education, controlled by the Ministry of Education, and another three, linked to each of the forces. In the case of the Army Education System, it comprises the activities of education, instruction, research, cultural activities, courses, and internships carried out in military teaching establishments, in which the 13 high schools and the ten higher education schools or professional stand out (Law 9,786/1999)⁴. This text focuses on one of the schools, the Military Academy of Agulhas Negras (*AMAN-Academia Militar das Agulhas Negras*), the only gateway to the highest rank in the military career – a four-star general – which makes it the most relevant in the system.

The purpose of this text is modest. It is about evaluating how teaching works at AMAN. Therefore, the article was divided into seven parts, in addition to this introduction and final considerations. In the first part, the school is presented, reviewing its origins and symbology. Afterward, it focuses on the profile of the young person who joins AMAN, assessing their social and regional origin and the student's expectations. Then, the admission method to AMAN is explained. In the fourth part, we study how the courses are organized, their division, curriculum, discipline, and the day-to-day of the cadets. Next, we discuss the process of resocialization that the students go through, followed by the presentation of the evaluation processes and data on dropouts. Finally, the Arms division and its meaning for the officer who is trained in AMAN are shown. The source for these reflections comes from the available bibliography and the school's materials, such as statistical yearbooks, curriculum, selection notices, and legislation, among others. The time horizon on which the reflections are based is extensive, but the production is concentrated in the period 2002-2012.

In addition to the importance of the theme and for the construction of democracy in the country, this text seeks to contribute to the understanding of the behavior of future commanders of the national armed forces (FFAA). Although analyzing a single school, it is possible to extract elements of the formation of the FFAA in general. The military is subject very present in the political history of Brazil and recurrently presented as a group of excellence in terms of technical qualification, even if employed in roles without connection with national defense.

The doctrine taught in schools is a relevant topic. However, this text does not focus on it, or the employment possibilities of these cadets. O'Donnell (1981) did this brilliantly, pointing to an intermediate degree in the professionalization of the Latin American FFAA, which could not be classified as praetorian guards of personalist dictatorships nor as the professional forces of central capitalist countries. This intermediate degree would be related to the maintenance of the typical internal combats of the National Security Doctrine, a behavior dictated from the outside, and consistent with the peripheral place that Latin American bureaucratic-authoritarian regimes, as well as their FFAA, occupy in the world. This topic will be the subject of future work.

³The Federal Constitution of 1988, with Constitutional Amendment n.º 14, of 1996, and the Law of Directives and Bases of National Education (LDB- *Lei de Diretrizes e Bases da Educação Nacional*), instituted by law n.º 9394, of 1996, are the major laws that regulate the current system Brazilian educational system, which comprises basic education – formed by early childhood education, elementary and secondary education – and higher education. Schools such as the Rio Branco Institute (diplomatic career) and those linked to the police are subordinated to this system (MENEZES, 2001).

⁴To learn more about the Army's education system, see Fázio, 2008.

THE SCHOOL

In 1943, the Military School in Realengo was extinguished and the Military School of Resende was created, which in 1951 would be called the *Academia Militar das Agulhas Negras* (AMAN). It was conceived in the 1930s by General José Pessoa when he commanded Realengo. The School was a promise made by Getúlio Vargas to the military in the 1932 campaign⁵. From a doctrinal point of view, it marks the transition from French military doctrine to the influence of the United States, recently victorious in World War II and inspired by the most modern that existed at the time. In the first years, the training of the AMAN officer lasted three years and was restricted to the classic arm: artillery, cavalry, engineering, and infantry. As of 1958, officers began to be trained for the Communications Arm and the Military Staff, and, in the 1960s, for the Quartermaster Service. Subsequently, the course was extended to four years in all modalities, unifying careers and leveling promotions (ROSTY, 2011). Since 2012, the course has been extended to five years, the first being taken at the Preparatory School for Army Cadets (EsPCEx), in Campinas.

According to the official website⁶, AMAN has three objectives:

- a) train the aspiring officer of the Arms, of the Quartermaster service, and the Ordnance Staff, qualifying him for the positions of lieutenant and unskilled captain;
- b) graduate with a bachelor's degree in Military Sciences;
- c) initiate the formation of the military leader.

Upon joining AMAN, the student receives the title of cadet. In the hierarchy, this title corresponds to a special enlisted man, with a rank between warrant officer and officer candidate. Quickly, from the highest to the lowest hierarchy: Army General, Major General, Brigadier General, Colonel, Lieutenant Colonel, Major, Captain, First Lieutenant, Second Lieutenant, and Aspirant, then moving on to the enlisted men. The cadet leaves AMAN with the rank of midshipman, occupying the lowest rank among junior officers. To date, AMAN has graduated approximately 70 classes and more than 20,000 aspiring officers. The annual enrollment is, on average, 450 young people and the total number of students has remained stable, ranging between 1,600 and 1,750 cadets (data released by the Institution).

Its location was designed according to the needs for military exercises, at the foot of Serra da Mantiqueira (from where you can see the peak of Agulhas Negras). There was also a need to distance the cadets from the political upheavals of large urban centers to improve their professionalization. However, this distance could not distance them from political power, hence the choice of a city on the Rio de Janeiro-São Paulo axis. From a symbolic point of view, building the school close to the then highest point in Brazil was also part of the criteria for choosing the location (CASTRO, 1994).

The name of the Academy also has a symbolic content, since the mountains represent strength, authority, and wisdom. Its architectural design combined what was most modern in terms of military installations at the time, adding to a sober style. It was designed to look traditional (BENTO, 2010). This set was expanded in 1990, as part of the Earth Force-90 project, following the same characteristics.

The term “*castrense*”, used as a synonym for military, comes from “*Castro*”, a fortified castle of pre-Roman origin (HOLANDA, 1986). Since its inception, it was understood as a camp or military accommodation, and today it is used for everything related to military life. In military strategy, castles were used to protect the population of manors in times of war, serving as a wall. On the other hand, they demarcated the physical separation between feudal lords and serfs, since the former, in addition to residing in the castle, were also responsible for its defense, while the latter did not live in the castle, but were responsible for its maintenance (BENTO, 2010).

The association between the term military and castle remained present in the construction of AMAN. Not because the forms of the architectural ensemble resembled a castle (a defense mechanism that has been completely outgrown with the modern military apparatus), but because it symbolizes the

⁵ To have a broad historical view we suggest Motta, 2001.

⁶ Welcome notebook for new members of AMAN (2019), available at: <http://www.aman.eb.mil.br>. Accessed on 10/06/21.

attempt to distance those who handle weapons (military servants) from the others, using a structure for this traditional and imposing-looking physics, inspired by the monarchy.

The city of AMAN has a population of approximately 12,000 inhabitants divided into three neighborhoods, educational and housing facilities, four churches/chapels, a post office, a bank, a hospital, and clubs, among other services. This organization is necessary, as the school operates on a boarding basis. Cadets receive, on-site, free of charge, housing, food, uniforms, laundry service, and medical and dental care, in addition to a salary for their expenses.⁷ Because it has this structure, it also has environmental and administrative concerns, and a water and sewage collection and treatment system, among others, all organized under the supervision of a military prefecture.

Regarding the educational structure, AMAN has a main complex, in which the command and administration are located, classrooms, a museum, libraries and cafeterias, a large sports square (with two stadiums), a water park, several courts, a training track, rehabilitation center, bodybuilding gym, two indoor gyms, equestrian center, auditorium (1,150 seats), theater (2,821 seats) and facilities for military instruction, such as shooting facilities and the square of weapons. The cadets are housed in the main complex, separated by year of entry and Arm chosen. The propaedeutic and common teaching subjects are taught in the classrooms and the professional teaching subjects have their place in the training parks. After the separation by Arms, even common school subjects are taken with the Arm.

Ethnographic works point out how physical aspects are used for behavioral formation and the perpetuation of traditions, and subjective characteristics of the educational process (CASTRO, 2004). An example of this is the monumental gate at the entrance of AMAN, which contains the inscription “entry of new cadets” and, on its back, “exit of new aspirants”. Motivational phrases are also inscribed in the inner courtyards, such as the one that expresses the hierarchy-discipline binomial that crosses military life: “Cadets! Go command, learn to obey.” For Godoy (2004), in the organization of schools there is an attempt to identify the study environment with the future work environment, favoring the construction of collective identity; for example, from the division of cadets into platoons since the period at AMAN. It appears, therefore, that the infrastructure was carefully designed to meet the objectives of military education.

CADET PROFILE

Knowing the profile of the cadet who is admitted to schools is important to think about the educational process. In a context where the majority of the population is illiterate, the first step to professionalizing an officer would be to teach him/her properly. On the other hand, if the school has most of its places reserved for children of military personnel, it is unnecessary to invest in the re-socialization of the student, as he/she brings military values from the family. In other words, thinking about education also implies knowing who will be the subject of this education.

Current quantitative data were produced for this work based on the AMAN Statistical Yearbooks for the period 2002 to 2012. We occasionally present data from 2018 or 2019 to update the information, but we did not have access to the full period. Some data had their method of measurement and presentation changed during this period by the Academy. In these cases, the change will be commented on next to the tables and graphs. At times, for comparison purposes, numbers of similar works already carried out on the Academy will be cited (or incorporated into the tables), taken from Castro (2004) and Stepan (1975), the latter widely used by Carvalho (2005) and Barros (1978). However, Castro (2019) makes an important caveat about how the data presented here, and in similar research, were originally generated, used, and preserved for everyday and more practical purposes, and not as tools for social research. “Not making this difference explicit and exploring its consequences can generate 'data fetishism'” (CASTRO, 2019, p. 11).

According to the National Defense Strategy:

⁷ The value of the salary on 01/01/19 was R\$ 1,336.00. consulted on <https://editalconcursosbrasil.com.br/noticias/2020/01/reajustes-2020-veja-nova-tabela-salario-dos-militares/>. Accessed on 03/24/2020

It is important for National Defense that the officer corps be representative of all sectors of Brazilian society (...) the broad representation of all social classes in the military academies is a national security imperative. Two conditions are essential for achieving this objective. The first is that the military career is remunerated at competitive salaries with other valued careers in the State. The second condition is that the Nation embraces the cause of defense and identifies it as a requirement for the aggrandizement of the Brazilian people (BRASIL, 2008, p. 20).

Following the same reasoning, the military institution should be presented as a mirror of the nation. The data presented on future officers in several ways belie this notion.

In his work on the profile of US cadets, Janowitz (1964) makes interesting comments. After the two great wars and the technological increase, recruitment began to take into account more technical skills than the social class of origin. This change had an impact on the status and behavior of the FFAA, as they came to be considered an excellent opportunity for social ascension by the middle classes of the population with high specialization. There remained some families that had successive generations of high-ranking officers, but they were no longer common. This expansion in the recruitment of technicians to fulfill functions that were not strictly warriors changed the organizational hierarchy of the profession, with the increase of officers in the intermediate layers (JANOWITZ, 1964). The data on the social class of origin, crossed with the parent's education and the reduction of endogeneity, presented below, allow us to infer that a similar phenomenon may be occurring in Brazil.

SOCIAL CLASS

In a statistical study on the characteristics of AMAN cadets, Stepan (1975) discusses how joining the Army was considered a possibility of social ascension, especially for the middle classes. In 1941, 1943, 1962, and 1966, about 78% of cadets had different strata of the middle class as their social origin. On the other hand, there is no history of entry of cadets from the highest strata of the population. When the National Guard existed (1831-1922), Brazilian (and Portuguese) aristocrats made up this body. After its extinction, the military career, with its salaries and demands, never proved attractive to these layers, who could easily have access to other jobs in the civilian world. In this regard, Castro (1990, p. 140) prepared Table 1, simplified from Stepan's (1975) data:

Table 1
Cadets' Social Origin

CLASSES/YEARS	1941-1943	1962-1966
High traditional	19.8%	6.0%
Average	76.4%	78.2%
Low qualified	1.5%	8.6%
Low non-qualified	2.3%	0.4%
Unknown	–	6.7%

Source: Castro, 1990, p. 140.

The conjunction between the lack of interest of the higher strata and the impossibility of the lower strata to be approved in the selection for the academies led to a reality of very low competition for these vacancies. According to Stepan (1975), between 1950 and 1965 there were less than two candidates for each seat at the Academy.

For Ludwig (1998), the origin of the officers is in the privileged sectors of society, citing as an example the fact that, in 1989, 60% of the cadets' parents had higher or secondary education. The author also argues that the profession “confers a certain status, reasonable salary, job stability, opportunities to travel to study and work both in Brazil and abroad” (LUDWIG, 1998, p. 24). Due to

these characteristics and as a possibility of social ascension, it attracts the middle classes, in particular for the functions of enlisted personnel and subordinate officers.

Castro (2004) and Barros (1978) criticize the elasticity of the concept of the middle class⁸ and the classification of all military personnel in the same social class, whether they come from the upper or lower strata, as shown in Table 2:

Table 2
Percentage of cadets with senior and junior officer parents and enlisted men.

PARENTS/YEARS	1970	1985	2000-2002
Senior officers	28.5%	31.9%	41.9%
Junior and enlisted	72.5%	68.1%	58.1%

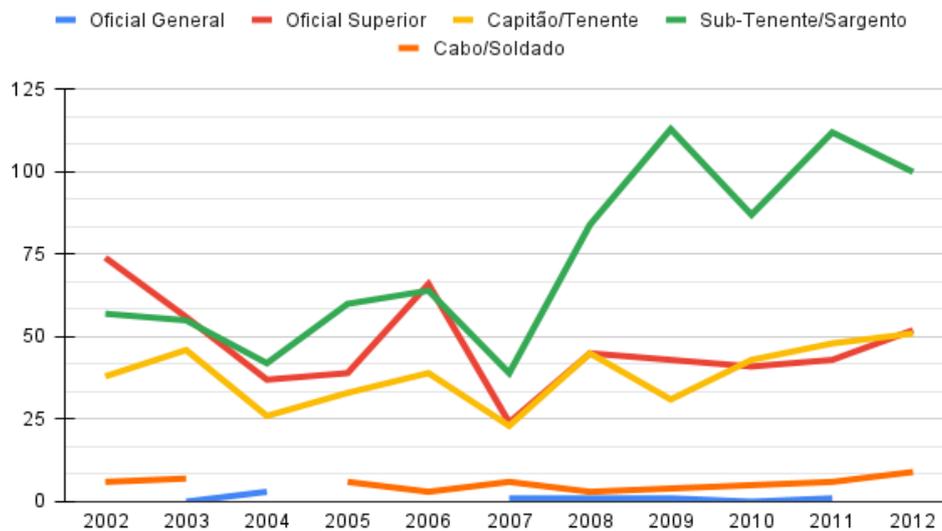
Source: Castro, 2004, p. 141.

For the authors, this slow increase in recruitment among the sons of senior officers indicates that the correct classification would not be middle class, but a lower middle class or qualified lower class. In the same way, the origin between officers and enlisted men would tend to equalize. The data point to the balance of strata in recruitment. However, the classification of senior officers as “lower middle class” seems exaggerated.

The numbers between 2002 and 2012, on the other hand, show that the equalization trend was not confirmed. The sons of senior officers rarely reached 30% of the total, returning to levels close to the 1970s. When the data were separated between junior officers and enlisted men, it is possible to abstract a vertiginous growth in the recruitment of the sons of sublieutenants and sergeants, above the junior officers. Therefore, recruitment happens especially among low-ranking military personnel.

Graph 1

Rank/graduation of fathers and mothers of cadets enrolled in the 1st year in absolute numbers



General Officer Senior Officer Captain/Lieutenant Sub-Lieutenant/Sergeant Corporal/Soldier

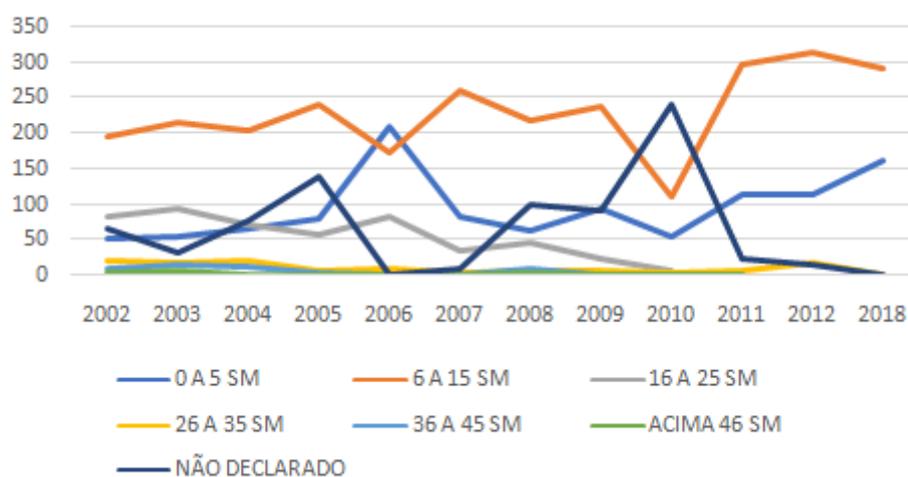
Source: Our elaboration is based on the AMAN Yearbooks (2020).

⁸ To minimize the interference that the classification of the middle class presents (since it includes sectors with very different characteristics and consumption patterns), it is essential to include other variables, such as parents' education and overall income.

The entry into the Army takes place through a public tender. Therefore, just as the entrance exam represented for years a filter that kept the children of the poorest strata of the population out of universities, the entrance exams in the academies also served as a filter, making it difficult for those from lower strata to enter AMAN. Between 2001 and 2010, the growth in access to higher education in Brazil was 110.1% (INEP, 2010), due to a set of policies implemented by Lula and Dilma that increased entry into universities. The same change can be observed in AMAN, with the accelerated expansion of the presence of the lower strata of the population among the school's listings. This can be seen by evaluating the cadets' family income.

Graph 2

Family income of cadets enrolled in the 1st year in absolute numbers (Includes cadets from friendly nations)



Source: Our elaboration based on the AMAN Yearbooks.

AMAN data changed salary groupings in 2010, 2011 and 2018.

The data reveal that there is still a lack of recruitment among the highest strata of the population, that is, among the military elite in formation, there are practically no representatives of the civil economic elites.

PARENTS' EDUCATION LEVEL

Stepan (1975) analyzed the school pattern of the recruits' parents and noticed that the young person who entered the academies had more years of study than their parents, meaning more professionalization and ascension of those layers. Therefore, "(...) admission to the Academy is a means of upward mobility for 61% of cadets whose parents attended school for eight years or less. This indicates that the center of gravity of recruitment resides in the lower middle class" (STEPAN, 1975, p. 30). Castro (2004), commenting on the period 1963-1965, indicates that the last degree completed by the cadets' parents was the higher one, totaling, on average, 30% of the cases, reinforcing Stepan's conclusions.

The data in Table 3 update these analyses, pointing out two issues. The first is that, following a trend across the country (INEP, 2010), the number of years of study of the cadets' parents is increasing, with many with postgraduate degrees. The second, remains the ascension perspective in the military profession, since, upon completing the AMAN, more than 50% of cadets will have more school years than their parents.

Table 3
Percentage of the education level of parents of cadets by year of entry

EDUCATION LEVEL	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010[#]	2011[#]	2012	2018*
Without Education level	0.51	0.49	0.44	0.5	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.4	2.2	2.5	0.2
Incomplete Elementary school	4.85	5.55	4.40	3.8	4.1	3.5	2.7	2.5	2			
Complete Elementary school	7.59	8.14	6.92	6.4	6	5.3	5.4	5.6	5.2	7.9	7.8	10.8
Incomplete High School	2.28	2.72	2.57	2.4	2.7	2.2	1.8	1.9	1.8			
Complete High School	28.86	29.78	29.63	31.6	28.6	30.1	29	31.1	29.4	36.7	42.4	53.8
Incomplete higher education	4.85	5.84	6.23	6.4	6.8	7.6	7	6.3	5.3			
Complete higher education	34.8	38.15	36.55	38.3	38.1	33.5	34.2	32.5	28.7	31.1	30.8	32.2
Postgraduate studies	8.04	7.65	6.35	6.8	8.8	8.8	8	6.3	4.6	7.1	7.3	2.6
Not declared Deceased	8.21	1.68	6.91	3.8	4.6	8.8	11.8	13.6	22.7	15.1	9.3	0.2

Source: Our elaboration is based on the AMAN Yearbooks.

[#] AMAN data changed format between 2010, 2011, and 2018.

The 2018 data do not point to new trends, but possibly as a result of the strengthening of gender discussions in society and combined with the entry of female cadets, AMAN started to measure paternal education level by separating the father and the mother information. The table shows the information on maternal education level, which is slightly lower than the paternal.

A simple comparison between the data collected by Stepan and those in Table 3 points to the maintenance of the trend of the higher education level of parents, as well as an increase in the years of the education level of cadets compared to their parents, reinforcing the trend of the social ascension of young soldiers. Thus, even considering the problems mentioned regarding the classification of the middle class, the social origin of Army officers is in this class, with some tendency, indicated by higher education and income, for the upper strata (not low, as Stepan indicated) of this class.

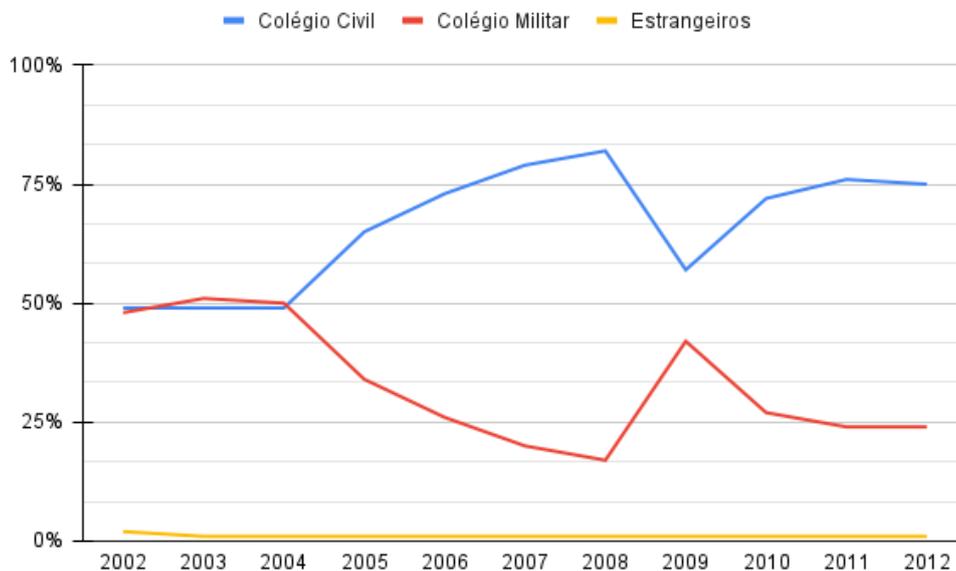
ENDOGENOUS

Several studies emphasize the endogeneity in the FFAA, that is, the tendency to have recruitment and relationships only among the military's peers. According to Stepan (1975), in 1939, 61% of the cadets at the Military Academy came from civilian colleges. However, from 1962 to 1966, only 7.6% were of civilian origin, completely inverting the picture. This can be explained by the development, in the 1950s, of a system of colleges maintained by the military organization for the children of soldiers, the origin of most cadets. The author recognizes that the consequence of this type of recruitment led to corporatism among the military and the "loosening of their ties with civilians in the period before and after the seizure of power in 1964" (STEPAN, 1975, p. 35).

Analyzing the data between 1976 and 1985, Castro (2004) noted that 85% of those entering AMAN had already had some type of experience in military schools. For only 15% of the cadets, marches, salutes, and uniforms were new. Regardless of the numbers, the first months at AMAN would be to teach these contents and homogenize the group as quickly as possible. “The officers seek in all situations to dispense the same treatment and exert the same pressure on all cadets” (CASTRO, 2004, p. 25). Even so, those who had previous contact with the military were able to adapt more quickly.

Compared with the period 1976-1985, the data for the period 2002-2012 show a drastic reduction in the number of cadets coming from military colleges. As shown in Graph 3 below, there is practically an inversion, since, on average, 75% of new entrants have their origins in other civil education establishments. In absolute numbers, 2008 represents the peak of foreign inflows. Of the total of 465 entering cadets (100%), 81 came from military colleges (17%), 371 studied in civilian colleges (80%) and 13 are foreigners (3%).

Graph 3

Home school of cadets and foreign students⁹ by year of entry

Civilian colleges – Military colleges - Foreigners

Source: Own elaboration based on those of the AMAN Yearbooks. Approximate percentages.

In addition to the origin in military schools, to report the endogeny, knowing the parents' profession is essential. Based on data from Stepan (1975), Castro (2004) expands the time frame, which we complete with the most recent period, as shown in the table:

Table 4

Percentage of civil or military affiliation in six periods

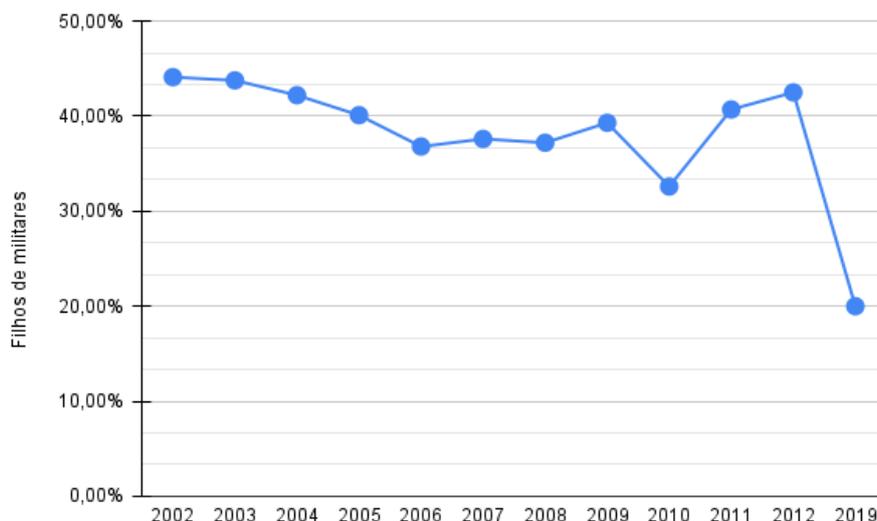
AFFILIATION/PERIOD	1941-1943	1962-1966	1984-1985	2000-2002	2010-2012	2017-2018
Civilians	78.8%	65.1%	48.1%	54.6%	62.5%	57%
Militaries	21.2%	34.9%	51.9%	45.4%	37.5%	43%

⁹ Until the period studied, more than 180 foreigners were trained at AMAN, including Latin Americans and Africans. The criteria for choosing countries and cadets, their performance and monitoring at school, their alignment with the country's foreign policy, among other topics, are the subject of a new work. For the Brazilian FFAA, receiving soldiers from other countries is a highly respected influence projection factor.

Source: Castro, 2004: 141 and AMAN Yearbooks.

Castro (2004) emphasizes that endogenous recruitment prevailed until the 1980s, a topic also discussed by Barros (1978), for whom “the greatest cleavage in the nation may be between civilians and military personnel. The endogeneity and the specificity of the socialization pattern are processes that reinforce each other” (BARROS, 1978, p. 66). However, the endogenous growth trend was not confirmed, as shown by the data in Graph 4, which indicate a tendency to decrease in the number of students with military parents.

Graph 4
Percentage of cadets born to a military father



Militaries' children

Source: Own elaboration based on data from the AMAN Yearbooks.

The data collected for the 2000s (Graph 4) show that there was a downward trend in endogeneity, with 2010 showing the lowest percentage of military parents, with 32.6%, and 2011-12 indicating a new trend of increasing endogeneity. When analyzing the entire 10-year period, an average of around 40% of cadets from a military family is detected – and, therefore, indicating a relative balance between recruitment in the civilian and military environments. However, as discussed earlier, the greatest endogenous recruitment is in the enlisted personnel, reinforcing the upward trend of new officers.

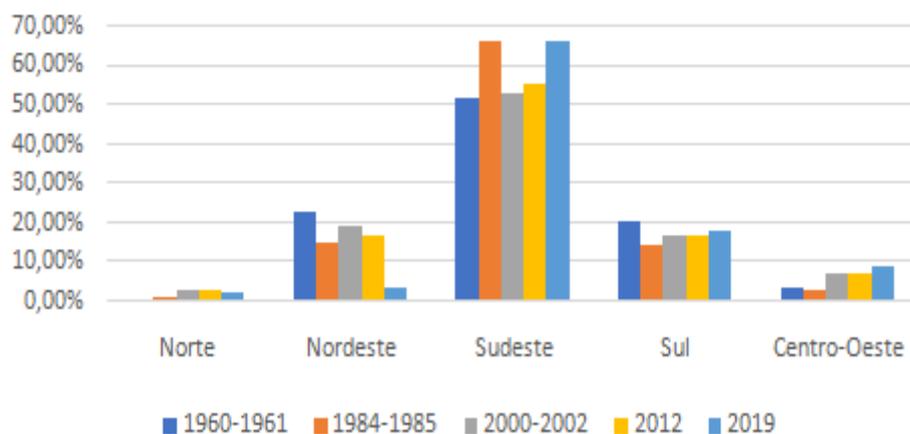
It is difficult to say if 2019, presented in the chart above, represents a trend or if it reflected a specific moment. However, what is significant is that there is the lowest number of children of military personnel in the entire series presented, reversing traditional analyzes of military education: endogeneity would no longer be a reality.

One explanation offered by Janowitz (1964) is that a feeling prevails among the high officers that their salary standard is below other elites, such as those in high administrative positions, and this dissatisfaction is passed on to their children. The career offers good salaries for a public servant, but these dividends are lower than in the private sector. Another factor is the distance between the lowest salary and the highest salary, which in the military world is much smaller than in the civilian world. The best incentives are extra-salary, such as their health and pension system.

REGIONAL ORIGIN

The Army is in the popular imagination as a national force, by having spread ‘Tiro de Guerra’¹⁰ throughout the territory. This belief is not supported by Stepan (1975). Between 1964-1966, few cadets were recruited in the Northeast or large centers like São Paulo. The most representative number came from the state of Guanabara, the former city of Rio de Janeiro, contributing approximately 40% of the income. Considering the regional division, data from Castro (2004) and the period 2002-2012 corroborate the analysis.

Graph 5
Percentage distribution of birthplace of AMAN cadets



North Northeast Southeast South Mid-west
Source: Castro, 1990: 146; AMAN and DECEX Yearbooks.

These numbers help to better understand the issue of corporatism in professionalization. Most of the cadets came from the state of Guanabara, as this was also the state with the highest military concentration in Brazil, the former capital of the country. However, if this were the explanation for the concentration of cadets, there would be a move to Brasília after 1961. However, the highest percentage in the Southeast reaches 66.1% in two moments: 1984-1985 and 2019. This indicates that there continued to be a concentration of military institutions in this region, indicating that there were military families. However, as it seems that the endogeneity was reversed, the original region does not seem to be explained by the family origin.

Anyway, we highlight the continuous rates in the Southeast, always adding up to more than 50%. Cadets from the Mid-west, where the federal capital is located, more than doubled from the 1980s to the 2000s, however, despite showing growth, it does not reach 10% of new entrants. Furthermore, when the data is disaggregated, the numbers presented by the states that compose it are similar. The North region also remained relatively stable, with very low percentages. The Northeast region was the one that fluctuated the most. The same is applied to the South region, which maintains lower rates than in the 1960s. The explanation for the numbers presented, at least until 2012, seems to be endogenous. Therefore, officers' schools are still not a regional reflection of Brazil. They are a reflection of the corporation.

The 2019 data, as reported, belies the trend towards endogeneity, calling for another explanation. Regarding the regional origin, two hypotheses can be raised: 1) there is a greater volume of

10 Centenary military institution created to reconcile compulsory military service and the permanence of young people at work, especially in rural areas. Its maintenance derives from agreements between municipalities, which provide the physical facilities, and the Army, which provides material, instructors and shooting training. In 2012, there were more than 200 *Tiros de Guerra* throughout Brazil. consulted on https://www.eb.mil.br/web/ingresso/servico-militar/-/asset_publisher/yHiw1SWkLQY6/content/tiro-de-guerra?inheritRedirect=false. Accessed on 03/15/2020.

information about the military schools precisely in the place where they are based – Campinas, in the interior of São Paulo (EsPCEEx), and Resende, in the interior of Rio de Janeiro; 2) it is the most developed region in the country, which implies being the one that offers the best employability opportunities. In this case, the option for a military career would be a cost-benefit calculation: it is a profession that offers little risk, a lot of stability, and reasonable gains in the face of the necessary investment. In addition, unlike in civilian universities, the student who enters the military career receives a salary (pay) from the first moment, and the years of study count towards retirement (reserve), differences maintained with the reform of the military pension (Law 13.954/2019).

It is important to remember, in favor of the hypotheses, that the greatest demand for the Southeast to enter the career takes place in moments of economic and political uncertainty: the 1980s were called the 'lost decade'. In 1984, it was not known what to expect for the future – it was the year of the great demonstrations in favor of direct elections – while 1985 was the beginning of the first civilian government, with the disappointment caused by the death of Tancredo and the possession of Sarney guaranteed by the military in the government. In 2019, there is a large participation of uniformed members in government and individual and career financial gains, even in a situation of economic crisis.

Another fact to highlight is the vertiginous fall represented by the Northeast region in 2019, from 16.9% (2012) to 3.8% (2019), which represents a decrease of practically 75%. It is also the region with the greatest oscillation between periods.

ADMISSION METHOD

Scholars differ on the motivations that lead a young person to choose a military career. For Huntington (1996), the motive is a vocational feeling based on a “technical love for one's skill and a sense of social obligation to use this quality for the benefit of society” (HUNTINGTON, 1996, p. 33).

In the opposite direction, Andreski (1968) argues that the recruitment of soldiers from ex-colonial states originates on the periphery of the system. Perlmutter (1977) brings similar reflections, stating that the recruitment of praetorian soldiers is in the poorer strata of the population. Thus, both converge on financial motivations in professional choice.

Janowitz (1964) has a more complete analysis, with four main reasons for choosing a military career: a) tradition and family heritage; b) desire to continue studying and advance socially (in the military career or others); c) battle experience in a war scenario; and d) personal ambition, as being in the military offers a respectable level of individual security in times of peace, in addition to prestige. Diffuse motivations such as the desire for an active career, of the “athletic” type, would also be possible.

It is worth remembering that in the case of Brazil, option c) suggested by Janowitz does not echo in reality, as the national experience in war scenarios is limited. Also, option a) seems increasingly limited as an explanation. Thus, it is likely that explanations b) and d) are the most appropriate for the Brazilian case. Thus, although there is some degree of “professional vocation” in choosing a military career, the economic option is strong. This phenomenon causes the growth of “careerist” officers, those who have no identity or interest in becoming military officers, choosing a career for status and money. Given time and proper indoctrination, theoretically, even careerists should embody the 'spirit de corps'.

There is only one way to enter the AMAN: approval in a public tender for the EspCex.¹¹ Up to 500 places are offered annually, and to apply for them, you must be a native Brazilian, single, male or female, be between 17 and 22 years old (completed by the end of the enrollment year) and have completed or are completing high school. First, the candidate undergoes intellectual examination tests. If approved, he is summoned for health inspection tests, physical aptitude exams, verification of moral suitability, and proof of biographical requirements. Subsequently, he is enrolled and becomes an active member of the Brazilian Army, subject to military legislation.

It is important to note that recruitment to officer training schools is voluntary, therefore, young people choose a career in the FFAA. Also, these schools are often very competitive. In the 2019

¹¹ New public notices are published every year, but the content basically remains the same. http://www.espceex.eb.mil.br/downloads/Edital_PS_2018.pdf

exam for EspCEX, for example, there were 40,443 candidates registered for 445 vacancies, practically 91 candidates per vacancy. When segmented by gender, there is a greater difficulty for candidates. In their case, the average was 243 candidates per vacancy.¹²

CURRICULUM ORGANIZATION

Since 2012, the basic course for the training of officers has lasted five years on an internship basis, with occasional departures, subject to authorization. The training is divided into three phases: a basic year – attended at EspCEX –, an advanced year and three years at Arms, Staff or Service, and the last four years attended at AMAN. This change reflects the new profile of the cadet and the new needs of the Force (VIEIRA, 2011).

Teaching comprises three areas: fundamental, professional, and military. Elementary education aims to give the cadet a general culture necessary for the career. Vocational education, on the other hand, aims to provide the technical knowledge to work up to the rank of captain. During the first year at AMAN, all cadets do their studies in common. After choosing the Arm, vocational education varies depending on the needs of the chosen specialty. Military training, although not necessarily expressed in the curriculum, is part of an intense process of resocialization. In this route, the practice of sports stands out. Physical training, in addition to improving the physical resistance necessary for professional exercise, helps to develop the esprit de corps (VIEIRA, 2011).

The five years are organized based on pedagogy by competences which, based on talent and personnel management, tries to adapt the student's talent (innate and acquired competences) to the needs of the institution.¹³ The Army defines military competence as the “capacity to mobilize, at the same time and in an interrelated way, knowledge, skill, attitude, values, and experiences to decide and act in different situations” (VIEIRA, 2011, p. 78). Therefore, the skills were designed for the multiple possibilities of military employment and future conflict scenarios.

To develop competences, changes were proposed in the curriculum. Military education establishments, including AMAN, adopt the model of isolated disciplines. The changes suggest that, during the last three years at AMAN, the cadet can opt for elective courses, according to areas of interest defined by the Army. In the fifth year, courses and internships in the troop are also planned. These practical activities are a historical concern of schools. For this, training exercises, journeys and field, training in the troop (which is when the cadet experiences the daily life in a unit of his Arm) are used so that he performs the functions of commander and leader of small fractions (platoon and section) and subunit (company, battery, or squad).¹⁴

With these changes in the organization of subjects, AMAN faces an age-old challenge: recognition from the academic world in general, because although the Academy graduates receive a bachelor's degree in Military Sciences, AMAN's subjects do not have parity with the civilian ones, either in nomenclature, workload or topics. The bachelor's degree has been in existence since 1994, but the area of Military Sciences was defined by General Peri,¹⁵ only in 2010, as being “the system of knowledge related to the war art, obtained through scientific research, practices in military schools, experiences in observation of military phenomena of war and conflicts, using the methodology used in higher military education” (VIEIRA, 2011, p. 78), and recognized by CAPES in the same year.

¹² According to the Registration Notice, of the total of 445 vacancies, 400 were for male candidates and 45 for female candidates. Look http://www.espcex.eb.mil.br/downloads/Edital_PS_2018.pdf. Acesso em 08/04/20.

¹³ Up to the rank of captain, the intention is to “vocation” the professional for the activities for which he was trained. “(...) From this stage of his career, he can be employed in another aspect, in which he has proven to have more aptitude” (VIEIRA, 2011, p. 79). This measure would reduce the possibilities of a professional at the end of his career to find frustrated due to having only performed functions far from his training. Likewise, it reduces the pressure on AMAN cadets when choosing specialties. Finally, there is the desire to create “escape points” from the conventional career, allowing the military to have more flexibility to make their choices.

¹⁴ Small fractions with an average of 20 to 50 soldiers are considered. The subunits have an average of 60 to 250 soldiers, with the exception of the squad, which can reach 1000.

¹⁵ Commander of the Brazilian Army from 2007 to 2015.

The cadets' routine is extremely tight throughout the day, leaving little time for individually chosen activities. During the adaptation period, for example, activities are planned from 6 am to 10 pm, with no free time. In general, the hours from Monday to Friday follow the schedule summarized in Chart 1:

Chart 1
Daily schedule – AMAN

ACTIVITY	TIME
Dawn	5h50
stop-forward	5h55
surrender-stop	6h10
Breakfast	6h20
General graduation (greetings, introductions, and general information)	6h40
1st part of the day (classes/exercises)	7h – 12h20
Lunch	12h45
2nd part of the day (classes/exercises)	14h – 17h30
Dinner	17h45
Frisk for curfew	19h
Study	19h30 – 21h30
Supper (not mandatory)	21h30
Silence	22h

Source: Brazil, 2007.

Attendance to classes is mandatory, being considered an act of service (as soon as the cadet enters the Academy, the time of service counts towards his departure to the reserve). Below (Chart 2), the current curriculum, organized over five years and totaling 5,782 hours/class (h/c)¹⁶.

Even with so many hours at the disposal of the school, there are difficulties in assembling the curriculum. It is developed by specialists – professors, advisors, and technicians – and requires approval from the Department of Education of the Army (DECEX). Each institution builds its curriculum, however, due to the need for authorization from DECEX, this autonomy is limited.

Chart 2
Basic Curriculum – AMAN

School	Subject	h/c
Army Cadet Preparatory School	Portuguese language	90
	Spanish language	45
	English language	90
	Applied Chemistry	30
	General Physics	75
	Calculation I	90
	Descriptive geometry	30

¹⁶ By way of comparison, the Law course has at least 3,700 h/c; and the higher course in Medicine has 7,200 h/c, according to MEC data (BRASIL, 2004).

School	Subject	h/c
	History	60
	Information and Communications Technology	90
	Military Techniques I and II (TM)	350
	Military Physical Training	160
AMAN (basic cycle)	Portuguese Language II	75
	Spanish Language II	45
	English Language II	75
	Philosophical Ethics	60
	Economy I	45
	Statistic	45
	Applied Chemistry II	60
	Information and Communications Security	60
	TM III	90
	TM IV	90
	Military Identity Development (DIM)	350
AMAN (second year)	Spanish Language III	45
	English Language III	75
	Psychology	105
	Military History of Brazil	60
	General Military History	60
	Introduction to the study of law	60
	TM	424
	Tactical Employment	
	DIM	302
AMAN (third year)	Languages	90
	Scientific Research Methodology	50
	Military History of Brazil	60
	Introduction to the study of law	60
	Didactics Applied to Military Instruction	60
	TM	399
	Tactical Employment	

School	Subject	h/c
	DIM	354
AMAN (fourth year)	Administrative law	60
	Military Criminal Law	60
	Management	60
	International relations	30
	TM	225
	Tactical Employment	
	DIM	261

Source: Brazil, 2007.

As in any other school, the permanent challenge is the distribution of hours/class among the different contents. Although AMAN works on an internship basis, it is common to observe that more time would be needed for the development of some activities or that certain subjects would demand a greater workload. We can observe the movement of valorization of the improvement in languages, as well as of Law and International Relations subjects, totaling 900 h/a, as a result of the greater involvement of the military with the United Nations Peace Missions. Also noteworthy is the workload of 1,267 h/a of the subject Development of Military Identity, which alone covers almost 22% of the course.

Chart 3 AMAN Basic Curriculum organized by major areas: humanities, exact, applied, and Military

	EsPCEEx	AMAN 1	AMAN 2	AMAN 3	AMAN 4	TOTAL	
Humanities	285	255	405	210	150	1305	26%
Exact Sciences	225	105	0	0	0	330	7%
Applied	90	105	0	110	60	365	7%
Military	510	530	726	753	486	3005	60%
Total	1110	995	1131	1073	696	5005	100%

Source: our elaboration in h/c.

The responsibility for the subjects of the basic area is of the Teaching Division, and the professional area is the AMAN platoon. Although the documents on teaching modernization express the desire to equate the areas, in general terms this is not what materializes, pointing out that the main objective of teaching is the creation of the *esprit de corps*. This disproportion is reflected in an asymmetrical relationship between professors, with overestimation of Arms instructors to the detriment of professors in other areas, in a re-edition of the old discussion between military '*tarimbeiros*' and '*intellectual*'. Contrary to common belief, the presence of exact and applied sciences in the curriculum is very low.

For activities beyond those foreseen in the class table, AMAN reserves a few hours for supplementary materials, as can be seen in Chart 4.

Chart 4
Hours for Complementary Activities

Teaching Complementation				
	1st Year	2nd Year	3rd Year	4th Year
Current Affairs	6	8	8	8
Free Activity	8	11	12	12
Social Communication	-	-	-	10
Conferences and Lectures	24	47	24	24
Group dynamic	12	10	8	6
Extra class	8	17	8	8
Olympics/NAVAMAER	90	90	98	98
Pedagogical duty	25	25	18	14
Completion of course work	-	-	30	10
Total	173	208	206	190

Source: Brazil (2007).

In this context, the number of hours allocated to NAVAMAER stands out, sports games in which the three Forces compete and one of the few moments in which Army cadets have contact with their Navy and Air Force counterparts. In them, “meetings were also held between professors, instructors, and some non-athlete students” (GODOY, 2009, p. 7).

THE CADET RESOCIALIZATION PROCESS

Taking schools as historical institutions, traditions are developed in these spaces to form the ideal environment to educate the “military spirit” of the aspirants. Reflecting on West Point and Annapolis, Janowitz (1964) makes statements that can be applied to AMAN. The author understands academies as spaces in which professional military behavior patterns are built. In addition to technical skills, the student receives the doctrine of how to be a military leader, and guardian of morals and honor. This can be seen in the strong historical symbolism that schools carry. Flags and objects of wars fought, materials from soldiers who became national heroes, and repeated ceremonies, some of them more than a century ago, are sources of learning about the history of war and the Force, as important as the systematic study in manuals or classroom (JANOWITZ, 1964).

The young person there is exposed to the stage of definitions and learning of “how to be a soldier”, mainly through the day-to-day at the academy and socializing with colleagues and officers. The effort is for the cadet to learn values, attitudes, and behaviors considered appropriate for military life. Thus, “it is in the daily interaction with other cadets and officers that the cadet learns what it is like to be a soldier” (CASTRO, 2004, p. 15).

At AMAN there are several rituals and norms to help the resocialization process. Part of this is even expressed in the General Norms of Action (NGA- *Normas Gerais de Ação*), a document that the cadet receives with instructions on how to behave, how to walk, the uniform, and a detailed description

of the ritual to be carried out for each activity. The NGA also provides, with a high degree of detail, prescriptions for extra-class behavior: how to dance, how to keep the hair and accommodations, etc.

The intensity of this resocialization is so great that it fuels the discussion of whether military schools can be considered total institutions. As soon as they enter school, still during the adaptation process, the cultural shock begins with collective training in marches, salutes, military postures, physical education, Academy regulations, receiving uniforms, etc. This is a time of great pressure, as there are no licenses, orders are received all the time, humiliation occurs and there is an increase in physical demands. It is a kind of test of the cadets' degree of commitment to their desire to pursue a military career, as well as their motivation and self-control. Novices are exhorted to give up and leave the Academy (CASTRO, 2004).

Most responsible for this pressure on the cadets are the lieutenants and their immediate superiors. As with everything else in the military hierarchy, cadets must respect their chain of command and rarely have contact with senior officers. Although lieutenants are the toughest in military discipline, they are also the ones who know the cadets in detail. Throughout the year, they record the performance, punishments, sick leave, praise, and everything else about each of their subordinates. This period is typical of military academies, occurring not only at AMAN, but at other military schools, such as West Point, and is called *beastbarracks*:

The term suggests that it is something of a shock treatment, designed to impress the new cadet with the break he has made from civilian life, to eradicate any sloppy habits he may have acquired, to give him the confidence that comes from facing and conquering an appropriate toughness and uniting him closely to his companions who are subjected to the same experience (MASLAND; RADWAY apud CASTRO, 2004, p. 35).

According to Janowitz (1964), for an entity outside the military world, this transition can be repulsive, but it has a reason: it is like a selection to enter a fraternity. When potential officers cease to be the “freshmen” of the schools, they are admitted as a member of the corporation or more, as a member of the fraternity, something that also exists in some universities and civil courses, but with less force.

From then on, “military education starts to have a great influence on personal transformation, and this is felt by new students who go through a process of individual depersonalization” (LUDWIG, 1989, p. 8). The first teaching of resocialization is the pillar of hierarchy and discipline, the basis of training that governs the entire life of the institution, differentiating tasks, status, and roles within the military world. The student learns that the fact of occupying a certain position “implies performing a specific activity and this determines the conduct and structures the command and obedience relationships, [...] systematizing the action and the development of military knowledge” (FÁZIO, 2008, p. 68).

The military hierarchy has, however, a different component from other hierarchical organizations. “(...) [It can be said that, in a way, they (a captain or a general) are cadets with a few years of experience and older age. All are officers and share the same military spirit” (CASTRO, 2004, p. 26). The cadets can, therefore, expect that, after the AMAN, they will be inserted in the ascension chain that, more quickly or slowly, they will climb; and the lieutenants who put pressure on them become role models for the future.

Senior officers present themselves to cadets as different models, as hierarchy manifests in two ways: in the ascendancy from authority (which produces the boss) and in ascendancy through prestige (which produces the leader). The chief has his authority derived from the position he occupies, and not from his characteristics. Although a professionalized Army should have a preference for the leader, as bound to the rules as the rest of the system, Castro (2004) identifies the cadets' preference for the leader, capable of leading by example.

Finally, it is important to remember that ascension in the hierarchy does not come only from seniority, but also combined with merit assessments. The position in the hierarchy even influences the friendships made at school. Friendship relationships between different hierarchies exist, but they are not encouraged. This can be seen even in the separation of each year's cadets in the barracks, one of the few informal environments for socialization (CASTRO, 2004). According to Fázio (2008), the major concern is promiscuity, which occurs when a higher-level officer interacts with sub-lieutenants and sergeants

without the presence of junior officers, breaking the hierarchical chain, which can lead to discrediting among colleagues in the same patent.

In addition to hierarchy, another fundamental value for resocialization is discipline. Upon arriving at EspCEX, the cadet learns that he must comply with the institution's rules in a disciplined manner, adapting to the environment. He begins to ask permission for even the most common activities, such as taking a shower or smoking, giving up his free will.

Unlike the hierarchy, the gifts (appliqués, buttons, medals) in the uniform and which indicate the ranks, the courses carried out and the chosen arm, the discipline is intangible. However, it is what determines the behavior of the military: continence, training, respect, and corporal rigidity. In other words, while the hierarchy explains an image of the military, the discipline highlights the values of the military self-image. Thus, “discipline transmits values, duties, and rights of the military institution or the collective will to the officer in particular”, conforming to the characteristics that should guide military honor (FÁZIO, 2008, p. 77). They are moral and not economic values, expressed in the Military Statute:

- I – patriotism, translated by the unshakable will to fulfill the military duty and by the solemn oath of fidelity to the Fatherland even with the sacrifice of one's own life;
 - II – civics and the cult of historical traditions;
 - III – faith in the high mission of the Armed Forces;
 - IV – the esprit de corps, pride of the soldier in the organization where he serves;
 - V – love for the profession of arms and the enthusiasm with which it is exercised;
 - VI – technical-professional improvement.
- (BRAZIL, 1997, p. 13-14).

These values learned at school act as a watershed between civilians and the military. According to Fázio (2008), civil organizations are guided by legality and individualism, while military organizations are subordinated to honor and the oath to the Military Statute. “It is the moral obligation of the military to sacrifice in defense of the Fatherland that makes him feel different from the civilian, who only gets involved in exceptional moments, by voluntary adhesion, being able to withdraw whenever he wants without compromising or harming” (FÁZIO, 2008, p. 81).

Currently, there are doubts about this last statement. First, Shy (2001), in an extensive review of the war in its multiple forms, points out how much the civilian population is involved in conflicts, and being directly affected by them. Second, it is argued that military behavior is guided by pragmatic expectations, such as finance or stability, to the detriment of the oath to surrender one's life, particularly in countries like Brazil, with low expectations of involvement in wars. Finally, it is worth asking whether, with the strengthening of the institutionalization of conflicts, the FFAA did not also become governed by the principles of legality, as exemplified by the inclusion of subjects on International Law in the AMAN curriculum. Therefore, the watershed between civilians and the military may lie in other elements and interests, and not in their perceptions of war.

EVALUATION AND EVASION

The evaluation process at AMAN is the result of a combination of vertical and horizontal criteria. The first criterion is attendance at activities. Others are the scores of evaluators and senior officials on cognitive, affective, psychomotor, and moral attributes. The minimum grade required to proceed into the following year is five. If the cadet obtains less than five in two subjects, he continues and takes the “due” subjects simultaneously in the following year. If he fails more than two subjects, he loses the entire school year. These two criteria make up the assessment made by superiors.

A third criterion is an evaluation by classmates, who assign marks for professional enthusiasm, loyalty, discretion, discipline, aptitude for leadership and teamwork, physical resistance, etc. That is, the individual performance of the military does not depend only on the evaluation of superiors, but also on their group. Military spirit and other elements of behavior are assessed, which reinforces the

spirit of unity, discipline, and military structure. It is a horizontal concept, issued by peers (CASTRO, 2004).

The cadet only has access to his final concept. Castro (2004) draws attention to an interesting aspect: instructors and professors have access to all grades received by the cadet. With this, they can cross-reference their impressions of each student with the grades issued by their colleagues, not infrequently discovering that students who were well evaluated by them are seen by their classmates as disloyal or arrogant, for example.

Competition among cadets is mediated by the social cohesion of the corporation. The ranking system to stimulate competition and the ambition of the cadets is, at the same time, the basis of a system of solidarity among them. It is difficult to stand out within AMAN's tight grid, as there is little room for individual brilliance and innovation. Cadets need to try to show under very narrow limits, just as superiors want when looking for talent. Competition for merit takes place based on very strict rules, so as not to jeopardize a pillar of the esprit de corps, which is companionship (CASTRO, 2004).

As discussed so far, and although the conditions to compete within the Academy are more egalitarian than in the civil universe in general, since basic elements such as housing, food, and teaching materials are guaranteed to cadets, there are differences within the FFAA, as well as at the school. The main one is the network of family relationships and the military origin of the cadets. According to Ribeiro (2005), decisions on merit are permeated by personal relationships of friendship and influence, most of them formed in the last year of school when the student completes the course and chooses his place of service. Therefore, it is impossible to create an environment of absolute equality of conditions for the competition between them.

One of the main functions of the evaluation is the distribution of cadets among the Arms. Upon completing the second year of the course (end of the first at AMAN), the cadets are called one by one, in order of rank, to choose the Arm, Staff, or Service that they will attend in the coming years and in which they will serve throughout the career, according to the vacancies established by the General Staff. This means that the last ones are left with no option. Classification also affects where a soldier will serve upon graduation, as well as the promotions he will receive throughout his career. In addition, the concern to be the best is always present, as this is an essential component of military honor. Another path to personal prominence is good sports performance, when some cadets become team members, attending competitions (VIEIRA, 2011).

Winning first place is a constant goal. The figure of “01 of the class” is almost mythical, conferring great prestige not only within AMAN but throughout his career. The symbolism of the first in the class is reinforced at graduation: 01 will receive the Sword of Caxias, patron of the Army, from the hands of the President of the Republic or his representative. Those who reach first place in AMAN, EsAO – School for the Improvement of Officers – and ECEME – School of Command and General Staff of the Army – are called “triple crowned” and will reach generalship (CASTRO, 2004).

This link between grades and the place where they will serve in the future generates a distortion in learning, identified in the Army Education Modernization Plan (1995). “The achievement of higher grades is predominantly aimed at obtaining better conditions for choosing a unit, to the detriment of the essential purpose of the study, the adequate preparation for the exercise of military positions and functions” (BRASIL, 1995b, p. 5).

Even with the importance of getting good grades and their relative difficulty, we observe that there is low evasion of cadets, which does not reach 5% of the entire workforce, as shown in Table 5.

Table 5
AMAN: evasion, 2002-2012

TERM/YEAR	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012*
1 st Year	26	41	18	18	11	35	28	22	55	45	31
2 nd Year	10	13	8	7	8	12	16	8	8	5	8
3 rd Year	6	10	3	8	4	5	11	10	7	5	4
4 th Year	3	9	8	3	3	5	7	9	12	10	15

Total evasion	45	73	37	36	26	57	62	49	82	65	58
Total alunos	1685	1595	1590	1628	1710	1688	1654	1667	1651	1726	1749

* As of 2012 (admission to AMAN in 2013), the course gained another year, with the first being taken at EspCEx.

Source: Our elaboration is based on data from the AMAN Yearbooks.

It is visible how busy the first year is, as it is the period in which the greatest number of dropouts occur. These numbers correspond to the post-enrollment period, which excludes those who dropped out in the adaptation phase. These numbers repeat the trend suggested by Castro (2004) in the 1987 data when 78 cadets evaded from a universe of 1,473.

Every year, the number of those who voluntarily left AMAN exceeds the number of dismissals. Self-interest dropouts are concentrated in the first year. After this period, it can be inferred, from the low number of dismissals made, that there is a strong interest by the school in keeping each of the enrolled cadets on its staff. However, further studies are needed to determine whether the dropout level remains low throughout the career. In this regard, the figures on evasion do not include the previous origin of the cadets, whether civilian or military. The intersection between these two data could indicate whether the cadets of civil origin tended to drop out more or less, due to the difficulty of adapting to the school.

ARMS IN THE ARMY

Upon completion of the Advanced Stage of Common Instruction, the cadet chooses, in order of rank, a course to specialize in. The courses are Infantry, Cavalry, Artillery, Engineering, Communications, Ordnance, and Quartermaster. Each Arm, Board, or Service has its collective representations, such as patron, traditions, songs, and behaviors, among other varied characteristics, such as the way of marching. According to Castro (2004, p. 56), this occurs so that each Arm forms a particular spirit. The choice is very important, as it will define the individual's professional future. In general, “(...) whoever is dissatisfied with the Arm they joined, either remains dissatisfied or abandons their career” (CASTRO, 2004, p. 56)

According to Inácio Filho (2000, p. 3), the concept of collective representation was proposed by Durkheim, in the quest to understand the mechanisms that guarantee social cohesion. He concluded that “through images – tattoos, headdresses, coats of arms – social groups can refer to themselves, regulate their functioning, their hierarchy and the differentiations between their members” (INÁCIO FILHO, 2000, p. 3). Through its symbols, in particular the iconographic ones, identity is built around each of AMAN's specialties.

In addition to the subjective characteristics, objective measures are taken to strengthen the identification of each cadet with their Arm. Accommodation, meals, theoretical and practical classes, and everything else is done with other cadets of the chosen Arm. This makes it possible for there to be, many times, more interaction with members of the Arm of different years than with cadets from their class (CASTRO, 2004).

In an attempt to create this *esprit de corps*, some level of rivalry between specialties is encouraged. In this aspect, they are not evaluated horizontally, perceiving their contribution to the combat, but vertically, ranking one over the other. According to Castro (2004), this hierarchy occurs in two ways. The first is a great appreciation among cadets who enter the Arms considered more combatants to the detriment of those considered fewer combatants, with the Infantry being the best of them all.¹⁷ From this point of view, “action is seen as more important than study, not only because it provides physical preparation, rusticity, and unity, but also because it is where leaders are forged” (CASTRO, 2004, p. 68). The second hierarchy attributes more value to Technical Arms, “associated with cognition, greater proximity to the civilian environment, change, and modernization” (CASTRO, 2004, p. 95).

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The analysis of the cadets' social profile, in the wake of similar studies, questions the myth that the Army is a reflection of society. The profession confers a certain status, reasonable salary, job stability, social benefits, and opportunities to travel to study and work both in Brazil and abroad. Due to these characteristics, it attracts the middle classes, presenting a possibility of social ascension, in particular among soldiers and subordinate officers. By the time they finish the Academy, more than 50% of cadets will have studied more than their parents. Considering the data until 2012, on average, a quarter of the class comes from families that receive up to five minimum wages. On the other hand, the element of very low recruitment among the very high strata of the population remains.

Therefore, it is understood that cadets choose the career basically for four reasons: a) tradition and family heritage; b) desire to continue studying and advance socially (whether in a military career or others); c) athletic and warrior (adrenaline) career; d) personal ambition, as being in the military offers a respectable level of individual security in times of peace, as well as prestige. In other words, the priesthood image does not match the motivations.

Another relevant issue is endogeny, which was once very strong, with 70% of recruitment among the military, but that is no longer the reality. In the analyzed period, 75% of the students enrolled in AMAN came from civil schools. The sons of senior officers rarely reached 30% of the total, returning to levels close to those of the 1970s. When the data were separated between junior officers and enlisted men, there was an increase in the recruitment of the sons of warrant officers and sergeants. Therefore, endogenous recruitment occurs especially among low-ranking military personnel.

As for the place of birth, Army officers are from the Southeast, in general, and from Rio de Janeiro, in particular, always adding up to more than 50% and more than 30%, respectively, here including data from 2019. The Northeast region, as already mentioned, was the one that fluctuated the most, with its representation among those enrolled significantly dropping. The South region, on the other hand, maintained its participation in enrollments stable, while the Mid-West region grew significantly. In this way, the officers' schools, even if they wish to, are still not a reflection of Brazil. They are a reflection of the corporation. In other words, the mentality reflects a specific middle class, that of the Southeast and Rio de Janeiro, formed basically by various strata of public servants since Rio de Janeiro was the capital of the country.

In future studies, we intend to analyze the impacts of the cadets' profile on the possibilities of military employment. For example, does the greater recruitment between squares interfere with the perception of activities closer to public safety? Does the regional imbalance in recruitment impact the activities carried out in the Amazon or the Northeast? Does it impact the legitimacy of officers in front of soldiers?

AMAN, from its architecture to its curriculum, seeks to make clear to the cadet its commitment to the perpetuation of traditions, and for this reason, it is eminently conservative. Learning “how to be a soldier” happens, mainly, through the day-to-day at the academy, and there are several

¹⁷The weight of tradition can be seen in the valorization of the Infantry, because in contemporary warfare, greater training in technology and specialized knowledge in informational techniques is required than the presence of a large number of soldiers. Although there are several plans to modernize military education, they do not seem to reflect this need.

rituals that help the resocialization process. At school, the binomial hierarchy and discipline are learned through formal and informal education. Even students from different years have hierarchical relationships with each other. Coercion and social cohesion are combined, for example, when evaluating cadets. Another important aspect is the choice of Arms. The cadets will spend a good part of their school life with their colleagues from the same Arm. Working under an internship regime, it can be said that during his main training period, the future general has practically no contact with civilians or even soldiers from other Forces, something that favors the formation of loyalty and corporatism ties, as well as distances civilian and military worldviews.

As a *Weltanschauung* separated from the civilian world comes to be considered superior, or even salvationist, is not the object of this article, but it has consequences that do not favor democracy, as the current militarization of politics exemplifies. Signs of this behavior can be found in the AMAN classes of the late 1970s. This text discussed trends that have continued since that period and are intended to offer clues about the future, which seems to repeat no longer as a farce, but as a tragedy.

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AUTHORS' CONTRIBUTIONS

Author 1 – Project coordinator, data collection, active participation in data analysis, and text writing.

Author 2 – Data analysis and review of the final writing.

Author 3 – Formatting and data analysis.

DECLARATION OF CONFLICT OF INTEREST

The authors declare that there is no conflict of interest with this article.

Submitted: 12/09/2020

Approved: 07/16/2021