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THE OLIVE GREEN ICEBERG: A STUDY OF THE CULTURAL ELEMENTS OF THE BRAZILIAN ARMY, ACCORDING TO THE THEORY OF EDGAR SCHEIN

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All content in this magazine is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution License. Attribution-Non-Commercial-Non-Derivatives 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-ND 4.0). Abstract: The Brazilian Army is an institution of great prestige in Brazilian society, having actively participated in the remarkable events of national history. Therefore, interest in the cultural issues of this organization is aroused. In order to shed light on the subject, a qualitative study was carried out, based on document analysis, which provided the identification of the main aspects that contributed to the formation and consolidation of the institution's culture, as well as the historical nuances that guided the process. As a result, it was possible to identify the elements of the military culture of the Land Force and the way they were coined throughout history through a series of symbolic devices, intentionally inserted in this social group.

Keywords: Culture. Formation. Brazilian army.

INTRODUCTION

The Brazilian Army is an institution of great prestige in Brazilian society, having actively participated in the remarkable events of national history. In view of this scenario, interest is aroused in the cultural formation of this institution. Therefore, this study aimed to identify the process of cultural formation of the EB. For this, it was necessary to conceptualize the term culture, deepening its understanding for the military area, as well as raising the historical aspects that contributed to the cultural formation of the institution.

Although it is an institution with centuries of existence, with a vast literature on its history, current scientific productions do not bring a direct relationship between the historical process and the creation of a specific organizational culture. The military archetype, indelibly marked by conservatism, disciplinary rigidity and physical health, was not born by chance. An ideal figure of a soldier was inherited, coming from antiquity, which was molded to the cultural traits of the Brazilian people, outlining a genuinely national military culture (that is, related to the military class). Therefore, the study is justified by the emergence of the themes that constitute the axis of this discussion, with the main objective of identifying the main aspects that contributed to the formation and consolidation of the institution's culture.

METHODOLOGY

The study of the type is qualitative, where "there is a dynamic relationship between the real world and the subject, that is, an inseparable link between the objective world and the subjectivity of the subject that cannot be translated into numbers" (SILVA and MENEZES, 2001, p. 20). As for the objectives, the research had an exploratory character, which according to Lakatos and Marconi (2002) allows identifying the different forms of phenomena, while expanding the explanation of cause and effect relationships, favoring the understanding of the behavior of several factors. and elements that influence the investigated phenomenon.

Data collection had a documentary character, initially exploring publications by renowned authors dealing with the topic of culture. To support the analysis, the next step was to adopt a classification for the analysis, having chosen the method created by Schein (2017). Then, the exploration of documents that portray the formation of the Brazilian Army took place. Finally, the analysis of the institution's main regulations, which govern the conduct of its members, was analyzed. This way, it was possible to relate the historical facts that marked the institutional formation with the regulations in force in the institution. From there, inference was used to identify and separate the elements of the Brazilian military organizational culture, according to the classification adopted.

ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE

The concept of "culture" is broad and complex. Understandings on the subject are dynamic and have taken on a new guise over the years from Tylor to the present day. However, for the present work, the simplified definition for the term is deemed sufficient: set of habits, behavioral norms, knowledge, beliefs and symbolic systems that differentiate one group from another.

In order to understand aspects of Organizational Culture, it is inevitable to turn to Edgar Schein, considered the father of this concept and who revolutionized the analysis of organizational culture insofar as he defined different levels of analysis. the cultural phenomenon is visible to the observer". According to Schein, the big mistake that many analyzes made was precisely not considering the different degrees of manifestation of culture, which he classified as follows: "Artifacts", "Exposed beliefs and values" and "basic assumptions" (SCHEIN, 2017, p. 23). On the first level are the visible aspects, the tip of the "iceberg":

> Artifacts include the group's visible products, such as the architecture of its physical environment; your language; its technology and products; your artistic creations; their style embodied in clothing, ways of communicating, emotional manifestations, myths and stories told about the organization; their explicit lists of values; its observable rituals and ceremonies and so on.

While easy to observe, artifacts are not always easily deciphered. For Schein, the longer the observer lives in the group, the more clarity he will have about the artifacts. Based on this premise, we intend to use this author's experience in more than twenty years in the Army to clearly identify the cultural artifacts at issue in the study. The second level is the exposed beliefs and values, which for Schein (2017), translate into strategies, goals and philosophies. When analyzing this concept, Machado; Maranhão and Pereira (2016, p. 83) highlight:

It can be said that these exposed beliefs and values are solutions proposed by leaders that help organizational decisions, at a less widespread level. They are rational manifests of behavior that present themselves in an idealized way. In this sense, the beliefs and values exposed would be the validation stage for the emergence of basic assumptions.

With regard to this level, an analogy can be made, with the central part of the "iceberg", that is, they can be observed in a certain way, although they are not as exposed as the artifacts. Finally, the deepest elements, those that are ingrained in the institution's "DNA", are the basic assumptions:

> When the solution to a problem works repeatedly, we come to accept it as true. What was a hypothesis, supported only by an intuition or a value, gradually comes to be treated as reality... small variation in a social unit. (SCHEIN, 2017, p. 28).

Also known as basic assumptions, this third level of cultural elements for Schein (2017) are the most important. To vary the analogy a little, they would be the "base of the pyramid", as the exposed values and artifacts are built on them. As a conclusion, the author's own text can be used, in which he synthesizes the representative elements of the three levels of culture, conceived by him:

While the essence of a group's culture is its pattern of basic assumptions, shared and assumed to be true, it will manifest at the level of observable artifacts and assumed and shared beliefs and values. (SCHEIN, 2017, p. 33).

This form of analysis, proposed by the author, facilitates the understanding and study of an organization's culture. Therefore, it will be adopted in this work, where we will seek to raise the elements of the Brazilian Army's military culture to, then, seek to infer about their influence on the Military Colleges, particularly with regard to the process of school inclusion.

CONSIDERATIONS ON MILITARY CULTURE

From the general concept of the term "culture", a definition for the term "military culture" is outlined. Since the formation of the first human civilizations, it has become imperative to designate a part of a group for war actions, in clashes against other groups, particularly in defense of the people and the territory. These conflicts between different human groups have always been present throughout human history, not only for the purpose of preservation, but also for the purpose of launching attacks on enemy peoples, leading them, increasingly, to dedicate themselves specifically The art of war. One of the references to this day in this field, unequivocally, is Sun Tzu (2005, p.115), who, about five hundred years before Christ, already postulated:

> War is a matter of vital importance to the State; a matter of life and death, the road to survival or ruin. It is mandatory that it be thoroughly studied. This is serious business. There is apprehension when men rush to it without due thought.

Over time, there was a growing need for specialization for combat, which led to the emergence of specific contingents for military actions. The exercise of military activity, whose action is ultimately linked to the exercise of violence, places the military in a different situation within the social group, presupposing the need for physical and moral attributes. Acting in a battle scenario requires physical characteristics compatible with the efforts to which the soldier may be exposed. Foucault (1987, p. 162) presents an interesting view of the ideal figure of the soldier, extolling virtues such as physical vigor and courage. Over time, military institutions were structured around this archetype, with their own characteristics, according to the particularities of each society, but also with common stereotypes, which, according to Foucault (1987, p. 182) could be "manufactured"

> [...] the soldier has become something that is made; from a formless mass, from an inapt body, the machine needed was made; postures were gradually corrected; slowly a calculated constraint runs through each part of the body, takes possession of it, bends the whole, makes it perpetually available, and continues, in silence, in the automatism of habits; in short, the peasant was "cast out" and given the "soldier's face".

With the increase in military demands, it became necessary to group soldiers in specific places, called barracks. For Foucault (1987) they served to secure the army, prevent looting and violence; calm the inhabitants who can't stand the passing troops; avoid conflicts with civil authorities; to stop desertions; control expenses. Inside the barracks and also during the war campaigns, the uses and customs were coined over time, during the daily coexistence between the soldiers, outlining the peculiarities of this group. Resuming the concept of culture adopted in this study, it can be said that the social function of the military, even in different societies, constituted a set of habits, norms of behavior, knowledge, beliefs and symbolic systems that differentiated, characterizing a "military culture".

> [...] Military culture is essentially the way things are done in military organizations. Military culture is the set of values, customs, traditions and conceptual basis that over time have become the character of the military profession. (SOUZA, 2015, p. 16).

This characteristic way of being and doing was coined over the years, bringing to military organizations basic assumptions common to the figure of the soldier. Therefore, this "military culture" goes beyond the borders of countries and is present in the stereotype of the individual with weapons. To reveal the components of this stereotype, we turn again to Foucault, who brought up the expression "docile bodies". The "docilization" he refers to is related to the techniques and strategies used to "shape" the individual into the specific conditions that one wants to achieve. This mechanism seems to be ideal to apply to those who will be prepared for the exercise of violence, in a conflict situation, since they will be given weapons and war equipment.

Therefore, it appears that one of the fundamental factors, not only for harmonious internal coexistence, but for the ultimate success in military campaigns is discipline. Sun Tzu (2005) postulates that war has five fundamental factors: moral influence, time, terrain, command and discipline, which, according to him, invokes respect for hierarchy, organization, control and the assignment of appropriate functions to junior officers. Military discipline is conceptualized in the military law of our country as follows:

Discipline is the strict observance and full compliance with the laws, regulations, norms and provisions that underlie the military organization and coordinate its regular and harmonious functioning, resulting in the perfect fulfillment of duty by each and every one of the components of this organization. (BRAZIL, 1980).

achieve the rigid As resources to disciplinary state essential to armies, several mechanisms emerge. Linked to the "Foucauldian" process of docility, there is one of the most evident processes of body manipulation, characteristic of the military stereotype: "united order". It consists of specific and precise movements, whose details express minute meanings, performed in a group in the search for maximum uniformity. The exhaustive repetition and the necessary precision lead the soldier to introject it into his own personality, as the aforementioned

description of the 18th century soldier shows. This would be, therefore, one of the manifestations of disciplinary power. However, for the discipline to be effective, other resources must be used, which Foucault (2017, p. 196) calls "the hierarchical gaze", the normalizing sanction and its combination in a procedure that is specific to it, the examination. ". There appears another mainstay of military culture, which is the hierarchy.

> But the disciplinary look did, in fact, need scale. Better than the circle, the pyramid could meet two requirements: it was complete enough to form a network without a gap — the possibility, as a result, of multiplying its steps, and of spreading them over the entire surface to be controlled (FOUCAULT, 2017, p.199).

The military hierarchy would be, therefore, an elaborate machinery of maintenance of disciplinary power, which, to be effective, would need constant surveillance in order to verify and impel each member of the group to act in accordance with military norms. For this term, the Military Statute provides the following definition:

> § 1 The military hierarchy is the ordering of authority, at different levels, within the structure of the Armed Forces. The ordination is done by rank or rank; within the same rank or rank, it is based on seniority in the rank or rank. Respect for hierarchy is embodied in the spirit of compliance with the sequence of authority. (BRAZIL, 1980).

In this step, pyramidal structures were established, at the apex of which is the supreme commander of the military institution. Towards the base of the pyramid, power is distributed at certain points so that control can permeate the entire structure. We would then have hierarchical surveillance working as a function of disciplinary power, and these elements are common to different military groups around the world. Hierarchy and discipline are, therefore, basic elements of military culture, which transcend territorial boundaries and characterize the military in different countries.

THE CULTURAL FORMATION OF THE BRAZILIAN ARMY

The origins of Brazilian military culture date back to the colonial period, based on the Portuguese troops that were sent to Brazilian lands almost half a century after the discovery:

> The first more or less regular troop that Brazil had, coming from Portugal, was composed of the 600 volunteers who, in 1549. They disembarked with the governor general Thomé de Souza, in Bahia. Nothing is known for certain about its organization, as well as that of the soldiers who, under the orders of the Sas, fought the French in Rio de Janeiro. (RODRIGUES, 1922, p.4). The original spelling is maintained.

Over time, the colony began to arouse greater interest in Portugal, due to the natural resources, which led the metropolis to worry about the defense of new lands, due to the greed of other countries.

> The metropolis' interest in the country becomes greater and the ambition of other colonizing nations makes people think more about the defense of Brazil. Big fights take place. The forces that take part in them are formed in our own territory, in accordance with the military precepts of the time. The thirds of whites, blacks and Indians appear (RODRIGUES, 1922, p. 4). The original spelling is maintained.

This concern became reality with the Dutch invasions of Recife.

Undertaken by the West India Company, first in 1624, being expelled the following year and, later, in 1630, when they dominated the region for twenty-four years. The Dutch intended to take advantage of it economically and also to launch, from there, military offensives to expand their domains (Bento, 2004). Dissatisfactions of different orders, led the natives to disapprove of the Dutch yoke, culminating in the so-called Pernambuco Insurrection, characterized by some revolts, with the aim of expelling them. For this purpose, the then governor of Bahia sent Sergeant Major Antônio Dias Cardoso to Pernambuco, who organized and trained Portuguese-Brazilian civilians, forming a small contingent, considered the mother cell of the Brazilian Army. After years of conflict, the Dutch invaders were finally driven out, thanks to the newly acquired spirit of nationality on the part of the locals. In this process, the "Batalha dos Guararapes", started on April 19, 1648, stood out as a central milestone in the formation of the Brazilian land military force, whose date was officially adopted as the Army day, as we will see in more detail later.

With the success of the restoration project in Pernambuco, the first genuinely Brazilian military unit was created there. Gradually, new military corps were created and relocated in the southeast and south. Following the dynamics of interiorization that characterized Brazilian history, units were gradually created in the Midwest and in the Amazon region. After its birth, the Brazilian Army was always involved and acted prominently in the main historical facts that marked the country, among them the independence of Portugal, the revolts of the second reign, the War of the Triple Alliance, the Vargas Era and the military coup. 1964. As it is not the objective of this work to describe the historical facts that marked the constitution and development of the EB, the focus will be on the process of formation of the Brazilian military ethos.

In this attempt, we turn to the work of Celso Castro (2002), an eminent anthropologist dedicated to unraveling the construction of Brazilian military identity, with several published works on the subject. He states that the process of defining the EB's cultural identity involved the adoption of a set of symbolic elements. The first significant symbolic apparatus was the adoption of the Battle of Guararapes as the birth event of the Brazilian Army.

> In 1994, on the initiative of the Minister of the Army, General Zenildo, Army Day was created, on the date of the 1st Battle of Guararapes (April 19, 1648). The Battle of Guararapes was a very important event in the process of expulsion of the Dutch troops who occupied the region of Pernambuco between 1630 and 1654. (CASTRO, 2002, p.42).

It is verified that there is a concern in linking the historical elements to the symbolic elements that one wants to propagate. In this particular case, as Castro (2002) asserts, an attempt was made to link the birth of the army to the birth of Brazilian nationality, reinforcing the idea of integrity and national cohesion due to the union of the three races that constitute the Brazilian people (white, black and Indian) around an ideal. The figures of origin of these three races that stood out in the campaign, which are considered patriarchs and adorn the galleries of heroes of all barracks, are worshiped until today.

> The version officially presented by the Army today about the main leaders celebrates five 'Patriarchs of the Army': the commanderin-chief of the restoring army between 1648 and 1654, Francisco Barreto de Menezes; the kingdom João Fernandes Vieira; the 'mazombo' (white resident born in Brazil) André Vidal de Negreiros; the Indian Antônio Felipe Camarão; and the black Henrique Dias (CASTRO, 2002, p. 59).

Through the worship of the heroes of Guararapes, it was sought to ignite the spirit of patriotism and nationality of the Brazilian military. With this historical landmark as a background, several moral attributes are worked on, considered suitable for our soldiers. This symbolic construction remains alive and is carried out through military ceremonies, commemorative events and many other rites that are carried out in the week of April 19, called Army Week. Another significant undertaking in the symbolic field was the adoption of the figure of Duque de Caxias, the patron of the army, as an ideal soldier profile, replacing the imposing historical figure of Marechal Osório, also a candidate for the post.

> Luís Alves de Lima e Silva (1803-1880), the Duke of Caxias, is officially worshiped as Patron of the Army. On the day of his birth, August 25th, Soldier's Day is celebrated. However, Caxias died in 1880 and it was only in 1923 that the Army officially began to worship him. For four decades, the main Brazilian military commemoration took place on the anniversary of the Battle of Tuiuti (May 24, 1866), the biggest of the Paraguayan War, with Manuel Luís Osório (1808-1879), commander of the Brazilian forces, its main hero. After the official introduction of the "cult of Caxias" in 1923, in the following decades Osório was replaced by Caxias as the ideal model of the Brazilian soldier. (CASTRO, 2002, p. 9).

Born in 1803, on Fazenda São Paulo, located in Vila da Estrela, in the Captaincy of Rio de Janeiro (today, the municipality of Caxias), in a family of general lineage, Luís Alves de Lima e Silva, began his career at a very young age. outstanding military man for an irreproachable conduct and an unmistakable talent as a strategist (Castro, 2002). In more than 60 years of acting on behalf of the nation, he figured not only as a soldier, but also as a brilliant politician and public administrator. In addition to standing out in the pacification of four internal revolts, he also shone in the Paraguayan War, being accredited to appear in the gallery of the greatest captains of World Military History, as asserts Silva (2002, p.65) who thus defines the personality of the patron:

> He had a clear vision of human nature and the gift of perceiving the qualities of the leaders he had faced or of the populations he proposed to pacify or exercise commands in their midst. He had a balanced and solid temperament, calm and healthy of nerves,

in addition to a controlled emotion, without exaggeration or affective imbalances of any kind.

These characteristics seemed to qualify him to occupy the position of model soldier, in the search for a Brazilian military identity. This way, from 1923 onwards, the day of his birth began to be celebrated as the "Soldier's Day", which still happens today in the barracks, where speeches, military ceremonies and many other ritualistic elements can be seen. It seems to have been the serenity of the figure of Caxias, the main factor for choosing him as patron, in the search for an internal unity and institutional stability, as revealed by Castro (2002, p.13). This is explained by the fact that the "tenentes" of 1922 experienced a time when the military was more engaged in politics and therefore subject to movements that led to indiscipline. As seen in Sun Tzu's doctrine, this attribute must be one of the pillars of military strength, without which victory cannot be achieved. The search for discipline reveals that the Brazilian Army inherited this trait from the general military culture. In this sense, Brazilian military leaders sought to link the figure of the patron to the soldier's day as an antidote against the indiscipline and politicization of the military, in the search for a symbolic link guided by the spirit of legality and national integration.

By choosing the figure of Caxias as patron, the aim was not only to increase an internal symbolic apparatus by establishing a paradigm of military virtues, but also to use this almost sanctified image, in search of the unity and integrity of the homeland. An attempt was then made to link Caxias' acts of leadership to the assumptions that the Army thought it necessary to create and improve. This strategy seems to have been correct since, according to Machado; Maranhão and Pereira (2016, p. 84), leadership is the source of creation, manipulation and even extinction of an organizational culture. This understanding is in line with the concepts pointed out by Schein (2017), for whom the birth of this type of belief occurs from an act of a future leader.

In the end, any group reflects someone's original beliefs and values, their sense of what must be, what is different from what is. When a group is created or when faced with a new task, issue or problem, the first solution proposed to deal with it reflects some of the individual's own assumptions about what is right or wrong, what will work or not. (SCHEIN, 2017, p. 25).

Castro (2002) describes an interesting fact in the cultural construction of the Army in this process. He narrates that Caxias, in 1925, named the group formed that year at the Escola Militar do Realengo, cradle of the formation of the officialdom at that time, being the first to adopt this procedure. The idea of christening the group seems to have come from a French colonel who was at the school as an adviser to the French Military Mission, a true revolution in Brazilian military doctrine, which took place at the beginning of the 20th century. By importing this French military custom, the class of 1925 inaugurated a tradition that remains to this day, as can be seen in the hall with plaques with the names of the classes at the Academia Militar das Agulhas Negras (successor to the Escola Militar do Realengo).

A period that revolutionized the destiny of the Army, in this sense, was when Colonel José Pessoa Cavalcanti de Albuquerque was appointed commander of the Military School in 1930. He was responsible for the adoption of a series of symbolic devices that remain until today in the imagination of the military. Among them is the marlin, a replica of the Caxias sword that adorns the uniforms of AMAN students, carefully named with the title of "Cadet". As described by Castro (2002), the figure of Caxias must hover among the cadets of Brazil, as well as that of Napoleon at the Academy of Saint-Cyr and that of Washington at West Point. This adornment, symbol of a detailed rite of passage, is solemnly delivered to this day, on the week of August 25, in a ceremony surrounded by symbology. In the midst of these transformations, José Pessoa also created the Caxias Medal, awarded to the best-ranked student, as a stimulus to academic merit. It appears, therefore, that a true cult of Caxias began to be established, which extended beyond the military walls, reaching the entire society. So much so, that people who were methodical and extremely committed to their tasks were called "caxias".

Increasing the symbolic apparatus of force, the French colonel's idea of naming the gangs with the name of military heroes took shape, and this procedure was extended to other internal institutions. Particularly, at a time when the figure of the greatest icon of the Paraguayan campaigns, until then, Marechal Osório, had to give way so as not to overshadow the shine that would be destined for Caxias. Hero of the battle of Tuiuti, Osório came to be referred to as the Patron of the Brazilian "Cavalry", an honorable title for such an important historical figure, however, hierarchically inferior to the Patron of the Army. To situate the reader, the combat functions, in the EB, are divided and assigned to specific groups, called "Armas". They make up the core of the combat apparatus and are currently two "base weapons": Infantry and Cavalry (from Osório) and three support: Artillery, Engineering and Communications.

In addition, there are cadres and services that are in charge of the logistical and administrative part, with the most prestigious within the force being the Military Materiel cadre and the Intendency Service, whose officer training courses are given at AMAN, together with with the training course of the five weapons mentioned above. The attribution of patrons to each of them was a way of symbolically bringing together, under the same prerogative, the ideal soldier model to compose that weapon, frame or service (Castro, 2002, p. 19).

In the early years of AMAN, the cadet is not linked to any Weapon, Staff or Service, being submitted to basic instructions and training. At the end of the second year, he must define his military specialty, choosing one of the seven available courses, and he will be linked to that specialty until the end of his career. By the way, the weight of AMAN in the process of formation and consolidation of cultural artifacts in the Brazilian Army is great. This is because that is where the future Force Commanders come from, who are declared Aspirants-to-Officer at the end of the course, coming to climb, through seniority or merit, the other positions of the officer during their career. In command functions, aided by sergeants, they are those who determine the destinies of the force, reproduce the institutional discourse and encourage the maintenance of cultural artifacts.

Thus, considering that the symbolic apparatus, adopted by the Army, arise or pass, for the most part, through the cradle of official training. Therefore, the cultural elements developed at AMAN will be described and then gradually spread to the entire institution. However, first it is necessary to understand that teaching at AMAN is part of a larger whole that is the Army Teaching System (SEE), which has specific guiding principles. Established by Law 9786, of February 8, 1999, it has its own characteristics and is intended to qualify the human resources necessary for the occupation of positions and for the performance of functions foreseen in the scope of the Army, whether in times of peace or war.

The next standard on the SEE scale is the Regulation of Common Precepts for Army Educational Establishments, R 126, according to the normative hierarchy prescribed in its article 35. From that legal diploma, it is interesting to point out the institutionalization of the cult of military heroes through the loan of their names to the groups of students of the different courses. This tradition, as seen earlier, began in the process of "cult" to Caxias and extends to the present day, being meticulously detailed by the R 126. The figure of this "saint-soldier" also hovers over the matrix of the formation of the Officially, AMAN, where students (Cadets) receive, in a ceremony full of family members and guests, an object that is considered the very symbol of military honor: the "sword", a miniature of the campaign saber of the patron of the Army.

Among the various aspects of the cultural construction that make up the military spirit coined at AMAN, one that attracts attention is the issue of meritocracy, according to Castro (2004, p.42): "the image of healthy competition is very strong at AMAN. It presupposes the equality of conditions for all people at the initial moment, from there, a scale of individual merits approved through exams will be formed". Another cultural construction quite present in the formation of the Officer and, by extension, in the composition of the "military spirit" is the division into "weapons". It would be a kind of subdivision of the military spirit in which it is contained. As seen before, the seven courses that the cadet chooses at the end of the second year are like a "marriage" with a military qualification, which goes beyond the technical field and is inserted in the very military personality of each cadet, as described by Castro (2004, p. 48):

> The spirits of the Arms compose the classification system that establishes homology between the personal characteristics required by the different "missions", that is, tasks of each weapon in a combat situation [...] Each weapon shares more or less mandatory rules of conduct and a stock of common symbols (emblems, songs, mottos, patrons) related to the Weapon's spirit.

Continuing in this direction, we arrive at another element introduced by José Pessoa, with a strong symbolic appeal and producer of the identity inherent to the military spirit, the implementation of the Cadet Corps. This term designated a coherent totalizing military set, which had the human, material and symbolic resources necessary for the military framing of students, under the aegis of a rigid statute. At that time, the Cadet Corps Regulations, had characteristics that did not differ much from what is currently available in terms of control refinement.

As an indispensable account of the participant ethnography conducted by Celso Castro, it appears, therefore, that the main cultural artifacts inserted in the AMAN give a good representation of the military culture disseminated in the barracks. Through it, we sought to unveil the "military spirit", reigning in the institution. All the devices seen so far have led to the wide range of cultural instruments that characterize military life. This can be easily verified in the regulations that guide the institution (which will be presented below).

José Pessoa's concerns seem to have materialized, in the sense that there is provision, in the country's maximum law of separation between the military and political life, as is evident in this article. Not that the military must be "apolitical", but there is a concern with this institutional separation. In addition, the artifacts represented by hierarchy and discipline, heirs of a world military culture that crosses time, remain unequivocally materialized. These artifacts seem to have been imported from the Law that regulates military conduct, the Statute of the Military (E 1), a kind of statutory class regulation mixed with a code of professional ethics, enacted eight years earlier. The statute already presents hierarchy and discipline as basic values, placing the components of the Armed Forces in a different category of servants (the military) and conceptualizes them as follows:

The military hierarchy is the ordering of authority, at different levels, within the structure of the Armed Forces. The ordination is done by rank or rank; within the same rank or rank, it is based on seniority in the rank or rank. § 2 Discipline is the strict observance and full compliance with the laws, regulations, norms and provisions that underlie the military organization and coordinate its regular and harmonious functioning, resulting in the perfect fulfillment of duty by each and every one of the components. of this organism (BRAZIL, 1980).

This statute even defines what would be the essential manifestations of military valor: patriotism; civics and the cult of historical traditions; faith in the higher mission of the Armed Forces; the esprit de corps; love for the profession of arms and technicalprofessional improvement. Military ethics are also regulated in detail in E1, which stipulates that the "feeling of duty, military dignity and class decorum impose irreproachable moral and professional conduct on each member of the Armed Forces". In the same article, the precepts to which the members of the Armed Forces are subject are defined, which are related to truth, responsibility, efficiency, probity, justice, camaraderie and several other moral attributes (BRASIL, 1988).

Continuing to identify the marks of the "military spirit" present in the EB's internal regulations, among the most present in everyday life, which govern the conduct and behavior of the military in various fields, are the four main regulations: the Internal Regulation and Services General (RISG), The Military Salute, Signs of Respect and Honors Regulations (R Cont), the Army Administration Regulations (RAE) and the Army Disciplinary Regulations (RDE), which, although they follow the currently adopted nomenclature system for military publications they are affectionately known as R 1, R 2, R 3 and R 4. These regulations were promulgated by means of a Presidential Decree, constituting a true "umbrella", under which all other regulations emanate. that govern the conduct of the members of the Land Forces.

The first of them, as the name implies, regulates a whole range of activities and procedures related to the daily life of a Military Organization. Although it is aimed at organizations of the "troop corps" type, that is, those whose main function is focused on combat actions, it applies, subsidiary to any OM. It is interesting to note that, in military life, conducts are regulated in the smallest details, which is explicit when observing the Titles and Chapters that make up the RISG. It must be noted that this wealth of details was not always present in the Brazilian military routine. The embryo of the current AMAN, the Royal Military Academy 1810, had very few regulatory provisions, as revealed by Castro (2004). Gradually these control devices were introduced, with emphasis on the adoption of the first Internal Regulation of the Cadet Corps of the Military School, implemented by José Pessoa, denoting a cultural heritage. The Regulations even describe the duties of its members, from the Commander to the most modern soldiers. Throughout the articles, one can observe a strong presence of cultural artifacts linked to the discipline. Another aspect that is evident is the concern with the cult of heroes and traditions, when the norm defines that each unit can own and maintain a cultural space in order to highlight the historical achievements or the heroes of the OM or the Army (BRASIL, 2003), p. 54-55).

The Cult of Heroes, military deeds and symbols that exhort patriotism and memory are blatantly highlighted in article 340, which prescribes that there must be no expedient, nor instruction, other than national holidays, on dates that were symbolically adopted, as seen above, in this case, the Soldier's Day and the Army's Day, with other prescriptions being made regarding the dates.

The other basic Regulation of the institution is the Regulation of salutes, signs of respect and military honors (R Cont), essentially focused on the detailed regulation of the complex network of ceremonial protocols. This regulation was initially introduced by means of a Presidential Decree, since at the time of its promulgation the Ministry of Defense had not yet been created. With this advent, a Normative Ordinance of 2009 was promulgated, amended in 2013, giving a new appearance to this regulation. The changes introduced did not diminish the symbolic weight of this rule in military culture. There, the conduct to be adopted is described in detail to expose the numerous forms of exaltation of discipline and respect for hierarchy.

The next regulation, which is of great importance in the daily life of Army military organizations, is the Army Administration Regulation. However, as it is more focused on administrative issues, the cultural artifacts that we are trying to highlight are not so evident. However, the rigor of the administrative rules, based on the austerity of the use of resources, reveals remnants of the elements that are being identified. The last of the four basic legal diplomas, that were analyzed here, brings in its name a basic element of the military culture that was also embedded in the Brazilian land force: discipline. Approved by a presidential decree in 2002, the Army's Disciplinary Regulations list and specify the disciplinary transgressions, as well as the punishments to which active duty, paid reserve and retired military personnel are subject, if they fall into any of them, which are called disciplinary transgression:

Article 14. Disciplinary transgression is any action practiced by the military contrary to the precepts established in the national legal system, offensive to ethics, duties and military obligations, even in its elementary and simple manifestation, or even that affects personal honor, military honor and class decorum. (BRAZIL, 2002).

The capitulation of conduct considered inappropriate leads the military, who must know them very well, to act in order to move away from them so as not to be the target of a "disciplinary punishment", that is, the penalty. Attached to R 4 is a list containing the description of one hundred and thirteen conducts typified as military transgressions.

This brief normative historical survey was not intended to carry out an institutional analysis of the Brazilian Army. This task requires a much more in-depth study of a complex institution, with more than four hundred and seventy years of history, spread across the most diverse corners of this country. Therefore, here we only tried to make a small cut of the cultural formation process of this institution, picking out some facts and norms that could help in the characterization of the main cultural elements present in the EB, aiming to sediment the argumentative construction of this study.

ELEMENTS OF BRAZILIAN MILITARY ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE

In order to explain the analysis of the results, firstly, it is necessary to explain the document analysis carried out to select the aspects of Brazilian military culture that would be part of this study. This selection followed the prescriptions of Schein (2017), who postulates that the culture of an organization is structured at three different levels. It is interesting to point out that in the Brazilian Army, because it is a strong and millenary culture, the deepest levels of culture, over

time, were embedded in the most superficial levels, also manifesting themselves in the "tip of the iceberg". ", which hardly occurs in other organizations, where really only the last level is exposed.

At a deeper level, among the basic assumptions, indisputably are hierarchy and discipline. Although the literature on the subject considers that these assumptions are not explicit, this is an exception in the case of the Brazilian Army. The institution is heir to traditions that transcend time and space. Since the organization, the first human groups destined to make war, they were already present, resisting time and remaining in the unconscious of the contemporary Brazilian soldier and in their habits and customs. This is because it is a strong culture, whose assumptions have been tried so many times that today they have already been incorporated into the "DNA" of the organization, being indisputable.

Therefore, they are fully characterized, appearing even in the constitutional text that speaks of the Armed Forces. All infraconstitutional military norms are indelibly aligned to these assumptions, which corroborates the thesis that they must appear as central values to be analyzed. Therefore, for the present study, at the deepest level of culture, these two assumptions were picked: hierarchy and discipline. The way in which these two pillars manifest themselves in all military situations and environments is blatant. The hierarchical classification is defined in detail in the statute of the military and other regulations, and the military with the lowest precedence is commonly called the most "modern", while the one with the highest precedence is given the nickname of "oldest". This grading of the hierarchy permeates the entire universe of military coexistence, being present in the coexistence relationships, in the use of symbols, uniforms, in the occupation

of physical space and in other aspects, corroborating the idea of intertwining the deepest levels of culture at the lowest levels. superficial.

On a second level are the beliefs and values exposed, embodied in the mission, vision of the future and values. These premises are described on the organization's official website, where the mission is: "To contribute to the guarantee of national sovereignty, constitutional powers, law and order, safeguarding national interests and cooperating with national development and well-being". to be social". As a vision of the future, the following was established: "to be an Army capable of being present, modern, endowed with adequate means and highly prepared professionals, composed of military capabilities that overcome the challenges of the 21st century and can support the sovereign decisions of Brazil".

The military profession has a somewhat paradoxical character: the preparation for a situation that all humanity strives not to reach: war. This situation leads the armed forces to be in constant preparation and training, while meeting the demands of the institution's internal performance in subsidiary activities. This fact demands from the military an effort in physical health and in the constant maintenance of training standards for combat or combat support.

In order to guarantee the fulfillment of the proposed mission and in accordance with the outlined vision of the future, the institution makes explicit, on its website, its main values, among them: Patriotism, Duty, Loyalty, Probity and Courage. From the definition given for these values, some words were selected to be used as registration units: symbol, tradition, regulation, authority, camaraderie, honesty, duty and responsibility.

Finally, at the most external level are cultural artifacts, which are more palpable and therefore more easily identifiable. At this level are: symbols, norms, buildings, clothing, communication standards, training, the system of rewards and punishments, heroes and myths, as well as ceremonies and rituals. Here it will be necessary to dwell a little longer due to the fact that these artifacts are more easily identifiable and therefore there is a tendency for them to be cited more often. It is interesting to note that the elements of the deeper levels will manifest in the higher levels, the artifacts being the visible manifestation of the elements of the other levels. To explain these artifacts, the author makes use of a participatory ethnography, drawing on his twenty-four uninterrupted years of service to the army, in which he lived and lives these elements directly and daily. It is understood the need for the researcher to keep his distance from the research object, however, the characterization of these artifacts can be easily scientifically certified through the citation of extracts from military manuals, however it would take the writing in a dull and boring direction. Therefore, it will be limited to a simple description based on the author's experience.

Regarding symbols, there is an immense amount of representations of them in the EB culture. It can be said that the symbology permeates and manifests itself in almost all other elements. The norms are extremely farfetched, with rules of procedures and conduct for practically everything, following the logic of regulation that goes back to the Military School of Realengo, previously mentioned. Regarding the buildings, despite the large number and variety of units that make up the Land Force, there is a common logic in the architectural sets, which tend to follow the "Foucauldian panotype". Regardless of the size and nature of the land used in the construction, there is a central building where the command offices are installed. From there it is possible to observe outside,

seeing who arrives and inside, where the component segments of the troop corps are installed. Inside military installations, the use of specific, extremely characteristic clothing is required, which makes it easy to distinguish the military from other segments of society. The military uniform is full of symbology, there is one for each occasion, but all with standardized indications of the hierarchical degree, the specialty, the unit to which the soldier belongs and even the rewards and distinctions received.

As it could not be different in a culture that has inherited millennia of tradition, the communication pattern is extremely peculiar. This is evident and draws the attention of any civilian, the moment the military greets each other. This act is formally manifested through the "continence", which is mockingly attributed to the military throughout society. It always starts from the most modern to the oldest and is characterized by the gesture of energetically bringing the right hand to the source. Despite appearing to be a simple greeting, salute has a particular ceremonial, detailed in R2. Other communication patterns are also very characteristic, such as the need to use the vocative "sir" when addressing a soldier of higher hierarchical rank, regardless of their chronological age. Communications are governed by an extensive set of rules, which always imply.

The trainings are also regulated in farfetched rules. Plans are developed for each situation, which guide training within the Force. This starts with the Army's Strategic Plan, which lasts three years and guides the execution of the activities of preparing and employing the troops and goes up to the lowest levels of training in the military units. Some contingency plans are constantly being trained, such as the defense of the barracks and fire fighting. Although more common in operational units, a standard training program, previously prepared and approved by the Army Command, is always followed. Training activities are, therefore, constant in the barracks, whether for professional activities, to maintain physical health, to perform military ceremonies or rites or to maintain training in the various areas of military action. Some courses and internships entitle the military to display in their uniform briefs that identify successful completion of that training program. This once again reinforces the idea that military cultural artifacts intertwine and manifest together.

The systems of rewards and punishments are very structured and with very explicit rules. Rewards are given to those who excel in their activities, sometimes being materialized in medals, which may adorn the uniforms. There are also written rewards, published in an internal bulletin and with total or partial dismissals from the service. Punishments, on the other hand, are applied only after a process in which the transgressor is offered the opportunity to exercise the right to "adversarial" and "broad defense". Although this is a modern implementation, as a rule, there were already formulas in the military disciplinary regulations for the gradation of punishment to be applied. These sanctions are applied to those who commit the disciplinary offenses described in Annex I of the RDE and range from a verbal warning to administrative imprisonment.

Other striking artifacts in military culture are heroes and myths. The insertion of these elements in the Brazilian cultural apparatus was described in Section 2.4 where the EB cultural formation was discussed. The myths and heroes are still present in the military daily life, through the attribution of the historical denomination of buildings, halls, training classes. Even in the bookkeeping of documents there is this concern, and annually, a sentence that exhorts a personality or historical fact must be printed at the end of each document issued. As can be seen, there is an institutional concern and standardization in the cult of myths and heroes, a fact that is aligned with the value of the "cult of traditions", evidenced at the intermediate level of the culture of this organization.

Finally, the ceremonies and rituals follow very strict and exhaustively trained protocols and deserve particular detail. A military meeting is internally called a "graduation", an act coated with symbolism and its own characteristics, where body movements are rigidly controlled. Military jargon is said to be "in shape" whoever participates in this activity, which begins with the assembling of each troop fraction by its commander, who is responsible for checking for absences and delays. Invariably the individuals are arranged on the ground in columns and rows rigidly covered and aligned.

With his fraction in these conditions, his commander "presents" him to the commander of the next hierarchical level, passing on to him the "command" of that group. This goes on successively until the command of the entire set of soldiers is in the hands of the Sub-commander of the unit, who is in charge of presenting to the person who presides over the ceremony, who is the Commander of the unit or a higher authority who is present. The rule is immobility, constituting a disciplinary carry transgression out deliberate to individual movements. Thus, each soldier who is in shape starts to constitute a single "body", which moves through pre-established commands, each one corresponding to a gesture exhaustively rehearsed and performed by all in sync.

The uniform is standardized and must be of the same type for everyone, according to the symbology of the occasion. There is, in the military architectural complexes, a specific and specific place used for graduation. During the ceremony, rites and rituals are performed, where manifestations of hierarchy and discipline are revealed, reinforcing the values adopted by force and worshiping myths and heroes. It appears, therefore, that in a military graduation, the elements present in the three levels of culture proposed by Schein (2017) are exposed.

In order for the reader to have more clarity regarding the cultural elements, as well as the levels at which they are distributed, Table 1 was created, where the ways in which these elements can be expressed can also be observed:

CONCLUSION

The present work dealt with questions related to the elements of the military culture of Brazil and its relation with the current symbolic apparatus of the Brazilian Army. As a result of this work, a survey of the cultural elements of the EB was obtained, whose forms of manifestation were expressed in Table 1.

Regarding the objectives set, it can be said that they were fully achieved. Throughout the work, it was possible to distinguish the organizational culture of the Brazilian Army, initially, by a quick passage through the concept of culture and later by the use of organizational culture analysis methods proposed by Edgar Schein. Another objective achieved was the identification of the elements of the Brazilian Army's organizational culture.

The present study will certainly compose the framework of publications on the subject, since there is a shortage of scientific productions in this area, which put a specific lens on the elements of the culture of the institution researched, according to the classification adopted. Furthermore, the conclusions obtained lay the foundations for a deeper study, starting from a higher level. It is suggested that further studies focus on data collection through instruments that can prove the knowledge obtained with document analysis.

The limits of this work are limited to the characteristics of a theoretical study, which by their nature are not intended to experimentally prove the data collected. Despite the fact that the study suffered some limitations, it can be said that the results obtained were relevant, highlighting the elements that make up the cultural framework of the Brazilian Army, which could be clearly identified.

Levels	Expressions
Level I - Cultural Artifacts	Symbols (Badges, chevrons, insignia)
	Rules
	Buildings (Architectural Conformation)
	Clothing (Uniforms)
	Communication standards (Continence, jargon)
	Trainings
	System of rewards and punishments
	Heroes and myths
	Ceremonies and Rituals (Graduations)
Level II - Exposed Values	Patriotism, Duty, Loyalty, Probity and Courage
Level III - Basic assumptions	Hierarquia
	Subject

Table 1: Expressions of the cultural elements of EB.

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