

Blood in the eyes, skulls and wars: old and new social configurations in the urban conflict in São Paulo state, Brazil

José Douglas dos Santos Silva

PhD in Social Sciences - PPGCS / UNICAMP - SP / Brazil. CNPq bursary. Adviser: Gabriel Feltran.

Summary: At the end of 2016, the mass media boasted the murder of five young people in Mogi das Cruzes (a city in São Paulo Metropolitan Region - Brazil). The lines of investigation pointed to an institutional symbiosis between municipal guards and military police, which resulted in the death of boys whose corpses had signs of torture, as well as that of a young wheelchair user, stabbed and decapitated. This and other events serve as initial discussion regarding a certain permanence/warlike presence in the institutional field, as well as in the contemporary urban social universe. This text, therefore, endeavors to map the spread and municipal participation in the agenda of public security and its armed composition. At first, I intend to expose the macrodebate about the existence and participation of municipal guards in the security agenda in the process of "redemocratization" and, even superficially, to present the fields of force and their respective movements. In a second stage, I see inside the daily life of a municipal guards collective, little more than twenty years old from a city in São Paulo Metropolitan Region, and effectively study a grouping called *caveiras* (skulls). For that, I expatiate about their training and skills - about the exercise of forging, hone *skulls*

Keywords: Cities, Municipal Civil Guard; São Paulo Metropolitan region; Security Management; Military Police.

I. New configurations and actors in the São Paulo urban conflict.

It is necessary to recognize the mechanisms that make people capable of committing such acts. ADORNO, Theodor. Education and Emancipation (2006).

The Suplice

The news from that fternoon in November 2016 show the images of the clamor of relatives about the disappearance of five black youngsters, from the rough outskirts. Cries and screams of despair are images that echo in the police TV programs in the late afternoon, repeated countless times. This scenario gains more dramatic elements with the finding, after twenty days, of five corpses in a rural area of Mogi das Cruzes (a city in the metropolitan area of São Paulo). They were young men who had their hands tied and had signs of torture; besides, one of them, disabled below the lower part of the hip, suffered a different punishment from the others - had his body stabbed and decapitated. All the boys were found, strategically, in lime-covered pits, in order to accelerate the decomposition process and hinder possible evidence. Lastly, television programs reported on the following days that the investigation line drawn up by the Civil Police led to the provisional arrest of a municipal guard, member of an *elite group*, and the suspicion for participation of two other guards and military policemen as executors of their torture and murder.

The file

About 500 people were murdered in May 2006 in just one week in São Paulo state. A city located in the São Paulo Metropolitan Region was the scene of one of the earliest records of homicide in that context, with the murder of two Municipal Guards in one night. Two days later a crime report produced a narrative in which two military policemen, the only witnesses, attended a "firearm shooting incident." They found a green Fiat Uno Mille/SMART with seventeen perforations and located a corpse in a nearby street, with injuries to the left thigh, arms and back, as a result of seven firearm shots. The forensic report showed, some time later, the information that the drillings came from a 380 caliber weapon in positioning shot mostly from top to bottom. During the months in which the police investigation continues, quick statements by the investigators decree: "without witnesses, because there rules the law of silence" and "the victim was a drug dealer known to the neighborhood." Finally, the case was filed in the trial court level, along with the other nine investigations that dealt with the crimes of those days, which occurred between May 12 and 20, 2006, and with a concise dispatch of the Judiciary: "without news in the investigation, I demand filing."

Scenes of different contexts, times and protagonists, but with a certain axis of similitude, a certain universe in common. The suplice is anchored in the television TV newscasts as regards our daily mechanism of

reverberating insecurity and of deconstructing the humanity from those who are currently called 'dangerous'. The other scene is the filing, elaborated from surveys conducted over a little more than ten years, during which time I passed through police stations and justice forums, and are substantially anchored in the reading of crime reports, police investigations and cadaveric reports, which carry in themselves trails of the bureaucratic labyrinths surrounding homicides in the country. However, two succinct records with similar plots present a certain symbiosis between municipal guards and deaths, sometimes executioners, sometimes victims. In the 2000s, these urban scenes provoked the entry of municipal guards into the security agenda and their consolidation as new actors in the context of São Paulo metropolitan area. Therefore, this text is intended to discuss the poignant and recent participation of groups within the municipal guards in the *fight against crime*, supported by an understanding of confrontation, *ostensive, bellicose* 4.

There are some initial questions that serve more as a reference of elaboration rather than a fixed conclusion on these boiling social processes. We question in what circumstances and to what extent do we succumb to the military appeals and institutional daydreams? How do they consolidate this agenda and these warlike actors? What follows are cartographies of a murky and silent spread of the municipal security agenda, with the participation of the ROMUs (*Ronda Ostensiva Municipal* - Municipal Ostensive Ronda) or, as some of the members prefer to be named, *the skulls*. Finally, I make one last remark: I opted for changing the names of places and people, recognizing the losses and gains of this bet.

II. Security and movement: the design and the institutional wishes throughout the re-democratization.

Foucault (2008, p. 11) describes "security" as a broad modular movement, which operates both in the legal framework, with the definition of crimes and their punishments, and in a surveillance framework, being this the control of localities and subjects including incarceration and all the entanglement of discipline. It is a socially possible movement due to the issues of the tolerable average, actions that take into consideration the social and economic cost for a given society to manage its security agenda in a certain time and space.

The big issue is what must be tolerated and what must be repressed, and for our contemporary configuration of "security" there are unprecedented laws, norms, and regulations that categorize certain crimes and their punishments with the need for a physical event, an increasingly capillary state-owned corporeal of which the Municipal Guards are appointed as members, as part of this great movement of "fighting crime", "war on crime". In order to do so, it is observed that the 1988 "Citizen Constitution", the legal milestone of the Brazilian redemocratization, which distinguishes the military-civil regime from the democratic regime. It presents various regulations, delimitations and attributions of the bodies established for the exercise of "security" in the country, in a large diagram that extends from the federal scope, through the state to the municipal level. However, as the 583 days (from February 1st, 1987 until October 5th, 1988) of the Constituent Assembly elaboration indicate, it was subject to strong intervention of military groups, of institutions in force that inferred to the text their demands and understandings of social processes. The progress of the Constituent Assembly, in its subcommittee "State and society defense and security", built thirteen "public hearings" with several "experts", but opened up a certain configuration that was consolidated in the final text. There was only one representative of "civil society," the OAB (*Ordem dos Advogados do Brasil* - Brazilian Bar Association) Federal President; all the others present orbited in the field of the current security agenda: from the deputy director of the Nucleus of Strategic Studies from the University of Campinas, PhD in military sciences to the School of Command and General Staff of the Army, to a range of state agents, such as professors from the Superior School of War, Commanders of the Civil and Military Police of several states, representatives of the Federal Police, Fire Brigade Commander, and representatives from the Army, Aeronautics and Navy (BACKERS, AZEVEDO, ARAUJO 2009, pp. 281-282). It was an organized movement of influence and power in the body of the Constitution text, regarding the security agenda. This type of movement is visible, for example, in the attributions of the Military Police, which is still in force as an "organization based on military hierarchy and discipline" (Article 42 of the Constitution) and "auxiliary force status of the Army" (Art. 144, §6, of the CF) or in the "Maintenance of the State Military Justice" (Art.125, §3 and §5, of the CF).

Finally, this dispute resulted in Chapter III of the Federal Constitution, regarding to "Public Security", with attributions and delimitations of the Federal Police, Federal Highway Police, Federal Railway Police, Civil Police, Military Police and Military Fire Brigade, as well as with institutional definitions for the Municipal Guards: "protection of goods, services and facilities at the municipal level" (BRAZIL, 1988) - something that, over the years, has been suffering interpretations and disputes. With regard to the municipal security agenda specifically, during the last almost twenty years, there has been a strong federal participation and vortexes around the duties of the guards, their expansion, their capacities, their training and their paradigms - disputes ranging from the tone of the uniform to the exercise of their functions: the great pendulum that transits between the "preventive" and the "ostensive". It is also observed that, in the years 2000s were created the Municipal

Secretariats, Councils and Local Forums, mostly based on a perception of "citizen security", popular participation and preventive actions of "fight against crime".

The concern, at the federal level, with a municipal security agenda makes the National Public Security Fund, linked to the Ministry of Justice, guarantee resources in 2001 for cities with municipal guards; and, in another movement, between 2004 and 2005, the "National curriculum matrix for municipal guards" emerges through an action of the National Public Security Secretariat (SENASP). Finally, in this institutional framework in which the local security paradigm is based, in August 2014, the General Statute of Municipal Guards becomes law.

It is a text fraught with concerns about the Institutional Action in a "democratic state of law" and which sets out in the "minimum principles" the requirement of "the protection of fundamental human rights, the exercise of citizenship and public liberties "(BRAZIL, LEO 13.022). The Statute is a clear bet on a democratic institutional body that operates a way of acting on the security agenda: "preservation of life, reduction of suffering and reduction of losses". In passages of the law, there is the express desire of an educational apparatus with the "implantation of the culture of peace in the local community" and with concern to distinguish itself from the other state institutions of security: "can not be subject to the disciplinary regulations of military nature "and "the hierarchical structure of the municipal guard can not use names identical to the military in terms of rank and graduations, titles, uniforms, badges and distinctions "(Kopitke, 2016, p.78). It is understood as an attempt to "reverse the symbolic and cultural reference to the PMs (agents of the military police)" present in public security institutions.

The Statute carries a framework of valorization of human rights and with the novelty in the duties of the Municipal Guards' functions: "collaborate in an integrated way with the public security organs in joint actions that contribute to social peace"; "send to the police officer, in the presence of a flagrant crime, the perpetrator of the infraction, preserving the crime scene, whenever possible and whenever necessary"; "integrate with the other organs of administrative police power, in order to contribute to the regulation and control of postures and municipal urban planning" or "in the exercise of their powers, the municipal guard can collaborate or work together with security public organs of the Federal Union, the States and the Federal District, or Guards of neighboring municipalities "(BRAZIL Law No. 13.022).

Definitely, in the 2000s, the pendulum of the security agenda, in the broad debate at the federal level at the intersection with municipalities, inclines toward the human rights grammar linked to security. Times of laws, norms, institutions, researches and researchers that fomented a coexistence, a possibility of discussions for a new security agenda. There was a bet that the pendulum would lead to a context commensurate with democracy, with the guarantees of rights and, above all, that this state effort would produce a new way of working the city security agenda, impacting on other institutions and agents. However, the institutional cornerstone that pushed the pendulum to the democratic agenda in the municipal security institution (actions mostly for distribution of resources and modifications, from top to bottom, in the legislative and organizational spheres) are rapidly and paradoxically losing strength; seems to have encountered a contrary, stronger and more consolidated wind, which gradually forces it to another direction-and perhaps towards a position never seen before; or, at least, not since the 1988 Constitution (mostly daily actions, through knowledge and morality).

III. The bellicose force: expansion in the metropolitan region of São Paulo.

Currently there are just over two thousand and two hundred Municipal Guards scattered in only eight cities that make up a certain fraction of the West Zone of the Western São Paulo Metropolitan Region. A force that tends to increase, in the heat of public events and public administrations, is increasingly thirsty to present local responses to the "fight against organized crime", to "fight crime", around moral disputes; read here a framework of demands, such as repression of funk parties, prisons for theft and robbery, arrests for illicit drug trafficking, *repression to irregular commerce*. A movement always exponential, attentive to encompass new demands. An institutional movement that quietly passed through the restricted delimitation of functions to the security of the municipal public patrimony for the participation of internal groups of the municipal guards in the repression and the "fight against organized crime". A visible movement in the simple treatment given by several residents to the municipal guard, much referred to during the 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s by nicknames such as *Playmobil*, a children's toy, a jocular expression that accused the population discredit.

Nowadays, mentions to this same guard, titling it as *police, violent, trouble*, showing a certain turn, a new city facet. The own agenda of expansion of the Municipal Guards in the years 2000s is characterized by creations of security secretariats with its own budget and, along the time, counted on the participation of military policemen in training course and managers from these secretariats, a phenomenon not unique to the region, as shown by Melo (2014), being something that gains resistance, brakes, with the emergence of the Municipal Guard Statute. However, as an alert (SOUZA, 2012. P. 220), municipal managers have been succumbing "to the temptation to make the municipality more of an armed wing", something that is expanded by the diffuse narrative, institutional configuration of creation of "elite groups", "ostensive" work in places with suspicious

people and attitudes. From the eight cities that make up the Metropolitan Region of São Paulo, six have tactics to confront "crime" from collectives such as ROMU, and another city is in the process of including ostensible patrols in their daily lives. Therefore, for certain cities, places and subjects there is a real overlap of police institutions. To combat *crime*, military police, civil police and now municipal guards are shuffled. The panacea of municipal security taken by a routine of fear and incitement of local combat is based on an understanding of a *new crime*, a crime personified in the urban villain: the PCC (*Primeiro Comando da Capital* - First Command of the Capital), by the increasing number of thefts and robbery of cars, motorcycles and cell phones; as well as a moralizing agenda around fighting the funk parties .

Authors such as Corrolo and Kemmerich (2016) risk to name the context as an effervescence of the municipal security agenda, a "new federative paradigm", a movement resulting, in this perception, of the fact that municipalities have some administrative, financial and legislative autonomy to look after the goods, services and municipal facilities, as well as to claim "ostensible policing", according to the following interpretation: "(it would be) unreasonable not to protect people when they are in danger" (Corrolo, Kemmerich, 2016: 137) Thus, the local institutional repressive dream materializes in groups of ROMU's, units within the municipal guards that carry out activities with training different from the other members of the guard, making use of thick caliber weapons and also acting in places understood as *risky*. The vehicles are typically SUVs (Sport Utility Vehicles) or four-wheel-drive trucks, more powerful engines than those normally used in fleets. It is common for police vehicles to stand out with a certain customization, such as symbols and paintings in dark shades of blue, serving as camouflage, symbolizing the groupings. In order to do so, the analytical movement of this text focuses its attention on the training of ROMU in a city in São Paulo metropolitan region, and and it's up to us to think about how a *skull* is produced and how a *war* is oxygenated.

IV. Forging the body and the mind: the transformations of / for skull.

These people there are from the tactical (pointing to a ROMU car), it's the people chosen within the corporation itself. They are more trained, the commander adjudges who fits to the job. It's the people who seek the job. Personnel who checks a complaint: oh the *biqueira* (toe cap, point of illicit drugs sale) so, so (at this moment the interlocutor gesturing with the hand imitating a telephone). Then the guys go drooling, go to strike. The difference is this, a more trained staff, the most disciplined, a staff that doesn't "give any news" (bring trouble). "When the beast catches" (things go really bad), it's them that come. Those who search more are those who walk through the most dangerous places of the city. It's the people who like to do it, who go after it, like to work, who could blow a *biqueira* every day. There are people who work hoping for something to happen, for them to vibrate, there is blood in their eyes.

Civil Guard Lucas. Diário de Campo, January 2018.

The public administrations in the West of the São Paulo Metropolitan Region mostly bet on constituting a detachment within the municipal guards called Municipal Ostensive Rounds (ROMU) - something that they understand as an *elite troop*, a composition that is distinguished from the other members of the municipal guards, in order to carry out works of urban repression to the various illegal typifications. It is a component within the spectrum of the city security agenda that is built in association with other institutions already consolidated, robust and in process of multiplication. Maria city was no different: it composed its first formation and grouping in ROMU in the early 2000s. An exercise carried out not by the law, but a priori, through short courses, further training, lectures , institutional affections and a series of activities that go into the routine of the municipal guard. Capillary actions that hatch throughout the years 2000s and oxygenate a way to understand the security agenda, of *teaching to be a skull*. Therefore, without great fanfare and in search of training to fight *organized crime*, the municipal guard of Maria opted to hold a course orchestrated by two military police officers, from the detachment of the Tactical Force of São Paulo Military Police. This is the inaugural landmark of the *skulls* time, with a learning of one week duration and with high devotional delivery. Pedro, a municipal guard for nearly twenty years, a man with a slow, articulated voice, participated in this training and describes the course divided into two stages: *Theoretical* (in which he explains there were discussed conceptions of human rights, community policing and understanding of what is organized crime). He describes his learning process as: *learning a bit of legislation, working more participatory with the community and understanding that crime is not the same as before!* And a second step, which does not deny the first, called *practice, tactical patrolling* with the simulation of performance in *favelas* (shanty towns), *with strategies of approach and combat*. Since then, the *skulls* have been trained and trained in recent years by other patrol teams of municipal guards in several cities in São Paulo state and in Brazil. They affect and are affected by understandings of security in the bellicose key, of conflict, a kind of multiplier of those bets that call to work together other institutions, other bodies and minds. The persistence and oxygenation of an institutional warlike enchantment are present i most of the interviewees' stories, through the Commander's room to the various ceremonials. In this warlike universe orbit two references. The first is a fifteen days training in an *elite troop* of

Rio de Janeiro military police, seen as a *watershed*; something recorded in my field diary in a chat with a high-echelon member of Maria's Guard:

We have a war! We received confirmation that we were allowed to take a 15-day course. We were already physically preparing for two months and then we went. And the next day we started the training, super hard, meticulous. The guys are very good. Everyone has the greatest respect for us, all very nice. I remember we were having lunch on a day of heavy training, a police officer arrived and sat next to us, with those clothes there that everyone knows ... He still said: "Look, you can't have pity for criminals; after they are caught, handcuffed and without a weapon, it is something... Then let them catch you ... So you can't have any pity. If a mother has to cry, let it be his. Guy! It has changed the life of everyone, we learned to be more attentive at work, to have constant technique So you have to have the physical and mental well worked. Imagine yourself in the same position for hours. Because that's it; for a progression in favela you have to have a lot of technique. Each two, four meters to be advanced sometimes takes two hours to pass the whole team.

Diário de Campo, September 2017.

The second reference point that orbits in the universe of the municipal guards of Maria is another *elite troop* from the São Paulo Military Police. This reference was explicit in the invited lecturers for seminars in the municipal institution; on videos shared on Whatsapp; in the candidate for state deputy who came from that *elite police*, for which part of the composition of the municipal guards declared vote and did campaigning for the 2018 election. Therefore, a universe that transited countersigned in various symbologies, in rites of the *elite troops* of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo military polices: institutions with historical trajectories of confrontation and high lethality. The bet was to *mirror the best*, as once addressed the Guard Commander to his team, thus a movement that led this group to conduct constant training with military police officers in several states and with security training companies for the private and public sectors.. These bellicose trainings consolidate changes in the functions of municipal security agendas, something that Guarda João, an institutional agent of just over ten years profession, explains:

I tried to be more professional, more attentive to work after these courses. And when I have a course of improvement, I participate, because working with public safety is not really a joke, it's not for everyone. Every day is new, there is no routine.

The masculine noun *transformative* (transformativo) was recurrent in the speeches of the interlocutors, in reference to certain courses. There was a certain preponderance in positivating them, as Guardia João describes:

The best course I did was taught by the military police, course of tactical actions. Because our three-month course, the guys give you the uniform and gun and put you out there. I think this course of tactical action that I did in a week, but was very worth doing, you see? Much of what I learned scored ten to zero in the three, four-month course I did in municipal guard. Around ten, twelve hours a day. You striving right there and learning how to work properly.

That is to say, they consisted of courses that hone bodies and minds in an understanding of *working correctly*, as the guard Vinicius explains:

Move, incursion into a favela, there was a mini favela. How to enter, knowing how to enter, join a team. Tactical cell, one defending the other, shooting tactic, all these things.

The theoretical and practical beacon that the interlocutors presented is guided by a combat agenda, of *working correctly*, in which the enemy is central, an urban enemy, near, abominable and hazy. A kind of contemporary reinterpretation of the enemies that always haunted the imagery of public security in the Brazilian state of exception and also part of the police at the present time. They are the object of strong negotiation, information and speeches that *organized crime* is in expansion and that demands an antithesis to its height, more and more bellicose and in constant expansion of its functions; a changing state machinery. In this analytical configuration of the interlocutors, there was an unprecedented *evolution of crime* in the years 2000, with better armaments, numerous criminals, an expansion of the retail sale of illicit drugs and a diversification of crimes (bank robbery, burglary, motorcycles and cars robbery). For that, it is required that the city secretaries of security enter into what the interlocutors identify as: *combat, war*. Therefore responding *energetically, swiftly and forcefully* turns the ideal urban scenario and engaging in the conflict gradually brings political prestige, as well as prestige among part of the residents and voters. In other words, the state machinery of the city is transformed by this tireless warfare against *organized crime*, step by step, moving towards unimaginable horizons.

Organized crime functions as a driver of structural transformations in the understanding of municipal guards' actions, from the warfare narrative (*war, combat, conflict*) to exponential physical expansion (which was only a small part of a building, sharing space with the Social Service Department of the city, quickly became, in the mid-2000s, a building (*base*) of the Secretariat of Municipal Security). Perhaps one of the moments that synthesize this local twist, this warlike enchantment, is an annual course that ritualizes and processes that

motive force capable of oxygenating the bodies and minds of the municipal guards about a *war*. Knowledge and morals that form a course of PATAMO (*Patrulhamento Tático Motorizado* - Motorized Tactical Patrol), a movement that enchants guards to act in teams to combat *crime*. What began as an exclusive course for guards of Maria mayor, *proudly* counts nowadays with the participation of guards from 35 municipalities from several states of the country. In dialogues with managers and instructors of the course, or even in ceremonials, they always point out that *it is an ongoing reference for municipal guard*. There is a dispute for certain protagonism in certain environments; a political and social configuration that tends to encourage the creation of several courses and trainings in several cities, in partnership with several companies in the country: *Tactical direction course, urban survival tactics course, advanced tactical shooting course, shock weapons course, course of chemical agents, course of tactical patrol, course of patrolling in high risk area, course of urban police tactics*. The last version of the PATAMO course in the city of Maria had a load of 250 hours, distributed in two weeks, with *few hours of theory* and *many of practice*, as the Guard Commander informs. The class was of 40 municipal guards, being two women and thirty-eight men. Concurred, as the master of ceremony informs at the opening of the course: *get to know, gentlemen, that you are privileged! The search for this course does not stop. Several mayors have already sent emails requesting new classes*. The social and political synergy gives the course the title of one of the events of great repercussion in the city: local SENAI (*Serviço Nacional de Aprendizagem Industrial* - National Service of Industrial Learning) made available, besides the auditorium and all the professional infrastructure of the inaugural class; the Mayor provided breakfast and apparatus for the course, such as the cost of the speakers, in addition to the other instructors throughout the course; the non-lethal weapons company provided a training instructor for their materials; and, finally, the Brazilian Army barracks of the neighboring city *lent* training weapons (a disabled shotgun that was used constantly in trainings) and an instructor for the Tactical APH (emergency medical care) course. From this synergy, I present an excerpt from the field diary of the inaugural speech:

The master of ceremony asks everyone to stand and the National Anthem begins. The crowded auditorium sings euphorically. Now it is the turn of the city anthem: the local guards sing precisely every single part. With the end of the hymns, the master of ceremony receives a ticket and informs that the deputy and speaker of the day is already present. I look back, I'm right at the front door. The antechamber, seconds before, was full of laughter, of chatter with gluttonous city guards. Now there was silence. An air of respect, of admiration takes those men. Cell phones taken from the pockets, photos, "congratulations", "thank you for the work" are the gestures and speeches in that antechamber. The deputy faces that crowd of guards, taking pictures with the help of an adviser who tries to make way, asking for leave. Upon entering the auditorium, he is received standing and with a round of palms. The master of ceremony does not hesitate: "the word is with you, sir!" *Diário de Campo*, January 2018.

The inaugural lecture, with its first speaker, gives the tone of the course: *I came here not for a lecture, but for a conversation and to pass some of my experience*. The experience consists of a series of daily military police issues, which will be reinterpreted by that crowded audience of municipal guards: *the mentality of Brazilians must change. Only here in Brazil we think that crook is poor!* The audience respectfully makes silence and listens attentively to every argument. Already another speaker, also a security consultant and retired military policeman, stresses that *care must be taken with sadism and with the psyche!* - "- a preview of the formation of the course, in which a tenuous line between sadism, joy and suffering will be evident at various moments. The course exposes an apprenticeship within the context of mental and physical stress, as the course coordinator informs: *a guard who goes through this training can endure the service. If you need to stay ten hours standing, you will stay; if you need to stay fourteen hours in a favela, you'll stay. That's what we train for!* Therefore, exposure to the suffering of that student body ends up being the central element of the training; each step cuts and jiggles these guards to act in the urban context. The activities require training, carried out exhaustively, relentlessly mimicked. The training camp of the last PATAMO course took place in an area far from the city, at the bottom of a local park, where a small native forest with birds and small monkeys persists. At the entrance of this space, just ahead, there is a structured block with four doors, which simulates a residence, and to the right, just after climbing an improvised staircase, two shacks are seen in the middle of the forest. In one of them, on the right side, the following graffiti stands out: *Are you scared?* These two spaces, according to the instructors, *bring reality to the training. They simulate real environments!* They are central spaces in the formation of new guards.

The course presented that face of what França (2014) calls "pedagogy of suffering", which is to expose the physical and the mental to the constant exercise to obtain certain merit. It is no wonder that, after the course, the apts boast of being *skulls*, of *overcoming an unprecedented adversity, of overcoming death*. They form an initial *shift* (class) of forty male municipal guards, of whom only twenty men complete the course. About the women, from the two participants, only one completes the course. Wearing black boots, pants and long sleeves in dark blue, as well as a belt to attach a water canteen, a bulletproof vest, a numbered helmet and a backpack,

they daily practice exercises, repeating shouting the activities properly orchestrated. It is rehearsed countless times, in a scorching sun, the entrance of the patrol groups into the fictitious *favela*, set up for the days of training. Each step is organized collectively, each member has its function and is an integral part of the collective that advances in the fictional *favela* to *catch bandit*. The advances, the gestures, the attitudes, the positions surrounded by scoldings. One of the instructors, already hoarse, accompanies each movement, and with a stick hits the helmet of the guards in moments of error: *You mocorongos (goofs); You'll never learn! Sheriff, I'm losing patience with you! You can't learn! Pay attention and do it again!*

The training for PATAMO wrestles instructors and instructed: a field of tension that is prompted by the instructors themselves. In an interval-of-activity conversation, in the rare lunchtimes, I hear a dialogue of instructors: *I think zero eight is taking my bait. He's getting pissed*. The instructors' strategy was to succumb those instructed by means of mental techniques such as derision, scorn, and inferiority speaks - all duly justified, because, for the instructors this procedure had the purpose of taking *the psychological to the limit; it's necessary to hone to work in limit situations*. This dispute had another face, physic, of putting these guards to run for long ways, to do squats, crunches - a series of activities that were repeated, also in order to prepare the body to face adversities. Here is an excerpt from the field diary:

The instructor requests that they come in threes (guards) to "save time and load". They are exactly in front of the group of educated, "in shape". Kneeling in front of a series of bulletproof vests, which serve as a protective mattress, and with their back to the instructor. Part of the guidance of the instructor is for the three guards to lock up, intertwining their arms. They are all with their muscles rigid. I'm about ten feet away and I can see the vein of their necks jumping from here. The instructor millimetrically and calmly positions the guards, fastening a staple in the sleeve of the guard's right shirt and another staple in the guard's collar on the left. He explains that, with this, an electric current occurs among the three. Other guards who are not in training laugh and turn on cell phones to record the moment. Calmly, the instructor pulls away, holds the weapon in his left hand, and with his right hand holds the trigger. Then he prepares and fires a shock load of about three seconds. The adrift body falls, spasms are visible, even after the end of the shot. And so, in groups of three, the training goes on. The instructor suggests/challenges: by the time I say now, I want to hear Brazil. The guards follow with dry screams, contracted in pain, can not speak; the body shrinks, debate on the floor. Seconds later, as a provocation, a challenge, we hear loud shouts: ROMU, Brazil. Diário de Campo, January 2018.

Physical and psychological aggressions, in short, all processes converged from the perspective of what instructors reported on how to *shape, form the best, select*. As a record, in my field diary, I report a space of tension between instructors and guards:

I do not know how he is here today and how he got back from the hospital for the third time. A few hours of rest, serum in the vein and was ready to return to training. I confess I am impressed by such determination, almost an unbreakable faith. In just one week of course, I see his body suffer quickly. I hear the hubbub of the instructors: some bets that zero seven will be the next to give up the course. The commander whispers: *this guy is a warrior!* Today the sun punishes. It's just over thirty degrees and the situation is aggravated by the non-lethal weapons training stage. Zero seven back from the first aid at the worst moment. The training session ended with ginger gas, however, one of the instructors picks up the zero-seven by the arms, which has just returned from the hospital, and rages: *Mr. zero seven is no better than anyone here. Therefore, you must go through all the processes that the others have passed. C'mon! C'mon!* Instructor M leads zero seven into an enclosed tent, where a gas pump is triggered. The two walk and sing. Instructor M requires that zero seven sings louder. At that moment, the Commander accompanying the training comments: *M ain't easy. We have to watch him*. And at that moment, he goes to the tent, where M and zero seven come out staggering. Diário de Campo, January 2018.

Training is a time to mimic attitudes with rituals and symbologies of violence: attitudes, singing, war cries, exhausted body, on the limit, bodies suffering through the days. Screams, morale bombs, ginger gas bombs, everything is properly orchestrated to manage new bodies and minds to urban combat, to make them violent. Mostly of the municipal guards who follow a similar trajectory have undergone compulsory military service, with rules, knowledge and mimetic morals of what they witness in the course, and many of them fancy professional careers in the military police or other police institutions. Going through this stage, through this kind of training, to all the guards I talked about throughout the course, was necessary, just, right. There was even the story of a guard who went through the process a second time; in its first attempt he had succumbed to the days of physical and mental stress. He had asked for something that I heard the most from the instructors over the days: *ask to leave, go away, give back the helmet*.

Learning from suffering, with unbreakable hierarchy, was the course agenda. Some *moderate violence* guided the course: a permanent dispute, a pride in not yielding to physical and mental adversities. The need of courage to act on the streets was always emphasized, seen as unpredictable, violent places. The guards who sought to be *skulls* wanted a distinction in their career, in the work environment. They sought to explore a

difference between municipal guards, in which clothes, signs, badges and approach to models of bellicose security: black beret, black apparel; a series of distinctions in their uniforms that distinguish them. They followed a path, side by side with violence, and underwent a certain physical and moral modification, proper to those who desire and give in to transformation. Finally, this succinct text had the purpose of raising a certain historical line of the composition of the municipal guards, their forces and their understandings in dispute. It also had the purpose of recording, even initially, the composition that has been gaining strength within the municipal institution - to expose that the pendulum of the municipal security agenda currently tends towards warlike actions, and that in recent years enjoys some social and political legitimacy. What is presented is a succinct analysis of this warlike presence, a certain seduction by strategies and war understandings in the urban security agenda, which is oxygenated through the constant training of the municipal guards, the idealization of the *skulls*, acclimatized to the city conflicts.

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