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A Psicologia nos programas da Escola Normal do Distrito Federal e sua adesão aos projetos eugênicos e higiênicos da Primeira República brasileira

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Resumo:

Nas transformações da sociedade brasileira entre o final do século XIX e início do XX, a Psicologia é apresentada pela Educação como uma base científica que subsidiaria a medição das funções cognitivas e a formação de professores para serem agentes do progresso social. A proposta deste estudo é analisar a presença da Psicologia nos programas da Escola Normal do Distrito Federal e também os termos e limites de sua adesão aos projetos eugênicos e higiênicos difundidos na primeira fase republicana brasileira. Na interpretação dos dados, foi utilizada a categoria bakhtiniana de dialogicidade, com base na qual identificamos que os programas estabelecem diálogos de ruptura discurso verticalizado da monarquia, paradoxalmente, de apoio ao estabelecimento de novas formas de subordinação social.

Palayras-chave:

Programas de ensino; Escola Normal do Distrito Federal; higienismo; eugenia; dialogia.

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The Psychology in the programs of the School of the Federal District and its accession to the eugenic and hygienic designs first Brazilian republic

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Abstract:

On the transformations of Brazilian society between the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, psychology is brought by education as a scientific base, supporting the measurement of cognitive functions and training teachers to be agents of social progress. This study proposes to understand the presence of psychology in the programs of the School of the Federal District and the terms and limits of its accession to the eugenic and hygienic projects founded in the first Brazilian republican phase. In the interpretation of the results was used Bakhtin category of dialogical. In this case, break dialogues in relation to the vertical discourse of the monarchy, but paradoxically related to the establishment of new forms of social subordination.

Keywords:

Learning programs; Normal School of the Federal District. hygienism; eugenia; dialogy.

La Psicología en los programas de la Escuela Regular del Distrito Federal y su adhesión a los proyectos eugenésicos e higiénicos de la Primera República brasileña

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Resumen:

En las transformaciones de la sociedad brasileña entre fines del siglo XIX y principio del XX, la psicología es presentada por la Educación como base científica que contribuiría con la medición de las funciones cognitivas y la formación de profesores para ser agentes del progreso social. La propuesta de este estudio es analizar la presencia de la Psicología en los programas de la Escuela Regular del Distrito Federal - Brasil y también los términos y límites de su adhesión a los proyectos eugenésicos e higiénicos difundidos en la primera fase republicana brasileña. En la interpretación de los datos, se utilizó la categoría bakhtiniana de *dialogicidad*, con base en la cual identificamos que los programas establecen diálogos de ruptura con el discurso verticalizado de la monarquía, pero, paradójicamente, de apoyo al establecimiento de nuevas formas de subordinación social.

Palabras clave:

Programas de enseñanza; Escuela Regular del Distrito Federal; higienismo; eugenesia; dialogía.

Introduction

The emergence of the psychological thought, for a long time, stopped being identified as a unique, original and localized experience. Even if its institutional framework is in the 19th century of Europe, the real constitution of its presence in the western world is demonstrated as intrinsically related to the peculiar conditions of the modernity in the different cultures, in the many constructions of plans of reflexive interiority and corresponding practices (Vidal, 2011).

During the transformations experienced by the Brazilian society between the late 19th century and the early 20th century, the schools were being constituted as one of the great institutional instruments for the phasing out of its imperial, rural and enslaver features towards models more modern and republican, urban and industrialized. However, the discussions regarding the encounter between Psychology and Education in the construction of these new molds are more visible only (or mainly) after the outbreak of the Progressive Education movement, during the second decade of the 20th century.

In this context, it is usual the recognition of the scientific foundations offered by Psychology for the educational reforms which intended to universalize the education, subsidizing the measurement of the cognitive functions in children, organizing its classification and training teachers to be "actors of social progress", "able to significantly change the environment in which they work" (Pinto, 2011). Thus, they contributed to implementing the educational process in a more complex historical process, in which mass education was developed as a factor of social inclusion of children and adults, in line with the industrialization processes that emerged in the country and the need to supply them with a trained and productive workforce.

However, although these scientific foundations were not provided so explicitly, the study of Psychology can be identified even before the beginning of the Progressive Education movement, as it was part of the subjects of Pedagogy and Educational Legislation and Moral and Civic Education since the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, in the Teacher Training Colleges of the Court and Federal District.

The relationship between the emergence of Psychology and the Education at the end of the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th

century remains very poorly explored. The idea of a lay and universal education, remains, as already mentioned, always related to the reforms revoked by the New State from the 1930s.

However, for a deeper understanding of this scenario, among a large number of other factors, the positivist ideas installed in Brazil from the second half of the 19th century should also be considered, which housed "the belief in the human progress guided by science and industry" (Bosi, 2004, p. 30). It should also be considered the progressive valorization of the normal schools, which, following the educational policies from the end of the Empire to the First Republic, provide the matrices for the affirmation of a growing bourgeoisie.

By proposing the secularism and free education, these schools were being gradually transformed, leaving aside their classical humanistic trend, and began to absorb the scientific trend that was taking its first steps in Europe and North America (Antunes, 2001). The national positivists, who always connected the abolition of slavery to the labor issue, were concerned about what they called "national proletariat". They expressed reservations about the mass immigration subsidized by the government (Bosi, 2004) and defended the constitution of a new type of labor, whose foundations would be the newcomer agricultural workers, who progressively sought other livelihoods in the urban environment.

Considering these opening remarks, we can affirm that the motivating question of this research was the presence of Psychology in the teacher-training course in the Normal School of the Federal District. This first boost, still in very broad terms, had as objective to understand it from its emergence as curricular topic inserted in the teaching of Pedagogy until the moment in which it acquired disciplinary autonomy, as well as to follow the role that the psychological ideas were assuming progressively until they become commonplace in the teacher training colleges.

During the research, however, these initial questions took new shapes. It became impossible to dissociate the normal schools from their respective teachings, whether from the Federal District, Minas Gerais or state of São Paulo, from the scientific concepts and practices entering the country in that period. Likewise, it became impossible to untie these practices through the establishment of a new political order, the republican, from the new cultural, social and economic institutions that would be corresponding to them.

Given the impossibility to embrace all the nuances of these questions, we investigated the presence of the Psychology in the programs of the Normal School of the Federal District, especially in relation to the terms and limits of its adhesion to the eugenic and hygienic projects disseminated during the first republican phase in Brazil.

The option for the programs in Psychology adopted in this specific historical period relates to the need to understand the emergence of the Brazilian psychological thought in a broader historical and discursive perspective. We took into consideration two basic issues.

On the one hand, we were attentive to its insertion in the set of instruments of social regulation that were present after the institutional crisis of the Second Empire. Such instruments should represent a new social and political order, a real *res publica*, but they, in practice, took the form of a "new scientific racism", "which activated a plethora of physical signs for defining the inferiority and the lack of civilization" (Schwarcz, 2012, p. 21).

On the other hand, the programs had specific characteristics, which reflected in a privileged way the social relationships involved in the communicational sphere. They implied a narrative production that reinforced the link between language, life and history, concentrating both the most habitual dimensions of the routine school regulations and its unquestionable relevance as historical document of the subjective formations.

Thus, coherently with our option, we sought, as interpretative source of data, a point of view, a category, which would enable the discussion between the historical narrative forms and the subjective productions, which would include the subject and its markings into the world of culture and would realize it as producer and reproducer of a given social construction.

The option for the socio-historical analysis perspective (Freitas, 2002) and, more particularly, for the bakhtinian category of *dialogicity* (Charaudeau & Maingueneau, 2004), was the key to relate the programs to other statements. Thus we were able to broaden the understanding of the teaching programs used in the normal schools, addressing them from two angles. The first relates to its property of *enunciation*: we sought to analyze them as a historical and singular sorting of the scientific-psychological discourse, in dialogue with the hygienist and eugenicist thought of the period. The second relates to its *interlocutive* property: they

were situated in the daily dialogue with the "others" to whom (and by whom) it was directed its civilizing-educational vocation.

Method

As already stated, the research is characterized by the documentary analysis, whose primary sources were the teaching programs of the Normal School of the Federal District between the years 1899 and 1929.

It is important to say that this temporal demarcation was not the first choice. Firstly, we had considered two events that mark the training of teachers during the first republican period: the reform of Benjamin Constant of 1890, in which among other provisions, it was ratified the presence of the Psychology in the curriculum of the Normal Schools in the First Republic, and the establishment of the new republican phase in Brazil in 1930. However, we found difficulties, which were imposed by the documents themselves. One of them is that, despite the representative quantity of localized programs, only those from the period between 1899 and 1929 were recovered. Besides this first restriction, it was also identified a documentary gap between the years 1918 and 1922, which was attributed to the dispersal of documents inside the Memory Center of the Brazilian Education itself (Centro de Memória da Educação Brasileira -CMEB) and to the loss resulting from the period before the creation of this center. According to the employees, the material is still in stage of archiving, being possible that one part of it is mixed with other files not related to the Normal Schools of the Court and Federal District.

For this reason, the consultation with the teaching programs of the Normal School of the Federal district was restricted to the sources housed in the CMEB, located at the Library of the Superior Institute of Education of Rio de Janeiro, created in June 2012. Its collection is composed of documentary archives from the different stages of the Institution, since its creation as Normal School of the Court until today.

Most of the teaching programs are packed in cardboard boxes, file type, with indications on the right side with the years of programs. They are bound as booklet, separated by year, or in a single tome, which contemplates multiple years. In these programs are found all the subjects taught, the program of studies and the distribution over the years of the normal course. A total of 18 programs were located, which correspond to the years: 1899, 1902, 1904, 1906 to 1915, 1917, 1923, 1924, 1927 to 1929. We noticed that the teaching of Psychology was started from the

third year of the normal course, and sometimes extending to the fourth year or being limited to this year. An exception is the program of 1923, in which it was not identified any mention to Psychology.

In strict coherence with our goals, the research was concentrated on the curricular topics that made explicit reference to the teaching of Psychology. We opted for presenting the programs of these subjects concisely, arranging them by year, with their programs of study, bibliography (when there was indication) and responsible professors (when there was indication). For reasons of space limitation, in the cases in which the program of study in Psychology was very long, we opted for reproducing only the items that were not repeated in the same year. We also opted for maintaining the writing of the bibliography and its authors as found. In the other reproductions, orthographic updates were performed, except for the excerpts between quotation marks, in which case the original writing was maintained.

As expected, in the data analysis, we sought to privilege the observation of the processes and mechanisms for "constitution of meanings construction and subjects" (Orlandi, 2012, p. 77), considering both the historical and theoretical affiliations of the discourse produced, and its contemporary entanglements.

The encounter with the category of dialogicity, present in the studies of the circle of Bakthin, offered the possibility to understand the programs in this broader perspective. As central element of the language, the dialogue is the "classic form of verbal communication" (Bakhtin, 1997, p. 294): it expresses the position of the speaker before the "previous wordings, emanating from himself/herself or from others", and the language system itself to which "its own wording is linked by some type of relationship" (Bakthin, 1997, p. 291).

We consider as place of locution the text of the teaching programs; these started being thought as wordings, as connecting links of a dialogue that are chained temporally and spatially. In this alternation of voices, in this game of wordings and replicas, of finite and finished parts, the social and historical marks, broader and dynamic, are updated (Marchezan, 2010), radicalized in this case, by the institutional nature of the programs.

Two are the plans of dialogicity that can be stablished and analyzed.

The first is the shown and explicit form of dialogue that is formed between the speaker and his/her more immediate and declared alterities. In this case, the European scientific though and those represented by its target audience.

The second is the constitution of programs as expression of two discursive genres that appear intrinsically related in this period of the Brazilian history: the republican and the scientific. To Bakhtin (1997), the genres would be social dialogues of relative stability, in which are assimilated impregnation forms from the social, historical, and cultural context (Marchezan, 2010). In this case, the dialogues are of rupture in relation to the vertical discourse of the monarchy, however, they are related paradoxically to the establishment of new discriminatory orders, based on the eugenicist and hygienist ideas.

Results

The presence of Psychology in the curriculum of the Normal Schools begins to be identified in the programs of the years between 1899 and 1902, where it has appeared in the content of Pedagogy, being offered in the third year of the normal course as Elementary notions of Psychology applied to education (1899) and Of Psychology (1902).

The first program was located in the context of the educational reform of 1890, undertaken by Benjamin Constant, then Minister of the Secretary of Public Education, Post & Telegraphs, during the government of Marechal Deodoro da Fonseca. This reform, which would be model for the whole Brazil, presented in its article 2 "The primary, free, unpaid and lay instruction" (Brasil, 1890, p. 1) for boys and girls. It also defined that no more religion or literature but science would be the foundation of the curricular organization and education (Gondra, 2004). It is important to stress that, in the context of this reform; it was created the Brazilian pedagogical museum, the Pedagogium, whose initiative was inspired in other republican countries considered as "advanced". The museum was considered "as one of the factors that explained, emphatically, the undeniable advances in terms of instruction that were verified in these countries then considered as references" (Gondra, 2004, p. 86).

More than an affiliation to the positivist thought of Augusto Comte, although not completely orthodox, the curricular reform of 1890 brought to the Brazilian scenario the conclusive idea of the implementation of a secular education, represented by the coexistence between the sexes in the initial instruction; whether by obliging the intuitive method, by standardizing the behaviors or by the "scientific" concerns about the

conditions of hygiene and morality in the places of learning (Brasil, 1890, p. 1).

The emergence of Psychology in the teacher training curriculum came on the back of a progressive change: from the crisis of the religious, monarchical and enslaver institutions to the affirmation of the liberal, republican and scientific ideas that, through the growing affirmative of the awareness of rights, attested even more the sovereignty of the individual (Cartolano, 1996). In 1899, Psychology finally appeared in the programs, being subdivided into six general topics: definition and classification of the psychological facts; psychic activity; sensitivity; intelligence; external perception and reason. This program did not contain the identification of bibliography, but only the names of the teachers in Pedagogy. For the daytime course, it was included Dr. Antonio Valentim da Costa Magalhães, journalist, one of the founders of the Brazilian Academy of Letters, and, for the evening course, Dr. Joaquim Abilio Borges.

The program of 1902 radicalized both the proposals for the intuitive education as pedagogical doctrine of the secular school and its application in the *lessons of things*, a didactic procedure based on the senses, particularly of vision (Bastos, 2013). In this year, the program offered to the future teachers of the Normal School topics in which "the relationships between the organism and the outside world; the enchainment of the psi facts and the organic condition of the psi life: the nervous system" were studied. Also, consistent with the intuitive method that seeks to stimulate the spirit of observation and judgment, as well as the attitude of observation and research, notions on the "method used in the observation of the psi facts (observation, experimentation, introspection); awareness, perception (space and time), sensation, judgement; memory, association of ideas; synthetic function of the intelligence; emotions, passions, feelings, volition; will", among others, were offered.

It is important to highlight that, in the program of 1902, in the topic "the spirit as synthesis of the external and internal conditions and psychology of the abnormal conditions", is found the first record of the teaching of Psychology as regulatory instrument, auxiliary in the identification, measurement and control of the "pathological conditions". The bibliography used is the work *Physiologic d l'espirit*, of Paulhan.

In the program of 1904, it is not known for what reason, the booklet appears with the year of edition of 1905. It is only possible to identify that it is about the year 1904 on the cover page, where it reads: "hours, school

calendar, boards of absences and grades of monthly tests referring to the year 1904". Among the 40 topics that form it, the psychological contents are inserted in the course of Pedagogy and appear only in the fourth year. Even though in very idealistic forms, predictor lines of certain behaviors, such as education of the "internal conditions" appear. Among them, are included: "culture and education of tendencies, emotions, and selfish feelings", "of tendencies, emotions, and altruistic and social feelings and of aesthetic and disinterested feelings". The bibliography used is the *Traité de Pedagogie Scolaire* de Carré et Liquier, ratifying a humanist position of French origin in the republican modernization project of the Brazilian society.

In the programs from 1906 to 1910, Psychology is taught in the third year of the course, still as a subtopic of Pedagogy. In the 27 topics that form them, it is evidenced the increasingly abandonment of the idealist vocabulary and the adoption of categories more related to the scientific semantics, which oscillate between the naturalist heritage, in topics such as "the human organism, the nervous system" or "the mental constitution", and the establishment of new categories, such as "personality, awareness, perception; memory; association of ideas; language and syntactic function of the intelligence", among others. It remains the "psychology of the abnormal conditions" and, anachronistically, as idealist remnant, "the spirit as synthesis of the external and internal conditions". The bibliography adopted in the third year is *Physiologie d l'espirit* of Paulhan; and in the fourth year, *Traité de Pedagogie Scolaire*, of Carré et Liquier.

From 1911 to 1915, the programs are identical, with little variations, containing between 26 and 30 topics, in which it becomes clear "the relationship between pedagogy and psychology", although circumscribing a separate field for the latter in "method of Psychology". It is also evident the maintenance of the aspect that relates Psychology to natural sciences in the item "nervous system" and, although added by a specific vocabulary, in "mental image; imagination; association of ideas", among other expressions.

Uniquely, in the programs of 1912, 13 and 14, an observation that does not appear in the previous programs is included. At the end of the description of the topics addressed, it appears: "In this program will be considered, principally the child psychology". This difference can be attributed to the Rivadávia Corrêa Reform, Organic Law of Higher and Basic Education, implemented by the Decree 8659 of 5 April 1911, during

the term of the Marechal Hermes da Fonseca (Santos, 2008). With this position, this type of resolution became of exclusive competence of the congregation of ordinary, extraordinary, master and lecturer teachers that started having full administrative and didactic autonomy. Accordingly, in this same period, the curricular topics are identical: "language; intelligence; development of the affective life and abnormal school developments".

It is also necessary to stress, from the program of 1911, the presence of the concept of *habit* and the topic of study "Experimental Psychology", which could mean both a growing approximation in the direction of the methodologies regarded as "scientific", experimental, and an insertion in the debates on the presence or not of the mind/body dualism. This trend appears in the topics: "awareness and attention; study of sensations; perception of space and time". Such hypothesis is confirmed in the topic on the habit, in which it can be identified an approximation in the direction of the North American functionalism of the first decades of the 20th century. In turn, this functionalism is descended from a Darwinist position, according to which the habit would be an adaptive function (Ferreira & Gutman, 2005).

In the years 1911, 1912 and 1913, the bibliography used is *Psychologie*, of A. Rey. Dr. Thomaz Delfino dos Santos, daytime course, and Dr. Manoel Bomfim, evening course, are mentioned as responsible professors. In the program of 1914 and 1915, the same teachers and an item called "Pedagogy" were included, although all its content referred to psychology and it is very similar to that of the previous year. In the program of 1914, there are no bibliographical indications and, in the year 1915, the bibliography adopted is *Psychologie* of Malapert and *Traité de pedagogie escolaire* of Carré et Liguier.

The program of 1917 initiates its program of studies with the title: "Psychology applied to education: study of children". There is also the stipulation of three lessons per week for the third year and two per week for the fourth year. Here, psychology became to be again an independent subject and taught in the third and fourth years of the course.

In this year, the program is extremely detailed and has, besides the specified lessons, an article (possibly extracted from a regulation) that deals specifically with psychology and its role in school. It emphasizes that this subject would be applied to education and would have as objective only the study of learners, with a view to an introduction to

understanding children. The experience in laboratory would be reduced to simple experiences, necessary only to demonstrate the scientific basis of this discipline, so that neither the master students would weigh, measure, and experience their future disciples, nor these would be object of tests and analyses, but as "respectable personalities".

The importance of this article is huge, because it reveals the suspicious with which these new "scientific" and secular ideas were probably received by the school community as a whole, especially the responsible for the students, for whom, probably, this message was directed.

In this program, Psychology appears divided into lessons that are organized in "parts", in which the most varied objects of research are identified, from the most naturalistic to the most idealistic. This variation can be interpreted both as a symptom of little theoretical consistence, a general curiosity concerning what was theorized in Psychology in that moment, and as an early tuning with the variety of the psychological field that was being stablished during the 20th century. Thus, in the third year, appears a "General part" where many topics can be found, from topics such as "spirit, general conditions of psychic life, the subjective condition", to topics such as "the cerebrospinal axis and the distribution of nerves; psychology of the cerebrospinal system". Another four "parts" are also identified: "The Sensations", "The Intelligence", "The Affectivity" and "The Will", in which is inserted a wide variety of topics, such as: "general distribution of the external sensitivity and the awareness of sensations; perceptions of time, space; organization of the mental experience; the imagination; the reasoning; evolution of language; general aspects of the affective life; selfish tendencies and inclinations; composition, evolution form of the affective conditions, simple affections, composed affective conditions; or also, genesis of the act of will and the evolution of will".

In the fourth year, a division into lessons appears, which are organized in "parts", "The Psychic Synthesis" and the "The Formation of Personality and psychic evolution", that unfold in topics, such as the characterization of personality, the characteristic stages of development, psychic activity of the child, the moral life of the child, general processes of the psychic formation: imitation and initial acquisition, invention, unfolding of the reactions acquired, the toy, the child in contact with reality, the normalization of the psychic activity, reflex and habit, limit of

the corrective modifications, systematization of the corrections, education and adaptation, general principles of education, natural and intentional education, the direction of the learner — from passive obedience to full autonomy.

In these topics is identified the coexistence of several leading theoretical forms, which reveals an update of the school with what was produced in the centers of international research. Those that discuss the child development, the importance of the toy or the processes of psychic formation of the child can be identified; others that take us back to the differential psychology, in which tests and measures centralized the investigations on the learning, concretizing even more "the existence of a norm, of a pattern of learning and development considered normal, appropriate and expected" (Andrada, 2005, p. 197).

In the program of 1924, two initial paragraphs, signed by the Director General of the Institution, Professor A. Carneiro Leão, refer to the reform of the teaching programs of the school. In this program, Psychology appears not only as independent subject, but also as complement of the discipline Hygiene and Pedagogy, inserted in the chapter "human anatomy and physiology". The association between Hygiene, Pedagogy and Psychology, explicit in that moment and maintained during the programs studied, can be interpreted as direct consequence of the foundation, in 1923, of the Brazilian League of Mental Hygiene, a civil institution intended to show and propagate the notions of the mental eugenics.

The exclusive program of Psychology initiates only in the fourth year, as a complement organized in 25 topics: psychology; psychic facts and its classification; the nervous system and the life of relationship: brain activity and conscious life; attention; sensitivity; vision; sensation; muscle sensitivity; intelligence in the general; concrete knowledge; images and imagination; ideation, judgement and reasoning; associative functions; memory, language and affective life; the activity in the general: form of reaction, acts of the psychic synthesis, the individual vocations, mechanization of the voluntary acts, anomalies in the psychic development; among others.

The program of 1927, is the first after the João Luiz Alves/Rocha Vaz Reform (1925), closing the cycle of the federal reforms of education in the First Republic, "when, on the basis of the underway economic and social changes, the current power structure becomes widely contested"

(Saviani, 2009, p. 11). Secondly, Schueler and Magaldi (2009), in the reforms undertaken from then on, some general trends can be highlighted, trends that would give or confirm the future tone of a progressive school culture: the progressive scientificization of educational practices, the need of an increasing specialization and legitimization of the professional educator and the educational field itself, which assumed the sharper contours of a pragmatic formation more appropriate for the teachers to be carried out in a place conceived for this task. In this context, Psychology appears in two ways: as complement to the subject Hygiene and Pedagogy, in the chapter "human anatomy and physiology", and as independent discipline.

As independent discipline, it appears divided into 25 topics, among which individual vocations; mechanization of the voluntary acts; anomalies in the psychic development.

Finally, in 1929, the program also initiates with an introduction to the different disciplines, but differently from the years 1924 and 1927. Psychology appears in two moments, in the third year and in the first year of the especial or technical course: normalization of the psychic activity, individual differences: temperament, character, mental type: formula of will and vocational inclination, anomalies of the psychic development: abnormal, fatigue and drudgery, psychological test of drudgery, among others.

As to the first year of the special or technical course, the focus is the Experimental Psychology and its application to education. The students would have notion of general psychology, before beginning the study on applied psychology. The subject is divided into: 1) Preliminary: geneticfunctional psychology and psychology of learning; conception of experimental psychology: notion, history, division, importance. The processes of the observation and experimentation: the laboratories and tests. The experimental psychology in view of the problems of education, functional notion of education. Diagnosis of learners and psychology of learning. 2) Genetic functional psychology: Division of the experimental psychology in its applications to education: genetic psychology, differential and of learning. The psyche of the child in preschool age, instinctive tendencies: affection, fear, curiosity; the game: the imitation and suggestion, emotions, interest, the consciousness in the child, the imagination and ideation, the evolution of language, the evolution of the conscious personality, notion of the individual types, the psychometry and

tests: organization and verification of the tests, their practical use, the psychography. Functional tests, tests of development and level of intelligence, metric scales of intelligence. Types of metric scales of the intelligence and their application, tests to diagnose irregularities and abnormalities. The incorrigible children and offenders; aptitude tests. The problem of guidance and professional recruitment. General value of the tests. Calculation of the correlation. Significant values. Biostatistics. 3) Psychology of the Learning: the problems of the psychology of the learning, learning and development. The education from the functional perspective and from the point of view of adaptation; the systematization of activity, the systematization by the habit; ideational systematization; the fatigability, the general applications of the experimental psychology: general framework of the applications in the school organization, the psychopedagogic movement in the advanced countries.

Final Considerations

As stated, we deflagrated the research with the intention of investigating the Psychology role, its uses, practices and dissemination, in the process of teacher training in the Normal School of the Federal District. On the basis of the analysis on the disciplinary program files, we followed its trajectory between its emergence as curricular topic inserted in the teaching of Pedagogy and the moment in which it acquired disciplinary autonomy. The purpose was to understand how the conditions of this transformation were being stablished and the role that the psychological ideas were progressively assuming until their use by the teacher training colleges.

Nevertheless, as already mentioned, the recognition that Psychology has a "ballast" of scientific content in the Normal School of the Federal District cannot be disconnected from the new forms of social segregation, symbolized by the hygienist and eugenicist ideas and practices that emerged during the first phase of the Brazilian Republic. These forms replaced those of the imperial enslaver regime, imposing with the endorsement of the scientific thought, "which started to classify the citizens based on the racial criteria" (Schwarcz, 2012, p. 25), condemning morally the miscegenation and imposing a new regime "on the basis of a lot of eugenics and state of siege" (Schwarcz, 2012, p. 24), of intimidation and social control.

For the analysis development, we looked for support in the sociohistorical method, particularly, in the category of dialogicity proposed by the circle of Bakhtin, by which the relationship between the wordings and their exteriority is discussed, represented both by the echoes and memories of other wordings that are often presented and by the speech of the enunciators that impose, from the exteriority, the need for a reactionresponse. These speeches, according to Bakhtin (1997, p. 316), produce variable reactions, in which the borrowed wording can be found in the context of our own wording, in isolated words, or in "sentences that then appear on it in the form of representatives of full wordings".

The boundaries that are established between "one" and this "other" are described by Bakhtin as tenuous and permeable, although clear. The wording is necessarily polymorphous, complex, inlaid as a link in a communication chain, reflecting the verbal process of its elaboration and meaning constitution, the wording of others, the previous and subsequent links.

A privileged example of this permeability is the position of Psychology, which appears either as chapter of the discipline of Pedagogy or Hygiene, or as a separate chapter. Although the differentiation has been progressive throughout the programs, it remains dialoguing with these other disciplines in an integrated way. This vague delimitation of the discipline can be attributed both to an interdiscursive trend, inevitable in an institution such as the normal school, and to the contour that was still being constructed for the Psychology itself in its struggle for becoming independent and a socially recognized science.

In its contemporaneity, the most manifested alterities of the programs can be located in two distinct and inseparable groups.

In the first group, this "other", which could be described as "narcissistic", is found in the affiliation of the programs for foreign authors and methods mainly found in the French bibliographies and materials, in which resisted even to the pedagogical direction of Manoel Bomfim, a critic intellectual of the relationship of parasitism exercised on the Latin America by the countries classed as "developed" (Bomfim, 1993).

In the second group, this alterity can be identified as "non-narcissistic". It is the community of parents and students to whom the programs are directed and intend to achieve with the pedagogical action. On the one hand, this relationship seems indeed to have as function the

diffusion of very specific ideas, in line with the republican and bourgeois principles of equality and individualization. On the other hand, paradoxically, there are the already mentioned principles of eugenics and mental hygiene that, in that historic moment, encouraged doctors, psychiatrists and educators to collaborate in the creation of a nation, in which the formulations of "prosperity", "modernity" and "healthiness" were confused with the creation of institutional forms even more regulatory.

In the case of the ideals of individuation, the presence of this alterity can be exemplified by the discussed imposition (decree of 1890) of the intuitive method of Buisson. This method (already present in the program of 1902, for instance) aimed at a secular action in the education of individuals informed and aware of their rights. It was directed to the initial schooling and was based on an empirical approximation of the things as a basis for the construction of a scientific spirit of investigation and on the integration to the needs of the post-industrial revolution society (Gomes, 2011).

This same individualizing trend can be also perceived in the growing standardization of the processes of learning and conducts, contained in the studies on the habit, of the program of 1911, until the studies on the fatigue, of 1927. Within this scope, it is interest to notice on how much the interest on the study of the personality, standardization and efficiency and limit of the corrections is progressively added to the pioneering studies on the primary psychic processes of perception, memory or "ideation", arriving, in 1929, to the aptitude tests, of selection, in the metric scales of the intelligence and in the systematization of the activity and habit. Such studies can be regarded as fundamental for the formation of a differentiated workforce, able to assume the capitalist and urban modes, and the production techniques that the modernity progressively was imposing to the Brazilian scenario.

In the case of the eugenic and hygienic principles, the presence of a non-narcissistic alterity, the one to whom is wanted to impose these new forms of conduct, can be already identified in the decree of 1890, with its "scientific" concern with the conditions of hygiene and morality of the educational establishments, followed by the "culture and education of the trends" of the program of 1904. It can also be identified, in the study of the "abnormal conditions", present already in the program of 1902 and maintained in the programs of 1912, 13 and 14, as well as in the

Differential Psychology that was announced in 1917 and in the express concern about the Child Psychology identified thereafter.

Also, in the program of 1917, as already showed, it is of enormous importance to highlight the only dialogic manifestation explicit in the programs. In this context, it is emphasized that the discipline of psychology would be applied to education and would have as objective only the study of learners, with a view to an introduction to the knowledge of children: "being reduced to simple experiences, only necessary to demonstrate the scientific basis that this discipline has", maintaining the integrity of its "future disciples", who will not be reduced to objects of analysis and tests of analyses, but maintained as "respectable personalities". This response was given to a possible expression of fear of the responsible, who probably wondered about the conduction of the discipline and its action in the future "personalities" of the students, who should not be reduced to "objects" of analysis.

In the run of the programs, in 1924, besides being independent discipline, Psychology appears as complement to the programs of Pedagogy and hygiene. Such association reveals the alignment of its teaching to the social and political forces that defended a moral sanitization of the Brazilian society. Among them, the most important, the Brazilian League of Mental Hygiene, founded by psychiatrists in 1923 as a form to disclose and propagate the ideas of eugenics and sanitization of the population. This league always had the child as privileged objective of its investments (Reis, 2000).

In this alignment, the teaching of Psychology would be an instrument of the republican political apparatuses of social control, associated with the industrial and urban projects that, according to Carvalho (1988), progressively rearranged the school and its pedagogical methods in the direction of the factory model and with the moral, physical and cognitive conformations that became necessary to its productive chain.

In these dialogues, perhaps it is possible to identify the presence of what Santiago (1978) defines as the *between-place* of the Latin-American intellectuality. It thus has a position of facture, provoked by the disconnection between the concepts and categories of the irradiator centers of the European culture that formed it and the social, cultural and political reality that it belongs. It is the case of the specific positioning of the Brazilian intellectuals in the dichotomy formed by the European ideals of

pedagogy, or even of science, and the concrete conditions offered by the newly-republican national reality of a rural nation, interbred and illiterate.

This fracture makes the constitution of the programs the expression of two discursive genres that appear as intrinsically related in this period of the Brazilian history: the republican and the scientific. Such relationship reflects the verbal process of elaboration and constitution of meaning of the documents, which it is done not only in the direct interlocution, as we described, but also in the already mentioned dialogues that are stablished with other wordings present in its context of emergence and with the impregnation forms of the socio-historical and cultural context (Marchezan, 2010). In this case, the dialogues are of rupture in relation to the vertical discourse of the monarchy, however paradoxically related to the establishment of the new sortings of the differences, according to the eugenicists and hygienist ideology. They are operators of a new social subservience arising from the needs of the new form of production represented by the industry and by the technical discourse.

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