

ANÍSIO TEIXEIRA AND PSYCHOLOGY: THE DIALOGUE WITH PSYCHOANALYSIS

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Abstract

This paper analyses the ideas and the work of Anísio Teixeira in the first years of the 1930s, focusing his conceptions concerning the value of Psychoanalysis for Educational Reform in Brazil. Whereas the ideas and practices Teixeira should be understood in the historical context in which they were developed, the work presents the history of the introduction of the psychoanalytic knowledge in the Brazilian Renovator Educational Movement, highlighting the relevance of hygienism in the dissemination of Freud's theses in education. The findings indicate that Teixeira interacted with the concepts of Psychoanalysis through the hygienist movement and the ideas of Arthur Ramos, considering the individual as being linked to the social environment.

Key-words: history of brazilian education, new school, Anísio Teixeira, psychology, psychoanalysis.

ANÍSIO TEIXEIRA E A PSICOLOGIA: O DIÁLOGO COM A PSICANÁLISE

Resumo

Este trabalho analisa as ideias e a atuação de Anísio Teixeira nos primeiros anos da década de 1930, focalizando as suas concepções acerca do valor da Psicanálise para a renovação educacional no Brasil. Considerando que as ideias e as práticas de Teixeira devem ser compreendidas no contexto histórico em que se desenvolveram, o trabalho apresenta um histórico da inserção dos conhecimentos psicanalíticos no movimento educacional renovador brasileiro, destacando a relevância do higienismo na difusão das teses de Freud na educação. As conclusões indicam que Teixeira interagiu com os conceitos da Psicanálise por intermédio do movimento higienista e das ideias de Arthur Ramos, considerando o indivíduo como um ser vinculado ao ambiente social.

Palavras-chave: história da educação brasileira, escola nova, Anísio Teixeira, psicologia, psicanálise.

ANÍSIO TEIXEIRA Y PSICOLOGÍA: DIÁLOGO CON EL PSICOANÁLISIS

Resumen

Este trabajo analiza las ideas y el trabajo de Anísio Teixeira en los primeros años de la década de 1930, centrándose en sus concepciones sobre el valor del psicoanálisis para la reforma educativa en Brasil. Considerando que las ideas y prácticas Teixeira debe entenderse en el contexto histórico en que se desarrolló, la obra presenta una historia de la introducción del conocimiento psicoanalítico en movimiento educativo renovado brasileño, destacando la importancia de la difusión del higienismo y tesis de Freud en la educación. Los resultados indican que Teixeira interactuó con los conceptos del psicoanálisis a través del movimiento higienista y de las ideas de Arthur Ramos, considerando al individuo como vinculados con el entorno social.

Palabras-clave: historia de la educación de brasil, escuela nueva, Anísio Teixeira, psicología, psicoanálisis.

ANISIO TEIXEIRA ET PSYCHOLOGIE: DIALOGUE AVEC LA PSYCHANALYSE

Résumé

Cet article analyse les idées et le travail d'Anísio Teixeira dans les premiers ans de la décennie de 1930, se focalisant sur ses conceptions concernant la valeur de la Psychanalyse pour le renouvellement éducationnel au Brésil. Une fois que les idées et les pratiques de Teixeira doivent être comprises dans le contexte historique où elles se sont développées, l'article présente un panorama historique de l'insertion des connaissances psychanalytiques dans le mouvement éducationnel rénovateur brésilien, soulignant l'importance de l'hygiénisme pour la diffusion des thèses de Freud dans le domaine de l'éducation. Les conclusions indiquent que Teixeira a interagi avec les concepts de la Psychanalyse via le mouvement hygiéniste et les idées d'Arthur Ramos, considérant l'individu comme un être attaché à l'environnement social.

Mots-clé: histoire de l'éducation brésilienne, école nouvelle, Anísio Teixeira, psychologie, psychanalyse.

Introduction

One of the most outstanding cultural phenomena in the transition from the 19th century to the 20th century was the decline of the expanded community as an upholder of individual existence. With the straightening of the bourgeois way of life, it was imposed a tendency to the organization of a social order based on the individual, emphasizing the need for a different comprehension of his constitution as a person.

The attributes of the individual as an autonomous and independent being began to be defined based on the newly discovered intimate and subjective reality, enhanced within the family circle, in school and in other areas of social life.

Faced with the difficulties imposed by the collective experience, the tendency for people to see themselves "as unable to solve, independently or with the help of others, conflicts that emerged within their psychological intimacy", prevailed (Cunha, 1988, p. 31). The scientific knowledge, especially of Psychology, was gradually required to conduct and solve individual conflicts (Figueiredo, 1996). The Viennese doctor Sigmund Freud situated the processes of the psyche, such as fantasies, dreams and obliviousness, in obscure regions, willing to regard them scientifically as phenomenon situated in the heart of the psyche, although he did not despise the anthropological and cultural issues (Freud, 1930; 1974).

Freud elaborated his theory and his proposal of clinical intervention based on the observation of people suffering from nervous problems. His proposal was based on the theory that the etiology of diseases was found in the unconscious mind, making it necessary to access this obscure region to help the patient to develop coping mechanisms to overcome their difficulties (Mezan, 1982).

During the first quarter of the 20th century, Freudian theory was disseminated in several countries. In Switzerland, the doctor Eugen Bleuler began to use the psychoanalytic method in the treatment of psychosis, in order to provide solution to the enigma of madness, considering that the Psychoanalysis, by unraveling the recesses of the mental universe, was a suitable alternative for curing conduct disorders (Alexander; Selesnick, 1980). Freud's conceptions also reached America, and without being restricted to the intellectual elite, they obtained popularity through works of scientific dissemination, women's magazines, radio and newspapers in wide circulation (Russo, 2002).

In 1907, in Vienna, the first formal organization of supporters of Psychoanalysis was formed. It was called Society. In 1909, Freud and Jung went to the United States to disseminate his theory to the people and the intellectuals (Gay, 1989). In 1910 an international organization was created to gather all Psychoanalytic organizations and ensure the adoption of ethical procedures among its members. At the beginning of the World War I, the Psychoanalysis was already expanding through India and South America, and from the 1920s forward, Freudian themes became more and more frequent among practitioners of the medical sciences, especially psychiatrists, which raised scientific legitimacy to the new theory, as well as their clinical practice.

It was in this context and at this time that Psychoanalysis arrived in Brazil and had the support of a certain group of educators interested in renewing school practices and conceptions. One of the most prominent leaders of the educational renewal movement, called New School, was Anísio Teixeira, whose work in education began in Bahia in the mid-1920s. In the beginning of the 1930's, Teixeira took over the direction of public education in the Federal District, that is when he had the opportunity to put into practice the fundamental principles of the New School, among which stood out the inclusion of Psychology in the group of sciences that guide education (Cunha , 1994; 1995).

In this paper, we will seek to elucidate Anísio Teixeira's ideas about Psychology, focusing specifically on their relationship with Psychoanalysis, in the context of the Brazilian educational renewal in the early years of the 1930s. To examine this topic not yet well explored by educational historiography, we will consider that Teixeira's thoughts and practices must be viewed in the context of issues and concerns of their time. Therefore, we will first introduce a history of the insertion of psychological knowledge in the education, with emphasis on New School's adherence to Psychoanalysis.

Psychoanalysis in Brazil

The psychoanalytic ideas were introduced in Brazil at the same time that Freud began to gain international recognition, but also being widely criticized. His thesis entered the country in a time of great intellectual agitation, when there was a search for a project of modern nation, capable of overcoming the historical contradictions and achieving relevance on the world scene.

The first mentions to Freud's work were made in 1899 by the physician Juliano Moreira, responsible for the Chair of Psychiatry at the Medical School of Bahia (Perestrelo, 1988), starting this way the long period of diffusion of the new science in several sectors of Brazil's scientific and cultural activity.

Many professionals in psychiatry, pediatrics and education contributed to this, such as Julio Pires Porto-Carrero, Juliano Moreira, Franco da Rocha, Deodato de Moraes, Gastão Pereira da Silva, Hosannah de Oliveira, Antonio da Silva Mello, Ayrton Roxo, Mauricio de Medeiros and Arthur Ramos (Mokrejs, 1993). Their common goal was to use the freudian theory not only as a method for the treatment of neurotic patients, but also as a useful theory for different spheres of the cultural and scientific universe (Abram, 2008). Thus, Psychoanalysis integrated the set of innovative ideas that underpinned many modernization projects in Brazil in the first decades of the 20th century, such as, for example, the 1920's modernists (Oliveira, 2006).

The first texts disseminating the psychoanalytic theories comprehended their application to several fields like Education, Anthropology and Literature (Abram, 2001). Its content showed a clear intention to introduce psychoanalysis not only to the scientific field, but also to a wider social environment (Mokrejs, 1993).

The space obtained in institutions apart from the medical field has contributed to the acceptance and expansion of the Freudian doctrine. Child guidance clinics, for example,

were created under the inspiration of Psychoanalysis in order to help parents and teachers in the education of future citizens. One of the most important clinics was founded during Anísio Teixeira's public education administration period in the Federal District, to meet the growing number of children who were entering school. Later, in 1938, Durval Marcondes founded and directed similar institution together with the Mental Health Service of the Department of Education of the State of São Paulo.

The practice of the new science was regulated by societies affiliated to the International Psychoanalytical Association, which was intended to ensure compliance to ethical standards in the relationship between therapists and patients. The analysts became licensed after submitting to psychoanalytic analysis, always performed by accredited professionals, a requirement that became an obstacle in Latin America (Russo, 2002).

In Brazil, the organization of societies was preceded by a pluralistic process of expression of ideas through isolated studies, several publications and study groups, until internationally recognized organizations were constituted. The most prominent ones were those from São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, but the movement also happened in other places, such as Pernambuco, Minas Gerais and Rio Grande do Norte (Mokrejs, 1993).

A peculiarity in the introduction of Psychoanalysis in Brazil was its rapprochement to the movement that disseminated the notion of mental health, whose purpose was to overcome the traditional and violent forms of psychiatric treatment. The mental hygiene services derived from European institutions, especially French, tracing back to Pinel's experiences and sanatoriums from the second half of the 19th century. Previously, these institutions served as deposits of people, men and women considered mentally disturbed who should be removed from society (Mokrejs, 1993).

Created in the United States in 1907, the service of mental hygiene emerged in Brazil with the Brazilian League of Mental Hygiene - LBHM -, founded by the doctor Gustavo Riedel in 1923. Many of the pioneers of Psychoanalysis were members of the LBHM and shared the belief in rational and scientific solutions for national illnesses. The new science was seen as a modern alternative, scientifically guaranteed to face the precepts of the traditional moral, regarded as archaic and outdated (Russo, 2002).

At LBHM the discussion topics initially proposed were relevant to physical and mental health, social service, law, work and education. Due to its therapeutic and preventive character, in less than a year the League was recognized as public utility and began receiving subsidies from the federal government (Wanderbroock Jr.; Boarini, 2008). Over time, the institution was vested with broad authority by the government, which allowed it to intervene directly in the reorganization of the urban life, its thesis started to feature as authentic medical policy designed to control the health of the populations. LBHM then began investing in mental hygiene programs to be implemented in the private, academic, professional and social domains.

With the changes caused by the Republic and the abolition of slavery, the Brazilian urban space, especially in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, became a central concern for the authorities. The capital of São Paulo, for example, had a population growth of

approximately 269% between 1890 and 1900 (Rocha, 2003). In the early 20th century, the life of the less affluent urban populations was permeated by illnesses and idleness. The speeches of the elite demanded the expansion of urban facilities to meet the growing needs of collective life, while the government tried to respond to the demands that arose as the city was becoming an object of doctors' and engineers' attention.

Between the world inhabited by coffee farmers, industrialists, new entrepreneurs, politicians, businessmen and intellectuals, on one side, and the world of workers, former slaves and destitute people, on the other side, a rigid demarcation gradually emerged. New and elegant neighborhoods emerged, with wide avenues, that were bright, clean and wooded, amid the proliferation of other neighborhoods, filled with houses that represented the physical and moral degradation of its people - workers, hawkers, merchants, people of all kinds. Multiplying thanks to the cost of rent, the tenements (cortiços) showed the extreme opposite of well constituted homes, the stronghold of lack of hygiene and moral, disease outbreaks caused by overcrowding and lack of body hygiene (Cunha, 1986). Progressive waves of poor residents composed a landscape that moved away from the idealized image of progress that cities wanted to bear (Decca, 1987).

The expansion of urban centers became a phenomenon to be faced rigorously, because the population growth was followed by the lack of infrastructure that caused a great number of proliferating illnesses, diseases and epidemics. Given this urbanization situation, strongly marked by the emergence and advance of the poor people, hygienist doctors presented proposals of intervention for a radical reordering (Brescianni, 2010).

These people's way of life and habitation demanded drastic measures imbued with disciplinary practices to a population seen as a threat to the modern society which was then being formed. The hygiene appeared then as inexorable necessity in the combat to the great ill that affected the civilizing process of the country. Heredity became a recurrent paradigm in projects that aimed the organization of the country; the nation's improvement began to depend on racial improvement. The imposition of other moral parameters became urgent, the "assimilation of a new code of conduct" (Rock, 2003, p. 32) for the city to become viable as civilization alternative.

In a scenario permeated by such conceptions of moral order, the hygienism kept intense dialogue with the eugenic theories, particularly in LBHM, whose members shared with the eugenicists the belief that the social environment is responsible for accentuating good or ill individual tendencies, from the good or bad phenotype. Eugenicists understood that education, even if unable to change hereditary characteristics, was responsible for the enhancement of the individual as a social being and that social factors could be controlled to promote or demote, physically and mentally, the ethnic qualities. The hygienists, on the contrary, believed in the need to adopt means to promote a healthy psychic development of individuals, adapting this development to social requirements. The fundamental was to adjust the socially diverted, extrapolating the simple sanitary measures and basic care on the individual hygiene, even though such care was imperative in times of extremely precarious infrastructure, as the one experienced by Brazil at the time (Reis, 2003).

For LBHM members, the great national plague was the existence of degenerate individuals, less evolved, abnormal or inferior. By identifying mental problems as obstacles to the progress of the nation, the League defended a patriotism which was reluctant to see the masses as something more than a crowd of pre-disposed to mental illness, potentially dangerous to the order and the progress of the country. Such individuals compromised the destiny of the nation, and it was vital to select them, somehow, so that they did not blend in with the rest of the population. This point of view on the practical purposes of the League became prevalent from 1930, when "what was defended by a few and in a shy way" began to be proclaimed "openly and shamelessly" (Reis, 2003 p. 192).

To solve this immense problem that was being presented, one of the proposals was to submit the country to a systematic process of social purification that would result in the separation between superior and inferior individuals, regarding their mental abilities and aptitudes. The first selection criteria chosen by LBHM was the intellect, to be examined by the appropriate tools of assessment: the psychological tests. Among the ideal areas for intervention were the schools, ideal spaces for the dissemination of mental hygiene habits, to ensure the success of the prophylaxis. Through many screening procedures, always relying on the measurement of individual characters, the educational institutions would easily accomplish the task of socially depurating the abnormal or less developed. The League applied the quantitative criteria from Physics to the research area of the individual life, turning the test results into the safest criterion for the desired adjustment (Wanderbroock Jr.; Boarini, 2008).

Besides this connection with the Experimental Psychology, the hygienist movement developed strong bounds with the psychoanalytic science. In the mid-1920s it was common that medical professionals, interested in Psychology and Psychoanalysis, also engaged in this new form of scientific knowledge, the mental hygiene. Backed by supporters of psychoanalytic ideas, the service in this area was structured in clinics, with teachers, social workers, visiting teachers, psychologists and doctors, especially psychiatrists. Psychological and pedagogical exams and tests were conducted in these institutions to detect skills and locate any emotional maladjustment (Mokrejs, 1993). Its operation aimed a kind of therapy whose main function was to predict cases of maladjustment and trauma. The term orthophrenia itself, often used to describe such practices, expresses the connotation of "correcting" or "fixing what was awry" (Ramos, 1934, p. 20).

Psychoanalysis at the New School

Psychoanalysis has shown, since its origin, a deep interest in childhood; because Freud believed that the cause of adult's psychological problems could be found in the origins of life. The followers of the psychoanalytic doctrine expressed identical interest: Anna Freud and Melanie Klein, for example, propagated Psychoanalysis for parents and educators, and contributed to the adoption of less repressive educational models that avoided the emergence of psychological pathologies. In Brazil, the ideas of child care

obtained resonance also in the medical field, specifically in Psychiatry and Pediatrics (Abram, 2001).

In the 1920s the inclusion of educational issues in psychoanalytic work could already be noticed, especially from the work of Deodato de Moraes, *Psychoanalysis in education*, published in 1927 (Russo, 2002). The main way of dissemination of the new science and its concerns with childhood was education, field that was open to receiving proposals that enabled the improvement of the relationship between parents and teachers, in order to help the proper development of children in school.

After the work of Moraes there were others, like those of Juliano Pires Porto-Carrero and Arthur Ramos that contained references to Psychoanalysis and particularly emphasized the themes of sexuality and the prevalence of childhood experiences in adult mental life. Thus, the idea that an education guided by psychoanalytic principles was consolidated as being of great value for the formation of healthy individuals. In the beginning of 1930, Durval Marcondes ministered a course on the beneficial effects of Psychoanalysis, in the Education Society, strengthening the acceptance of Freudian theories in facing school problems and the creation of favorable conditions for the child's mental health.

The advancement of Psychoanalysis as well as the hygienism, was favored by the movement of renewal of educational concepts and teaching methods, known as New School, particularly through child guidance clinics designed to meet the growing demand for schooling. In these institutions Psychoanalysis offered theoretical and practical subsidy so that the teachers, in line with the new pedagogical guidelines, renewed their teaching methods according to the psychological characteristics of children which, in turn, enhanced the results of the new education (Abram, 2001).

Initially created under the LBHM and then extended to many sectors, mental hygiene clinics represented a response to the need to control students' behavior, seeking to mold them according to socially acceptable habits. The ideas of Freud and his followers were associated with the new education with the same goal and offered important subsidies to the task of understanding children's emotional development, thereby placating the difficulties that hindered the expression of individual potentialities, seeking to promote the adjustment of students to the school space.

The landmark in the relationship between Psychoanalysis and the New School was the section of Orthophrenia and Mental Hygiene - Sohm - installed in Rio de Janeiro by Arthur Ramos in 1934. The Sohm was created in 1933, during Anísio Teixeira's administration in the direction of public education in the Federal District. When Ramos took over the job as principal, at the invitation of Teixeira, he organized the care of school age children in the Child Guidance Clinic and created orthophrenic clinics in six schools in Rio de Janeiro. A clinic for preschoolers was installed at the school General Trompowsky (Abram, 2001; Barros, 2003; Sircilli, 2008).

Ramos used his psychoanalytic knowledge in articulating an innovative job offer, allowing the teachings of Freud to gradually leave the supporting role to conquer a

prominent role in education. Psychoanalysis was a constant presence in the reflections and actions of Ramos since the beginning of his academic life, especially in his doctoral thesis, presented in 1926, widely based on the psychoanalytic theory. His preference for this subject resulted in an attempt to integrate the psychiatric knowledge with Psychoanalysis, which he did through clinical observation of his patients. Ramos believed that Freudian concepts were a good tool for the humanization of psychiatric treatment (Mokrejs, 1993).

His rapprochement to education occurred by seeing that the New School valued respect for child personality and, also, for believing that psychological tests reduced the role of the educator: "extreme testing activity" was obstructing "our current pedagogy" thought Ramos (1950, p. 12). Because he saw the child as an incomplete being, dependent and in training, Ramos devoted himself to the study and publication of papers and the dissemination of ideas in the field of child psychoanalysis and militated in the care of children with learning disabilities or behavioral problems, called by him "problem children" (Oliveira, 2006).

This denomination was adopted by Ramos to remove the term abnormal, prevalent at the time, and to characterize the cases of psychosocial maladjustment that did not fit in the mental disorder diagnosis. The rejection to the idea of abnormal child was due to the fact that Ramos considered that this concept reflected the point of view of the adult, particularly the unaware sadism of parents and teachers (Monarcha, 2009). They were, in fact, cases caused by precarious social and cultural conditions that had a significant influence on the personality of the children.

This innovative distinction between children with intellectual deficits and children with emotional problems was outlined in the book *Education and Psychoanalysis* (Ramos, 1934), written just before Ramos accepted Teixeira's invitation to drive the Sohm. It also served to distinguish his position before the New School and other influent groups vying for hegemony in the renewal movement (Sircilli, 2008).

The new concept became clearer in the book *The Problem Child* (Ramos, 1950), 1939, elaborated based on the care of children with learning difficulties in the Orthophrenic Section and Mental Hygiene. To take care of "problem children", Arthur Ramos had adopted the theses of Oskar Pfister, to whom the simplest cases could be solved by educators themselves, provided that they were informed by Psychoanalysis, and the more complex cases would be in charge of the psychoanalyst, who would try to produce more substantial changes in the child's personality (Abram, 2008).

So, Ramos proposed that teachers got to know Psychoanalysis in order to deal with the behavior of students considered rebels or lacking learning conditions. The original idea of Sohm was to assist public school students seen by teachers as learning disabled, submitting them to a series of evaluations, medical and psychological, in order to obtain a more accurate diagnosis about their behavior, or check any problem of organic nature which were could be harming their intellectual development.

Ramos found out that most children had no congenital or physical disorders that indicate the need to be absent from school. After studying more than two thousand cases over five years, it was found that only a small proportion of students had severe organic dysfunction and that the two greatest obstacles to learning were the social conditions and the unprepared educators.

Children who most drew attention of the group linked to Arthur Ramos were the repelled children and the spoiled children, because both excessive repression and unmeasured freedom caused damages to the development and school problems (Abram, 2008). To remedy such problems, the prevention proved to be the most appropriate way, LBHM was then guided by valuing the child's education, both at home and at school, encouraging the formation of a personality free from inhibitions and neurotic disorders.

Unlike nursing homes, the role of child guidance clinics sought to establish close bonds between the family, school and social environment (Januzzi, 2006). His work proposal involved extensive dissemination, between parents and teachers, of the principles of mental hygiene that should be applied to the education of children.

At the clinics, several records on the child were made, involving the physiological aspects of personality, the primordial instinctive activities - such as hunger, thirst, elimination functions, sleep, rest, sexual activities - and also the first emotional and affective manifestations, the unfolding of the intelligence, life history and family and school circumstances (Abram, 2001). Once the necessary evaluations were made and the cases that required specialized treatment were separated, it was the mental hygienist job to orient on the formation of normal habits, correcting the maladjustments (Ramos, 1950). The clinics prioritized action with the social environment, both the family and the school, and indicated only secondarily direct interventions on the children (Barros, 2003).

At schools it was advised that to perform well the task of helping children with learning problems, the teacher should undergo a self-analysis, which would allow them to recognize their wrong attitudes and identify the manifestations of transference in the child. Thus, the teacher could act comprehending psychoanalytically the difficulties experienced by the student, being able to adopt more adequate conducts. These suggestions, however, were restricted to a few theoretical instructions and guidelines for specific cases performed by the technical staff of Sohm (Abram, 2008). The individualized treatment of children by the technique of child analysis occurred few times (Abram, 2001).

The guidance for parents of problem children was the most developed activity in the Sohm clinics, seeking the integration of the families with the procedures adopted by schools. According to Ramos (1950), sex education was an urgent need, but should always be examined in relation to the parents, individually and indirectly, from examples from Biology and Zoology, complemented by actions that competed for the sublimation of sexual impulses.

This concern would agree with the opinion of other supporters of Psychoanalysis, who recognized the importance of approaching the sexuality issue in an objective way, clarifying it already in the childhood. Acting preventively was one of the flags of Sohm,

which took several initiatives to educate the population through wide dissemination of information relating to children's issues, through books, newspapers and magazines that conveyed the principles of mental hygiene (Abram, 2001.)

Between the late 1920s and early 1930s, Teixeira kept closely in touch with many psychological currents, among which Psychometrics and Psychoanalysis. His dialogue in this last one happened through the concepts of Mental Hygiene and the work of Arthur Ramos. Although there are few direct references to the Freudian theory in the work of Anísio, there is a clear recognition of Freud's contributions to the understanding of children's mental universe and education. In the preface to the book published by Ramos just before taking over the *Sohm*, Teixeira (1952, p. 2) wrote that Psychoanalysis "can give us the map of the human soul in all its complex and obscure life of relationships."

Anísio Teixeira (1933b, p. 12, 24, 28) was aware that "the startling revelations of mental hygiene and psychoanalysis" attracted "the attention of scholars to the child in their social and mental aspects", but he acknowledged that the effectiveness of the "psychoanalytic studies on the mental training of the child" depended on the "cooperation of parents." And he was optimistic about it and believed that "the habits of the mothers in the treatment of children" had already been transformed by the influence of both of Pediatrics, as Psychoanalysis.

Teixeira (1997, p. 75) assumed the general precepts of the hygienist ideas, stating that "the clinics of habits and practices for children" came "naturally, as a result, otherwise a requirement" from studies concerning childhood education. Fathers and mothers should be instructed to "compare, discuss and talk about health issues, habits, toys, temperament, sex, mental hygiene, socialization and education" of children. It was necessary to promote a "mental hygiene of life" in accordance with the science, to "prevent the ills of human development"; medicine is being transformed "in hygiene and also mental, emotional and social hygiene" and thus would become also education (Teixeira, 1933b, p. 21-22).

Although he was close to hygienism, Teixeira (1934) kept away from the eugenic theories, which can be noticed by the following statement, which denotes also a familiarity with the psychoanalytic precepts: "Personality traits hitherto attributed to heredity" must now "be credited to the primitive influences in the child "(p. 16). So, instead of attributing the problems of education to genetic factors, his belief led to the possibilities of remodeling the environment, since the best way to "apprehend the formation of the self" is to conceive it as "complex and delicate organization of habits and concepts "(*ibid.*, p. 15).

Teixeira's goal had always been focused on the development of preventive and corrective proposals to be implemented within the school and the family, following the guiding principles of the New School movement that was being developed in Brazil since the 1920s. The Manifesto of the New Education Pioneers, a document from 1932 which established the basis of the New School in the country and that had Anísio Teixeira's indirect participation in its elaboration (Pagni, 2000), clearly established the value of the individual, as well as it indicated that the education should lead everyone to the full

development of their potential. Teixeira (2005) always considered that the educational reform should be based on respect for the abilities and skills of students, determining factors for the distribution of people in the world of occupations and professions.

In the 1934 book, *A short introduction to the philosophy of education*, Teixeira (2000) argues that the material, social and moral reconstruction of the school should be made through psychological foundations that would ensure the comprehension of the child, the reconstruction of school curriculum and teachers' training. For him, one of the founding principles of democracy is the respect for the personality, which does not imply supporting the thesis of psychological equality between individuals, but rather the recognition of heterogeneity, when equal opportunities for development and social participation should be provided (Geribello 1977). Everyone should be entitled to the fullest possible participation in the acts and social institutions, preserving thus their dignity as human beings (Teixeira, 1996).

It was the principle of psychological heterogeneity which led Anísio Teixeira to Mental Hygiene and Psychoanalysis, in defense of ideas that emphasized the care of the body and the mind, in favor of a healthy development of the individual and the opening of opportunities to develop all the talents in order to promote the consolidation and the expansion of the democratic way of life. Therefore, it was more advantageous to investigate the students' overall situation than to apprehend the student according to psychometric parameters.

The teacher should understand the individual as a whole, "with all the variables for himself and his history and his culture and the history of this culture," beyond the "concrete situation, with his contemporaries and peers, his teacher and his family" (Teixeira, 2006, p. 83). Teixeira (1997) understood that education always requires changes and that the results of the measurement may confuse those who are impatient, innocent or have bad faith, there is no "easy in experimenting with children, nor is it possible to conduct studies with children with rigors of research labs" (p. 69).

As the education requires a system of constant adjustment, connections, new points of view and new combinations, it becomes essential to undo the idea brought by the Psychometrics in which the student is "something abstract to be manipulated by the classification criteria in supposedly homogeneous groups" (Teixeira, 2006, p. 76). It is more relevant to investigate the overall situation of the student, because that is what allows more appropriate scientific treatments.

The teacher must understand the individual as a whole, "with all the variables for himself and his history and his culture and the history of this culture," beyond the "concrete situation, with his contemporaries and peers, his teacher and his family" (Ibid., p. 83). Teixeira (1997) believed that the classificatory rigidity imposed by a purely quantitative science summed up to the distinction between normal and abnormal, between the healthy and the sick; the existence of abnormal children is real, but the conceptual boundaries of this fact are too imprecise due to the wide range of subjects included in them.

Before classifying it is necessary to develop more detailed studies to ensure understanding of the habits and emotional impulses, to promote its correction when necessary, (Teixeira, 1997). It is necessary to face the ills bequeathed by modernity, to enable us to live in a new society (Teixeira, 1933a). In this context, psychoanalytic concepts become useful for providing "the map of the human soul in all its complex and obscure life of relationships" (p. 2) and for allowing the knowledge of the difficulties and human limits, the verification of man's imperfections as well as its solution, dissolving the determinism of the forces of heredity that were previously believed (Teixeira, 1952).

In clear articulation with the proposals of Psychoanalysis and Mental Hygiene, Teixeira directed his reflections to the psychological formation of the individual, which, according to him, is not guaranteed by the classification of students by the time they enter school, because the health intellectual constitution, which enables the broad development of potentialities, occurs by joint action of the family and school, in a fruitful social environment for the mental structuring of the individual.

Before the maturation of scientific thinking in education, the child was examined only in his/her physical aspects, and there was no special attention to the mental habits and social habits. The care with the organic health is not enough, and this was amply demonstrated by the association of mental hygiene with psychoanalytic knowledge, which, according to Teixeira (1933b, p. 12), revealed "the new world of the child" to doctors, psychologists and educators.

Teixeira (1997) explains that until six years old, the child experiences a fundamental moment for the final establishment of his/her character and his/her mental and social adjustment as an adult. This adjustment represents "the most delicate conditions of happiness, wellness and true health", however, what is seen nowadays is "the most distressing and inexplicable precariousness of institutions and resources to provide assistance to this period of the human development" (Ibid., p. 64). To face this serious situation, Anísio proposes that, besides the school, families also be prepared to educate children, in line with the precepts of hygiene, to direct them towards the correct standards of a healthy intellectual development. This precept does not express a mere intention of suiting the individual to the rules of the social order, because what Teixeira seeks is the balance between individual psychological characteristics, highlighting the uniqueness of each person and the needs of education for life in society (Cunha, 2002).

The identification of individual skills leads to the improvement of potentialities, foments the growth of each one and ultimately enhances the reorganization of society (Nunes, 2000). Studying children to classify them according to their skills and their intellect and, moreover, to treat those with learning disabilities or more complex mental disorders, was to Teixeira (1933a), to understand education not as a mere school phenomenon, but as a social phenomenon. For Anísio, adaptation means taking the individual to intelligent behavior, to a conduct adjusted to environmental conditions, which is ensured by the perception, both in the school and in the family, of the signs that promote a healthy mental development. Teixeira (2005) says that the adjustment is what "produces knowledge by

acquaintance which originates most of our habits and our practical knowledge, derived from the data of experience, accepted in its spontaneous and direct signification" (p. 345).

Recognizing the value of the social environment in children's formation means prioritizing the preparation of all environments in which the individuals are formed. Family and school must be scientifically articulated to ensure the healthy formation of Brazilian children (Teixeira, 1997). Teixeira refers to behavior as an elaborate construction in social terms, as a set of movements that take the individual organism to restore the balance broken by some external change. Human behavior, therefore, is not something mechanical by nature. A new habit or behavior is elaborated from the reciprocal action "between the body and its natural milieu" (Teixeira, 1934, p. 2). It is the social environment what stimulates the individual and leads to the construction of new and improved habits, thus the "character type" is "indicated by the nature of the agent of disturbance, by the way each individual is disturbed and by the manner that he/she reacts" (Ibid., p. 12).

The environment in which the man inserts himself, on the other hand, is responsible for the complex and delicate organization of the individual's habits and conducts, which implies the acknowledgment of the social nature of the construction of the individual, being evident "the part represented by others in the genesis of any self". It's the "primitive influences in a child full of personality", as we have seen Anísio say, and not heredity, what accounts for the formation of the character. The environment is decisive in the formation of individuality, and how parents treat children, shaping "their attitudes for good or ill" (Teixeira, 1934, p. 16) is determinant in their life.

The school must coordinate, consolidate and integrate children's previous experiences through the creation of a harmonious environment, different from the adult environment. School programs must come near the infant universe, because the child is an immature being that needs to mature and this goal can only be achieved by full control of the psychological aspect inherent to the infant universe (Teixeira, 1933b). The artificiality of the "old education" (p. 2), to promote comparisons between the child's immaturity and the adult's experience, prevented the achievement of these educational goals, as well as the correct orientation of the child. Education can refine or modify behaviors, as long as it is based on the student's experience, otherwise education becomes "deeply damaging" to the "emotional, intellectual and moral development" (Teixeira, 2006, p. 264). The child is not "the mythical being of natural rights, pure from the hands of God and corrupted by society, but a highly evolved animal, unappealably candidate to be a man thanks to its educability" (Ibid., p. 210).

The central concepts of Psychoanalysis integrated Anísio Teixeira's conceptions because, for him, educating consisted of a process that could not be reduced to the formal aspects; it involves individual growing and maturing (Teixeira, 1959). The new schools should outgrow the traditional learning centers, containing gardens and open spaces, in order to restore the social spaces "increasingly misappropriated by urban reforms", that push the poorest to "more distant areas of the periphery" (Nunes, 2000, p. 372). For Anísio, the school should be seen as a flexible organism, because what educates is family

life and social life, leaving teachers to transmit certain knowledge and arts in addition to domestic education.

Just as Arthur Ramos, Teixeira also did not disqualify the family, but emphasized its importance in the formation of healthy individuals. The family can give its contribution to the diagnosis of deviant adjustment, without waiting for the child to enter school to be classified as normal or abnormal, as well as giving this child an orientation. The involvement of parents in the formation of intellectually healthy people is essential, since "according to what is known today in Psychology" (Teixeira, 1955, p. 1), the children arrive to the school with their personality structures already fixed. The interaction within the family environment and the experiences provided there, form or deform, giving each individual his characteristics, "his style to act and react in the face of fears and joys of living" (ibid., p. 1).

The family education has the tools of passionate affection, of patience, impatience, of repression, of the award, caress, anger and denial, the instruments of emotion that contribute to the formation of personality. The teacher finds the child formed in different ways, depending on the home environment, and should be prepared to encounter the irregularity, and should offer all the best "conditions of growth and hygiene" (Teixeira, 1933b, p. 22). Families must provide hygienic care, intelligence and temperament, making of fatherhood and motherhood a true vocation (Ibid., p.17). Humans "do not live only on a physical environment, but in a 'culture' that permeates and transforms their own biological behaviors"; organic environments and physical environments are "social" (Teixeira, 2005, p. 382).

Characterizing the early stages of childhood as the most fertile of the process of human development, rich both in trouble and in difficulty, Anísio Teixeira (1933b) considered that this period required a careful look, especially from parents and other family members. Everyone needs preparation to educate the habits, direct the temper and impulses, as well as to correct dispositions, attitudes and bad habits. Therefore, the issue of child care is also the problem of assistance to parents, because the formation of the father and the mother enables the research and investigation of the child's development. It is necessary to prevent the ills coming from the irregular development, using the hygiene of the body and the spirit, which provides normality. This prevention occurs in the first instance, at home, the institution that deeply suffers the effects of the social restructuring and must be prepared to meet the requirements of this change.

To realize what is proposed by Anísio Teixeira (1933b, p. 19), parents should receive thoroughly preparation to observe the physical, mental and social development of children and being able to become "enlightened, intelligent and objective educators." This preparation would be done through "circles of mothers" dedicated to the study of their own children. Clinics of habits and child guidance clinics would equally contribute. These clinics "already exist in some countries" and began to exist also in Brazil through "mental hygiene societies", suggesting that the problem of monitoring the child was already felt and that the search for solutions was already happening. Parents should be encouraged to study and

reflect on the task of raising healthy children, to make them be born and grow up normally and snugly.

Final considerations

We have seen in this paper that, for Anísio Teixeira, the child should be studied not only in his/her physical aspects, but also in regard to his/her history, his/her relationship with the environment and his/her origins. Educators should understand that the main goal of education is the individual, not the isolated individual, but the individual being that results from "other earlier individuals" and that develops himself in the relationship with the environment, because the individual and the environment "act and react, reciprocally, changing at each instant" (Teixeira, 1934, p. 3). The work of the teachers should be supported by various scientific approaches, always placing the welfare and mental health as a priority of the school, to educate the child, which is the future man (Teixeira, 1933b). It is in this wide set of knowledge that Anísio Teixeira put Psychoanalysis and Mental Hygiene.

The subjects examined in this work express the opinion of Teixeira before his withdrawal from public life, occurred for political reasons in the mid-1930s. At that time, Anísio dialogued with strands of Psychology that prioritized the individual, as sole subject whose specificities and needs should be investigated and treated. In the postwar years, when the country's democratization allowed his return to administrative activities, Teixeira resumed its leadership position in the movement of educational reform, took control of important government agencies, such as Capes, Inep and the Brazilian Center for Educational Research (Xavier, 1999; Nunes, 2000).

His reflections and practices in education continued to take into account the contributions of Psychology, but his closer interaction was with theories that put the individual factors within the wider sociological and anthropological context. This is a topic of Teixeira's trajectory to be addressed timely in another paper. For now, it is possible to emphasize that in every moment of his life he searched one goal: to interact with several sciences capable to explain the man and to help solving the problems of brazilian education.

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