

**A MEDICALIZAÇÃO E SUA HISTÓRIA: NORMALIZAÇÃO E DISCIPLINAMENTO DA INFÂNCIA POR MEIO DA ESCOLA**

***LA MEDICALIZACIÓN Y SU HISTORIA: NORMALIZACIÓN Y DISCIPLINAMIENTO DE LA INFANCIA POR MEDIO DE LA ESCUELA***

***MEDICALIZATION AND ITS HISTORY: STANDARDIZATION AND DISCIPLINATION OF CHILDREN THROUGH SCHOOL***

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**RESUMO:** O artigo objetiva desenvolver um ensaio acerca da medicalização escolar e sua história, com seu surgimento, e também da instituição escolar. Ainda, refletir sobre o desejo burguês da moral e da ordem com a influência médica na família e escola por meio de práticas medicalizantes e biologizantes do processo de aprendizagem. A partir de uma revisão bibliográfica, apresentamos e discutimos o problema da medicalização como uma prática que transforma dificuldades escolares em questões médicas, tratando o corpo biológico como um instrumento de análise e de investidas políticas com o propósito de extinguir todo e qualquer comportamento indesejável na sala de aula. Por fim, associamos a construção argumentativa aqui realizada às ideias de Adorno (1995), Adorno e Horkheimer (1986), Foucault (1979, 2008 a/b), Marques (1994), entre outros.

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** Medicalização. Escola. Disciplina. Normalização.

**RESUMEN:** *El artículo tiene el objetivo de desarrollar un ensayo acerca de la medicalización escolar y su historia, con su surgimiento, y también de la institución escolar. Todavía, reflexionar sobre el deseo burgués de la moral y del orden con la influencia médica en la familia y escuela por medio de prácticas medicalizantes y biologizantes del proceso de aprendizaje. A partir de una revisión bibliográfica, presentamos y discutimos el problema de la medicalización como una práctica que transforma dificultades escolares en cuestiones médicas, tratando el cuerpo biológico como un instrumento de análisis y de investidas políticas con el propósito de extinguir todo el comportamiento indeseable en el aula de clase. Por fin, asociamos la construcción argumentativa aquí realizada a las ideas de Adorno (1995), Adorno y Horkheimer (1986), Foucault (1979, 2008 a/b), Marques (1994), entre otros.*

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**PALABRAS CLAVE:** *Medicalización. Escuela. Disciplina. Normalización.*

**ABSTRACT:** *The article aims to develop an essay about school medicalization and its history, with its emergence, and also about the school institution. Still, spend some thought on the bourgeois desire for morality and order with the medical influence on the family and school through medicalizing and biologizing practices of the learning process. From a literature review, we present and discuss the problem of medicalization as a practice that transforms school difficulties into medical issues, treating the biological body as an instrument of analysis and political advances with the purpose of extinguishing any undesirable behavior in the classroom. Finally, we associate the argumentative construction made here with the ideas of Adorno (1995), Adorno and Horkheimer (1986), Foucault (1979, 2008 a/b), Marques (1994), among others.*

**KEYWORDS:** *Medicalization. School. Discipline. Standardization.*

## Introduction

In Brazil, the history of education begins to delineate its own and significant outlines between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, still influenced by the European residues of an education focused on medical assistance, with an interest in analyzing and guiding human behavior, in building devices within positivist standards to gain power over life.

This political investment of the body is linked, according to complex and reciprocal relations, to its economic use; it is, in a good proportion, as a force of production that the body is invested by relations of power and domination; but in return his constitution as a labor force is only possible if he is trapped in a system of subjection (where necessity is also a carefully organized, calculated and used political instrument); the body only becomes a useful force if it is both a productive body and a submissive body (FOUCAULT, 1979, p. 25).<sup>4</sup>

In the 17th century and more intensely in the 18th century, a century of enlightenment, there were major changes in relation to children. It was the period in which a new vision of childhood began to emerge, even in the games and clothing used by them, which until then was very similar to the adult. If, until then, the child had no social importance, as described by Ariès

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<sup>4</sup> Este investimento político do corpo está ligado, segundo relações complexas e recíprocas, à sua utilização econômica; é, numa boa proporção, como força de produção que o corpo é investido por relações de poder e de dominação; mas em compensação sua constituição como força de trabalho só é possível se ele está preso num sistema de sujeição (onde a necessidade é também um instrumento político cuidadosamente organizado, calculado e utilizado); o corpo só se torna força útil se é ao mesmo tempo corpo produtivo e corpo submisso (FOUCAULT, 1979, p. 25).

(1981) in his classic work, *História Social da Criança e da Família* (Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life), from the 17th century onwards, the family began to have an interest in the physical and emotional development of their children, a need to understand them in the face of their physical changes and the way they related. This perception raised a concern to separate the children's world from the adult world and what would be more appropriate for that phase of life.

Still in a very rudimentary way, it was thought to group the children so that they would come out of the “darkness of ignorance” and could collaborate socially in some way, because until then they were seen as socially useless. In this way, the school became the place of childhood, the appropriate place to become human, and the child stopped learning only with adult life. Then began a long process of confinement of children that would extend to the present day, and which is called schooling (ÁRIES, 1981, p. 11). It would be the way found to adapt the infantile body to the workday, since the school contained the same format as the big factories. When looking at children in a different way, society started to be more concerned with children's health and well-being, thinking about the importance of taking care of the first years of life, childcare, in order to guarantee their survival, preparing them for good physical and moral development.

The institution was created to receive the people, who formed mostly of mixed race, black and indigenous people, were on the margins of investments and social concerns. With this, the school, at first, removed children from the wealthier classes, because in addition to having a home education, their parents still feared that they would suffer negative influences from children considered morally affected, children of “degenerate” parents, as they were called, belonging to the “lower” classes and races.

Hygienist thinking would then be one of the disciplinary forms that emerged with the aim of restructuring the family nucleus, but this only occurs through the medical power that is part of the collective transformation policy, to compensate for the deficiencies of the law and enter the space of the standard. The idea was to enable conditions to produce a family norm capable of forming domesticated, standardized, sanitized and individualized citizens, who would be able to collaborate with the progress of the city, the State, in short, the Homeland.

This progressive goal for Homeland has the spelling of Capitalism and its need to promote docile citizens for the discipline and alienation of productive and profitable activities. That said, the conditions were given for a social practice that controls life, including that of children, and the institutionalized space for this is the school.

In summary, we observe that the hygienist, eugenicist and drug intervention in education is nothing more than the expression of the ideas of Theodor Adorno (1995), that capitalism marks the degradation of society in the name of the commodification of education, culture and relations social. Leading education not to fulfill its basic purpose, in Adorno's conception: to avoid barbarism. But leading society to social transformations against a civilizing pact and human development.

### **Normalization through school and family: the hygienist and eugenic intervention**

The school was thought to be the place of application of the norm, of control, of the pre-established prescriptions, which would serve as a device for reaching the social order, shaping the individual so that his private and family life would continue to be linked to the political desires of a particular social class, the bourgeoisie.

Disciplinary normalization consists of drawing a model first, an optimal model that is built according to a given result, and the operation of disciplinary normalization consists of trying to conform people, gestures, acts to this model. The normal is, precisely, what is capable of adapting to this norm, and the abnormal, which is not. In other words, what is fundamental and first in disciplinary normalization is not the normal and the abnormal, but the norm. To put it another way, the norm has a primarily prescriptive character, and the determination and distinction between the normal and the abnormal result in possibilities arising from this postulated norm. (FOUCAULT, 2008, p. 58)<sup>5</sup>

For Boarini (2003), hygienic or hygienist education was willing to refine and rationalize the primitive colonial society, generating a process of social hierarchy of intelligence and good manners. The idea was established that being cultured was superior to being uncultured, that a life rich in knowledge would provide a happy life, a new way of living, a conscious way of thinking and feeling, in short, some of what the Greeks they called *ethos*, insofar as it adopts a practical way of overcoming its own limit.

Thus, reason was established as a fundamental principle to guide people's lives, so that progress could be achieved. Gradually, there was a hygienic evolution of the family, increasing

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<sup>5</sup> A normalização disciplinar consiste em traçar primeiro um modelo, um modelo ótimo que está construído em função de um determinado resultado, e a operação de normalização disciplinar consiste em tratar de conformar as pessoas, os gestos, os atos a este modelo. O normal é, precisamente, o que é capaz de adequar-se a esta norma, e o anormal, o que não o é. Em outros termos, o que é fundamental e primeiro na normalização disciplinar não é o normal e o anormal, mas sim a norma. Para dizer de outra maneira, a norma tem um caráter primariamente prescritivo, e a determinação e distinção entre o normal e o anormal resultam em possibilidades decorrentes dessa norma postulada. (FOUCAULT, 2008, p. 58)

discipline, vigilance and repression, which also extended to the scope of education. Hygienists believed that if the control of the body was carried out since childhood, the behaviors in adulthood would already be consistent with the desired ideal, that is, a well-supervised child would be the perfect hygienic adult. However, these behaviors did not promote the development of awareness in order to lead individuals to change their worldviews. The actions of the educational-therapeutic norms were instituted in a depoliticized, individualizing way, reducing the individual to a mere product of his psychological intimacy, without taking into account his own socio-emotional needs.

In the case of Brazil, it was with the arrival of the Court in the country that several changes occurred. If child care was previously reduced to charitable assistance, from that moment on, it started to have another value. With the need for literacy and the entry of man into the world of reason, the school became the primary space of childhood, and it would be the most appropriate place for medicine to influence the behavior of each student, imprinting its power there, since the family would be distant from those actions and would still be directly “benefited” by the modification of their children's behavior, which indirectly could also serve as supervisors. Thus, hygienists came to think that, instead of punishing citizens, they should prevent thinking about tomorrow's adult, building subjectable and submissive beings.

The family started to be approached, with the justification that the submission to the new laws of conduct would make possible the survival of the offspring, the prolongation of health and the happiness of the body. Leaving them vulnerable would make them allies, which would facilitate control over their children. Thus, the concern to establish the norm that could guide hygienic practices with the support of the family is evident. However, those who had no family did not count on medical supervision, but on police surveillance, through which they were often referred to prisons and asylums, remaining outside the care of the State. These would not be multipliers, so they were not of much use.

In this intense desire for progress, family hygiene was one of the proposals designed to contribute to urban development, especially in large cities. Medicine turned to this end, although we must make it very clear that not all doctors were interested in this hygienic medical practice, but those who embraced the cause proposed to modify habits through disciplining, starting from an ideal of behavior, where any individual who did not obey the rules was considered to be outside the desired standard.

Developing a new morality of life and of the body, medicine bypassed the vicissitudes of the law, classifying the lesions of the State as unnatural and abnormal. All hygienic persuasion work developed in the 19th century will

be built on the idea that the family's health and prosperity depend on its subjection to the State (COSTA, 1989, p. 63).<sup>6</sup>

According to the author, hygiene, at first, seems to take care of the morals and good habits of individuals' private and public life, but in fact the biggest target of hygiene has always been the family, when passing on the idea that scientific care was necessary so that it could adapt to urbanization and take care of children, because the parents were seen as incapable, since they made mistakes out of ignorance, and the family ended up discovering in the hygienic knowledge the proof of their incompetence, which the hygienists insisted on pointing out.

In this way, medicine started to be received and internalized by the family, who can recognize it as a regulating pattern of behaviors, preventing any conduct that deviates from the standard desired by hygienists. If the main objective of the State was to combat bad habits among adults, this only happened with the intention that the child would be guided by healthy habits, thinking of him as an adult of tomorrow who would contribute to progress.

The family was then molded according to the medical code and the house became a constant place for health surveillance, disease control and moral activism. A model of disciplinary regulation was being designed and built progressively, invading the way of family functioning, and step by step the concept of “perfect” family, the nuclear family, in which the son was healthy and respectful, the loving mother and dedicated to the home and the parent father, responsible for supporting the house.

Foucault in his work *Vigiar e Punir* (Discipline and Punish) (2008b) makes a singular discussion about the discipline's action as a regulator of normalizing instruments, which favored the docility with which the family subjected itself to hygiene, which ended up triggering a new social constitution. Hygiene, represented by scientists in the medical field, came to play a role of supposed knowledge that, taken from full power, it was allowed to enter the family and consequently influence the functioning of other areas that until then were not part of medical competence, such as, for example, education. The school was the target of this medical practice, because it was seen in this institution a fertile field to cultivate the seeds of the discipline that would germinate the social improvement of the coming decades.

Foucault's discipline has a direct connection with power, because according to him power is the action of forces at the expense of something or someone who exercises weakness

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<sup>6</sup> Desenvolvendo uma nova moral da vida e do corpo, a medicina contornou as vicissitudes da lei, classificando as condutas lesa-Estado como antinaturais e anormais. Todo trabalho de persuasão higiênica desenvolvido no século XIX vai ser montado sobre a ideia de que a saúde e a prosperidade da família dependem de sua sujeição ao Estado (COSTA, 1989, p. 63).

or submission in relation to the other. The hierarchical view, which stigmatizes and represses what is not acceptable, aims to discipline the docile body - a term used by Foucault -, which is adjacent to a classic time when the body was discovered as a target of power. Hygienists used, in their attacks, a body that can be manipulated, modeled, trained, which obeys and corresponds to the wishes of those in power, which in this case is characterized in the medical figure.

[...] The human body enters a machinery of power that scans, dismantles and recomposes it. A “political anatomy”, which is also a “mechanics of power”, is being born; it defines how one can have dominion over the bodies of others, not simply so that they can do what they want, but to operate as they wish, with techniques, according to the speed and effectiveness that is determined. The discipline thus produces submissive and exercised bodies, “docile” bodies. Discipline increases the forces of the body (in economic terms of utility) and decreases those same forces (in political terms of obedience) (FOUCAULT, 2008b, p. 119).<sup>7</sup>

Later, with the Enlightenment, concerns about childhood intensified and centered on the idea of transforming the child into a “man with reason”, always with the objective of making him productive. However, it was in the 19th century that the school became the place par excellence for the education and learning of children, with the disciplines imposed by the institution with the aim of constituting eugenic and capable subjects, which gave rise to a new economic form that emerged in that industrialization.

Thus, childhood started to be more valued, being the target of specific care through assiduous control. If this "control" of the body had as main objective to obtain a protected and sanitized childhood, so that there would be the defense of society, thinking of the child as the "adult of tomorrow", it only had it for this "adult of tomorrow" to come to be an efficient social apparatus, that is, a citizen who would contribute to the advancement of his nation with its progressive and wholesome practices. The school became the appropriate place to cultivate good habits in childhood, whose aim would be to seek the harmonization of body and spirit with the reach of discipline.

### **School medicalization: disciplinary, eugenic and hygienic practice**

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<sup>7</sup> [...] O corpo humano entra numa maquinaria de poder que o esquadrinha, o desarticula e o recompõe. Uma “anatomia política”, que é também igualmente uma “mecânica do poder”, está nascendo; ela define como se pode ter domínio sobre o corpo dos outros, não simplesmente para que façam o que se quer, mas para que operem como se quer, com as técnicas, segundo a rapidez e a eficácia que se determina. A disciplina fabrica assim corpos submissos e exercitados, corpos “dóceis”. A disciplina aumenta as forças do corpo (em termos econômicos de utilidade) e diminui essas mesmas forças (em termos políticos de obediência) (FOUCAULT, 2008b, p. 119).

In addition to the concern with health and hygiene, which aimed to control the rules by disciplining the individual, there was also a whole eugenic discourse that was created in medical science, in order to give effective attention to race. This was a matter of paramount importance to doctors, who held race to be responsible for social progress or detriment.

Eugenics thus functioned as a principle of rationality and infiltrated itself as a device that would contribute both to the disciplining of the machine and to the purification of the race. The idea of whitening the race accompanied the justification that black people were closely linked to poverty and ignorance, which would be a danger to the control of diseases and social order.

Eugenics shaping physical bodies would (re)model the social body, for the organic “reinvigoration” and for the “construction” of the citizen's conscience. It would establish the place of different groups in society by waving at them, but with the possibility of other positions as soon as they reached the whitening, discipline and normalization (MARQUES, 1994, p. 44).<sup>8</sup>

Thus, in addition to the family, the race also became the target of control and modeling of intellectuals, who had as an example the Portuguese nobility and European bourgeois society. At first, hygienists believed that the environment would dominate individuals. However, after a while, with the deepening of their scientific studies, hygienists realized that just taking care of hygiene, changing the environment, customs and habits, was not enough to bring about progress, in addition to organizing cities, controlling diseases and reformulate the entire political-cultural context. It was necessary to take care of something that was independent of hygiene, the genetics, in short, the hereditary seed.

Hygienists sought the whitening of the race, by associating white people with a healthy, sexually strong and morally regulated body. The black man, on the other hand, was associated with social lack of control, with an impoverished intellect and with a disaggregated moral and physical and mental constitution.

The 1870s were marked by the significant entry of the medical-hygienist influence on educational issues. The school was seen as a place where the child would begin to reflect on the importance of physical and moral virtue, as well as to have a racial awareness, which would

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<sup>8</sup> A eugenia modelando os corpos físicos (re)modelaria o corpo social, pelo “revigoramento” orgânico e pela “construção” da consciência do cidadão. Estabeleceria o lugar dos diferentes grupos na sociedade acenando-lhes, porém com a possibilidade de outras posições assim que atingissem o branqueamento, a disciplina e a normalização (MARQUES, 1994, p. 44).



make it possible to associate progress with the white race, recriminating laziness and accepting the value of work as dignification of man.

If addictions, bad habits, beliefs and cultural ignorance could be transmitted to the child by the family, it was necessary, according to hygienists, to separate the child from its parents so that the future could be thought and changed, incorporating good habits into them. In early childhood, in order to overcome the parents' way of life, making this child a soldier who disseminates hygienist ideas. The medical discourse pointed to the importance of an early intervention, as the child was seen as “modeling wax”, in which the desired shape was easily printed. According to Marques (1994), the model institution became educational already in its own architectural conception.

Seeing the child as a physical-moral entity still without form justified all the investments in habit installations. This idea intensified more and more in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, however, it is in the first half of the twentieth century, more specifically in the 1920s, that hygiene has become stronger, with the process of developing a life regulated by medical discourses and practices, being even supported by the State, whose project was to build a civilizing movement towards a prosperous nation.

The benefit would go beyond school: it will reach other members of the family, who owe a good part of their health and health habits to the teacher's influence. [...] These practices of “inculcating healthy habits” in children, through hygiene, were the perfect symbiosis of moral education with hygienic education insofar as “bringing together one another is taking advantage of both: the moral, ensuring the execution of hygiene, providing the concretization and practice of human solidarity” (ALMEIDA JÚNIOR, 1992, p. 53-56).<sup>9</sup>

The interest in childhood would then be the preparation for the adult of tomorrow. Hence the fact that preventive and educational actions directed at childhood result in the creation of a healthy man, who would propagate hygienist ideas serving the nation, collaborating with it for the social order. If before the child was manipulated by the church and the family, now it is the object of manipulation of science and his body becomes the target of yet another mechanism of power. The school came to be seen as the means and the child as the end of the targets of prevention and sanitation actions, where education and health came together to normalize it, while the educator started to represent an “abnormality identifier”.

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<sup>9</sup> O benefício iria além da escola: alcançará os demais membros da família, que deverão uma boa parte de sua saúde e de seus hábitos sanitários à influência do professor. [...] Essas práticas de “ir inculcando hábitos sadios” nas crianças, pela higiene, era a simbiose perfeita da educação moral com a educação higiênica na medida em que “reunir uma a outra é aproveitar a ambas: a moral, assegurando a execução da higiene, fornecendo a concretização e a prática da solidariedade humana” (ALMEIDA JÚNIOR, 1992, p. 53-56).

Patto (1991) locates the entry of these ideas in Brazil at the beginning of the 20th century, by Franco da Rocha, Lourenço Filho and Durval Marcondes in São Paulo, and by Arthur Ramos, who played a similar role in Rio de Janeiro. The first Brazilian experience of installing mental hygiene clinics in schools was the “Mental Hygiene Service of the Section for Orthophrenia and Hygiene of the Educational Research Institute”, founded when the Municipal Education reform of the Federal District was installed in 1934, clearly showing a operationalization of the influence of the medical model in Brazilian schools, originated in the North American hygienist movement, which Ramos helped to introduce in Brazil.

The norms, which came to differentiate between good and bad behaviors and to frame behaviors considered adequate, had as parameter the idea of abnormal or pathological. The normal comes to be established as a way of imprisoning the student, who through a standardized education, universalizes and equals the unequal, without taking into account the singularities of each individual.

Detected the deviations according to the norms, the body that did not behave in a submissive way would then suffer normalizing sanctions that came to fight the supposed “rebelliousness”. At first, physical punishment was the main instrument. Punishment existed as a way to make the student obey from pain and humiliation and, later, came the medical-psychological examination of the student, with the objective of curing the “problem students”.

Education has increasingly been shaped by geneticist ideas, for which heredity already brought labeling and stigmatizing information about the child beforehand. Eugenics, increasingly strong, treated genetics as a biopower, thinking of the individual as a man-machine and a species body, which had been loaded with innumerable expectations about biological processes, such as the organic aspects of the race. Thus, the eugenicists saw the school as a place that made possible the harmonious union of the body and the spirit, being able, through culture, to improve the individual and, consequently, the species. This vision of a school capable of taking care of the body and mind made it essential to have new knowledge to compose the school team, such as health professionals. Thus, the school became a network of knowledge and powers that, like a web, intertwined the concepts of knowledge holders: hygienists and educators.

The new word of order is school mental hygiene. With preventive intentions, mental hygiene and child-orientation clinics have spread around the world since the 1920s and are designed to study and correct child maladjustments. Under the name of psycho-clinics, orthophrenic clinics, guidance clinics or children's mental hygiene clinics, they serve the school system through the diagnosis, as early as possible, of learning disorders. Preventive obsession

has the motto “keep the normal child normal” and in its name “habits clinics” are created for children of preschool age (PATTO, 1991, p. 44).<sup>10</sup>

All this way of looking at education arose in the desire to reach an organized and civilized society, which prepared the individual for work, disciplining him so that he could passively accept a workday, because, after all, educational institutions ended up playing, according to Sarup (1980), a great scholar of Marxist ideas, a crucial role in socioeconomic reproduction, because with its hierarchical character education has always made a social selection through stratification, which outlined disciplined and productive behaviors, which would make students able to produce in the future what capital engendered, thereby guaranteeing the necessary labor force for the country's capitalist development. According to Constantino and Caruso (2003, p. 30), “work and non-work established the split between normal and abnormal”.

The low production or deviations in the way of producing implied an intervention of authority, which supervised and punished, with the objective of keeping students under control. Inspection was carried out through inspections that had a medical police character and, at the same time, forms of action of social medicine, typical of the time.

The surveillance of students, carried out by means of medical examinations, constituted the space of the magazine, a space in which students are observed by a power that is only manifested by looking and in which knowledge about the student is raised, knowledge that is noted, skills documented, the addictions and degenerations are recorded, documented, allowing comparisons, classifications, categorizations that will serve for the establishment of norms - of school medical codes - whose objective will be to keep them under control on the one hand, establishing gestures and behaviors considered normal; and, on the other hand, inserting and distributing them in a population, without removing them from the specification of being a “case” that can be normalized or excluded (MARQUES, 1994, p. 113).<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> A nova palavra de ordem é a *higiene mental escolar*. Com intenções preventivas, as clínicas de higiene mental e de orientação infantil disseminaram-se no mundo a partir da década de vinte e se propõe a estudar e corrigir os *desajustamentos infantis*. Sob o nome de psico-clínicas, clínicas ortofrênicas, clínicas de orientação ou clínicas de higiene mental infantil, elas servem à rede escolar através do diagnóstico, o mais precocemente possível de distúrbios da aprendizagem. A obsessão preventiva tem como lema “*keep the normal child normal*” (mantenha normal a criança normal) e em seu nome são criadas as “clínicas de hábitos” para crianças em idade pré-escolar (PATTO, 1991, p. 44).

<sup>11</sup> A vigilância dos alunos, realizada por meio dos exames médicos, constituía-se no espaço da revista, espaço esse em que os alunos são observados por um poder que só se manifesta pelo olhar e no qual são levantados conhecimentos sobre o aluno, conhecimentos esses que são anotados, documentadas as aptidões, os vícios, as degenerescências, permitindo comparações, classificações, categorizações que servirão para a fixação de norma - de códigos médicos escolares - cujo objetivo será mantê-los sob controle por um lado, estabelecendo os gestos, os comportamentos normais; e, por outro, inserindo e distribuindo-os numa população, sem tirá-los da especificação de ser um “caso” que poderá ser normalizado ou excluído (MARQUES, 1994, p. 113).

These data, analyzed according to the above quote, were an individual health record of students in which sociological, anthropological, psychological and pedagogical aspects were noted, with the participation of health professionals and teachers, who reported data on attention, intelligence, memory, behaviors, in short, any and all manifestations of the student in the school routine. These records were used as an examination operation, in which the children were compared with each other and with others from another social environment. It can be said that the child went through a scanning process, in which the system fragmented his body and mind.

This record was analyzed by the doctors, who, in case of suspicion of abnormality, would start a specific medical treatment for the student. The school then became a place where more and more prophylactic work would be done. In this sense, the anthro-pedagogical examination delegated to the professor the task of supervising, together with the medical field, diagnosing, excluding or treating those who deviated from “normality”.

We can see that the medicalization of childhood came as a result of hygiene and, in this sense, education and health came together ideologically as inseparable elements in the implementation of a program of normalization and moralization, which aimed to maintain a strong social pillar, the order for good habits. Since then, education has come to be the target of medical power, shaped by the role of keeping individuals in heteronomy, which was strengthened at school by coercive relations, in which rules and norms were imposed, given as unique and immutable truths.

However, what we see today is that the practices of coercion and subjection have intensified more and more within schools, and pedagogy and medicine have articulated themselves to make the school universe an object of scientific knowledge, building a type of man and a type of society that gives continuity to the sanitary medicine, that had appeared with the intention of inspecting the homes, cleaning the population and discouraging idleness.

These ideas influenced educators in the pedagogical work with children, as they started to hinder the act of playing and the games in the school routine, not thinking of these activities as a fundamental instrument for child development, but as a waste of useless energy that only stimulated disengagement with education. In this way, recreation at school, recess and physical activities became a purposeful leisure, directed to a formative sense, which would only exist in order to illustrate some knowledge proposed by the pedagogical practice.

Time, then, becomes a significant disciplinary instrument, a “precious” time that does not match moments of idleness. On the contrary, it should be valued in order to preserve the

body from vices and bad habits, which would impair the individual's physical and moral development.

If surveillance was present in the various social sectors, there was also a whole punitive apparatus, which was increasingly drawn up by medical standards. A significant punitive instrument was and is the use of psychotropic medications, which started to be used in the face of misconduct, considered as “hygienic crimes”. These drugs were and are prescribed without knowing what effect it would actually have on the individual, whether an adult or child. It is what we see today as a process that spreads daily, affecting children who could not always be medicalized, but treated as a being in formation and not as sick.

This context brings us to the ideas of Adorno and Horkheimer (1986) in their work “Dialectic of Enlightenment”, especially the excerpt “On the genesis of stupidity”, in which they relate intelligence to a snail's antenna and its groping vision, which finding an obstacle is collected, seeking contact with the whole body and hesitates to leave again in the permanent perception of danger or in contact with a new obstacle. The snail metaphor is useful for understanding the beginning of intellectual life in childhood. At an early age, children and their mental/intellectual world are delicate, and it is freedom for their pursuits and exercise that allows them to evolve.

Adorno's (1986) analysis under the influence of psychoanalytic ideas points out that frustration, repression, environmental limitations become obstacles to children's groping and curious gaze: in these impediments, from animals in nature to children become shy and stupid.

Stupidity is a scar that marks the intellectual when his initial movement, his first desire to know, was reached and inhibited in his awakening. In the partial impediment of this desire, a game of disorderly attempts by the children to find answers to their doubts begins, amid their difficulty in reformulating their questions, to solve them. An almost imperceptible stiffening occurs, but it manifests itself in an inner difficulty (ADORNO; HORKHEIMER; 1986).

The violence suffered turns goodwill into bad. And not only the forbidden question, but also the condemnation of imitation, crying, risky play, can cause scars. [...] they designate the stages in which hope was immobilized and which are the petrified testimony of the fact that every living being is under a force that dominates it (ADORNO; HORHEIMER, 1947, p. 120).<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> A violência sofrida transforma a boa vontade em má. E não apenas a pergunta proibida, mas também a condenação da imitação, do choro, da brincadeira arriscada, pode provocar cicatrizes. [...] designam as etapas em que a esperança se imobilizou e que são o testemunho petrificado do fato de que todo ser vivo se encontra sob uma força que o domina (ADORNO; HORHEIMER, 1947, p. 120).

The ideas of Adorno and Horkheimer (1947), associated with the discussion hitherto undertaken, allow us to think how much education is structured in a way that does not allow it to fulfill its role of stimulating intellectual and cultural development. The educator must promote the integral development of his students with actions that involve thinking and acting. The situations of social interaction should be valued in the school environment as well as the cognitive skills for the construction of collective rules of convention. Piaget, in his work "The moral judgment in the child", originally published in 1932, points out that the child can evolve from developmental trends from anomie to heteronomy and from heteronomy to autonomy from the child's interaction with the social environment and through of individual psychic processes of self-regulation.

In this way, the role of the educator is related to the construction of autonomy, and it is no longer possible to attribute to this professional a role that seeks behaved, medicalized students and that follow the rules without question. It is necessary to recognize the importance of education through the opportunity to respectfully build the child's development in the school environment.

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