

CONTROL AND DISCIPLINE IN THE TEACHING REGULATIONS OF REPUBLICAN PARÁ (1890-1896)



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ABSTRACT

This article aims to analyze the process of disciplinarization related to the performance of the teacher in primary school in Pará, between the years 1890 and 1896, through the identification of how the teacher was represented in the educational legislation and the legal provisions that regulated both the control and the inspection of the teaching action in the period studied. The theoretical framework is composed of authors such as Meneghetti and Sampaio, Napolitano, and Candioto, who address the political, economic and social context of Brazil at the beginning of the twentieth century – a period in which a process of reurbanization was taking place in the city of Belém-PA – in addition to Foucault, whose thought presents the relations of disciplinary power intrinsic to the educational process. With regard to the methodological proposition, the present investigation makes use of documentary research. Therefore, the following sources of research are used: the Teaching Regulations, published between 1890 and 1896; the Report of Public Instruction, of 1890. In the course of the research, it was possible to verify that a relevant dimension of the management of public education in that period was the explicit attempt to impose a standard of behavior on teachers through regulatory devices that had this purpose.

Keywords: Pará. Educational legislation. First Republic.

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INTRODUCTION

The Republic brought in its discourse ideas of citizenship, civility, and modernity, as well as the desire to free itself from the "legacies of a secular past marked by economic dependence from abroad, by the bossism of large landowners, and by slavery" (NAPOLITANO, 2018, p. 8). Despite this, the ideas of Republic and freedom that used to be associated since the nineteenth century were not effective in the daily lives of the Brazilian people, since many of the remaining problems of the monarchical regime were not combated by the republican oligarchic elite, as "it itself benefited from these archaic structures" (NAPOLITANO, 2018, p. 8).

Education at the end of the nineteenth century sought to obtain efficiency and productivity in its main objective: the formation of the republican citizen. For this, the leaders needed to ensure that the republican ideology reached the students, which would be accomplished through the work of the teachers. In the midst of these circumstances, regulatory norms were promulgated in Pará, among which was the first regulation for public instruction, published in May 1890. This happens in a context of significant increase in the production and commercialization of latex, which is the reason for the strengthening of the region's gum economy, triggering a period of development, especially for central areas, such as the cities of Belém and Manaus, transforming them into symbols of wealth and progress.

With this level of economic development, the state of Pará underwent important changes in its cultural and administrative organization, in addition to significant transformations in the urban landscape of its capital, all in a context of profound political changes with the beginning of the Republic. This is because "civilizing" the citizens of Pará was one of the major concerns of the new regime and, to this extent, in addition to the economy, it was necessary to develop education, especially the behavior and life habits of the population with regard to health and public education, in order to make it modern and civilized.

At that time, the Republicans wanted to get rid of the "backwardness" left by the Empire in order to build a society in which people saw the new regime as a superior form of government. In these terms, "education was the most effective instrument for the adaptation of the newly created Republic to the premises of order and progress" (DAMASCENO, 2021, p. 3) and was the most efficient means to form civilized and patriotic citizens.

Nevertheless, the school, before the aforementioned period, already represented a fairly integral dimension of the disciplinary power used to achieve the objectives of the nascent Republic, since it was there that the student was persuaded to adopt a conduct considered normal and appropriate, so that, for each act committed that was considered transgressive of the desired standard, "it becomes necessary and urgent to discipline it, that is, to transform him into a docile and useful student. All this so that he may be, in the future, a good man, honest, yes, but fundamentally hardworking and obedient" (MENEGETTI; SAMPAIO, 2016, p. 137).

It was from this perspective that the teacher, as an agent responsible for the formation of this individual, had his profession marked by norms and guidelines that sought to guarantee a certain type of education for the population, consigned through control and inspection devices. Therefore, considering the importance of the control and inspection of the teaching work and the devices used for its attempt to be effective during the first years of the Republic, the central theme of this article consists of questioning the process of disciplining the teacher's performance in primary schools in Pará between 1890 and 1896.

In terms of the methodological proposition to be applied to our investigation, we opted for documentary research, which is characterized by the use of documents as sources, "with the objective of extracting information contained in them, in order to understand a phenomenon; it is a procedure that uses methods and techniques for the apprehension, understanding and analysis of documents of the most varied types" (KRIPKA; SCHELLER; BONOTTO, 2015, p. 58).

Throughout our survey, sources were collected that refer to different types of information. First, we had sources classified as records of direct witnesses, as is the case of the reports mentioned above, and those that were prepared by constituted authorities, such as the educational legislation in force at the time.

From this survey, we defined the year 1890 as the starting point of the research, because in May of that year the first republican regulation was published that aimed to organize public education, still during the provisional government of Justo Chermont. This document is noteworthy because it aims to meet the need to reorganize public education in the state, especially primary education. As the final milestone of our historical cut, we chose the year 1896, when the last law aimed at the organization of public education was published by the government of Lauro Sodré, the first to be elected, even if indirectly, by Congress.

In view of the importance of the teacher in the organization and consolidation of the republican regime at the national and state levels, our intention was to analyze the related sources with a focus on the prescriptions about the teaching profession in the legislation, especially between May 1889 and May 1896, a period in which four teaching regulations and José Veríssimo's report on public instruction in Pará were published.

As theoretical supports for our analysis, we dialogue with texts that discuss disciplinary power from a reading of the ideas of Michel Foucault, an intellectual who investigated how these relations of disciplinary power are intrinsic to the educational process.

Starting from the idea that power develops from social relations and that it is not only in a place or in the possession of a subject, as well as that disciplinary power is a way of fabricating docile and useful bodies, we analyze the available sources taking into account the elements of disciplinary power highlighted by Foucault, that is: hierarchical surveillance, the normalizing sanction and the examination. In addition, we also worked with the idea of a civilizing education, which was the objective of the republicans at the time.

THE ORGANIZATION OF TEACHING AND THE TEACHER AT THE END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY IN PARÁ

Despite the discourse of cultural and political innovation after the Proclamation of the Republic, which proposed to bring the population closer to political debates, the new regime, through the Constitution of 1891, legitimized the exclusion of the majority of the population from the political game when, in its article 70, it listed citizens who could have political rights, restricting the right to vote to a small portion of the population, in the same way as it was done in the imperial period.

It was with the intention of organizing republican public education that, on May 7, 1890, Governor Justo Chermont issued Decree No. 149 among the acts of the provisional government, instituting the General Regulation of Public Instruction and Special Education of the State of Pará (PARÁ, 1890a).

While primary education establishments were governed by a common regulation, the others needed a different regulation, which should be "in accordance with the provisions and principles of the present Regulation" (PARÁ, 1890a, art. 5), obeying and following the rules of this first regulation. In the same way, everyone would have to be subordinate to the

general direction of education of the state, while education should be lay in all establishments, with primary education being free and compulsory.

The rule promoted a concentration of attributions in the hands of the general director of Instruction. For example, some of the tasks that fell to him as a professional trusted by the governor were: the study, application and practice of all issues related to public education; the investiture of teachers and other public service employees; and the direct and indirect promotion of state education. In addition to the aforementioned prerogatives, it had the function of imposing fines for non-compliance with rules in schools in the capital, producing an effect of power characterized "as the self-control of gestures and attitudes, [which] are produced not only by violence and force, but above all by the feeling of being watched" (CANDIOTTO, 2012, p. 20). This fact brings us to the Foucaultian idea that surveillance is one of the most effective devices of the discipline, insofar as power is produced in large part by the perception of being watched.

In less than two months, in July 1890, the then general director of public instruction, José Veríssimo, obeying the provisions of the General Regulation, published a school regulation with teaching programs, schedules, instructions and directions for the operation of the state's public primary schools. This document detailed guidelines primarily for teachers, including provisions on their behavior and on how they should treat their students. Such care can be attributed to the importance given to the teacher based on the idea that "the formation of a patriotic, devout and obedient citizen permeated, according to the creators, education, one of the main instruments responsible for the creation of the society that was intended, of order and progress" (COSTA, 2015, p. 9).

A prominent reason that contributed to the unfavorable situation of education in the state, according to the director, was the instability of the teachers, which reflected in the abandonment in which the schools were left, in the constant change of teachers and in the lack of zeal and interest, in addition to the lack of enthusiasm that this produced in students and families. The constant reforms of the school organization were also mentioned by José Veríssimo, as changes were often made without there being time to put them into practice. Finally, there was the material impossibility for the teacher to put the regulations and programs into practice. As can be seen, the teaching professional was at the center of the causes of teaching failure, either as a victim (used electorally, subject to instability and constant changes), or as an executioner (due to his lack of zeal and interest).

With the change from the government of Justo Chermont to that of Lauro Sodré, no structural changes were observed, since aspects remained that should be addressed with greater intensity and that required a more detailed order. This resulted in a more detailed and detailed regulation, maintaining, however, "in its depths the Regulation of May 7, 1890, which morally and materially raised the level of education among us" (PARÁ, 1891, p. 317). Thus, on July 13, 1891, the new governor, Lauro Sodré, reorganized public education in the state through Decree No. 372 (PARÁ, 1891), from which public education was composed of primary education, normal education, secondary education, and professional and technical education.

Evidently, all this organization would not make sense if the government did not pay special attention to the main agent of its entire strategy, the teacher. It would be a central cog, the only one capable of making the entire system work according to what was foreseen and instituted by the republicans, whose government believed in the thesis of education as the foundation of the homeland and, as a consequence, admitted the relevance that the teaching professional would have in this process. It was indisputable that his activity contributed not only to the school education of students, but, above all, exerted influence on the development of the person as a citizen "useful" to the nation.

In this line of reasoning, the diffusion of the positivist/republican pedagogical ideology would be more agile, practical and comprehensive with the use of pedagogical magazines, true instruments for conveying its hegemony in those times. These printed materials had the scope of "improving" the teacher, investing "in the 'updating' of his teaching practice through materials of periodic circulation, in which new ways of teaching old and new contents were pointed out" (MORAES; COSTA, 2014, p. 136).

A possible synthesis related to this whole strategy is that the representation of the teacher was that of the "good teacher", a concept closely connected to bourgeois morality and to an acceptable and recommended behavior — both in public and private environments — as an ideal model of conduct, attitudes and manners projected by teaching regulations, with a view to implementing the republican ideal. He was a true "priest" who was responsible, in his daily toil, for building the future of the Brazilian nation, sowing, in his inexperienced childhood, the feeling of unconditional love for the homeland.

In addition to duties, the regulations listed absences that teachers should avoid, and obligations were arranged among these absences, that is: negligence and negligence in the fulfillment of their duties; disrespect for regulations and authorities; the absence of classes

for more than three days during a month, without just reason; bad behavior as a citizen; and recurrences in specific absences. Committing these faults, the teachers would be subject to punishments, such as "fine, admonition, verbal reprimand, written reprimand, suspension for up to fifteen days without pay, suspension for up to three months without pay, removal from the chair or location, dismissal" (PARÁ, 1890a, art. 144).

All this disciplinary care would acquire greater importance to the extent that teaching programs were materialized through the work of teachers. In this way, the inspection could be considered as a strategy of the State to identify if this work was happening in the way expected by the government in the context of the education of the population. It is clear that this can be seen as a "mechanism for controlling the teaching practice and, in this sense, would cause a loss of professional value, since it would only be an instrument of state interference in the social context" (FREITAS; DURÃES, 2013, p. 107).

The rules of disciplinary conduct of teachers did not apply only to their way of teaching, but to everything that could interfere with their image as a republican citizen. Article 3 of the School Regulation of Primary Education of 1890 establishes that "teachers, [should] present themselves at school decently dressed, giving their students a moral lesson for the correctness and acceptance of their attire and bearing. They are forbidden to perform in slippers" (PARÁ, 1890b). In the same way, they were also expressly forbidden – when in their school duties – to "smoke, to engage in matters foreign to the school, especially political and religious" (PARÁ, 1890b, art. 4).

Such regulatory recommendations also applied to the relations between teachers and students, which should be "always full of urbanity and bonhomia" (PARÁ, 1890b, art. 5). As for order in the school, it should be achieved by "mildness, by moral teaching, rather than by severity. When, however, teachers have to employ energy, they will do so without sacrificing prudence" (PARÁ, 1890b, art. 6), which was conceived as an attitude of outstanding relevance, since

The 'good master', according to the molds of the new regime, would therefore be a 'priest', with regard to dedication to the exercise of a function that would even be a 'mission', given its importance for the transformation of the socio-political-educational context that was lived, and the construction of a future of 'development' and 'progress'. He was trusted with the success of an entire political project of a 'nation' (MORAES; COSTA, 2014, p. 138).

Gradually, it is possible to perceive the attempt to control not only the teaching action, but the teacher's own life, beyond his technical competence, confirming the idea that

"the docile body, the effect of the disciplines, is the same useful body of the factory worker. The political control of the body is accompanied by its productive maximization in the capitalist economy" (CANDIOTTO, 2012, p. 22). Perhaps for this reason, the Regulation, in article 4, made the prohibitions mentioned above to teachers, characterizing a search for the production of docile, useful and obedient people, investing in the body, "manipulating its movements, gestures, behaviors, creating in it a *modus operandi*. It simultaneously produces, on the one hand, aptitude or capacity, and on the other, a relationship of subjection" (MENEGETTI; SAMPAIO, 2016, p. 136).

Another aspect linked to the discipline of the body dealt with in the regulation establishes that

the first half hour of the morning entrance will be devoted to the inspection of access, verification of the state of the teeth, ears, hair, nails, of the students, accompanied by moral observations and recommendations on the need and hygiene of corporate care (PARÁ, 1890b, art. 14).

In addition, there is the evident practice of censorship that is explicit in article 15, which establishes that "no book or brochure, printed or manuscript, foreign to teaching, may be introduced into the school without the written authorization of the Director General" (PARÁ, 1890b, art. 15). All this allows us to recognize a great attempt to control the bodies and behaviors of student teachers, from the perspective of

behavioral construction of management, rooted in the sciences of human conduct, particularly in the studies of psychology and sociology with a functionalist orientation. The behavioral construction enshrines effectiveness, as opposed to efficiency, as a central criterion of management, vying for space in the company, in the public sector and in education (SANDER, 2009, p. 71).

Throughout this document, we identified how the general management was present, through its rules and prohibitions, in the school routine, from the appointment of more administrative tasks to what it considered most appropriate for school practices. In our view, these passages fit into Foucault's critique of a disciplinary power, such as one that "thus manufactures submissive and exercised bodies, 'docile' bodies. Discipline increases the forces of the body (in economic terms of utility) and decreases these same forces (in political terms of obedience)" (FOUCAULT, 2014, p. 135-136).

Thus, if the emphasis of the first regulation is the prescription of attributions, competencies, functions and requirements for their fulfillment, what is seen in the second regulation is a deepening of the premises and obligations based on which teachers and

students should behave, modeling their habits, attitudes and procedures to what was then required.

DISCIPLINARY PRESCRIPTIONS AND DISCIPLINARY POWER

If we agree with Foucault (2014, p. 30) when he states that "power is exercised more than it is possessed", it is possible to say that power does not belong to someone, but is circulating; it is not a privilege of individuals or groups, but a consequence of their strategic positions in the social spectrum – hence it is more appropriate to speak of power relations than of power itself. In addition, this power manifests itself in various ways, including with regard to the domination and control over people, through methods that enable the meticulous control of the actions of the body and that enable the submission of its forces to the construction of a relationship of docility-utility, a relationship that intensifies if we consider its exercise in a class society.

Based on this assumption, we have that the disciplinary power in primary school was not only developed from the central government in a vertical movement, but also through the relationships between principal, secretary, teacher, students, family and other subjects who participated in school life. This is because, although the school is a hierarchical structure, we understand that these subjects supported and conditioned each other, which is why power was not concentrated in the hands of the general director, as we generally think.

For Foucault, discipline is a way of exercising power, the way in which some exercise their power over others, with the aim of engendering docile bodies. The mechanisms by which power is exercised do not only have repressive and punitive effects, since they also have "positive" effects, since the disciplinary power does not only aim to retract, repress or limit, but is useful to mold the subject's body to the desired standard. For this very reason, surveillance is one of the most effective artifices of the discipline, insofar as power is produced largely by the perception of being watched and not only by the fear of violence and force.

The body can be understood both as an object and as a target of discipline, since it can be manipulated, modeled, trained, and is susceptible to rules, becoming skillful and multiplying its forces. Thus, docile is characterized as "a body that can be submitted, that can be used, that can be transformed and perfected" (FOUCAULT, 2014, p. 134). In any society, bodies can be bound by powers, rules, and norms that prohibit, oblige, and/or limit

their gestures and actions. In this sense, Foucault differentiates discipline – as a general formula of domination – from slavery, since discipline is not characterized by a relationship of appropriation of bodies, but by the fact of "dispensing with this costly and violent relationship obtaining utility effects that are at least equally large" (FOUCAULT, 2014, p. 135).

The discipline aims to increase the productivity of bodies, increasing their abilities to the extent that it makes them more docile. Thus, "a politics of coercions is formed, which is a work on the body, a calculated manipulation of its elements, its gestures, its behaviors" (FOUCAULT, 2014, p. 135). This work on the body is not only important for the individual to do "what one wants, but for them to operate as one wants, with the techniques, according to the speed and effectiveness that is determined. Thus, discipline manufactures submissive and exercised bodies, 'docile' bodies" (FOUCAULT, 2014, p. 135), increasing its strengths in terms of utility and obedience.

One of the places where this discipline is fully manifested is the school, an environment in which the formation of expected behaviors is sought, such as attendance in activities, compliance with schedules, obedience and dedication to tasks through regulations and standards for students, teachers and other users. These are mechanisms of control over individuals, which impose a relationship of obedience on them, constituting, according to Foucault (2014), what we can call "disciplines", to be activated when, for example, a teacher or student escapes the expected standards, and the need to standardize him is imposed, making him a docile and useful subject, operating disciplinary devices that act to inhibit behaviors outside the expected. To this extent, discipline is not only aimed at making individuals respect laws, rules and regulations; rather, its objective is also to improve skills, making subjects more useful and productive, corresponding to the desires of those who oppress them.

In summary, discipline, through its mechanisms and techniques, tends to make the exercise of power less costly and to make its effects have greater intensity, in order to "in short, to increase at the same time the docility and usefulness of all the elements of the system" (FOUCAULT, 2014, p. 210-211). In other words, the concept of disciplinary power that we use in this work refers to those who, through control mechanisms, seek to make teachers docile and useful beings, supervising their behavior and performance in all spaces of the school.

THE HIERARCHICAL VIEW AND THE VIGILANCE OF THE TEACHER'S PERFORMANCE

An expressive dimension of the watchful look concerned the obligation, on the part of teachers, to prepare reports, reports and other reports on the functioning and occurrences in their educational establishment, configuring a

movement in the reorganization of elementary education; specification of surveillance and integration into the pedagogical relationship. The development of schools [...], the increase in their number of students, the lack of methods that would allow the simultaneous regulation of the activity of an entire class, the disorder and confusion that resulted from it made it necessary to organize controls (FOUCAULT, 2014, p. 172).

This may be related to the need to resort to the periodic sending of maps of students reporting enrollments, absences, grades and other information, exposing the main facts that occurred during the year, as well as the results of the exams. All these were obligations that the teacher had to fulfill "scrupulously and devotedly" (PARÁ, 1890a, art. 142).

On the other hand, more than one norm had provisions that focused on the extracurricular life of the teacher. There were threats of dismissal if the teachers exercised any function, paid or unpaid, federal, state or municipal, such as accepting a position of popular election, being part of a political party commission or having another profession that could jeopardize school work. The teacher was also obliged, in addition to the activities inherent to the pedagogical practice, to remain vigilant, being warned as follows: "during the time determined for the classes, the teacher [could] not, under any pretext, be distracted from his duties, nor engage in work outside his school duties" (PARÁ, 1890a, article 186).

This confirms the idea of networked surveillance, and it is therefore true that the

surveillance rests on individuals, its functioning is a network of relationships from top to bottom, but also to a certain point from bottom to top and laterally; this network 'sustains' the whole, and permeates it with effects of power that support each other: perpetually supervised inspectors (FOUCAULT, 2014, p. 173-174).

However, the vigilant gaze was not limited to written prescriptions, since it extended to the spaces where the teacher passed in his task of teaching, including with regard to the hygienic conditions of school buildings. From this perspective, a first notion to be important for the exercise of discipline is the distribution of individuals in space, determining their "places" and limits, which presupposes a "fence, the specification of a place heterogeneous to all the others and closed in on itself" (FOUCAULT, 2014, p. 139,). However, this idea of

incarceration is not a constant nor is it indispensable in the disciplinary apparatuses, which work in a very flexible way with space. According to the principle of immediate location or squaring, it is proposed "each individual in his or her place; and in each place, an individual" (FOUCAULT, 2014, p. 140), in order to avoid group meetings, analyze the confused, massive or fleeting pluralities. In this way, the disciplinary space is divided to the same extent that there are bodies or elements.

Foucault mentions the organization of students by rows in classrooms (and even the arrangement of students in these rows), in corridors, in courtyards; the attribution of grades in each task performed, in each test; weekly, monthly and annual evaluations; the formation of classes by age, aligned with the subjects taught, with increasing degrees of difficulty, among others. All this made up a way of arranging the students in a serial space in order to make it easier for the teacher to observe and control. It was "one of the great technical changes in elementary education. [...] It made the school space function as a machine for teaching, but also for watching, hierarchizing, rewarding" (FOUCAULT, 2014, p. 144), so that, by organizing the places and rows, the space ends up establishing levels and positions, which can guarantee "the obedience of individuals, but also a better economy of time and gestures" (FOUCAULT, 2014, p. 145).

The discipline presumes the existence of a device that requires the exercise of a behavior through the gaze, where the "techniques that allow seeing induce effects of power, and where, in return, the means of coercion make clearly visible those to whom they apply" (FOUCAULT, 2014, p. 168). From this, an architecture is developed that is no longer designed to be seen and admired or to observe the external space, but to provide interior control, to observe those who are inside the buildings, with

an architecture that would be an operator for the transformation of individuals: to act on the one who shelters, to give dominion over their behavior, to redirect the effects of power to them, to offer them to knowledge, to modify them (FOUCAULT, 2014, p. 169).

From this perspective, the old scheme, with the thick wall and the solid door that prevent entry or exit, gives way to openings, passages and transparencies. The building itself as a perfect disciplinary apparatus would make it possible to see everything with a single gaze, being a space where "a central point would be at the same time a source of light that illuminates all things, and a place of convergence for everything that must be known: a perfect eye from which nothing escapes and a center towards which all gazes

converge" (FOUCAULT, 2014, p. 170), enabling more intense surveillance "to the extent that it is at the same time an internal piece in the production apparatus and a specific gear of disciplinary power" (FOUCAULT, 2014, p. 173).

Panoptism is an emblematic device of disciplinary power, as it automates and de-individualizes power, and everyone who is subject to the field of visibility is aware of this, when he then easily adapts to the limitations imposed by power, watching and controlling himself. The panopticon building then becomes a privileged space for the disciplinary experience with people, to the extent that it allows the observation of behaviors, such as the principal who would have the prerogative to "spy" on the teachers, judging their behavior and imposing the methods and sanctions he deemed necessary to correct or reinforce activities and procedures.

It is in this perspective that school architecture became one of the elements that contributed to modeling and transforming the built landscape in the establishment of representations of urban space. through its gestures, signs and symbols, it carried with it meanings that made it the target of interest of state agents, but also of the social subjects that fill this space (ERMEL; BENCOSTTA, 2019, p. 10-11).

As for the distancing of educational establishments from the city center, this was an initiative based not only on the need to use large and sufficient land for the contribution of large civil works, nor only as a public security policy that aimed to keep vagrants and unoccupied people away from living with the civilized population. It was also, above all, a matter of ensuring the control, containment and surveillance of its users, avoiding escapes and contagion — of diseases or behaviors — through planned and organized distribution, according to certain assumptions of the individuals in the spaces, through appropriate techniques.

Discipline sometimes requires the fence, the specification of a place heterogeneous to all others and closed in on itself. Place protected from disciplinary monotony. There was the great "incarceration" of the vagabonds and the miserable; There were others more discreet, but insidious and efficient. Schools: the convent model is gradually imposed; the boarding school appears as the regime of education, if not the most frequent, at least the most perfect; it became mandatory in Louis-le-Grand when, after the departure of the Jesuits, a model school was made (FOUCAULT, 2014, p. 139).

Thus, the hierarchical gaze, the practice of surveillance over the one to be watched, produces a school building that also has the purpose — like the military schools — to train

vigorous bodies, a health imperative; obtain competent officers, a qualification imperative; to train obedient soldiers, a political imperative; prevent debauchery and homosexuality, an imperative of morality. Quadruple reason to establish watertight separations between individuals, but also openings for continuous observation. The School building itself was to be a surveillance apparatus [...] (FOUCAULT, 2014, p. 169).

This was one of the primary functions of regulations, as they enhanced the homogeneity of individuals, making it possible and easier to punish deviations in behavior, verify differences and adjust them.

THE NORMALIZING SANCTION AS A PARAMETER FOR TEACHER BEHAVIOR

Another instrument that, according to Foucault, serves to operationalize disciplinary power is the normalizing sanction, acting as a device capable of promoting a judgment and applying reward or punishment for the result. This type of mechanism can be found in the school space, which operates through penalties related to: time, such as delays or absences; inattention in relation to daily activities; to disobedience; to the body, in cases of lack of hygiene; among other situations in which a standard to be followed is established and what deviates from this parameter is sanctioned, producing socially acceptable conduct. With this, he dedicates himself simultaneously to penalizing the most tenuous fractions of conduct and to giving a punitive function to the apparently indifferent elements of the disciplinary apparatus, "taking it to the extreme, that everything can serve to punish the smallest thing; that each individual is trapped in a punishable-punishing universality" (FOUCAULT, 2014, p. 175).

At school, for example, it is possible not only to punish because of time (delays, absences), with criticism of the execution of activities (inattention, lack of care), of the way of being (bad manners, disobedience), with judgments about the body (non-standard gestures, dirt) and about sexuality (immodesty, indecency) (FOUCAULT, 2014). It is also possible to use various subtle processes, such as punishments ranging from "mild physical punishment to light deprivations and small humiliations" (FOUCAULT, 2014, p. 175), penalizing even the simplest deviations.

Disciplinary punishment aims to avoid and reduce deviations in behavior, while punishment is a system of gratification-sanction, a "system that becomes operative in the process of training and correction" (FOUCAULT, 2014, p. 177). Discipline rewards through promotions that enable hierarchies, while at the same time executing punishment by demeaning deviant individuals from what is considered normal.

We observe these characteristics in article 25 of Decree No. 149/1890, which gave special emphasis to sanctions, since it presented in the caput the orientation that the council's vote was only advisory. However, in situations aimed at the "imposition or relief of fines or disciplinary penalties [...], either on teachers due to negligence or lack of compliance with duties, or on any citizen, due to disrespect for the provisions of school laws (PARÁ, 1890a, p. 74), the vote would assume a decision-making weight, characterizing itself as a normalizing sanction to make possible the disciplining of the entire teaching staff, establishing a kind of model to be followed.

It should be noted that, based on Foucault's premises, the normative standard does not aim only to punish for the sake of punishing, that is, the sanctions aimed, at the same time, to normalize and correct, transforming the punishment of a corrective nature into repentance, as in article 144 of Decree No. 149/1890, which provided for a sequence of staggered penalties for teachers, it can be a fine and even dismissal. Penalties were included throughout this legal instrument, and their constant repetition provided a normalization of behaviors that re-signified the act of punishing. This did not exactly fit into the idea of correction or that of repression, because "Foucault's basic statement is that we cannot conceive of power only and only as repression" (GALLO, 2004, p. 85). Thus, the normalizing art of disciplinary power puts into operation "five very distinct operations: relating acts, performances, singular behaviors to a set, which is at the same time a field of comparison, a space of differentiation and the principle of a rule to be followed" (FOUCAULT, 2014, p. 179).

Throughout the regulation analyzed, it was possible to identify the elements of disciplinary power at various times, such as, for example, when it is established that public teachers could be punished if they failed in their obligations, for negligence in the fulfillment of their duties, as well as they could also be punished for "disrespect for the school regulations, and the auctoridades preposed to the supervision of teaching" (PARÁ, 1890a, p. 88).

In addition, bad behavior as a citizen was also grounds for the punishment of a teacher, which could take the form of a fine, admonition, verbal reprimand, written reprimand, suspension of up to fifteen or thirty days without pay, removal from the chair or location and, finally, dismissal; There were also penalties in the form of fines that could be ten or twenty thousand réis. According to article 154, the public teacher could lose his seat if he was "sentenced to galleys or imprisonment with work or for the crime of rape, adultery,

forgery, robbery, theft or any other crime that offends public morals" (PARÁ, 1890a, p. 90); The suspension for three months was also a reason for the loss of the chair.

Based on the above, it is possible to evidence the existence — and presence — of what Foucault called one of the necessary instruments for the success of disciplinary power, the normalizing sanction, to the extent that, for him,

In the essence of all disciplinary systems, a small penal mechanism operates. It benefits from a kind of privilege of justice, with its own laws, its specified crimes, its particular forms of sanction, its instances of judgment (FOUCAULT, 2014, p. 175).

These are behaviors that, as already mentioned, went beyond the limits of the professional space and extended to private life. Even outside the school period, in order to be absent from the school's headquarters, teachers had to communicate to the respective school authority. In addition, "in another period of vacation and in minor vacations, they must request leave from the same authorities, which, unless there is a proven need for public service, should not be denied to them" (PARÁ, 1890a, p. 91).

In chapter 14, in which school discipline and economy are addressed, in its very first article, it is established that no class could last less than thirty minutes or more than 45 minutes and that, between each one, a fifteen-minute recess was mandatory. According to Article 191 of the aforementioned regulation, these recesses were occupied, both in boys' and girls' schools, "by physical exercises and children's games directed alternately by the teacher and assistant, when there is one" (PARÁ, 1890a, p. 94). It was also established that "during the time determined for the classes, the teacher, under any pretext, [could] not be distracted from his duties, nor engage in work outside his school duties" (PARÁ, 1890a, p. 95). With regard to school supplies, it was established that only books and compendiums approved by the General Directorate of Public Instruction (PARÁ, 1890a) could be admitted to public primary education.

The theme of inspection and inspection received special prominence at the end of the nineteenth century in the state of Pará. For this reason, in addition to the general director of Instruction, there were other characters who collaborated in these tasks, such as the inspector, the director and the teacher, who trained

a fundamental and structuring tripod of the functioning of the educational system of the time, whose target was the student who, with the help of the family, would have the duty to acquire good habits of behavior, health and hygiene, in addition to incorporating and exercising the moral and patriotic values necessary to become a respectful citizen and reproducer of the new republican order (DAMASCENO; PANTOJA, 2020, p. 5).

In this tripod, each member had his or her defined role. The school principal, for example, was not only responsible for supervising and organizing the functioning of the school, but also the administration of the human resources of that institution, such as leave and replacement of teachers; The teacher was expected to have mastery of his classes with discipline and to be a moral example for his students, being a model of dedication, devotion and commitment.

The regulatory sanctions in Pará established the functioning of a punitive system that should be gradually incorporated into the practices of control of the state apparatus over school activities, since the application of sanctions legitimized the power by imposing rules on all those who interfere in its system. Therefore, we understand them as instruments of order, because "discipline brings with it a specific way of punishing, and that is only a reduced model of the court. What belongs to the disciplinary penalty is non-compliance, everything that is inadequate to the rule, everything that deviates from it, deviations" (FOUCAULT, 2014, p. 175-176).

The norm established in the school was a rule, a law to be obeyed and to which everyone had to conform, otherwise they would be subject to punishments used to correct and normalize them.

EXAMINATION AS AN ARTICULATION BETWEEN KNOWLEDGE, POWER AND VISIBILITY

The exam is one of the elements that constitute the individual as an object of power, since it is the one that, combining hierarchical vigilance and normalizing sanction, "performs the great disciplinary functions of distribution and classification, of maximum extraction of forces and time, of continuous genetic accumulation, of optimal composition of aptitudes" (FOUCAULT, 2014, p. 188). It is a technique of the hierarchy that has the articulated function of monitoring and sanctioning and, in this condition, it materializes as

a normalizing control, a surveillance that allows qualifying, classifying and punishing. It establishes a visibility over individuals through which they are differentiated and sanctioned. That is why, in all discipline devices, the examination is highly ritualized. In it, the ceremony of power and the form of experience, the demonstration of force and the establishment of truth come together (FOUCAULT, 2014, p. 181).

We can identify aspects related to the exam in Decree No. 149/1890, in which guidelines were established for the holding of competitions for second and third entry schools, and the criteria that candidates should meet to compete for vacancies were

determined. The competitions were held within eight days after the end of the registration period and their tests took place under an examining board that should, mandatorily, have the presence of a Pedagogy teacher, in addition to taking place in the presence of the members of the Superior Council, being chaired by the general director of Public Instruction.

Adjunct professors were also subjected to the sufficiency examination, which was carried out in the presence of a commission composed of three citizens appointed by the governor from among the effective or retired members of public education, in the presence of the general director. The exam dealt with primary education subjects and had, in accordance with article 134 of the Regulation, a written test common to all candidates, consisting of the presentation of a point drawn from a subject also drawn and an argument by the examiners on a point also drawn by lot.

After the end of the examination and judgment of the candidates, an opinion was prepared by the commission accompanied by an official letter, which was forwarded by the general director to the governor, for subsequent appointment among the three most qualified. From this protocol, it is possible to observe that the exams were constituted as a way of establishing "a perpetual comparison of each one with everyone, which allows at the same time to measure and sanction" (FOUCAULT, 2014, p. 182), so that the "most adaptable" to the desires of the hierarchy were those chosen to occupy public positions. In this context, it is also possible to consider the examination as a process whose spectrum is much broader than a simple set of questions and answers.

In addition to the school councils that were responsible for inspecting the schools in the capital, we also have the presence of the figure of school inspectors, who were responsible for carrying out visits to schools in the interior at least twice a year, having the duty of attending classes, inspecting establishments, checking files, drawing up terms of visits, check the books of the schools and present to the general director detailed reports of his inspection.

By observing the attributions of school inspectors, it is possible to identify aspects that are directly linked to the control of the teacher's work, whose objective was to verify how much that subject followed the determinations coming from the government, that is, his level of obedience.

Another highlight is the records that were made by the inspectors and forwarded to the general director, which allowed the construction of a very detailed file about the bodies

and their work during the inspection period, compulsorily placing the subjects in a web of written records. This made them describable beings and capable of being analyzed from different points of view, making it possible to identify, isolate and repress those individuals who were misaligned with the expected standard of normality.

In that context, the examination was presented as the central point "of the processes that constitute the individual as an effect and object of power, as an effect and object of knowledge" (FOUCAULT, 2014, p. 188), that is, as a control mechanism, we can say that the examination, at the same time that it could evaluate collectively, also allowed us to look at each subject as a particular case.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

In the development of this investigation, we proposed to analyze the process of disciplining the teaching work in primary schools in Pará between 1890 and 1896. Throughout our study, we found that a striking dimension of the management of public education in that period was the – explicit – attempt to impose a standard of behavior on teachers through regulatory devices that acted in this sense. Hence the intense practice of control and supervision over the access of teachers to the career, over the contents and programs to be taught, over the formation of their professional profile and other aspects related to their role and function in the ordering of the system.

Since the selection of teachers, adjunct or elementary, the vigilant eye of the system remained, aimed at preserving their obedience to the regulation and ensuring that they did not incur in absences, such as absenteeism and non-compliance with duties, disrespect for the school's head teacher (lifelong), immorality and bad behavior, even outside the school, ensuring the functioning of an inspection system implemented and fixed in the essence of teaching practice.

These procedures radiated beyond the physical space, and were also perceptible in an intense division of time, seeking to guarantee quality through uninterrupted control, pressure from inspectors and suppression of everything that could disturb and distract individuals, constituting a disciplinary system that functioned based on penalties and privileges. At school, for example, it was possible to punish under various pretexts: time (delays, absences); the execution of activities (inattention, lack of care); the way of acting (bad manners, disobedience) and of being (judgments about the body, non-standard gestures, lack of hygiene); or even in relation to sexuality (immodesty, indecency).

With regard to the prescriptions for the organization of instruction, a critical reading of the legislation in force at the time allows us to affirm that they established a pioneering and detailed organization, composed of two regulations that complemented each other, establishing the appropriate levels of education and schools for each of them.

In terms of the instruments used in the implementation of what we call disciplinarization, hierarchical surveillance is one of the most effective artifices of discipline, insofar as power is produced largely by the perception of being watched and not only by the fear of violence and force, as mentioned above. The normalizing sanction was embodied in the official rules, punishing or rewarding the individual based on the observation and content of his actions. Throughout the regulation analyzed, it was possible to identify the elements of disciplinary power at various times, such as when it was established that public teachers could be punished if they failed to comply with their obligations or for negligence in the fulfillment of their duties

Finally, as for the examination, it was presented as the central point of processes that constituted the individual as an effect and object of power/knowledge. In other words, as a control mechanism, we can say that the exam not only allowed for collective evaluation, but also made it possible for each subject to be looked at as a particular case.

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