

The education of the body in teacher training^{1*}

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Abstract

This study was motivated by understanding of the perspective of education of the body of women in teacher training included in the educational practices of the Londrina State Institute of Education (IEEL), in the 1970s. To consider the historiographical category of education of the body, the research focused on the studies of Norbert Elias (1993, 2011). Thinking with Elias, the historiographical category of education of the body is understood as an educational process in which individuals, throughout their lives, internalize and naturalize behaviors and build a personality and self-awareness that are specific to the social structure and networks of relationships of which they are part. Through analyzing the educational practices of the body that permeated teacher training in Brazil, from a procedural perspective, it was possible to understand the existence of three formative parameters. Considering these formative parameters and the available historical sources (meeting minutes, reports, subject programs and pedagogical proposals), we approached a perspective of education of the body that permeated the educational dynamics of IEEL in the city of Londrina, Paraná, seeking to train a woman/teacher who was competent and responsible, presented polite behavior, had self-control over her own body and emotions, and who did not forget her role as a woman in a society in which family representation and the home were still responsibilities strongly attributed to her.

Keywords

Women's education – Norbert Elias – Teacher training – Education of the body – History of education.

1- Funding: Supported by Capes and CNPq.

***** English version by Robin Hambly. The authors take full responsibility for the translation of the text, including titles of books/articles and the quotations originally published in Portuguese.

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<https://doi.org/10.1590/S1678-4634202450271848en>
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Introduction

The objective of the current work is to understand the perspective of education of the body of women in teacher training⁴ included in the educational practices of the Londrina State Institute of Education (IEEL/Londrina-PR)⁵, in the 1970s. Thinking about the education of the body in teacher training as a historical object means considering the breadth of educational processes that traverse the formation of corporeality in school, as it is intertwined with the different areas of training, whether through curricula and school subjects, or in the organization and occupation of space, time, and furniture, and also based on the concepts of hygiene, games, punishments, rewards, and festivities present in school activities (Taborda de Oliveira; Linhares, 2011).

Education of the body in schools encompasses specific content and knowledge and involves moral formation, aesthetic education, and education of sensibilities. Considering the different approaches in the human sciences that enhance the historiographic category of education of the body⁶, the research presented herein addresses the formation of the corporeality of women – future teachers – based on the foundations of the theory of civilizing processes developed by Norbert Elias (1993, 2011). According to Elias (2011), it is understood that the patterns of behavior and personality of individuals are social constructs that integrate a long-term historical process dimension, which remains in transformation. Thus, and based on a bibliographic review on teacher training in Brazil (Louro, 1986; Tanuri, 2000; Vidal, 2001; Auras, 2005; Furtado, 2007; Cardozo; Honorato, 2023), the path of constitution, structuring, and change of formative practices and knowledge, that characterized the education of the body throughout this historical process, was observed, based on three educational parameters presented throughout the article and which served as a reference for the analysis of historical sources.

As empirical evidence, we focused on the analysis of historical documents available in the IEEL archive – meeting minutes, reports, course programs, and pedagogical proposals – in order to understand which subjects, which discourses, and which knowledge and educational practices contributed to the formation of a certain conduct and personality in the student as a woman and as a teacher. The locus of the study was the first teacher training school in the municipality of Londrina, created in 1945, IEEL.

As a method, it is accepted that starting a research study requires locating sources (Bacellar, 2008). The documents available in the IEEL archive include many records from the 1970s, a period of legal changes in teacher training courses during the Civil-Military Dictatorship. Thus, the 1970s were chosen as the historical period of reference, and documents with diverse origins and purposes were researched.

4- In this research, we chose to use the term *women in teacher training*. This choice results from the understanding of the importance and need to demarcate the social place of this being who is in an educational process, and therefore *in training*.

5- Data availability: the historical sources used in this article are fully available in the physical archive of the Londrina State Institute of Education (IEEL).

6- On education of the body, see also: Soares (2000), Vaz (2004), Taborda de Oliveira (2004), Bassani, Richter and Vaz (2013), Veiga (2018), Pineau (2018), Galak and Southwell (2020). On education of the body in teacher training, the studies by Moreno and other authors (2012), Honorato and Nery (2018), are highlighted, among others.

Table 1 – Historical research sources

Document	Period
Minutes of the Physical Education Department	1971-1977
Minutes of the Music Education Department	1971
Official Minutes – Technical Sector – Administrative – Teaching Staff	1970-1978
Official Minutes – Technical Sector – Pedagogical – Teaching Staff	1978-1985
High School Curriculum – IEEL	1973
Technical Administrative Functional Structure	1973-1980
History 1972/1980 – Curricular Grids	1972-1980
IEEL – Minutes Book – 01 – Special Committees	1970-1985
Ordinary General Proposal 1st degree; 2nd degree	1974-1984
Ordinary Proposal for Physical Education 1st and 2nd grade – school year 1974	1974
Administrative Coordination Report – Movable and Immovable Property Sector	1973-1979
Assessment System – first and second grades	1972-1980

Source: IEEL Collection (1970-1978a; 1970-1978b; 1970-1985; 1971; 1971-1977; 1972-1980a; 1972-1980b; 1973; 1973-1979; 1973-1980; 1974; 1974-1984; 1978-1985; 2019). Prepared by the authors (2022).

Through the analysis of the documents, the different aspects that constituted the school dynamics investigated were observed, in an attempt to perceive historical evidence regarding the practices, discourses, and proposed experiences that impacted the education of the body of women in teacher training.

Education of the body as a category

Considering the theories developed by Elias (1993, 2011) to think about the education of the body as an analytical category, it is important to highlight that the focus of the author's works was not directed towards the educational processes that school the body; however, when developing his analyses around human processes, Elias resorted to bodily practices as interpretative possibilities. Therefore, education of the body is fundamental in understanding human and social processes.

The education of the body as a historical category involves conceiving the dynamics of the individual and society in an interdependent and procedural way, since “the psychogenesis of what constitutes the adult in civilized society cannot [...] be understood if studied independently of the sociogenesis of our ‘civilization’” (Elias, 2011, p. 15). Thus, the historical processes of formation of the social individual are interdependent and related to the historical processes of the constitution of society. These fully form the adult – sociogenesis and psychogenesis – and are produced within the relationships

of individuals in a specific time and space and, therefore, are understood from an interdependent, procedural, and constantly transforming perspective. As Elias states, “[...] the relationship between the individual and social structures can only be clarified if both are investigated as entities in mutation and evolution” (Elias, 2011, p. 213). In this way, the gestures and movements naturalized by individuals are the materialization of a relationship between the mental and emotional structure of a given historical moment in the process of civilization, which is individual and social.

Starting from the dimension of the processuality of social phenomena, the education of the body of women in teacher training, investigated herein, despite being situated in a specific moment (1970s), was produced throughout the history that integrates the constitution of this human phenomenon. It is essential to observe the dissemination and definition of standards and codes of conduct that condition behaviors and personalities in the social scene.

Elias (1993, 2011) analyzed changes in people’s behavior that were reflected in different spaces of socialization, and found a process of civilizing customs as something gradual, conflicting, and internalized by individuals. In this process, the bodily behaviors, postures, emotional self-control, and personality of the individual were educated and socially shaped, thus depending on networks of interdependencies and specific, increasingly complex human figurations, in which power and formative relations are objectified.

An essential aspect for thinking about the education of the body of women in teacher training is the specific social position of this individual and the difference in the balance of power between the sexes. The specific differences between the sexes directly influence the composition of ways of being and behaving. Elias points out that,

[...] in society as a whole, men as a social group have acquired far greater power resources than women. Consequently, the dominant social code has unequivocally relegated women to a subordinate and inferior position in comparison to men. (Elias, 1998, p. 203, free translation).

As a social group, women have historically found themselves in a place of inequality in the balance of power in the relationship between the sexes. This imbalance is represented by a social code that composes differentiated behaviors between the sexes and that end up becoming customs and social habits that are difficult to break, and that can – even – be considered a second nature (*habitus*), which, according to Elias (1998), was historically and unequally defined differently for men and women.

When looking at women in teacher training, we reiterate the importance of understanding and identifying the networks of interdependence and the gradients of power that interfered in this educational process of defining a *woman’s* corporeality and personality, understanding the social figurations of which she was a part and the power relations which she experienced. With this, it is understood that the woman training as a teacher at IEEL (1970s), when integrating different social figurations, was transversed by and exercised different power relations, among them: woman housewife, woman wife, woman mother, woman daughter, woman in a society experiencing a Civil-Military Dictatorship, woman student, woman future teacher.

Education of the body is understood here as a formative process in its organic sense, which involves the way in which individuals learn and internalize socially accepted and expected behavior and personality according to the social structure of which they are part, as a *second nature (habitus)*, and move in the social world. It is the historical process that permeates the existence of individuals and that results in the constant learning of behaviors, feelings, tastes, and conducts that become internalized in the subject. This appropriation results from the complex intertwining of the sociogenetic and psychogenetic context, involving the social structures in which the individual is inserted, the social figurations in which they participate, and the entanglements of relationships in the networks of interdependence that permeate them. Thus, “[...] the education of the body comprises a complex formative process that permeates the individual in the various relationships and institutions in which he participates and acts throughout his life” (Cardozo; Honorato, 2020, p. 155-156).

To understand the education of the body in teacher training, we sought to perceive this historical pattern of socially constructed behavior, which constituted and influenced the formation of women, perceiving the codes of conduct, behaviors, and emotions disseminated.

Teacher training in Brazil: parameters of female education of the body

Based on bibliographies on the history of teacher training in Brazil (Louro, 1986; Tanuri, 2000; Vidal, 2001; Auras, 2005; Furtado, 2007; Cardozo; Honorato, 2023), it was possible to perceive the existence of three specific formative parameters that transversed this educational process. The parameters were systematized by us and are observable in the reality of teacher training schools – normal schools, institutes – from the mid-19th century up to the 1970s, which is the historical period of the sources analyzed in this article, being: a) *control, inspection, and surveillance practices*; b) training content, disciplines, and knowledge; and c) *complementary educational activities and practices*.

Control, inspection, and surveillance practices in the education of women in teacher training were achieved through different control strategies that involved school dynamics. Among them, we can cite the constant demand for good conduct and behavior, the punishment of undisciplined activities and practices, and the awarding of grades in response to expected and valued practices and attitudes, such as: attendance, punctuality, moral attitude, discipline, and self-control of behavior and emotions. This surveillance was even present in the school corridors and aimed to restrict the students’ behavior by demanding appropriate behavior at different times during their school routine, constantly requiring composure and discipline from the students.

This surveillance was also responsible for controlling the physical and mental health of these students, and, based on the bibliography analyzed, it was clear that they were subjected to health examinations and were assessed physically and psychologically before entering training courses. Girls who presented moral attitudes inconsistent with the mission of being a teacher were refused enrollment (Vidal, 2001). It is also worth noting the constant



use of the uniform, which characterized and distinguished these students, contributing to the control and self-control of the bodies and behavior of these women inside and outside of school and also defining the appropriate clothing. Such practices were constantly present and contributed directly to the internalization of self-control of behavior, the sublimation of impulses, and the docility and naturalization of a pattern of conduct and a specific and appropriate personality in these women in the educational process.

With regard to *training content, disciplines, and knowledge*, subjects such as Home Education, Hygiene and Childcare, and Manual Work educated women through the dissemination of very well-defined characteristics, skills, and behaviors. These were made up of practices that involved the development of dexterity and manual skills useful for domestic and school work, defining a specific aesthetic sensibility and also naturalizing hygiene and cleanliness habits. Such practices indicate a formative perspective related to the education of a woman's body, who should master specific manual skills, be passive and docile, contributing to the management of the home in an economical way, a woman who behaves without exaggeration in her conduct and with discretion, who demonstrates fragility, dependence, modesty, and self-control of her behavior and emotions.

Subjects such as Music, Orpheonic Singing, and Physical Education also contributed to shaping the behavior and personality of students, since they taught control and self-care of the body, self-control of movements, and recognition of bodily practices and behaviors appropriate to them, as women and teachers. The routines that integrated these subjects consisted of activities and practices that developed the naturalization of a disciplined expressiveness of the body, composing and disseminating appropriate, feminine movements. Students were required to control their impulses and emotions, demonstrate self-control and discipline, behave delicately and subtly; and still be competent and skillful; adopting a polite posture, controlling their body movements and having control over the tone of their voice, presenting meticulous actions and careful responses, without behaviors inappropriate to their role and the personality expected of a teacher.

There is also a constant presence of *complementary educational practices and activities*, such as civic celebrations, singing and theater group activities, sports competitions, the creation of school newspapers, extracurricular courses, etc. These were developed as complementary activities and integrated the educational dynamics of teacher training schools and – in line with other practices carried out – educated future teachers in their behavior, attitudes, and personality, disseminating, defining, and internalizing moral and conduct values. It is possible to infer that these practices required responsibility and commitment from the students, body control and mastery, disciplined expressiveness of the body, appropriate and calculated movements, and the development of a specific aesthetic sense accompanied by the internalization of the moral values contained in the content of the pieces and songs rehearsed.

The education of women in teacher training: IEEL, Londrina-PR

Assuming the historiographic category of education of the body in dialogue with the theories of Norbert Elias (1993, 2011) and the procedural analysis outlined around the

practices, knowledge and formative processes that made up the education of the body in the history of teacher training in Brazil, an analysis of the selected historical sources was carried out in order to perceive which possible practices, knowledge, and educational processes developed at IEEL educated the body of women in teacher training in the 1970s.

The social and historical context is characterized by an authoritarian regime, given the Civil-Military Dictatorship (1964-1985). According to Saviani (2010, p. 364), the discourse that the Armed Forces “[...] rose up to safeguard traditions, restore authority, maintain order, and preserve institutions” was disseminated by leaders of the period. This speech reinforced the dissemination of precepts of morality, civility, good habits, and customs, something that had already been constructed and disseminated throughout the history of Brazilian civilization.

Within Brazilian society at the time, we can identify the expansion of external control over the behavior and conduct of individuals and, also, the monitoring of information conveyed by different media, reinforcing the strict control around national education. These aspects directly influenced the modeling of individual behaviors and personality, since the conduct of individuals began to be governed by inflexible and rigorous external orders. This political and social organization directly resonated in the educational practices of teacher training. One of the important aspects is the change brought about through *Law no. 5.692/1971*, which changed the nature of normal courses, transforming them into just another one among many professional 2nd degree courses, the Specific Qualification for Teaching (HEM) (Tanuri, 2000).

This period was marked by controlled and constantly evaluated educational practices, highlighting activities to develop morals and civic awareness, aiming at the internalization of values, behaviors, and habits. With the civic-military coup after 1964, care and surveillance regarding behavior and customs became more intense, with the counterpart being the valorization of attitudes and virtues expected in the behavior of female students (Louro, 1986).

Considering that the collection available for this research was characterized by the diversity of historical documentation already presented in the introduction, it was based on the perspective that the selected sources dealt with different aspects of the dynamics of operation (administrative, educational, and legal) of IEEL in the 1970s. The documentation investigated contemplates, for the most part, the institutional perspective proposed by this educational process. Thus, the interpretation presented here is restricted to what identification that were possible based on the available empirical data.

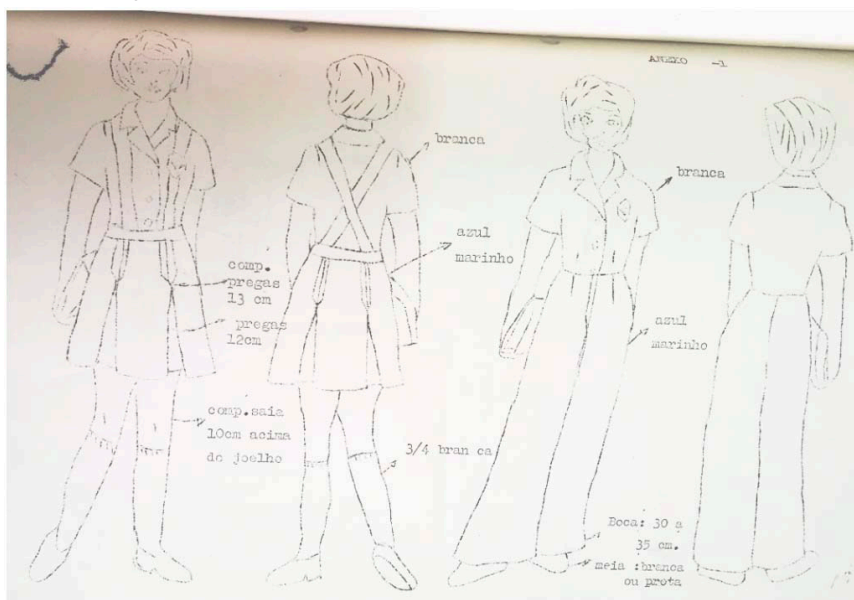
To present the evidence found of different practices of educating the body of women in teacher training at IEEL, it was decided to explore them considering the training parameters already explained in the previous topic of this article and the considerations below.

Control, inspection, and surveillance practices

The practices linked to the control, inspection, and surveillance of the behavior and conduct of students, include the adoption of the mandatory use of a uniform, which

defined appropriate clothing for these women in training. According to the *Official Acts – Technical – Administrative Sector – Teaching Staff* (IEEL, 1970-1978a), the uniform was standardized, with all measurements being very specific and demarcated, defining the length of the skirts and maintaining the neutrality and seriousness of the clothing, consisting of navy blue and white, with black shoes. The document also states that the white shirt could not be transparent.

Image 1 – Mandatory female uniform



Source: IEEL, 1970-1978a, s/p.

Concepts of clothing and fashion have changed over the years; during the period analyzed, the use of tight jeans and miniskirts was introduced, propagated by different media (television, magazines, etc.) – which became increasingly accessible – and which promoted more *casual* clothing (Sant'Anna, 2014). In contrast to this movement, practices such as wearing a uniform played a specific educational role in the training of these women and, contrary to the *vulgar* appeal to show off the body and wear more exposed and modern clothing, the importance of modesty and seriousness in the clothing of future teachers was reinforced within the school. Defining *serious* and *modest* clothing as mandatory for these students – thereby seeking to disseminate their corresponding behaviors – was an aspect that possibly influenced the formation of these women's bodies.

The mandatory use of uniforms permeated different moments in the history of teacher training in Brazil. Auras (2005, p. 76), when studying the Escola Normal Catarinense at the beginning of the 19th century, identified this as a practice that contributed "[...] to strengthening the mechanisms of self-control exercised over their emotions and impulses, contributing to their self-conditioning". The use of the uniform, then, was configured

both as a strategy for social identification of these students – inside and outside of school – and as a way of defining appropriate clothing that required bodily behaviors and a corresponding composure.

Related to the search for the internalization of appropriate and expected behaviors in these women in training, a record was found that indicates how the evaluative-punitive process took place in the school dynamics of the period. In a book of minutes intended for recording incidents at IEEL, there is a record of an infraction committed by third-year students of the teaching course. The undisciplined practice consisted of some of the students entering the principal's office and erasing the absence book and grades for some subjects.

Throughout the text of the minutes that report the incident, the seriousness of the moral problem in question regarding the students' attitude is evident, especially considering that they would be future teachers. It is also highlighted, on the part of the other students in the class – called to participate in the meeting and deliberate on the conduct of the *offenders* – “[...] the aspects of *character* and *personality*, at the thesis level, essential to the role of the Magisterium, and at the personal level, *the undisciplined behavior of colleagues*” (IEEL, 1970-1985, n/p, our emphasis). Here we can see the importance of disseminating the ideal and expected behavior of future teachers, since, in order to judge the *transgression* of any of them, the others were called upon. As a punitive action, a seven-day suspension and transfer counseling were defined, that is, when analyzing the attitude and behavior of these students, if these were not consistent with the role they would perform in the future, they were advised to change course (IEEL, 1970-1985).

According to Elias,

[...] each action decided relatively independently by an individual represents a move on the social board, a move that in turn entails a move by another individual – or, in reality, by many other individuals –, limiting the autonomy of the first and demonstrating their dependence. (Elias, 2001, p. 158).

In this sense, an isolated attitude of indiscipline by some female students in the IEEL teaching course was not limited to the fact itself, but moved and broke with an entire organization and a way of being and behaving – in school and outside it – that was valued in the specific training of teachers. By transgressing the expected conduct, the students were socially exposed and judged by the other students, running the risk of losing their prestige within the school system and even being expelled from it.

As will be explained in the following topic, there was a set of evaluative objectives and behavioral norms that governed the different disciplines and through which the students were constantly examined. This conduct evaluation practice allows the interpretation of how, possibly, punishment practices were carried out in order to control behaviors.

Therefore, the dynamics of relationships made explicit allow us to understand some aspects that reinforced in the students the need and importance of always remaining disciplined and well-behaved. The social strategy of placing other students in charge of judging the transgression committed by their peers appeals to the shame and fear of being in the transgressor's place and being socially and morally discriminated against or



frowned upon. When they are called upon to control and judge each other's behavior, a reciprocal dependence is established and defined between them. In this process, the students in training were possibly taught to regulate their own behavior based on the standard of conduct and personality that was considered appropriate and that was in sync with what was socially expected of them in the web of relationships they established.

Despite the strict control and care of the appropriate behavior that involved the daily lives of the students in teacher training at the school studied, it was found that there were also some *transgressive* practices that questioned the rules of behavior disseminated to them, a fact that provides indications of tensions and behavioral deviations on the part of these women in training. As a result, despite the existing control, the students created mechanisms of non-acceptance and questioning of the pattern of behavior expected of them. Therefore, a multiplicity of appropriations of behaviors coexisted in this formative process, including conflicting ones.

However, it cannot be ignored that, in response to infractions – such as the example presented above –, the students were severely punished and ran the risk of being forced to change course, since to be a teacher it was considered necessary to demonstrate discipline, good conduct, and a moral attitude. With this, it is possible to understand that the fear of social degradation and loss of prestige placed the students in a movement that prioritized and indicated the need to internalize so-called appropriate behaviors.

Training content, disciplines, and knowledge

Regarding the school subjects that directly impacted the education of the body, in the formative process analyzed here, the following stand out: Brazilian Social and Political Organization (OSPB); Moral and Civic Education (EMC); Physical Education; Artistic Education; Health Programs; Body, Artistic and Sound Expression; and Musical Education. Based on the programs of previous disciplines (IEEL, 1973), some of the different aspects that – possibly – educated the body, behavior, and personality of these women in teacher training are presented below.

The OSPB discipline⁷ has the following objectives: “To make the student *more aware of his/her social duties*”; “To form the student’s *character* through the absorption of healthy ideas such as civic awareness, patriotism without *falsehood*, *aversion to extreme solutions*”; “To create *habits and attitudes* that serve the demands of practical life” (IEEL, 1973, n/p, our emphasis). EMC has objectives such as: “Developing a *sense of responsibility* towards moral and civic rights, before the family, school, and community;” “Forming *habits of conduct* in students”; “Quoting the *importance of the family* in relation to the *education of children*”; and also: “Knowing the main problems of family dissociation” (IEEL, 1973, n/p, our emphasis).

By spreading the absorption of healthy ideas and reinforcing the aversion to extremism, the formation of a passive, obedient, and socially integrated woman was favored, and by creating and spreading moral and civic habits and attitudes, the aim was

7- Neither subject – OSPB and EMC – was exclusive to teacher training courses, however, they presented in their list of contents a specific perception of family and society and, with this, disseminated specific social roles for women.

to disseminate specific values that contributed to the physical and emotional self-control of these women, as well as to build a code of conduct that would govern each and every one of their actions. When discussing the concepts of responsibility, family, formation of ethical values, and valorization of work, the strong appeal to the dissemination of a specific type of citizen stands out and, considering the students, the construction of a specific model of a woman with a role in society, including as a teacher. This formative perspective corroborates the social function of women, widespread and expected in the context of the military dictatorship, linked to the figure of a mother, responsible for the home, a faithful and dedicated wife (Gusmão, 2018).

Changes in the individual's behavior correspond to the demands of socialization and integration in the society of which they are a part, and such a relationship ends up forming and spreading a specific personality structure according to its networks of interdependence and characteristic social divisions (Elias, 1993, 2011). Thus, the procedural change in the behavior pattern of the women, future teachers, resulted from the relationship with a social dynamic that was being consolidated and that required a woman/teacher with specific characteristics and values.

The Health Program discipline set out objectives such as:

- Develop *health and hygiene habits*;
- Learn the importance of posture both *physically* and *aesthetically*;
- Understand the importance of *knowing how to dress*;
- Know the importance of hygiene, lighting, and ventilation in the *home*;
- Assess the danger of poorly guided or unsupervised 'dietary regimes'. (IEEL, 1973, n/p, our emphasis).

Presenting the content topics *Posture – clothing and home hygiene*, it is clear that women in training were taught to develop health and hygiene behaviors, they learned the *correct* way to dress and behave – a practice reinforced by the use of the uniform –, in addition to having an entire content topic focused on home hygiene. After all, they were expected to be neat, clean, and organized, as in addition to being teachers they were expected to be housewives.

Louro (1986, p. 239, our emphasis), when studying the training of teachers between 1930 and 1970 at the Escola Normal de Porto Alegre, identified that, in the period after the 1964 civic-military coup, "[...] with different mechanisms of censorship and control, attempts were made to avoid transformations, including in the area of *social behavior*. The liberalization of *customs* was attacked and the most direct target of the sermon was *women*." Thus, by teaching habits of health care and hygiene, valuing the importance of good posture and good dressing for women, combined with teaching about home care, the importance of traditional customs linked to the domestic space, and responsibility for children, the husband's well-being, and the home is reinforced in these women.

Even more explicit objectives aimed at educating the bodies of these women were found in the Physical Education discipline, taught over the three years of the teaching course, as follows:



- Emphasize the aspects most directly linked to the *mastery of expression techniques*, through *form, taste, and movement*;
- Promote the development of students' *physical* abilities and teach them the *habit of good posture*;
- Offer students opportunities to *eliminate the causes of shyness and aggression* through Body Expression;
- Encourage students to *desire* to perform within the technique;
- Move around *with ease, coordinating body movements*;
- Encourage the development of the spirit of initiative by provoking *prompt and appropriate reactions to the correct situation*;
- Awaken *interest* in the *right attitude*;
- Walk and run with *ease*;
- Provide means for the student to take *responsibility* for their own learning, *fulfilling their duties conscientiously*. (IEEL, 1973, n/p, our emphasis).

Through physical activities, the aim was to educate the students physically, developing mastery of expression techniques, the internalization of correct body posture, the importance of constantly seeking perfect execution, ease when walking, a sense of responsibility towards their duties, that is, self-control and foresight regarding their actions, to know how to deal with situations in the so-called appropriate way. This behavior potentially comprised the internalization of a *balanced* personality, which could neither be extremely shy nor aggressive and transgressive. Thus, through these practices, the aim was to develop in these students an interest in the *appropriate* attitude, the ability to discern the *correct* way to react to different situations, educating them in their personality, sensibility, and emotions.

In the *Ordinary Proposal for Physical Education – 1st and 2nd grade/school year of 1974*, The following objectives are also foreseen for the content called *Didactic-Pedagogical Preparation*, of the 3rd year of the Teaching course:

The student should be able to:

- a. Satisfactorily perform the physical activities provided.
 - b. *Perfectly* demonstrate physical exercises in teaching practices.
 - c. Formulate lesson plans.
 - d. Reveal *qualities of an educator*, such as:
 - *classroom control*;
 - *fluent, clear and simple language*;
 - *emotional control*;
 - *responsibility*;
 - *communication*, etc...
- (IEEL, 1974, n/p, our emphasis).

In addition to the other subjects mentioned, Physical Education – taught in all years of the IEEL teacher training course – had at the core of its objectives and content

the training of a teacher who knew how to dominate and control a class, without being aggressive and extravagant; who knew how to express herself clearly, fluently, and simply; who could dominate and control herself both emotionally and physically; and who was aware of her moral responsibility and her social role. In this process, the students' corporeality was modeled in line with the search for internalization of self-control of her emotions and feelings, as she needed to be emotionally balanced and visually modest, without excess or scarcity.

The objectives and assessment practices presented in the different disciplines suggest the existence of a specific perspective of behavior and personality to be achieved in the formative process, such as: learning to listen in order to judge; contributing to moral education; integrating into the social group; expressing oneself in a clear and aesthetic manner; developing a sense of responsibility and an attitude of cooperation; observing the student; attendance; punctuality; interest; and social relationships (IEEL, 1973). By evaluating each movement and attitude of the students, the aim was to transmit and naturalize the socially expected way of being and behaving, producing in the student a specific perception of what it meant to be a woman and a teacher.

It is understood that,

Along with this growing division of behavior into what is and is not publicly permitted, the structure of the personality also changes. Prohibitions supported by social sanctions are reproduced in the individual as forms of self-control. (Elias, 2011, p. 181).

Thus, through segmentation of the students' behavior – between what was accepted, appropriate, and socially valued and what was repugnant and liable to punishment – it is understood that the expected personality of these women in training was also disseminated in terms of self-control of behavior and impulses.

Behaviors and body postures are nothing more than aspects and materializations of the individual's emotional structure and personality, both of which compose and correspond to a specific social structure and a function that is also socially differentiated. The ways of being and behaving associated with female teachers were historically and socially constructed and corresponded to a specific personality, which was defined socially. So when women in the process of becoming teachers were taught the *correct* postures to move, the *appropriate* way to speak, the body rhythm and the ease that they should have, this would also be expanded to their aesthetic sensibility to be internalized and the public responsibilities to be practiced. This would be a mechanism to educate the body, personality, and conscience of the future teacher.

Complementary educational activities and practices

Evidence of complementary educational practices and activities was also found in the documents analyzed. The existence of the Fanfare in the training of teachers is evident, for which there were rehearsals “[...] two days a week under the responsibility and supervision of teacher Elizabeth, and one more day, totaling three, under the responsibility of the

head student, Maria José” (IEEL, 1971-1977, p. 2), as well as the significant participation of female teachers in the September 7th parades, “[...] with 120 female students from the Normal School between the 1st and 3rd years, forming two platoons, the normal students will also be the gatekeepers and flag guards” (IEEL, 1971-1977, p. 10). The presence of civic celebrations and practices and the celebration of emblematic dates have been constant in the history of teacher training since the beginning of the 20th century (Furtado, 2007).

In the *Minutes Book of the Department of Physical Education* (IEEL, 1971-1977), it can be seen that, most of the times when the teaching course was mentioned, the references were linked to deliberations around the participation/organization of the September 7th parades, raising the flag at events, and civic-educational activities. This emphasis suggests that women in teacher training were elected to be presented at the forefront of these *events and held responsible for their organization and smooth running. When they were called upon* to assume this role in view of the civic, social, and moral responsibility attributed to them as women and teachers, the importance of good conduct, moral attitude and civility was reinforced in them, as well as the importance of self-control of behavior and impulses, since they were moral and civic examples and represented the school.

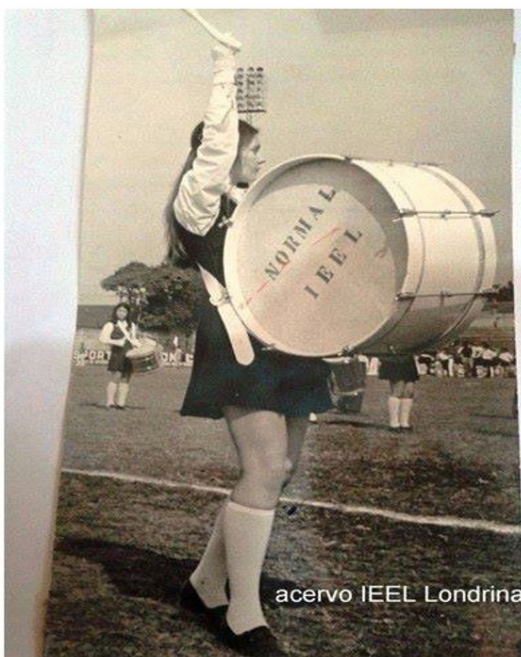
In the following images it is possible to glimpse two moments like those mentioned, the September 7th Parade – in which the female teachers are the flag bearers – and a Fanfare performance, both in 1973 (in the image it is also possible to see the sober tone of the uniforms, as previously discussed).

Image 2 – September 7th Parade



Source: (Formandas..., 2014a).

Image 3 – Fanfare – 1973



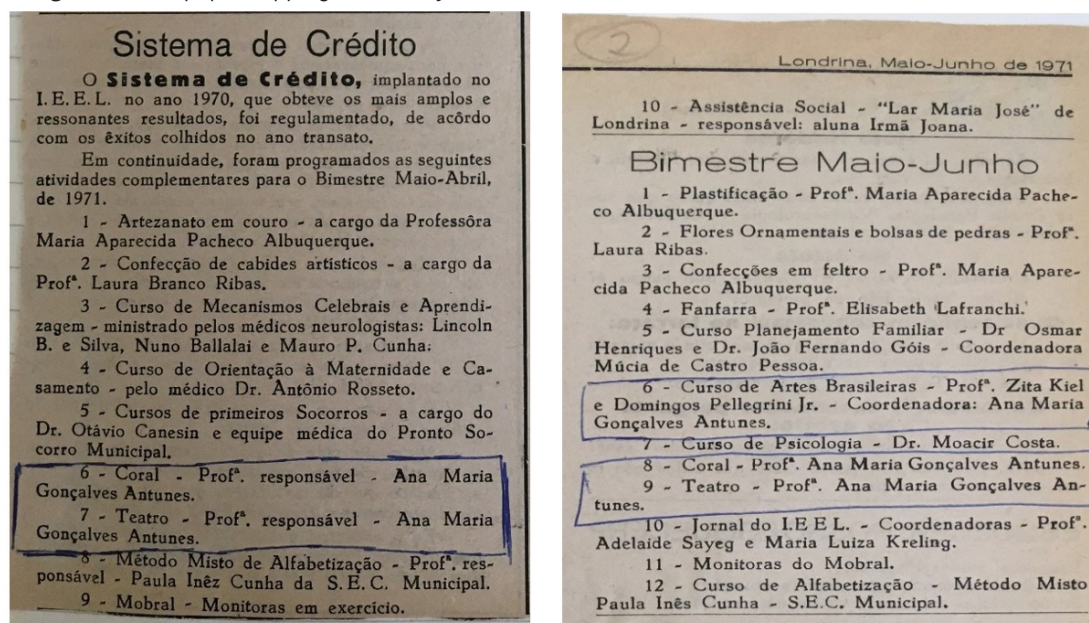
Source: (Formandas..., 2014b).

According to previous records, it was women in teacher training who were supposed to take responsibility for these civic celebrations, as they were the social figures presented at the forefront of these events. The fact is that interdependencies governed the training of teachers in the context studied, taking into account the social function they would perform and the importance of a stable, self-controlled, and responsible personality for the commitment to activities. Such school practices contributed to the internalization and naturalization of so-called polite behaviors and attitudes.

The students also carried out theater and choir activities, in addition to organizing groups and musical performances for civic and commemorative dates. It is understood that these practices favored the education of corporality and sensibility in the training of teachers, since they required discipline, and physical and mental self-control from these students, as well as responsibility and commitment to scheduled presentations and rehearsals, in addition to the formative corporal and aesthetic aspect linked to theatrical and musical work itself, which demanded specific body postures, control of the body, and voice intonation, attention to the actions performed, delicacy, resourcefulness, and dexterity in movements. All this added to the moral content linked to the content of the pieces, which transmitted very specific values.

Another highlight is presented in the image below, which is part of the *Minutes Book of the Department of Music Education* and refers to a clipping from a newspaper called IEEL IN ACTION (*IEEL EM AÇÃO*), from the period May/June 1971, regarding the credit system for students of the Normal Course:

Image 4 – Newspaper clipping – credit system



Source: IEEL, 1971, p. 3.



When examining the activities programmed for the Normal Course credit system, the themes of the activities made available to the students can be verified. The offer of activities such as leather crafts, making artistic hangers, a course on guidance for motherhood and marriage, laminating, making ornamental flowers, and clutch bags, felt clothing, and a family planning course are highlighted (IEEL, 1971). These activities denote other training objectives that are not directly related to teaching practice; among them, those linked to motherhood, marriage, and homemaking. There is a need to master specific skills that fall to women, regardless of their professional training.

These practices, aimed at the specific aesthetic training of the teachers, favored an education for the family life of a woman who was a housewife, wife, mother, and also a teacher; starting from an education of the body that valued knowledge and practices linked to the home and motherhood. From this perspective, women in teacher training were required to develop and master manual and artisanal skills that would spread a specific aesthetic taste, occupy their time and attention, and direct and shape their thinking, and thus, reinforcing patterns of docility and fragility that would – potentially – integrate the personality of these women. In addition, courses aimed at guiding these women on marriage, motherhood, and family planning were identified so that they could fulfill and realize their role as wife and mother and internalize ideal and appropriate ways of being and behaving.

The widespread patterns of behavior among individuals correspond to a specific structure of society, its power relations, and its characteristic divisions of labor and functions (Elias, 1993). Thus, taking into account the social function of women corresponding to the historical moment studied, which was still – to a large extent – related to the home and family composition (characteristics that were strengthened and reinforced by the sovereignty of the civic-military regime), and the possibilities of professional activity as a teacher, women were educated including these perspectives and social meanings.

It cannot be ignored that these courses were taught and included in a credit system and, therefore, female students in teacher training could choose which courses they would take and which they would not. Not all women took these courses and, therefore, it can be inferred that there were educational processes with different emphases according to the possibilities – even if limited – of the students' choices. However, the large number of courses with the mentioned themes and also the content of the program of the disciplines covered in the previous topic indicate that the educational perspective of the body at IEEL was linked to the improvement in the behavior and personality of future teachers, teaching them self-control of their behavior and emotions.

Considering the tensions and possible deviations between the educational perspectives foreseen and disseminated in the teacher training process analyzed and the possibilities for students to question and modify some of these power relations linked to the dissemination of a specific pattern of behavior and personality, there are indications – some presented in the course of this work – that point to this possibility.

Among them, one record from the *Minutes Book of the Department of Music Education* stands out, in which the choir students were invited to perform on a local radio program. However, the event was scheduled to take place on a Sunday from 1:00 p.m. to

2:00 p.m., which hindered the students' participation because, according to the teacher, "most of the students enrolled in this program are married and have children; they claimed that their husbands would get irritated with this obligation on Sundays, and the time was also not very convenient, since it was during the lunch hour" (IEEL, 1971, p. 10).

The teacher was successful in attracting students by proposing that three absences or three attendances be waived for credit. The fact that eighteen women joined the class after the teacher's intervention indicates the capacity of these women to change some power relations and build new possibilities for action, even in conditions that conflicted with responsibilities linked to other social configurations of which they were a part, namely, family, marriage, and home. With this, it is admitted that this educational process of the corporality and sensibility of women in teacher training was not characterized by a uniform process, but was instead transversed by conflicts and tensions that directly influenced the composition of the personality and corporality of these students.

Final considerations

Considering the diversity of practices that influenced the education of the bodies of women in teacher training at IEEL in the 1970s, it was possible to perceive that the institutionally planned training was in line with and directed towards a specific pattern of conduct and personality. There was the development of a specific way of being and behaving as a woman and teacher, considered socially appropriate, which was taught through the different official educational fronts that transversed the school.

It is understood that these practices were part of the educational process of the body that characterized the formative dynamics of the students on the IEEL teacher training course during the period studied. This educational process of the body included: the definition of a model of appropriate clothing for these women and with that the dissemination of the need for a specific personality and a corresponding body posture (serious, well-behaved, without exaggerations and libertinism); the definition of principles and values in relation to their responsibilities (attendance, commitment, passivity, obedience); the constant evaluation of the behavior and personality of the students, since any deviation was seen as something to be corrected or punished; the delimitation of the functions that they should perform at school and also at home (hygiene, cleanliness, organization, care); the physical and mental formation around what was expected of the female teacher (resourcefulness, perfection, modesty, clarity, simplicity, and physical and emotional self-control); an aesthetic formation aiming at the naturalization of a specific sensibility (valuing self-care, home care, delicacy through courses focused on crafts, and guidance linked to motherhood and marriage); and moral and civic training around practices that required women to be responsible, control their drives, and acquire the habits and behaviors expected and socially valued – being a decent woman, a competent teacher, and responsible for the home.

These values, principles, and ways of being socially exalted as ideal and appropriate for these women permeated the different moments and diverse educational practices in the figurations at IEEL. Through this educational process, the aim was to establish in the



students specific feelings and behaviors that would gradually define their personality and the standard of conduct expected of them. However, it cannot be ignored that subversive practices existed and occurred in which attempts to break with certain standards or even question teaching practices were observed. Thus, despite being limited in their conditions, power relations, and interdependencies, it was noted that these practices on the part of women – even if small and specific – also existed.

In fact, women in teacher training were part of different backgrounds and, consequently, had to synchronize different social roles (women, teachers, wives, and possibly, mothers) in a dictatorial society in the 1970s, also admitting the differences in the balance of power between the sexes. Thus, the personality and individual consciousness of these students, together with their behaviors and conduct, were being socially constituted and defined – considering the role of women themselves in this educational movement –, responding and harmonizing with the different demands of the relationships they were part of and their interdependencies.

Considering the limitations of the research – which was mostly restricted to the official documents of the institution under investigation – it was not possible to obtain a more comprehensive perception of the different aspects that made up the educational dynamics, corporality, and sensibility of the women who we intended to research. This is because official documents present a specific perspective and conception around the educational process, which does not necessarily contemplate and correspond to what was actually carried out and experienced. Thus, with the exception of the points raised during the analysis, it was almost impossible to approach practices that broke with this specific pattern, or that brought alternatives of resistance in relation to them – a fact that does not disregard the possibility of their occurrence nor the importance of these practices in the formation of the students' corporality and sensibility.

It is urgent to think about the historical process that constituted and integrated the different social dynamics that made up the education of the bodies of these women in teacher training, understanding it in its tensions and deviations. By understanding and approaching the educational processes of these women – foreseen in the institutional practices of the school investigated –, their formative perspectives were observed, highlighting how the social image of the female teacher's body was configured. Furthermore, the findings reinforce the urgency of understanding and questioning social attributions that are still incumbent on women today and that need to be rethought, criticized and, without fail, severed.

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Received on: 01.04.2024

Approved on: 13.05.2024

Responsible editor: Profa. Dra. Mônica Caldas Ehrenberg



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