Psychoanalysis in Brazil – Institutionalization and Dissemination among the Lay Public

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In this article I attempt to present and discuss two different periods of the dissemination of psychoanalysis in Brazil, both in the professional milieu and among the lay public. The first period, in the early 20th century, concerns the reception of Freud's ideas in the two largest Brazilian cities – Rio and São Paulo. The second period consists of the last thirty years of the century and refers to the so-called "psychoanalytic boom" that took place during the darkest years of the military dictatorship, focusing on Rio of Janeiro, where the effects were more visible. I intend to examine and discuss the specific characteristics of these two periods of propagation, trying to understand the success of the psychoanalytic "cosmological view" in the context of the Brazilian learned middle classes. I conclude the article with a few reflections on the post-psychoanalytic period we are now living.

Precursors and Pioneers

The official appearance of psychoanalysis in Brazil occurred somewhat late. Only in the forties (in São Paulo) and the fifties in Rio de Janeiro, associations for formal training of psychoanalysts were officially recognized by the International Psychoanalytic Association.[1] Before that, however, the subject already circulated in the academic and intellectual milieu of the two cities and, more interestingly,

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it also circulated in the non-academic milieu, among the learned middle-class of the time (in feminine magazines, radio, popular science books, etc.), so that, when it was eventually institutionalized, there was a consumer public ready to resort to the new therapy.

The first thing that calls our attention about the way psychoanalysis appears in Brazilian soil is its association to the most illustrious representatives of the medical-psychiatric establishment of the time. Juliano Moreira, the most eminent among Brazilian psychiatrists in the beginning of the century, is considered one of the pioneers of psychoanalysis and one of its disseminators. In fact, it is common among psychoanalysis historians to affirm that already in 1899 Juliano Moreira referred to Freud's ideas in his Chair of Nervous Diseases at the Bahia School of Medicine. It is also common to refer to his communication to the Brazilian Society of Neurology in 1914 about the Freudian method and, although none of his biographers affirms that he has really practiced something similar to psychoanalysis, in 1929, when the local section of the Brazilian Psychoanalysis Association was founded in Rio de Janeiro (I shall return to this further on), Juliano Moreira was appointed its chairman.

The chairman of the São Paulo section of this same association, founded two years earlier, was Franco da Rocha, the most prestigious name of São Paulo's psychiatry, founder of the Juqueri Asylum and responsible for psychiatry teaching in São Paulo. Some years before the foundation of the Association, Franco da Rocha already had his name linked to psychoanalysis – he was the author of the first book written in Brazil on Freudian theories, *Freud's Pansexual Doctrine* [*A Doutrina Pansexualista de Freud*], published in 1920. From the first decade of the century, he included the Freudian doctrine in his psychiatry courses. One of his students, Durval Marcondes, attributed to the teachings of the great master his own interest in the new theory. Marcondes became the great promoter of psychoanalysis in São Paulo and was responsible for its actual institutionalization in the thirties. In fact, the initiative of founding a Psychoanalysis Association in 1927 was of Durval Marcondes. The Association obtained a temporary recognition from IPA in 1929. In 1927, the first (and only) issue of the *Brazilian Journal of Psychoanalysis [Revista Brasileira de Psicanálise]* was published, with essays by Franco da Rocha, Julio Porto-Carrero and Durval Marcondes, among others. According to reports of the time, the recently founded society had great success within the São Paulo elite, and their meetings were a true social event.[2] Frequented by artists and intellectuals, the meetings were reported by social columns of the time. In spite of its popular success, the Association was finally dissolved after a short period because, with Durval Marcondes' exception, there was not, on the part of its supporters, a real interest in professional training in psychoanalysis. Marcondes, however, did not abandon his project,

maintaining correspondence with Max Eitington, then IPA's president, seeking a European psychoanalyst that would come to São Paulo and be responsible for the Brazilian candidates' training.

Finally, in December of 1936, Adelheid Koch arrived in Sao Paulo – a Jewish doctor recently graduated from the old Institute of Psychoanalysis of Berlin, already "aryanized" at the time and renamed "Göring Institute". She became the first "didactic analyst" in Brazilian soil, responsible for the constitution of a study group authorized by the International Psychoanalytic Association, which in 1951 became São Paulo's Brazilian Association of Psychoanalysis.

The history of the Rio de Janeiro psychoanalytic movement is somewhat different from the one of São Paulo. While in São Paulo the psychiatric milieu was poorly structured, the same did not happen with the then capital of the country, where the first School of Medicine and the first asylum in the country specifically for the insane were. The great authorities in psychiatry were concentrated in this city. Although great names of the psychiatric establishment were interested in the new doctrine, the binding connection with medicine (and with psychiatry as a branch of medicine) was the main source of prestige and legitimacy. Psychoanalysis, from this particular point of view, was always secondary to that main connection. Therefore, the Rio de Janeiro pioneers were not concerned with the creation of a *psychoanalytic corporation*, with training associations and other institutional mechanisms.

We already saw that Juliano Moreira, the dean of Brazilian psychiatry, had his name associated to the incipient psychoanalytic movement. Indeed, there was a "psychoanalysis clinic" in the National Asylum during the period that Moreira was director. Besides him, Henrique Roxo, Professor of Psychiatry in the School of Medicine, introduced the Freudian doctrine in his courses. His successor in the Psychiatry Chair, Maurício de Medeiros, used psychoanalysis broadly in his practice. Likewise Antônio Austregésilo, asylum doctor and first Professor of Neurology at the School of Medicine, wrote several self-help books for "nervous" people, where he explained, among other things, the psychoanalytic theory. Arthur Ramos, disciple of Nina Rodrigues – considered the founding father of Brazilian Forensic Medicine – made broad use of the psychoanalytic theory in his anthropological studies on black culture. Later, he became Professor of Social Psychology at the capital's Federal University and head of the Technical Section of Orthophrenia and Mental Hygiene of the capital's Bureau for Education and Culture. Júlio Porto Carrero, the main disseminator of the Freudian theory and the only one among the pioneers to practice psychoanalysis and to call himself a psychoanalyst, was Professor of Forensic Medicine at the Law School. All were members of the National Academy of Medicine – Antonio Austregésilo, being the chairman – and of the Brazilian League for Mental Hygiene.

Two characteristics of this first phase of introduction of psychoanalysis in Brazil call our immediate attention. First, the fact that a doctrine such as psychoanalysis, apparently so subversive, could appeal to so many illustrious names, all of them well established in the medical field. The second interesting characteristic is the pioneers' connection to pedagogical and hygienic projects.[3]

As mentioned earlier, Arthur Ramos held an important position in the capital's Bureau for Education and Culture. Durval Marcondes headed, during the thirties, the São Paulo Section of Mental Hygiene in Schools. Ulisses Pernambucano, a great name of Pernambuco's psychiatry and considered one of the precursors of psychoanalysis, was Dean of Pernambuco's School for Elementary School Teachers in 1923, where he promoted a significant pedagogic reform. Júlio Porto-Carrero was a frequent collaborator in the Brazilian Association of Education. Even when a pedagogic issue was not explicit, the view of psychoanalysis as a kind of "moral orthopedics" prevailed.

We should not forget that all the pioneers mentioned up to now were members of the Brazilian League for Mental Hygiene. Founded in 1922, the League appeared at a time when the intellectual Brazilian elite was trying to build a project for the nation, based on the binomial education/ hygiene, a time when a rational-scientific solution for the evils of the country – a diseased and illiterate country – was widely believed in. In those days, several nationalist movements appeared related to the construction of such a project, such as the League of National Defense, the São Paulo Nationalist League, the Pro-Sanitation League and the Brazilian Association of Education. The Brazilian League of Mental Hygiene, commanded by psychiatrists, was another movement on behalf of the nation's development. The concern with hygiene and pedagogy, therefore, was not specific to the pioneers of psychoanalysis, much less a problem restricted to the medical class. On the contrary, it was treated as a wider project of transformation of the nation, through the constitution of "civilizing" instruments. The engagement in the actions of the League was different in each case, and different visions existed concerning the hygienic projects to be implemented. The eugenic ideals, adopted by the League during the thirties, for instance, were far from being unanimous among the members.[4]

One of the outstanding eugenics enthusiasts among the members of the League was no other than Júlio Porto Carrero. He was responsible for the creation of the League's psychoanalytic clinic in 1926 and, during the thirties, became a ferocious advocate of eugenic ideas. The coexistence of psychoanalysis, hygiene and eugenics seems very disturbing to our contemporary view. However, we may understand it better if we take into account the obsession of the Brazilian elite of the period with the feasibility of a civilizing and modernizing project for the country and, above all, the wish to make the project compatible with

the teachings of their European masters.[5] A country economically "backward" when compared to European states, but above all haunted by its proslavery inheritance and by the weight of the coexistence of several "races", considered by the determinist theories of the previous century as located at different levels of a would-be "evolutionary scale."

Porto-Carrero's writings,[6] an enthusiast of both eugenics and Freud, supply us with a clue to understand psychoanalysis as one of the vehicles of that compatibility. The theme of sexuality, for instance, central to psychoanalytic theory, is also crucial with respect to the construction of a "civilizing" project. One should not forget the association that then existed between racial mixture (a sign of "degeneration") and sexual excess – the idea of an excessive or unrestrained sexuality being part of the image that was then being constructed about the "nature" of the Brazilian people.[7] In his writings, which stress the themes of infantile sexuality and sublimation, Porto-Carrero proposes a new form of dealing with sexuality and primitivism which should result in the possibility of educating (and thus civilizing) the people.

Insisting on the relentless power and on the ubiquity of the sexual drive, Porto-Carrero presents to his readers a theory from which it is possible to positively reinterpret the so-called "sexual excess" that seemed to mark the Brazilian people. Sexuality, or its excess, does not have to be perceived as a problem in itself anymore, since it is good neither bad in itself. It is necessary to recognize its actual strength and its presence where it seems to be absent – in children's games, in the relationship between parents and children, in the simplest and most innocent behaviors. It should be used, controlled, channeled to "superior" ends through sublimation. The idea of *sublimation* implies a theory of effective "perfectibility" or "educability". We have here a kind of civilizing way out for our mixed blood country: namely, the primitivism of the instincts and passions, as well as the excessive sensuality of the inferior races, are not unbeatable obstacles to the progress of the nation inasmuch as the education of instincts and passions is possible. At the same time, primitivism in itself can be reviewed once the "primitive" is moved to the subject's internal structure and evolutionism ceases to be considered as something purely external, combined to a kind of internal "evolutionism." Each one of us, regardless of race, has a "primitive self" inside that needs to be educated, civilized, and transformed.[8]

In this sense, I believe that the psychoanalytic theory represented for certain intellectuals of the period one possible way for escaping strict biological determinism, without giving up the idea of progress and evolution, besides supplying a modern and scientific alternative to traditional moral tenets, seen as archaic and outdated.[9]

Psychoanalysis, as a modernizing and "civilizing" tool, soon crossed the borders of the academy and medical class barriers. Dissemination books began to be published, columns appeared in feminine magazines, and radio shows were aired.

This diffusion of psychoanalysis among the lay public occurred amid widespread interest for the so-called "sexual issue". The thirties witnessed a blossoming of the subject in Brazil, with the appearance of popular courses on sexology, special festivities such as "Sex Day", radio broadcasts on sex, and campaigns for sexual education. In 1935, the theme was already so popular that a carnival club took to the streets a float called "Sexual Education."[10]

In terms of the publishing market, we may speak of a sexological boom. *La Question Sexuelle*, by Swiss psychiatrist Auguste Forel, published in the late twenties, sold 3000 copies in its first edition in only two months, being considered an "unprecedented work of editorial success". In addition to works by renowned sexologists, like Havellock Ellis, and within collections whose titles were "*Studies of Sexual Psychology*", "*Sexual Culture*", "*Library for Sexual Popularization*", books on Freud appeared (such as the collection "Freud for All", by the Calvino Publishing House), or even by Freud himself or one of his disciples. The first book published by Publisher José Olympio[11] in 1932 was *Know Yourself through Psychoanalysis*, by American psychoanalyst J. Ralph. During the thirties, ten volumes were published with about 50 titles of works by Freud himself, including conferences, essays, articles and books. In addition to these, many titles were published by Brazilian authors on the subject of psychoanalysis. As mentioned earlier, Porto Carrero was one of the precursors, with the higher number of published psychoanalytic titles. Other authors that fit the category of divulgers of the new doctrine are, besides Franco da Rocha, Antonio Austregésilo and Arthur Ramos.

Among such illustrious characters, a *sui generis* character played a significant role in the popularization of psychoanalysis. Gastão Pereira da Silva, one of the first psychoanalysts in Rio de Janeiro, began his practice during the thirties. He never associated himself to any of the training associations founded later, being usually forgotten in the great histories of Brazilian psychoanalysis. Unlike Porto-Carrero, Arthur Ramos and other "pioneers", who were all professors, outstanding members of the National Academy of Medicine or held public positions, Gastão Pereira da Silva declared he had practiced "medicine on horseback" in the interior, before becoming interested in psychoanalysis during the late twenties. Preferring the media – newspaper, radio and magazines – to the academy, he became one of the strongest promoters of psychoanalysis. With the explicit intention of making the Freudian doctrine accessible to the common reader, he published in 1931 the book *In Order to Understand Freud*. This first book by

Pereira da Silva – that in 1942 was in its sixth edition – was published at the author's expense. The following books were published by several publishers, including the influential José Olympio, who in the fifties began the publication of his complete works. Among the many titles authored by him, we find *Lenin and Psychoanalysis, Crime and Psychoanalysis, Neurosis of the Heart, Children's Sexual Education, Psychoanalysis in Twelve Lessons, Know Yourself through Dreams, Our Children's Sexual Drama, Addictions of the Imagination* (first published by José Olympio in 1939 and with six editions by 1956) and *The Taboo of Virginity*.

In addition to the books, Gastão maintained intense activity in the written press. In 1934, in the *Carioca* magazine, he created the column "Psychoanalysis of Dreams", illustrated with a picture of Freud (which originated the book "*Know Yourself through Dreams"*). In the magazine *Vamos Ler* he kept a column entitled "Mother's Page" (which also originated the book "*Know Your Son"*). Later he collaborated in the magazine *Seleções Sexuais* with the section "Confidences."

Still during the thirties, Gastão maintained for three years the program "In the world of dreams", in the Rádio Nacional,[12] in which, according to his own words, "the radio broadcasted dreams [sent by listeners], as if they were little stories, in sketches, interpreted by the radio-theater cast of the broadcasting station". In the same period, he began to write radio soap operas with a psychoanalytic view, and in his autobiography he lists 44 titles by his authorship that were aired. He also created a "Correspondence Course in Psychoanalysis", about which he wrote: "This course's power to get through, disseminated through the number of a simple post office box, by radio, allowed me to establish contact with many suffering people, so to speak forgotten, in distant villages often ignored in the maps."[13]

In his writings, besides his pedagogic effort to popularize the basic points of the Freudian theory in accessible language – i.e. the unconscious, child sexuality, the Oedipus complex, the super-ego – Pereira da Silva also published sexological authors and theories of the time. His books are replete with case reports received from readers of his columns or listeners of his programs – above all on dreams. It can be said that the extensive production of Gastão Pereira da Silva indicated the existence, at that time, of a type of psychoanalytic-sexological self-help that seemed to meet with plenty of success.[14]

As we have seen, in Rio de Janeiro, where the psychiatric milieu was already well structured, psychoanalysis, although circulating freely among well-known names of the profession, did not represent an interesting alternative to the psychiatric practice *stricto sensu*. Meanwhile, in São Paulo, the weak institutionalization of psychiatry opened breaches for the establishment of a parallel specialization.

Therefore, in November of 1936, the psychoanalyst Aldelheid Koch arrived in São Paulo, due to the contacts of Durval Marcondes with the International Association (IPA), with the task of forming the first group of psychoanalysts officially authorized in the country. The embryo of the future Brazilian Society of Psychoanalysis of São Paulo was born.

In São Paulo, the estrangement between psychoanalysis and psychiatry was expressed in the different institutional spaces where the new doctrine slowly penetrated and acquired followers. Even before the arrival of Koch, as we have seen, a first Society of Brazilian Psychoanalysis was founded which, although failing in its intention of promoting the training of future analysts, was quite successful in attracting the attention of the cultural elite of the time. During the twenties, psychoanalytic ideas were present in modernist circles, and the major names of the movement, Oswald and Mário de Andrade, both read Freud and assimilated his ideas to a larger or smaller degree.[15] The very idea of anthropophagy has undeniable links to one of the great Freudian classics – *Totem and Taboo*.[16] In addition to this propagation among the artistic and intellectual vanguards, the new doctrine started to appear in non-medical institutional spaces, which certainly contributed to its wider acceptance and diffusion. In 1938, Durval Marcondes founded the Clinic of Child Orientation in the Mental Hygiene Service of the São Paulo Bureau of Education, headed by him. In this clinic, he supervised and trained educators, who learned to view the child as well as the family from a psychoanalytic point of view. The following year, psychoanalysis was introduced as a discipline in a sociology course of the Free School of Sociology and Politics, again under Durval Marcondes and Aldelheid Koch's responsibility.[17]

"Official" psychoanalysis arrived in Rio de Janeiro only in 1948. In this year, IPA sent two psychoanalysts to start the training of analysts – one in February and the other in December. The first to arrive was Mark Burke, member of the British Psychoanalytic Society, and the second was Werner Kemper, member of the Berlin Institute. Two years later, differences between the two analysts led to the formation of two groups, one headed by Kemper and the other by Burke. The German analyst's group was recognized in 1955 by IPA as the Rio de Janeiro Psychoanalytic Association – SPRJ. The other group, which was joined by several analysts trained in Buenos Aires, was recognized two years later as the Brazilian Association of Psychoanalysis of Rio de Janeiro – SBPRJ. Therefore, there were two associations: the "Rio de Janeiro" and the "Brazilian", which dominated the scenario of psychoanalytic training in Rio de Janeiro until the seventies. Unlike the São Paulo Association, which, in accordance with the link established early with the non-medical milieu, accepted "lay" candidates, the two Rio de Janeiro associations were monopolized by psychiatrists and, following the example of the American associations, soon started to demand

a medical degree from the candidates. We see then that the warm reception of psychoanalysis by the Rio de Janeiro medical establishment was not without consequences, and that the privileged link to psychiatry is the mark of the Rio de Janeiro's movement.

Surprisingly, however, the openness to non-doctors granted to the São Paulo movement and to the São Paulo association a high degree of stability and relative peace, when compared to its Rio de Janeiro peers. In Rio, as we have seen, dissidence arose immediately – two associations were created instead of one. The proliferation of associations increased with time, fueled by the closing of the "official" associations to non-doctors. At the end of the seventies, the city was certainly a record breaker, having at the time about 20 psychoanalytic associations of various kinds.

The Seventies: A Race to the Couch

When he embarked for a short stay in the United States, in 1910, Freud stated that he was taking "the plague" to the other side of the Atlantic Ocean. At that time, struggling for recognition of the seriousness and legitimacy of his discoveries, he could not foresee how right his forecast was. Although there is no consensus on the type of plague represented by psychoanalysis, it quickly spread throughout the American continent, like a highly contagious disease, reaching the Southern Hemisphere exactly when there were many military dictatorships in South America. In Brazil, the Seventies were years of "economic miracle", obscurantism, censorship, repression and torture of political prisoners. At that time, psychoanalysis, which, as we have seen, was already being propagated since the thirties, definitely conquered the hearts and minds of the learned middle classes of the great urban centers. A race to the couch began. Group analyses proliferated in order to meet the increasing demand of those who could not afford expensive individual sessions. In the intellectual circles of Rio de Janeiro, each person had "his or her own" analyst. Likewise, psychoanalysts began to appear in the media and as characters in TV soap operas.

The intense psychoanalytic dissemination that took place at the time is usually explained as a product of political repression. Repression, by preventing concern with the "outside", forced the people to consider almost exclusively the "inside", the inner life.[18] Therefore, political shutdown and psychological awareness tended to be equated. Important issues, however, are left aside by the excessive simplicity of such an explanation. I would like to point out two of these significant issues: firstly, counterculture, an ideology disseminated among

young people of the great urban centers; secondly, the social mobility of the middle strata of those same urban centers.

Counterculture, on the one hand, resized and shifted what until then was considered "political", politicizing the so-called "minor" issues, such as sexuality, gender relations, and family hierarchy. The image of the worker fighting against capital is replaced by the minorities (insane people, indians, blacks, women, children), oppressed by the white, adult, heterosexual male. These issues, considered as "minor", carried an overwhelming criticism of the "bourgeois morals", focusing more on habits, daily behaviors, ways of thinking and feeling, rather than on the great and abstract battle of capital versus labor. This new way of understanding "politics" returned the subject to the inner self, making him or her rethink his way of being. Therefore, the interiorization of conflicts can only be considered a symptom of depoliticalization, if we define "politicalization" from a certain standpoint. From the point of view of the countercultural "new politics", inner reform could be interpreted as a form of political fight.

Another relevant subject was the increased social mobility of the middle sections of the urban population, the most evident consequence of the economic model implemented in 1964. We know that the changes in a person's or a family's socioeconomic status imply a series of lifestyle changes. Estrangement from the original universe, on the part of the individual or the family, is inevitable, as well as contact with different values, uses and habits which were also more modern and "cosmopolitan". All this has extremely relevant consequences when we think about the greater psychological awareness of those middle sectors, then undergoing social ascension. The uprooting from the original environment and the contact with emerging values in modern industrial society led to the questioning, and at the extreme end, to the destabilization of the traditional models of family, masculinity, femininity, respect for the elders, etc. Greater psychological awareness, or return to the inner self, may be interpreted as a search "inside" for that which before was "outside" – i.e. parameters, rules, orientation. This search requires "self-knowledge", making the person question his or her inner self, since it is there (and not "outside", in rules provided "externally") that the key to a healthy and adjusted behavior resides.

What we observe, then, is that psychological awareness, the interiorization of conflicts and oppression – the phenomenon that sustained and expanded the psychoanalytic boom – cannot be seen simply as an effect of the depoliticalization promoted by the military regime, but also as a result of the new form of "politicalization" of the youth culture combined with the symbolic effects of the income-concentrating economic policies of the dictatorship.[19]

The extreme dissemination and popularization of psychoanalysis among the learned middle classes was parallel to its propagation in the professional milieu.

Psychiatry, that monopolized, to a certain extent, the control and transmission of the psychoanalyst's title, ended up psychoanalyzing itself.[20] Following the American model, psychiatric training became practically a synonym of psychoanalytic training. And psychoanalysts led the first attempts at humanization of the asylums, through the implementation of "therapeutic communities" in a few public hospitals, such as the Psychiatric Center Pedro II (now Nise da Silveira Municipal Health Assistance Institute), and the Philipe Pinel Hospital (now an Institute), both in Rio de Janeiro.[21]

On the wake of psychoanalytic expansion (as a therapy, a profession and a way of understanding human beings), psychology – a recent profession – psychoanalyzed itself more and more, quickly leaving behind its psychotechnic origins. The psychoanalyzation of psychology, however, raised issues that were, at the time, insoluble. Let us go back to Rio de Janeiro, where, as we have seen, psychoanalysis and psychiatry maintained, since the beginning of the former, a symbiotic relationship.

Besides psychoanalyzing itself, psychology also met with an unprecedented expansion. The first Psychology course was created in 1953 in the Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro (PUC-Rio). Remaining for many years the more prestigious psychology course in the city, it had a strong psychoanalytic influence since its inception. The courses of the Federal and State Universities were created in 1964, and between 1968 to 1990, nine other courses were created in private universities. The number of professionals graduating, as expected, increased exponentially. In 1974, when the Federal Council of Psychology started its activities, there were 895 enrolled professionals. In 1975, the number increased to 4,950 and in the following year, it reached 6,890.

The new professionals' relationship with the psychoanalysts of the official Associations – which up to the beginning of the Seventies practically monopolized all psychoanalytic training in the city – was one of reverence and ambiguity. Psychoanalysts actively promoted psychoanalysis among psychologists,[22] analyzing them, offering courses and "study groups", as well as supervising their clinical activities. Thus, they enlarged their own job market and demand for their services. At the same time, they blocked the access of psychologists to any association linked to IPA, the associations that had more prestige and which, as we have seen, required a medical degree from their candidates.

This monopoly, however, had its days numbered. Starting in the late 70s, a series of "non-official" institutions for the training of psychoanalysts appeared, with an attendance composed mainly of female psychologists.[23] The hegemony of

the IPA associations was severely threatened, to the point that the two "official" associations started to accept psychologists as candidates in 1980.[24]

Between Lacan and Reich, the post-psychoanalysis

Between 1969, when the first schism in SPRJ took place, until 1989, 18 associations for the training of psychoanalysts were founded in Rio de Janeiro, not linked to IPA. Of these, 16 appeared after 1974 and, among these, ten adopted Lacan's theory, in a more or less explicit form, as a source of legitimacy.[25]

A sort of "French invasion", therefore, orchestrated the rupture of the monopoly exercised by the IPA-linked associations (and, in Rio de Janeiro, by the physicians) over the control and transmission of the title of psychoanalyst. In order to understand this "French turn" that took place during the Eighties, we must examine the meaning of adhering to Lacan's theories in a context of wide propagation both of the theory and of psychoanalytic therapy.

The wide propagation that occurred in Brazil during the Seventies produced, as we have seen, an intense demand for psychoanalytic training, above all from psychologists. Lacan was adopted as a powerful weapon against the monopoly maintained by the medical institution.

We should remember that Lacan himself built his career as a "dissident" from IPA, regarding with acid criticism the bureaucratic and pedagogic logic of the training offered by the associations linked to the International Association. Advocating a "return to Freud", the Lacanian schools revalued personal analysis (not necessarily "didactic") as being the core of psychoanalytic training. Each candidate should take the Freudian route and rediscover psychoanalysis through his or her own analysis. Anything learned in books, in regular courses or lectures, cannot substitute learning by personal and unique experience. Instead of bureaucracy, charisma. One of the consequences of such replacement is the depreciation of the university diploma as a criterion for acceptance of candidates. What is more, the kind of degree obtained had lost significance. The idea is that anyone, regardless of the type of degree obtained, can become a psychoanalyst, as long as he really undergoes psychoanalysis and has the "desire" to be a psychoanalyst.[26] The effect, however, is not exactly the "democratization" of access to the title. Actually, the answer provided by Lacanism to the wide dissemination of psychoanalysis was double. On the one hand, it served as a means of legitimation for psychologists that wanted to have access to the title of psychoanalyst. At the same time, it actually constituted an obstacle to a wide dissemination of psychoanalysis, and to the threat of depreciation of the title, by proposing a method of recruitment quite different, but not less rigorous than the one used

before by the physicians of the "official" associations. The medical diploma was substituted by two types of requirements. On the one hand, access to Lacan's theory and his logic demands a certain degree of erudition that does not depend merely on education but on a certain relationship with the "educated norm", which involves familiarity with figurative language, poetic use of language, etc.[27] On the other hand, the affirmation of charisma to the detriment of bureaucratic logic requires the constant restatement of commitment and "professions of faith", being continuously renewed. There is no "diploma" at the end of the training. Alternatively, Lacanian training is an ongoing process and the psychoanalyst is always called to reaffirm his commitment to the cause.

Lacanism was the path taken by "psy" professionals after the "psy explosion" of the Seventies, as a way to redefine the question: "who can be a psychoanalyst?," and, simultaneously, a way to build various obstacles concerning the access to the much coveted title. As a complementary opposite, at the same time the "body therapies" appeared.

Both seemed to have the same point of departure: a ferocious criticism of "orthodox psychoanalysis" (as it was called at the time), monopolized by physicians in general and psychiatrists in particular. For Lacanism, the criticism of "orthodox psychoanalysis" advocated a return to "true psychoanalysis". In the body therapists' case, the criticism was directed to all and any psychoanalysis. Followers of Wilhelm Reich's ideas – a former dissident that finally abandoned psychoanalysis – tried to undo "energy blockades" that make people sick by working on the body and with the body. In the beginning of the movement, there was a proliferation of new therapies, new lines, new approaches, therapists that created their own therapy, forming a libertarian opposition to the excessive "tethering" of formal psychoanalysis.[28] The links to counterculture were evident. Body therapies in fact were nested inside a type of "alternative complex" formed by a group of practices that shared opposition to traditional scientific rationalism and the dualisms created by it (body and mind, reason and emotion, etc.) There was also the addition of divinatory or esoteric practices (such as astrology), practices more or less linked to religious philosophies (such as yoga and several types of meditation) and healing practices parallel to official medicine (such as acupuncture or homeopathy). Originated in the counterculture of the 60s and 70s, they finally became a fundamental part of the contemporary movement known as "New Age."

Where is psychoanalysis going?

The blossoming of the "alternative complex" and, within it, of body therapies, during the Eighties, seems to have marked the decline of psychoanalysis or, at least, of its spread and popularity among the lay public. At this point, we arrive at what may be called, according to Robert Castel, the post-psychoanalytic movement.[29] This decline was not a phenomenon restricted to the Brazilian "psy" field, but, on the contrary, reflected the confrontations and adaptations, within the psychiatric field, which occurred in influential countries, particularly the United States.

After the Second World War, American psychiatry psychoanalyzed itself entirely, in a movement similar to the Brazilian described above. Psychiatric training during the Fifties and Sixties was practically a synonym of psychoanalytic training. Not only did psychiatrists controll psychoanalysis, but also the opposite was true. That "marriage," apparently so successful, begins to show signs of wear and tear already in the early Seventies.

The divorce resulted from two types of criticism directed at psychoanalysis. On the one hand, social psychiatry, combined with movements of political protest, accused psychoanalysis of treating social issues from a purely psychological point of view. On the other, the incipient biological psychiatry – strengthened by the progress of psychopharmacology – questioned the laxity of psychoanalytic diagnosis, grounded in suppositions concerning invisible mechanisms and processes underlying the subject's observable behavior. From these two criticisms, the second one prevailed, promoting, in the Eighties, a radical transformation of psychiatric nosography, based on an unprecedented change in the underlying logic of classification of mental diseases and in the way of viewing mental pathology.[30]

The former revolution of mentalities in psychiatry arrived quickly in Brazil, particularly in the academic field. Biological psychiatry became openly hegemonic and its logic slowly propagated among the lay public. In this new scenario, psychoanalysis remained an option – both professional and therapeutic – but it was increasingly distant from the dominant field core and associated to the more intellectualized and sophisticated threads of the learned middle classes.

Nevertheless, psychoanalysis is also found elsewhere. We said above that social psychiatry formed an alliance with biological psychiatry against the "psychologism" of psychoanalysis in the United States during the Seventies. In Brazil, the social psychiatry practiced during the Seventies embodied a movement called the Brazilian Psychiatric Reform, inspired above all by the Italian Psychiatric Reform movement, led by Franco Basaglia, and its strong political criticism of traditional psychiatric institutions. Its sopporters influenced in a

decisive way public mental health policies during the 80s and 90s, exactly when the slow ascension of biological psychiatry took place. The psychiatrists supporting a strictly pharmacological view of mental disorders were not interested in the Reform, yet the psychoanalysts were.

Dislodged from their dominant position, watching the invasion of psychopharmacology into the realm of former neurosis and existential maladies, psychoanalysts[31] found, with the assistance of severe mental patients who defy "miraculous" new drugs, a niche where their listening and deciphering work is still appreciated.

NOTES

1. Known by the English acronym IPA.
2. On that first society and its frequent visitors, see Sagawa, 1985.
3. See Nunes, 1988 and Mokrejs, 1992.
4. On the history of the League and their internal disagreements, see Reis, 1994.
5. On this dilemma of the Brazilian elite in the beginning of the 20th century, see Corrêa (1998). About the way Latin-American physicians and scientists made eugenic ideas and hygiene conceptions compatible, adopting the neo-Lamarckian vision of hereditariness (through which it is possible to inherit acquired characters), see Stepan, 2005.
6. Porto-Carrero published nine books either on psychoanalysis or on subjects analyzed in the light of psychoanalysis. In addition, he gave "radio conferences" and lectures for the lay public (in the Brazilian Association of Education and in the Circle of Sexual Education), and wrote articles and interviews in daily newspapers (see Russo, 2005).
7. See Rago, 1998.
8. These arguments are developed in Russo, 1998 and 2000.
9. Porto Carrero, in addition to his passionate defense of eugenic ideals, argues with the same passion in favor of a new organization of the family, against unrestricted patriarchal power, in favor of the children's and women's rights, etc.
10. See Carrara and Russo, 2002.
11. José Olympio was the most prestigious publishing house in Brazil in the first half of the 20th century.
12. Founded in 1936 in Rio de Janeiro, the Rádio Nacional was the most popular radio station in Brazil until the Fifties. It broadcasted soap operas that were extremely popular.
13. Pereira da Silva, 1959.
14. Evidently, the books then published and even radio broadcasting reached a restricted public, since access to such cultural means at that time was limited to a portion of the population.
15. Modernisn was a very important artistic movement of the 1920s, gathering together painters, writers and intellectuals who opposed academic art and thinking. As one of the leading figures of the movement, Oswald de Andrade wrote the "Antropophagic Manifest" [Manifesto Antropofágico] -referring to the tupi-guarani Indians' habit of eating their

enemies – using it as a metaphor for the way Brazilian culture assimilates (at the same time destroying and incorporating) foreign concepts and ideas.

16. See Facchinetti, 2001.
17. For a history of the psychoanalytic movement in São Paulo, see Oliveira, 2005.
18. See especially Martins, 1979.
19. For a deeper discussion of this possibility, see Russo, 1993.
20. Even in the São Paulo associations, which accepted non-doctors, the psychiatrists' hegemony was undeniable. See the work of Oliveira, 2005.
21. On this subject, see Teixeira, 1993.
22. Actually, we should say "women psychologists", since this was an eminently feminine profession from the beginning. We could say that at the time there was a kind of gender division in clinical work, and female psychologists treated children, under the psychoanalysts' supervision, who were usually men.
23. On the history of the relationship between psychologists and psychiatrists in the Rio de Janeiro psychoanalytic movement, see Figueiredo, 1984. On the intense proliferation of psychoanalytic associations, see Berlinck, 1989 and 1991.
24. The "opening" of the official associations to psychologists resulted from a crisis triggered by the accusation that one psychoanalyst had worked in political prisoners' torture while being trained at the Psychoanalytic Society of Rio de Janeiro; see Coimbra, 1995.
25. Surprisingly, the proliferation of Lacanian associations took place in Brazil as a whole (although Rio de Janeiro remains as record breaker), something that did not happen during the monopoly period of the "official" associations, not even at the peak time of psychoanalysis diffusion, see Ropa and Maurano, 1990, Ropa, 1991 and 1992.
26. This "return to Freud" resembles a return to the heroic times of psychoanalysis, when Freud's charisma maintained around him a handful of followers for whom desire was actually enough.
27. I develop this discussion in Russo, 1991. I would like to point out that Lacan's theory penetrated the American intellectual milieu through the literature departments of universities.
28. Over time, training associations were created, with rules for admission and permanence, causing intransigent disputes over Reich's true inheritance; see Russo, 1993.
29. Cf. Castel, 1984.
30. On this subject, see Russo and Venâncio, 2006.
31. Evidently, I am not referring to the totality of psychoanalysts, maybe not even to the majority of them, but to the existence of an approach between psychoanalysis and public assistance in mental health that can be found in the works of Goldberg, 1994, Cavalcanti, 1992, Cavalcanti and Venâncio, 2001, Figueiredo, 1997, Figueiredo and Alberti, 2006 and Tenório, 2001, among others. It is necessary to remember that besides the more radical and political influence of the Italian Reform Movement, the Brazilian Psychiatric Reform also received a strong influence of French Institutional Psychiatry, widely based on Lacanian psychoanalysis.

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