

ADOLESCENCE AND DEVELOPMENT-IN-TIME

ADOLESCÊNCIA E DESENVOLVIMENTO-NO-TEMPO

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Resumo: A idade moderna é definida pelo tempo, por uma temporalização da experiência, isto é, por uma compreensão de que os acontecimentos e as mudanças são significativos na sua ocorrência no e através do tempo. Narrativas de vida milenares, evolutivas e individuais partilham tais temporalizações enfatizando o final. Contudo, nem todos os tempos são os mesmos. Eu examino concepções da adolescência como participando do tempo panóptico, um tempo condensado construído sobre hierarquias de gênero, raça e classe, e compreendido como natural. O tempo panóptico coloca a ênfase nas metas finais em direção das quais a juventude deve progredir e coloca o adolescente individual em uma narrativa sócio-cultural que requer o “domínio” como um princípio. Deste modo, coloco questões epistemológicas quanto ao desenvolvimento-no-tempo através do qual o adolescente é conhecido, consumido e governado. (1ª parte)

Palavras-chave: adolescência; temporalização; tempo panóptico.

The view that all change occurs in and through time - the temporalization of experience - “is the defining quality of the modern world” (Reinhart KOSELLECK cited in BENDER & WELLBERRY, 1991, p. 1). The temporalization of experience utilized clock time, standardized world time, active measurement and counting of time. Time was tracked in order to use it. “The mechanical clock made possible ... a civilization attentive to the passage of time, hence to productivity and performance” (LANDES, 1983, p.7). And productive use of time became a central measure of better, more valuable, individuals and groups.

The sciences were active in modern temporalization. FOUCAULT (1973) locates the cutting edge of scientific temporalization in the development of natural history with its central task of classifying according to structure and taxonomic character. While medieval scientists and citizens had conceptualized the cosmos as comprised of static laws and regularities, natural historians began to describe change and growth

over time. The French palaeontologist Lamarck, along with competitors Cuvier and Smith, pieced together fossil remains of extinct organisms and placed them in a chronological order. This was the beginning of a theory of evolution, an altogether original conception of development in and through time. In 1809 Lamarck published the first evolutionary family-tree, “*showing the branched series by which the complex organisms of the present day were related back to earlier, simpler forms of life, and so to the hypothetical point of the first beginnings of organization.*” (TOULMIN & GOODFIELD, 1965, p. 179).

Toulmin and Goodfield argue that it was in this scientific quest for the ‘origin’ which Darwin linked to his work with the title, *The Origin of Species*, that time consciousness was produced. “The new epistemic order was development-in-time” and underlay such new conceptualizations as “the evolution of species, the ages of human life, and the development of society” [emphasis added] (LOWE, 1982, p.49).

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Johannes FAB'IAN (1983) augments this history of science by examining how the discipline of anthropology spatialized time through concepts of 'development' and 'civilization'. Fabian argues that a defining practice of anthropological research is the locating of primitive others in another time (and space) and that this temporal distance, termed "developmental" or "cultural", rests upon more advanced and less advanced positions on the evolutionary scale. Accordingly, to designate a people as occupying "a different time" was to label them as wholly other, inferior, and occupying a less evolved position. "Constructions of otherness do not begin with evolutionism and otherschemes of distancing whose ideological character we now recognize; they are already built into our very presentations of identity/sameness as an exclusive "here and now, " which we accept without much questioning. One trick especially, which we seem to play again and again—the trick of denying coevalness, same time, to those whom we perceive as distant and different—works as a "construction with time. " (FABIAN, 1991, p. 190)

Narratives of cultural evolution and of individual adolescent development prioritize the ending; they are primarily narratives of fulfillment: "the important thing in tales of evolution remains their ending" (op cit., p. 193). This fact links these narratives with Christian millennialist ones (HARAWAY, 1997). Much of the import of cultural evolutionism, claims FABIAN, is that it allows us to read events as omens of things to come. The theory of cultural

evolution makes otherness ominous by construing it as 'past future' [emphasis added] (FABIAN, 1991, p. 195). For example, moral panics around youth regularly call up a sense of "past future"—that the future will be diminished, dragged down by teenagers' failures to act in civilized or responsible ways. The discourse on teenage pregnancy portrays young mothers as signifying decline into an immoral and economically backward society, another 'past future' (LESKO, 1994; 1997).

Closely on the heels of world standard time, adolescence was reformulated in psychological and sociological terms as "the promise of individual or collective regeneration" (PASSERINI, 1997, p. 281). During the decade 1895 to 1905 the new adolescent was invented as turbulent, as the "seed of new wealth for the future," (op cit.) and as the source of progress for the race. The conceptions of adolescence went hand-in-hand with new social sites and practices: longer stays in school, organized leisure in scouting and in urban playgrounds, juvenile justice policies aimed at prevention, and

the outlawing of child labor. Overall, such practices helped define an adolescence that demanded a slow, steady movement toward maturity; reformers were especially wary of peaks of emotional intensity, which were linked with precocity. Precocity, especially masturbation, was a direct path to degeneracy. Protected adolescence needed to become bland, sanitized of even religious conversion experiences, which could be too tumultuous. Youth were defined as always "becoming," a situation that provoked endless watching, monitoring, and evaluating. As time was made and marked in public, standardized ways, the modern, scientific adolescent became a multifaceted social site for talk about the productive use of time, the glorious future, and, sometimes, the inglorious past. Slow, careful development-in-time was identified as the safest path.

Adolescent development-in-time was both in keeping with the development of the child and distinct from it. The developing child is both in and out of time (JAMES & PROUT, 1990), measured by time but not in the adult/present. The development of adolescents was, like that of child saving, grounded in racial and class differences; development was synonymous with becoming civilized, that is, becoming white, middle-class, and, preferably, male (BAKER, 1998). The developing child is also closely watched so that its learning proceeds according to its nature, neither too fast nor too slow (WALKERDINE, 1984). The developing child if coached well, will avoid juvenile delinquency and other growth disorders (op cit.). Thus, many of the political rationalities within the developing child are simultaneously within the adolescent.

However, while the developing child can be sanitized as innocent, the knowledge of sexuality relentlessly stalks adolescent development. The incitement to worry over teenagers is largely sexual anxiety—sexuality as invoking animality, self-abuse and loss of male energy, and anti-social attitudes. Sexual precocity, especially masturbation, was the gateway to degeneration—racial, individual, social, and political. The normative slow pace of proper development, regardless of the needs of individual youth, has been about curbing precocity and channeling emotions toward games and team loyalty. The importance of cognitive growth came later in adolescence than in early childhood education (WALKERDINE, 1984). Adolescent maturation was overwhelmingly about raising masculine boys to lead and to follow orders, while the gendered politics of childhood were different (WALKERDINE, 1990). The temporal ordering of children's development enlisted women as

teachers and mothers, while adolescent development was primarily about boys and men. Finally, adolescent development-in-time is more Janus-faced: the more that adolescent development is rhetorically invoked, the harder it is to find the teenager in the present moment. Adolescent development concentrates on “futures past”—on the past (other times and non-modern practices) and on possible replications of the past in the future. It seems to scrupulously avoid the messy, sexualized adolescent in the present. Child development seems to invoke real children in the present, however romanticized and sanitized. Finally, child development and adolescent development seem to invoke different uses of individualism. “The child” is a unique individual. “Adolescence” calls forth the group first, then only later, with Erikson and Piaget, the individual teenager.

PANOPTICAL TIME

In order to further explore the interrelations of adolescence with the development-in-time episteme, I introduce “panoptical time,” a particular rationalization of time that was condensed into quickly perceived images. These easily understood and utilized images created the ways that youth were understood and experienced and the ways, they, in turn, experienced their teenaged years. Just as FOUCAULT’s reading of the panopticon promoted an understanding of its totalized mode of surveillance, with both prisoner and guard subjectivities affected, so too can linear, historical time moving toward “progress” be examined for how it disciplines subjectivities and others’ knowledge.

As already established, terms such as “civilization” and “development” spatialized time and the least civilized peoples were represented as most remote in time from the present (FABIAN, 1983). McClintock builds upon Fabian’s ideas with her concept of panoptical time, an understanding of development through time that incorporated the assumed superiority of Western civilizations, and could then be utilized by individuals in governing others and themselves.

By panoptical time, I mean the image of global history consumed at a glance – in a single spectacle from a point of privileged invisibility. To meet the “scientific” standards set by the natural historians and empiricists of the eighteenth century, a visual paradigm was needed to display evolutionary progress as a measurable spectacle. The exemplary figure that emerged was the evolutionary family Tree of Man. (MCCLINTOCK, 1995, p.37)

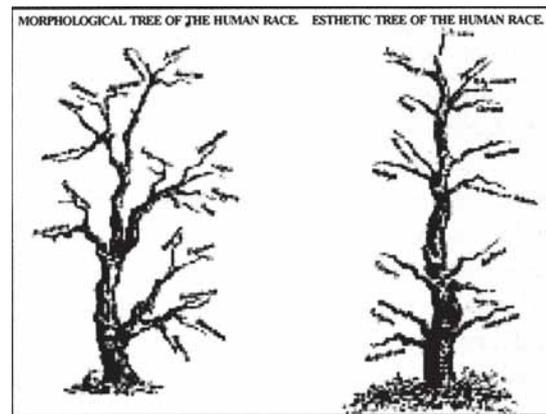


Figure 1: Two examples of the evolutionary Tree of Man. Copyright ~ 1995. From IMPERIAL LEATHER by Anne McClintock. Reproduced by permission of Taylor & Francis, Inc./ Routledge, Inc., <http://www.routledge-ny.com>

The tree offered a simple classificatory scheme that easily switched between evolutionary hierarchies within nature and evolutionary progress across human cultures. The Tree of Man portrayed a “natural genealogy of power” (op cit.), a unified world history according to the colonizers. Thus, panoptical time is colonial time, although it was as useful at home as in imperial efforts. Diagrams of evolutionary family trees (see below) mapped “natural” social difference through time. The most developed men were white middle class European males in the present: “Aryans” are located at the tips of both trees. The viewer of the Tree of Man has a privileged invisibility and an appetite, an incitement, to understand and classify others in this spatialized time. The Tree of Man provides classification “at a glance” and, with equal efficiency, a panoptical view of human groups through time.

Psychologists who constructed the stages of individual human development followed the evolutionary tree model and utilized colonial time. Younger children and arrested youth were analogous to older and more primitive peoples (lower branches), and each individual child had to climb her own evolutionary tree (GOULD, 1977). Adolescence actively participated in this reenactment of global history through the theory of recapitulation - the belief that each individual human’s growth recapitulates the stages of evolution of the race - and through the weighting of adolescence as a racial swing point, a time when an evolutionary leap forward was accomplished or missed (LESKO, 1996). According to G. Stanley Hall, adolescence marked the boundary between civilized and savage, a time when an in-

dividual and his race remained “arrested” or moved toward a higher ranked position, termed civilized. Since adolescence was identified as the cusp, the turning point, the teenager regularly called forth the underbelly of the colonizers’ evolutionary narrative: worries over degeneration, and contamination, and the anxious scrutiny of physical characteristics, behavior, and morals for signs of decay (STOLER, 1995).

A dominant aspect of the discourse on adolescence is its location within panoptical time, within a time framework that compels us scholars, educators, parents, and teenagers - to attend to progress, precocity, arrest, or decline. Adolescence both makes and marks time. The developmental framework is simultaneously colonial (with privileged, invisible viewers and hypervisible, temporalized, and embodied others) and administrative (ranking, judging, making efficient and productive).

I develop this idea of the panoptical time of adolescence by examining three images that regularly represent teenagers: physical “stigmata” and delinquency at the turn of the century; pubertal processes and “budding” bodies in adolescent medicine; and psychosocial growth in Erikson’s eight stages. Adolescence is not mapped via a tree, but by tables and charts of physical regularities, rates of pubertal change, and psychosocial steps. These all function to rank individuals according to their placement in time (FOUCAULT, 1979, p. 146), a process which will facilitate their placement and processing by institutions. In other words, I interrogate the development-in-time episteme of adolescence by focusing on three schemas that lay out growth, arrest, and decay. Within each image the privileged, knowledgeable reader (who resides in the adult “here and now”) may discern problems of atavism, developmental delays, or precocity.

ADOLESCENT PHYSICAL “STIGMATA”

In 1896 an article on degenerate youth in *The Pedagogical Seminary*, one of the journals founded by G. Stanley Hall, interpreted deviations from normal growth or progress as ominous for the future and offered an early panoptical view of adolescence. The physical and psychical traits of 52 “delinquent” youth (26 boys from the Lyman School for Boys at Westboro, MA, and 26 girls from the State Industrial School for Girls at Lancaster) were compared to “normal” youth

according to several physical and psychical measures. George Dawson, the author, described delinquent youth according to facial, bodily, and behavioral peculiarities. In one table, reprinted below, the delinquent girls and boys were compared to normal men and normal women in incidence of web-feet, protruding ears, and large birthmarks. Throughout the text, Dawson states that criminals and decadent races have round heads, large lowerjaws, and asymmetrical faces. Thus, delinquent youth were placed with ‘past types,’ that is, degenerate peoples. Dawson asserted that “organisms” are either in balance, elaboration [growth and development], or degeneration. The categorizing of civilized and savage peoples by deviations in general proportions of the body, in asymmetries of face and skull, in oddly formed jaw, palate, or eyes, in developmental irregularities in speech or walk, and in psychical problems (including sexual activeness, explosive activity, or egotism) were common across evolutionary and racial sciences and known as the “stigmata of degeneration” (HORN, 1995; McCLINTOCK, 1995).

Youth with degenerate stigmata were referred to as “atavistic,” as throwbacks to primitive people, in body and conduct “a reemergence of the historical and evolutionary pasts in the present” (HORN, 1995, p. 112). The criminal was linked by abnormal anatomy and physiology to the insane person and to the epileptic, as well as, to those other “others,” including “the ape, the child, woman, prehistoric man, and the contemporary savage” (HORN, 1995, p. 112). Homosexuals were also understood as primitive throwbacks (TERRY, 1995).

Dawson provides an early version of the development-in-time episteme applied to adolescence, one that focuses more on degenerative traits than on markers of normal growth or progress. Dawson located degenerate youth in an earlier time, and simultaneously evoked extrapolations of the effects of degenerate youth on the future health of society. Dawson’s categories evoked and would have been understood within an evolutionary chain of being, one in which “elaboration” was becoming normative and stasis and degeneration were deviant and threatening. We may imagine readers of Dawson’s study operating upon an explicit evolutionary history—as portrayed in the following image—“progress consumed at a glance.” Atavistic youth were located in panoptical time in both Dawson’s chart and in the hierarchy of heads. Progress and degeneration were inextricably linked (BEDERMAN, 1995) and

TABLE III.																
Showing Stigmata according to types of Delinquency ; also in comparison with Normal Standards. ²																
	Theft.		Unchastity.		Assault.		Incendiarism.		General In-corrugibility.		Totals for Boys.	Totals for Girls.	Percent of Delinquent Boys having Stigmata.	Percent of Normal Men having Stigmata.	Percent of Delinquent Girls having Stigmata.	Percent of Normal Women having Stigmata.
	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.						
N ^o of Observations,	10	4	5	10	2	0	3	0	6	12	26	26				
Plagiocephali,	3	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	2	3	6	5	23.0	20.0	19.2	17.2
Platycephali,	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	7.7	15.0	7.7	0.1
Scaphocephali,	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3.8	6.0	0.0	0.0
Hydrocephali,	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3.8		0.0	
Asymmetrical Face,	3	1	1	6	0	0	2	4	2	4	8	11	30.8	6.0	42.3	0.1
Prognathous Jaws,	1	0	1	3	0	1	0	5	0	5	3	8	11.5	34.0	30.8	10.0
Large Lower Jaw,	2	1	2	1	2	0	1	2	1	2	7	4	26.9	29.0	15.4	6.5
Precocious Wrinkles,	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	7.7		0.0	
Bad Eruptions,	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	15.4		0.0	
Large Birth-marks,	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3.8		0.0	
Asymmetrical Ears,	3	0	0	2	0	2	2	1	2	1	7	3	26.9		11.5	
Protruding Ears,	4	0	3	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	9	0	31.6		0.0	
Deformed Palate,	4	1	2	4	1	0	3	4	10	9	10	9	38.6	19.0 ³	34.6	19.0 ³
Asymmetrical Arms,	4	1	2	5	1	1	2	5	10	11	10	11	38.6		42.3	
Web-feet,	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	3.8		0.0	
“Pigeon-breast”,	0	-	0	-	0	1	2	-	3	-	3	-	11.5		-	
Total Stigmata,	29	5	17	2.1	5	0	6	0	17	24	74	53				
N ^o per Child,	29	1.2	3.4	2.4	2.5	0	2	0	2	2	29	2				

¹ *Nervous Diseases of Children* : p. 12.

² *Lombroso : D Homme Crimiel, ed French Ed., P. 170.*

³ *Clouston : Neuroses of Development.*

Figure 2: The stigmata of degeneration and their association with delinquent activities in boys and girls. From George Dawson, 1896, A study in youthful degeneracy, The Pedagogical Seminary 4(2), p.237.

consumed at a glance in both illustrations. Dawson utilized panoptical time in his analysis of delinquent physical “stigmata,” and in his administrative incitements to cure and prevent such degeneracy.

instituted strict time schedules to minimize tendencies toward degeneracy, with age-grading, daily timetables, and control over clothing and appearance as central techniques.

PUBERTAL PROCESSES

Two effects of the always-imminent atavism of youth were especially important for education, social work, juvenile justice, and related fields. First, the potential atavism of youth incited ever finer surveillance of youth and their timely development. Both physical and psychosocial traits had to be carefully mapped, a process that continues in contemporary scholarship, for example, on “young adolescents” or social-emotional learning. Second, schools

PANOPTICAL TIME CHARTED ON DEVELOPING BODIES

In an anthology of state-of-the-art scholarship on adolescence in the early 1990’s (FELDMAN & ELLIOTT, 1990), drawings of the “pubertal processes” utilize panoptical time. Below are illustrations that show breast and pubic hair growth stages in girls and penile and pubic hair growth in boys.

This chart emphasizes the development-in-time perspective, as well as, the erotic dimension

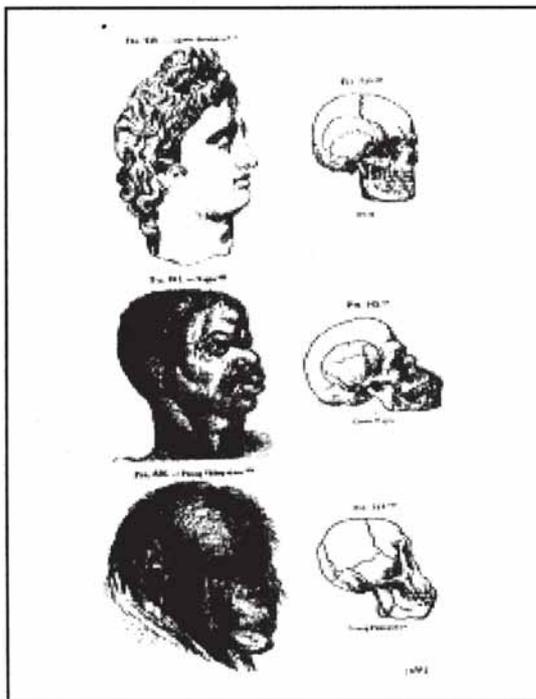


Figure 3. Panoptical time: Progress consumed at a glance. Copyrights 1995. From IMPERIAL LEATHER by Anne McClintock. Reproduced by permission of Taylor & Francis, Inc./ Routledge, Inc., <http://www.routledge-ny.com>

of looking at adolescent bodies, a scientific scopophilia (TERRY, 1995). Although not as comprehensive as evolutionary trees, they do call forth a sense of panoptic time—the privileged, invisible observer consumes scientific realities of adolescent development-intime at a glance. McClintock argues that any modern fetishized object must be able to be consumed at a glance. Such charts incite looking, provide knowledge to be consumed, as well as, confirm the reality of adolescent physicality. Adolescent immaturity/development relies upon F

knowing-by-looking, an “optics of truth” (McCLINTOCK, 1995, p.50). This optics of truth has a long history and Dawson’s empirical observations of physical characteristics also privileged the embodied and the visible as indicators of moral and social health.

PANOPTICAL TIME CHARTED ON DEVELOPING PSYCHES

A vivid illustration of the panoptical time of adolescence is Erik Erikson’s influential step

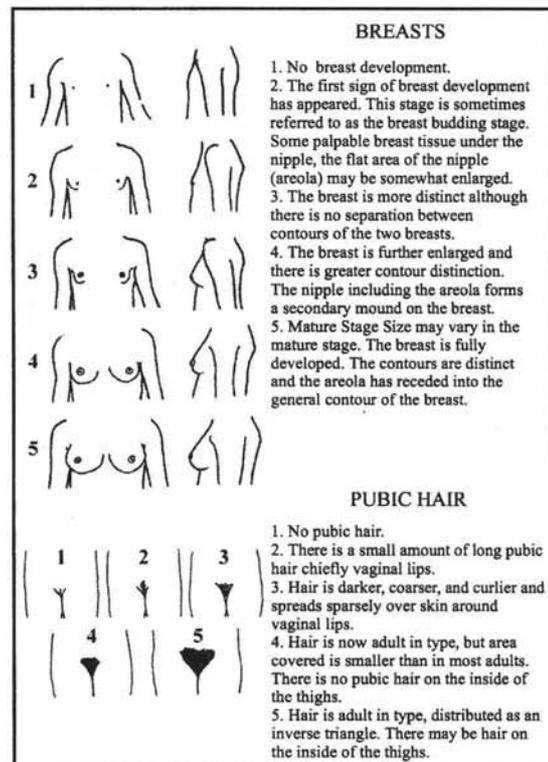


Figure 4: Pubertal processes at a glance. From W.A. Marshall & J.M. Tanner, 1969, Variations in the pattern of pubertal changes in girls, Archives of disease in childhood 44, 291. Reprinted with permission of the British Medical Association.

diagram. Erikson’s theoretical schema, “Eight Ages of Man,” was intended to be a “global form of thinking” about childhood, adolescence, and adulthood portrayed as a series of crises, or periods of enhanced vulnerability and potential (ERIKSON, 1950/1985, p.273). Panoptical time is explicitly depicted by Erikson in words and in the accompanying diagram:

An epigenetic diagram thus lists a system of stages dependent on each other; and while individual stages may have been explored more or less thoroughly or named more or less fittingly, the diagram suggests that their study be pursued always with the total configuration of stages in mind. [emphasis added] (1950/ 1985, p.272)

Erikson’s diagram, like the Tree of Man, allows the unnamed observer to consume the human life course and adolescence at a glance. This diagram beckons us to locate and evaluate adolescents, as well as, children, and adults by their progress toward the higher stages. Are they in the right box? What evidence of that stage conflict can we discern? Is ‘resolution’ in sight? Erikson’s characterization of the adolescent crisis

Eight Ages of Man

VIII	MATURITY								EGO INTEGRITY VS. DESPAIR
VII	ADULTHOOD								GENERATIVITY VS. STAGNATION
VI	YUNG ADULTHOOD							INTIMACY VS. ISOLATION	
V	PUBERTY AND ADOLESCENCE						IDENTITY VS. ROLE CONFUSION		
IV	LATENCY				INDUSTRY VS. INFERIORITY				
III	LOCOMOTOR GENITAL			INITIATIVE VS. GUILT					
II	MUSCULAR-ANAL		AUTONOMY VS. SHAME, DOUBT						
I	ORAL SENSORY	BASIC TRUST VS. MISTRUST							
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

Figure 5: From Erik H. Erikson, 1950/1985, *Childhood and society*, New York: W.W. Norton & Co., p.273. Reprinted with permission.

as Identity vs. Role Confusion has become synonymous with modern adolescence, as he proposed that it should be: “We may, in fact, speak of the identity crisis as the psychosocial aspect of adolescencing” (1968, p.91). The categorization and placement of the adolescent in psychosocial developmental time defines youth in the U.S. and to some degree around the world.

Erikson’s psychosocial stages place adolescence in another time – “there and then” – a lower step, a younger age, a different crisis. The privileged viewer of Erikson’s chart understands the full trajectory, as well as, the imperative to proceed to the top step. We privileged viewers likewise understand our administrative imperatives to aid those others who are progressing normally as well as those who move too slowly or too quickly. Age-graded and morally sensitive educators are especially attuned to timely progress.

PIAGET’S stages similarly provide a panoramic view of cognitive growth, from prelogical to abstract thought. According to Walkerdine, “It is the empirical apparatus of stages of development which of all Piaget’s work has been most utilized in education” (1984, p. 190).

Piaget’s developmental stages helped teachers to naturalize individual development, and thus to turn away from regimentation and control, which could go awry and produce childhood aggression that might spawn juvenile delinquency. Walkerdine claims that Piaget’s empirical studies convinced psychologists and educators that these stages did exist and charted a path toward the modern, democratically inclined, reasoning adult. Piaget’s stages emphasized the individual’s natural path toward reason, and the teacher’s constant watchfulness to provide the appropriate materials, stimuli, and tasks. Teachers who either pushed too fast or lagged behind their students’ developmental needs were faulted. Piaget’s cognitive developmental stages regularly appear in courses and textbooks in secondary education, although adolescents’ emotionality is often seen to undercut their abilities to reason. Nevertheless, Piaget provides another example of the development-in-time episteme, for he laid out a panoramic map of cognitive development that simultaneously offers educational practices. Just as with Erikson’s psychosocial stages, Piaget’s cognitive stages can be consumed at a glance and utilized by privileged viewers of children and youth.

Abstract: The modern age is deemed by time, by a temporalization of experience, that is, an understanding that events and change are meaningful in their occurrence in and through time. Millennial, evolutionary, and individual life narratives share such temporalizations with an emphasis on the endings. But not all times are the same. I examine conceptions of adolescence as partaking of panoptical time, a condensed, commodified time built upon global hierarchies of gender, race, and class, and understood at a glance as natural. Panoptical time emphasizes the endings toward which youth are to progress and places individual adolescents into a sociocultural narrative that demands “mastery” without movement or effect. In these ways I interrogate the development-intime episteme through which adolescents are known, consumed, and governed. (First part)

Key-words: adolescence; temporalization; panoptical time.

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