







TEACHING ASSIGNMENT AND CONTROL OF THE WORK OF RURAL PRIMARY SCHOOL TEACHERS FROM FOUCAULT'S PERSPECTIVE (LONDRINA, PR, 1961-1969)

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Abstract

The study aimed to understand the teaching attributions and control mechanisms of rural primary school teachers in Londrina between 1961 and 1969, from the perspective of Michel Foucault (2014). This was a bibliographical and documentary research, which articulates the contributions of historiographical production and takes as a documentary source the minutes of pedagogical and extraordinary meetings of the Department of Education of the municipality of Londrina with the teachers of the time. The vocational, missionary, and selfless primary teachers, words that describe them, were expected to have goodwill, be aware of their duties, and be subject to the department's norms. In the 1960s, numerous studies made up the list of teaching attributions beyond those strictly pedagogical. In the light of Foucault, the research points to discipline, activity control, hierarchical surveillance, and normalizing sanctions as mechanisms to forge the desired teacher and control her work. However, the study considers that the insistence and constancy of control indicate the correlation of forces, the counter-conduct, indiscipline, and resistance of rural primary teachers in the municipality of Londrina in the 1960s.

Keywords: History of education; Rural education; In-service teacher training; Teaching autonomy; Primary school.

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ATRIBUIÇÃO DOCENTE E CONTROLE DO OFÍCIO DE PROFESSORAS PRIMÁRIAS RURAIS SOB A ÓTICA DE FOUCAULT (LONDRINA, PR, 1961-1969)

Resumo: O estudo tem como objetivo conhecer as atribuições docentes e os mecanismos de controle do ofício de professoras primárias rurais de Londrina entre 1961 e 1969, sob a ótica de Michel Foucault (2014). Trata-se de uma pesquisa bibliográfica e documental, que articula as contribuições da produção historiográfica e toma como fonte documental as atas de reuniões pedagógicas e extraordinárias do Departamento de Educação do município de Londrina com o professorado da época. Conclui-se que as vocacionadas, missionárias e abnegadas professoras primárias leigas, palavras que as adjetivavam, era esperado que tivessem boa vontade, fossem conscientes de seus deveres e se sujeitassem às normas do departamento. Nos anos 1960, inúmeros trabalhos compunham o rol de atribuições docentes para além do estritamente pedagógico. À luz de Foucault, a pesquisa aponta a disciplina, o controle da atividade, a vigilância hierárquica e as sanções normalizadoras como mecanismos para forjar a professora desejada e controlar seu ofício. Todavia, o estudo considera que a insistência e a constância do controle indicam a correlação de forças, a contraconduta, a indisciplina e a resistência do professorado primário rural londrinense na década de 1960.

Palavras-chave: História da educação; Educação rural; Formação de professores em serviço; Autonomia docente; Ensino primário.

ATRIBUCIÓN DOCENTE Y CONTROL DEL OFICIO DE PROFESORAS DE PRIMARIAS RURALES BAJO LA MIRADA DE FOUCAULT (LONDRINA, PR, 1961-1969)

Resumen: En el estudio se tiene como objetivo conocer las atribuciones docentes y los mecanismos de control del oficio de profesoras de primarias rurales de Londrina entre 1961 y 1969, bajo la óptica de Michel Foucault (2014). Se trata de una investigación bibliográfica y documental, que articula las contribuciones de la producción historiográfica y se utiliza como fuente documental las actas de reuniones pedagógicas y extraordinarias del departamento de educación de Londrina con el profesorado de la época. Se concluye que las vacacionadas, misionarias y abnegadas profesoras de primarias laicas, palabras que las adjetivaban, era esperado que tuvieran buena voluntad, fueran conscientes de sus deberes y se sujetasen al departamento de educación. En los años 1960, componían el rol de atribuciones docentes labores para más allá de lo estrictamente pedagógico. A la luz de Foucault, la investigación apunta la disciplina, el control de la actividad, la vigilancia jerárquica y las sanciones normalizadoras como mecanismos para forjar la profesora deseada y controlar su oficio. Sin embargo, el estudio considera que la insistencia y la constancia del control indican la correlación de fuerzas, la contra conducta, la indisciplina y la resistencia del profesorado de primario rural de Londrina en la década de 1960.

Palabras clave: Historia de la educación; Educación rural; Formación docente en servicio; Autonomía docente; Escuela primaria.

Introduction

This investigation presents the mechanisms of control and dissemination of norms, behaviors, knowledge, and values to rural primary school teachers, who were mostly laypersons, in the city of Londrina (PR, Brazil) between 1961 and 1969. Through pedagogical and extraordinary meetings with the municipality's Department of Education—an essential moment for in-service training—these mechanisms influenced the construction of teacher identity and childhood, aligning with a conservative and authoritarian societal project during the dictatorship period. We opted for the term pedagogical meeting, as it appears in the minutes, and because we understand the formative nature of these gatherings. These were regular meetings, held monthly on pre-scheduled dates, with the clear intention of providing in-service training to a predominantly lay teaching staff.

Specifically, this research aims to understand the teaching assignments and control mechanisms of the profession of rural primary school teachers in Londrina between 1961 and 1969, from a Foucauldian perspective. The temporal framework begins in 1961, the year of the first National Education Guidelines and Framework Law (LDB/EN), and extends to 1969, marking the final year of the Department of Education and Social Assistance (Deas) before it became the Municipal Department of Education.

The municipality's Department of Education was founded in 1949 as the Department of Public Education and Social Assistance (Depas) to align local education policy with the nationalism that prevailed in the Brazilian context. In mid-1965, its name changed to the Department of Education and Social Assistance, and in 1969, it was restructured as the Municipal Department of Education (Capelo, 2002).

In our historiographical work, we selected, organized, and interpreted historical sources according to methodological and theoretical choices. This study employed two methodologies: bibliographic research and documentary research. We base our work on Capelo (1996, 2002), Corrêa and Faria (2022), Faria (2017), Furtado, Bezerra, and Moreira (2019), Guedes and Schelbauer (2010), Honorato and Yamashita (2022), Ivashita (2016), Faria and Ivashita (2022), Vicentini Lugli (2009), as well as Schelbauer and Corrêa (2013). We argue that the distinguishing element lies in the nature of the sources: bibliographic research refers to contributions from different authors on the subject and, specifically, on the historiography of education.

Documentary research involves approximately 280 handwritten pages of materials that have not yet undergone analytical treatment—i.e., primary sources (Sá-Silva, Almeida, & Guindani, 2009). In this historiographical study, these sources consist of minutes from pedagogical and extraordinary meetings of the Londrina Department of Education with the teaching staff of the time. There are numerous possible questions to be explored with these historical sources; however, we focus on teaching assignments and the control of the rural primary school teaching profession as guiding issues. Additionally, we strive to understand the context in which these meetings took place, drawing on Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* (2014). This analysis is relevant due to the disciplinary model adopted by society at the time, which aimed, through discipline, to render individuals more obedient and useful within their social framework (Garcia & Grisotto, 2018). Moreover, this period precedes and culminates in the 1964 military coup, followed by the intensification of the dictatorship with Institutional Act No. 5 in 1968.

Thus, Foucault's work serves as a guide for interpreting the meeting minutes, as it considers discipline essential in producing "docile and useful" bodies for society. He argues that schools operated "[...] as a machine for teaching, but also for surveillance, hierarchy, and reward" (Foucault, 2014, p. 144). According to the author, punishment in a disciplinary society involves subtle processes (mild physical punishment, slight deprivations, small humiliations), framing deviations from the norm as behaviors requiring discipline. This discipline affected teachers—often referenced in the minutes as models of morality and good behavior—as well as students, who were inevitably influenced by the teaching staff and curriculum in place. We align with Silva (1995, p. 8) in asserting that the curriculum does not merely represent knowledge; it shapes individuals and is composed not of inherently valid knowledge but of knowledge deemed socially valid. During the investigated period, in-service teacher training also functioned as a means of controlling the teaching profession through the curriculum, which had to be implemented in rural schools in alignment with a broader societal project, shaping a particular type of teacher and childhood identity.

Regarding the literature review, Furtado, Bezerra, and Moreira (2019) highlight that the history of teacher training and the teaching profession in rural areas remains an underexplored topic in Brazilian educational historiography. In studies specific to the state of Paraná, Faria and Ivashita (2022) conducted a comprehensive bibliographic survey available in the work *History and Memory of Rural Education in the 20th Century*, edited by Chaloba, Celeste Filho,

and Mesquita (2020). The analysis and systematization of three inventories from this publication emphasize the scarcity of research on rural teaching work in Paraná.

To address a necessary topic within Brazilian, Paraná, and, specifically, Londrina's historiography, this article is structured as follows: an introduction, followed by three sections - Education in Paraná and Londrina during the Dictatorship, The Formative Ritual for Shaping Rural Primary School Teachers, and The Control of the Rural Primary Teaching Profession in Londrina - and concluding remarks.

Education in Paraná and Londrina during the dictatorship

In line with the developmentalist ideology and the ideas of progress and rationalization, the administrations of governors Ney Braga (1961-1965) and Paulo Pimentel (1966-1971) were marked by an effort to replace the theme of agricultural vocation with industrialization, transforming a "Traditional Paraná" into a "Modern Paraná," while also focusing on moralizing the administrative apparatus and developing policies in education, health, and public security (Corrêa & Faria, 2022).

To implement the Paraná project envisioned by Ney Braga, it was necessary to invest in economic reorganization to address emerging challenges. According to the Paraná Institute of Economic and Social Development (Ipardes, 1989), while previous governments had focused on colonization policies and agricultural incentives, Ney Braga and Pimentel adopted a discourse advocating industrialization and a public administration committed to managing this process.

This research, centered on the historiography of rural education in Londrina, takes place in the context of a declining rural population, which gradually migrated to urban areas between the 1960s and 1970s. However, it is important to note that a significant percentage of the population still resided in the countryside and required schools and teachers. Capelo's (2002) research indicates that until the early 1970s, the demand for rural schools grew substantially, but after this period, it declined due to rural depopulation.

Regarding government discourse in the state of Paraná, education in the governors' messages between 1961 and 1971 was conceived as an "investment or productive capital application." Ney Braga's speeches emphasized human freedom and industrialization,

highlighting investments and infrastructure projects in electric power and highways. His main concern was facilitating the flow of production and integrating the state, with no direct projects related to education. Although he regarded primary education as fundamental, particularly concerning teachers, it was addressed in general terms in government messages. In Paulo Pimentel's speeches, teacher training for primary and secondary education gained importance within the framework of integrated development principles. Regarding primary school teachers, there was a focus on continuing education through training courses (Corrêa & Faria, 2022).

Even before the 1960s in Paraná, Schelbauer and Corrêa (2013) identified modernization as a coordinated effort between the state and federal governments. The authors highlight the expansion of rural primary schools as a result of the agro-industrial development process in the state's interior, linked to nationalist and modernizing discourses and the expansion of agribusiness. Before the 1960s, specifically in 1949, Londrina began to define a more structured municipal education policy, absorbing private and community schools (many of them ethnic schools) and transforming them into municipal institutions. This process aligned with the modernist nationalism of the Vargas era and led to the creation of the Department of Public Education and Social Assistance, which centralized decisions about rural education. This department sought to control teachers—who were dispersed across farm schools—and aimed to provide in-service training for the predominantly lay teaching staff (Capelo, 2002).

The isolated, single-teacher, and multigrade schools resembled simple wooden houses and were often considered extensions of the home, sometimes sharing space with churches. As the name suggests, one might assume that teachers in these isolated schools had complete autonomy in their pedagogical practices. However, this is a misconception, as Londrina's school supervision service was highly active. Established in the early 1950s by the Depas, the inspection service conducted visits that assessed everything from cleanliness to attendance records, tests, books, and daily logs. These isolated schools were subject to pedagogical proposals that were often formulated based on urban references, resulting in an educational model that was neither truly rural nor fully urban (Capelo, 1996, 2002).

While school inspection and control over Londrina's isolated schools were already in place during the 1940s and 1950s, Capelo (1996, 2002) notes that these measures intensified after the 1960s. Faria (2017) explains that, due to the decentralization emphasized in the 1961 LDB/EN, the governor of Paraná at the time stressed several "decentralizing initiatives," such as the creation of regional inspectorates, summer training courses for lay teachers (1964), and the organization of primary education supervision services by the Center for Educational

Studies and Research. These decentralizing mechanisms ultimately reinforced control over teachers' work. One of the main challenges during this period was managing the growing number of untrained primary school teachers. For example, in the 1960s, there were 113,747 certified teachers and 97,854 lay teachers.

In Londrina, the public teaching exam became a turning point, as it restricted entry to certified teachers, thereby increasing the number of formally trained educators. In 1969, there were 170 teachers—24 certified and 146 lay teachers. By 1970, after the public exam, the number had risen to 393 teachers—251 certified and 142 lay teachers (Londrina, 1969b). Thus, during the period analyzed in this study, pedagogical and extraordinary meetings of the Department of Education were primarily attended by untrained teachers working in rural schools. The following sections will explore how teaching was controlled and what was expected of these educators—who were generally women from the local area, entered the profession without a public exam, were untrained, and worked in rural schools.

The formative ritual for shaping the rural primary school teacher

To achieve the outlined objectives, we examined the records of pedagogical and extraordinary meetings of the Londrina Department of Education between 1961 and 1969. The minutes serve as formal records of official meetings with teachers, both among peers and subordinates, possessing a ritualistic character with a predetermined agenda, aimed at deliberating on matters of common interest or conveying information, as defined by Esquinsani (2007).

The first meeting minutes analyzed in this study date back to February 1961, when the meeting was presided over by the director of municipal public education, the head of Depas, a position held by Adelina Castaldi³ until December 1963. Pedagogical and extraordinary meetings were mostly chaired by the department director; however, when unavailable, a school

³ Silva (2015), in "Political Power and Kinship Relations in the Municipality of Londrina - Paraná," identifies 16 families with significant political influence in the city, among them the Hosken de Novaes/Castaldi family. Adelina Castaldi was married to José Hosken de Novaes, a prominent lawyer who served as legal advisor, city councilman, and mayor of Londrina (1964-1969). In addition to his various political roles, he also served as lieutenant governor and governor of the state of Paraná. Until 1963, Adelina Castaldi held the position of director of Depas. Between 1964 and 1968, she served as president of the Association for the Protection of Maternity and Childhood (APMI), a role traditionally held by the wives of mayors until the 1980s (Alves, 2002).

inspector or an educational advisor assumed the role. These meetings were primarily held at the Londrina City Council, although occasional and extraordinary sessions took place in smaller rooms within the Department of Education. It was only in 1968 that meetings were conducted in the hall of Rádio Difusora. All extraordinary meetings that included the diploma awarding ceremonies were held at the Londrina Recreational and Literary Guild.

Another important aspect is the attendees at these meetings, which included the director of Depas/Deas or a representative in the chair, along with school inspectors and educational advisors. Esquinsani (2007) highlights the ritualistic and characteristic elements of meeting minutes, among them the collection of signatures from the scribe and attendees, which ensures the authenticity of the discussions. In 1961, when all participants signed the minutes, up to 137 signatures were recorded in a single session. That year, based on the number of signatures in the pedagogical meetings, the average attendance was 110 people.

From the February 1962 meeting onward, the department announced that the minutes would be signed only by six municipal teachers who would represent the teaching staff. These representatives corresponded to different regions: the headquarters (urban area of Londrina) and the districts of Irerê, Tamarana, São Luís, Guaravera, and Warta. In April of the same year, it was also announced that "attendance cards" would be distributed for the purpose of registration and attendance control by Depas (Londrina, 1962)⁴.

The central theme of the meetings was the monthly circulars issued by the department. While their topics underwent minor adjustments based on departmental needs, they generally followed a similar structure, as demonstrated by an excerpt from the minutes, which began with an explanation of the items in Circular No. 1 of August 1961:

I - School period of the current "Experimental Agricultural School Year."
II – Schedule. III – Shifts. IV - Regarding students: a) Uniform; b) Punctuality; c) Absences; d) Cleanliness and hygiene. V - Regarding the teacher: a) Attendance; b) Punctuality; c) Appearance; d) School record-keeping; [...] e) The school: the teacher's responsibility for the interior aesthetics, maintaining a 50-meter perimeter, first aid kit, vegetable garden, and garden care. VI – Enrollment. VII – Adopted textbooks. [...] VIII - Materials students must have. IX – Holidays: [...] There will no longer be National Day celebrations due to the situation in Brazil. X – The small library: Teachers were advised to acquire a few books for their personal collection. (Londrina, 1961, p. 22 verso - 23)

⁴ The minutes of pedagogical and extraordinary meetings are recorded in a single book titled "Minutes of Pedagogical Meetings from 1961-1974," which is listed in the bibliographic references of this research. However, to ensure greater specificity, we have chosen to always reference the year of the cited minutes throughout the article.

In this formative ritual, we observe similarities to what Guedes and Schelbauer (2010, p. 230) state: "The content that the teacher was supposed to teach in Primary School was learned alongside the way of being a teacher," as the meetings in Londrina aimed to align teachers' instruction with the expectations of Depas. Additionally, teachers received "pre-prepared lesson plans" created by educational advisors, leaving the teachers with the task of "[...] accepting the suggestions, applying the efficient methods, and putting them into practice" (Londrina, 1961, p. 26 verso). This aspect is also evident in the lessons taught by educational advisors to teachers, which served as demonstrations of how to deliver content.

Honorato and Yamashita (2022) point out that Depas was responsible for improving the training of municipal teachers, especially lay teachers, and emphasize the important role of pedagogical meetings in Londrina from 1934 to 1963. Between 1961 and 1969, we identified that in-service training took place during pedagogical meetings, whether through model lessons, lectures on proper conduct, circulars, programs, and other official documents that served as models for teaching practices. Although, at first, model lessons were recorded in all meetings, from 1962 onwards, records of these demonstrations became scarcer. There are indications that they continued to take place, but the minutes became increasingly concise over the years.

From a Foucauldian perspective, this combination of model lessons, programs, circulars, and other mechanisms constitutes a form of constant yet subtle surveillance. Spíndola (2011, p. 2) argues that this "subjective internalization has the effect of creating an induced behavioral reality, [...] a real and mechanical relationship of discipline."

The tone of pedagogical and extraordinary meetings changed with the advance of the military dictatorship in 1964. Following the coup, there was an intensified focus on patriotic and religious content, including requests for hymn rehearsals, instructions on explaining national symbols to children, and model lessons on religion, often taught by nuns. Regarding the promotion of nationalism, we find repeated exhortations:

We have sadly observed that Brazilians no longer know how to sing the anthem in honor of their homeland. Everything that represents tradition, history, and reverence for the country of one's birth must be taught. Moreover, we must always speak with love and hope for the future of our nation. To this end, all civic commemorative dates should be used to engage students, always narrating human stories about prominent Brazilian figures. (Londrina, 1968, p. 123 verso).

Control was also exercised through the idealized image of the rural primary school teacher in Londrina, which was permeated by self-sacrifice.

To educate is a dream envisioned by many and fulfilled by few, yet it is realized in such a profound way and to such an immense extent that it reaches everyone across all times. For those who chose the mission of being a teacher did not choose their own future, but the future of the "other." (Londrina, 1969a, p. 133 verso).

Although in a different time frame (1951-1953), the Bulletins of the Paraná Department of Education and Culture emphasized the image of teachers as having an "almost divine mission" and listed the desired qualities of an educator as "discipline, dedication, enthusiasm, religious inspiration, justice, patience, sincerity and courage, diction, and attendance" (Ivashita, 2016, p. 133).

In the present study, the Londrina Department of Education expected that, for a teacher to achieve this ideal, "it is necessary that teachers have a vocation, goodwill, and be aware of their duties," further stating that "[...] teachers are required to obey the Regulations of the Department of Education [...]; no law obliges or, rather, allows the Department to be subject to the Teacher" (Londrina, 1961, p. 26 verso-27). The emphasis was placed on maintaining good conduct in line with the prevailing values of the time, as teachers were expected to be both moral and physical role models. Failure to meet these expectations could lead to suspension or dismissal from the position (Londrina, 1962).

Honorato and Yamashita (2022) agree that from 1934 to 1963, the supervision, monitoring, and control of teaching in Londrina intensified, particularly after the establishment of Depas, which played a significant role in structuring the teaching profession.

Another key aspect is the feminization of rural primary education in Londrina. In both leadership positions—such as directors, advisors, or inspectors—and in rural primary teaching, the Londrina Department of Education was predominantly composed of women. A "good conduct" was not only expected but also praised, serving as an additional control mechanism beyond the physical boundaries of the school. Teachers were responsible for maintaining a bridge between families and the department, making it essential for these women to embody the ideals assigned to their "mission."

Depas/Deas expected rural primary teachers to perform multiple duties, including: administrative tasks such as enrollments, transfers, and report card documentation; cleaning and maintenance of the school environment, inventorying materials; community involvement, such as vaccination campaigns and extracurricular activities; religious, moral, and civic

education; and pedagogical work, including teaching, organizing, recording, and assessing students.

Beyond these practical and pedagogical responsibilities, teachers were also expected to be organized and meticulous, to maintain perfect attendance, and to strictly follow the guidelines outlined in official programs and circulars. The department expressed concerns about standardizing education and addressing deficiencies in teacher training through the role of educational advisors, who provided model lessons. While the programs and circulars were an attempt to systematize regional education, they also served as a means of shaping the desired teacher and exerting control over her profession.

The control of the rural primary teaching profession in Londrina

Discussing the control of the teaching profession from a Foucauldian perspective without addressing power relations would be inconsistent. *Discipline and Punish* is dedicated to exploring power relations and how the body became a target for transformation into a docile entity (Garcia & Grisotto, 2018). Given the subject of this study, this section focuses on specific aspects of Foucault's work: discipline, activity control, hierarchical surveillance, and normalizing sanctions.

"Docile bodies" are produced through discipline, making them submissive and economically useful. The docilization of the body occurs through "methods that allow for meticulous control of bodily operations, ensuring the constant subjugation of its forces and imposing a docility-utility relationship" (Foucault, 2014, p. 135).

The control of teaching activities in Londrina between 1961 and 1969 was systematically carried out by Depas/Deas. Power, in Foucauldian terms, as explained by Garcia and Grisotto (2018), constantly permeates life by observing, regulating, and shaping individuals, fabricating the subject that society expects. In this case, it forged the type of teacher the department sought for an authoritarian and conservative society.

Capelo (2002) points out that the teaching profession in Londrina was controlled by the department from its creation in 1949 until its dissolution in 1969, as previously mentioned. The tasks assigned to primary school teachers reveal mechanisms used to ensure discipline, "training," and "normalization."

Foucault (2014, p. 148) explains that controlling activity involves "ensuring the quality of time," eliminating distractions, and thus enabling "fully productive time." As the system became more significant and complex, surveillance transformed into a necessary function and had to be integrated into the process through specialized personnel, distinct from others.

Lira (2010) reminds us of the implementation of the 1961 LDB/EN and the 1964 military coup, both of which directly influenced the teaching profession. With the creation of educational departments and regional divisions—so-called "decentralizing mechanisms"—increasingly specialized and technical functions were adopted to make decisions while minimizing resistance. A prime example of this was the presence of the department director and specialists such as educational advisors, inspectors, and school supervisors.

The Londrina Department of Education employed various control mechanisms, including hierarchical surveillance, normalizing sanctions, and examinations, among others. As Foucault (2014, p. 171) describes, the department functioned as a physical structure that accumulated "administrative leadership functions, police surveillance, economic control and verification, and religious encouragement of obedience and labor." It was from this institution that orders were issued, activities were recorded, and "faults were perceived and judged."

Hierarchical surveillance operates "[...] to transform individuals: to act upon those it encompasses, to establish authority over their behavior, to return power's effects to them, to expose them to knowledge, to modify them" (Foucault, 2014, p. 169). In the pedagogical meeting minutes, the presence of inspectors, educational advisors, examination boards, teacher rankings, the continuous evaluation of weekly reports, and other documents such as attendance records and statistics, along with instructional lessons on specific subjects to be taught in class, constituted a continuous, hierarchical, and coercive surveillance system.

The idea of constant observation, even if not actively enforced, instills discipline through coercion. This "apparent omnipresence" shapes behavior, as Foucault viewed continuous surveillance as a mechanism for "docilizing bodies," contributing to the formation of an obedient society (Spíndola, 2011). Regarding this omnipresent surveillance, a passage from the minutes suggests that "there is no need" for direct oversight because teachers were expected to have already internalized respect and duty in fulfilling their obligations.

The Director issued a warning regarding teachers' sense of responsibility concerning attendance and punctuality in classes. She emphasized that teachers must remember that a single school day is crucial for students' academic progress and that there should be no need for supervision to ensure

duty fulfillment, as every teacher should internally recognize the respect that must exist in carrying out their obligations. (Londrina, 1968, p. 128).

This surveillance represents a type of power that operates constantly and subtly on individual behaviors, gradually shaping subjects into being "self-disciplined" (Leal & Henning, 2010). To gain acceptance, efforts were made to dissociate control from its repressive nature. In this sense, the department implemented normalizing sanctions, which, according to Foucault (2014), are disciplinary systems composed of "a small penal mechanism"—a micropenalty affecting different aspects: time (for delays, absences, interruptions of tasks); activity (for inattentiveness, negligence, lack of diligence); behavior (for rudeness or disobedience); speech (for excessive talking, insolence, etc.); and the body (for "incorrect" postures, inappropriate gestures, or lack of cleanliness). The meeting minutes frequently reference these sanctions, including salary adjustments based on performance, suspensions, and other disciplinary measures.

Foucault (2014) highlights that the classification system itself functions as a method of reward or punishment, operating under a dual system of "reward-sanction," which evaluates both behavior and performance. Depas adopted this system through teacher promotions or dismissals. In 1963, the criteria for promotion included years of service, school attendance, number of enrolled students, number of grades taught in class, participation in extracurricular activities, attendance at literacy training courses, and the number of students who passed final exams (Londrina, 1963).

The 1962 meeting minutes indicate that teachers were required to submit their records to the department on a monthly basis as a means of evaluating their performance. Teachers had to deliver various documents to Depas, including the attendance record book, the weekly lesson plan, the inventory book, the examination record book, and both monthly and annual statistical reports. The "reward-sanction" system remained a consistent practice over the years. Below, we present an excerpt from the department director's statement:

He also spoke about the approval rates of municipal school students, praising the teachers whose approval rates were excellent and calling the attention of those who had 43 students but only 2 approved. He further explained that this year, there would be no leniency for those teachers who do not work. Additionally, he stated that this year, an evaluation test covering all subjects taught each trimester would be implemented to monitor, step by step, what students have learned. (Londrina, 1965, p. 86 verso).

Praise and public reprimand are active components of the normalizing sanction identified by Foucault (2014). Another aspect of the control over teachers' work was the system of regular examinations. According to Foucault (2014), the examination is a combination of hierarchical surveillance and normalizing sanction. Thus, the examinations described in the records were not limited to cases where an examining board visited schools and administered tests to assess student learning. Instead, they were also present in the observation of teachers' conduct, their relationships with students and parents, their weekly reports, statistical records, and various other aspects of their professional performance. Among the tools used for this evaluation was a "new assessment sheet on teachers' work," which aimed to "recognize everything they did, all the efforts of the 'self-sacrificing teachers' who, despite their limited education, brought instruction to children" (Londrina, 1969a).

Within this power dynamic, it is essential to consider both conduct—the guidance exercised by the Department of Education—and the Foucauldian concept of counter-conduct, which refers to the ways individuals resist and create alternative modes of action, not rejecting governance itself, but rather the way they are governed (Costa, 2019). Between conduct and counter-conduct, acts of insubordination and indiscipline emerge.

In the context of education during the 1960s, as the military dictatorship advanced—marked by international agreements and U.S.-influenced policies—teachers nationwide faced the imposition of formal patriotism and a technicist pedagogy (Lira, 2010). In contrast, Vicentini and Lugli (2009) highlight the growing wave of teacher movements advocating for better working conditions and salary adjustments

In this study, which focuses on the Londrina context, the records of pedagogical meetings reveal repeated warnings regarding the conduct of rural teachers, suggesting evidence of resistance and opposition to departmental orders. Grabois (2011) emphasizes that, for Foucault, "where there is power, there is resistance and the potential for struggle." Thus, while the Department of Education sought to shape a specific type of rural primary teacher and exert control over the teaching profession, it also faced disputes and acts of counter-conduct.

Final considerations

Between 1961 and 1969, the reading and analysis of minutes from pedagogical and extraordinary meetings of the Londrina Department of Education (Depas/Deas) provide insights into teachers' responsibilities and the mechanisms of control over the profession of

rural primary school teachers, who were predominantly laypersons. Given the formative nature of these meetings, in-service training occurred through model lessons, lectures on proper conduct, circulars, programs, and other official documents designed to shape teaching practices.

With the military dictatorship in 1964 and its increasing repression, pedagogical and extraordinary meetings placed greater emphasis on patriotic and religious content, intensifying the requirements for hymn rehearsals, explanations of national symbols, and model religion lessons taught by nuns.

For the "vocational, missionary, and self-sacrificing" rural primary teachers—terms often used to describe them—it was expected that they demonstrate goodwill, be aware of their duties, and submit to the authority of the Department of Education. Throughout the 1960s, their responsibilities extended beyond pedagogy to include secretarial tasks, school cleaning and maintenance, community work, and the promotion of religious, moral, and civic education. Furthermore, they were expected to be organized, meticulous, and to strictly follow the guidelines established in programs and circulars issued by higher authorities.

From a Foucauldian perspective, this study reveals that discipline and activity control exercised by the department functioned as an extension of state mechanisms for regulating the population. Continuous, hierarchical, and coercive surveillance manifested in various ways: through teacher classification, the constant evaluation of weekly reports and other documents, and instructional lessons on specific topics to be taught in the classroom. This was an omnipresent form of surveillance, aimed at ingraining respect and duty into teachers' behavior to ensure compliance with their obligations.

To shape the desired teacher profile and control their professional practice, the Department of Education employed the dual "reward-sanction" system, using mechanisms such as teacher promotions, dismissals, or conditioning salary payments on specific requirements. Additionally, teacher oversight combined hierarchical surveillance with normalizing sanctions, employing examinations and evaluation instruments to assess the work of these "self-sacrificing and undereducated" educators.

However, this study also considers that the persistence and consistency of control mechanisms indicate a power dynamic in which counter-conduct, indiscipline, and resistance emerged among Londrina's rural primary school teachers in the 1960s. Given the limited historiographical production on the teaching profession in the state of Paraná, we hope this

research encourages further studies, convinced that by telling this history, we contribute to the ongoing struggle for solid teacher training and respect for professional autonomy.

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