

UNIVERSITY TEACHERS IN THE PROCESS OF RESISTANCE TO THE DICTATORSHIP IN PARANÁ

Professoras universitárias no processo de resistência à ditadura no Paraná

Docentes universitarios en el proceso de resistencia a la dictadura en Paraná

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Abstract: This article deals with the participation of university professors from Paraná, collectively organized, in the process of resistance to the Brazilian civil-military dictatorship (1964-1985). The objective is to discuss the multiple forms of organization, cunning and participation of teachers in strikes, demonstrations and mobilizations, to other social spaces during the dictatorial period. This is qualitative research with documentary analysis. The research sources are the documents contained in the Thematic Folders of institutions representing the teaching class and individual files from the Political and Social Order Department (DOPS-PR), in the period from 1964 to 1985. The documents show the astuteness of the teachers to meet to their salary, professional and social demands, even under the constant surveillance and repression of the DOPS.

Keywords: higher education; military regime; women; DOPS.

Resumo: Este artigo trata da participação das professoras universitárias do Paraná, organizadas coletivamente, no processo de resistência à ditadura civil-militar brasileira (1964-1985). O objetivo é discutir as múltiplas formas de organização, astúcia e participação das docentes nas greves, manifestações e mobilizações, a fim de reivindicar melhores condições de trabalho e salário para os profissionais da educação e demais espaços sociais no período ditatorial. Trata-se de uma pesquisa qualitativa com análise documental. As fontes de pesquisa são os documentos constantes nas Pastas Temáticas de instituições de representação da classe docente e fichas individuais da Delegacia de Ordem Política e Social (DOPS-PR), no período de 1964 a 1985. Nos documentos, observa-se a astúcia dos docentes para atender às suas reivindicações salariais, profissionais e sociais, mesmo sob a constante vigilância e repressão da DOPS.

Palavras-chave: educação superior; regime militar; mulheres; DOPS.

Resumen: Este artículo aborda la participación de profesores universitarios de Paraná, organizados colectivamente, en el proceso de resistencia a la dictadura cívico-militar brasileña (1964-1985). El objetivo es discutir las múltiples formas de organización, astucia y participación de los docentes en huelgas, manifestaciones y movilizaciones, con el fin de exigir mejores condiciones laborales y salariales para los profesionales de la educación y otros espacios sociales durante el período dictatorial. Se trata de una investigación cualitativa con análisis documental. Las fuentes de la investigación son los documentos contenidos en las Carpetas Temáticas de las instituciones representativas de la clase docente y archivos individuales del Departamento de Orden Político y Social (DOPS-PR), en el período de 1964 a 1985. Los documentos evidencian la astucia de los docentes para cumplir con sus exigencias salariales, profesionales y sociales, incluso bajo la constante vigilancia y represión del DOPS.

Palabras clave: educación superior; régimen militar; mujeres; DOPS.

INTRODUCTION

Durante a ditadura militar no Brasil, as universidades tornaram-se espaços de During the military dictatorship in Brazil, universities became spaces for debating the country's situation, drawing the attention and repression of the military government, which feared practices and ideas that challenged the authoritarian regime. The mere accusation of communism could result in dismissals, suspensions or arrests. Universities were constantly monitored, and the militant academic body was the target of persecution, arrest, interrogation and torture, being used by repressive agents to obtain information and spread fear. Records of this repression can be verified through documents from the *Delegacia de Ordem Política e Social* (DOPS).

The DOPS was not an invention of the civil-military regime (1964-1985); it was created at the beginning of the 20th century¹, in a context of actions aimed at investigating groups and individuals who could threaten what was considered a risk to the social and political order. Between this period and the beginning of the military regime, through the redemocratization (1945-1964), there were numerous changes in the structure of the State's public security, from the emergence and extinction of a Police Chief to the creation of the Public Security Secretariat in 1962, which was responsible for coordinating civil and military organizations. Until May 1967, as Schwarcz and Starling (2015) tell us, the military regime used the repressive structure already existing in the states. This apparatus formed by DOPS constituted the cogs of a violent and oppressive system. With the redemocratization of the country from 1985 onwards, there was no longer room for this type of institution, and the DOPS were extinguished in 1989.

Since 1991, documents from the collection of the former *Delegacia de Ordem Política e Social* (DOPS-PR) have been kept at the Paraná State Department of Public

¹ The Brazilian Political Police emerged from Decree No. 3640 of April 14, 1900, "[...] which organized the country's district police service" (Luna, 2009, p. 4). Through "[...] Decree No. 14,079 of February 25, 1920, the Inspectorate of Investigations and Public Security was created. By Decree No. 15,848 of November 20, 1922, the Investigations and Public Security Department was extinguished, and the 4th Auxiliary Police Department was created with a Political and Social Order Section". However, it was in the wake of the Tenente movement and the creation of the Prestes Column, considered the main threats to the government of then President Arthur Bernandes, that the *Delegacia de Ordem Política e Social* (DOPS) was created in the State of São Paulo, which would become, according to Luna (2009, p. 6), the best-known political police station in Brazil. Subsequently, other Brazilian states created their own police stations with their own political repression apparatus. In 1933, under the government of Getúlio Vargas, the *Delegacia Especial de Segurança Política e Social* (DESPS) was created at the federal level, with the same attributions as the previous police stations or departments of political repression. It was in 1937, during Vargas' Estado Novo (1937-1945), "[...] that a Police Station focused on social issues appeared for the first time in the organizational and administrative structure of the State of Paraná" (Priori & Pomari, 2012, p. 103). This is how the PR DOPS was created.

Archives. The documents contained in the DOPS-PR Thematic Folders Series are not considered harmless, but rather

[...] the result of a conscious or unconscious montage of the history, the era and the society that produced it, [as well as] the successive eras during which it continued to live, perhaps forgotten, during which it continued to be manipulated, albeit through silence. [...] It results from the effort of historical societies to impose on the future – voluntarily or involuntarily – a certain image of themselves (Le Goff, 2003, p. 538).

Thus, this set of documents was produced in a historical period to combat the so-called internal enemies in the name of national security, revealing power relations and state oppression (Bacellar, 2005). Furthermore, such documents can be discussed as “[...] raw traces of lives” (Farge, 2017, p. 13), whose custody by political police agents had evidentiary and incriminating purposes and meanings. The set of documents contained in the Thematic Folders of DOPS-PR displayed a repressive and preventive function, with the objective of restraining and intervening in political actions that challenged the authoritarian order imposed during the dictatorial period. The normative system aimed at Education during the military regime functioned as an instrument to control and repress the academic and school community, alongside other equally authoritarian laws, such as the National Security Law and the Institutional Acts. Law No. **4,430**, of June 1, 1964, for example, bureaucratized the exercise of strikes, and classifying participation in or promotion of such strikes as a crime against the organization of labor, punishable by fines or imprisonment. Another key repressive measure was Decree-Law No. 477, enacted on February 26, 1969, considered one of the most significant legislative tools for repression in education. It established, among other provisions, the dismissal and a three-year ban on enrollment in any educational institution for students involved in movements deemed subversive, unauthorized marches, demonstrations, or rallies, as well as other activities subject to similar penalties. The rules imposed by Decree-Law No. **477** of February 26, 1969, were revoked by Law No. **6,680** of August 16, 1979a, and “[...] amnesty was granted to all those who, in the period between September 2, 1961, and August 15, 1979, committed political crimes or crimes related to them” (Law No. 6,680, 1979b). These laws represent the most repressive milestone – a legacy of repression and state control over education – and the country's redemocratization process.

However, even with the repressive and preventive role of the State, carried out through political actions, there were people who tried to circumvent the imposed regulations. In everyday life, people “[...] play with the mechanisms of discipline and do not conform to it except to change them” (Certeau, 2014, p. 40). Thus, the regulations imposed by the dictatorial regime became a mechanism for controlling

citizens' activities, but the occurrences recorded in the thematic folders and individual files of DOPS-PR reveal the dissatisfaction and the ways in which people risked subverting the established rules.

Based on Certeau's (2014) theoretical assumptions, the actions of the State can be understood as 'strategies' and the activities of the people whose names were recorded in thematic folders and filed in individual files can be understood as 'tactics'. The strategy is up to the holder of power, as they calculate (or manipulate) the power relations to impose their objectives. As for tactics, this is a calculated action by those who have limitations imposed on their autonomy. As Certeau (2014) points out, tactics are playing with the terrain that is imposed on them and, for this reason, they occur within the enemy's field of vision and in the space controlled by them. From this perspective, it can be understood that the dictatorial-military regime produced strategies through the repressive and coercive apparatus, while the actions of ordinary people used tactics to try to change, circumvent or resist the imposed context. Both tactics and strategies can be revealed by analyzing the set of documents that make up the DOPS archive.

The set of documents that make up the DOPS-PR archive – Thematic Folders from 1937 to 1989 – is made up of more than 7,000 thematic folders and 62,500 individual files (Priori & Pomari, 2012) and presents sources linked to the theme of education. There are individual files, individual folders and thematic folders from educational institutions (of all levels of education, both private and public), unions of the category, associations of teaching professionals and student representatives. These documents show the rigor of the law imposed on professors, students, educational institutions and public servants linked to education, as well as revealing “[...] the forms of confrontation and resistance of professors against the civil-military dictatorship and the mechanisms of demand for better working conditions” (Renk et al., 2023, p. 15). In this sense, these documents become a fruitful source for researchers of the history of education and women's history.

Based on these considerations, this article seeks to answer the following question: is it possible to identify, through the analysis of the documents contained in the Thematic Folders and individual files of DOPS-PR, forms of organization, tactics and participation of university professors in the mobilizations during the dictatorial period? To achieve this objective, the article was subdivided into the following specific objectives: to systematize the information contained in the individual files; to elaborate a prosopography of these professors; and to relate the cunning and tactics of these professors. Data collection was carried out through bibliographic and documentary research. For the qualitative analysis of the documents (thematic folders and individual files), the concepts of tactics and strategies of Certeau (2014) and the methodological assumptions of prosopography, according to Stone (2011) and Heinz (2024) were used.

To delimit the relevance of the research, a brief review was prepared of what has been produced about the political activity of women from Paraná during the military dictatorship. With a spatial focus on Paraná, the focuses prioritized the action of the State (Brunelo & Priori, 2019), female participation in the university student movement (Beluzzo & Martiniak, 2019; Borges & Fiuza, 2020; Schmitt, 2023) and the relationship between gender and dictatorship (Conradi, 2020; Sousa, 2018). Although the articles deal with the participation of women from Paraná, for or against the military dictatorship, the relevance of the theme proposed in this article is justified since there is a scarcity of research dedicated to studying the political action of female university professors in the state.

APPROACH TO THEMATIC FOLDERS AND INDIVIDUAL FILES

To obtain the individual files of university professors, it was necessary to analyze the thematic folders (PT 95.12 – Associação dos Professores da Universidade Federal do Paraná; PT 2355.258 e PT 2355b.258, PT 2357.269 – Universidade Federal do Paraná; PT 2350.267 Universidade Católica do PR; PT 1895.223 – Sindicato dos Professores de Londrina; PT 2353.268 – Universidade Estadual de Londrina). The Thematic Folders contain documents collected and produced by DOPS-PR agents that could incriminate or place certain individuals or organizations under surveillance by the repressive State. Among the documents collected were pamphlets, newspaper clippings, lists of professors' names provided by Higher Education Institutions to DOPS-PR, newspapers produced by professors, meeting minutes, photographs, and others. They also include documents produced by DOPS agents themselves, such as detailed reports of events in which they participated, which were sent to the management. This set of documents served as 'proof' of people's participation in situations considered to be subject to the attention and surveillance of agents or as threatening national security.

Individual files refer to the records of people who have been 'registered' by DOPS-PR. They contain detailed data on each individual, such as full name, ID, marital status, nationality, affiliation, gender, current and previous addresses, telephone number, profession, place of work, salary, union membership, unions attended, as well as the names and residences of known relatives. On the back of the file, among other information shown, dated notes are recorded for each event in which the person participated, requests for information by other agencies about the person, and mentions in newspaper articles that indicate the person's name.

The search for the DOPS-PR collection began with a search in the thematic folders of associations representing the teaching profession and unions. As the research progressed, names of people mentioned by political police agents, cited in newspaper articles, reported to DOPS-PR by educational institutions or documented

by the agents themselves, were found. These names were noted down and, subsequently, DOPS-PR was asked for their individual files. In total, 268 files were requested from people whose names were registered in the thematic folders related to education. Among the 268 individual files, there were men and women. The selection resulted in files of 64 women and 204 men. Thus, the individual files of the university professors, the object of this study, were located based on the documents contained in the thematic folders.

To organize the analysis and presentation of the list of these 64 women, we chose to employ prosopography. According to Stone (2011), prosopography starts with a simple list of people who are part of the same social space in a given historical context. Heinz (2024, p. 4) points out that, in the prosopographic operation, sometimes the researcher “[...] is confronted with the absence of specific information (but not always the same) for individuals (but not always the same) [...]”, which can make the process difficult. This is a historical analysis tool, with descriptive and inventory characteristics, which aims to investigate and systematize a set of uniform questions to promote a detailed view of the chosen group. Based on these methodological assumptions and based on the concepts of strategies and tactics, the prosopography of the group of women was prepared.

After requesting the individual files of the 64 women who were included in the thematic folders related to education contained in the DOPS-PR, they were transcribed and analyzed. The transcription of the digitized files was done in Excel spreadsheet format and published in Ribeiro et al. (2024). In the spreadsheet, information such as name, first date of registration, filiation, birth, place of birth, general registry number, marital status, place of residence, profession, reason for the notes and additional observations were placed in different columns. With this information, distributed in the rows and columns of a spreadsheet, it was possible to organize the data to prepare part of the prosopography of this group.

It is worth noting that many of the forms did not contain all the information that was supposed to be filled out. In this sense, we agree with Stone (2011) and Heinz (2024), who note that, in a group, some members will have an abundance of documents, while for others the information will be scarce. Despite the discrepancy between the data, the name, date and reason for being registered are present in all individual forms. The names of the women and the dates on which they participated in some demonstration or political act, considered by the dictatorial regime to be a threat to national security, are found in Chart 1 – Names², date of first registration.

² Surnames were suppressed to protect the identity of the women registered, but they are clearly stated in the individual DOPS-PR records.

Chart 1 Names, date of first registration

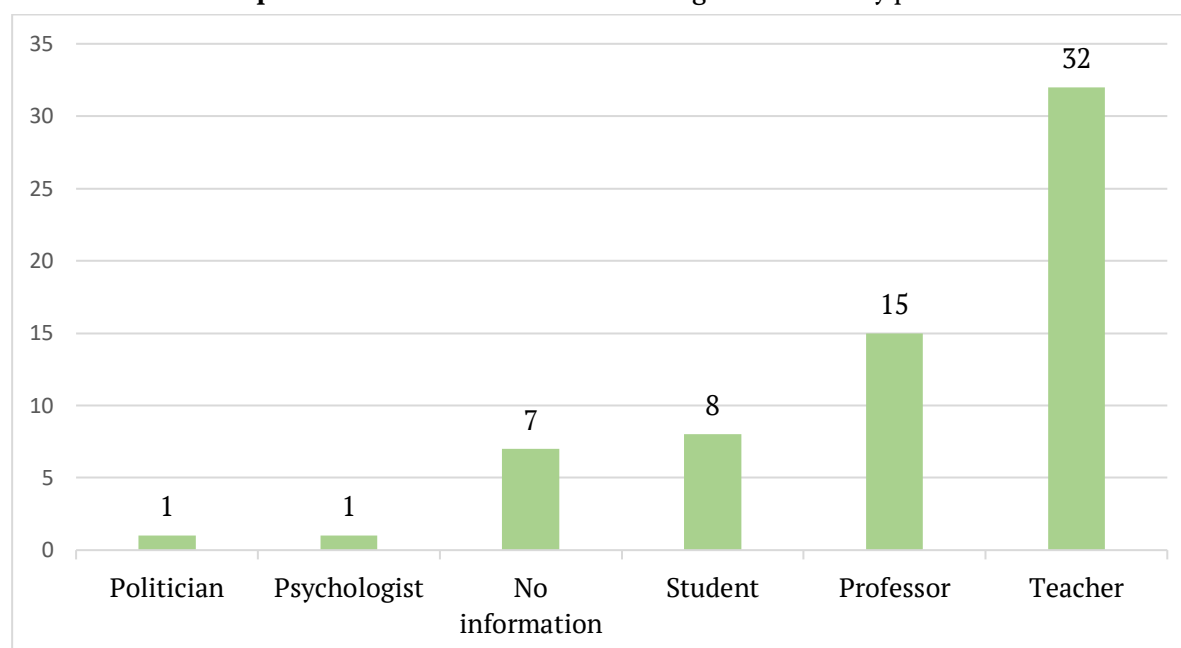
1st registration	Name and Profile	1st registration	Name and Profile	1st registration	Name and Profile
23/06/1964	Olalia (FI 01.975)	20/06/1978	Vera (FI 09.630)	30/05/1980	Chistina (FI 35.983)
02/08/1966	Adari (FI 28.897)	24/07/1978	Maria (FI 03.430)	06/06/1980	Benedita (FI 02.141)
08/08/1966	Dalena (FI 01.144)	24/07/1978	Marilda (FI 08.482)	13/08/1980	Zenite (FI 08.663)
28/06/1971	Lucy (FI 25.806)	24/07/1978	Ana (FI 08.664)	14/08/1980	Lidia (FI 36.301)
30/11/1971	Alaide (FI 42.235)	24/07/1978	Mariangela (FI 30.576)	19/09/1980	Eleonora (FI 23.681)
25/10/1976	Ligia (FI 25.481)	14/09/1978	Hiara (FI 23.709)	18/11/1980	Izolde (FI 01.799)
01/02/1977	Maria (FI 03.432)	14/09/1978	Ruth (FI 24.907)	08/12/1980	Zilda (FI 44.132)
07/02/1977	Edesina (FI 29.169)	14/09/1978	Elenice (FI 31.116)	10/12/1980	Rosa (FI 03.857)
11/05/1977	Maria (FI 29.678)	02/03/1979	Sueli (FI 10.958)	10/12/1980	Nadir (FI 15.348)
11/05/1977	Joselina (FI 30.703)	28/06/1979	Maria (FI 40.829)	10/12/1980	Amelia (FI 16.454)
12/05/1977	Elza (FI 41.965)	03/07/1979	Ana (FI 35.128)	10/12/1980	Elizabeth (FI 17.200)
14/10/1977	Feranda (FI 19.129)	08/08/1979	Luciana (FI 17.702)	10/12/1980	Tamar (FI 24.028)
14/12/1977	Dora (FI 17.536)	03/09/1979	Zuleika (FI 44.304)	10/12/1980	Leliane (FI 47.079)
14/12/1977	Eliane (FI 46.411)	21/09/1979	Rina (FI 14.889)	15/01/1981	Elsa (FI 00.642)
15/12/1977	Sonia (FI 14.728)	21/09/1979	Maria (FI 19.390)	15/01/1981	Maria (FI 17.211)
21/03/1978	Sonia (FI 23.619)	21/09/1979	Jacira (FI 45.487)	15/01/1981	Odilia (FI 46.987)
21/03/1978	Sonia (FI 19.650)	25/09/1979	Rosangela (FI 21.733)	30/04/1981	Maria (FI 45.493)
28/03/1978	Veronica (FI 44.448)	20/10/1979	Nadir (FI 07.078)	21/07/1981	Alba (FI 31.806)
29/03/1978	Dilza (FI 11.365)	29/11/1979	Zita (FI 19.713)	27/05/1982	Geni (FI 40.040)
29/03/1978	Maria (FI 42.893)	24/03/1980	Maria (FI 44.533)	10/11/1982	Regina (FI 15.396)
29/03/1978	Maria (FI 26.057)	28/04/1980	Maria (FI 40.825)		
23/05/1978	Ana (FI 39.450)	30/05/1980	Beatriz (FI 30.515)		

Source: Elaborated by the authors, based on the information provided in the individual files.

Through the table, it is possible to observe the dates on which each woman was registered and the number of pages of notes on each file. These women were registered between 1964 and 1982. In the first years of the implementation of the military regime, 3 women were registered: 1 in 1964 and 2 in 1966. Then, from Decree-Law No. 477, of February 26, 1969, 32 women were registered: 2 in 1971, 1 in 1976, 9 in 1977, 15 in 1978 and 4 until August 1979. After the repeal of Decree-Law No. 477, with the creation of Law 6.680, of August 16, 1979a and the amnesty granted with Law 6.680, of August 28, 1979b, 30 women were registered: 7 in 1979, 16 in 1980, 5 in 1981 and 2 in 1982. Based on these data, it is understood that, in the first 5 years of the military dictatorship, a smaller number of women were registered in relation to the two subsequent periods. Furthermore, despite the punitive and repressive legislation expressed in Decree-Law No. 477, of February 26, 1969, almost half of the analyzed group of registered women persisted with their resistance tactics in the area of education in Paraná. The other half of the number of women were registered in the period of redemocratization, starting in August 1979. These data reflect that, regardless of the period analyzed, women used tactics to oppose the imposed regulations, despite the government's strategies to repress such actions.

The analysis of the files made it possible to glimpse the professional activity carried out by the women whose names were registered in the thematic folders linked to education. It is worth noting that the request for the files was based on the names found in the thematic folders of education, but it was not possible to guarantee that all of those involved were teaching professionals. The categorization is presented in Graph 1 – Number of women according to the activity performed.

Graph 1 – Number of women according to the activity performed



Source: Elaborated by the authors, based on the information provided in the individual DOPS-PR files.

Of the 64 individual files, 25 did not explicitly record the profession exercised, requiring analysis of the records to identify the activity performed by each woman. Despite dedicated efforts, it was not possible to identify the profession in the files of 7 women. Among the other women, there was: 1 psychologist; 1 councilwoman; 8 students; 15 professors; and 32 primary and secondary school teachers³. Thus, although the name was recorded in the thematic folders linked to education, of the group of 64 individual files, 15 worked as professors in universities.

Graph 1 shows the difference in the number of female teachers who worked at the primary and secondary levels and in higher education. Of the individual records analyzed, 32 were female teachers at the primary and secondary levels and 15 were higher education professors. It is important to consider that the percentage of female teachers who worked in the basic education cycle was substantially higher than that of university professors. At the primary and secondary levels, most teachers were women. Meanwhile, the number of women⁴ who were part of the teaching staff at Brazilian universities between 1960 and 1980 did not exceed 30%, as highlighted by Ribeiro (2023). Thus, regarding the female professors whose names were recorded by DOPS-PR, the difference observed between the number of female teachers in the official education system and the number of female university professors' points to the need for other contextual data for a more in-depth understanding. Nevertheless, we move on to the analysis of the 15 university professors.

UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS FROM PARANÁ UNDER SURVEILLANCE: AN ANALYSIS OF INDIVIDUAL FILES FROM DOPS-PR

The analysis was carried out using the individual files of 15 female professors from higher education in Paraná. By comparing the date of birth with the date of the first registration, it was possible to determine the age of the professors when their names were first registered for activities considered subversive by the dictatorial government. Chart 2 presents the results of this analysis, which contains information about university professors, including the date of the first entry, age at the time of registration, number of pages and place of registration.

³ Today this name is Elementary Education I and II and High School.

⁴ With the expansion of higher education, the number of women entering this level of education has been significant. However, the increase is observed differently between the positions of students and teachers. According to Ribeiro (2023), when comparing the percentage increase in women in the teaching staff with the growth of women as students in the Brazilian census, it is noted that women have not achieved the same representation as professors in academic institutions in the same proportion as they have as students.

Chart 2 – University professors according to date of first entry, age, number of pages and place of filing

Name	First note	Age	Pages	Registration location
Dalena (FI 01.144)	08/08/1966	38	2	Paraná - Curitiba
Maria (FI 29.678)	11/05/1977	32	2	Paraná - Londrina
Elza (FI 41.965)	12/05/1977	35	2	Paraná - Londrina
Sonia (FI 14.728)	15/12/1977	35	2	Paraná - Londrina
Joselina (FI 30.703)	11/05/1977	36	4	Paraná - Londrina
Eliane (FI 46.411)	14/12/1977	37	4	Paraná - Londrina
Maria (FI 03.432)	01/02/1977	39	2	Paraná - Londrina
Dora (FI 17.536)	14/12/1977	33 ou 36	2	Paraná - Londrina
Elenice (FI 31.116)	14/09/1978	s.i.	9	Paraná - Londrina
Ana (FI 35.128)	03/07/1979	41	3	Paraná - Londrina
Zuleika (FI 44.304)	03/09/1979	38	4	Paraná - Londrina
Jacira (FI 45.487)	21/09/1979	28	7	Paraná - Londrina
Nadir (FI 07.078)	20/10/1979	40	2	Paraná - Londrina
Maria (FI 44.533)	24/03/1980	35	7	Paraná - Londrina
Zenite (FI 08.663)	13/08/1980	41	2	Paraná - Londrina

Source: Elaborated by the authors, based on the information provided in the individual files.

Table 2 shows that: there was no birth information for 1 of the women; 1 was 28 years old; and 13 were between 30 and 41 years old when their names were first registered. This data shows that the group of university professors analyzed was mostly composed of professors over 30 and under 42 years old. It is understood that this group of university professors had their own income and greater autonomy over the struggles in which they could get involved.

The level of engagement in activities considered dangerous by the military regime can be analyzed by the number of pages each individual file contained, as shown in Table 2. Six professors had individual files containing between 4 and 9 pages of records. Nine professors had between 2 and 3 pages of notes. The greater the number of pages, the greater the number of records related to involvement in activities that required the attention of the political police. While some demonstrated a high level of participation in activities considered subversive, others appear to have been involved in a more moderate or undocumented manner. These data reveal that the level of engagement was not uniform among the university professors whose actions were expressed in the files. Professors with more pages in their files were probably more actively involved or had a more detailed history of participation in such movements, while those with fewer pages may have had less involvement or were less documented.

Information about the birth and place of residence also appear on the files. Two individual files did not contain the place of birth of the university professors; only one had been born in the city of Londrina. Nine individual files did not contain a record of the address where they lived. It can be understood that the place of birth was irrelevant; however, in most of the files, this information was complete. As for

residence, this was information that the DOPS-PR agents did not fill in. Considering that for the DOPS-PR the place of residence of the person registered was relevant at the time of a punitive action, it is understood that this was a piece of information that could easily be obtained, since these women were university professors at public institutions.

Despite the lack of data on housing, the analysis of the records allowed us to identify the cities in Paraná where these higher education professors were registered by DOPS-PR. In the city of Curitiba, 1 professor from the Federal University of Paraná (UFPR) was registered in 1966 due to an activity. The other 14 professors worked at the State University of Londrina and were registered between 1977 and 1980. This distribution highlights the emphasis on the work of higher education professors in the city of Londrina, and it can be inferred that they were more engaged in the issues of demands or that the city offered a scenario in which the debate could take place in a less repressive manner. It is observed that the professors worked in public educational institutions, but with different contexts of creation.

The history of the two universities during the military regime is marked by distinct contexts and challenges. UFPR, created in 1912 and federalized in 1950, with its established roots and a consolidated academic community, faced intense repression from the first years of the regime, reflecting the resistance of its members. According to Ribeiro (2023), UFPR professors faced intense censorship in their daily routines, with plainclothes informants present in classrooms and strict control over discussion topics imposed by the rector and department heads appointed by federal authorities. These mechanisms enabled the regime to suppress intellectual debate, monitor and intimidate potential subversives, and enforce compliance through fear and coercion. As for the State University of Londrina, it was established in the early 1970s and had within “[...] the surveillance and information services of the Assessoria Especial de Segurança e Informações (AESI)” (Borges & Fiuza, 2020, p. 1751) that imposed repression. However, UEL, founded at the height of the dictatorship, initially had a less integrated faculty, which may have reduced repression in the early years, but allowed greater political and academic engagement as the 1970s progressed. Thus, it is understood that each institution experienced repression in different ways, influenced by their respective historical moments of foundation and development, characteristics that may have favored the engagement of faculty members from 1977 onwards.

The records of filiation contained in the files also allow for an assessment. Of the 15 individual files of the university professors analyzed in this article, 14 had records of the names of their fathers. It is estimated that, as far as possible, it was important for the DOPS-PR agents to have the filiation of the women registered, since practically all the files contained the names of the father and mother. This information may have been prioritized by the DOPS-PR agents to avoid errors in identifying people with homonymous names.

Regarding marital status, 8 files contained information on whether the professors were single, married⁵, divorced or widowed, which demonstrated possible indifference in relation to the data. Colling (2015) explains that in authoritarian political projects, including the Brazilian military regime, unique political subjects are constructed and classified into antagonistic blocks such as 'situation' and 'opposition'. The 'political activist' woman was seen “[...] as a 'deviant' being, not an ideal⁶ and desirable woman” (Colling, 2015, p. 378, author's emphasis). In Pinsky's (2016) understanding, from the 1960s onwards, there were representations of more flexible models for being a woman: one of them was the representation of the 'citizen woman'⁷, for example, which dealt with those women who joined feminist agendas, who were activists and who associated themselves with movements linked to the search for a democratic public sphere. From these perspectives, and using the information contained in the files, it can be understood that the DOPS-PR agents did not consider the marital status of those registered to be relevant. These professors, who can be represented as women citizens, were registered due to their positions in the public space of demands and opposition to the military regime.

However, in an individual file, the DOPS-PR agent made a note regarding marital status. The note said: “[...] husband Léo Judá Barbosa”⁸ (Paraná, 1979a). In addition to this observation, the professor had other notes on different dates referring to her participation in political activities. In the case of this professor, it is understood that she was considered an element to be monitored by DOPS-PR, also because she was the wife of someone linked to opposition activities. It is understood that information about her marital status was relevant when the relationship associated her with people considered to be in opposition to the regime.

⁵ Regarding women in civil marriages, it was only in 1962 that the Married Women's Statute was enacted, which removed the legal incapacity of married women from the regulations. Until 1962, the 1917 Civil Code designated married women as relatively incapable, “[...] under the care of their husband. Single, separated and widowed women were free from this prison. But they all desired marriage because only then would they be socially accepted” (Colling, 2015, p. 374).

⁶ “The 'ideal woman' was in the space assigned to her, the sanctuary of the home, caring for her husband and children” (Colling, 2015, p. 378, author's emphasis).

⁷ Pinsky (2016) explains that the representation of women as citizens began to be linked to the feminine image from the 1960s onwards. Political struggles, social movements and feminism helped to redefine how women began to be represented in the public space. It is worth remembering that this trajectory did not begin now. We can look at the suffragettes, often portrayed as 'eccentric' and 'masculinized', and the activists of the labor movement in the early 20th century.

⁸ Minas Gerais architect Léo de Judá Barbosa moved to Paraná after being fired from Petrobrás for being a member of the union.

TACTICS OF PARANÁ PROFESSORS CONTAINED IN INDIVIDUAL DOPS-PR FILES

Having one's name registered by DOPS-PR could result in significant consequences beyond registration, especially after Decree-Law No. 477 of February 26, 1969, came into effect. These consequences included being prevented from carrying out certain activities, as well as dismissals and the possibility of arrest. The act of registering individuals and the restrictions on having one's name officially recorded functioned as mechanisms of social control, exemplifying how the dictatorial regime sought to inhibit opposition not only through direct repression, but also by means of example, surveillance, and political censorship.

In the notes on the individual files of the university professors analyzed, dismissals and prohibitions from participating in public examinations were identified. The case of a professor at UFPR is reported, in which the recurring background checks and the prohibition from participating in public examinations were observed. Dalena was listed for signing, in 1965, a manifesto in protest “[...] against the imprisonment of 'intellectuals' (all communists)” (Paraná, 1966, author's emphasis). Her name was registered in the records of the 'Information Section' and she expressed her opposition to the repressive acts of the regime, in 1972. As a result, she had her request for “[...] obtaining a Negative Certificate for the purposes of a teaching examination” denied. However, the notes contained in Dalena's file reveal the professor's cunning in requesting “[...] reconsideration of the dismissed decision [...]” from the Secretary of Public Security, who granted the negative certificate and the archiving of her documentation with DOPS-PR. The authorization to archive the documentation, coming from a higher position in the power scale, demonstrates that there was a bureaucratic bias that allowed room for maneuver for those under surveillance. Furthermore, Dalena's attitude reveals a tactic in trying to overcome the obstacles imposed by the authoritarian regime, seeking to get around the situation possibly through her network of relationships. In other individual files of professors, background checks were also identified. These records show that registration by DOPS-PR was not just a formality but could result in punitive actions and investigations related to state security.

The notes on the individual files of the group analyzed were derived from various actions considered subversive and dangerous to the military regime. Fifteen of the higher education professors who were registered worked at the State University of Londrina. Since 1977, several of these files had written on them: they have “[...] leftist tendencies [...]”, are linked to the “[...] agitation movement at the University Hospital [...]”, have “[...] broad relationships [...]” with “[...] a group of doctors – residents and interns – with leftist tendencies [...]” (Paraná, 1977b). The actions of these professors, written on the files, were demands; participation in protests, strikes, demonstrations, public debate events; support for the student movement and associations; production of alternative newspapers; and involvement with political

parties. Such activities were seen by the military regime as a threat, opposition and, for this reason, labeled as leftist. These actions can also be understood as the tactics of professors in the face of the repressive context of the period.

The records show that these professors sought to unite in deliberations that involved other spheres of the university. In May 1977, they promoted a debate about the rector⁹ of the Central Student Directory and one professor was part of the committee welcoming guests. In September 1977, they participated in the “III Current Affairs Week promoted by the DCE” (Paraná, 1979a). In December 1977, one professor was a sympathizer, another encouraged it and several sought to raise “[...] financial resources [...]” in favor of “[...] the Poeira Group’s participation in the DCE student elections” (Paraná, 1977b). In May 1978, they reinforced the need to support students and criticized the “[...] statement by rector Oscar Alves about the participation of outside elements acting in the Student Movement”¹⁰ (Paraná, 1977a). In February 1981, professors and other “[...] students opposed the eviction action of DCE/LIVRE” (Paraná, 1979e). Thus, from the notes on the files analyzed, it is understood that the professors showed solidarity with the students’ demands, a tactic that made it possible to strengthen the process of resistance to the military regime.

The importance of the student movement in the country’s redemocratization process is highlighted. At universities, students, in contact with political and economic theories, were led to learn about and question the values imposed by society, actively participating in debates and contesting the speeches produced by political representatives. According to Borges and Fiuza (2020, p. 1739), the political debates prioritized in the student movement in the 1960s and 1970s were “[...] the class struggle and the overthrow of the regime [...]”, spaces that “[...] would not be seen essentially as opportune for the discussion on the condition of women and their role within the political movement by the category itself”. From this perspective, it is understood that even though women were making up university spaces, the focus of the debates produced in the student movement, to which some female professors joined, dealt with the dismantling of the military regime and the rights of different social groups.

The DOPS-PR notes could relate political actions to moral issues. When analyzing the participation of female students in the Paraná student movement, Borges and Fiuza (2020) identified the appeal of relating the presence of students to moral issues. This process of linking moral issues was an attempt to make “[...] the political convictions of these student activists unfeasible, labeling them based on morality” (Borges & Fiuza, 2020, p. 1741) and ignoring their political engagement. It

⁹ Oscar Alves, appointed by the State Governor, assumed the position of Rector of the State University of Londrina from 1974 to 1978.

¹⁰ According to Borges and Fiuza (2020), from the 1960s onwards, the presence of women in higher education enabled them to engage in university activism through the student movement and other movements. This activism became significant not only for the fight for the redemocratization of the country, but also for women’s emancipation.

is noteworthy that in the files of the university professors analyzed, it was not possible to identify moralistic notes, as happened with the student movement. The notes referred to the professors' opposition political activities, without belittling them through moralistic insinuations typical of the period.

These professors, possibly enjoying a certain prestige in the city, sought support from the community for their demands. In May 1977, with the City Hall of Londrina, Maria (Paraná, 1979a) – engaged in manifestos and open letters – participated in the creation of neighborhood associations. The neighborhood associations aimed to promote “[...] greater integration of students with the working class [...]” in order to bring together “[...] the sum of efforts [...]” to “[...] facilitate greater success in the demands”. Regarding the neighborhood associations, Giuliani (2017) infers that this movement started with the population living in the outskirts who began to organize themselves. However, the note described in the university professor's file reveals the involvement of academics and political authorities in making this movement a reality. From this tactic, it can be inferred that an attempt was made to promote an alliance among professors, students involved in political debates and the population to strengthen a solidarity front in the fight for rights before the competent authorities.

The notes reveal strikes in which the professors participated. On April 24, 1979, the professors participated in a march in support of “[...] resident doctors and students of the basic medical course [...]” who “[...] were on strike at the HU of FUEL” (Paraná, 1977c). In this demonstration, they distributed pamphlets inviting the 'general public' to celebrate “[...] May 1st” (Paraná, 1978). The strike may have resulted in layoffs, and, on April 30, 1979, they participated in a strike in solidarity with the 5 professors who had been fired from the university. This demonstration was supported by “[...] 300 students who carried signs [...]” and 'shouted' along the way: “We want our professors”, “Down with the dean”, “Resident doctors support the fired professors” (Paraná, 1978). Another demonstration, entitled 'Protest Day', was held on June 19, 1979, in support of the dismissed professors, where “[...] a manifesto containing the position of the HU Professors' Association” was distributed (Paraná, 1979c). These events reveal that the professors participated in mobilizations with the academic community, in favor of better working conditions and university autonomy.

These professors tirelessly expressed their dissatisfaction and continued to press for their demands. In July 1978, they met at the Londrina Medical Association to discuss “[...] minimum wage, proportional adjustment for professors, and a broad selection process” (Paraná, 1978). In October 1979, they planned to stop classes and hold a 'permanent assembly' (strike) “[...] with the aim of demanding better salaries” (Paraná, 1979b). With the support of the Association of Professors of the University Hospital, in May 1980, they promoted a “[...] campaign against the Medical Residency Selection Committee, established by executive order of the Rectorate” (Paraná, 1977b). In August and September 1980, at a general assembly, they protested “[...]”

against the state government's failure to meet their demands [...]", "[...] against the lack of funds for the Ministry of Education, against paid education" (Paraná, 1979d). In October 1981, the movement "[...] demanding a salary adjustment" was repeated (Paraná, 1977b). In January 1982, with the aim of understanding the professors' other demands, they distributed "[...] a questionnaire to be filled out by professors, regarding the situation of teaching in the area, on the occasion of the election of the new board of the Professors' Association of the State University of Londrina" (Paraná, 1978). Between 1978 and 1982, the actions of the group of professors were reflected in meetings, assemblies, campaigns, protests – generally for better salaries – and understanding of the concerns of other professors. Such actions may express active discontent on the part of these professors in relation to the issues they put forward.

These actions reveal that the group of professors (along with other social agents) organized themselves into associative entities in support of their aspirations. Between 1979 and 1985, as Giuliani (2017) explains, several sectors of society mobilized quickly, demanding the redemocratization of the country and giving rise to new conflicts that shook the inertia of organizations that represented the class. During this period, the image of the unionized professor was embodied by the "[...] militant woman, willing to take to the streets to fight for better wages and improved working conditions" (Louro, 2017, p. 474). The willingness to organize and demand was revealed by the notes of the DOPS-PR agents in the files of the university professors.

Some of these professors held leadership positions in the movements by organizing the mobilizations, in addition to being state employees. Eliane (Paraná, 1977c) was a 'leader' in 1977 and elected Vice-president in 1979; Ana (Paraná, 1979c) was a Deliberative Councilor of the Association of Professors of the Regional University Hospital in Northern Paraná. Elenice (Paraná, 1978) and Nadir (Paraná, 1979b), in 1979, were "[...] leaders of the Paraná Professors' Union Movement, a leftist entity [...]", of which "[...] radical elements, associated with the Association of Licensed Professors of Paraná" were part. In 1980, Elenice (Paraná, 1978) was part of the committee representing Londrina that left for Brasília (in January) and then for Belo Horizonte (in March) to participate, with "[...] several associative entities in the country [...]", in the National Meeting of Professors. In 1980, Maria (Paraná, 1980) was an 'active activist'; Zuleika (Paraná, 1979d) was a substitute member of the Fiscal Council of the Londrina Professors' Union, "[...] where she emerged victorious with the Unidade Ticket [...]", which was of a 'leftist line' and "[...] the majority of the members [...]" were composed of "[...] leftist elements and sympathizers". Giuliani (2017) reveals that from 1979 onwards, women were gradually able to enter the representation positions normally occupied by men, on the boards of trade union organizations, associations, committees, etc. From this perspective, it can be observed that the group of university professors occupied prominent positions in protest organizations between 1977 and 1980, which stood out for their active participation in deliberate actions.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ENGAGEMENT OF FEMALE UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS: STRUGGLES FOR LABOR RIGHTS, DEMOCRACY, SOCIAL JUSTICE AND WOMEN'S RIGHTS DURING THE MILITARY DICTATORSHIP

The issues discussed by FUEL professors went beyond the scope of their class's demands and extended to other spheres of society. These issues could be observed in the notes from the files. In the years 1979, 1980, 1981 and 1982, they joined the celebration of Workers' Day, an event promoted "[...] by political and student leaders, as well as by opposition entities". In fact, during the celebration of May 1st, 1981, Maria (Paraná, 1980) "[...] spoke saying that the government [...]" defended "[...] the large industrial landowners, who [...]" felt "[...] protected by the Constitution [...]" in force at the time. These professors were perceived for joining the cause of workers' rights.

From Louro's perspective (2017), it is possible to understand part of the connection between professors and proletarianized agendas. In the late 1960s and in the following decade, the emphasis was placed on the professional nature of teaching, which helped to give the profession a perception and a process of proletarianization of the category. In this context, "[...] professors sought forms of struggle that were also similar to those of workers" (Louro, 2017, p. 474). This characteristic, linked to the technical and departmentalized process, extended to universities, which may have promoted the association of university professors with demonstrations linked to Labor Day.

Between 1981 and 1982, the professors joined discussions about the need for political and social changes. In February 1979, the university professors took part in the demonstration for the National Day of Political Prisoners. Maria (Paraná, 1980), as president of the Londrina Committee for the Rights of the People and for the Free and Sovereign National Constituent Assembly, in 1981 and 1982, was noted for leading demonstrations – promoted by various entities, political parties, unions, alternative newspapers and student organizations. In these demonstrations, they shouted "[...] one, two, three, four, five thousand, Free and Sovereign Constituent Assembly in Brazil [...]"; they also distributed pamphlets with students; presided over a meeting to discuss the 'Social Security Package'; and promoted political debates against the National Security Law and the Electoral Package, and against the conviction of the metalworkers of ABC Paulista. The debate venues were decorated with posters that read: "[...] against hunger and oppression and for a free and sovereign National Constituent Assembly [...]"; "For direct elections"; "For free education"; "Down with the National Social Security System"; "For better wages"; "Down with unemployment"; "Against corruption" (Paraná, 1980). It can be inferred that the actions expressed in the notes on the cards reveal active engagement in mobilizations that sought a Constituent Assembly of the people and that addressed issues of labor rights, free education and the fight against hunger and corruption.

Between 1978 and 1982, several activities were conducted by individuals and groups committed to defending human rights and promoting democracy in Brazil. In 1978, the professors contributed financially to the Londrina Committee for Amnesty and Human Rights. Two years later, in 1980, they joined the Group for a Democratic Society, participating in lectures and debates on foreign exploitation in the Amazon, promoted by the Pro-Committee for the Defense of the Amazon Commission, in addition to participating in a public event in repudiation of terrorism against the alternative press and the government's failure to investigate these crimes. In 1981, they distributed awareness-raising booklets, promoted a course entitled 'Social Classes in Brazil' and participated in meetings of the Unified Black Movement of São Paulo and the Education and Justice Movement. In 1982, they continued their engagement by participating in a lecture on the War of Liberation, presented by members of the Committee of Solidarity with the Latin American Peoples. These actions reflect a continuous commitment from these professors to be close to the debates of social and political justice in the country.

The agenda on 'equality in difference', in which they discussed "[...] in favor of women's rights [...]", "[...] greater punishment of sexual violence [...]", for the end of discrimination against the increase in the cost of living" (Pinsky, 2016, p. 539-540) could also be observed in the records of the professors analyzed. In March 1979, there was participation in the debate on the theme 'Women and work', promoted by the women's department of the Londrina Committee for Amnesty and Human Rights. In October 1979, Joselina (Paraná, 1977b), Elenice (Paraná, 1978), Maria (Paraná, 1980) and Jacira (Paraná, 1979e) were noted for being part of a 'feminist group' that formed the Democratic Front of Londrina Women, an entity that aimed to gain the largest number of supporters for political engagement and greater general mobilization of women, placing them within the social context and promoting more active participation. In March 1980, they held a meeting in which all the speakers "[...] sought to highlight the role of women in various segments of society where they must fight for their emancipation, especially in the political, civil and social life of the country" (Paraná, 1978). From these notes, it is understood that the group of professors analyzed can be characterized as politicized women, committed to the causes of their context, but that their agendas were considered deviant and worthy of notes in the DOPS-PR files.

The records of the university professors reveal that these women were part of a group that deliberated on women's rights, along with others from society. In the movement called *Frente Democrática da Mulher Londrina*, students from Paraná were also identified as active, as revealed by Borges and Fiuza (2020). Giuliani (2017, p. 650) adds that during this period, mobilizations could be observed in the country and brought together "[...] diverse cultural and ideological orientations around the fight against violence, oppression and discrimination against women [...]", and were originated from groups of professional women, middle-class women or housewives.

In this sense, the university professors from FUEL were part of this movement in favor of 'equality in difference'.

FINAL REMARKS

Through the analysis of the Thematic Folders and individual files from DOPS-PR, it was possible to identify the forms of organization, tactics and participation of the group of university professors in the mobilizations during the dictatorship period. To approach the group of professors, it was necessary to request the individual files contained in the Thematic Folders. The systematization included the transcription of the individual files, in which the first registration of 64 women is dated between 1964 and 1982.

Based on the identification of the 15 university professors, a prosopography of this group was drawn up. The records of the university professors analyzed revealed homogeneity and heterogeneity. The group was composed of women aged between 30 and 41, with 1 professor from UFPR registered in 1966 and 14 professors from FUEL registered between 1977 and 1980. The notes revealed, in the group from Londrina, different levels of engagement, with some professors having more notes than others. Thus, the analyzed group demonstrated great homogeneity in relation to age, period and place of mobilization, but with different intensities regarding the resistance activities carried out and recorded by DOPS-PR.

Having one name listed resulted in consequences, and professors experienced such punishments. The consequences, such as dismissals and professional impediments – which show that the listing was not just formal, but resulted in punitive actions – were not impediments for these professors to mobilize. In one of the cases, it was evident that there was a possibility of using networks of relationships to overcome the obstacles from having one's name registered. In this sense, it is understood that the records represented surveillance, arrests and a need for positive antecedents, which prevented some activities, such as taking part in public exams.

The notes on the individual files revealed the cunning and tactics of these professors. The tactics included their unity in university deliberations and strikes, demonstrating solidarity and resistance to the regime. The professors participated in mobilizations and demands for better working conditions and university autonomy. Between 1978 and 1982, their actions to demand higher salaries included meetings, assemblies, campaigns and protests. They were involved in strikes, social movements, labor rights, political and social changes, and fought for a Constituent Assembly, free education, and the fight against hunger and corruption. The fight for gender equality was also present, with the professors participating in movements for women's rights and against violence and discrimination. The notes on the files reveal that these women were politicized and committed to social causes, forming an active group in

the fight for rights and social justice. Female professors also stood out in leadership positions in these movements and their agendas covered, in addition to class demands, workers' rights and broader social issues.

It is believed that the records of the 64 women identified in the thematic folders may result in further studies. It is understood that the records of the female elementary and high school teachers deserve a more detailed analysis. Another possibility is to study the records of the men and then compare them with the records of the women to see if it is possible to identify gender issues. Thus, individual records are characterized as a fruitful source for analyzing other political actors who demonstrated resistance to the military regime.

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