

“Urbanity and fé de ofício¹”: government actions and public service in the State of Paraná (1940s)

“Urbanidade e fé de ofício”: ações governamentais e serviço público no Estado do Paraná (década de 1940)

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Abstract

This article addresses the proposal and approval of the Statute of Civil Servants of the State of Paraná, focusing primarily on the actions of the executive and legislative branches from 1947 to 1950. For this purpose, based on certain elements that were part of the conditions for meeting the demands of the population in the State of Paraná, this study discusses how the governmental actions were aligned with these demands in the constitution of the state’s civil service.

Keywords: civil servant and legislation/rights, civil service, government and legislative

Resumo

Este artigo narra e discute o processo de proposição e aprovação do Estatuto dos Funcionários Públicos Cíveis do Estado do Paraná, a partir das ações pautadas, principalmente, pelo executivo e legislativo, entre os anos de 1947 a 1950. Para tanto, partindo do estabelecimento de alguns elementos que compunham as condições existentes no Paraná em termos de atendimento às demandas da população por parte do Estado, discute-se de que maneira as ações governamentais se articularam àquelas demandas na constituição do funcionalismo público estadual.

Palavras-chaves: servidor público e legislação/direito, funcionalismo, governo e legislativo

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¹ *Fé de ofício* refers to a professional ethic based on values such as honor and honesty.

Investigations in the Humanities and Social Sciences regarding processes of constitution of public services can be broadly and schematically categorized into two main perspectives: the first one focuses on the processes of formation of services as state actions led by governments; the second one addresses the mobilization of those who demand the services.

During, and immediately after the military dictatorship, a large bibliography² on popular social movements was produced. Those movements advocated for better living conditions, which were understood as rights of the population and duty of the state. The demands included, for example, the establishment and improvement in public healthcare and educational services, advancements in sanitation, housing, transportation, etc. In summary, this perspective was based on investigating and interpreting politics as an everyday action, and it considered the involvement of the population - more specifically, of the lower classes - as subjects that also determine the historical process.

In the approaches focused on the actions of the state and its governments in their relationship with the public service, it is also possible to verify an expressive production from different frameworks. For instance, a Marxist perspective explores the establishment and functioning of what have been conceptualized as state apparatuses, notably as control instruments of the popular classes, which are under the control of the dominant classes. A Weberian perspective interprets the processes of rationalization and professionalization of the state and its services. In this approach, the characterization of service is accentuated, in contrast to the emphasis on the notion of rights, which is more prominent in the Marxist perspective.

In addition to the distinguishing focus on the predominant subject of investigation (the state and governments or opposing groups), the spatial delimitation also indicates differences between these two perspectives. Investigations focusing on the state, particularly in the case of Brazil, emphasize the national and/or federal levels. On the other hand, studies on popular actions and/or reactions investigated these subjects in more specific and delimited situations and cases, often starting from a social movement located in a neighborhood, a city, or a state.

Taking into account the general theme presented – the process of establishing public services and the right to them – this paper delves into

² As example, I would mention Eder Sader (1988), Maria Célia Paoli (1989), Vera da Silva Telles (1999; 2001), Teresa P. do Rio Caldeira (1984).

a specific time and place: the approval of a statute that aimed to regulate the composition of civil service, in the second half of the 1940s, in the State of Paraná. Therefore, I begin with the governmental actions implemented in that period. In this sense, despite aiming to explore the implications and connections with other groups, classes, and sectors covered by the public services in question, including the civil service itself, I must recognize that this is a limitation of this paper at this time. Such restriction is determined mainly by the documentation analyzed, which leads to a main focus on the actions of the executive and legislative branches of the State of Paraná.

This limitation implies a lack of depth on how the notion of rights to public services is established within the population, thus emphasizing governmental action. In making this selection, my aim is to provide elements that foster reflection on how the expansion of the public service and the regulation of the work of civil servants were articulated to the interests and concerns of the groups represented by the members of the government and the legislature of the State of Paraná.

In 1950, the population of the State of Paraná was 2,115,547 (according to the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics, IBGE); 528,000 inhabitants in urban areas (approximately 25%) and 1,586,000 inhabitants in rural areas (around 75%).

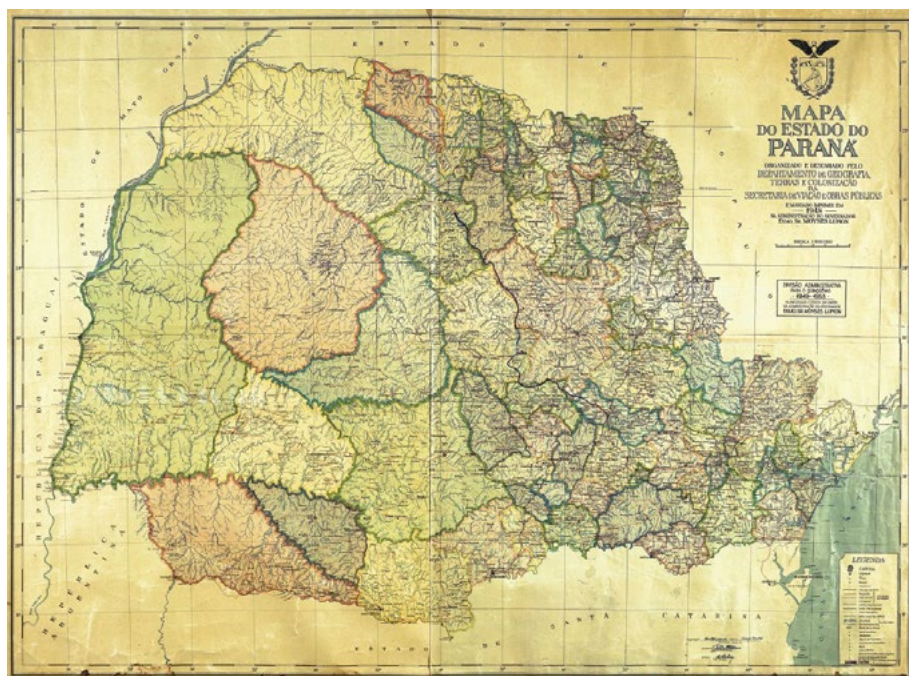
This population resided in the 80 municipalities established at the time, which were concentrated in the eastern half of the State, mainly in the coastal area, in the northeast and southeast, around the capital of the State, Curitiba (city inhabited at the time by 180,575 people), as can be seen on the map (Figure 1).

The western part of the state - from the border with the State of São Paulo in the north to the border with the State of Santa Catarina in the south, bordered by the Paraná River in the west - had only 6 municipalities: Mandaguari (101,657 inhabitants), Campo Mourão (32,948 inhabitants), Clevelândia (53,977 inhabitants), Foz do Iguaçu (16,421 inhabitants), Laranjeiras do Sul (29,126 inhabitants), and Mangueirinha (22,396 inhabitants). These municipalities had a total area of approximately 85,000 km² or 40% of Paraná's territory, and a total population of 256,525 inhabitants, 12.5% of the state's total population.

The demographic and geographic composition of the State of Paraná in the late 1940s and early 1950s provides an opportunity to examine some aspects related to the environment and the relationships that influenced the exercise of power and public services in terms of their response to the

potential demands of the population. Among these elements, I would initially highlight two aspects: the concentration and almost exclusive focus on agricultural, livestock and extractive production as the economic activities of the state, and the promotion of a capitalist occupation of the previously demarcated regions of Paraná with lower demographic density.

Figure 1: Map of the Municipalities of the State of Paraná (1948)



Source: ITCG 2008 – Instituto de Terras, Cartografia e Geografia – Coletânea de Mapas Históricos do Paraná

The first aspect, which addresses how the concentration of economic production guided the actions of the governments during that period, is expressed in the accountability reports to the Legislative Assembly at the beginning of each legislative year: the so-called “*Mensagem apresentadas à Assembleia Legislativa do Estado*” (“*Message presented to the State Legislative Assembly*”). Most of these “*Messages*”, sent in 1946 and 1952, report the activities carried out in the year prior to their publication and were directly and indirectly related to that productive sector.

In the “Messages” section titled “Produção” (“Production”), for instance, the accountability of the Secretaria da Agricultura, Indústria e Comércio (Secretariat of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce, SAIC) was characterized as an “official body of production”³. Symptomatically, this Secretariat, which gathered those three sectors, was subdivided into other sectors: Departamento de Produção Vegetal (Department of Plant Production); Departamento de Produção Animal (Department of Animal Production); Departamento de Assistência ao Cooperativismo (Department of Cooperativism Assistance); Departamento de Ensino Superior, Técnico e Profissional (Department of Higher, Technical and Professional Education), which was composed exclusively of Escolas de Trabalhadores Rurais (Schools for Rural Workers, ETRs) and Escolas de Pesca (Fishing Schools, EP); Departamento de Geografia, Terras e Colonização (Department of Geography, Land and Colonization); Instituto de Biologia e Pesquisa Tecnológica (Institute of Biology and Technological Research); Serviço de Publicidade Agrícola (Agricultural Advertising Service); and Serviço de Engenharia Rural (Rural Engineering Service).

Besides the lack of specific divisions within SAIC directly addressing economic activities other than agriculture, livestock, and extractivism, references to other sectors (Industry and Commerce) were derivatives or in relation to this sector, such as the implementation of mineral processing technologies for agricultural input production or the processing of products from this specific sector.

Budget execution equally revealed the centrality of the primary sector of the economy in the dynamics of state services, as indicated in Table 1, which was presented by the Moyses Lupion’s administration in its 1950 accountability report. According to the descriptions in the document and the details of the budgetary expenditures, the headings “Industry Services” (which allocated constructions), “Promotion”, “Public Utility Services” (technical assistance and extension) and “Miscellaneous Charges” (materials and maintenance), which allocated Cr\$ 1,397,910,522.20 (Brazilian currency “Cruzeiro”) over the four-year period (61% of the budget), were mainly directed to agricultural, livestock and extractive activities. To these amounts, other budget headings were added, such as “Administration and Education”, which also included services and civil servants that were involved with activities in the primary sector.

³ Mensagem à Assembleia Legislativa do governo Bento Munhoz da Rocha Neto, 1951, p.35

In this budgetary issue, it is also noteworthy that in the four-year period covered by the government report, the budget heading associated with the primary sector received higher financial implementation. In particular, the “Industrial Services” registered a growth of over 600%, which was significantly higher than the increase observed, for example, in the area of Education (with approximately 350% of growth). Thus, the budgetary gap between these two sectors reduced in the period, since, in 1947, Education had a budget 47% higher than that of Industrial Services, and, by 1950, this difference gap fell to 13%.

Table 1: Expenditure incurred in the four years 1947-1950

Expense designation by service	1947	1948	1949	1950	Total Quadrennium (forecast)	Indices and % base 1943/1949
General Administration	24,591,329.00	28,269,729.80	44,947,687.10	56,637,708.00	154,446,453.90	383-283%
Taxation and Financial Supervision	17,915,555.90	19,227,374.40	18,122,690.20	18,561,316.40	73,826,936.90	226-126%
Public Security and Social Assistance	28,187,228.60	37,219,613.20	41,089,404.10	53,299,126.20	159,795,372.10	276-176%
Public Education	69,924,387.50	71,512,762.00	74,445,993.70	99,019,449.00	314,902,592.20	249-149%
Public Healthcare	16,056,962.70	14,417,567.80	25,510,884.00	29,711,092.00	85,456,446.50	264-164%
Promotion	16,660,002.20	20,339,544.00	28,501,396.30	26,164,492.00	91,725,434.50	207-107%
Industrial Services	37,745,825.80	26,257,991.50	168,793,786.40	274,942,789.20	507,740,392.90	619-519%
Public Debt	10,024,390.00	9,919,545.10	13,106,102.60	63,000,000.00	96,050,037.70	252-152%
Public Utility Services	55,960,652.80	103,958,331.00	164,364,107.60	315,669,738.00	639,952,347.40	574-474%
Miscellaneous Expenses	25,501,805.00	15,139,788.60	34,413,185.80	83,437,568.00	158,492,347.40	174-074%
TOTAL	302,568,139.50	346,322,247.40	612,995,237.80	1,020,503,218.80	2,282,388,843.50	348-248%

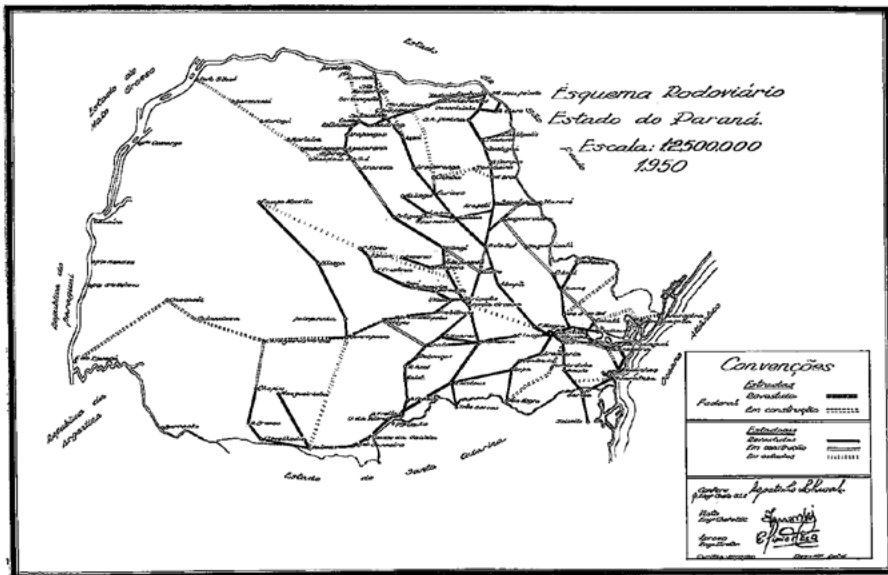
Source: Anexo II da Mensagem do Governo, 1950, p.243. Values in Brazilian Cruzeiros.

These characteristics and dynamics of the state budget allow us to bring to light the second feature regarding the State of Paraná: the project of territory occupation in regions considered sparsely populated.

As Figures 2 and 3 indicate, when considering the infrastructure (roads) and healthcare services, respectively, the western half of the State of Paraná was characterized not only by low population density but also by a reduced

presence of the state. Furthermore, considering the construction projects that were either completed or in progress in the western half of the state during this period, this situation lasted for a few more years due to the scarce government actions, even the lack of new projects.

Figure 2: Highway Map of the State of Paraná (1950)



Source: State of Paraná. A Concretização do Plano de Obras do governo de Moyses Lupion (1947-1950)

To illustrate the situation of “absence of state”, specifically regarding roads, the entire amount of resources (Cr\$ 1,084,099,126.70) allocated by the state government⁴ for road construction in the years 1950 and 1951, which covered a total distance of 1,597.451 km across 14 roads, did not foresee a specific local in the western part of the state territory. The two routes that cut across the western strip of the state (dashed lines on Map 2), referring to the future highways “BR 376” (known as “Rodovia do Café” in Paraná) and “BR 277” (connecting the cities of Foz do Iguaçu and Paranaguá) were projects executed by the federal government at that time.

⁴“Demonstrativo de construções de Estradas sob jurisdição do D.E.R.”. In: Mensagem do Governo, 1951, p. 87

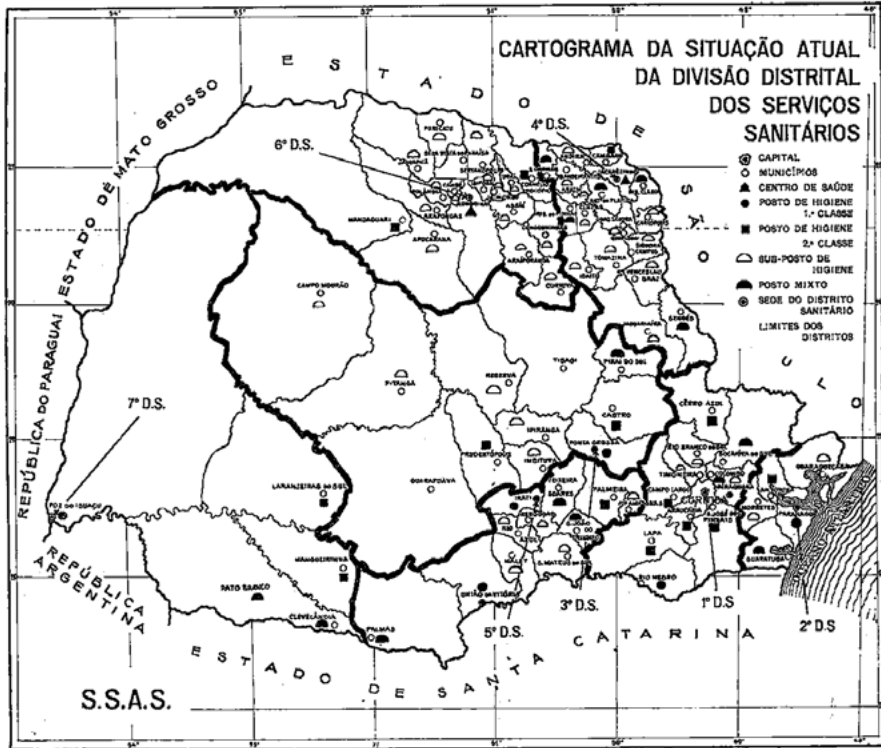
This absence of public services provided by the state can also be observed in other actions within the scope of public infrastructure projects – such as the construction of hydroelectric⁵ power plants – and in those that were directly involved in serving the population, such as education and healthcare services. In relation to the latter, another map published in the period shows the situation regarding medical-hospital care in Paraná. The state territory was divided into seven regions – the so-called “Sanitary Districts” (“Distritos Sanitários”, DS). The western half – which included the 7th Sanitary District (headquartered in the city of Foz do Iguaçu) and part of the 6th (headquartered in the city of Araçongas) and the 3rd (headquartered in the city of Ponta Grossa) Sanitary Districts – had fewer public facilities to serve the population. Also, these facilities were dispersed in the territory, given the significant distances between them. The shortest distance was between the Mixed Health Post of Clevelândia and the one of Palmas (both belonging to the 5th Sanitary District), which were approximately 40 kilometers away. On the other hand, the largest “gap” was between the Hygiene Post in the city of Foz do Iguaçu and the Mixed Health Post in the city of Pato Branco, with a distance of about 320 kilometers between the two.

In addition to this territorial dispersion, there was a technical restriction on the service: in the region, there was a first-class Hygiene Post (in the city of Foz do Iguaçu), three second-class Hygiene Posts (in the cities of Mandaguari, Laranjeiras do Sul and Mangueirinha), two Mixed Posts (in the cities of Pato Branco and Clevelândia) and a Hygiene Sub-Post (in the city of Campo Mourão). The technical hierarchy of public healthcare of the period placed Healthcare Centers in the highest rank, centers that were absent in the region⁶.

⁵ In 1948, the state had an installed capacity for electricity production of 34,696 kW (18,987 kW produced by public companies, 13,709 kW produced by private companies, and 2,000 kW of energy supplied by the States of São Paulo and Santa Catarina). This allowed a per capita consumption capacity of 77 kWh, which was about half of the average consumption in states with larger populations and production capacity, such as São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro (130 kWh on average per inhabitant). Mensagem do Governo, 1948, p. 46.

⁶ In this period, public healthcare in Brazil followed the parameters established during the Estado Novo regime, which began in 1937, when the public health physician José de Barros Barreto headed the National Department of Health (Departamento Nacional de Saúde, DNS). In this structure, the sanitary services had the Healthcare Centers as main reference, followed by the first and second class Hygiene Posts and, finally, the Hygiene Sub-posts. The Healthcare Centers in general had a larger staff (five doctors from different specialties, assisted by an equal number of nurses). The Hygiene Posts had only one doctor who handled all cases. The Mixed Health Posts, established in the second half of the 1940s, were an intermediate solution between the Healthcare Centers and the Hygiene Posts. They provided more specialized services than the latter, including the possibility of hospitalization for less complex cases, since they aimed to address individual medical problems in addition to collective health issues. On the subject, check Hochman (2005) and Fonseca (2007).

Figure 3: Map of the Sanitary Districts of the State of Paraná (1950)



Source: State of Paraná. A Concretização do Plano de Obras do governo de Moyses Lupion

In mapping the healthcare service available in this portion of Paraná’s territory, I would add the absence of public hospitals: the two existing hospitals in the region were private and not funded by the government. Once again, an almost exclusive concentration is observed in the eastern half of Paraná, as shown in Table 2, from 1950.

In part, this arrangement of the public healthcare service was based on the perspective expressed in the legislation of the period. Individual health was not considered a fundamental right; as a result, it was not the state’s obligation to guarantee it; unlike what is effectively ensured, for example, by the Brazilian Federal Constitution of 1988. On this subject, the Federal Constitution of 1946 mentioned health once, in Article 5. This Article stated the exclusive competence of the Union to legislate on “general rules (...) for the defense and protection of health”.

Table 2: Hospitals by Sanitary Department in Paraná

Institution				
Official			Private	
Sanitary Districts	State	Federal	Subsidized by the government	Not subsidized by the government
1º.DS	5	11	9	10
2º.DS	2	-	1	-
3º.DS	1	-	8	2
4º.DS	-	-	8	2
5º.DS	-	-	5	-
6º.DS	-	-	2	12
7º.DS	-	-	-	2
Total	8	11	33	28

Source: A Concretização do Plano de Obras do Governo de M. Lupion, p.256

Considering the focus of the public healthcare service on combating diseases deemed endemic in the period (malaria, leprosy, tuberculosis, and yellow fever), the perspective that was conveyed by Gustavo Capanema, Minister of Education and Public Health, and prevailed in the years following the Estado Novo regime⁷, from 1934 to 1945, stated that

public health is not concerned with individual cases, whether illness or any other special situation concerning the health or the body. To public healthcare, the individual case is relevant only if it affects and endangers the collectivity. Other than that, public healthcare will not be concerned with it.⁸

Thus, beyond a kind of “sanitary pragmatism”, translated into a conception of public health that should prioritize or, more accurately, exclusively address infectious and contagious and endemic diseases in the national territory, Capanema’s formulation denotes the circumscription of the right from public healthcare to collective implications. This implies the denial of providing care to the needs in specific places and also for individuals.

⁷The Ministry of Education and Public Health was created in 1930, at the beginning of the Getúlio Vargas government. It was only in 1953 (once again during Vargas’ presidency), that the Ministry was split into the Ministry of Health and the Ministry of Education and Culture.

⁸ Apud FONSECA, Cristina M. Oliveira. Saúde no Governo Vargas (1930-1945), 2007, p. 47.

Such restrictions on the right to health were expressed in the healthcare budget of the State of Paraná: in 1949, the government of Paraná celebrated the growth of resources for public healthcare, to which “supplementary and special credits totaling of Cr\$ 8,725,712.20 were added, resulting in a total of Cr\$ 27,113,044.60”. This sum justified another celebration by the government:

Thus, it was spent Cr\$18.30 per capita on public healthcare in the state, discounted, as recommended, the amount spent on constructions for public healthcare. Therefore, this expense was only with services per se, per capita that increased significantly from Cr\$ 12.00 in 1948.⁹

Even though these celebrated values did not consider the inflation rate of the period (8.3%), in terms of understanding what those Cr\$ 18.30 per capita represented, it is important to mention that the minimum wage – that was frozen since 1944 and remained so until 1951 –, was set at Cr\$ 380.00¹⁰. In other words, the annual per capita figures for public healthcare, with regard to state expenditure, corresponded to less than 5% of the minimum wage. This seems to illustrate the level of coverage that this service had for the population.

The educational sector experienced a similar situation. Although the 1946 Constitution explicitly recognized it as a universal right – Article 166 stated that “Education is everyone’s right and shall be provided at home and at schools” – there was a contingency to this right. According to Article 168, education was a free public service restricted to primary education (which, at the time, was limited to the first four years of regular schooling), since free admission in subsequent levels was conditional to those who could “prove lack or insufficient resources” (article 168, item II)¹¹.

In the case of the State of Paraná, school-dropout rates revealed another effective form of restriction to that right. After his first year in office (1948), the Lupion administration acknowledged this problem: “the number of students enrolled at the beginning of the year was 108,158. (...) The students

⁹ Mensagem do Governo, 1950, p.129

¹⁰ For comparison, in 2017, the per capita expenditure on state healthcare in the State of Paraná was R\$ 322.34, while the minimum wage was R\$ 937.00. Combining state, federal and municipal costs, the total expenditure reached R\$ 1,129.36. In: CRM-PR, “No Paraná, gasto público em saúde por habitante é de R\$ 3,09 ao dia”. Available at: <https://www.crmpr.org.br/No-Parana-gasto-publico-em-saude-por-habitante-e-de-R-309-ao-dia-11-50256.shtml> Accessed on: 12 Jun. 2020.

¹¹ In 1949, through state law, full and unrestricted gratuity was extended to secondary and normal school education in the state of Paraná. See Mensagem 1950, p.159. The reduced number of vacancies at this level of education, combined with dropout and retention rates, pointed to the limited effectiveness of this gratuity policy in terms of medium-term access.

who regularly attended classes were 78,955. A difference, therefore, of 29,203 students, that is, 27.2% of the total”¹².

Dropout rates were corroborated by student retention rates, since “of the 78,955 students effectively enrolled, 41,179 were approved, that is, an average of 52.3% of the total”¹³.

This scenario and the terms under which the right to education was exercised had as one of its results the illiteracy of the young population. According to an estimate presented in 1954 by Erasmo Pilotto – former Secretary of Education of the State of Paraná in 1949 and 1950 – 50% of the population between the ages 12 and 15 were illiterate.

This illiteracy rate among young people was influenced by several interconnected factors, some of which were linked to the demographic characteristics mentioned earlier: out of the estimated 247,000 inhabitants of Paraná in the age group of 12 to 15 years old, 190,000 lived in the rural area (77%); 56,400 (23%) were employed (45,000 in agriculture), and 130,000 (52.5%) were studying¹⁴.

With regard to the entire scholar population (children and young people), the estimate was that 300,000 children were not attending school, indicating that “only one-third of the student population was being attended to”¹⁵.

This poorly met demand was primarily addressed by the public service, as shown in Tables 3 and 4. These tables were presented by the State Secretary of Education in 1951 to the Legislative Assembly of the State of Paraná:

Table 3: Public Primary Education

1950	Registrations	Attendance Rates	Approval Rates	Course Conclusions
Capital	16.249	14.634	12.192	2.105
Interior	109.673	99.738	68.676	10.012
Total	125.922	114.362	80.868	12.117

Source: Mensagem do Governo, 1951, p.116

¹² Mensagem do Governo, 1948, p.83-84

¹³ Idem, p.84.

¹⁴ INEP, A Educação no Paraná, 1954, p.123

¹⁵ Mensagem do Governo, 1951, p.112

Table 4: Private Primary Education

1950	Registrations	Attendance Rates	Approval Rates	Course Conclusions
Capital	2.232	1.953	1.683	298
Interior	6.604	5.812	4.795	668
Total	8.836	7.765	6.478	966

Source: Mensagem do Governo, 1951, p.116

In addition to the predominance of the public service, with 93% of just over 134,000 students enrolled, in summary, the data indicated that public primary education, although on a much larger scale, had attendance rates slightly higher than private education (90% versus 88%). However, in terms of approval rates, private education had a 13% advantage over public education (83% versus 70%).

Even though these figures represented an improvement when compared to those provided two years earlier, the issue was the negative education gap in the interior of the State. Despite having similar attendance rates - 90% for both the capital and the interior - there was a significant difference in student approval: 83% in the capital compared to 69% in the interior. Such disparity between the capital and the interior was not demonstrated in private education, both presented similar rates: 88% attendance and 83% approval. Comparing the two teaching modalities, public and private, would suggest that the “bottleneck” of public education was more pronounced in the interior, probably due to the greater concentration of rural residents and, consequently, to the type of educational services provided by the state in these areas. This is associated with the living conditions of the students assisted by public schools.

Based on government reports, the public educational service in the interior was based on the construction of the so-called “rural isolated schools” or “rural school houses”. These constructions consisted of a 54-square-meter classroom, providing multi-grade education, sanitary facilities, and housing for the assigned teacher, who resided at the workplace during the school term. These schools were usually built with wood and had an average cost of Cr\$ 24,000.00 (equivalent to 75 minimum wages for the period) per unit¹⁶.

¹⁶Relatório do Governo Moyses Lupion, 1950, p.326.

Besides the lack of infrastructure, the government identified the professional qualification as another problem in the educational public service: “we believe that the technical level of our pre-primary education is quite low. Contributing to this is the lack of specialized teachers”¹⁷.

In relation to infrastructure, as mentioned before, the government constantly tried to demonstrate its investments. The Message of 1950 pointed out the inauguration of “[...] more than 1,000 schools in rural areas, benefiting about 25,000 children [...]”¹⁸. This vaunted investment in infrastructure does not seem to have been accompanied to the same extent in addressing the second factor seen as problematic in public education if we consider the following report produced after the Lupion administration: “the number of teachers does not meet the needs of each school, resulting, therefore, in a low level of academic achievement by the students, because it is common to find classes without teachers and others with a high number of students”.¹⁹

In this case, the “economic perspective” seems to have prevailed over the educational issue, since “the annual cost per approved student amounted to the state Cr\$ 504.00 on average”, which the government “should consider very high”. By way of comparison, the minimum wage that year was Cr\$ 380.00. This means that the monthly cost per student was Cr\$ 42.00, or one-ninth of a minimum wage. To that “extremely high” per capita expenditure – which “only considered expenses with personnel and materials (...) without including expenses with school buildings” – it was “suggested (...) to seek for a higher efficiency at a lower price”²⁰. Part of this – the “price” – seems to have been achieved: the amount of Cr\$ 504.00 per student in 1947 increased to Cr\$ 765.45 in 1951. Adjusted for inflation of approximately 56% for the period (1947-1951), this resulted in a reduction of over 4%. This reduction would be more pronounced considering that the minimum wage increased to Cr\$ 1,200.00 in 1952. Thus, if in 1947 the annual per capita cost of students in the State of Paraná was 1.3 times the minimum wage, it decreased to 0.63 times the minimum wage in 1952.

To a great extent, this reduction in costs was also a result of the salary freeze for civil servants in Paraná, who remained for three years with no adjustments to their salaries (from November 1946 to November 1949). With

¹⁷ Mensagem do Governo, 1948, p. 84

¹⁸ Idem, *ibidem*, p.11

¹⁹ Mensagem do Governo, 1951, p. 50

²⁰ Mensagem do Governo, 1948, p. 85-86

an inflation rate close to 25% in the period, permanent employees received a 40% salary increase at the end of 1949. This real increase of 15% was reversed in the following two years, as there were no salary readjustments and inflation exceeded 25%. This situation was more severe among the so-called “*extranumerários*” (temporarily contracted personnel), who received an allowance of Cr\$ 200.00, as salary increase.

In order to reduce expenses with civil servants, these temporary employees played a key role, as since July 1947, the state administration “decided to establish as a general rule the non-admission of new employees to the staff of the state”. The government justified the measure “taking into account that the current staff, with nearly 11,000 employees, is undoubtedly excessive for the needs of our services”²¹. This restriction on the hiring of employees suggests that the structural growth of the public service took place either by hiring temporary employees or through the increased workload of existing permanent staff. The latter “solution” seemed to have been implemented in the education sector, as indicated by the 1951 citation that ²²highlighted the shortage of teachers and overcrowded classrooms.

In turn, what was presented as government control was denounced by the opposition - notably through the press and, more specifically, by the newspaper *Diário da Tarde* - as a strategy of the executive branch to create the so-called “nomination decree machine”²³. This referred to the concentration of admissions of temporary employees in the executive branch and the exemption from their obligation of being approved in the Public Service Entrance Exam in these situations.

In any case, due to these hiring practices, the civil service would be characterized in the period as a field of dispute between the groups that constituted the public power in the State of Paraná.

In addition to the issue of the temporary employees, the salary freeze imposed by the government on civil servants served as an ongoing source of conflict. It must be emphasized that this salary freeze was also occasionally circumvented by job reclassification within the professional category. As

²¹ Circular n.15 do Palácio do Governo aos secretários de Estado, July 1947.

²² Founded in 1899, the *Diário da Tarde* was a newspaper that opposed the government of Moyses Lupion during the period. Its director, Roberto Barrozo, was the main exponent of this stance. He was elected councilor in 1948 and president of the Municipal Chamber of Curitiba, also elected president of the Social Labour Party (Partido Social Trabalhista, PST) in 1949, after being expelled from the PTB. On the subject, check BATISTELLA, 2015.

²³ *In*: *Diário da Tarde*, 24/03/1949, p.6.

the opposition denounced through the press, the government frequently utilized changes in the pay grades as a method to selectively benefit certain civil servants.

At the beginning of the Lupion administration, in opposition to the salary increases for civil servants, the state administration began to point out the need to restructure the civil service. Aligned with this argument, the Secretary of Finance, Paulo Soares Neto, while acknowledging “that, in almost all cases, the demands were justified”, pointed out that “the best way to regulate this situation would be to determine a complete restructuring of the staff, eliminating its vices and placing it in a position where it would no longer require alterations”.

However, this “vices-eliminating” measure was subject to an allocation of resources, as the secretary further justified, “only in the budget of 1948 funds will be granted for the implementation of the aforementioned restructuring, with no concession being made in the current year”²⁴.

The demand generated by virtue (“justice”) to be settled with “sanction” and punishment (“vices-eliminating”), had its implementation deadlines extended in 1948 and 1949. The postponement exacerbated the ongoing dispute. On the one hand, amplified by the increase in salary losses of civil servants and, on the other, by the accusation of exemption by the government, as expressed by deputy Oscar L. Munhoz:

The information that the government is committed to the general restructuring of the staff, to later address salary adjustments is a common manifestation. (...) It is a social problem, because the circumstances we are given, the life of the civil servant is truly dramatic, with salaries that barely cover living and cooking expenses.²⁵

²⁴“Zelo permanente pelo interesse coletivo”. In: *Gazeta do Povo*, n.7980, 29/03/1947, p.5. Founded in 1919, *Gazeta do Povo* is a newspaper based in the city of Curitiba. Governor Moyses Lupion was a partner in the newspaper, with a 49% share (VAZ, 1986, p. 76). Its general director and co-owner was the federal deputy from the PSD party Acir Guimarães, who died in 1948.

²⁵“Nada de favor. Apenas justiça”. In: *Diário da Tarde* n.6586, 20/01/1949, p. 01. During his term, deputy Oscar Lopes Munhoz, affiliated to the PSD (the same party as Governor Lupion), became critical of the government. This was primarily motivated by the tactics employed by the government, particularly the offering of positions, to secure support from those who initially were opposed to the administration. Munhoz was part of a group known as “grenadiers” (a reference to those who throw explosive grenades), along with deputies Pedro Firman Neto, Alfredo Pinheiro Jr., and Francisco Acioli Filho, who were also affiliated with the PSD. BATISTELLA, 2016, p. 262.

In response, the government maintained its stance and argued that salary adjustments should be based on merit, which would be obtained through efficiency. This is inferred from Governor Lupion’s argument: “I know that the civil servants are not satisfied with me. But I am not satisfied with them either”²⁶.

Alongside these statements regarding the civil service salary adjustments, the newspaper *Diário da Tarde* reported throughout the first semester of 1949 on delays, non-payment of salaries for different sectors and on preferential treatment with respect to pay progression only for those who had some personal connections to the government. This was exemplified by the news on the “promotion of a favored individual who went from the ‘L’ level to the ‘R’”²⁷; the non-payment of retiree²⁸; the three-month delay in the payment of the inspectors linked to the Secretariat of Health and Social Assistance²⁹; and the delay in payment for doctors³⁰.

When considering the “Proposta Orçamentária para o Exercício de 1950” (Budget Proposal for the 1950 Fiscal Year) sent to the Legislative Assembly on August 10, 1949, which did not include salary adjustments to civil servants, it became evident that the government’s intention was to extend that situation for another year.

In response to the government’s intention, the newspaper *Diário da Tarde* reported the “demonstration by about 400 temporary employees, organized by the opposition/minority,” at the Legislative Assembly. The demonstration was endorsed in the rostrum by the state representative “grenadier” Alfredo Pinheiro Junior (PSD)³¹.

It is important to note that the civil servants appeared to have limited ability for collective mobilization during that period. The reason for this was because, besides the prohibition for civil servants in the country to form unions at the time, there were no collective demonstrations organized by the existing associations representing these professionals during that period.

²⁶ Idem, *ibidem*. Deputy Munhoz uses this formulation from the governor to refute him in the article mentioned in the previous footnote.

²⁷ In *Diário da Tarde*, March 5, 1949, p.4.

²⁸ Idem, on March 15, 1949, p.5.

²⁹ Idem, on March 19, 1949, p.1.

³⁰ Idem, on March 29, 1949, p.11.

³¹ “Na Assembléia Legislativa”. In: *Diário da Tarde*, September 15, 1949, p.1.

The largest of these entities was the Association of Public Employees of Paraná (Associação dos Funcionários Públicos do Paraná, AFPP), founded on May 1, 1932. Although the association's bylaws stated to "plead with the competent authorities the necessary measures for the complete security of the rights guaranteed to the class", in collective terms it actually seemed to focus on "promoting the socialization of civil servants", as well as medical, dental and legal assistance. Furthermore, possible actions in favor of the civil servants were circumscribed by the existing legislation and, more directly, by the restriction adopted and oriented by the AFPP that the civil servants should remain "obedient to the institutions and to the laws in force"³². The legislation characterized an important restriction at the time, especially in light of the prohibition of strikes by civil servants, along with the subordination outlined in the AFPP's bylaws.

This legal alignment was expressed in the directions that came to be in charge of the AFPP. For example, in the 1949-1950 biennium, the presidency of the entity was held by Judge Cid Campelo, who was also president of the Regional Electoral Court.

In addition to the organization of the civil service, it is important to consider the composition of the category: it had a smaller social presence in terms of population, it was geographically dispersed, and fragmented in terms of services provided and professions. In terms of social presence, there was 1 state civil servant for every 190 inhabitants (approximately 11,000 civil servants in a population of 11.5 million in Paraná) at the time. This number was almost 138% lower compared to 2020 when the ratio was 1 to 72³³.

As for the fragmentation and dispersion of the professionals, it is worth noting that the largest group of employees consisted of teachers, comprising approximately 2,000 members. Besides their distribution throughout the state, although part of these professionals was concentrated in urban areas as previously mentioned, 40% of them worked in rural areas, many in the so-called "rural school houses". This often resulted in one teacher working hundreds of miles away from others, as well as from members of the school administration³⁴.

³² Estatutos da Associação dos Funcionários Públicos do Paraná, 1940, p.2.

³³ The data regarding the civil service in the State of Paraná in 2020 were obtained in "Governo implanta reajuste de 2 % na folha do funcionalismo". In: Agência Estadual de Notícias, January 15, 2020. Available at: <http://www.aen.pr.gov.br/modules/noticias/article.php?storyid=105319&tit=Governo-implanta-reajuste-de-2-na-folha-do-funcionalismo>. Accessed on: 20 Jan. 2020.

³⁴ Since April 26, 1947, teachers from the State of Paraná officially had an organization that exclusively

Given this scenario, on September 30, 1949, the government of Paraná presented bill 84/49, proposing a 40% salary adjustment to civil servants. The bill was approved on October 4, overcoming the opposition’s counterproposal for a 60% salary adjustment³⁵.

Subsequently, on October 12, the government submitted another bill which, in addition to the 40% salary adjustment for all civil servants, allowed for an additional increase ranging from 13.5% to 75% for a part of secondary and normal school teachers (28% or 84 teachers), a professional category that consisted of 292 workers. This bill became Law 119/49, with the addition of three (03) new salary levels in the pay grade for the professionals³⁶.

These measures diverged from the previous course of action outlined in the budget proposal and they also contradicted the argument consistently put forth throughout the administration, which asserted that civil service restructuring should precede any salary adjustment. However, the determining factors for this change could not be established in this study; it is unclear if it was the pressure and counter-propaganda from the opposition, combined with the demands of the category; or perhaps the relevance and convenience of those measures that would come into effect the following year (1950), an election year for both the executive and the legislative branches.

Considering the composition of the Legislative Assembly of the State of Paraná and its major alignment with the executive branch, the electoral convenience factor seems to have had a greater influence on the decision-making of the administrators-legislators.

In fact, the composition of the Legislative Assembly established in the elections for the four-year period (1947-1950) did not reflect a direct

represented them: the Association of Teachers of Paraná (Associação dos Professores do Paraná, APP), which, in the researched period, did not show any participation in the demands discussed here, just like the AFPP.

³⁵ “Na Assembléia Legislativa”. In: *Gazeta do Povo*, October 5, 1949, p.1.

³⁶ In the career and salary structure of the public servants in the State of Paraná, these new levels corresponded to the letters O (Cr\$ 40,200.00 with 42 positions), P (Cr\$ 45,000.00 with 22 positions) and R (Cr\$ 54,600.00 with 20 positions). The other 207 positions continued to be assigned in the previous letters, with 173 teachers classified under letter M (Cr\$ 31,200.00) and 34 teachers classified under letter N (Cr\$ 35,400.00). Thus, in comparative terms, the salaries of secondary school teachers ranged from 82 to 143 minimum wages of Cr\$ 380 (minimum wage value until 1952) or from 26 to 45 minimum wages of Cr\$ 1,200.00 (from 1952 onwards). This restructuring in the pay grades for secondary teachers further widened the salary gap within the category, considering that a normalist teacher (teaching early grades of the former primary school) continued to be classified in the letters G (Cr\$ 16,800.00) or I (Cr\$ 21,600.00) and secondary school teachers in letters G and H (Cr\$ 19,200.00). In the career and pay grades, normal teachers (2,031 teachers) and secondary school teachers (309 teachers) accounted for a total of 2,340 positions, to which substitutes and occasional teachers were added. In: “Proposta Orçamentária de 1951”, May 15, 1950.

representation of the majority of the population or the civil servants in terms of effective opposition to the projects and interests of the ruling class and dominant groups: out of the 37 deputies that comprised the legislature³⁷, 6 were from the Brazilian Labour Party (Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro, PTB), 7 from the National Democratic Union (União Democrática Nacional, UDN), 2 from the Popular Representation Party (Partido da Representação Popular, PRP, integralist party), 16 from the Social Democratic Party (Partido Social Democrata, PSD), 4 from Republican Party (Partido Republicano, PR), 1 from the Social Progressive Party (Partido Social Progressista, PSP) and 1 from the Brazilian Communist Party (Partido Comunista Brasileiro, PCB) - in the case of the latter, the public prosecutor in the city of Mallet (in southeastern Paraná) José Vieira Neto was impeached from office once the registration of the PCB was contested on May 7, 1947.

At first, considering the coalitions formed for the 1947 elections, the government of Moyses Lupion had the support of deputies from the PSD, PTB, UDN, and PRP parties, totaling 31 deputies or 70% of the state legislature.

The social composition and geographical distribution³⁸ of this legislature did not seem to pose problems to the government regarding its projects for the state civil servants: out of the 37 deputies, 9 could be related to the civil service (4 public prosecutors, 2 police delegates, 2 university professors and 1 physician). However, 7 of these 9 deputies were either engaged or involved in other activities, in such a way that public service was not their main activity. Completing this composition of the legislature there were 4 businessmen (2 linked to commerce and 2 to industry), 2 accountants, 1 pharmacist, 4 engineers, 11 lawyers, and 5 physicians. Among them, 5 had previously served as state secretaries in previous administrations, and 9 had been appointed mayors in cities in the interior of Paraná.

With this composition, the projected and promised restructuring of the civil servants' career was materialized and became effective with the approval of the "Estatuto dos Funcionários Públicos Civis do Estado do Paraná" (Statute of Civil Servants of the State of Paraná). The project for this statute was submitted and approved by the Legislative Assembly in November 1949

³⁷ BATISTELLA, 2015, pp. 117-118.

³⁸ The composition of the legislature in question mirrored the demographic pattern observed: out of the 37 deputies, 16 were from the city of Curitiba and only 2 deputies had the city of Paranavaí (northeast of the state) and the city of Londrina as their electoral base, thus extending beyond the boundaries the eastern half of the territory of Paraná. NICOLAS, 1984, p. 431-461.

– two months after the salary adjustment. The law was sanctioned by the governor on the 24th of that month, as Law No. 293.

The State of Paraná thus became the first unit of the federation to approve a general regulation for its civil servants. After Paraná, only the State of Minas Gerais would do so in the 1950s, through Law No. 869, sanctioned on July 5, 1952³⁹.

One reason for the near absence of state regulations in the following decades can be attributed to the publication of the Federal Decree-Law No. 1713 (October 28, 1939), the “Estatuto dos Funcionários Públicos Civis da União” (Statute of Civil Servants of the Union). Article 1 of the statute expanded its scope to encompass not only federal civil servants: “This law regulates the conditions for filling public positions, the rights and advantages, duties and responsibilities of civil servants of the Union, the Territories and, if applicable, those of the Municipality of the Federal District, the States and the Municipalities”.

In addition to this scope in the different governmental legal instances, Decree-Law No. 1713 applied to civil servants of the three branches of government, including the Public Prosecutor’s Office, as established by the sole paragraph of Article 1.

Similar to the regulations established later by other states, the statute enacted in Paraná was almost entirely a transcription of the federal law from 1939. A comparative examination of the two laws reveals a minimal number of modifications and/or additions, apart from the necessary adaptations to delimit its scope to the State of Paraná.

In terms of overlaps, both laws sought to provide a regulatory framework for the public service. Even though the regulation was partially contemplated by the Consolidation of Labor Laws (Consolidação das Leis do Trabalho, CLT) of 1943, some alterations were favorable to civil servants. For example, maternity leave was extended (3 months for civil servants instead of the 84 days provided for employees covered by the Consolidation of Labor Laws⁴⁰); the required time to achieve job stability was reduced to 2 years for

³⁹ In chronological order, the following states enacted Civil Servants Statutes after Paraná and Minas Gerais: Bahia (1966), São Paulo (1968), Guanabara (1969), Ceará (1974), Rio de Janeiro (1975), Sergipe (1977), Santa Catarina (1985), Amazonas (1986), Goiás (1988), Mato Grosso do Sul (1990), Mato Grosso (1990), Alagoas (1991), Rondônia (1993), Amapá (1993), Acre (1993), Piauí (1994), Pará (1994), Espírito Santo (1994), Rio Grande do Sul (1994), Rio Grande do Norte (1994), Maranhão (1994), Roraima (2001), Paraíba (2003), Tocantins (2007), and Distrito Federal (2011).

⁴⁰ In this period, maternity leave was paid by the employer, which increased the difficulty of enforcing

employees hired through civil service examination and to 5 years for those not hired through such exams (compared to 10 years for employees covered by the Consolidation of Labor Laws⁴¹); and full retirement benefits were provided after 30 years of service and/or in case of disability⁴², with the possibility of career progression if the employee had not reached the highest level during their career, while partial benefits were available for other cases⁴³.

Besides establishing these rights – it should be emphasized that, in the case of civil servants of the State of Paraná, the statute largely reiterated what the federal law had prescribed for them – the entire law, in accordance with Article 1 of the aforementioned federal law, had two scopes: to serve as a control parameter for the state power over civil servants and also to exercise control over the public authorities regarding their relationship with the civil servants, especially concerning their hiring and remuneration.

The law, concerning the first point, sought to establish a certain code of conduct for the civil servants as well as defined forms of inspection, evaluation, and disciplinary action to be taken when violations were proven to have occurred.

The employee's "behavioral protocol" did not only reiterate on the statute what was already outlined in the Penal Code (such as misappropriation, embezzlement, etc.)⁴⁴, but also attempted to codify in the law a professional ethic based on values such as honor and honesty, or, in the terms of the statute, on "fé de ofício" (Article 46, letter "a"). This aimed at "proceeding in public and private life in such a way as to always dignify the public function" (art. 206, item XIV). The search for contiguity between public and private life for the civil servant, which was difficult to objectify or specify in the terms employed – beyond what could be agreed upon at the time and in

this right. The responsibility for paying maternity leave shifted to the social security system in 1973. The Federal Constitution of 1988 established a 120-day maternity leave period for all female workers. On this topic, see OLIVEIRA, 1996, p. 327.

⁴¹The stability for employees covered by the Consolidation of Labor Laws (CLT) became optional with the creation of the Length-of-Service Guarantee Fund (Fundo de Garantia por Tempo de Serviço, FGTS) in 1966, and it was definitely revoked by the Federal Constitution of 1988. On this topic, check Oliveira (1996, p. 519).

⁴²This regulation on retirement in the statute of the State of Paraná reproduced what was established in the 1946 Federal Constitution, in its Article 191, 2nd paragraph.

⁴³For workers covered by CLT, in this period, the Decree 2,774, of August 5, 1940, was in force. This decree established a minimum retirement age of 60 years, with the exception for disability pensions. The benefit ranged from 70% to 100% of the average salary of the last three years. The Federal Constitution of 1946 did not regulate the retirement of workers covered by CLT, but only that of civil servants. Check Além et alii, 1998, p. 171.

⁴⁴Decreto-Lei nº 2.848, of December 7, 1940.

certain situations - seemed to open a wide margin to casuistry and arbitrary interventions by hierarchical superiors.

In order to establish guidelines and regulations for the conduct of civil servants in terms of a greater sense of predictability and external and universal thoughtfulness, some parameters draw attention to allowing a possible “temporal demarcation”. For example, the requirement of “urbanity” from the civil servant - emblematically stated in Chapter I, “Duties and disciplinary action” (“*Dos deveres e da ação disciplinar*”), Article 207, item V - implied a supposed positive opposition to a stereotyped and negatively portrayed behavior attributed to the rural context⁴⁵.

Similarly, the evaluation of the employee’s “vocational inclinations” (Article 62, letter “c”)⁴⁶ as a justification for “compulsory readjustment” would be considered outdated in the present. This readjustment was made effective “by assigning new duties to the employees, respecting the functions inherent to their careers, or through transfer” (Article 63)⁴⁷.

Although the use of such adjectives was in “ideological harmony” with the prevailing mood of the period, the criteria for regulating the behavior of the employee based on these characteristics provided “room for maneuver” that favored hierarchical superiors. This allowed room for arbitrary actions towards civil servants, considering the absence in the statute and the difficulty

⁴⁵ In the process of urbanization experienced by industrial societies, the rural areas were sometimes associated with the bucolic, the idyllic, and with the harmony between humans and nature. On the other hand, they were also portrayed as a place of backwardness, brutality, and lack of control, following the discussion on “civilized” and “civilization” within the context of colonialism. Check, among others, Williams (1989, p. 334-355).

⁴⁶ In this case, “vocation” (“*vocação*”) refers to a characterization of professional identity as a personal realization or a connection to a pre-existing condition in the subject. During the specified period, the use of this concept was related to the Christian tradition, which, drawing from the Latin etymology of the word (*voco, vocare* = to call), conceived vocation (“*vocação*”) as a divine call to religious work. This perspective was prevalent among authors considered as references in the educational field, such as Antonio Carneiro Leão (1887-1966). Check Santos (2016).

⁴⁷ The terms “urbanity” and “vocational inclinations” were maintained in the Statute of Civil Servants of the State of Paraná enacted on November 16, 1970 (Law 6174/70), which was still in force in 2020. There are contemporary records that document the use of those parameters in attempts to reprimand servants who were potentially classified as being in a state or condition of “rurality” and/or “lacking vocation”. These alleged anachronisms could be observed in other sections of the “new” statute, such as in section IX “*Licença da Funcionária Casada com Funcionário*” (“Leave of the Employee Married to an Employee”) (section VIII in the 1970 Statute). Probably based on “*pátrio poder*” (male preponderance and dominance within the family, which was totally revoked by Law 4.121 on August 27, 1962, known as the Married Women’s Statute), this section only allowed the wife to take a leave of absence from public service in order to join her husband who served in another locality. This indicates that formal isonomy between civil servant spouses was not formally implemented in the 1970 Statute of Paraná, maintaining the male prerogative of the previous Statute.

in establishing more precise parameters for defining what meant the lack of “urbanity”, the lack of “vocational inclinations”, and of “level of mental development” (Article 62, letter “b”), among others.

If on the one hand this regulation aimed to control and discipline the behavior of civil servants; on the other hand, and as a certain counterpart, in an almost inescapable “dialectical ambivalence”⁴⁸ of laws⁴⁹, the regulation limited hierarchical superiors and rulers and provided some guarantees to civil servants. Besides the probable alignment within the previously mentioned parameters, even if they were random, some items in the statute seemed to be aimed specifically and exclusively at these leading figures, as in what refers to the forms of admission into public service. In this item, the statute of the State of Paraná repeated the federal law. Besides job stability – another measure against arbitrariness and abuses –, the statute also made it obligatory being approved in an examination (exclusively based on qualifications) for positions that “require professionals with a higher education degree, or when it depends on the conclusion of a specialized course instituted by the public administration” (Article 16).

Although limited to certain positions, this requirement for being approved in a public service entrance exam and the inclusion of the civil servant in a career, in the case of the statute of the State of Paraná, extended the restriction to eventual occupants of elective positions. The state law added, when compared to the federal law, the requirement of being approved in a public service entrance exam, even if indirectly, for the admission of some management, leadership, and advisory positions (known in Portuguese as “funções gratificadas”, or “gratified positions”), thus restricting the power of nominations and appointments:

Article 79. Gratified position is instituted by law to fulfill supervisor positions and other duties that do not justify the creation of a new position.

§ 1º Supervisor positions duties can only be granted to employees within the same career, respecting the functional hierarchy.

§ 2º For directors’ positions, the conditions established by law or regulation prevail and, in their absence, the provisions of the previous paragraph shall apply.

⁴⁸ THOMPSON, 2001, p. 252.

⁴⁹ As E. P. Thompson (1975, p. 265) points out, “The rhetoric and the rules of a society are something a great deal more than sham. In the same moment they may modify, in profound ways, the behaviour of the powerful, and mystify the powerless. They may disguise the true realities of power, but, at the same time, they may curb that power and check its intrusions”.

In this dynamic of the counterparts that legislation sometimes presents to subordinates, Paraná’s civil servants secured two other benefits in relation to the federal law: bonus leave and seniority bonus.

The first benefit was prescribed in section II, Articles 179 to 184, and in summary, it granted the servant a paid leave of 6 months for every 10 years of effective exercise⁵⁰.

The seniority bonus granted the servant a salary increase of “25% after 25 years of service and another 5% after 30 years of service” (Article 140)⁵¹.

To conclude this comparison between the federal and the State of Paraná laws, I also point out that, in the sole paragraph of Article 1, the state law imposed a restriction as to its scope, which was not found in the federal law: the statute of the State of Paraná only applied “subsidiarily to the Public Prosecutor’s Office and the Teaching career”. This subsidiary nature, which gave the statute a secondary role for these two civil service careers, could be partly explained by the existence of specific legislation for them. In the case of the teaching profession, besides the State Constitution of 1947 (Article 114), there were two laws applicable to the category: Law No. 28, of January 9, 1948, addressed to “Professores Catedráticos (a particular category of teacher at the time) of Secondary Schools”; and Law 119, of October 15, 1948, which established “the career of normal and secondary school teachers in the State”.

On the other hand, this restriction and/or delimitation reinforced the idea that the regulation in the State of Paraná, in part considering the few additions and changes in comparison to the federal law, was also influenced by the upcoming electoral disputes. Therefore, these disputes raised the need to address the argument that the salary issue of civil servants was conditioned to its restructuring, which was argued by the government over the first 3 years of the administration.

This conclusion is supported by the acknowledgment that the statute of the State of Paraná, as a copy of an existing legislation that already had effects on the state’s public service, had limited capacity to confront and resolve the restrictions of the public services offered to the population. These restrictions include issues such as scarcity, absence and/or inefficiency (“absence of state”) that were discussed in the first part of this article.

⁵⁰ The bonus leave was revoked on October 15, 2019, by initiative of the state government of Paraná and approved by the Legislative Assembly.

⁵¹ This bonus was withdrawn from the 1970 Statute of Civil Servants of the State of Paraná.

The promoted pursuit for efficiency and quality of public services, along with a reduction in costs, which were considered “exorbitant” by the government of the period, seemed to be effective only in its second objective, given the wage restriction imposed on civil servants during the second half of the 1940s in the State of Paraná. This provides another basis for contesting the novelty claimed by those who present similar arguments in more recent periods that we have experienced.

Acknowledgments

The authors would like to thank the Academic Writing Center (Centro de Escrita Acadêmica/CEA - <https://www2.uepg.br/escrita-academica/>) of the State University of Ponta Grossa (Universidade Estadual de Ponta Grossa/UEPG) for assistance with English language translation and developmental editing.

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Artigo recebido para publicação em 03/04/2023.
Artigo aprovado para publicação em 22/06/2023.