

## ARTICLE

## SEARCHING MEANINGS FOR THE EXPRESSION “GENDER IDEOLOGY”

IVANDERSON PEREIRA DA SILVA<sup>1\*</sup>ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9565-8785>

**ABSTRACT:** This research investigated the meanings that have been produced to the expression “Gender Ideology” in the contemporary scenario. Specifically, the study aimed to map publications containing this expression in its title and/or abstract, to explore its definitions and proposals that are presented. This is a qualitative, bibliographical research, conducted through a systematic review of published texts. Initially, a search for the expression “Gender Ideology” was carried out in “Google Scholar”. The first 20 pages were accessed. 26 files were identified. This material was read and analyzed and, as a result, it was found that the term “Gender Ideology” has taken at least three general meanings: male chauvinism and LGBTI phobia as gender ideologies; “Gender Ideology” as a prelude of moral apocalypse (in religious and legislative fields); and “Gender Ideology” as a fallacy.

**Keywords:** Gender Ideology. Moral Conservatism. Education.

## EM BUSCA DE SIGNIFICADOS PARA A EXPRESSÃO “IDEOLOGIA DE GÊNERO”

**RESUMO:** Essa pesquisa investigou os significados que têm sido produzidos pela expressão “Ideologia de Gênero” no cenário contemporâneo. De modo específico o estudo objetivou fazer um mapeamento de publicações que contenham essa expressão em seu título e/ou resumo, explorar suas definições, bem como as propostas que são apresentadas. Trata-se de uma investigação de natureza qualitativa, do tipo bibliográfica, que se amparou na abordagem da revisão sistemática de literatura. Inicialmente foi realizada uma busca no “Google Acadêmico” pela expressão “Ideologia de Gênero”. Foram acessadas as 20 primeiras páginas. Foram identificados 26 arquivos. Esse material foi lido e analisado e como resultado se constatou que a expressão “Ideologia de Gênero” tem assumido pelo menos três significados gerais: o machismo e a LGBTIfobia como ideologias de gênero; “Ideologia de Gênero” como um prelúdio do apocalipse moral (no campo religioso e no campo legislativo); e “Ideologia de Gênero” como uma falácia.

**Palavras chave:** Ideologia de Gênero; Conservadorismo Moral; Educação.

<sup>1</sup>Federal University of Alagoas, Campus Arapiraca, AL, Brazil.

\* Doctor in Education (UFAL/2016). He is a professor at the Federal University of Alagoas (UFAL), Campus Arapiraca. He is the leader of the Research Group on Education, Media, Technologies and Society (GEEMTS). E-mail: <[ivanderson.silva@arapiraca.ufal.br](mailto:ivanderson.silva@arapiraca.ufal.br)> .

## INTRODUCTION

From the United Nations (UN) Conference on Population, in Cairo (1994), and on Women, in Beijing (1995), as opposed to the purpose of these events, a significant investment of the Catholic Church in the face of what it has been calling by “Gender Ideology” has been observed (MIGUEL, 2016). The conservative attack has focused mainly around the misrepresentation of the argument launched by Simone de Beauvoir that “one is not born, but rather becomes, a woman” (BEAUVOIR, 1980). To get powered, the Catholic Church, using the slogan “Gender Ideology”, start announcing the prelude of moral apocalypse, spreading the idea that the feminist and Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Intersex (LGBTI) movements would be promoting the destruction of the family<sup>1</sup> and encouraging all manner of sexual debauchery, such as pedophilia, zoophilia, and necrophilia (SCHERER, 2015; TEMPESTA, 2014; KELLER, 2014; OLIVEIRA, 2015; SCALA, 2012; RICARDO, 2014; REVOREDO, 1998, CRUZ, 1997; RIFAN, 2015).

Although this campaign has started in the 1990s,<sup>2</sup> in Brazil this movement broke out around 2010 in the midst of discussions on the National Education Plan (*PNE*) (2014-2014) (BRASIL, 2014). This was only possible because this Catholic ideology joined to other Christian leaders massively represented in National Congress by “Evangelical Parliamentary Front”, “Roman Catholic and Apostolic Mixed Parliamentary Front” and “Parliamentary Front in Defense of Life and Family”.<sup>3</sup> This group got “to interpose the term ‘gender’ in *PNE* and then in state and municipal plans of education throughout the country” (FURLANI, 2015, n.p.).

As the pronouncents of those parliamentarians, who were elected taking advantage of their offices celestial executive (DEMIER, 2016), strengthened the discourse against the “Gender Ideology”, social movements that were obscured by defending unconvincing flags found an opportunity to project themselves nationally. This was the case of the *Movimento Escola Sem Partido (MESP)*, which in its origins was formed as a force that was against to a fanciful “Marxist ideological indoctrination” supposedly promoted in formal settings of basic and higher level education. According to Miguel (2016, p. 599), the *MESP* started in 2004, from the wrath of Miguel Nagib, a lawyer from *São Paulo*, “when his daughter told that her teacher of history had compared the Argentine revolutionary Ernesto Che Guevara to the Catholic saint Francisco de Assis”. Despite it has started to combat “Marxist indoctrination” in schools, the *MESP* only gained importance

in the public debate 10 years after its creation, when it started to fight against the called “Gender Ideology” (CARVALHO; SÍVORI, 2017).

In the national legislative scenario, the *MESP* influenced the creation of at least six Bills under the Parliament and at least one in the Senate, all of them aimed at combating “Gender Ideology”. This movement was accompanied by most of Parliaments and City Councils of states and Brazilian cities (REIS; EGGERT, 2017). In addition to the bills that are processed by the national, state and local scenarios, the *MESP* has encouraged “a campaign for parents to forward extrajudicial notices to schools” (MIGUEL, 2016, p. 602). The same campaign has encouraged families to formalize lawsuits if the teachers insist that debate “citing the possibility of obtaining duty pecuniary damages” (ibid).

Given this situation, it is possible to consider that we are in the midst of a conservative wave “in the worst bias of political, economic and moral conservatism” (BOULOS, 2016, p. 29). In view of the different social actors who have positioned themselves on this issue, what is observed is that “there are different uses of the called “Gender Ideology” (FURLANI, 2016, n. p.). Depending on individuals who have appropriated that term, different meanings have been produced (JUNQUEIRA, 2017). In this sense, the following research question emerges: What meanings have been produced by the expression “Gender Ideology” in the contemporary scene? Starting from this issue, this study aimed, in general, to identify the meanings that “Gender Ideology” produces in the current context; and, in a specific way, it aimed to map the publications that contain the expression “Gender Ideology” in its title and/or abstract; to explore the definitions proposed for this subject, and proposals that are displayed on the issue.

This is a qualitative (FLICK, 2009), bibliographic (SILVA; MERCADO, 2015) research that has sustained the approach of systematic review of the literature. This is a method in which some works of different types, on a particular topic, are analyzed systemically. The systematic review of literature can promote a survey of studies from different contexts and individuals (RAMOS *et al.*, 2014). In this way, it seeks to improve the understanding of that issue by the analysis of several studies. Thus, its use can provide an analysis of the syntagma “Gender Ideology”, propagated from the reactionary Catholic discourse (but also Christian in general) and fomented in conservative political field. This issue has gained prominence on the national scene and can, from a systematic literature review, highlight important information about its approaches as well as the methodologies used in political, legal and educational interventions.

According to Gomes and Caminha (2014), the systematic review should not only gather information, but it should realize how this information is being used and check these data gaps for targeting new studies on the subject. Thus, the study in screen presents an issue summary and points theoretical gaps for studies in the fields of public politics in education, educational and learning issues, and especially the implications of the conservative wave that rises, becomes stronger and tends to push this society deeply marked by autoimmune degeneration of capitalism (BOULOS, 2016) for an update of contemporary face of barbarism (NETTO, 2010).

For this, at first, a consultation at the search website “Google Scholar” <<https://scholar.google.com.br/>> was held, for the expression “Gender Ideology”. The first 20 pages were accessed. This methodology is supported by Silva and Mercado researches (2015); and, from the checking of the results listed, 26 articles were identified from academic journals and opinion. This material was read and analyzed, and the results of this investigation were organized, categorized, and are available in the subsequent session.

In the analysis field, by agreeing with the non-neutrality of research in education (SILVA; OLIVEIRA, 2018), we located in next to the historical studies, based on critical theory, which put itself in defense that, within this classes society, we are currently surfing on the crest of a huge wave of conservatism that has promoted large regression in all sectors of society and especially in the struggles of feminist and LGBTI movements (DEMIER; HOEVELER, 2016; BOULOS, 2016).

## DATA COLLECTION AND SYSTEMATIC REVIEW

In consultation made on 25.12.2017 to Google Scholar for “Gender Ideology”, we checked the results listed in the first 20 pages. By filtering these results, 26 items were found, which explicitly brought the expression “Gender Ideology” in its title and/or abstract (see list in the references).<sup>4</sup>

After this mapping, a reading and an analysis of this material was carried out in order to explore the proposed definitions, as well as referrals that were presented on the issue. Among this research movement, it was possible to demonstrate that the proposed definitions for the term “Gender Ideology” depended on the adopted references and even the ideal of society that these individuals seek to build by producing and publishing their articles.

Given the meanings produced by “Gender Ideology”, from the analysis of the material, the following categories were organized: male chauvinism and LGBTI phobia as gender ideologies; “Gender Ideology” as a prelude of moral apocalypse (from a religious point of view and from the legislative point of view); and “Gender Ideology” as a fallacy. We will discuss about these categories below.

#### **A) THE MALE CHAUVINISM AND LGBTI PHOBIA AS GENDER IDEOLOGIES**

This category presents studies that state the existence of gender ideologies in society. Such ideologies subjugate women to men, transgender to cisgender; gay and bisexual to heterosexuals. These are the ideologies of male chauvinism and LGBTI phobia.

As an example of this positioning, it is possible to cite studies by Mendes, who published two papers in 2010 (MENDES, 2010a; MENDES, 2010b), in which the author understands the concept of ideology “as a form of discourse that challenges and qualifies individuals and their social identities” (MENDES, 2010a, p. 7). The concept of gender is understood by the author as “the discourse responsible for transforming individuals into male or female individuals” (MENDES, 2010a, p. 7). The term “Gender Ideology” is defined by this author as a dominant ideology of the ruling class, conveyed in advertising discourse, “which prescribes a binary and complementary opposition between genders, and acts as one of the ideological mechanisms that legitimizes and reproduces the androcentric social order” (MENDES, 2010a, p. 3).

In these studies, the author analyzes two advertising materials to support the thesis that “the exploitation and commodification of the female body by the publicity, as well as the repeated use of stereotypes that reinforce the subordinate place given to women in modern societies, appears to them as something natural” (MENDES, 2010a, p. 4). Mendes (2010a; 2010b), at first presents the analysis of an advertising piece of Kaiser beer, clearly aimed at the male consumer. Through analysis of this piece, the author found that this “reserves to women the role of pleasure object, of less important, and not of person” (MENDES, 2010a, p. 5). The second advertising part analyzed focused on the sale of home appliances aimed at “woman with many functions”. She would be that who, even working outside the home, is not exempt from her “women’s duties”, as follows: take care of her husband, home, and children. From this, it is evident that “for more than these [women] have earned their place in the labor market, they

are not emancipated from their domestic duties” (MENDES, 2010a, p. 6). While women are reaffirmed these ways, men continue playing their role of power, free of domestic field.

The analysis of these two works (MENDES, 2010a; MENDES, 2010b) revealed the idea that the term gender ideology can here be replaced, without any damage, by the term “male chauvinism”. In the perspective of the author, it is an gender ideology because, as a form of discourse, it challenges and qualifies the individuals and their social identities, according to their genders, relegating woman to an inferior social position and of submission to man. The same principle applies to LGBTI phobia by subjugating people with deviant sexual orientations and gender identities from the standard.

Another study highlighted in this survey and which corroborates to this view is from Costa and Coelho (2013). The authors aimed “to know, through the discourses of nurses, aspects of the process of subjectivity by sexuality, along the identity construction as women and as nurses” (ibid, p. 483). In this sense, the authors have assumed that “the subjectivity by oriented sexuality, by gender ideologies, in childhood and adolescence, maintains a close relationship with the dominant discourses that forbid sexuality and cross the construction of professional identity” (ibid).

A research of Costa and Coelho (2013) was made through the analysis of the life stories of nine nurses, graduated between 1979 and 2002, aged between 33 and 59 years, residents and developing their work activities in the city of Barbacena-MG, from October 2009 to January 2010. The analysis of the life histories of these nurses allowed the authors capturing gender stereotypes and sexuality in education received in the family and its impact on professional training of these women.

It was found that in their families, fathers were free to travel and explore the world while mothers stayed at home taking care of children. So “since early, children begin to observe, at home, that there is a pattern in which the man is dominant, the women become subordinate to children and to men, and these are freer of responsibility to the home” (COSTA; COELHO, 2013, p. 488). They also found that girls and boys did not share the same jokes and thus “the refusal, from a girl, of playing with dolls or liking games considered masculine, ends up causing a strong prejudice” (ibid).

Costa and Coelho (2013, p. 488) found that families have educated these girls so that they avoid being alone with the children without adult supervision. In this sense, “men always represent a threat [...]. This way of classifying male behavior as dangerous, since childhood, permeates the symbolic imagery and expresses all the time, in ways of thinking, feeling,

and acting”. The authors conclude their analysis by claiming that “the internalization of well-behaved woman model, built during childhood and adolescence, facilitates the acceptance of standards imposed during formation as a nurse” (ibid, p. 491). In this sense, among the possible meanings for the expression “Gender Ideology”, the ideologies of male chauvinism and LGBTI phobia are included.

#### B) “GENDER IDEOLOGY” AS A PRELUDE OF MORAL APOCALYPSE IN THE VIEW OF CHURCH

For the construction of this category, materials that defined the “Gender Ideology” were analyzed, roughly, as a set of false ideas, of Marxist origin, which aim to destroy the natural family, foster all sorts of sexual libertinism, including homosexual unions, pedophilia, zoophilia, and necrophilia. It is a definition created and propagated originally by the Catholic Church from the end of the 1990s and which was expressed in acts by Revoredo (1998); Tempesta (2014); Ricardo (2014), Scala (2012), Oliveira (2015), Cruz (1997); Rifan (2015); and Keller (2014).

The work *L’Évangile face au désordre mondial* by Monsignor Michel Schooyans authorship, published in 1997 with a preface written by Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger, later known as Pope Benedict XVI, “it is possibly one of the first works, if not the first” (JUNQUEIRA, 2017, p. 33), wherein the term “Gender Ideology” was used. However, the first reference of an official body of the Catholic Church to the term “Gender Ideology” appeared the following year in the Note of the Episcopal Conference of Peru, issued in April 1998 under the title *La ideología de género: sus peligros y alcances* (ROSADO-NUNES, 2015). This is the most cited document in the debate on “Gender Ideology” and whose rapporteur was the Auxiliary Bishop of Lima, Oscar Alzamora Revoredo.

Revoredo (1998), in this Note, strongly attacked the concept of Gender<sup>5</sup> as according to him, this concept could “cover an unacceptable schedule that would include the tolerance of guidelines and homosexual identities” (REVOREDO, 1998, p. 4). According to Revoredo (1998), the debate on Gender does not refer necessarily to the feminist debate. Paraphrasing Christina Hoff Sommers, professor of Philosophy at Clark University, Revoredo (1998) considers that the legitimate feminism was that carried out until 1960 and after that, a second feminist movement, illegitimate, started to place Gender issues in the center of its discussions. This distinction refers to the substantial differences between the struggle carried by the first, the second and the third waves of feminism.

The first wave, known as “suffragette” was influenced by a liberal ideology whose fundamental purpose was “expanding what is meant by democracy, making their creasing human contingent of competitive societies equal by the law” (SAFFIOTI, 1986, p. 107). Among the agendas of these women, it is possible to highlight “the training and political representation, [...] the access to formal education, paid work, and vote” (BITTENCOURT, 2015, p. 199). The second wave, which began in 1960, was characterized by struggles that denounced “the patriarchy as a form of expression of political power exercised by male dominance and inferiority of women” (ibid, 2015, p. 201). Then, the struggles of the third wave, emerging in the 1990s, make a criticism of the second wave “for its supposed monolithic, universal, and generalizing character [...], and propose the reframing of the gender in a post-identity perspective” (ibid, p. 202).

Revoredo (1998, p. 7) considers that the struggles of the second and third waves of feminism do not include the “interests of the common and current women”. The common and actual woman, for him, would be that who is heterosexual, cisgender, and who responds to her “female vocation to motherhood” (ibid). This “vocation” had already being ruled by the Catholic Church even before the Beijing Conference, by Pope John Paul II, who believed there was no better answer to the woman theme that could disregard her role in the family (in the singular), thus “to respect this natural order, it is necessary to face the misconception that the reason of maternity is oppressive for the woman”(cited by REVOREDO, 1998, p. 10).

This conception reverberated around the world and won strong disseminator of this discourse in Brazil, among which Priest Luiz Carlos Lodi da Cruz, the president of Annapolis Pro-Life (*Goiás* - Brazil), who agrees the feminist of second and third wave would be worse than whore because “whores deliver their body in exchange for money. Feminists do something more degrading: in exchange for dollars they receive from abroad;<sup>6</sup> they deliver, not their body, but what is most noble in the woman: her vocation to motherhood”(CRUZ, 1997, n. p.). In this same line of reasoning, the Cardinal Orani João Tempesta<sup>7</sup> contributes saying there is in the woman a “natural instinct of motherhood” (TEMPESTA, 2014, n. p.). Similarly, the preference of man to play ball and to feel the “need to work outside the home in order to better support the family” would be an “innate aspiration” (ibid).

Following the arguments launched in Note of the Episcopal Conference of Peru, Revoredo (1998, p. 12) attacks the demands of the feminist movement of the second and third wave by including



the “right of lesbian couples to conceive children by artificial insemination and legally adopt the children of their partners”. The Bishop considers such claims as “aberrations” and ironically claiming to “tell the truth”; this claim “departs completely from the true health of the human being” (ibid). Abortion, in this sense, is unthinkable and understood as synonymous of homicide (TEMPESTA, 2014). Oliveira (2015, n. p.) complements these arguments by stating that even the contraceptive pill must be fought in order that it “turned [women] in sexual objects of men”. This statement contains the assumption that women’s pleasure is conditioned to their destination as mother. In this perspective, for them, this is the only reason to have sex. If they are deprived of having children, the sex will only respond to the carnal desires of their husband, once she would have that right. About the birth control pill, by not serving the purpose of motherhood, the woman could only serve as sexual object of man.

In the effervescence of this attack on the feminist movements of the second and third wave, the Argentine Jorge Scala emerged as an “expert” in the subject.<sup>8</sup> This author states that “Gender Ideology” is based on a false idea since it does not recognize the existence of a sole and legitimate kind of man and woman. This assumption is consistent with what is explicit in the Episcopal Conference of Peru Note by saying that all existing scientific evidence show that “there are only two options from the genetic point of view: either a man or a woman; there is absolutely nothing, scientifically speaking, that is in the middle” (REVOREDO, 1998, p. 12).

Despite the multiplicity of theoretical frameworks that illuminated and illuminate the struggles of feminist movements from second and third waves, there is a clear preference of the Catholic attack on Marxism. As an example, it is possible to point the article of Oliveira (2015). To build his arguments, the author relied almost exclusively in the work of Plínio Corrêa de Oliveira, entitled *Unperceived Ideological Transshipment and Dialogue*.<sup>9</sup> In this sense, Oliveira (2015, n. p.) defines “Gender Ideology” as an “attempt to extinguish the family institution [...] the end point to be reached by the communist Cultural Revolution [...] a satanic revolution [...] the most terrible and sinister weapon to destroy the moral and psychological education of children, and the own family”.

In this line of argument, the Priest Paulo Ricardo de Azevedo Junior, of the Archdiocese of *Cuiabá* (*Mato Grosso* - Brazil),<sup>10</sup> is highlighted, and Jorge Scala (2012), who subscribes to this definition and also puts on an equal footing “the Nazis and Marxists” (SCALA,

2012). Now, by citing Nazism and Marxism as examples of ideologies, Scala has a dual purpose: on the one hand, defining Nazism and Marxism as two sets of false ideas; and on the other hand, put on equal footing its ideas and consequences.

In the episode of the discussions on the definition of PNE (2014-2014) (BRASIL, 2014), Priest Ricardo warned that if the plan was approved with such “Gender Ideology”, students would have mandatory sex education classes “without right to conscientious objections by parents, as it is already part of UN international guidelines in this regard” (RICARDO, 2014, n.p.). According to Furlani (2016, n. p.), it is “a rhetoric that affirms to be a worldwide conspiracy between the UN, European Union, leftist governments, feminist movements and LGBTI to ‘destroy the family’”, but actually it aims to install Moral Panic and to put people against these movements.

Through the use of Moral Panic, Tempesta (2014, n.p.) calls not only Catholics but “sensible people in general” to refute and compose a front of resistance against such “Gender Ideology” defined by him as the “mother of all other sexual libertinism”, such as incest, polygamy, prostitution, orgies, pedophilia, pornography, zoophilia, necrophilia and what someone wants to create (OLIVEIRA, 2015; TEMPESTA, 2014; SCHERER, 2015; KELLER, 2014).

In addition to the theological arguments of Christian basis launched to combat “Gender Ideology”, these religious and their supporters evoked science-based arguments to try to “prove” that “Gender Ideology” must be fought. In this sense, Bishop Fernando Rifan,<sup>11</sup> through note issued by the National Conference of Bishops of Brazil (CNBB), said that “the terms ‘gender’ or ‘sexual orientation’ refer to an ideology that seeks to cover up the fact that human beings are divided into two sexes” (RIFAN, 2015, n. p.) and therefore, “denying the biology and the psychology is denying the science”! (ibid).

To Rifan, real science is biology because it experimentally establishes that the reproduction of the human species is sexual and, for this, the union of male and female gametes is important. The Psychology of which the Bishop talks about is the psychoanalytic theory of Freud (REVOREDO, 1997). In this line of thought, Soares (2017, n. p.) considers, wrongly, that the Priest, for Psychoanalysis, is not a function, but a biological attribute and forcibly weaves the following consideration: “It is urgent the fight to the Gender Ideology that, with the notion of gender equality and the encouragement of homosexual relations, endangers sex differences that have structural role in the mental development of the child”. The author dismisses that the father

for psychoanalysis is a metaphor, a psychic and social instance and not necessarily the parent who provided the male gamete. Based on this biased reading of Freudian theory, she concludes that if a homosexual couple adopts a child, “this damage goes far beyond a departure from heterosexual desires, a body aesthetic or even a revolution of manners. It comes, in fact, to the brink of a deliberate mental confusion” (ibid).

Although this position emanates from important Catholic leaders, it is needed to be aware that this is not a position of the majority of Catholic people. The reading of the positions of these leaders allows us to identify that they are aware of the lack of consensus regarding this return to the Dark Ages. In this sense, Oliveira (2015) suggests that is necessary to be vigilant with regard to Church members who are in favor of debate on gender and that fighting those “infiltrators” is important. Among the “infiltrators”, José María Castillo can be mentioned (2017, p. 1), a Spanish theologian, in the belief that “women do not enjoy the same rights as men”, he challenged the position of the Catholic Church regarding the debate on issues of Gender, arguing that what is needed is actually “delete everything that might mean and cause oppression to the woman from the society, which should be translated into a fully egalitarian society” (ibid). Thus, for the individuals who have invested even minimally, their energies in defending a less oppressive and more equal world for women and the LGBTI population, the arguments that emerge from the raised position by the Catholic Church are worth a real horror movie. However, it is important to highlight that “the discomfort and the resistance of conservative religious segments to the gender equality agenda do not do more than confirming what themselves recognize: their ‘revolutionary’ and transformative potential” (COELHO, SANTOS, 2016, p.47).

### **C) “GENDER IDEOLOGY” AS A PRELUDE OF MORAL APOCALYPSE FROM THE BRAZILIAN STATE VIEW**

The construction of this category met the Catholic speech repercussions in *MESP* and its influence in the Brazilian legislature. In this regard, we underline here a brief analysis of the positions of Nagib (2015) and Bills inspired by *MESP* and processed by the national, state, and municipal scenarios.

Nagib (2015, n. p.), creator of the *MESP*, showed his indignation at the realization of the 2nd International Seminar “Undoing Gender” and said:

The theme of this event has been repeated *ad nauseam* in thousands of conferences, seminars, meetings, symposia, roundtables etc., conducted every year by the universities, and state and municipal education. The audience is mostly composed by teachers of basic education (kindergarten, primary, and secondary education); and the goal - being fully achieved - could not be clearer: working these issues in the minds of teachers so that they do the same in the minds of students. The obsession of this group, as we know, is called the theory (or ideology) of gender.

Miguel Nagib, continuing, shows the true purpose of his article: to warn/threaten teachers that even if the Ministry of Education (*MEC*) stimulates the debate on gender issues, this is a topic that, according to him, can not and should not be discussed in schools. The threat is clear:

Indifferent to the sovereign decisions of National Congress and the vast majority of Legislative Assemblies and City Councils - who refused to include the gender ideology in their respective education plans - the bureaucracy of education continues to use the state machinery to promote its own convictions, leading teachers violating students' parental rights over the moral education of their children. By falling into that conversation and treat their students as the first individuals of gender theory; these teachers are running a very high risk. I refer to the possibility of the parents of their students understand that this pedagogical practice implies some kind of damage to their children or their right to give them moral education that is in accordance with their own convictions - right under article 12, IV, the American Convention on Human Rights. If this happens, teachers are likely to be sued for damages by the parents of their students. [...] The law greatly facilitates the filing of such damage repair actions. The causes whose value does not exceed 40 times the minimum wage may be brought by the special civil courts; in these actions, it is not even necessary to be assisted by a lawyer [...]. Moreover, there is no charge for court costs or if the demand is rejected and ordered to pay fees to the lawyer of the opposing party (unless the judge recognizes the litigation in bad faith). If there is the sentence appeal, then, the unsuccessful part will be ordered to pay costs and attorneys fees. [...] So, it is better to be smart and think twice before following the *MEC* recommendations (NAGIB, 2015, n. p.).

Nagib, by signing the article as a lawyer, disseminates Legal Panic among the individuals who were not infected with the Moral Panic. Article 12, section IV, of the American Convention on Human Rights establishes that “parents, and tutors in some cases, have the right to proportionate religious and moral education to their children, and that it is in accord with their own convictions” (AMERICAN CONVENTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS, 1969, n. p.). Thus, in view of the influences of the *MESP* and the Catholic discourse among the conservative fronts of National Congress, and the vast majority of Legislative Assemblies and City Councils, the processing of various Bills aiming at silencing the debate on gender in education in Brazil is observed in the contemporary scenery.

Bill No. 5487/2016 is authored by deputy Victório Galli, of the Christian Social Political Party of *Mato Grosso (PSC-MT)*.<sup>12</sup> This bill proposes to establish “prohibition, by the Ministry of Education and Culture, of orientation and distribution of books about sexual orientation diversity for children and adolescents, to public schools” (CÂMARA DOS DEPUTADOS, 2016).

Bills No. 1859/2015 and No. 867/2015 are both authored by Izalci Lucas, of the Social Democracy Political Party of Brazilian Federal District (*PSDB-DF*).<sup>13</sup> The Bill No. 1859/2015 aims to add a Sole Paragraph to Art. 3 of the Law of Guidelines and Bases of National Education (*LDB*), Law No. 9394/1996 (BRASIL, 1996) “to predict the prohibition of adoption of methods to apply gender ideology, [the term gender], or sexual orientation in education” (CÂMARA DOS DEPUTADOS, 2015d). Meanwhile, Bill No. 867/2015 goes further and proposes the inclusion of the “School without Political Party Program” in the *LDB*. Through this legal device, the “right of parents that their children receive moral education that complies with their own convictions” should be recognized (Art. 2, item VII).

Bills No. 7180/2014 and No. 7181/2014 are authored by Deputy Erivelton Santana,<sup>14</sup> affiliated to the *PSC Bahia* (at the time) (*PSC-BA*). Bill No. 7180/2014 proposed to add one item XIII to Article 3 of the *LDB*, with the following text:

[...] respect for the beliefs of the student, their parents or tutors, and the values of family order having precedence over education in aspects of moral, sexual and religious education, being the transversal or subliminal techniques forbidden in the teaching of these subjects (CÂMARA DOS DEPUTADOS, 2014a).

Following another idea, Bill No. 7181/2014 proposes that “education, promoted in basic education institutions, will be guided by national curriculum parameters established by law and with ten-year validity”. However, these parameters are defined in Bill No. 7180/2014.

Among all these Bills, the No. 1411/2015, authored by Deputy Roger Marino of the *Rio Grande do Norte PSDB (PSDB-RN)*, is undoubtedly the most daring. This Bill typifies the crime of “ideological harassment” defined as “any practice that leads students to adopt particular political, partisan, ideological positioning or any embarrassment caused by others to the student by adopting different positioning from theirs, regardless of who is the agent” (CÂMARA DOS DEPUTADOS, 2015f). Art. 3 of that Bill provides for the change of Chapter VI of Decree-Law No. 2848/1940, which includes the Art. 146 that would establish penalty of three (3) months to one

(1) year and a fine for those who commit “ideological harassment”. The aggravating of this crime are described in paragraphs 1 and 2 of this article: “§ 1. if the agent is teacher, coordinator, educator, educational advisor, school psychologist, or commits the crime in the context of educational institutions, public or private, the penalty will be increased by 1/3” (CÂMARA DOS DEPUTADOS, 2015f); and “§ 2. if the criminal practice results in failure, decreased test grade, desistence of the course, or any results that negatively affects the academic life of the victim, the penalty will be increased by 1/2” (ibid).

Regarding the Senate, the Bill No. 193/2016, authored by Senator Magno Malta of Party of the Republic by *Espírito Santo (PR-ES)*,<sup>15</sup> was being processed. This Bill aimed at the inclusion of the “Program School without Political Party” in the *LDB*. Despite the Bill has been suddenly taken from vote by the own proposer on November 21, 2017, it is important to highlight the fact that the political poll available by the Senate site about the opinion of the people on that Bill indicated until that day that 199873 voters were in favor, while 210819 were against. In this sense, despite the Law text is no longer in processing in the Senate, it is clear that in the Brazilian ideology it is effective and represents a significant fraction of the population.

States and cities have followed the same path of National Congress. Therefore, it is possible to cite the case of Alagoas state, where the “Free School Program” was proposed, approved and implemented in May 2016, by the State Deputy Ricardo Nezinho, from the Political Party of Brazilian Democratic Movement (*PMDB -AL*). The Bill that proposed the establishment of the “Free School Program” in the State Plan for Education of Alagoas is almost a literal copy of the Bill No. 867/2015 of the Chamber of Federal Deputies. The Free School Program was approved by the Chamber of State Deputies, vetoed by the Governor. The veto was declined by the Chamber and then was transformed into Law No. 7800/2016 (*ALAGOAS, 2016*).

The validity of this State Law, however, was short. After its enactment, two Direct Actions of Unconstitutionality (*ADI*) were filed. The first by the National Confederation of Workers in Education Institutions (*CONTEE*), and the second by the National Confederation of Education Workers (*CNTE*). Due to these actions, the Law No. 7800/2016 was suspended in March 2016 by the Minister Luis Roberto Barroso and later considered unconstitutional by the opinion of the Minister Rodrigo Janot, in October of that year.

Indeed, in practice, it seems that the content of the law is still valid and reverberating in State actions. As an example, it is possible

to remember the case of the teacher Daniel Macedo, in São José da Tapera, backwoods of Alagoas, which became known nationally for coordinating, in the second half of 2017, a school integration project with the theme: “People Daily: Gender and Sexuality in School”. This would be just another educational project of a small school, from a small town in Alagoas backwoods, if the State Deputy Bruno Toledo, of the Republican Political Party of the Social Order (*PROS-AL*) did not have occupied the space of the tribune from the Legislative Assembly of the State of Alagoas (*ALE-AL*) to attack the development of this project and adopt energetic measures against the school and against the teacher including the evocation of the police force and the Office of Public Prosecutor of the State of Alagoas (GAZETAWEB, 2017).

The justification of the attack of the Deputy Bruno Toledo was that the project coordinated by the teacher Daniel Macedo aimed to disseminate the “Gender Ideology”, which had been extinguished from the Education State Plan of Alagoas. That is, even the “Free School Program” having been considered unconstitutional, the conservative ideology is still alive and active, pursuing the simplest initiatives that opposes to him.

Similarly, in the city of Campinas, in São Paulo, the Councilman Campos Filho, of the Democrats (*DEM-SP*), presented on April 29, 2015 the Proposal of Amendment to the Municipal Organic Law No. 145/2015. This proposal had the inclusion of the sole Paragraph to Art 222 of this Law as the menu. This solo paragraph that was added has the following essay:

Any legislative proposal that has as its object the regulation of educational policies, curriculum, mandatory classes, or even with complementary or voluntary basis, which tend to apply the Gender Ideology, or sexual orientation, will not be object of deliberation (CÂMARA MUNICIPAL DE CAMPINAS, 2015).

This proposal was approved at the 1st round. Mascarenhas Neto and Zanoli (2016, n. p.) consider that the arguments used to justify the approval of this proposal gravitated around three issues: the belief in God (the Christian God), the imposition of a single model of family, and the defense of the capitalist mode of production. Even in a City Council and in front of television cameras, the city councilors who were in favor of the amendment were not embarrassed in asking o the people who were against, whether they believed in God? Or whether they were in favor of the Family? These questions suggested that the fact of believing in the Christian God would qualify or disqualify arguments or votes of those who were against it. Similarly, the context of the vote

created an scenario of opposition among pro-family and counter-family. The pro-family would be those who believed that only a single family model is legitimate and must be defended. The counter-family, according to supporters of the amendment, would be those who disagreed with that. The relationship with Catholic ideology is finally expressed in the pronouncements of “anachronistic phrases as ‘Go to Cuba’ and the need to state that the national flag ‘will not be red’” (MASCARENHAS NETO; ZANOLI, 2016, n. p.). It is evidenced by these pronouncements emanating from the supporters of this amendment that the concern with the defense of God and family is directly related to the defense of capitalism.

#### D) “GENDER IDEOLOGY” AS A FALLACY

In this category, we gathered the studies that report that the debate undertaken initially by the Catholic Church around the expression “Gender Ideology” is always powered by a fallacious discourse, which means that it is structured in a reasoning or a false statement that simulates the truth. As examples of these thoughts, it is possible to mention Britto and Reis (2015); Furlani (2016); Junqueira (2017); Biroli (2015); Cotta and Pocahy (2017); Reis and Eggert (2017); Miguel (2016); Coelho and Santos (2016); Carvalho and Sívori (2017); Rosado-Nunes (2015); and Souza (2014).

According to Junqueira (2017, p. 45-46), the “Gender Ideology” “does not match and neither results from the field of gender studies or from the feminist and LGBTI movements”. This is a concept “prepared by Catholic intellectuals summoned by the Vatican to articulate the resistance against the advance of feminist guide lines” (CARVALHO; SÍVORI, 2017, p. 3). According to Biroli (2015, n. p.), “it is the retrograde action, [...] to brake and stop the consolidation of basic values of democracy, such as the equal treatment of individuals [...], and the promotion [...] of respect to the plurality and diversity”.

Through the term “ideology”, a discredit of agendas of feminist and LGBTI movements is stimulated; and through the use of Moral Panic, it is incited the intolerance and hatred against women who do not do their “vocation” for maternity and against individuals with gender identity or sexual orientation deviant from the norm. Furlani (2016, n. p.) is positioned next to the people who refute this discourse of hatred and intolerance and explains that all this is a grotesque misrepresentation of Gender studies, a fallacy. In fact, Gender studies never proposed the extinction of the sexes. The Gender studies do not deny biology; which is disagreed is the “biological determinism - when biology is used to define our social destiny” (ibid).



Similarly, once people appropriate themselves of the Catholic discourse, the discourse emanating from conservative parliamentarians and *MESP* is also fallacious. In this sense, Cotta and Pocahy (2017, p. 8-9), state that this conservative wave that is expressed in the *MESP* speech “presents a fallacious discourse by claiming a concern with the freedom to educate, in order that it intends to prohibit debates and discussions and wants to form subjects according to normative genders and sexualities”.

How can someone free something by forbidding? Freedom is just the opposite! What is presented in speech emanated from the Catholic hegemony, and its supporters, is a clear attack on human rights. They do not present any proposal towards the embracement of individuals with deviant sexual orientations or gender identities. What is wanted is that these people go away, disappear, be isolated for 50 years on a remote island, as proposed by Councilman Sergio Nogueira from the Brazilian Social Democracy Political Party of *Dourados, Mato Grosso do Sul (PSDB-MT)* (G1, 2014).

Although its origins turn back to conservative guidelines of the Catholic Church, the expression “Gender Ideology” was revealed in the discussions on the PNE (2014-2014) (BRASIL, 2014) as an excellent campaigner. Therefore, “there is no interest in showing for families, parents, that there is no concrete action that seeks the destruction of the family and that nobody at school will say that a boy is not a boy or a girl is not girl” (FURLANI, 2016, n. p.). It is important to highlight that the withdrawal of terms such as gender, sexual orientation, sexual diversity, social name and sexual education from official documents “does not eliminate the individuals of sexual and gender diversity from the interior of Brazilian school and from all human societies” (ibid). Besides that, “it is not the existence of the concept of gender that resulted in the existence of homosexual, transvestite, lesbian, transgender, transsexual or bisexual people, for example, in the humanity” (ibid). It is exactly the opposite of that! Due to these individual sexist and do not enjoy the same rights of those who correspond to heterosexist and cisgender patterns that feminist movements (second and third waves) and LGBTI emerged.

## FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Given the emerging categories of data analysis, it is evident that at least three meanings have been produced to evoke the expression “Gender Ideology”: male chauvinism and LGBTI phobia as gender

ideology, “Gender Ideology” as a prelude of moral apocalypse and “Gender Ideology” as a fallacy.

Catholic arguments used to promote the pretentious combat to the “Gender Ideology” utilized as the argument that this was the ideology that was destroying the family. This is a fallacious argument. The reality shows us that there is an Gender Ideology and that it is destroying the royal families, especially those who challenge the patriarchy. This is the male chauvinism ideology. The implications of this ideology in society are objective and are revealed when, for example, it is observed that Brazil currently holds the 7th place in the ranking of countries that kill women the most all over the world. The detail is that 27.1% of these women were murdered in their own homes and, in most cases, by their own partners (WASELFISZ, 2015). According to Cerqueira *et al.* (2017, p. 37), the violence against woman precedes her murder, which means that “until she becomes a victim of fatal violence, this woman was victim of many other gender violence, [...] [such as] psychological, patrimonial, physical or sexual violence”. On this point, 29% of Brazilian women reported already having suffered some form of violence, but only 11% had sought a police station. It is a reality that not only remains as it tends to deepen once the homicide rate of women increased by 7.3% in Brazil, between 2005 and 2015, and that the contemporary scenario presents an advance of the conservative discourse (*ibid.*).

Likewise, the destruction of the family due to the LGBTI phobia is observed. Accordingly, Silva *et al.* (2016, p. 6) found that “40% of the world murders of transsexuals and transvestites in 2013 were committed in Brazil”. According to Souza (2016, p. 31), “by virtue of the great discrimination externalized through the various homophobic violence, many homosexuals prefer to remain in the ‘closet’, hidden, repressed, living a clandestine life”. This scenario contributes to the weakening of the organized struggle of these subjects for a society in which the normal is not the cisgender, the patriarchal and the heterosexual, but the normal is the respect for human dignity in a society that has pride to express in its diversity. In this sense, “Statistical raised by EJovem group shows that the annual rate of suicides among LGBTI Brazilian adolescents is more than one thousand, exceeding the international average” (SOUZA, 2016, p. 29). Among the scenarios where discrimination and violence against those individuals is expressed more intensely, it is possible to point to their own homes. As an example, we can mention “the case that took place in Bahia in 1987, when an Army Colonel asked

his son about his homosexuality. Upon receiving the affirmative response, the father drew his gun and killed his son” (ibid, p. 33). To avoid making a mistake of thinking that because of this data has more than 30 years, it may be out of date, it is possible to cite the case of the teenager Gabriel Schneyder Ribeiro Magalhães, 16 years old, occurred in the city of Tianguá, in Serra da Ibiapaba, Ceará, on 20 December 2017. “According to relatives of the victim, his father assaulted him after discovering his son was homosexual. The victim fell ill, was rescued, but did not resist” (CNENEWS, 2017, n. p.).

Studies of gender that composed the first emerging category revealed that when the expression “gender ideology” appeared in scientific texts, it was to denote these ideologies that subjugate women to men, transgender to cisgender, homosexual to heterosexual. These are the gender ideologies that destroy families: male chauvinism and LGBTI phobia.

A radically antagonistic perspective is revealed in the category entitled “‘Gender Ideology’ as a prelude of moral apocalypse by the Catholic Church view”. It is a vision built by leaders and intellectual conservators regimented by the Catholic Church according to which the “Gender Ideology” is defined as a set of false ideas of Marxist origin, which aims to destroy the natural family, encouraging all sort of sexual libertinism including homosexual unions, pedophilia, zoophilia, necrophilia and what more can be created. This perspective understands that feminism that defends Gender flag does not intend to fight for women, but only drives the LGBTI agenda. For these individuals, the legitimate women and who must be defended are those who do not take birth control pills; who attend to their supposed maternal vocation; who are heterosexual, cisgender; who play doll when are children and who care for their husbands and children in adulthood. Any woman image that deviate from this idea must be combated. The same applies to defense of man, heterosexual and cisgender, who by an innate impulse as a child loves to play ball and in the adult hood takes place ensuring the support of his wife and of his children, who are at home awaiting him to come home. Any other image of man deviant from that must be combated. Any individual who is against this thought, will be called as a Marxist doctrinaire, and a family destroyer. A characteristic of the stories that made this category was the dishonest manipulation of scientific data and especially the theories of biology and psychoanalysis fields. It is a movement that seeks to say that the “science” sees only two possibilities for the individuals: the purely masculine man and purely feminine woman, both are heterosexual

and cisgender. This is an extremely mistaken view, including what is science. There is no disagreement of Gender studies with biology or psychoanalysis (since authentic). What is contestable in Gender studies is the biological determinism that says that a woman's place is at home taking care of her children and husband; while man's place is where he wants. This argument denies the status of science to all serious researches that have been built worldwide since the 1960s on Gender issues. This is a fallacious and slanderous argument that has as central proposal the segregation of all women who are against this proposal for male chauvinism, and also the exclusion of all subjects with sexual orientations and gender identities deviant of the standard.

It is observed that the number of works cited in this second category can not quantitatively demonstrate the reach of this Catholic discourse which protested against such "Gender Ideology". The search that was held in Google Scholar recovered some of the texts most frequently cited in the files that compose its database. This does not reflect the volume of material produced on this subject. By doing the same search on YouTube, for example, we find that the overwhelming majority of the results was channels that discussed the issue from the Christian point of view or were sympathetic to it. If we consider that a good portion of the Brazilian open TV channels is destined for Christian religious programming (Catholics and Protestants) and that the same principle applies to radio stations, we realize that the reach of the Catholic perspective on the topic of "Gender Ideology" is significantly higher than the range of the legitimate debate on Gender issues. Unfortunately, what has been disseminated to people since the 1990s is not the debates held in the 2nd Seminar "Undoing Gender" but preposterous and wicked Catholic discursive construction that says gender is the same as pedophilia, zoophilia and necrophilia. Thus, it is possible to say that there is no ideological gender indoctrination in schools, as *MESP* affirms; which there really is a gender indoctrination promoted in and by Churches that says the family model is unique.

The third emerging category, entitled "Gender Ideology as a prelude of moral apocalypse in Brazilian State vision", focused on the influences of Catholic discourse in the construction of *MESP* and its repercussions in the Brazilian legislature. What is evident from analyzes of found material is that "Gender Ideology" is a grotesque misrepresentation of Gender studies, a fallacy created in the womb of the most conservative slice of the Catholic Church and that has been shown to be an excellent campaigner for parliamentarians

who were elected taking advantage of the positions they occupy in the celestial executive. It is noted that, once this discourse finds fertile ground in Congress and in the Legislative Assemblies and City Councils, Moral Panic spread by the Catholic Church gained status of Juridical Panic through the creation of Bills, which aim to silence the debate on Gender in school and to criminalize individuals who dare to discuss this issue. In this context, teachers have become endangered, persecuted and processed by discussing about Gender with their students. Researchers on the subject and militant of feminist and LGBTI causes quickly received the label of doctrinaires of children. These measures are based on absolute sovereignty idea of family and religious authority over the education of children and, in this context, the school function would no longer contribute to the formation of the critical spirit of the subject. The teaching function would cease to be an educational function and would be limited to transmit the contents, instruct and train the subjects for the world of work. It is a neo-technicist movement that combines the combat to sexual orientations and gender identities deviant of the standard and also any type of expression or social movement that makes the critique of class society. In addition, this class does not present any proposal for inclusion. Everyone should fit into the formats of patriarchal, heteronormative, cisgender and androcentric society. Those who fail in one way or another, or who go away, disappear, be isolated for 50 years on a remote island.

The fourth emerging category, constructed from studies published by researchers on Gender studies field, allowed us to see that the “Gender Ideology” expression, the way it is presented by the Catholic Church and its supporters, is no more than a fallacy. It was not the debate on Gender that caused women to organize and rebel themselves against male chauvinism. It was not these studies that have established gender identities and sexual orientation deviant from the norm. It was for those guys existing and being oppressed in this society that these debates and these struggles have been made and are necessary. It is important to remember that, even if no shadow of the term Gender remains in the face of the planet, these subjects will not stop existing.

Who evade schools are not the children of the dominant class or the middle class. This is because they are also not those who commonly get pregnant in their early adolescence, or who are beaten daily by presenting LGBTI traits. It is not without reason we can not easily find transvestites and transsexuals occupying spaces in

the world of formal work, even among the socially less prestigious professions. These individuals are violently forced to withdraw from school and are practically pushed into prostitution since the earliest ages. On this point, we have not observed a significant concern of the legislature or the Church to establish measures to ensure access and especially the permanence of these subjects at school and in the workplace. On the contrary, a great deal of time and energy has been invested in the pursuit of movements that seek to minimize the male chauvinism and LGBTI phobia that produce this bleak scenario.

Well, that would not be the first time that the Catholic Church, author of this new meaning to the expression “Gender Ideology”, would express absurd and prejudiced positions, and that impose on the other a macule that hurts its flesh from the earliest times. Indeed, endless emerging data from the Brazilian and International Justice could easily, from an academic point of view, disqualify its thesis that the individuals are those who debate and militate in feminist and LGBTI causes that are promoting all sorts of sexual libertinisms. With this discourse of combat “Gender Ideology”, there is an intention of the Catholic Church to present itself as a guardian of morality. However, it would be sufficient to observe where is focus of the world biggest scandals of pedophilia and zoophilia (ISTO É., 2017; CORREIO BRASILIENSE, 2014). Feminists or LGBTI population are not those who historically print the covers of the world media outlets as crimes protagonists of sexual abuse of boys and girls “from the earliest ages”.

So, to build a society that genuinely supports families, freedoms and dignity of the human person, it is essential to understand, unmask and deconstruct the fallacious and preposterous Catholic position on the “Gender Ideology”. Therefore, it is essential that other actions and investigations continue this work following the developments of Bills that have as its theme the fight against “Gender Ideology” and making the face of conservative initiatives that seek to back the rights won with the blood and sweat of women and LGBTI. This is the challenge for all people who yearn for a more humane society.

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## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> When the discourse of the Catholic hegemony refers to the protection of the family, it is always referred to the family in the singular. A sole and legitimate family arrangement: the patriarchal, androcentric, heteronormative, and cisgender model, set up by father and mother and son(s) and/or daughter(s).

<sup>2</sup> The term “Gender”, in many texts issued by Catholic leaders, is not translated from English. It always appears as “gender”, to represent an alien threat that we must not approach.

<sup>3</sup> Each of these groups currently about 30% of the positions of the legislature in the parliament (CÂMARA DOS DEPUTADOS, 2015a; 2015b; 2015c).

<sup>4</sup> Although we understand that the Google Scholar search feature is not neutral, we believed that this was a data recovery mechanism that would allow us to highlight the meanings that have been produced by the term “gender ideology” in the contemporary scenario. Moreover, this mechanism is supported in the scientific literature (SILVA; MERCADO, 2015) and appears as a new possibility for data mining (KAMPFF et al., 2008). We understand that even this method may not be suitable for all types of thematic analysis due the possibility of agreements between Google and other companies or governments. In this type of agreement, the contracting part may require the first results to be listed in favor to a particular proposal. It recently occurred in Brazil when it announced that the Government of Michel Temer would be making a partnership with Google to approve the pension reform in which “the idea is that searches on the term ‘pension reform’ are redirected to the official content of government - that is, in favor to the proposal - not more for news stories” (REVISTA FÓRUM, 2018). Moreover, from a methodological point of view, we must consider that the collected materials belong to various textual genres (scientific articles, bills, religious documents, reports, news, blog texts, among others). We agree that the type of text directly influences the meaning that is produced; however, the reader will perceive the distinction between these various textual genres from the mentions made throughout the reading and the own citations and references presented.

<sup>5</sup> The criticism is based on the report of Dale O’Leary, who “is a pro-life activist who participated in the UN Conference (Cairo in 1994 and Beijing in 1995) as a delegate” (FURLANI, 2016, n. p.). O’Leary is a writer and researcher of the Catholic Medical Association of the United States. According to Junqueira (2017, p. 31), she is a “journalist and American writer, linked to *Opus Dei*, a representative of the Catholic lobby Family Research Council and the National Association for Research & Therapy of Homosexuality, which promotes reparative therapy of homosexuality”. Among her best known works stands out the book *The Gender Agenda: Redefining Equality*, from 1996.

<sup>6</sup> The dollars to which Priest Cruz refers to the support to action to combat discrimination based on sexual orientation or gender identity, provided by the UN, the European Union and the World Bank.

<sup>7</sup> According to Rosado-Nunes (2015, p. 1244), from the Catholic hierarchy’s point of view, Orani Tempesta “is in an important position, as cardinal. This title gives to the cleric a symbolic

and considerable real capital, as it makes the cardinal as member of the college where he has a position in Rome, at crucial moments for the institution, as in the choice of a new Pope”.

<sup>8</sup> Jorge Scala is a lawyer, professor of Bioethics at the *Universidad LibreInternacional de las Americas* and honorary professor at the *Universidad Ricardo Palma*. According to Furlani (2016, n. p.), he is a “known advocate of anti-abortion causes and against women’s rights”. His best known work was published in 2010, entitled “Gender Ideology: gender as powerful tool”, but in Brazil, interestingly, received the title “Gender Ideology: the neo-totalitarianism and the death of the family” and was published in 2015.

<sup>9</sup> According to Plinio Corrêa de Oliveira (cited by OLIVEIRA, 2015) “communism is a true earthly version of the rebellion of Satan and his angels. [...] With a devilish ability, it seeks communist advertising to deceive and attract the ingenuous and unwary in order to engage in a huge red revolution, whose spirit is about the *‘non serviam’* of Lucifer. [...] Even if all resources are lacking to those who oppose to communism”

<sup>10</sup> Besides being of the program “Eighth Day” from the New Song Television Network, the Priest Paulo Ricardo is a web famous. His YouTube channel had, in December 2017, nearly 300 thousand subscribers <<https://www.youtube.com/user/padrepauloricardo>>. Besides YouTube, TV and Printed Books that he published, Azevedo Junior uses an own site <<https://padrepauloricardo.org/>> to promote his ideas.

<sup>11</sup> Titular Bishop of Cedamusa and Apostolic Administrator of *São João Maria Vianney*.

<sup>12</sup> Pastor of Assembly of God.

<sup>13</sup> Counter, very attached to the owners of private schools in Brasília (whose syndicate was president) and member of the Mixed Catholic-Apostolic Parliamentary Front.

<sup>14</sup> He is connected to the Assembly of God and a member of the Evangelical Parliamentary Front.

<sup>15</sup> Pastor of the Baptist Church and president of the Parliamentary Front in Defense of the Family.

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**Contact:**

Universidade Federal de Alagoas (UFAL)  
Campus Arapiraca  
Rodovia AL-115, Bairro Bom Sucesso  
Sala de Professores 1 (Bloco A)  
Arapiraca | AL | Brasil  
CEP 57.309-005