

Misinformation, conservatism, and transphobic narratives guided Brazilian anti-trans bills between 2019 and 2023



- *This report observes the relationship between the proposal of anti-trans bills in the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies and the posts made by their authors on social networks, with their respective repercussions.*
- *Among the bills analysed, those regarding the prohibition of non-binary language, the participation of trans women in sports competitions, and gender-affirming surgeries and/or hormone treatments are the majority;*
- *The bills' main authors reveal are predominantly white men, many of whom are members of congressional caucuses with a religious agenda;*
- *The main keywords associated with the legislative proposals with anti-trans content – “woman/women”, “man/men”, “family”, and “biological sex” – point to a conservative perspective, and support of the gender binary in general, in line with a previous analysis of the “Media and Democracy” project in relation to the characteristics of the debate about trans people on Facebook;*
- *On Twitter, the bills that have gained the most attention from Deputies are those related to gender-affirming surgeries and the participation of trans women in sports, with the phrase “gender ideology” frequently invoked.*

From 2019 to 2023, at least sixty bills with anti-trans content were proposed to the lower house of the Brazilian Congress. The bills addressed: non-binary language (with 26 bills), participation of trans women in sports competitions (11), and gender-affirming surgeries and/or hormone treatments (10). Around 30% of the 42 parliamentary authors of these bills used their Twitter profiles to disseminate and mobilise their online audience. Both in the Chamber and on social media platforms, there is a predominance of white, male, and religious congresspeople, accounting for 50% and 41.6% respectively. This analysis was performed by **Democracy Reporting International** and **Programa de Diversidade e Inclusão da FGV Direito Rio** (Diversity and Inclusion Program at FGV Direito Rio).

Methodology

This report analyses 60 bills with anti-trans content proposed in the Chamber of Deputies, as well as 64 posts made by some of the bill's authors on Twitter between January 1, 2019, and April 30, 2023. This report observes the themes associated with the projects, identifies the profile of the parliamentarians who proposed them and how they present them online, and examines the interaction between the content of the bills and the discussions on Facebook regarding the rights of trans individuals, as addressed in a previous report¹.

To identify the bills in question, a search was conducted on the Chamber of Deputies' portal, using a linguistic filter rule² guided by previous research with the same objective as this report³ as well as the current topics related to trans rights in Brazil. For the Twitter content, a sample of 186,968 tweets was used, which corresponds to the total number of posts made by the bill's authors on the platform during the analysis period. These tweets were then filtered based on numbers and words associated with each bill.

¹ In the report titled "[Groups with far-right ideological profile led the debate about transgender people on Facebook between 2019 and 2023 in Brazil](#)", produced by FGV Direito Rio and DRI within the scope of the "Media and Democracy" project.

² A linguistic filter rule is a set of criteria or parameters defined to select and filter certain types of data or content based on specific linguistic characteristics. For this report, we would like to thank Dalby Dienstbach, professor at the School of Communication, Media, and Information at FGV for creating the set of words that guided the search for the analyzed Bills.

³ Cf. NOMURA, Bruno; MALVEZZI, Paul. In 3 years, deputies presented more than 120 anti-LGBTI+ PLs in the states. Diadorim, 28 Jul. 2022. Available at: <https://adiadorim.org/especial/2022/07/em-3-anos-deputados-apresentaram-mais-de-120-pls-anti-lgbti/>. Accessed on: 14 June. 2023. AVELAR, Dani. Brazil has a new anti-trans Bill a day, and 'Nikolas effect' worries. Folha de S. Paulo, 20 Mar. 2023. Available at: <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2023/03/brasil-tem-um-novo-projeto-de-lei-antitrans-por-dia-e-efeito-nikolas-preocupa.shtml>. Accessed on: 14 June. 2023.

From the list of bills, the main proponents, their parties, and topics addressed were identified. To categorise each of the projects, the authors of this report read its content and identified six main topics: 1) “Gender ideology”; 2) Non-binary language; 3) Trans women in sports; 4) Gender-affirming surgeries and/or hormone therapy; 5) Gender-neutral bathrooms; and 6) Others.

This report has four sections: (I) “What is proposed” — which covers the main themes of anti-trans bills and their temporal distribution; (II) “Who proposes” — which analyses the profile of the parties and authors of the bills; (III) “How it is proposed” — which explores the interactions between anti-trans bills, the debate about trans people on Facebook and the use of keywords; and (IV) “Online communication” — which investigates how the parliamentarians discussed their bills on Twitter.

Quantitatively, we performed temporal comparisons between the number of proposals and the online discussions on Facebook for three specific themes: “Gender ideology,” “Non-binary language” and “Gender-neutral bathrooms”. We also identified the frequency of mentions of “keywords”, selected by the authors of this report, in each bill, in order to understand how the texts address contemporary issues related to trans rights. Additionally, using engagement metrics, we evaluated the number of posts by the main authors of the bills and their repercussion on Twitter.

I. What is proposed: Description of anti-trans bills and their temporal distribution⁴

Within the Chamber of Deputies, at least five topics related to limiting the rights of the trans population were discussed pursuant to bills proposed between 2019 and 2023 (Table 1): **non-binary language** (26 bills), **trans women in sports** (11), **gender-affirming surgeries and/or hormone therapy** (10), **“gender ideology”** (7) and **gender-neutral bathrooms** (3). There were also four other bills that focused on imposing an individual's biological sex on official documents for the purposes of civil identification, marriage, and social security matters. The majority of these bills have the potential to directly impact elements such as the representation and inclusion of transgender individuals in society and their autonomy over their bodies and actions.

⁴ We would like to thank Renato Contente, a researcher at FGV’s School of Communication, Media, and Information, for his contribution to the preparation of this section of the report, as well as for the discussion and review of its entire content.

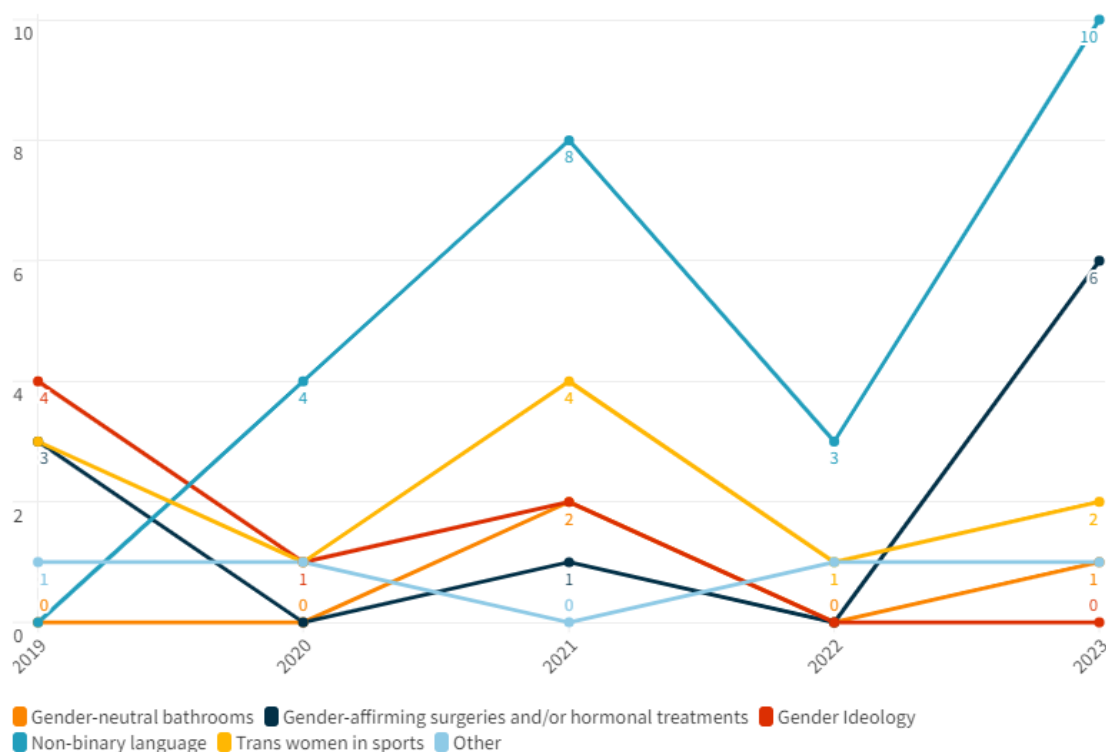
Table 1: Description of bills with anti-trans content proposed in the Chamber of Deputies

Period: from January 1, 2019, to April 30, 2023.

Topic	Related Bills	Description
Non-binary language	5198/2020, 5248/2020, 5385/2020, 5422/2020, 173/2021, 211/2021, 2114/2021, 2650/2021, 2759/2021, 2866/2021, 3310/2021, 3679/2021, 4520/2021, 566/2022, 764/2022, 2957/2022, 198/2023, 450/2023, 466/2023, 467/2023, 493/2023, 601/2023, 603/2023, 757/2023, 771/2023, 1204/2023;	These bills aim to prevent inclusive language changes, seeking to limit them within the possibilities foreseen in the “standard” form of the Portuguese language, as reiterated in the documents. The general argument presented in the bills is that language is a “heritage of the people” and therefore should not be altered through “artificial processes”. As a result, they aim to prohibit what the propositions refer to as “gender-neutral” language usage in various contexts, particularly in the educational sphere.
Gender-affirming surgeries and/or hormone therapy	3419/2019, 3492/2019, 4966/2019, 4553/2021, 192/2023, 204/2023, 269/2023;	Overall, these bills focus on banning gender-affirming surgeries and/or hormone treatment for individuals under the age of 18 or 21. The more recent bills propose criminalising the use of hormonal blockers and gender-affirming surgeries, referring to them as “permanent sexual injuries”, and establish penalties for individuals who perform or support these procedures.
Trans women in sports	2200/2019, 2596/2019, 2639/2019, 3396/2020, 1670/2021, 1728/2021, 2139/2021, 3769/2021, 2146/2022, 1136/2023, 1417/2023.	The objective of this set of bills is to prohibit the participation of trans women in women’s sports competitions. With proposed laws such as the one claiming “Fair Competition in Sports”, the bills determine that an individual’s biological sex should take precedence over their gender

		identity in the realm of sports. More recently, there have been attempts to restrict the participation of trans individuals to sports competitions exclusively for this group, with the proposal for the creation of “transolympic” committees.
Gender-neutral bathrooms	4019/2021, 4036/2021, 1601/2023.	The bills focus on banning gender-neutral restrooms, also classified as “unisex”, in public spaces, commercial establishments, and other work environments. The goal is to prohibit the installation of bathrooms that can be used, indiscriminately, by “people of biologically different sexes.” The most recent bill pleads for this prohibition in schools.
“Gender Ideology”	246/2019, 258/2019, 1239/2019, 5490/2019, 4893/2020, 2594/2021, 4520/2021;	These bills focus on banning so-called “gender ideology”, especially from educational institutions, but also from media and government official communications in general.
Other	5445/2019, 2578/2020, 684/2022, 1596/2023.	Among the objectives mentioned in these bills there are the annulment of marriage due to the “condition of transgenitalization” of one spouse, the definition of gender as a result of “primary and chromosomal sex characteristics”, retirement according to “biological sex”, and the obligation to indicate the “biological sex” in marriage-related documents so as not to deny “crucial information” to the other person.

Graph 1: Distribution of anti-trans bills between 2019 and 2023



The graph shows the distribution of the number of bills with anti-trans content by topic between 2019 and 2023

Source: Chamber of Deputies | Produced by: Democracy Reporting International

- The topics **non-binary language (25 bills)**, **trans women in sports (11)** and **gender-affirming surgeries and/or hormone therapy (10)** motivated the highest number of bills with an anti-trans content between 2019 and 2023. Two major peaks were registered in relation to the proposition of the bills in question: throughout 2021 and in the first months of 2023, marked by the beginning of a more progressive government that contrasts with a new congressional configuration, formed in the same elections, characterised by an increase in the number of conservative congress people.⁵
- With the most expressive numbers of the entire observed period, the movement registered in 2023, in terms of the introduction of anti-trans bills, suggests a possible reaction of legislators who now constitute the “new opposition” to the government in the the Chamber of Deputies and the explicit expression of their far-right anti-gender stances.

⁵ Available at:

<https://www.brasildefato.com.br/2022/10/07/lavajatismo-e-congresso-mais-conservador-veja-o-cenari-o-que-se-anuncia-para-o-legislativo>. Accessed on: Jun 13, 2023.

- In 2023, particular attention is drawn to the emphasis placed on attempts to ban non-binary language and, to a lesser extent, gender-affirming surgeries and/or hormone therapy. In the case of bills proposing the prohibition of non-binary language, a possible motivation for this push could be the discussion triggered by the use of non-binary terms by President Lula, First Lady Janja da Silva, and ministers of the new government at the presidential inauguration ceremony⁶, in January, as well as the adoption of inclusive terms by Agência Brasil, a state-owned news producer led by the federal government⁷.
- In these bills, the main concern expressed by their proponents is the prohibition of non-binary language, particularly in schools, both in teaching content itself and in educational materials. There are also bills that extend the prohibition to government, cultural, sports and advertising spheres. These prohibition attempts directly align with bills that oppose the so-called “gender ideology,” as there is an emphasis on curbing diverse sexual and gender identities/ expressions, especially in educational settings but also in government and media contexts.
- Although in smaller numbers, bills prohibiting the participation of trans women in women's sports competitions and gender-neutral bathrooms were also introduced in 2023, maintaining the thematic pattern of anti-trans content observed in bills since 2019.

II. Who proposes: profile of parties and authors associated with anti-trans bills.

Among the sixty bills analysed in this report, 42 lawmakers were identified as proponents. Proponents are the leading authors identified in the text of the bill. Some analysed bills are co-authored⁸, however, for this analysis, we focused only on the legislator identified as the main author. The chart below highlights the profile of these parliamentarians considering the following categories: gender, race, religious profile⁹ and whether they are part of a religious front in the lower house of the Congress.

⁶ Available at:

<https://www.cnnbrasil.com.br/politica/governo-lula-adota-pronome-neutro-todes-em-eventos-ministra-t-em-projeto-contru-linguagem-neutra/>. Accessed on: Jun 13, 2023.

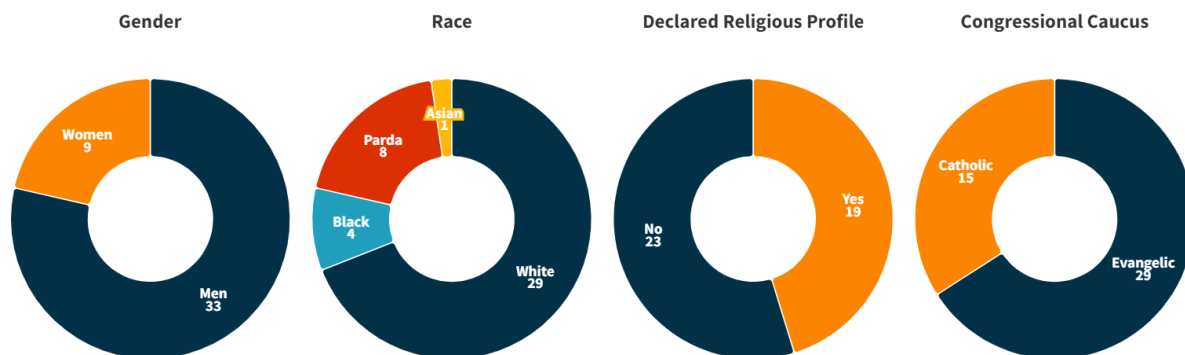
⁷ Disponível em:

<https://www.poder360.com.br/midia/agencia-brasil-sob-lula-adota-linguagem-neutra-para-genero/>. Accessed on: Jun 13, 2023.

⁸ Bills 246/2019 and 3492/2019.

⁹ The political party analysis of congresspeople can be found from Graph 4.

Graph 2: Profile of Legislators Proposing Anti-Trans Bills



The graphs show the profile of parliamentarians proposing bills with anti-trans content between 2019 and 2023

Source: Chamber of Deputies | Produced by: Democracy Reporting International

- Observing the interaction of gender, race, and religion dimensions among legislators who have proposed anti-trans laws allows us to map out a profile and understand which groups promote these laws in the legislative sphere. By examining the intersections of these markers, we can identify their positionalities, which indicates possible motivations and worldviews that can influence their positions and political actions.
- Regarding their gender, of the 42 main authors of bills identified in this report, 33 are men, while only 9 are women. The predominance of male legislators, representing 78% of the analysed group, highlights the profile of the lawmakers driving anti-trans bills. This predominance, however, also reflects the current gender disparity that exists in the Chamber of Deputies, where only 17% of the members are women¹⁰.
- When we look at the race of the bills' proponents, we see a majority of white congresspeople (29 in total). "Pardos"¹¹ come in second, with 8 representatives, followed by black legislators, with 4, and Asian, with 1. It is noteworthy that,

¹⁰ Available at:

<https://www.camara.leg.br/internet/agencia/infograficos-html5/composicao-da-camara-2023/>.

Accessed on: Jun 14, 2023.

¹¹ "Pardos" can also be read as light-skinned black people; for a further discussion of how it translates to the Brazilian social-cultural context see RODRIGUES, Gabriela Machado Bacelar. *(Contra)mestiçagem negra: pele clara, anti-colorismo e comissões de heteroidentificação racial*. Dissertação (Mestrado em Antropologia). Universidade Federal da Bahia. Faculdade de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas, Salvador, 2021. Available at: <https://repositorio.ufba.br/handle/ri/34195>. Accessed on: Jul 4, 2023.

when observing the dimensions of gender and race among the 42 authors, there is a significant presence of white men, totaling 21. Men are also the majority among “*pardos*”, where, of the 8 self-declared “*pardos*” legislators, 7 are men and 1 is a woman. It is important to note that no black or Asian women are part of the group of authors of anti-trans bills.

- The authors of this report relied on two sources to determine the religious profile of bill proponents. The first one refers to the self-declared religious identity of the legislators. For this parameter, we considered the congressperson as someone “with a religious identity” when their religion was explicitly addressed in their social media profile (Facebook, Instagram and/or Twitter). Many politicians include their religion in the “bio” section of their profiles, like Fernando Rodolfo, a congressman affiliated to the Liberal Party (PL), who mentions being “Christian and conservative” in his Instagram “bio”¹². In addition, congresspeople who are pastors were considered religious because of their official religious titles (e.g. Pastor).
- Following this logic, 19 legislators explicitly expressed their religiousness on their social media, while 23 did not specify their religion. It is important to note that the 23 non-self-declared religious lawmakers may or may not belong to a religion and have values based on it, but their stance on religion is not explicitly mentioned on their social media.
- The second category is related to the participation of the bills' proponents in religious caucuses in the Chamber of Deputies. Currently, the two caucuses are: the Evangelical Parliamentary Front of the National Congress¹³ and the Roman Catholic Apostolic Parliamentary Front¹⁴. Out of the 42 congresspeople analysed, 34 are part of at least one of these caucuses, and 10 of them are part of both. The legislators who are part of both groups are Bia Kicis (PL), Carla Zambelli (PL), Caroline de Toni (PL), Coronel Chrisóstomo (PL), Eli Borges (PL), Fernando Rodolfo (PL), Kim Kataguirí (UNIÃO), Lincoln Portela (PL), Otoni de Paula (PSC) and Pastor Eurico (PATRIOTA). Only eight congresspeople are not part of any of the congressional groups, six men, and two women.

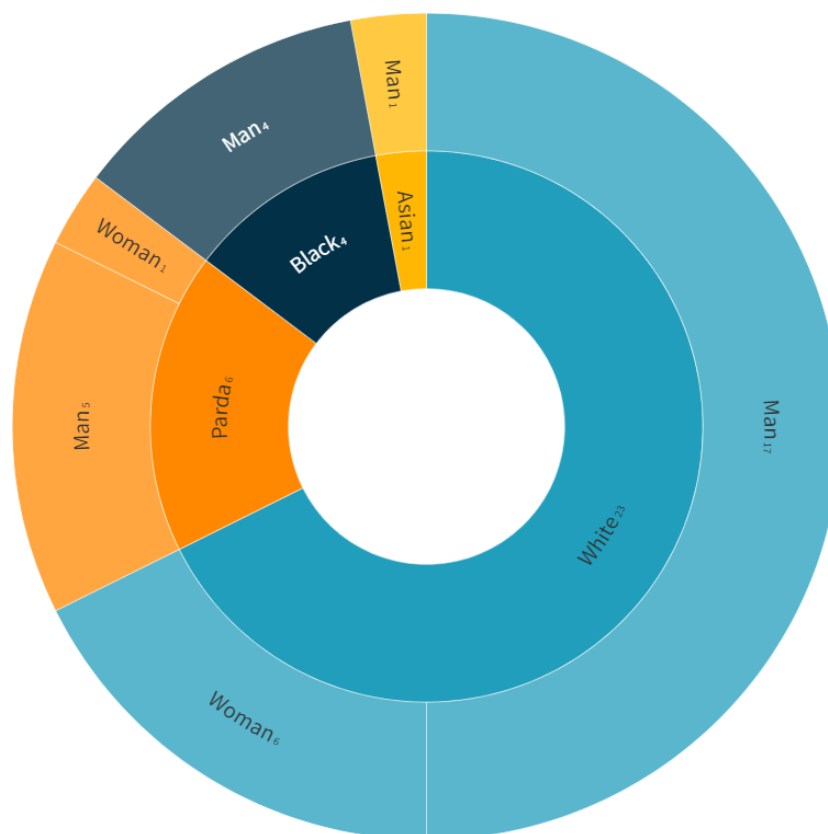
¹² Available at: <https://www.instagram.com/fernandorodolfooficial/>. Accessed on: Jun 12, 2023.

¹³ Available at: <https://www.camara.leg.br/internet/deputado/frenteDetalhe.asp?id=54010>. Accessed on: Jun 12, 2023.

¹⁴ Available at: <https://www.camara.leg.br/internet/deputado/frenteDetalhe.asp?id=54326>. Accessed on: Jun 12, 2023.

- The identified religious majority helps us understand the religious background of the bill proponents and to investigate possible religious influences in the formulation of their political positions. Furthermore, it is important to understand the legislator's profile who are part of these religious caucuses. Graph 3 presents the gender and race distribution of among the 34 legislators included in these groups.

Graph 3: Gender and race of legislators, who are part of the Evangelical and/or Catholic Congressional Caucuses



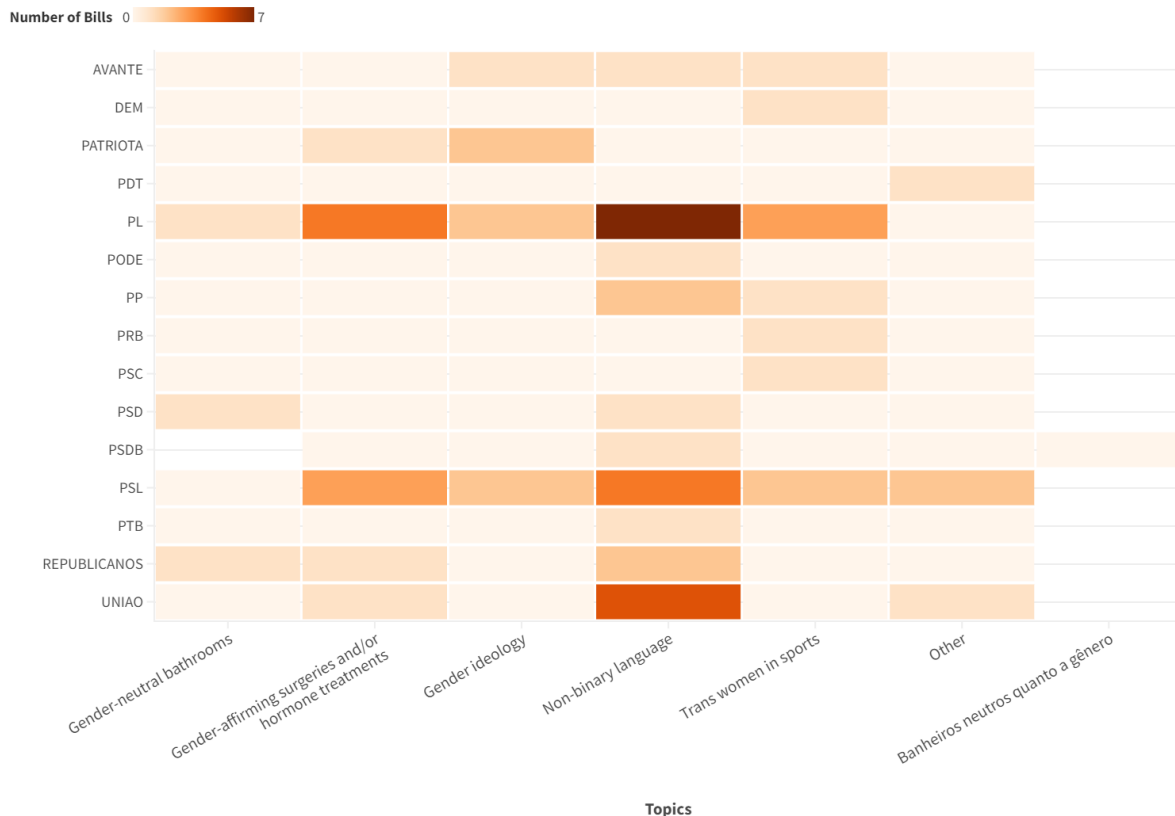
The graph shows the number of parliamentarians with a religious profile considering gender and race

Source: Chamber of Deputies | Produced by: Democracy Reporting International

- The data presented in the graph above reveals some important trends. First, there is a significant white majority, with 28 legislators. Additionally, there is a male predominance, with 17 men compared to 7 women. It is important to emphasise that women, who are widely underrepresented in politics and in other spaces of power, are a minority in all categories analysed. Only 7 women are identified: 6 white congresswomen and 1 “parda”, while no black or Asian women are part of the analysed group.

- This analysis helps us map out a more complete profile and understand how different identities are represented within the group driving these anti-trans laws at the legislative level. By considering the intersectionality between gender, race, and religion, we gain a more comprehensive understanding of the dynamics involved in the proposing anti-trans bills.

Graph 4: Heatmap of topics with the highest number of Anti-trans Bills by Party



The heatmap shows the parties leading the anti-trans bill proposals in the Chamber of Deputies. The darker the colour in the heatmap, the higher the number of proposals in relation to the topic have been mapped.

Source: Chamber of Deputies | Produced by: Democracy Reporting International

- The graph above is a heat map, and it was created based on the number of bills proposed by each party. This representation allows for the identification of trends regarding the themes on which parties propose the most bills. In the graph, colours are used to represent different values, with the darker the colour indicating a higher number of bills found for each party and topic, and lighter colours indicating a lower number.
- From Graph 4, it is evident that the Liberal Party (PL) and the Social Liberal Party (PSL) stand out as the parties with the highest number of legislative projects that put forward a restrictive stance toward gender issues and trans

people. PL leads with 17 proposals in total, while PSL has 13 anti-trans proposals.

- The data reveals a significant engagement from these parties in proposing measures that aim to restrict trans rights and identities. The main topics of bills authored by legislators from the PL are related to non-binary language (7), restrictions on gender-affirming surgery and/or hormone treatment (4), and trans women in sports (3). Regarding the PSL, the number of bills are 4, 3 and 2, respectively.
- Among the various topics addressed in proposals from other parties, non-binary language stands out as the topic receiving the highest number of proposals. Out of the 60 proposals analysed, 25 are related to this theme. The UNIÃO party also stands out, having 5 bills presented between 2019 and 2023.

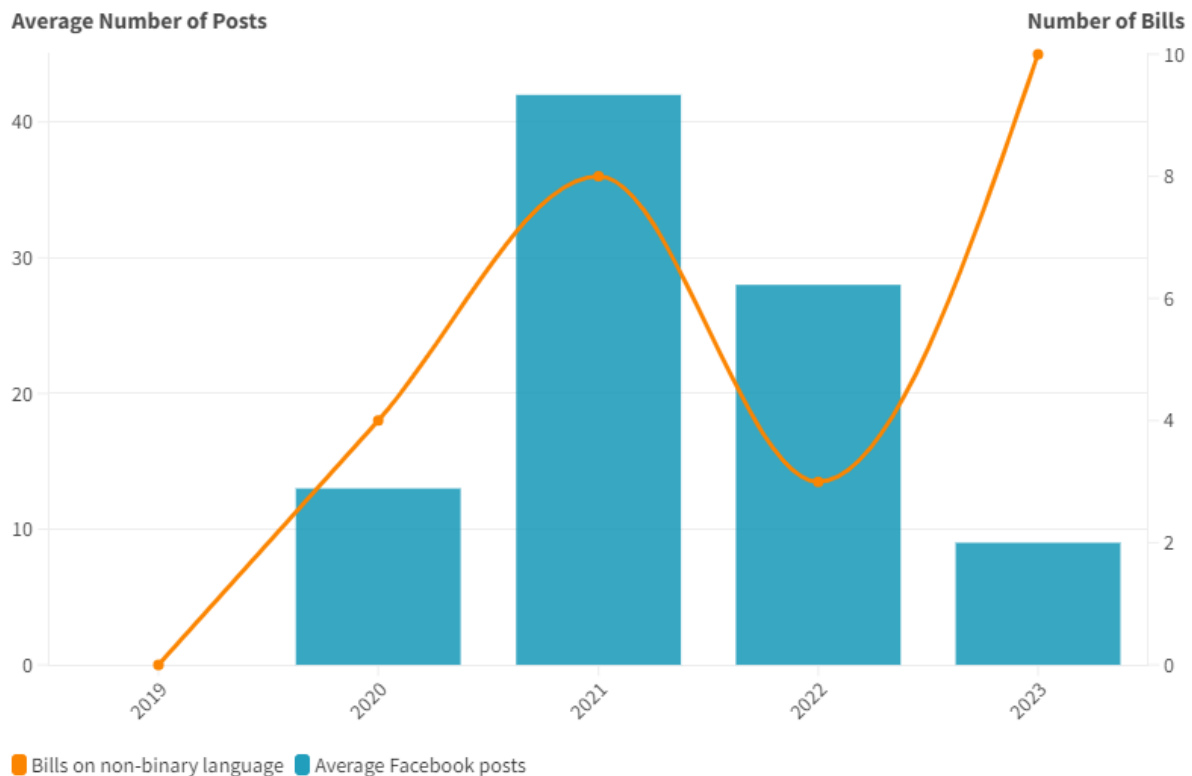
III. How it is proposed: Intersections between anti-trans bills, debates on transgender rights on Facebook and keyword identification

When comparing the topics of the analysed bills in this report with those we identified in a previous report concerning the debate around transgender issues and rights in public groups on Facebook¹⁵, we identified that some subjects intersect. They are: “gender ideology,” non-binary language and gender-neutral bathrooms. In these cases, we observe how political claims associated with LGBTQIA+ people and, more specifically, with trans people, are addressed similarly both in the political field and online.

The graphs below (5, 6 and 7) compare the average number of posts on the aforementioned topics on Facebook with the number of bills proposed for the same topics. The left axis represents the average number of posts, while the right axis represents the number of bills.

¹⁵ Mentioned in the “Methodology” section of this report.

Graph 5: Correlation between bills in the Chamber of Deputies and Facebook posts on non-binary language



The graph shows the average number of Facebook posts and the number of bills on non-binary language

Source: Facebook and Chamber of Deputies | Produced by: Democracy Reporting International

- Regarding “non-binary language”, two patterns stand out: in 2021, there was a convergence between discussions about the topic on Facebook and the proposal of bills that seek to prohibit the teaching of this form of language in schools; and during the first four months of 2023, there was a rise in the number of bills proposed in the Chamber of Deputies.
- While we were not able to identify the specific cause of the first spike, some events from 2021 suggest why it happened. In that year, at least two lawsuits regarding non-binary language were proposed before the Brazilian Supreme Court (STF), gaining media attention¹⁶. The first of them (ADI 6925), proposed

¹⁶ DESIDERI, Leonardo. PT goes to the STF to defend neutral language. Know what's at stake. Gazeta do Povo, July 14, 2021. Available at: <https://www.gazetadopovo.com.br/vida-e-cidadania/pt-quer-derrubar-decreto-catarinense-contralinguagem-neutra-stf/>. Accessed on: June 14, 2023. OAHANA, Victor. Fachin suspends Rondônia law that prohibits neutral language in schools. Carta Capital, Nov 17, 2021. Available at: <https://www.cartacapital.com.br/cartaexpressa/fachin-suspende-lei-de-rondonia-que-proibe-linguagem-neutra-nas-escolas/>. Accessed on: June 14, 2023.

by the Worker's Party (PT) in July, defied the constitutionality of a decree issued by Santa Catarina's Governor that prohibits the use of "new forms of gender and number inflections of Portuguese words"¹⁷ in schools and by state level public agencies. The second one (ADI 7019), filed in November by the National Confederation of Workers in Educational Institutions, also argued the constitutionality of a law in the State of Rondônia with similar content to that of the Santa Catarina decree.

- Furthermore, in 2021, when the discussion about returning to in-person classes — interrupted due to the Covid-19 pandemic — began, there was also a surge in bills in state legislatures against the teaching of non-binary language. There were at least 24 bills proposed in different states¹⁸, many of them associated by the media with congresspeople with a "*Bolsonarist*" profile (i.e, supporters of the former president Jair Bolsonaro) after a wave of unsuccessful proposals of bills on Escola Sem Partido (School Without Party)¹⁹.
- Therefore, the interactions between the Executive and Legislative branches in tension with the Judiciary indicate that at that time, there was a common objective to regulate the issue in the legal sphere. This occurred in a context of concern about the return to physical classrooms, which until that moment had largely shifted to online classes that could be monitored by parents.
- On this note, the stated reason for the proposal of some of the bills we analysed in 2021 would be the adoption of guidelines for the use of non-binary language in schools, which was supposedly causing confusion. The main argument in their justifications is that the proposed change is the result of an "ideological view" (bill 173/2021), guided by "ideological criteria" (bill 211/2021),

¹⁷ Available at: <https://www.legisweb.com.br/legislacao/?id=415779>. Accessed on: Jun 12, 2023.

¹⁸ PARAÍSO, Gustavo; MELO, Iran. Proibição e mitos sobre a linguagem não-binária no Brasil.

Diadorim, June 2, 2023. Available at:

<https://adiadorim.org/opiniao/2023/06/proibicao-e-mitos-sobre-a-linguagem-nao-binaria-no-brasil/>.

Accessed on: June 9, 2023.

¹⁹ ALFANO, Bruno. Em ao menos 14 estados, Bolsonaroistas querem proibir uso de linguagem neutra nas escolas. *Globo*, July 22, 2021. Available at:

<https://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/educacao/em-ao-menos-14-estados-bolsonaristas-querem-proibir-uso-de-linguagem-neutra-nas-escolas-1-25120887>. Accessed on: June 9, 2023. The School Without Program was created to oppose the alleged "use of teaching for political, ideological and partisan purposes", putting forward tools to guarantee a "neutral" teaching environment, in which teacher's discourses are supervised (mostly by parents). For a further analysis of the program see

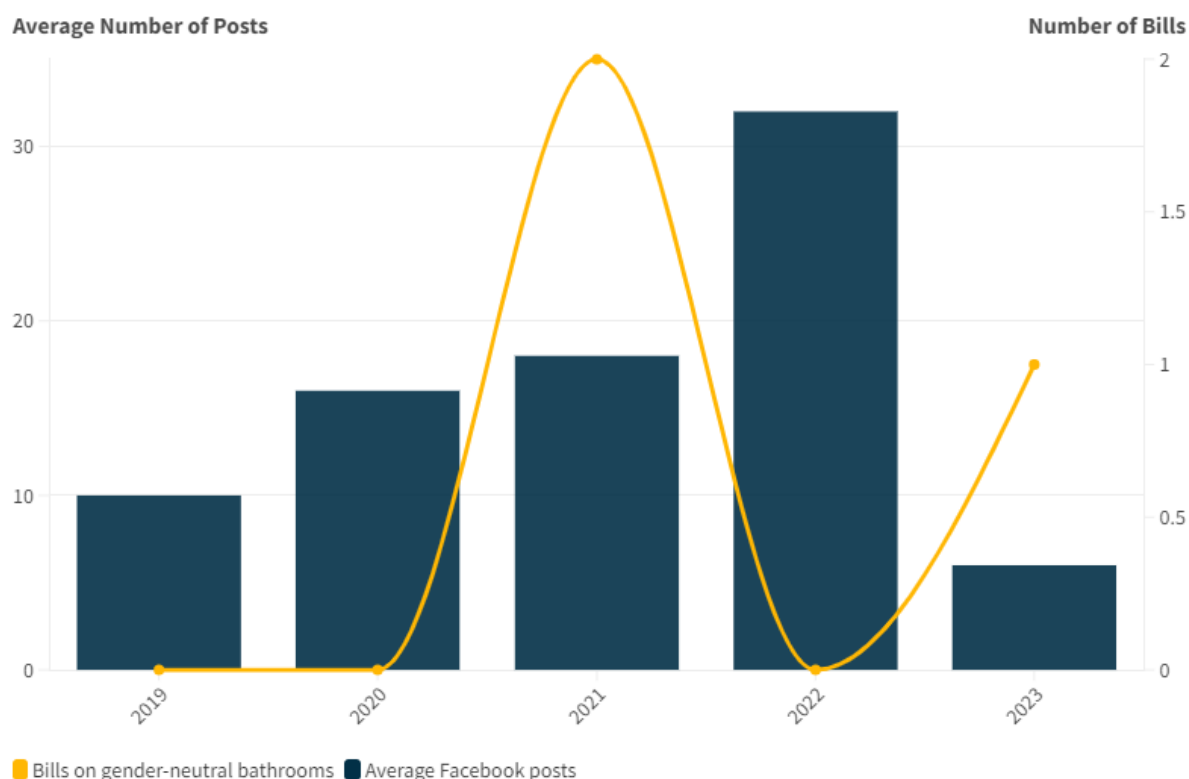
GUILHERME, Alexandre Anselmo; PICOLI, Bruno Antonio. Escola sem Partido/School Without Party – totalitarian elements in a modern democracy: some reflexions based on Arendt. *Revista Brasileira de Educação*, 23, 2018. Available at:

<https://www.scielo.br/j/rbedu/a/cVXvMDSmnVHHFs3SF6kTsyB/?format=pdf&lang=en>. Accessed on: July 7, 2023.

which, by propagating an alleged invention, a “neo language” (bill 3310/2021) that threatens the Portuguese language, should be prohibited to protect the educational process of children and young people.

- In this sense, the bills employed more explicit discourses against non-binary language, which differs from what we previously identified on Facebook; this is because, on the social media platform, most posts on the subject addressed it in a mocking tone. On the other hand, although it is not possible to say whether the reasons for the peak of publications and the peak of bills are the same, it is noteworthy that both in public Facebook groups and in the Congress, the topic is repeatedly debated in association with education.
- In 2023, the year in which we identified the second peak, the proposals continue with similar content, highlighting the cultural and linguistic heritage of the Portuguese language, rejecting the alleged ideological incursion, and sometimes suggesting that it would lead to a “dictatorship of a minority” (bill 493/2023), threatening democracy itself. None of these bills, however, was approved by the National Congress; the disproportionality between the number of proposed bills and posts on the same topic may suggest that the subject continues without significant online repercussions.

Graph 6: Correlation between bills in the Chamber of Deputies and Facebook posts about gender-neutral bathrooms



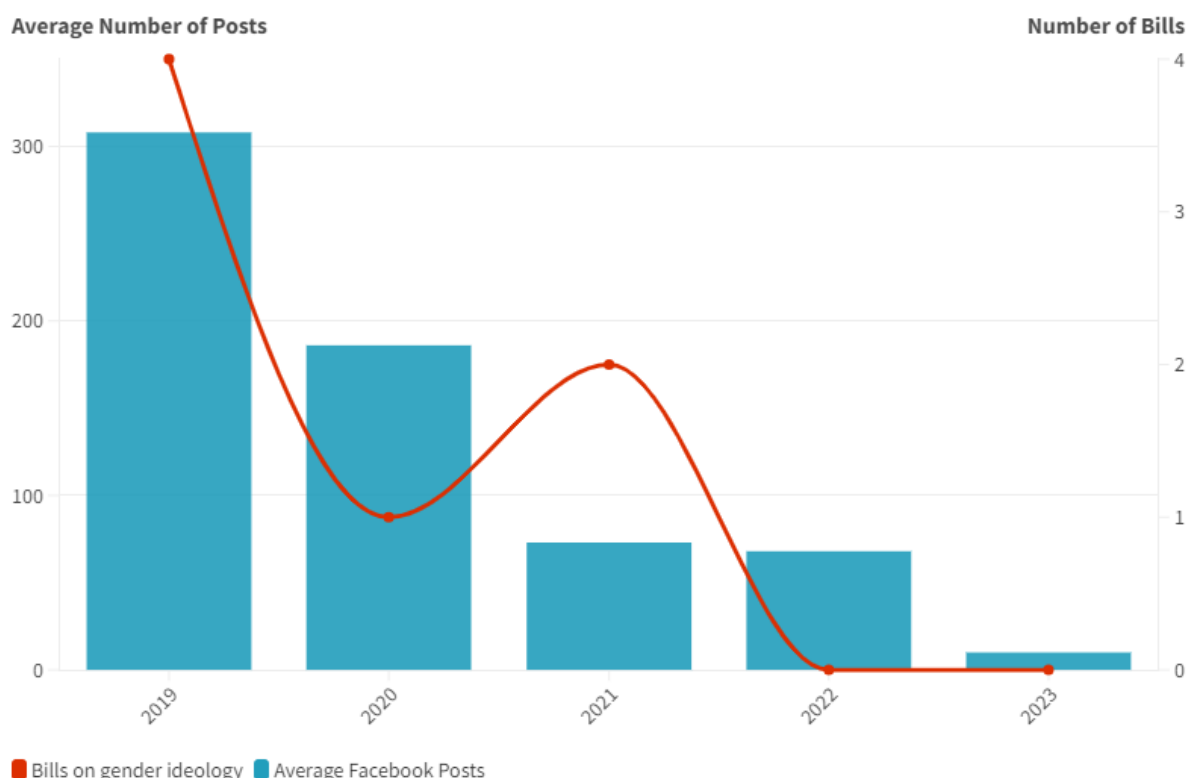
The graph shows the average number of Facebook posts and the number of bills regarding gender-neutral toilets

Source: Facebook and Chamber of Deputies | Produced by: Democracy Reporting International

- In quantitative terms, there are a few legislative proposals to prevent the implementation of gender-neutral bathrooms. Similar to the discussions in the public Facebook groups previously analysed, the bills also refer to these spaces as “unisex bathrooms” (bill 4019/2021). In other proposals, references are made to “bathrooms that allow the common use by people of biologically distinct sexes” (bills 4036/2021 and 1601/2023), stressing biological sex as a differentiating criterion between people.
- Contrary to the distinction identified between bills and posts about non-binary language, in this case, the last two bills mentioned above replicate some of the arguments found on Facebook, particularly the notion that women and children would be at risk if such bathrooms were made available. This is because, due to the supposed “gap” created by these spaces, “malicious criminals” (bill 4036/2021) could take advantage of them to commit sexual violence crimes.

- While the two 2021 bills seek to prohibit the creation of such bathrooms in spaces such as commercial establishments and the workplace, the bill proposed in 2023 is limited to schools. The justifications of the latter, however, are not significantly different from the others. Its main difference is the provision that, if there is only one bathroom to be used by the school faculty, it must be identified as a “single bathroom”.

Graph 7: Correlation between bills in the Chamber of Deputies and posts on Facebook about “gender ideology”



The graph shows the average number of posts on Facebook and the number of bills on gender ideology.

Source: Facebook and Chamber of Deputies | Produced by: Democracy Reporting International

- The first bill proposed in 2019, bill 246/2019, is being analysed together with bill 7180/2014²⁰, as another attempt to promote the "School Without Party" program in the Legislative branch. Although it does not explicitly mention the

²⁰ First to propose the program “Escola sem Partido”. Available at: <https://www.camara.leg.br/proposicoesWeb/fichadetramitacao?idProposicao=606722> Accessed on: May 30, 2023. Proposals whose objective is manifestly contrary to that of the “Escola sem Partido”, such as, for example, Bill 502/2019, authored by congressperson Talíria Petrone (PSOL), which establishes the “Escola sem Mordça” (Muzzle-free Schools) program and Bill 6005/2016, by former congressperson Jean Wyllys, which establishes the “Escola Livre” (Free School) program.

expression “gender ideology”²¹, the objective of bill number 246/2019 is to prohibit “any form of dogmatism or proselytism in addressing gender issues” in public schools. Temporally, the bill converges with the peak of mentions of the expression on Facebook, being worth noting that half of the legislative proposals on the subject were presented in 2019, the first year of the government of former President Jair Bolsonaro.

- In addition to this, bills 258/2019, 4893/2020, 4520/2021 and 660/2023 are also directly related to the ban on “gender ideology” in schools. These bills seek to prohibit the “application of gender ideology”²², or “of the principles of gender theory or ideology”²³, or the teaching of “content related to gender ideology”²⁴ in public educational institutions.
- In this sense, the bills also seek to establish limits on teaching autonomy, as explicitly stated in the justifications of bills 246/2019 and 660/2023, for example, that “there is no freedom of speech in the strict exercise of teaching activity”²⁵. Bills 4893/2020 and 4520/2021, on the same note, propose the criminalisation of the teaching of content related to “gender ideology” in schools, suggesting that the main authors of the alleged crimes would be teachers.
- In every bill, “gender ideology” is mentioned without specifying its content. To delimit prohibited subjects for the Public Administration and suggest the contours given to the expression, they use terms such as “sexual option”, “gender”, “sexual orientation”, and “sexual diversity.” In general, however, the use of these terms seems to be deployed with the same goal of creating a “moral panic”²⁶ that we could identify on Facebook, since its content aligns with that of online posts, whose main objective seems to be the trumping of

²¹ Available at: https://www.camara.leg.br/proposicoesWeb/prop_mostrarintegra?codteor=1707037
Accessed on: May 30, 2023.

²² Available at: https://www.camara.leg.br/proposicoesWeb/prop_mostrarintegra?codteor=1707056.
Accessed on: May 30, 2023.

²³ Available at: <https://shorturl.at/cdyKY>. Accessed on: May 30, 2023.

²⁴ Available at: https://www.camara.leg.br/proposicoesWeb/prop_mostrarintegra?codteor=2127219.
Accessed on: May 30, 2023.

²⁵ Available at: https://www.camara.leg.br/proposicoesWeb/prop_mostrarintegra?codteor=1707037 e <https://shorturl.at/cdyKY>, respectively. Accessed on: May 30, 2023.

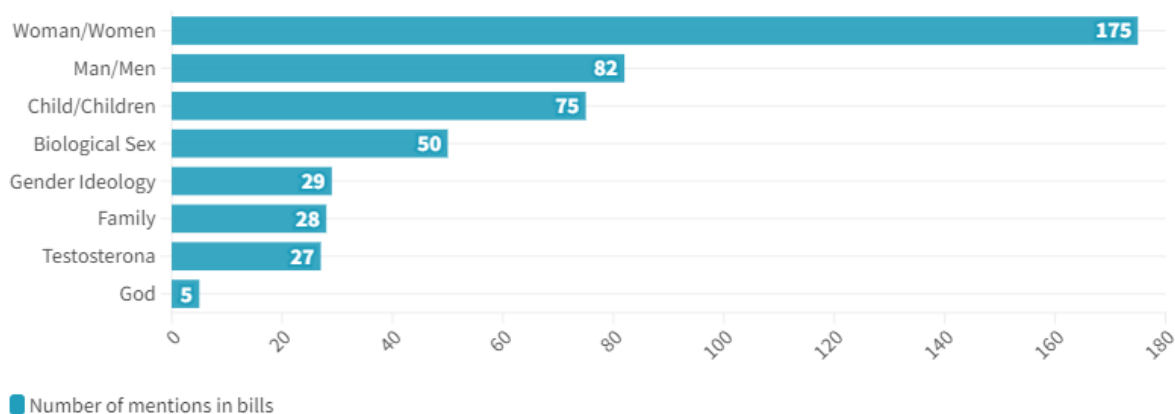
²⁶ Conceptualized by researcher Stanley Cohen in the 1960s, the idea of moral panic characterizes the way in which the media, public opinion and agents of social control react to certain breaches of normative standards. In general, certain minority groups are assigned the status of “dangerous” in relation to social values and interests, which can lead to the dehumanization, criminalization, or stigmatization of these groups. Cf. MISKOLCI, Richard. Moral panics and social control – reflections on gay marriage. *Cadernos Pagu* (28), January-June 2007:101-128.

rights and public policies that could benefit the LGBTQIA+ population and, in particular, transgender people.

Mentioning of keywords identified in all bills

The graph below shows the frequency of keywords identified by the authors of this report in the analysed bills. The list of words was created based on those most mentioned in the bills (from which we made the first selection of the most relevant ones according to the report's themes), the reading of the bill contents, and from current discussions involving the rights of trans people in Brazil. As the final result (Graph 8), it is possible to identify some key elements and underlying ideologies to justify the legislative proposals.

Graph 8: Frequency of keywords in anti-trans bills



The graph shows the number of keyword mentions in bills with anti-trans content analysed

Source: Chamber of Deputies | Produced by: Democracy Reporting International (DRI)

- The words “woman/women,” “man/men,” “biological sex” and “testosterone” predominantly appear in bills grouped under the topic “trans women in sports.” Their common argument is that the division between men and women in sports should be based on each individual’s biological sex, and that trans women, allegedly having an advantage due to the development of their bodies with higher levels of testosterone than cisgender women, should not be allowed to compete with the latter.
- These bills, based on alleged scientific evidence about the aforementioned advantage²⁷, are permeated by transphobic or misleading statements. Among

²⁷ For a recent study on the participation of trans women in sports competitions, in the opposite direction, cf. the report “Transgender Women Athletes and Elite Sport: A Scientific Review”, published

these, the “prohibition of the participation of transsexual male athletes (MEN TRANS-DRESSED OR COSTUMED AS WOMEN)” (bill 2200/2019); and the allegation that the bills do not intend to harm the “personal choices” (bill 1728/2021) or “private life choices” (bill 2639/2019) of men and women, suggesting that being transgender is a choice, stand out.

- The second most recurrent theme involving the words “woman/women” and “man/men”, which also includes eight bills mentioning “children,” is that of “non-binary language”. In this case, the first words appear in passages that question the use of gender-neutral pronouns, delimitating binary differences between feminine and masculine in the Portuguese language.
- The word “children”, on the other hand, is used to identify them as the main group harmed by the use of non-binary language in schools, as previously mentioned. The so-called values of the “traditional family” (bill 467/2023), or the “Brazilian Family”, or the “natural family” (bill 493/2023), are also mentioned as something to be protected against the advance of the “neutral language” and the “dictatorship of a minority” (bill 493/2023).
- Finally, the topic “gender-affirming surgery and/or hormone treatment” also brings together eight bills that mention the word “children” at least once. This is because, as mentioned in the section “What is proposed: Description of anti-trans bills and their temporal distribution,” most of them aim to prohibit treatments related to gender transition for people under 18 or 21 years old.
- Most of the bills (6 out of 8) that mention children and belong to this topic aim for the criminalisation of “trans genital surgery and sexual reassignment treatment” (bill 3419/2019). In the bill 4553/2021, the criminal charge is entitled “permanent sexual injury” and establishes a minimum age of 18 years old to be submitted to the procedure; in the bill 3492/2019, if it results in death, the criminal charge would be “death by imposition of gender ideology”.
- In this last bill, there is an explicit mention of the Rhuan Maycon case, which would later become the name of the law if the legislative proposal was approved. According to a jury trial, Rhuan was murdered by his mother and her partner after being subjected to a series of violent treatments, including the

by the Canadian Center for Ethics in Sport. Available in: <https://www.cces.ca/transgender-women-athletes-and-elite-sport-scientific-review>. Accessed on: June 12, 2023.

removal of his genitals.²⁸ The crime occurred in 2019, the first year of President Jair Bolsonaro's term. The case was echoed by him and his supporters, claiming that because they were a lesbian couple, the victim's mother and her partner wanted to change the child's gender, motivated by "gender ideology." The association between "ideology" and genital mutilation was not reported as being an integral part of the charges presented by the Prosecution²⁹, suggesting that this could be yet another example of a political use of the expression.³⁰

Mentioning of keywords in the bills of the topic "Gender Ideology"

When looking specifically at the bills that mention the expression "gender ideology" together with the previously identified keywords, it is also possible to identify some of their main associations (Graph 9). We noted, therefore, how the expression is almost always accompanied by the words "children" (26 times in 7 of the bills) and "family" (9 times in 6 of the bills), indicating, once again, the claim that there would be a state of things to be protected, whose threat would be supposed attempts to implement the so-called "ideology" in Government or in schools.

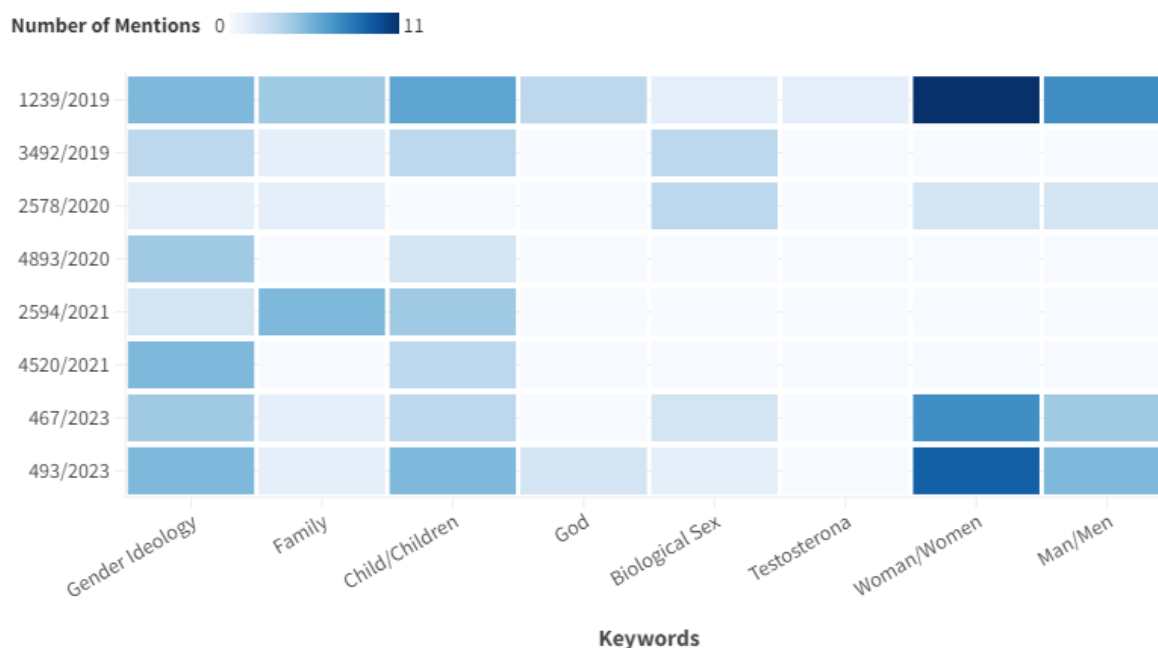
The heatmap below was created based on the number of keyword mentions when the term "gender ideology" is mentioned in a bill. In the graph, colours are used to represent different values, with darker colours indicating a higher number of keyword mentions in a particular bill, and lighter colours indicating a lower number.

²⁸ FRAGOSO, Barbara. Rhuan case: women who killed the boy are sentenced to 129 years in prison. *Correio Braziliense*, 25 November 2020. Available at: <https://www.correiobraziliense.com.br/cidades-df/2020/11/4891243-caso-rhuan-mulheres-que-mata-ram-o-menino-sao-condenadas-a-129-anos-de-prisao.html>. Accessed on: June 12, 2023.

²⁹ "According to the MP, they 'clandestinely castrated and emasculated the victim' and 'prevented Rhuan from having access to any treatment or medical follow-up'. Available at: <https://g1.globo.com/df/distrito-federal/noticia/2020/11/25/caso-rhuan-maycon-mae-e-companheira-qu-e-esquartejaram-menino-sao-condenadas-penas-somam-129-anos-de-prisao.ghtml>. Accessed on: June 12, 2023.

³⁰ FORTUNA, Deborah. Was the death of the boy Rhuan Maycon caused by "gender ideology"? *Correio Braziliense*, July 16, 2019. Available at: https://www.correiobraziliense.com.br/app/noticia/ciencia-e-saude/2019/07/16/interna_ciencia_saude_771402/a-morte-do-menino-rhuan-maycon-foi-causada-pela-ideologia-de-genero.shtml. Accessed on: June 12, 2023.

Graph 9: Heatmap of the number of mentions to keywords when “Gender Ideology” is mentioned in anti-trans bills



The heatmap shows the keywords used when "gender ideology" is mentioned in a bill. The darker the colour on the heatmap, the higher the number of mentions of a keyword.

Source: Chamber of Deputies | Produced by: Democracy Reporting International (DRI)

- The topic with the largest number of bills included in this analysis is “Gender ideology” (bills 1239/2019, 4893/2020, 2594/2021 and 4520/2021), followed by non-binary language (bills 467/ 2023, 493/2023), Gender-affirming surgery and/or hormone treatment (bill 3492/2019) and Other (bill 2578/2020). The association within the first group was expected due to the categorisation guiding the report, while in the second group, the term is related to allegations that teaching non-binary language stems from the so-called "ideology".
- Bills 3492/2019 and 2578/2020 address, respectively, the creation of the crime of “death by gender ideology”, linked to the Rhuan Maycon case mentioned above, and the proposal to make “both biological sex and primary and chromosomal sexual characteristics” defining elements of each person's gender. Both, therefore, are linked to maintaining the binary division of genders guided by biological sex, as indicated by the significant occurrence of the words "women" and "men".
- Among the analysed bills, bill 1239/2019 stands out for mentioning, at least once, all the keywords we selected. It proposes that the Government be

prohibited from allocating financial resources for “actions of dissemination, implementation and enhancement of gender ideology, directly or indirectly.” Although it does not specify which actions these would be, it indicates that communication and propaganda would be included, as well as cultural activities, which allude to the “practice of gender ideology”.

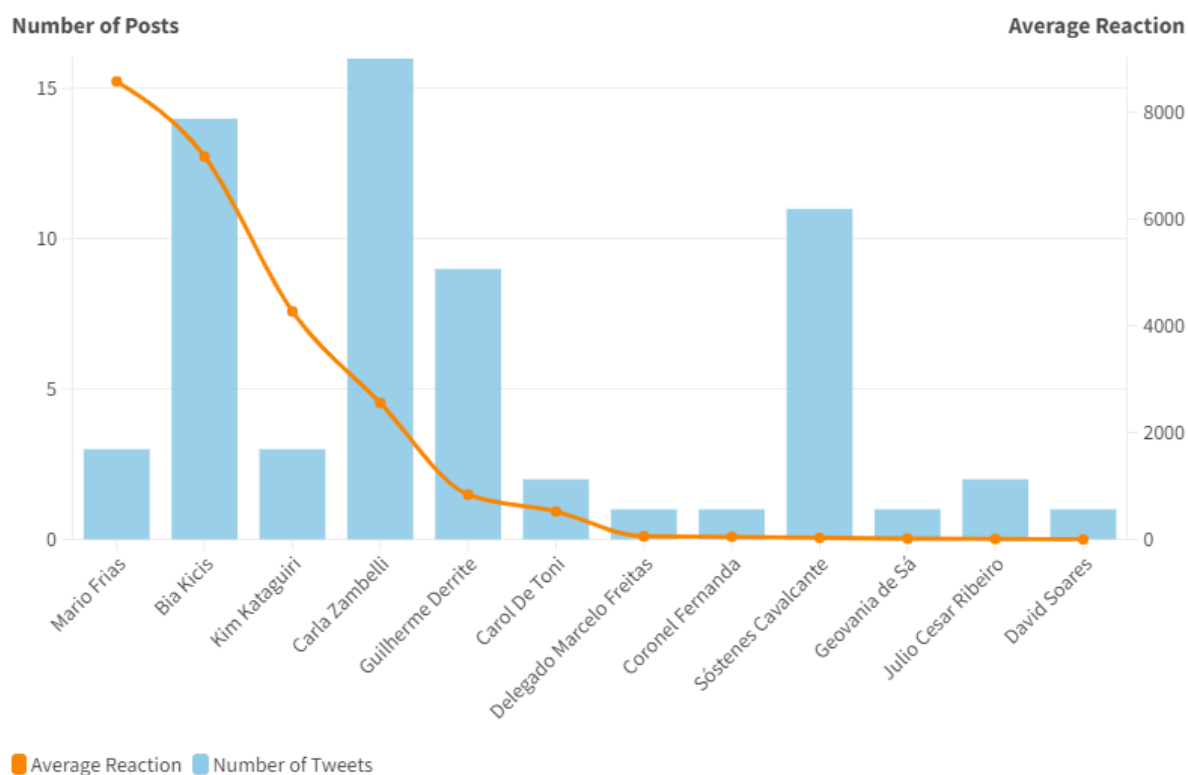
- In its justification, the project follows a markedly religious narrative, with references to God, Jesus, and the need to protect the family, children and the “natural and Divine character of human creation”. In this sense, it reiterates sexual characteristics as defining elements of gender. Therefore, “gender ideology,” defined in the bill as “evil indoctrination coming from hell” and conceptualised as “the philosophical abstraction attributed to the North American Judith Butler” (without citing any sources), would put the “family created by God” at risk. ”
- Thematically related to bill 1239/2019 is bill 2594/2021, which also proposes the prohibition of advertisements with content related to “gender ideology”³¹ or that allude to its “practice”. In the latter, however, regulation would be in relation to “television and radio programming” as a whole. From a broader perspective, both bills can be associated with attacks in a global efforts against so-called “pro-LGBTQIA+ propaganda,” such as the “Answer to Blinken,” the nickname given to the latest version of the Russian law from 2013 that prohibits “gay propaganda.”

IV. Online communication: how the authors of bills with anti-trans content disseminated their proposals on Twitter

The graph below shows the number of tweets compared to the average number of reactions received by the main authors of bills in posts related to their bills. The left axis shows the number of tweets, and the right axis shows the average number of reactions. The analysed tweets were found by filtering the initial sample using keywords and bill numbers. The average number of reactions was calculated by summing the numbers of likes, shares, and comments per post and dividing that number by the total number of posts per parliamentarian.

³¹ In Bill 2594/2021, for example, referred to as “content that refers to themes related to gender and gender ideology, sexual orientation or sexual diversity” and, in Bill1239/2019, as “association of image and sponsorship of actions of communication, including for the purpose of publicity or propaganda, cultural actions, or others that allude to the practice of GENDER IDEOLOGY.” Available at: https://www.camara.leg.br/proposicoesWeb/prop_mostrarintegra?codteor=2046657 and https://www.camara.leg.br/proposicoesWeb/prop_mostrarintegra?codteor=1715654, respectively.

Graph 10: Relationship between the number of posts about anti-trans bills and the average number of interactions on Twitter



The graph shows the number of posts mentioning a specific bill and the average number of reactions per authors on Twitter.

Source: Chamber of Deputies | Produced by: Democracy Reporting International (DRI)

- Out of the 42 parliamentarians identified as the main authors of the bills we analysed, only 12 made any publications about them on Twitter. In contrast to the large gender disparity we identified in the total sample, in this case, the ratio is 5 women to 7 men. On the other hand, the majority (83.3%) is still composed of white men and women, and only Deputy Coronel Fernanda is not part of any parliamentary front with a religious profile. Among the parties, PL has 7 parliamentarians, and União Brasil has 3.³²
- We notice that Bia Kicis (PL/DF) is the parliamentarian with the highest number of tweets, totaling 14 posts (Graph 10). Next, we have Carla Zambelli (PL/SP) with 16 tweets, Sóstenes Cavalcante (PL/RJ) with 11 tweets and Guilherme Derrite (PL/SP) with 9. As for average reactions, Mario Frias (PL/SP) leads with an average of 8,572 reactions per tweet, followed by Bia Kicis, with 7,170

³² For this analysis, the current party affiliation of each of the Deputies was considered, in order to add Bia Kicis, Carla Zambelli, Caroline de Toni and Sóstenes Cavalcante (previously, for the first three, of the PSL, and, for the latter, the Democrats) to the PL (Liberal Party).

reactions. Kim Kataguirí (UNIÃO/SP) and Carla Zambelli also reach relatively high numbers, with averages of 4,267 and 2,554 reactions, respectively.

- Although we identified, at least once, bills for all topics in the posts of their respective authors on Twitter, we noticed a prevalence of those on “gender-affirming surgery and/or hormone treatment” (24) and “trans women in sports” (23). Bill 3492/2019, for example, associated with the first topic, is mentioned 20 times, while bills 2639/2019, 3396/2020 and 1670/2021, all about the participation of trans women in sports competitions, are mentioned a total of 21 times.
- The highlighted topics align with the parliamentarians who made the highest number of posts. On the topic “gender-affirming surgery and/or hormone treatment,” Carla Zambelli posted at least 15 tweets, and Bia Kicis posted 5 times; on “trans women in sports”, Kicis posted 6 times, Sóstenes posted 11 times and Derriete 5 times.



Carla Zambelli ✓
 @Zambelli2210

...

Série - Conheça os nossos Projetos de Lei #4:

PL 3492/2019: “Lei Rhuan Maycon” - agrava pena para homicídio e lesão corporal grave contra crianças ou com o objetivo de imposição de ideologia de gênero.

Coautores: @Biakicis e @BolsonaroSP.



Bia Kicis ✓
 @Biakicis

...

Como parlamentar, participei de audiência pública na câmara onde ouvimos detalhes muito sórdidos do caso. Propusemos junto com/ @BolsonaroSP e @CarlaZambelli38 o PL 3492/19, que aumenta a pena do homicídio causado por ideologia de gênero

Top Post: Series - Get to know our bills #4:

Bill 3492/2019: “Rhuan Maycon Law” - increases the penalty for homicide and grievous bodily injury against children or with the objective of imposing gender ideology.

Co-authors: @Biakicis and @BolsonaroSP.

Bottom Post: As a congressperson, I participated on the House of Representative’s public hearing where we got to hear a lot of sordid details about the case. We have proposed alongside @BolsonaroSP and @CarlaZambelli38 the bill 3492/19, which increases the penalty of homicide cause by gender ideology.

Source: Twitter | Preparation: Diversity and Inclusion Program (FGV Direito Rio)

- When addressing bills aimed to regulate gender-affirming surgeries and/or hormone treatments, the vast majority (20 out of a universe of 24) of the posts made by parliamentarians were about bill 3492/2019. The bill, which would give rise to the aforementioned "Rhuan Maycon Law," was highlighted by Carla Zambelli and Bia Kicis, co-authors of the proposal alongside Eduardo Bolsonaro (PL), to emphasise its main objective (increasing the "sentence for homicide caused by gender ideology") and update their followers on its legislative progress.
- Most posts on the subject were made in May 2021, when the bill was submitted and approved by the Constitution and Justice Commission (CCJ). In these posts, the main point of the bill is that, if it is approved as law, it will increase the penalty for "abusers and murderers of children" to 50 years. Therefore, bodily intervention is associated with the crime of homicide, reinforcing the narrative that those convicted of the death of Rhuan Maycon were motivated by the "imposition of ideology for the reversal of biological sex," as stated in the bill as a possible reason for the proposed crime.³³



MarioFrias
@mfriasoficial

...

Protocoliei o PL 269/2023 que trata sobre a proibição de bloqueio hormonal e hormonioterapia cruzada para menores de idade, e a possibilidade de cirurgia de redesignação sexual apenas para maiores de 21 anos.

Estão castrando e mutilando nossas crianças e adolescentes em nome da ideologia de gênero!



MarioFrias
@mfriasoficial

...

Protocoliei um projeto de lei que trata sobre bloqueio puberal hormonal em crianças e adolescentes e de terapia hormonal e cirurgia de redesignação sexual, para menores de 18 e 21 anos.

[Translate Tweet](#)

Top Post: I filed bill 269/2023, which addresses the prohibition of hormone blockers and hormone therapy for underaged people, and the possibility of undergoing gender-affirming surgeries only for those over 21 years old.

They are castrating and mutilating our children and teenagers in the name of gender ideology!

Bottom Post: I have filled a bill that addresses puberty blockers for children and teenagers and gender-affirming surgeries for people under 18 and 21 years old.

Source: Twitter | Preparation: Diversity and Inclusion Program (FGV Direito Rio)

³³Available at: https://www.camara.leg.br/proposicoesWeb/prop_mostrarintegra?codteor=1763923. Accessed on: June 14, 2023.

- Although with a smaller number of posts when compared to those about bill 3492/2019, Deputy Mario Farias was the one who achieved the highest average number of interactions per publication. Addressing bill 269/2023, of which he is the author, on Twitter, he signalled that the proposal to determine age-limits for performing gender-affirming surgeries and undergoing hormonal treatments would be related to an alleged movement of castration and mutilation of “children and teenagers in the name of gender ideology”.



Tenho lutado para que as mulheres não percam os espaços conquistados. A proposta da ministra dos esportes não se baseia em ciência, mas em ideologia que vem destruindo os sonhos de muitas meninas e mulheres que se dedicam ao esporte. P/ combater isso apresentei o PL 3396/20.



Guilherme Derrite
 @DerriteSP

É óbvio que há vantagem física masculina. O que eu posso fazer? Apresentei o Projeto de Lei da Justa Competição (PL 1670/21), para que isso seja proibido. Por que não criam uma categoria específica? O contrário eu nunca vi: uma mulher querendo competir na categoria masculina.



SÓSTENES
 @DepSostenes

Novamente, a discussão dos atletas trans está em pauta no debate público.

Sou autor do PL 2639/2019 que estabelece o sexo biológico como critério único para definição do gênero nas práticas esportivas, não por preconceito, mas por uma questão de justiça e valorização do esporte.

Top Left: I have been fighting to ensure that women do not lose the spaces they have gained. The proposal from the Minister of Sports is not based on science but on an ideology that is destroying the dreams of many girls and women who dedicate themselves to sports. To fight this, I have introduced Bill number 3396/20.

Top Right: It is obvious that there is a physical advantage for males. What can I do? I have introduced the Fair Competition Bill (1670/21) to prohibit this. Why don't they create a specific category? I have never seen the opposite: a woman wanting to compete in the male category.

Bottom: Once again, the discussion about transgender athletes is at the forefront of public debate. I am the author of Bill number 2639/2019, which establishes biological sex as the sole criterion for determining gender in sports, not out of prejudice, but as a matter of justice and appreciation for sports.

Fonte: Twitter | Elaboração: Programa de Diversidade e Inclusão (FGV Direito Rio)

- When discussing their bills aimed at preventing the participation of transgender women in the female category of sports competitions, Kicis, Sóstenes, and Derrite reiterated the argument that these women would have an "advantage" compared to cisgender competitors. They also indicate that the measure is intended to ensure "fairness" and that the participation of transgender women is "destroying the dreams of many girls and women."
- In addition to the mentioned parliamentarians, only Caroline de Toni (PL/SC) also commented on the same topic on Twitter. Commenting on news that the

International Association of Athletics Federations banned the participation of transgender women in international athletics events, she said, "It is just, it is right, it has always worked, and we need to prevent the left from destroying this too. That's why I introduced the Fair Sports Bill (PL 2146/22) in 2022, so that athletes compete in the male and female categories according to their respective biological sexes."³⁴

- Regarding the topic “gender Ideology,” almost all of the identified posts (4 out of a total of 5) are related to bill 246/2019, which seeks to institute the “Programa Escola sem Partido” (School Without Party Program). Bia Kicis is responsible for three of the publications, while Carla Zambelli posted once. In both cases, the deputies only mention the existence of the project, with Kicis stressing that the bill was presented on the first day of her first term as Deputy.³⁵
- Regarding “non-binary language,” we identified 10 publications, 4 of which were authored by congressman Guilherme Derrite (PL/SP). When mentioning bill 5248/20, the project's author also refers to "gender ideology" and associates certain books with "inappropriate sexual content" with the need to prevent the adoption of non-binary language in schools.



Guilherme Derrite
 @DerriteSP

...

Em Sorocaba, prefeito encontrou 1 milhão de livros, que custaram R\$ 29 milhões. Entre os livros, conteúdos sexuais impróprios, que ensinam a ideologia de gênero. Livros são comprados e linguagens modificadas. Por isso, apresentei o PL 5248/20, para proibir o dialeto não binário.

Caption: In Sorocaba, the mayor found 1 million books, which cost R\$29 million. Among the books, there are inappropriate sexual contents that teach gender ideology. Books are being purchased and languages are being modified. That's why I introduced bill 5248/20 to prohibit the non-binary dialect.

Source: Twitter | Preparation: Diversity and Inclusion Program (FGV Direito Rio)

- In addition to Derrite, Kim Kataguirí (UNIÃO), Geovania de Sá (PSDB), Coronel Fernanda (PL), Caroline de Toni, Julio Cesar Ribeiro (REPUBLICANOS) and Delegado Freitas (UNIÃO) have each posted at least once on the topic. They all mentioned their respective bills against non-binary language and highlighted

³⁴ Available at: <https://twitter.com/CarolDeToni/status/1639259449247318017>. Accessed on: June 14, 2023.

³⁵ Available at: <https://twitter.com/Biakicis/status/1459552694851538948>. Accessed on: June 14, 2023.

the need to ban it from educational institutions. Similar to the texts of the bills, there is also mention of children as a group to be protected (e.g., "They are trying to confuse our children and impose left-wing radicalism in our country"³⁶).

- The topics "gender-neutral restrooms" and "other" appeared in only one post each. The first, by Deputy Julio Cesar Ribeiro and mentioning bill 4019/2021, which seeks to "prohibit the installation and adaptation of unisex bathrooms and alike"³⁷; and the second, by Deputy David Soares (UNIÃO/SP), in which he shares a video explaining the content of bill 1596/2023, whose objective is that, at the time of marriage in a notary, the biological sex of the people involved is informed. In the video, with only two likes and 48 views, the congressman indicates that his proposal is "in accordance with the word of God"³⁸.

³⁶ Post by congressperson Julio Cesar Ribeiro. Available at: <https://twitter.com/JulioCesarRib/status/1336706999766147075>. Accessed on: June 14, 2023.

³⁷ Available at: <https://twitter.com/JulioCesarRib/status/1460670105004777475>. Accessed on: June 14, 2023.

³⁸ Available at: <https://twitter.com/davidbrsoares/status/1643202497962442752>. Accessed on: June 14, 2023.

About the **Media and Democracy** project

Fundação Getúlio Vargas School of Communication, Media, and Information (FGV ECMI) and the **European Union** (EU) have established a partnership to collaborate with the strengthening of Brazilian democracy and the integrity of digital spaces. The initiative, called the **Media and Democracy** Project, will be carried out in partnership with the fact-checking platform **Lupa**, the German center for analysing the public debate **Democracy Reporting International** (DRI), the Diversity and Inclusion Program and the Center for Technology and Society, both from **FGV Direito Rio**, and focuses on debates on gender issues, racial inequality, minority rights, hate speech and other important issues for Brazilian politics. The project includes monitoring and analysing digital media, checking information, and creating a Council, as a public space to promote a positive dialogue, with the participation of researchers, civil society, representatives of public authorities and platforms.

Authorship:

This report was written by the Diversity and Inclusion Program at [FGV Direito Rio](#) and by the [Democracy Reporting International \(DRI\)](#), with data analysis carried out by the two institutions, and collection and visualization developed by Democracy Reporting International (DRI).

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