The Battle Over Education: An Analysis of the Term 'Indoctrination' in Brazil’s Newest Parliamentary Front

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Analysis by

- Protecting children and giving more authority to parents over their children’s education motivated a conservative group of congresspeople to create a Parliamentary Front for the Defense of Education Without Ideological Indoctrination. Teachers, in their view, are the main source of spreading “ideological indoctrination” in schools.
- Right-leaning politicians in Brazil have popularised the term, 'ideological indoctrination', to encompass various movements, policies, or efforts they oppose, particularly those associated with left-leaning, secular, and pro-LGBTQIA+ ideologies.
- Politicians concerned about 'indoctrination' typically level the accusation against specific behaviour that does not align with their political preferences. In addition, they promote the behaviour as representative of a broader ideological agenda. In their online communication, the term ‘indoctrination’ is not only misleading but also linked to prevalent conspiracy theories.
- Two major themes prevailed: claims of left political-ideological and “gender ideology” indoctrination. Within these topics, we identified posts portraying, (1) the current Lula government as working to create a communist dystopia while deceiving the youth, and (2) transnational organisations and LGBTQIA+ rights groups as undermining traditional Christian family values. These narratives explain the urgent and outraged tone observed in many posts by signatory deputies.
On October 10, 2023, a group of deputies launched the Parliamentary Front for the Defense of Education Without Ideological Indoctrination (FPDEDI). The Liberal Party (PL) led the process with deputy Gustavo Gayer as the President of the Front. When analysing their online communication to observe the motivation behind the creation of this Front and their understanding of indoctrination, we observed the following key themes: (i) the protection of children and parental authority over their children’s education are key motivators for the Front; (ii) the concept of indoctrination is used to encompass various discouraged practices, mainly their opposition to left-wing ideas, labelling them as an attempt to install communism in Brazil and impose “gender ideology” on children. Throughout this analysis, the authors found disinformation and documented conspiracy theories. This analysis was performed by Democracy Reporting International.

Methodology

This report examines the rhetoric of ‘ideological indoctrination’ in online Brazilian political discourse by understanding the profile of the parliamentary signatories of the Defense of Education Without Ideological Indoctrination (FPDEDI) in the Chamber of Deputies in Brazil. We first analyse the Front’s founding documents and inauguration ceremony speech to understand its founding motivation, as well as the topics and actors it associates with ‘indoctrination’. Then, using data from Instagram posts from the profiles of the congresspeople who signed the request to create the Parliamentary Front, we delve deeper into how members discuss indoctrination online, analysing which topics they associate with this concept.

To understand the motivation behind establishing the Front, we analysed the Front’s founding statute and a transcript of the speech by the leading congressman in the inauguration ceremony. To understand the concept of ‘indoctrination’ and themes associated with it, as defined by the Front, we collected data from Instagram between 1 February 2023 (the first day of the deputies’ mandate) and October 11 2023 (one day after the inauguration ceremony of the Front). We filtered the dataset, which consisted of 51,055 total initial posts, into smaller subsets using a filter. The filter was built on a dictionary of keywords such as (1) words related to indoctrination cited directly in the Statute of the Front and the aforementioned speech; and (2) terms related to the educational ecosystem overall. Overall, we analysed two subsets in quantitative and qualitative manners, accounting for 7,055 posts.

For the quantitative analysis, we employed three primary methods for interpreting the posts: (i) topic modelling, a technique that allows us to match words
found in Instagram comments to their probability of association with broader topics; and (ii) word frequency, or counting the occurrence of a word in a specific dataset.

This report has three sections: (I) "The Parliamentary Front in Defence of Education Without Ideological Indoctrination", which explains the role the Front has in the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies and analyses the Statute of the Front; (II) "Who signed: Profile of Signatories Deputies of the Parliamentarian Front", which analyses the profile of the deputies and their parties, together with the motivation behind the creation of the Front looking at their speech during the inauguration ceremony; and (III) "What is said: Understanding Indoctrination by Common Topics Found in the Signatories’ Instagram Posts", which explores the topics and themes associated with indoctrination based on their online communication, the content found in each topic and the most frequent adjectives used by the politicians.

I. The Parliamentary Front in Defence of Education Without Ideological Indoctrination

● Inside the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies, there are various Parliamentary Fronts. Fronts are associations of parliamentarians from different political parties who come together to discuss specific topics of interest to society. They can be composed solely of deputies or mixed, consisting of both deputies and senators. In order to be established, a parliamentary front must file a request that includes the signatures of at least one-third of members from the Legislative Branch (deputies and senators) – in the Brazilian case, that refers to a minimum of 198 signatures.

● After collecting 203 signatures (183 from Congresspeople and 20 from Senators), on October 10, 2023, a group of deputies launched the Parliamentary Front for the Defense of Education Without Ideological Indoctrination (FPDEDI). The group is chaired by deputies Gustavo Gayer (PL-GO) and Nikolas Ferreira (PL-MG) and coordinated by deputy Luciano Zucco (Republicanos-RS).

● Among the objectives presented in the Statute of Parliamentary Front in Defense of Education without Ideological Indoctrination (FPDEDI), the following are relevant: a) raise awareness among parents, educators, students, and civil society about the occurrence of ideological indoctrination in schools; b) monitor and oversee educational programs and policies within schools; c) combat and prevent political-ideological indoctrination in schools; d) facilitate
debates on indoctrination in schools to strengthen families; e) restore parental sovereignty in the education of their children and bring them closer to educational environments so that they have full knowledge of the content taught in classrooms and have the authority to question, approve, or disapprove of the curriculum and teaching methods.

- In addition, the FPDEDI's statute defines the Front to be in opposition to “ideological indoctrination”, “political-ideological indoctrination”, and “leftist-Marxist brainwashing” in Brazil’s education system. The statute does not define these terms, nor what specific curriculum its deputies consider to be ideological indoctrination.

II. Who signed: Profile of Signatories Deputies of the Parliamentarian Front

- We focus on this report only on the 183 congresspeople who signed the request. We analyse the signatory deputies to understand their motivation to create the Front. The chart below tracks the signatories according to gender and alignment to a religious front.

Graph 1: Profile of Signatory Deputies

The graphs show the profile of parliamentarians who signed the agreement for the creation of the Parliamentary Front in Defence of Education Without Ideological Indoctrination

Source: Chamber of Deputies | Elaboration: Democracy Reporting International
- Of the 183 signatories, 155 are men, 28 are women. Male legislators in the Front (85%) may reflect a gender bias against “political ideological indoctrination”, or reflect the current gender disparity of the Chamber of Deputies (17% women).

- There are two religiously affiliated caucuses: the Evangelical Parliamentary Front of the National Congress and the Roman Catholic Apostolic Parliamentary Front. Out of the 183 congresspeople analysed, only 24 out of the 183 are not part of one of the religious caucuses (87% are). The combined gender and religious affiliations of the signatory congresspeople correlate with socially conservative beliefs, helping us investigate possible religious influence in the understanding of themes associated with “indoctrination” in this context. In Brazil, studies highlight the impact of democratic public policy under religious political players belonging to conservative movements.

- Graph 2 depicts the party alignment of the Front’s signatories.

Graph 2: Parties of Signatory Deputies

Source: Chamber of Deputies | Elaboration: Democracy Reporting International

- The Liberal Party (PL) has the highest number of leading signatory deputies. Out of 183, 86 belong to the party of the former president of Brazil, Bolsonaro,
the main opposition to the current government and the party with the most seats in the Chamber of Deputies (99 out of 513). The leader of the Parliamentary Front, Gustavo Gayer, is affiliated with PL. The party leads a more conservative agenda in the Chamber of Deputies, and as seen in a previous report, the party also leads in the number of proposed bills with anti-trans content, having a more traditional and religious-based agenda.

- The other four parties with the highest number of signing deputies are Union (UNIÃO), Progressive Party (PP), Republicans (Republicanos), and Brazilian Democratic Movement (MDB), each of which has agendas in opposition to the current government. This conservative mobilisation and the creation of this parliamentary front are widely seen as a result of the 2022 elections, which elected conservative-profile deputies to the Chamber of Deputies.

**The Motivation Behind the Front in Defense of Education without Ideological Indoctrination (FPDEDI)**

- To identify major themes and better understand the deputies' concept of 'indoctrination', we analysed the Front's inauguration ceremony in the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies and observed how they discuss different actors, their goal with the Front, and their motivation behind creating it.

- The graph below shows the frequency of keywords chosen by the authors of this report based on the Front’s statute and the speech given in the inauguration ceremony. The list of words was created based on those most mentioned in the speech (from which we made the first selection of the most relevant ones according to the report’s themes), and the reading of the Front's statute. As the final result (Graph 3), it is possible to identify some key elements that endorse the deputies' understanding and view on indoctrination in schools.
When analysing Gustavo Gayer’s speech (PL-GO), leader of the Front during the ceremony, it is possible to understand some of the concerns that motivated the deputies to create this instrument in the Chamber. He says that, as a professor himself, he started to notice that “the education system has been hijacked by an ideology and turned into a machine for churning out activists incapable of thinking for themselves, who only regurgitate mantras that are shoved down their throats and are taught to hate their parents.”

In addition, Gayer states ideological indoctrination in schools is “much more serious than just the dumbing down of the next generation. It’s the destruction of families. The number of families I’ve seen torn apart, parents and mothers crying their hearts out, as if they had lost their children to crime, to drugs. Because the child starts to hate the father, hate the mother, and all the values that parents defend.”

During his speech, he argues that indoctrination can be seen as “ideological violence”, and furthermore, he relates this idea of indoctrination with different topics such as “gender ideology” and directly associating it with violent crimes: “I believe it is because of this ideological violence that we have people who advocate for the killing of children, who support gender ideology.”

As seen in Graph 3, the most mentioned keyword is teacher. Throughout the ceremony, the Front refers to teachers as the main source of indoctrination and
“perverted” ideas to corrupt children. The language is accusatory and puts teachers in the crosshairs: “[...] there are some militants posing as teachers, and you can’t even call these people teachers, they are militants disguised as teachers who use the noblest profession that exists to destroy families, destroy a society, and ruin the minds and hearts of children.”

- In regards to the words children and parents, two main ideas are presented during the ceremony: they are creating this front to protect children and to restore the authority parents should have over their children’s education. Gayer argues: “what is the initial prerogative of the front? We are going to give power back to the parents and to the families. Imagine an entire Brazil where teachers start to respect parents again [...] this Front is for the parents, for the families to work in order to protect our children”.

- In another example, Gayer made a bold claim that as a result of indoctrination, schools are becoming increasingly militant in their ideology in Brazil: “you go to a federal university today, 90% of the students support Hamas”.

III. What is said: Understanding Indoctrination by Common Topics Found in the Signatories’ Instagram Posts

This section analyses which topics are associated with “indoctrination” based on the deputies’ Instagram presence. To do so, we divided this section into two parts: (i) the leading politicians in the number of posts on the topic, and (ii) the main topics found with our topic analysis methodology.

Leading Politicians in Number of Posts and Engagement

- The graph below shows the total number of posts for each of the top ten most active politicians in the filtered dataset showing the average engagement- i.e. the total number of likes plus the total number of comments - per Instagram post.
Graph 4: Leading Politicians in Number of Posts and Engagement

The graph above shows the number of posts by the top 10 most frequent posting politicians in the subset, as well as the average number of interactions (comments + likes) they received per post.

Source: Instagram | Elaboration: Democracy Reporting International

- Deputy Capitão Alden (PL-BA) posted about ‘indoctrination’ more than twice as much compared to every other member of our sample. However, Alden’s content received relatively few interactions (on average 3615 likes and comments per post). Many of his posts also associate the increasing visibility of the LGBTQIA community with a communist agenda: “Unfortunately, from an early age, many children are targeted by leftist militants (especially teachers, journalists, digital influencers). The result: they become deranged deviants at an early age.” “Better to have children learning to be patriotic citizens than alienated communist militants!”

- In contrast, Deputies Carla Zambelli (PL-SP) and Mario Frias (PL-SP) posted about indoctrination less frequently (50 and 27 times respectively) yet received much higher average engagement per Instagram post (over 35,000 interactions each).

Common Topics Found on Posts Related to Indoctrination
The graph below presents the main topics found in the analysed posts. The topic modelling in this section is a technique that allows for the identification and extraction of significant topics from a large set of unstructured data, such as social media posts.

Within the posts related to indoctrination, we found four main topics: (i) Claims of Left Political-Ideological Indoctrination; (ii) Claims of “Gender Ideology” and LGBTQIA+ Indoctrination; (iii) Claims of Indoctrination in the Media; and (iv) Claims of Indoctrination in Schools. We analyse each topic below to comprehend which subjects they discuss when talking about each theme.

**Graph 5: Main Topics found on Posts about Indoctrination**

The treemap shows the main topics and subtopics found in comments related to ideological indoctrination. The proportion shown refers to the number of comments per topic.

Source: Instagram  |  Elaboration: Democracy Reporting International
Claims of Left-wing Political-ideological Indoctrination

Of the subset of posts relating to indoctrination, the largest theme was aggressive language against opposing political ideologies, specifically communism. See the word bubble below, which visualises the most frequent adjectives in deputies’ Instagram posts.

Graph 6: Most Frequent Adjectives on Posts about Indoctrination

- The most popular word was “communist”, with appearances in 190 total posts. Notable are also the prevalence of terms such as “leftist”, “militant”, and “gender”.

- Our qualitative analysis of the indoctrination subset revealed that signatory deputies to the Parliamentarian Front often describe the current Lula government as communist, interchangeably using the terms “leftist”, “liberal”, “socialist” and “communist” to describe policies and ideologies they disagree with. Many posts highlight abuses by communist governments throughout history and vow to challenge the imposition of a similar government in Brazil.

“It’s not a ‘conspiracy theory’, it’s a reality that WE WILL FACE AND FIGHT! We
will not accept communism taking hold in Brazil” “We will not allow the convicted felon [Lula] and his cronies to turn our country into another communist superpower!” “It’s not just a coincidence, it's reality. The communist dictatorship is here!”

In their posts, the deputies also criticised the left-wing and communist governments of countries such as Venezuela and Cuba, comparing these countries' policies with those of the Lula government. “Communism results in poverty, an irrefutable truth. This is the kind of regime that Lula promotes and that shames Brazil abroad. Maduro is a narco-dictator who has sunk his country into hunger and poverty.”
In the above post, Dep. Sargento Gonçalves (PL-RN) celebrates the Brazilian 1964 coup d'état: “Happy March 31st, the day the Military, thank God, saved Brazil from communism. Thanks to the brave Military of 1964, in response to the wishes of the Brazilian people, we did not become Cuba, Venezuela, or North Korea,...’Either the country remains free, or we die for Brazil.’ God save Brazil!”

Source: Instagram | Elaboration: Democracy Reporting International

- Many deputies accused the Lula government of intending to indoctrinate Brazil’s youth to accept its left-wing policies. “For the left, it’s not enough to stop parents from educating their children. They need to indoctrinate their children so that they change their parents’ minds. If it’s up to Lula, our children will be left-wing militants in our own homes.” “The left wants people to be unqualified so that they all depend on the state.”

- We observed many deputies associating the economic policies of the Lula government with indoctrination: “They’re shoving ideologies and misery down our throats! The left is "screwing" the people with inflation and taxes, all the while whispering in their ears: ‘it's for your own good’.”

- Signatory deputies also made heavy use of the word “militant” when describing supporters of left-leaning movements, the press, or even politicians. The use of this term associates a sense of physical threat with those perceived
to be pushing indoctrination, rather than a purely ideological one. “Left-wing fanatics are pressuring Lula to appoint a black woman (and a militant, of course) to Rosa Weber's seat... They want to turn the Supreme Court into a kind of PSOL directory!” “Militant journalism can no longer manipulate us and the VILLAINS won't be turned into the good guys!”

Claims of “Gender Ideology” and LGBTQIA+ as Indoctrination

Also prominent among the indoctrination-related topics were issues surrounding gender ideology and the LGBTQIA+ community. Post by deputies not only overwhelmingly expressed opposition to the increasing visibility of LGBTQ people in Brazilian society, but also associated this visibility with a sinister agenda to corrupt the country’s youth.

- Of particular issue among signatory deputies was the legality of sex-reassignment surgery for minors. Mario Frias (PL-SP) posted the content concerning indoctrination that received the most interactions, where the Deputy expressed gratitude for Elon Musk's stated commitment to fund efforts to ban transition surgery in minors. The post received over 218,000 likes and 7300 comments.
“Perfect! Elon Musk has said that he will help financially to ban and criminalise gender transition among minors. He said he favours long-term imprisonment, without parole, without mercy, for both the “therapists” and the butchers who perform the surgery. Musk and DeSantis stand against the scoundrels who insist on destroying human biology. He stressed that he will actively push to criminalise severe and irreversible changes to children under the age of consent.”

Source: Instagram  | Elaboration: Democracy Reporting International

- Several politicians also described efforts by LBGTQIA groups to promote inclusive, gender-neutral language as a form of indoctrination: “[Neutral language] is merely the ideological destruction of our language. An artificial ideological imposition with no real communication value.” “We cannot allow gender ideology to be imposed on us unilaterally and against our Federal Constitution”.

- More than any other topic, when discussing gender and LGBT issues, signatory deputies spread harmful disinformation to support the narrative that gender ideology and LBGTQIA+ identities are being inorganically “forced” on Brazil’s youth. Associations of the LBGTQIA+ community with paedophilia and satanism were often observed. “We must protect our children from the satanic activism
that wants to destroy childhood. This is not a fight for inclusion and acceptance, this is an apology for paedophilia and ideological indoctrination.”

- Some posts did not even reference examples from Brazil, but rather from the United States. In the example below, the image text translates to: 'We’re going after your children', sing activists at an LGBT+ rally US. During the Drag March in New York’s Tompkins Square Park, LGBT+ activists sang excerpts from a controversial song in the United States. "We’re here, we’re queers, we’re going after your children," chanted members of the community on Friday 23rd. The clip was taken out of context and features a satirical chant by marchers mocking the idea that the LGBTQ community is deliberately corrupting children.

- In one effort to apply criminal penalties to indoctrinating children, several deputies defined teaching “gender ideology” as “belittling or discriminating against biological sex; imposing ideology regarding the existence of neutral biological sex; imposing ideology for the inversion of biological sex.”
In this post, Deputy Carla Zambelli (PL-SP) writes, “We approved an urgent request for the Rhuan Maycon Law in plenary, which increases the penalty by up to 50 years for crimes committed against children by imposing gender ideology when the crime involves belittling or discriminating against biological sex; imposing ideology regarding the existence of neutral biological sex; imposing ideology for the inversion of biological sex. Now let’s vote and hope that our children are protected.”

Source: Instagram | Elaboration: Democracy Reporting International

Claims of Indoctrination in Schools

- Many of the posts relating to indoctrination did not refer to specific school curriculums or policies by Lula’s government but instead expressed opposition to large cultural or political movements such as leftism or LGBTQIA+ awareness. However, researchers observed a few specific examples:

- Attempts by some schools to implement gender-neutral and trans-inclusive bathrooms were also a particular target for critique by deputies. In response to the passing of a law that would fine “anyone who denies, impedes, hinders, or delays, the access of trans people or those who do not identify with their biological sex to bathrooms, changing rooms” Capitao Alden posted: “The woke agenda seeks to promote social upheaval by subverting values and silencing those who stand up against ideological impositions.” The resistance
to such topics involving trans people’s rights has been already discussed in a previous report from the Media and Democracy Project.

- The Lula government’s decision to close several civil-military schools was heavily criticised by some deputies, who claimed that the real schools in need of closure were those who pushed a left agenda. “While the world of crime continues to grow, the federal government wants to put an end to the Civic-Military Schools Programme created under the Bolsonaro administration. This is part of an indoctrination plan aimed at alienating and indoctrinating children in the service of this ideology.”

In the above post, Deputy Luiz Lima (PL-RJ) writes: “According to the left, civic-military schools are used to indoctrinate children and young people, and the PT government will do away with these institutions. Meanwhile, videos are circulating on the internet showing the country’s public universities totally destroyed by leftist ideology. What about these institutions? Will they continue with open indoctrination, plundering public property and creating communist militants? Meanwhile, the days of schools that teach love of country, discipline and freedom are numbered.”

Source: Instagram | Elaboration: Democracy Reporting International

- Many deputies referenced single instances of inappropriate or perceived inappropriate behaviour in schools but wrote about these examples as if they illustrate a larger effort to indoctrinate children into secular, left-wing, pro-LGBTQIA+ ideologies.
In response to a letter from a left-wing student union inviting new students to join their group, Deputy Marcelo Alvaro Antonio (PL-MG) commented, “Lamentable! Students who should be concerned with learning are infected by Marxism and want to turn the public university into a militant factory.”

In response to a public school professor calling Jesus a “vagabond and an idiot” in class, Deputy Carlos Jordy (PL-RJ) declared “These are the kind of teachers who shout that the state is secular and claim the right to indoctrinate other people's children with their ideological convictions.”

Deputy Luiz Lima (PL-RJ) referred to a homework assignment for grade schoolers that challenged students to examine gender roles as an example of indoctrination. “This is just the beginning of the implementation of the progressive agenda. Schools that are increasingly indoctrinating, partisan and aimed only at training militants. It's going to become unsustainable. We need to stop this kind of ideology and manipulation!”

Some deputies also embraced disinformation and conspiracy theories to justify the existence of an elite agenda aiming to indoctrinate and corrupt children. One such post by Deputy Mauricio do Vôlei (PL-MG) claims that “leaked WHO documents reveal [a] plan to force children to have sexual partners.” and that “the United Nations, in collaboration with the World Health Organisation and Rutgers, funded by Bill Gates, has launched the next phase of its war on humanity, sexualising young children in primary education around the world, with the aim of normalising paedophilia.” The document, The Standards for Sexuality Education in Europe, was published by the WHO in an effort to provide proper standards for sexual education in European countries.
The agenda for ensuring that children have sexual partners is being developed by the World Health Organisation. Its document "Standards for Sexuality Education in Europe" contains the following instructions for kindergartens and primary schools" writes Mario Frias (PL-SP) over an image that reads: "Schools should equip children to have sexual partners" says UN and WHO.

Source: Instagram | Elaboration: Democracy Reporting International

- In other posts, deputies made bold claims that universities in Brazil are becoming increasingly militant in their curriculums, going as far as to even accuse schools of teaching pro-Nazi ideology. The authors of this report were unable to find any proof towards such claims.
Claims of Indoctrination in the Media

- The topic of indoctrination was also frequently associated with attacks on media institutions. Many posts addressed the discussion that happened in Brazil a couple of months ago regarding a potential law to regulate digital media platforms, following the European Union’s efforts with the Digital Services Act. A previous report within the project has covered the repercussions of this debate online.

- Accusations of the “mainstream media” or “militant media” being in league with the Lula government and complicit in pushing an agenda of indoctrination were observed. “The mainstream media is silent! The silence is because the left thinks rape and paedophilia are normal. This is the misgovernment that runs the country!” “They are obsessed with creating a narrative to condemn Bolsonaro and make him ineligible!!! The PT has unstinting support from the
Deputy Carlos Jordy: “Not in our worst nightmares could we have imagined that we would experience what we are experiencing. Thanks to the ideologically irresponsible, those deceived by the militant media and the ignorant victims of the electoral swindler, Brazil is being destroyed at an accelerated pace. Either we remove the criminal or we'll become Argentina!”

Source: Instagram  | Elaboration: Democracy Reporting International

militant media...” “Priorities of the PT misgovernment: Resources for socialist countries and the militant mainstream media..”
About the Media and Democracy Project

The School of Communication, Media, and Information of the Getúlio Vargas Foundation (FGV ECMI) and the European Union (EU) have established a partnership to collaborate on strengthening Brazilian democracy and the integrity of digital spaces. The initiative, known as the Media and Democracy Project, will be conducted in collaboration with the fact-checking platform Lupa, the German centre for public debate analysis Democracy Reporting International (DRI). The project focuses on debates concerning gender issues, racial inequality, minority rights, hate speech, and other important agendas in Brazilian politics. The project encompasses monitoring and analysis of digital media, fact-checking, and the establishment of a Council as a public space for promoting positive dialogue, involving researchers, civil society, representatives from the government, and platform stakeholders.

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