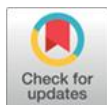


Right-wing conservatism in the BNCC: “gender ideology” from Theodor Adorno



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Abstract

This paper discusses variables of the ideological production of the extreme right and their effects on the field of Brazilian educational policy. In terms of objective, we sought to analyze the strategies of the extreme right around gender ideology and its concrete effects on the National Common Curricular Base approved in 2018. Regarding the methodology, it was a documentary study, guided by Theodor Adorno's theoretical horizon. As a result, the research revealed the premeditated political-ideological action of a set of neoliberal and ultra-conservative groups in the production of the National Common Curricular Base, since, given the scenario of political and institutional crisis established in Brazil in 2010 and the consequent regression in the scope of social policies, a fruitful scenario was created for the approval of the latest version of the national curriculum guidance document, which, in its content, eradicated the issue of gender and diversity agendas.

Keywords

ideology; gender ideology; conservatism; BNCC.

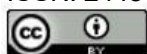
Conservadorismo de direita na BNCC: “ideologia de gênero” a partir de Theodor Adorno

Resumo

Este trabalho discute variáveis da produção ideológica da extrema direita e seus efeitos no campo da política educacional brasileira. Em termos de objetivo, buscou-se analisar as estratégias da extrema direita em torno da ideologia de gênero e seus efeitos concretos na Base Nacional Comum Curricular aprovada em 2018. Sobre a metodologia, tratou-se de um estudo documental, guiado pelo horizonte teórico de Theodor Adorno. Em resultado, a pesquisa revelou a atuação político-ideológica premeditada de um conjunto de grupos neoliberais e de extrema direita na produção da Base Nacional Comum Curricular, já que, dado o cenário de crise política e institucional instaurada no Brasil no ano de 2010 e o consequente quadro de regressão no âmbito das políticas sociais, criou-se um cenário fecundo para a aprovação da última versão do documento de orientação curricular nacional, que, em seu conteúdo, extirpou a questão de gênero e pautas de diversidade.

Palavras-chave

ideologia; ideologia de gênero; conservadorismo; BNCC.



El conservadurismo de derecha en la BNCC: “ideología de género” a partir de Theodor Adorno

Resumen

Este artículo analiza las variables involucradas en la producción ideológica de la extrema derecha y sus efectos en la política educativa brasileña. Objetivamente, buscó analizar las estrategias de la extrema derecha en torno a la ideología de género y sus efectos concretos en la Base Curricular Nacional Común aprobada en 2018. La metodología implicó un estudio de exploración documental guiado por el marco teórico de Theodor Adorno. La investigación reveló la influencia política e ideológica premeditada de un conjunto de grupos neoliberales y de extrema derecha en el desarrollo de la Base Curricular Nacional Común. Dada la crisis política e institucional que estalló en Brasil en 2010 y la consecuente regresión en las políticas sociales, esto creó un ambiente fértil para la aprobación de la última versión del documento de orientación curricular nacional, que eliminó las cuestiones de género y diversidad de su contenido.

Palabras clave

ideología; ideología de género; conservadurismo; BNCC.

1 Introduction

Almost 80 years after the end of Auschwitz¹, ethnic, racial, religious, gender intolerance, the issue of conservative nationalism and several other forms of fundamentalism are still latent on the world political scene, generating effects on educational policies. It can be argued that, in addition to a nostalgia and attempt to normalize a Nazi-fascist past by ultra-conservative political groups, it is initially based on new arrangements of a contemporary capitalism, with its bases in the financial market, which seeks a major offensive in productive restructuring. As a result, we observe the unprecedented loss of labor rights, the increase in structural unemployment and informality, and the precariousness of labor through what we call in the twenty-first century platform capitalism².

This phenomenon, in addition to generating an army of globally excluded, drags them into an economic abyss between the working class and the bourgeoisie, generating ideological consequences in the subaltern classes, which will tend to incorporate the

¹ Auschwitz was the name given to one of the most well-known Nazi concentration and extermination camps, inaugurated in 1941.

² Platform capitalism: term coined by Srnicek (2017) to explain the logic of big capital in terms of the automation of production and production processes increasingly mediated by digital platforms.

neoliberal rhetoric of the search for the management of their own business and the entrepreneurial subject of themselves. In these conditions, the organizational difficulties for anti-capitalist social struggles increase, as well as for the constitution of a class consciousness by the subjects who live from work.

Therefore, public education, especially curriculum policies, is a fertile field for the strategies of parties, conservative political groups and business sectors, with the purpose of strengthening the relationship of private entities with public Basic Education and the dissemination of the ideological assumptions of the ruling class (Araújo; Sousa, 2021; Miguel, 2021; Silva, 2020; Vaz, 2023). This fact has strongly threatened the rights achieved in recent years through hate speech, privatization, outsourcing, austerity policies, militarization of public school management and attacks on diversity, gender issues and sexuality in the school environment.

In this context, it is necessary to resume *Adornian thought*, the philosophical elaboration of a dialectic of enlightenment, which will help us to guide the theoretical reflections that are indispensable for the practical confrontation with the ultra-conservative political groups that are consistent with a marketing and nefarious project of contemporary capitalism. It is worth understanding that the present time carries the spirit of the historical trends that determined the appearance of Auschwitz and, later, the emergence of a new radical right, discussed in the 1960s by Adorno, in which he argued that “[...] the assumptions of the fascist movement, despite its collapse, still last socially, even if they do not last immediately politically” (Adorno, 2020, p. 45).

After these introductory remarks this work aims to: analyze the strategies of the extreme right around gender ideology and their concrete effects on the National Common Curricular Base (BNCC) approved in 2018. The work appropriates Theodor Adorno's theoretical formulations on education, ideology and ultra-conservative groups, with a view to thinking in the light of his contributions, about the ultra-conservative's deception techniques and their ideological impulses that reverberated objectively in Brazilian curriculum policy, with an emphasis on the BNCC. In this sense, it is a documentary study and, therefore, the main document to be analyzed is the final version of the 2018 BNCC, which includes the stages of Early Childhood Education, Elementary School and High School. This choice stems, above all, from the understanding that guidelines do not

arise from chance, they are created in a given context, with specific intentions and engendered by certain groups (Arruda; Soares Júnior, 2021).

Therefore, from the analytical perspective of this study, it is a matter of understanding educational policy in its historical development, as a social production, with a focus on documents, which needs to consider them not only as political-pedagogical guidelines for the performance of teachers in a given educational sphere, but also as an expression of a worldview, produced within struggles and tensions between social groups and different social projects (Evangelista, 2012). Therefore, in addition to the more immediate analysis of the gender issue in the BNCC text, we aim to understand some intricacies of the historical conjuncture of the production of this document.

To account for the established objective, in addition to this introduction, the text will have three more sections. In the second, entitled “Gender ideology: the false projection of gender”, we will present some of Theodor Adorno's contributions that inspire criticism about the dissemination of the so-called “gender ideology”. Then, in the third section, called “The place of gender in the final version of the BNCC”, we will discuss the objective implications of “gender ideology” in the BNCC through the mapping of the term “gender” in the document, in order to, together with the understanding of broader political processes, obtain the proper notion of the approach given to the theme. Finally, we will make our final remarks.

2 Gender ideology: the false projection of gender

Ideology, based on Adorno and Horkheimer (1985), represents a false consciousness that functions hegemonically in capitalism, unconsciously proposing to society conditions of submission through the cultural industry, that is, all spheres of life are controlled through ideological apparatuses, such as the working day, free time, education, politics, the commodity and the aesthetic tastes and desires of a society.

The debate about “gender ideology” is part of what Adorno called a false projection, that is, a distortion of what the phenomenon is in fact. Such distortions initially come from American Catholic conservative groups, which strongly criticized conceptual discussions and debates on gender and sexuality in American schools, rather, they

aimed to delegitimize the debate on such themes in the school environment (Miguel, 2021).

It should be noted that our understanding of gender is based on a socio-cultural, political and linguistic construction, as a result of power relations in society (Connell, 2015; Louro, 2014; Scott, 1995). In this sense, it can be understood that “[...] gender is culturally constructed: consequently, it is neither the causal result of sex nor [*sic*] as apparently fixed as sex” (Butler, 2018, p. 21).

For Scott (1995), the gender category is an instrument in the struggle for a more egalitarian society, which will only be glimpsed through the search for political and social equalities from the perspective of sex, social class and race. In this context, it is relevant to reflect on gender relations beyond male (dominant) and female (dominated) polarity, as gender identities are socially constructed between historical subjects who can manifest their masculinity or femininity in different ways.

It is valid to understand, however, that the basis of our society is androcentric³, this structure implies how subjects are formed in social institutions (family, church, school) and reverberates mainly in the formation of women. Therefore, the historical context of girls' education in Brazil begins in convents, as it would be the most appropriate place to be instructed, disciplined and shaped for good marriage and domestic life (Louro, 2014).

However, with the Pombaline reforms inspired by the Enlightenment ideals, the dominance of the State in the educational issue was instituted, causing a weakening of the power of the church (Saviani, 2013), however, when we look closely at the reforms inspired by the Enlightenment assumptions, which are based on an education for all, what is perceived when interrogating them is a distinct education for the elites and the poor, as well as a well-defined pattern of behaviors and crafts that should be passed on in schools for boys and girls.

Thus, in contemporary times, what we observe are “new forms” of control of subjectivities and relations of domination. From this, the school functions as a way of maintaining the *status quo*, becoming an arena in dispute for the legalization of neoliberal

³ Androcentrism: refers to the prejudiced structure that characterizes societies of patriarchal organization; a term created by the American sociologist Lester F. Ward.

projects based on the principles of religious extremism of pseudoscientific truths. As an example of this project, we can mention the School without Party, *homeschooling*, militarization and outsourcing of the management of public schools, the latter has been occurring in different Brazilian states.

In recent years, in the context of Global Education Reform, Lourenço and Vaz (2024) point out that fierce attacks on public education have intensified, with a huge spread of ideological discourse against a possible “leftist indoctrination” in schools, thus emerging the Escola sem Partido movement. This movement used social networks, *websites* and group channels to propagate *fake news* in favor of teaching neutrality, the fight against the so-called “gender ideology” and the fight against leftist teachers. For these facts, Adorno and Horkheimer (1985) would call it a process of replacing criticality with alienation.

Therefore, Lourenço and Vaz (2024) lead us to reflect on the subjects behind the rhetoric of attacks that initially originated in the United States of America and later went to Europe and Latin America, with strong mobilization in Brazil and effectiveness at the political level in 2014 and in the term of former President Jair Messias Bolsonaro (2019-2022). The School without Party, however, was not established as a bill, nevertheless, its assumptions, its spirit and its ideological essence, aligned with fascism, remain present in society. These are spreading and reproducing barbarism within school institutions, with serious attacks on teaching work, thus compromising the autonomy and freedom of teaching, rights provided for in the Law of Guidelines and Bases of National Education (LDBEN): Law nº 9.394/1996.

It is also important to include within this movement the collapse of militarization and the outsourcing of the management of public schools. As an example, we have the government of Goiás, which executes a budget of 9.4 million per year with the payroll of the 150 reserve military personnel who are in state schools (Carneiro, 2023). It follows the same logic in the state of Paraná, with civic-military school programs since 2022, and recently the current governor, Ratinho Júnior, approved Law No. 22.006/2024, which instituted the implementation of the outsourcing of the management of public education in Basic Education in Paraná. Keeping the same agenda, the governor of São Paulo, Tarcísio de Freitas, sanctioned Law no. 1.398/2024, which establishes civic-military

schools in the most populous state of Brazil, with the expectation of an increase of 50 to 100 militarized schools by the beginning of 2025. In article 1, paragraph 4, of the last mentioned law, it is observed that:

§ 4 - The civic-military extracurricular activities that will compose the Program will be defined by the Department of Education in articulation with the Department of Public Security, with the municipal departments of education and with the school teams, having as a guideline the development, in the learning process, of: 1 - Citizen values, such as civics, dedication, excellence, honesty and respect; 2 - Skills that prepare the student for the conscious exercise of citizenship.

We can infer that the Goiás program and the civic-military schools in Paraná aim to value civic activities, the development of values and the active participation of students in the political and social life of our country. We noticed the shift from the real focus of the problems of Brazilian education to the construction of an education focused on moral values.

It is important to remember that the political groups involved in the militarization of public schools in Brazil are linked to conservative, neoliberal parties, with extremist agendas, such as attacks on teachers called leftists, thus, they are averse to debates focused on the issues of diversity, gender and sexuality in the school context. Thus, it is necessary to realize that we are facing strategies that are not new and that favor the recurrence of barbarism (Adorno, 1995). Such strategies were very well clarified by Adorno in texts such as: *Aspects of the new right-wing radicalism* (Adorno, 2020), "What does it mean to elaborate on the past?" (Adorno, 1995), "Educação após Auschwitz" (Adorno, 1995) and "A educação contra a barbárie" (Adorno, 1995).

The Frankfurtian points to such facts as a gigantic strategy of deception of a new right-wing radicalism. Among these techniques, Adorno (2020) highlights the anticipation of terror, which can be a moral terror, a feeling of social catastrophe, at a given historical moment. Thus, it is observed that this strategy was sustained in the construction of the "gender ideology". Consequently, the inculcation of a collective panic in society occurred through other strategies of these movements of the new identified radical right, since "[...] the propagandistic means in the broadest sense, combined with a blindness, with an abstrusity of the ends that are pursued there" (Adorno, 2020, p. 54). Therefore, propaganda would be the soul of these movements. The exchange of means for ends,

placing truth at the service of untruth, that is, truth is abstracted, taken out of its context, isolated, and returned to its place.

Thus, a new right-wing was built in Brazil, which found its foundations in moral panic; as an example, during the 2018 elections, we had the propagandistic use of the so-called *Gay Kit*, which would be a supposed policy to promote homosexuality in public schools. It is in this scenario that leftist teachers would be committed to this policy and to an alleged plan of cultural indoctrination and implementation of communism in Brazilian society (Silva, 2020). Faced with the pointed facets of an extremist Brazilian right, it is possible to follow the guiding thread of the Frankfurtians and identify other assumptions, as well as: “The fear of communism: such a concept has become elastic, that is, it is attributed to everything that is not accepted in society, because communism has assumed a kind of mythical character, completely abstract, it has become purely a word to scare” (Adorno, 2020, p. 60).

Hatred of intellectuals: in short, it would be more a repulsion to what such movements do not have, that is, broad theoretical knowledge, which nourishes hatred of those who have such knowledge. In this regard, we infer that: “[...] since these movements are for principles, techniques of power and in no way start from an elaborate theory, and because they are impotent against the spirit bearers” (Adorno, 2020, p. 61, our translation).

Military fetishization: a certain desire for a supposed moral order, which tends to transform discipline into an object to be worshipped, especially by young people. We must point out, however, that “[...] this is especially true for young people, who must be alerted to military discipline in all its forms, to the oppression of their private sphere and their lifestyle” (Adorno, 2020, p. 59, our translation).

In addition to explaining each assumption, the most important thing is to understand the coordinated and meticulous use of these strategies as a way of succumbing to the reason of individuals through panic, to thus present themselves as the saviors of the homeland, the divinely chosen. Thus, the ideology of the extreme right has been having its effects, which has crystallized a panic in families of different social classes, causing massive waves of attacks on teachers and managers of public schools, an offensive of misinformation in the school environment. Silva (2020) points out that the

“gender ideology” was configured as an effective political strategy to manipulate a moral terror and the attempt to extirpate the discussion on the theme of gender in schools.

It should be noted that the effects were disastrous in the curricular policies that guide the formative trajectory of students from Brazilian public schools. We reiterate that the discussions on “gender ideology” manifest themselves in a distorted way, that is, a false projection of the scientific debate on the theme of gender. This dissemination, however, achieved significant achievements, which we will discuss in the next section, which deals with the place of gender in the BNCC.

3 Unveiling the historical scenario: the place of the “gender” theme in the final version of the BNCC

In the last two decades, with the growing advance of neoliberal and neoconservative groups under the discourse based on the values of the traditional family, we have witnessed a true crusade of questions, in general, based on pseudoscientific untruths about the theme of gender and sexuality in the school environment. From this perspective, Adorno (2020) points out that ideological processes should not be detached from their historical context, that is, there is a need to tread the context, the historical scenario, in a reflective way, to effectively understand the phenomena of contemporary ideology.

The current BNCC, which is configured as a normative document that guides the common learning that will be proposed in the curricula of public and private schools in the Basic Education stage, was only approved in 2017, initially for Early Childhood Education and Elementary School and later, in 2018, for High School. However, since 2014, on the occasion of the approval of the National Education Plan, Law no. 13.005/2014, different actors in the private sector (Instituto Unibanco, Fundação Vale, Itaú Social, Grupo ABC, Fundação Lemann and Fundação Victor Civita) have projected their interests not only marketing, but ideological, to the educational field (Tarlau; Moeller, 2020). It is in this context that Cruz and Silva (2023) point their reflections to one of the collective protagonists they consider of greater relevance in the defense of the BNCC: the

Movement for the Common National Base (MPBNC)⁴, however we agree with Tarlau and Moeller (2020), who state that it is necessary to consider that such a movement was at the service of its sponsor, the Lemann Foundation.

It is from this context that we will unveil the role of the main leadership in Brazil in the guidelines for the formulation and approval of the BNCC, the Lemann Foundation. It is a philanthropic entity led by Jorge Paulo Lemann, a billionaire who, together with his partners, Marcel Telles and Beto Sicupira, built an empire of world capitalism. It should also be noted that the mentioned subjects are the main controllers of Ambev and Budweiser, which later became the largest beer manufacturer in the world, AB InBev. The trio bought control of Burger King, food maker Heinz, Lojas Americanas, coffee chain Tim Hortons and chain Popeyes.

Lemann is also an investor in two other funds: Innova Capital, which invests in *startups* and invested money in Movile (owner of iFood, among other businesses), and Gera Venture Capital, focused on education. As far as it is concerned, it brought together several constituent members of the government and civil society in favor of the construction of an official document (Tarlau; Moeller, 2020). These actions, curiously, had already been carried out in the United States of America, with the Gates Foundation (Tarlau; Moeller, 2020), that is, with clear signs of external influences, but, as well put by Cruz and Silva (2023), despite external influences, such actions acquire their own contours in the Brazilian political scenario.

In April 2013, the Lemann Foundation aimed to solidify the idea of the BNCC, using the premise that it was a Brazilian legislative objective. For such a demand, it can be said that the scenario was favorable, as the Brazilian government was finishing the National Education Plan (PNE), which delimits the Brazilian educational objectives (Tarlau; Moeller, 2020). Therefore, the Movement for the Base organized the “International Seminar on Basic Education: knowledge and curriculum”, in which it composed one of the many events designed to present the idea of national learning standards to groups of politicians and education officials, however the Lemann Foundation no longer appeared as the protagonist. In other words, a diverse group of

⁴ Consisting of a complex relationship between public and private sector actors and institutions, with influences on the National Council of Education (CNE), the National Council of Secretaries of Education (consed) and the Union of Municipal Education Leaders (Undime).

subjects (Instituto Unibanco, Fundação Vale, Itaú Social and Grupo ABC) who identified themselves as belonging to the MPBNC (sponsored by the Lemann Foundation) began to take the lead in the process, at least as the recipient of the greatest attention (Tarlau; Moeller, 2020).

Certainly, the 2014 PNE had many public policy objectives that would not be achieved, such as increasing the teachers' salary floor. Despite this, when the BNCC became an integral part of the PNE, the Movimento pela Base campaign became less intensive. The point was to monitor the government so that it acted according to plan. Thus, the PNE became an important political strategy maneuver of the Lemann Foundation (Tarlau; Moeller, 2020). Then, the process of creating a varied group in areas of activity emerged, which sought to work in favor of the writing of the BNCC and its delimitations.

Therefore, the foundation defined the starting point and basic criteria for the writing process of the BNCC, with the elaboration of media strategies, in which its representatives trained journalists to cover educational issues and present them in a positive way, creating an inevitability in civil society before the BNCC. In addition, the foundation also used the construction of a network of prominent politicians and respected education experts, all supporters of the BNCC, to legitimize the work to be developed.

The funds provided by the foundation were used to purchase airline tickets; feed employees of the Ministry of Education (MEC), Consed and UNDIME, so that they could participate in national events; produce knowledge; promote information considered relevant through seminars; translate documents into Portuguese; create research reports; and invite international experts (Tarlau; Moeller, 2020). In this context, Table 1 presents a brief summary of the time frame of the three versions of the BNCC and the propagandistic strategies, which were strongly used for its legitimation. To paraphrase Adorno (1995), it would be the use of the cultural industry to create in civil society a semiformation, a false experience before the new national curriculum guidance document.

Table 1 – Time frame of the three versions and the propagandistic strategies around the BNCC

Month and Year	BNCC Versions	Legitimation strategies
Sept.2015	First published version of	- Advertising campaigns with speech in favor of BNCC.

	the BNCC	Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KPkJj5pSNI4 - Public consultation through electronic form through the MEC <i>online</i> platform. - BNCC D-Day. - Dissemination of material produced by MEC for presentation to teachers.
May/2016	Second published version of the BNCC	- Seminars organized by Consed and Undime. - Advertising campaigns with speech in favor of BNCC. (Available at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Fbz-cpct1W4 . - A political scenario that was orchestrated in favor of the <i>impeachment</i> of former President Dilma Rousseff and fostered the exposure of sexist attacks with the inferiorization of women, when calls for military intervention were exposed without any fear by protesters and actors of the Brazilian political class.
Dec. /2017	Approval of the BNCC initially for Early Childhood Education and Elementary School	-
Apr. /2018	Third published version of the BNCC.	- Public consultation strategies were maintained through an electronic form.
Dec. /2018	Approval of the BNCC with the inclusion of the High School stage.	- Advertising campaigns also around the reform of High School approved by Law no. 13.415/17. Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KPkJj5pSNI4

Source: elaborated by the authors (2024).

Thus, it is noted that the propaganda strategy around the BNCC, based on the discourse of broad democratic participation, enabled an educational “common sense” in Brazil. Therefore, any divergence with the pedagogical precepts of this policy could be considered irrational and ideological. This role of the Lemann Foundation in the preparation of the document can be equated with the influence of the Gates Foundation in the United States, which, through its economic power, the support network with government and civil actors and the main state officials in the education sector, was shadowed by the objective of better applying the money made available for public education, through a private intermediary.

It should be noted that the public consultations that took place throughout the three versions legitimized the BNCC in the political environment, especially in the historical context of the time, when the Workers' Party (PT) government was compromised in the State-society dialogue. With the *impeachment* of former President Dilma Rousseff (2011-2016), however, a better political situation was envisioned in the

term of former President Michel Temer, so the strategies used in the BNCC proved to be more successful, under pretexts of the need for better public education.

Consequently, the third version of the BNCC emerged, developed by the Executive Secretariat of the MEC and a small team of professionals (Tarlau; Moeller, 2020). In April 2018, the MEC published such a document, which differed greatly from the versions developed in the PT government, as it was a document that needed to be reformulated to fit into the new theoretical apparatus that surrounded Michel Temer's political group. Thus, it is important to realize that educational policies are intertwined with the political, market and ideological interests of world organizations. In addition to such issues, we corroborate Martins (2017), who points out that a careful look at the conservative nature of the document is necessary, as an inattentive reading of the text can give the impression that it is free of prejudiced policies.

Therefore, our view points in this direction, following a brief analysis in the BNCC with the inclusion of the High School stage (Brasil, 2018). Our objective was to identify, in the final version of the BNCC, any reference to the theme of gender in the document, so, initially, we mapped, in the text of the BNCC, the word "gender". Once this was done, we found 64 references to the word in the area of Languages, more specifically in the curricular component Portuguese Language, referring to the category of different languages constituted by orality, writing and other contemporary language practices that circulate in different spheres (textual genre; literary genre; verbal and hybrid genres; digital genres; discursive genres; musical genres). Added to this, in the aforementioned version of the Base, we did not find the relationship of the term "gender" with the theoretical concept proposed in our studies. This means that we did not find any mention of gender that allows teachers to discuss this theme as a social and cultural construction, without unreasonable attacks on teachers, students and school management.

It is also noteworthy that, when revisiting the previous version of the BNCC (Brasil, 2016), there were issues of gender, ethnicity and culture. In the introduction, a discussion was present on the diversity and the right of indigenous, black, brown, quilombola and peasant nations to have a curriculum based on their own local and regional realities. In the analysis of its final version (Brasil, 2018), however, the feeling is that the document went carefully through a moralizing sieve, with explicit intentions to

remove any excerpt that alluded to the possibilities of the theme of gender being legitimized and inserted in curricular practices. In this context, this study highlights such a conservative character and the strategies used by these movements to influence the formulation of educational policies.

In this context, here is what Adorno (1995, p. 11) calls “[...] the knot to be untied, as it is an important role for cultural education and training to lead inexorably to barbarism or, to put it the other way around”. Thus, it means to say that the education project proposed in the BNCC presents conservative and authoritarian traits, rooting out any debate on the subject in order to allow children and adolescents to reflect emancipatory processes on the various forms of prejudice that revolve around the construction of the masculine and feminine. A curriculum policy that denies such training will inevitably lead us to barbarism.

With the removal of the theme related to gender and other important socio-cultural issues from its final version, the BNCC, although it talks about democracy and social justice, when it thinks and describes what should be taught to Brazilian children and youth, conceives the contents only as a tangle of information to be assimilated by students, in a process of technical programming rather than reflection. In this sense, it is noticeable how the advance of conservatism in the curricular guidelines of education has resulted in the rarefaction of contents related to gender diversity in the BNCC (Oliveira; NOBREGA, 2025). Therefore, this document reinforces the idea of education as training, with technical purposes that lead to the process of alienation. Therefore, it is worth reflecting on whether, in the terms of Adorno (1995, 1996, 2020), the discourse that, when talking about democracy and social justice in its practical provisions, hides a set of knowledge and experiences that are already excluded from modern sociability would not be ideological.

4 Final Considerations

The general objective of this research was to analyze the strategies of the extreme right around gender ideology. In a specific perspective, it aimed to highlight the concrete effects of such processes in the BNCC approved in 2018. Following these

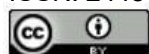
delimitations, the study provided a critical discussion on the theme of gender in the BNCC, based on Theodor Adorno's conceptual assumptions about the concepts of education and ideology and their characterization of ultra-conservative groups. Certainly, the investigation in the 2018 BNCC document showed the complete absence of the word "gender" in a critical perspective, considering that it was only mentioned in the area of Languages, as a curricular component of the Portuguese Language.

Therefore, the objective achievements of the strategies that revolve around "gender ideology" were verified in the BNCC. Consequently, the absence of the critical debate on gender in the BNCC says a lot about conservative, authoritarian and alienating conceptions, which tend to guide the curricula of Basic Education in Brazilian public schools. It is, therefore, a mechanism not only involved in the market interests of capital, but an ideological artifice of a patriarchal society model, thus contributing to intolerance and different forms of prejudice, already so latent in the school environment, and evidencing the disservice in the training of children and adolescents.

As a result, the research revealed the premeditated political-ideological action of a set of neoliberal and ultra-conservative groups in the production of the National Common Curricular Base, since, given the scenario of political and institutional crisis established in Brazil in 2010 and the consequent regression in the scope of social policies, a fruitful scenario was created for the approval of the latest version of the national curriculum guidance document, which, in its content, eradicated the issue of gender and diversity agendas. Such a process, therefore, not only provides a context of latent alienation of students, but also denies knowledge and the possibility of resisting the processes of domination. It is true that social movements work on the demand to make visible what is stigmatized and excluded, but we are not yet facing an Education project that points to emancipation, but a powerful expression that has been revealed as a form of barbarism.

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DATA AVAILABILITY

The entire dataset supporting the results of this study has been published in the article itself.

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