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"Gender equality in this establishment is prohibited": political speeches about the approval of the "Gender Ideology Law" in Santa Rita, Patos and Campina Grande – Paraíba (2017-2018)

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Abstract

This article aims to analyze the speeches of parliamentarians who proposed the so-called "Law of Gender Ideology" in the municipalities of Santa Rita, Patos and Campina Grande in the state of Paraíba. These laws were proposed and approved based on the Christian ideological foundation, with the purpose of prohibiting the debate of gender in public and private schools of the referred municipalities. Methodologically, we used the proposal of discourse analysis from Foucault (2014), which aims to perceive discursive production as an exercise in reading, interpreting and producing another / new discourse. For this, we look at the interviews made with the three parliamentarians in order to understand their interests and "ideologies" defended. Ideology, gender and education are fundamental categories for the theoretical dialogue in this text. Therefore, it is concluded that the so-called "Law of Gender Ideology" functioned as a prohibitive and punitive device, but that it also generated resistance.

Keywords

Gender ideology. Genre. Education.

"É proibida a igualdade de gênero nesse estabelecimento": discursos sobre a "Lei da Ideologia de Gênero" em Santa Rita, Patos e Campina Grande – Paraíba (2017-2018)

Resumo

Este artigo tem por objetivo analisar os discursos dos parlamentares que propuseram a chamada "Lei da Ideologia de Gênero" nos municípios de Santa Rita, Patos e Campina Grande, no estado da Paraíba. Essas leis foram propostas e aprovadas a partir de embasamentos ideológicos cristãos, de um modelo tradicional de família e de uma visão deturpada da teoria marista, com a finalidade de proibir o debate de gênero nas escolas públicas e privadas dos referidos municípios. Metodologicamente se utiliza a proposta da análise do discurso a partir de Foucault (2014), que visa perceber a produção discursiva como um exercício de leitura, interpretação e produção de um outro/novo discurso. Para tanto, debruça-se sobre as entrevistas feitas com os três parlamentares no sentido de perceber seus interesses e "ideologias" defendidas. Ideologia, gênero e

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educação são categorias fundamentais para o diálogo teórico neste texto. Portanto, conclui-se que a chamada "Lei da Ideologia de Gênero" funcionou como um dispositivo proibitivo e punitivo, mas que também gerou alguns tipos de resistências.

Palavras-chave

Ideologia de gênero. Gênero. Educação.

"Prohibida la igualdad de género en este establecimiento": discursos políticos sobre la aprobación de la "Ley de Ideología de Género" en Santa Rita, Patos y Campina Grande – Paraíba (2017-2018)

Resumen

Este artículo tiene como objetivo analizar los discursos de los parlamentarios que propusieron la denominada "Ley de Ideología de Género" en los municipios de Santa Rita, Patos y Campina Grande, en el estado de Paraíba. Estas leyes fueron propuestas y aprobadas con base en el fundamento ideológico cristiano, con el propósito de prohibir el debate de género en las escuelas públicas y privadas de los municipios referidos. Metodológicamente, se utiliza la propuesta de análisis del discurso de Foucault (2014), que tiene como objetivo percibir la producción discursiva como un ejercicio de lectura, interpretación y producción de otro / nuevo discurso. Para ello, se fija en las entrevistas realizadas a los tres parlamentarios con el fin de entender sus intereses e "ideologías" defendidas. Ideología, género y educación son categorías fundamentales para el diálogo teórico en este texto. Por tanto, se concluye que la llamada "Ley de la Ideología de Género" funcionó como un dispositivo prohibitivo y punitivo, pero que también generó resistencias.

Palabras clave

Ideología de género. Género. Educación.

1 Introduction

This study came from the urgent need for reflections about the political and social moment that we are going through in the local, regional and national scenario, a scenario in which religious conservatism and pseudo morality have been gaining momentum, strongly opposing discussions about diversity. This work is an excerpt from our master's degree research, which was developed in the research line entitled Cultural History of Educational Practices, of the Post-Graduate Program in History at the Federal University of Campina Grande.

This article aims to analyze the speeches of parliamentarians who proposed the so-called "Gender Ideology Law" in the cities of Santa Rita, Patos, and Campina Grande, in the state of Paraíba. Regarding the methodology, we adopted the proposal of

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discourse analysis from Foucault (2014), which aims to perceive discursive production as an exercise in reading, interpreting, and producing another/new discourse.

Junqueira (2017, p. 25) points out that, "[...] in recent years, in dozens of countries on all continents, there has been the emergence of a reactionary religious activism that found the in 'gender' in their main motif for mobilizations". The widespread idea of what "gender ideology" is and its harms have been very strong in the past two decades. Today, the distorted idea of what academic gender studies means, that they are a "harmful ideology", one that "[...] will end the innocence of children" and will collapse what many consider to be the "[...] only family model" (JUNQUEIRA, 2017, p. 25-26).

In this work, we analyzed the speeches of the councilors who proposed the socalled "gender ideology laws" in three cities in Paraíba: Santa Rita, Campina Grande, and Patos. The following is a presentation of the municipalities in chronological order of approval of these laws.

Among the municipalities covered by this survey, Santa Rita was the first to approve this law. The city of Santa Rita was founded shortly after the Paraíba's capital city, João Pessoa, in 1585, by the Portuguese Martim Leitão. During this period, the indigenous peoples Potiguaras and Tabajaras, aided by the French, were constantly fighting against the Portuguese. During this process, the indigenous people resisted in Santa Rita, as they did in other municipalities in Paraíba. The city of Santa Rita, which has good economic indicators, experienced what we considered a setback at the end of 2018, presenting and approving Bill 150/2017, which prohibits the discussion of "gender ideology".

Laws aren't disconnected, they're created in a certain context, with intentions directly related to the beliefs of the subjects who create them. That is why to speak about Bill 150/2017, it's necessary to know its creator, Carlos Antônio Pereira de Oliveira Junior, a Brazilian citizen, born in João Pessoa, single, lawyer, and city councilor, having been elected by the first time for the position in the city of Santa Rita, by the Partido Socialista Brasileiro (PSB). This Legislative House representative, Antônio Teixeira, belongs to an evangelical church and he made this clear in his speeches in the Chamber's gallery.

The second city to approve the law was Patos, which is located geographically in the sertão of Paraíba. This municipality has a historical context also marked by the

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presence of indigenous peoples. The Cariris were pioneers in the occupation of the territory. When the Potiguaras arrived, disputes began especially motivated by the territorial domain. In the face of these conflicts, there was a dispersion of part of the indigenous peoples, thus forming other independents groups.

Despite being a city in constant economic development, Patos shows, in our perception, a policy model that restricts rights by approving Bill No. 87/2017, which forbids the distribution, exhibition, and dissemination of teaching material containing the manifestation of gender ideology and gender equality public schools of that city. The author of the project was city councilman Francisco de Sales Mendes Júnior, elected in 2016 by the Partido Republicano Brasileiro (PRB).

The third municipality in our research is the city of Campina Grande. It is a Brazilian municipality in the state of Paraíba founded on December 1, 1697, and elevated to the category of a city on October 11, 1864. The city can be considered as one of the main industrial hubs in the Northeast region, standing out as an important technology center in Latin America. In that city, we interviewed councilman Pimentel Filho, the proponent of the so-called "Gender Ideology Law" - Bill no 582/2017 -, elected by the Partido Social Democrático (PSD).

2 Metodology

From the methodological point of view, in this research, we have adopted Discourse Analysis based on Foucault (2014). We understand that the speeches are constructed through a game guided by powers that ensure that certain subjects stand out from others, reaching universalization. The different experiences lived that makes discourse happen. The speeches are produced by the various agents and then materialize either through writing or audio recording or even through a video recording. That way, these discourse formats are publicized, making possible to do different readings based on the reader's subjectivities; transforming into a hermeneutical exercise. This is one of the most important moments of our research, as we read and interpret the various speeches public available, then reflect on them, calmly, letting them affect us, submitting to the exercise of feeling, as Larrosa (2016) proposes, and

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soon afterward we produced other speeches, in the form of written text, the so-called History.

Through this method, we analyze the records of oral sources and we dialogue with documental and bibliographic research. About working with oral sources, we understand that this allows us to perceive the voice of different narrators. We understand that the work with this source, according to Freitas (2006), allows, above all, to make History more democratic, because it allows producing history from the words of those who experienced and participated in a certain period, through their references and also from their imaginary. The use of oral sources makes it possible to record the reminiscences of individual memories, the reinterpretation of the past, in short, an alternative to the History considered official.

We agree with Alberti (2004) when affirming that History doesn't act continually but acts with discontinuities. For us, listening to the subjects was very important, as they were able to narrate their experiences. Regarding the interviews, we agree that there is a liveliness, since:

[...] it is the experience of a subject that we are dealing with; his narrative gives the past coloring and fills it with a value that is dear to us: one that makes a person a unique and singular individual in our history, a subject who actually lived - and, for this reason, gives life to the situations and structures that otherwise seem so distant. (ALBERTI, 2004, p. 14).

The disclosure of the data of the interviewees and the information provided through the interviews is backed by following the rules of the Ethics and Research Committee. We emphasize that our dissertation project was submitted to the committee's analysis through Plataforma Brasil and obtained its approval¹. Let's analyze the table:

Table 1 – The interviewees

Councilman	City	Party
Carlos Antônio Pereira de Oliveira Junior	Santa Rita	PSB
Sales Mendes Júnior	Patos	PRB
Antônio Alves Pimentel Filho	Campina Grande	PSD

Source: Author's own (2020).

Listening to these people was essential, as they not only experienced the moment of the elaboration and approval of the laws that we discussed in the research,

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¹ Comitê de Ética da Universidade Federal de Campina Grande (UFCG) - Hospital Universitário Alcides Carneiro (HUAC).

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but they were also the ones who proposed these laws. Thus, this uniqueness of the subjects interviewed in our study was vital for us to reflect on the order of the "legislative" discourse that aimed to "impose" on teachers and students the prohibition of the gender debate in the schools of Santa Rita, Patos, and Campina Grande.

Influenced by Gruzinski (2007), we paid attention to the speech of each councilor, their reactions, affirmations, and contradictions, and the mixture of sensations during the conversations. In other words, we sought to understand the emotions contained not only in the oral speech but also in the gestures and intonation of the words observed during the interviews.

In 2019, we traveled to the city of Santa Rita to interview councilman Carlos Antônio Pereira Junior. We were received at his law practice on a very hot afternoon. Despite the calm atmosphere of the interview, we noticed that some questions made the councilman change his tone a little or even frown as a sign of possible disapproval. To interview Sales Mendes Júnior, we went to the city of Patos at the beginning of 2020 and we were received at the councilman's office to conduct our interview. Lasting over an hour, the interview had a friendly tone, making the dialogue very productive. In the city of Campina Grande, the interview with city councilman Pimentel Filho was previously scheduled, as in other cities. We went to the City Council and, after the end of a regular session, we went to his office, where the interview happened.

As for bibliographic research, we look at the existing academic production regarding the discussion of gender and the "gender ideology" at the local and national levels. Also, we researched the publication of laws, available for consultation on the pages of legislative houses.

3 Results and discussion

Laws don't come from nowhere, they're created in a given context, with intentions directly related to the conceptions of life of the subjects who create them. Bill No. 150/2017 in the city of Santa Rita was proposed by Carlos Antônio Pereira Junior. This project was put to a vote in the Municipality of Santa Rita in the last month of 2017. Of the 19 councilors in the city, 18 were favorable and one abstained. Thus, the project was unanimously approved by the Chamber. On August 2, 2018, Mayor Emerson

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Fernandes Alvino Panta, at the time linked to the Partido da Social Democracia Brasileira (PSDB), sanctioned the project, which became Municipal Law No. 1,869/2018, which prohibits the teaching of the ideology of gender for children and teens in the Santa Rita school system.

We know that gender relations "[...] permeate all interactions within the school, however, there is still little discussion on the subject of power and hierarchy relationships between men and women" (RIOS; CARDOSO; DIAS, 2018, p 110). In this sense, the intentional approval of this legislation was an attempt to prohibit the debate about gender relations within schools, within the jurisdiction of the municipality.

The law has an authoritarian, prohibitive, and punitive character. In addition to prohibiting discussion in public and private schools, the law also prohibits the discussion of gender outside school spaces. In other words, debates about gender and sexuality are banned inside and outside schools. It was forbidden to divulge pedagogical actions focused on the themes of gender identity and sexuality because the parliamentarians thought that they are like pornography or as actions of a sexual nature.

In the case of this city, the councilman proposing the law is a Protestant and he relied on his religious belief to justify the defense of the bill. We will transcribe below an excerpt of his speech in the gallery of the Municipality of Santa Rita, available in video² on the internet:

I wanted to say that I'm not in favor of the gender ideology but in favor of the Genesis ideology. And what ideology is that? God made man and woman. Folks, that is an option, and then I'm not arguing here if you, when you are 18, choose to be homosexual or heterosexual in any way. I respect it, but I don't agree that a child of 12, 11, 10 years old is ready for them to choose that. (CARLOS PEREIRA JÚNIOR, 2017, emphasis added).

It's important to problematize this speech! The parliamentarian, who says he is defending the children's rights, didn't take into consideration that Brazil is a secular state, and he, as a representative of the people, in the use of the tribune of a City Council, couldn't be using his personal belief to justify the creation of a law. The parliamentarian suggests that, from the age of 18, the person will choose about their sexual orientation. It's important to note that gender studies are not presented with age groups, so this idea of the councilman sets precedents for problematizing his suggestion.

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² Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7ceejm278dc. Accessed in: Sept. 30, 2020.

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Louro (2018) points out that there is a single notion of gender and sexuality that has been supported in school curricula and practices, even though there are several other ways of experiencing genders and sexuality; even so, it ended up becoming a consensus at school. The school has been talking about a "normal" place of sexuality based on heterosexuality. In the councilor's speech, this speech standardized by the school is very clear, because, even knowing the multiple ways people lead their lives, there is always an attempt to standardize. Sexual orientation is not an outfit that we can choose.

When analyzing the interview with the politician, we highlight the following position presented in his speech:

[...] today in Brazil, we have a limit for criminal imputation. What limit is that? Up to 18 years of age. So, up to 18 years of age, we understand, not only I understand, but the jurists and also those who propose the Estatuto da Criança e do Adolescente, that that law aims to protect people while they are developing. So, when we take certain subjects to school, that if a person is not qualified to drive a car, if a person is not yet qualified, for example, to have his criminal charge, it is in a way that they are seen as someone already trained, the training has already been completed, so I believe that certain debates, certain discussions, especially if those discussions do not yet have an affirmative theoretical nature that says that it is so. Our idea, the idea of the law, is to protect this discussion, and then it is taken to the idea, but, in fact, there is already protection against it; in fact, we just tried to reaffirm this idea, not only that of discussing ideology, but also that of other themes that can be raised to this idea, it doesn't mean that the idea of gender ideology is listed in pornography and the irresponsible sexual relations, etc. and such, but the ideology theme can lead to a theme in that sense - the teacher, the conductor of that idea, can lead - I'm not saying that everyone would, but to prevent this. The law is not what it should be, it is what we try to foresee so that it doesn't happen. (CARLOS PEREIRA JÚNIOR, 2019, emphasis added).

For councilor Carlos Pereira Júnior, it is only possible to think about sexuality and gender when the subject's heteronormative identity is a certainty. For him, this heteronormativity would be considered a "normal" way of construction consolidated with the collaboration of the school system. These legislators fear the questioning of the heteronormative identity, as there are different ways to experience sexuality. Knowing the power of the school as an extremely efficient structure for the normalization and training of bodies, these legislators fear that the school will be used to teach students to experience a form of sexuality considered deviant - as if the gender debate allowed such a thing. For these reasons, they're so vehemently opposed to discussions in the field of diversity at school and continue to try to silence and muzzle teachers in various

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ways, as if that would put a stop to the different ways of experiencing sexuality that each subject can build.

In the excerpt highlighted previously, the councilman addresses gender studies as something inconsistent, as if it doesn't have, according to him, a theoretical basis. The city representative of Santa Rita defended that there is no theoretical field focused on gender studies, which shows his lack of knowledge. He undermines in his speech the efforts of gender scholars, who, since the last decades of the 20th century, have fought to broaden and ensure this field of debate, which indeed has theoretical, academic, and scientific support.

The councilor's stance was conflicting since he mentions that the "gender ideology" isn't listed as pornography, but, in Bill 150/2017, of his authorship, it's stated, in article 2, that "[...] in didactic and educational materials they must not present images or sexual messages with intentionally erotic, obscene or pornographic connotations" (SANTA RITA, 2017). Knowing that the materials that are distributed by the Ministry of Education undergo careful selection and supervision, an article like this shows, perhaps, that legislator don't have enough knowledge in the educational field concerning the production and circulation of teaching materials.

In the city of Patos, the bill was approved in December 2017, which, shortly after approval by the Legislative, was forwarded to the mayor, who signed the law on January 5, 2018. It's noteworthy the speed with which this law was passed and also the short time it took to be sanctioned by Mayor Dinaldo Medeiros Wanderley Filho, since it was sanctioned as a law at the beginning of January 2018.

In the interview, Councilman Sales Júnior, who proposed the law, told us that the project was drafted and only later it was shown to some sectors, such as churches and associations, as well as to the Department of Education. The politician stated the following: "[...] if you want to discuss sexuality, you shouldn't do that with the children, but with the children's parents". Anyone who is a primary school teacher knows that parents, considered "[...] more suitable for this dialogue", according to the councilman, often don't attend the teacher-parents meetings at school, imagine a meeting to discuss "sexuality".

At another moment, the parliamentarian pointed out: "[...] the school has to be concerned with the pedagogical part, the teaching, the children's education, but the

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upbringing has to be with the family" (PATOS, Dec. 19, 2017, p. 9). Once again, we reiterate the issue of talking about a field that isn't your area of expertise. Como profissionais da educação, não podemos pensar em uma escola que apenas informa e que fraciona a relação escola-família. As education professionals, we can't think of a school model that only informs and breaks up the school-family relationship. We know that these two institutions have a wide reach and present different configurations and contexts, so we cannot generalize, but separating the family from the school isn't the best way to go. The school is a space for social and political formation, so it can't be absent from its role of exciting criticism.

Still, according to the councilor, the family is an institution that needs and must be respected above anything. It's important to emphasize that family is a plural concept; therefore, there isn't only one type of family, families have different configurations, spaces, and formats and very different ways of positioning themselves in the world. All types of families need to be respected. The family, as a privileged space to discuss gender and sexuality, may have been absent from this debate in some situations, since it's in the family environment that cases of violence and pedophilia occur most frequently.

We followed the discussion and problematization, leaving the "Morada do Sol", as Patos is known, to the "Rainha da Borborema", the city of Campina Grande, bringing forward the discussion of the law also approved there.

Councilor Antônio Pimentel, the proponent of Bill No. 582/2017, when asked about gender studies, stated the following: "[...] the basis of gender studies has its beginning with Karl Marx and after that came authors, such as Judith Butler". The relation established by the parliamentarian between Marx's historical materialism and gender studies is mistaken, showing that the interviewee is doesn't know either Marxist studies or gender studies. The councilman also said:

[...] the root is there in Marx because he says the following: 'There will only be respect for men for women, for women for men, this equality, when you deconstruct the man, when there is no more man or woman, everyone will be just one gender', and this is crazy. (PIMENTEL FILHO, 2019).

The Campina Grande's law establishes in article 5 punishments as: "[...] notification for the termination of the practice or the withdrawal of the material, with a

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maximum term of 24 hours"; "[...] a fine of 1,000 UFCG - Fiscal Unit of Campina Grande and suspension of the operating license provided by the City Hall".

It is possible to problematize the very idea of prohibition, because punishment many times instead of causing the expected effect, which would be to silence such a debate, ends up raising it even more. An example of this is that, if the prohibition didn't in the laws, this article wouldn't be being written to make this analysis. First of all, the people who try to prohibit the so-called "Law of Gender Ideology" is, at the same time, the ones who most defends its existence and consequently the one who talks most about it. The very announcement of the ban ended up causing an articulation of organized groups that defy the acceptance of this proposal and organize themselves to oppose it, and it's among these groups that we are.

The Patos' law is the only one of the three contemplated by this study that "doesn't present" a punitive character in the text. It doesn't punish with the force of the law (legal), but, thinking from a Foucauldian analysis, one cannot fail to reflect on the control operations and the state of surveillance that this causes in the teachers. Campina Grande and Santa Rita present fines and other punishments, such as suspension of business license, materials apprehension, etc. During the interview with Councilman Sales Júnior, he made it clear that this was a strategy, since, if sanctions had been established, most likely the project wouldn't have been approved unanimously and there could be opposition in the vote.

From the councilors' interviews, was possible to perceive that the speeches revolve around conservatism and the pseudo protection of children. Butler (2018, p. 72) helps us to understand these justifications presented by the proponents of the laws in their speeches and projects:

[...] the self-justification of a repressive or subordinating law is almost always based on the history of how things were before the law came, and how it arose in its present and necessary form. The fabrication of these origins tends to describe a state of affairs before the law, following a necessary and unilinear narrative that culminates in the constitution of the law and thus justifies it. The history of the origins is, therefore, an astute tactic within a narrative that, by presenting a unique and authorized account of an irrecoverable past, makes the construction of the law seem a historical inevitability.

In speeches and debates about the bill, there's an attempt to do what Butler (2018) points out in their text. In the arguments, there is an attempt to unite inconsistent

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and incoherent speeches that try to justify the need for these laws to be passed as inevitable. It wasn't by chance that the laws were unanimously approved in the three municipalities covered by this article. The justifications that permeate the creation of these laws are based on speeches rooted in religious beliefs and unstable speeches.

4 Final considerations

From what has been exposed so far, it can be understood that the so-called "Law of Gender Ideology" functioned as a prohibitive and punitive device, but that it also created resistance. We emphasize that the three laws are unconstitutional since they violate the right to equality among citizens, postulated in the 1988 Federal Constitution. Proof of this unconstitutionality is what was presented before the approval of these studied laws, with the opinion issued by the then-Attorney General of the Republic (PGR), Rodrigo Janot Monteiro de Barros, on Law No. 1516, of June 30, 2015, from the municipality of Novo Gama, Goiás. The PGR states that the aforementioned law created in the municipality of Novo Gama contradicts provisions of the Constitution of the Republic regarding the right to equality and presents as justification for its affirmation Article 5 of the 1988 Federal Constitution: "All are equal before the law, without distinction of any kind, guaranteeing Brazilians and foreigners residing in the country the inviolability of the right to life, freedom, equality, security, and property" (BRASIL, 1988). Let's see what the document says:

Law 1,516, of June 30, 2015, of the Municipality of Novo Gama (GO), by prohibiting the dissemination and use of didactic material with content related to gender relations in that state (improperly called 'gender ideology'), usurped competence of the Union to legislate on national education guidelines. (BRASIL, 2017, p. 5).

It's possible to understand, based on the Attorney General's argument, that the laws that have been approved in different municipalities prohibiting the discussion of the so-called "gender ideology" contradicted the Federal Constitution, therefore they have no legitimacy.

The techniques of punishment and vigilance presented in the laws and the speeches of legislators, in the drafting process, show how "modernized" the resources are for good individual and collective training. Disciplinary power, as Foucault (2014) points out, isn't a power of appropriation, but a power of training: it trains to be able to

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appropriate itself. The school space and all the educational practices experienced there are based on power, and the legislators seem to know that very well! They may not even know what they want to improve in education, but they know very clearly what they don't want in the school curricula since they know that they can put their stances in a very difficult situation to be sustained. In the essence of any disciplinary system, there is a penal mechanism: disciplinary and punitive sanctions have the clear function of reducing deviations, functioning as corrective tools, so imposing fines for those who dare to commit the "sacrilege" of talk about gender studies has a punitive purpose.

When regulation of the teacher's work is established, the teachers live in an atmosphere constant of fear and vigilance, which directly affects the autonomy of their exercise and places them in a kind of panopticon. Foucault (2014) points out that the most important effect of the panopticon is to induce a conscious and permanent state of visibility in subjects, this maintains the effective and automatic functioning of power. By living in a constant state of vigilance, even when there is no one directly observing the teaching work, the teacher will feel observed and threatened.

A teacher who works with these conditions is limited, since, if a gender discussion goes through their classroom - by the decision of the educator, since the gender debate doesn't appear in any of the official curricula, from something a student said, or some situation of discrimination, or even a demand from the community in which the school is inserted - they won't be able to perform their function satisfactorily, since there is legislation that regulates the theme and punishes the professionals.

The voting process of the laws generated resistance, which was guided by various groups, such as unions, teachers, lawyers, regular people. This work is a way of presenting and problematizing such actions and it's also an invitation for new researchers interested in the theme so that we can strengthen this debate as means of resistance. Works like this try to fight against speeches and legislation that prohibit fundamental discussions for the construction of a more egalitarian society, with less machismo, feminicide, LGBTphobia, transphobia. Being resistance isn't a punctual action, it is building a way of being and thinking from a reference point and a social standpoint.

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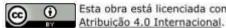
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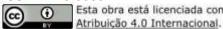
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