Michelle and Janja lead narratives on female leaders in politics

● *The group aligned with former president Bolsonaro has maintained the notion that Michelle Bolsonaro left a legacy that was "destroyed" by the Lula administration. Meanwhile, supporters of the current government criticized the Senator Damares Alves, blaming her for the Yanomami crisis;*

● *On Twitter, the former first lady was associated with episodes of corruption and moral harassment, while the current first lady was criticized for her appearance and for an alleged "lack of composure". Comparisons between the two are very common;*

● *Alternative media outlets dominated the links mentioning Michelle and Janja on Facebook. While Michelle appears in news stories with a strong political tone, Janja is mentioned mostly in a more personal and private point of view, although this representation is also political in itself.*

● *Among the female ministers in the current government, Marina Silva and Simone Tebet stood out on Instagram, while Marina Silva and Nísia Trindade are mentioned more often on Twitter.*

The debate about prominent women in the political scene has been very balanced, with a slight predominance of profiles aligned with the former president Bolsonaro compared to those supporting the current Lula administration. Those were the findings of a survey by the **School of Communication at FGV**, which analyzed posts about the topic on Twitter, Facebook and Telegram between January 13 and February 13, 2023.

At first, a more general sample was considered, addressing mentions to women with a strong presence in the national political scenario. This sample showed names such as Damares Alves, Janja da Silva, Michelle Bolsonaro and Gleisi Hoffmann, as well as female ministers of the current government. In a second moment, taking into account the prominence of the former and current first ladies, we performed analyzes to compare mentions to Michelle and Janja in different platforms. Lastly, we focused on mentions to the female ministers of the Federal Government.
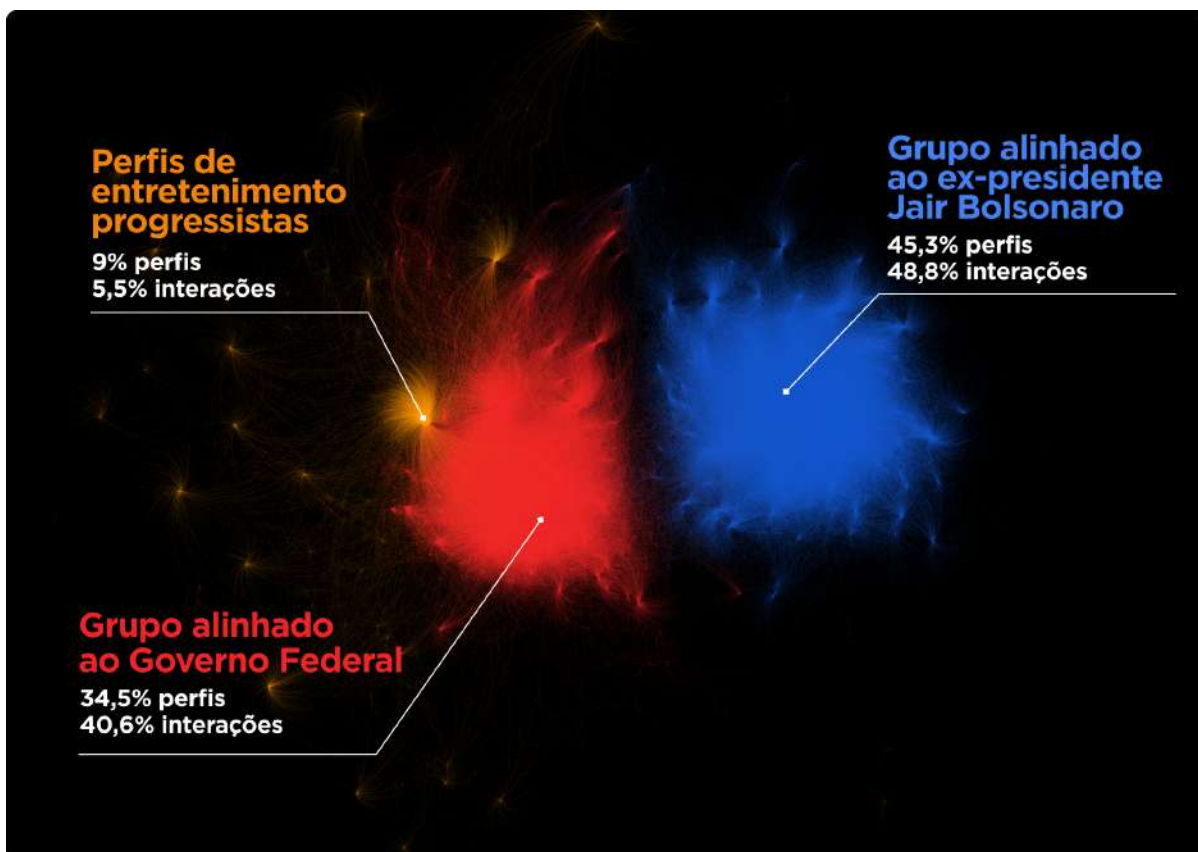
There was a considerable difference in the way Michelle Bolsonaro and Janja da Silva appeared in the debate. While the former first lady is associated with religiosity, fomenting the constitution of what could be considered an "ideal woman" and, at the same time, a person with high political capacity, the current first lady is often seen as "unrefined" and with low political influence. In a secondary way, both were the target of generic criticism, such as in comments about Michelle's breast implant or in posts about Janja's clothes.

Among the female ministers of the current government, Marina Silva, Nísia Trindade and Simone Tebet stood out in platforms such as Twitter and Telegram. On one hand, there is a notion that these women are not qualified for their respective roles. On the other hand, Marina Silva and Nísia Trindade were particularly praised due to their participation in helping with the humanitarian crisis of the Yanomami people.

1. Prominent women in the political scene

Map of interactions in the debate about prominent women in the political scene

Period: January 13 to February 13, 2023

Source: Twitter | Elaborated by: School of Communication, Media and Information at FGV

Group aligned with former president Jair Bolsonaro (Blue) – 45.3% of profiles | 48.8% of interactions

Group formed by political actors and news profiles aligned with the former president @JairBolsonaro. The central topic of the group is defending the social legacy attributed to the former first lady, @MichelleBolso22. There is an idea that the Labor Party (PT) has discontinued the social measures established by Michelle, which is seen as the interruption of a work that is compatible with Christian values. There was also criticism of the current first lady, @JanjaLula Users questioned Janja's "lack of refinement" and classified her union with the current president as a "prison" relationship. Criticism of the ministers @MarinaSilva, @MagaAfroPop and @LucianaSantos also had significant reach. In particular, there were mentions to allegedly incorrect data on hunger in the country presented by Marina Silva in Davos,

alleged undue resources destined for the Rouanet Law in the ministry of Margareth Menezes, and a meeting between Luciana Santos and an ally of Venezuelan President Nicolás Maduro. The general tone adopted in these messages is that the current female ministers do not have enough credibility to work in the position they occupy. The news profiles @TerraBrasilNot, @RevistaOeste and @ATrombeta were significantly influential.

Group aligned with the Federal Government (Red) – 34.5% of profiles | 40.6% of interactions
Group formed by profiles aligned with the Federal Government, usually centered around the profiles of @LulaOficial and the first lady @JanjaLula. The group focused mostly on the former minister of the Bolsonaro administration and current Senator Damares Alves, who was blamed for the human rights violations related to the humanitarian crisis of the Yanomami. The prevailing narrative is that Damares has had a major role in the development of the crisis, which was classified as a systematic project of the previous government. The users commented on alleged evidence showing that Damares denied basic care for the indigenous people during the Covid-19 pandemic, such as deprivation of potable water, ICU beds and basic needs products. Publications made by the congressman @AndreJanonesAdv and by the doctor @DrBrunoGino in this regard had large reach. In a secondary way, @MichelleBolso22's manifestation of support for Rogério Marinho for the presidency of the Federal Senate was mentioned in a jounalistic tone.

Progressive entertainment profiles (Orange) – 9% of profiles | 5.5% of interactions
The orange group was visible associated with the red cluster and was centered around the progressive entertainment profiles @Choquei, @PopTime and @tracklist. In comic posts, these profiles promoted unusual polls that tended to bring the Federal Government to the forefront, with particular focus on the first lady @JanjaLula. One of polls with the highest reached asked which female candidate users would vote, hypothetically, for President of the Republic, between Janja, @MichelleBolso22, @Gleisi and @SimoneTebetBR. The comments were divided mostly into support for the candidacies of Janja and Tebet and questions about the absense of @MarinaSilva in the list. To a lower degree, there were associations of Michelle with corruption practices. In a secondary way, another highlight was the participation of the Minister for the Environment in helping with the Yanomami crisis.

Messages about prominent women in the political scene on Telegram[1]

Period: January 13 to February 13, 2023

> Reply
>
> A diferença descomunal no tratamento oferecido por Jill Biden a Michelle e a Janja.
> É a clara demonstração da larga distância que separa uma da outra.
> Com Michelle, afagos, respeito e carinho.
> Com Janja, sequer houve encontro.
>
> 13:06

> Merecem destaque a questão ambiental e da Amazônia. Aqui o alinhamento foi total. Brasil abraçou a narrativa da "transição energética" e da redução do carbono por meio da autossabotagem econômica, tudo nos termos do detestável Acordo de Paris. Conforme combinado, inclusive com Bernie Sanders, os EUA atuarão na Amazônia através de ONGs, Fundos e empresas privadas.
>
> O valor pelo qual Lula vendeu a Amazônia é irrisório. 50 mi $. E para deixar claro que não foi só "migué" do São Lula, a Marina já costurou com Jeff Bezos e Leonardo DiCaprio para que suas "agências filantrópicas" entrem na Amazônia para gerenciar as áreas "afetadas" por garimpo (depois que o proletariado garimpeiro for expulso das áreas).

> Forwarded from **Jornal O Grito da Liberdade**
>
> **Tebet volta a expor divergências fiscais com Governo Vermelho**
>
> A ministra do Planejamento, Simone Tebet (MDB-MS), voltou a expor suas divergências no campo econômico com o presidente vermelho, mas fez questão de destacar que apesar de não convergirem em muitos pontos, não são antagonistas. A fala se deu durante participação por vídeo, no evento do Grupo Lide, em Portugal.

> **URBS MAGNA**
> **"Não haverá mais garimpo em terra indígena", afirma a ministra Marina Silva**
> Casos de desnutrição, malária e doenças respiratórias são agravados pela permanência de mais de 20 mil garimpeiros invasores na área demarcada. O mercúrio usado na mineração polui os rios e o solo, causando perda de biodiversidade e afetando diretamente o modo de vida dos indígenas

Source: Telegram | Elaborated by: School of Communication, Media and Information at FGV

- Among the mentions to female politicians on Telegram, **Michelle Bolsonaro**, **Marina Silva**, **Janja** and **Simone Tebet** were, in that order, the most relevant names;

---

[1] This product drives a base of around 349 public Telegram channels and groups, incorporated into our mapping through snowball sampling. This leads us to a non-probabilistic corpus that, based on chains of references, is part of a useful methodology for entering environments that are difficult to access. Based on that, a strong presence of groups and channels more aligned to the right was noticed, with emphasis on supporters of former president Jair Bolsonaro. Although it is also possible to see the participation of groups and channels on the left, such as those supporting Lula, the predominance of the right leads us to analyzes that concern the performance of this political field on Telegram.

- There is a **strong difference between the mentions to Michelle and Janja**. While the former first lady is mostly portrayed as an "ideal" woman, a possible **hope for the 2026 elections** and a role model for fighting, the current first lady is seen as a person with **little political influence**;

- Different situations are mentioned to support this perspective, such as an episode in which Jill Biden, the US first lady, allegedly mistreated Janja, as opposed to Jill's supposed warm reception of Michelle. **That does not mean that the former first lady is unanimous on Telegram**. Although in smaller numbers, the groups and channels aligned with the current government criticized Michelle and associated her with **corruption**;

- Marina Silva, the current Minister for the Environment, was also constantly mentioned on Telegram. With a high level of thematic fragmentation, the minister was portrayed in different ways: on one hand, some messages claimed that Marina is a "**traitor of the homeland**", who is allegedly part of a "globalist agenda"; on the other hand, Marina's role in the **humanitarian crisis of the Yanomami** and in the **fight against illegal mining** was remembered. It is not possible to determine the predominance of one narrative over another, with a balance in relation to the way Marina was mentioned;

- In addition, some of the mentions to Simone Tebet show **little opinion**, discussing only developments about the minister's actions in the Ministry of Planning. There was, however, an attempt to **distance Tebet from the Lula government** through messages that **emphasize the supposed differences between her and the so-called "red government"**, personified in the figures of Fernando Haddad and Lula. Users claimed that Tebet is dissatisfied with the repercussion of the government's economic policies on the market.

2. The current and the former first ladies: Janja da Silva and Michelle Bolsonaro

Links with the most interactions associated with Michelle Bolsonaro on Facebook

Period: January 13 to February 13, 2023

Title	Outlet	Interactions
PL negocia nome da ex-primeira-dama Michelle Bolsonaro para eleições de 2024 e 2026	Jovem Pan News	10.528
Michelle fala de traição e publica arquivos de notas fiscais; veja	Pleno News	6.299
Michelle Bolsonaro chega dos EUA e desembarca em Brasília	Pleno News	5.205
Michelle Bolsonaro divulga arquivos de notas fiscais e causa silêncio na oposição; Entenda	Portal BR7	3.891
Com direito a bastidores e status de estrela da TV, Michelle 'quebra as redes' em propaganda de cosméticos (veja o vídeo)	Jornal da Cidade Online	3.886
Presidente do PL: 'Se não tivermos Bolsonaro, temos a Michelle para 2026'	Portal BR7	3.403
Preocupada com Bolsonaro, esquerda é surpreendida com o lançamento de Michelle	Jornal da Cidade Online	3.257
Michelle Bolsonaro declara seu apoio à candidatura de Rogério Marinho para presidente do Senado	Portal BR7	3.146
Valdemar lança Michelle Bolsonaro à Presidência como opção a Jair	CNN Brasil	3.048
Presidente do PL promove jantar e recebe Michelle Bolsonaro	Pleno News	2.984

Source: Facebook | Elaborated by: School of Communication, Media and Information at FGV

- The major links associated with Michelle Bolsonaro on Facebook indicate the **relevance of alternative outlets** such as Jovem Pan, Pleno News, Portal BR7 and Jornal da Cidade Online. These websites share a certain level of **alignment with the former Bolsonaro administration**, being frequently mentioned in groups supporting the former president;

- Among the topics discussed, **Michelle's possible candidacy** for the Presidency in 2026 was mentioned very often. A positive tone prevailed in these links, indicating **support for the former first lady** should she run for office;

- News about Michelle's position after **corruption accusations** were also mapped, praising the former first lady's attitude of publishing a series of invoices to deny her alleged participation in a slush fund scheme;

- In keeping with this **positive tone** in relation to Michelle's image, the former first lady, when mentioned without comparisons with Janja, is portrayed as a **political subject** above all else. Her position in the election for the presidency of the Federal Senate, for example, was covered in the major links. This may indicate that personal and private issues did not gain as much space as issues that enhance the political capabilities of the former first lady.

Links with the most interactions associated with Janja da Silva on Facebook

Period: January 13 to February 13, 2023

Fontenelle critica roupa de Janja na posse e cita escola de samba	Pleno News	22.472
Janja pede R$50 mil de comentarista da Jovem Pan que disse que ela fuma maconha	Folha de São Paulo	15.452
Página é punida no Instagram por criticar roupa de Janja na posse: "Paquita da Xuxa, Elvis Presley"	Portal BR7	9.186
Comentaristas da TV JCO se divertem na análise de roupas utilizadas por Janja em eventos oficiais (veja o vídeo)	Jornal da Cidade Online	8.143
Janja processa conselheiro do Corinthians e pede indenização	Pleno News	6.279
Janja vê derrota do Flamengo no estádio, é chamada de 'pé frio' e vira meme nas redes	Jornal da Cidade Online	5.151
Janja processa comentarista da Jovem Pan que a acusou de ser usuária de drogas	Ana Maria Uol	4.214
Janja assiste vice do Flamengo e torcida a chama de pé-frio	Dol	4.122
Carnaval 2023: Janja aceita convite para ser madrinha da velha guarda da Imperatriz	O Globo	4.092
Janja processa conselheiro do Corinthians	Revista Fórum	3.536

Source: Facebook | Elaborated by: School of Communication, Media and Information at FGV

- While Michelle Bolsonaro is seen as a political subject of relevance to the national scene, the opposite could be seen in major links associated with Janja. Driven mostly by the same **alternative outlets**, Pleno News, Portal BR7 and Jornal da Cidade Online, the debate about the current first lady **revolves around her clothes, an alleged use of illicit drugs, and her participation in leisure events** such as Flamengo soccer matches;

- It is worth mentioning that these outlets do not offend Janja; instead, they simply **reproduce offenses** from third parties and **emphasize the first lady's reaction** to the episodes. One of these episodes involved a lawsuit that Janja initiated against the Corinthians advisor, Manoel Ramos Evangelista, after he offended her on Twitter, calling her a "whore", "sewer" and "garbage"; another episode was a legal dispute between the first lady and the Jovem Pan commentator, Pietra Bertolazzi, after an insinuation about Janja being a drug user;

- Although these alternative outlets are predominant, there was also the presence of traditional sources, such as **Folha de São Paulo** and **O Globo**. The content of the news did not change much, with comments on Janja's presence at carnival with samba school Imperatriz and on the lawsuit between the first lady and the Corinthians advisor.

Major terms about Michelle Bolsonaro on Twitter

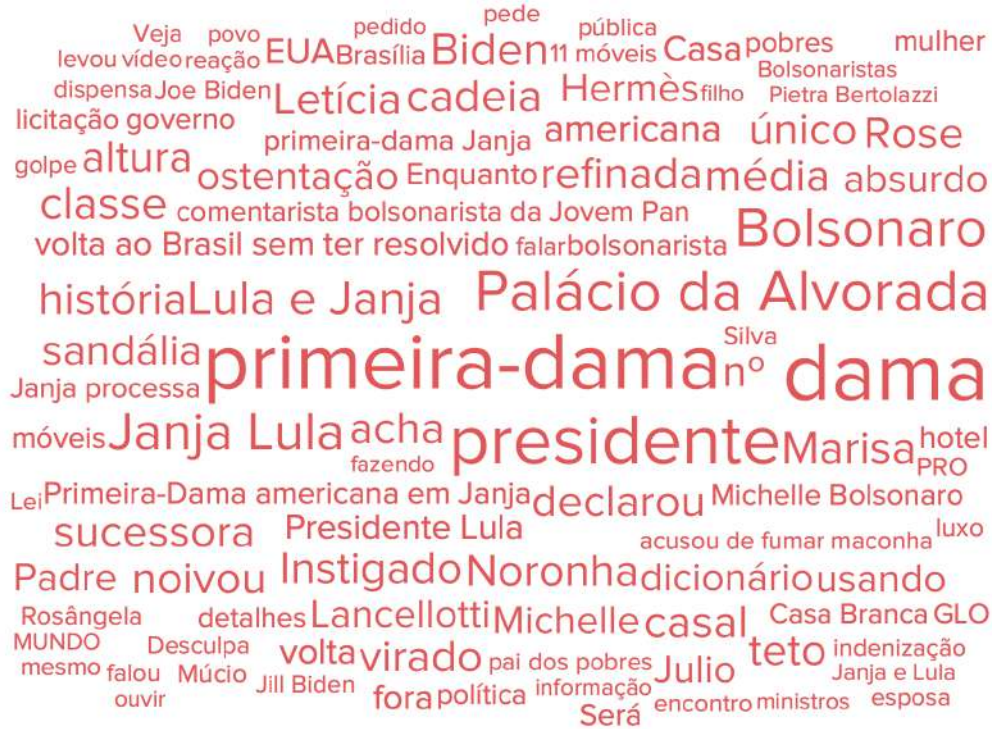Period: January 13 to February 13, 2023

Source: Twitter | Elaborated by: School of Communication, Media and Information at FGV

- Criticism of the former first lady focused on associating her with organized crime, supported by reports, accusations and investigations against her;

- Called "Micheque" by profiles aligned with the Federal Government during the period, she was associated with alleged cases of **salary deviation**, **moral harassment**, **slush funds**, undue spending with a corporate card, and theft of **coins that tourists threw in the water mirror of the Alvorada Palace**;

- Comparisons with Janja were made mostly in terms of physical and behavioral attributes, which in this case are invariably related to gender and class aspects;

- It was often said, for example, that Janja was allegedly snubbed by the **first lady** of the United States, Jill Biden, due to the cancellation of the meeting between the two. By comparison, Michelle was allegedly showered with honors for dressing and behaving "nicely";

- In an unexpressive way, Michelle was also the target of misogynistic comments regarding physical attributes. Based on a claim that she had undergone a **silicone** replacement surgery with public funds, some users opposing Bolsonaro endorsed a tweet whose author claimed that he had the right to "touch" the former first lady's breasts;

- In right-wing profiles, the assumption that Michelle will run for President of the Republic is growing. In these circles, the **former first lady** is seen as one of the few political agents with conditions to "defeat the left" in 2026. Still in this context, a tweet went viral suggesting that Michelle could be the new political heiress of the **PL**, since Bolsonaro's children would not be able to contest the election.

Major terms about Janja da Silva on Twitter

Period: January 13 to February 13, 2023

Source: Twitter | Elaborated by: School of Communication, Media and Information at FGV

- There is an intersectional thematic approach when it comes to **Janja**, especially regarding **class** and gender aspects. Regarding **class**, there are frequent suggestions that she does not know how to behave as **first lady**, and is allegedly dazzled by the privileges attributed to the position;

- There is an implicit comparison to **Michelle Bolsonaro** based on the idea that the former first lady embodied an "elegant" and ideal model of femininity, consistent with the conservative values of the previous government;

- It was also emphasized that the first lady of the United States, **Jill Biden**, allegedly refused to receive **Janja** at the **White House**, which was read by profiles aligned with Bolsonaro as evidence of her alleged lack of **class** and prestige. It was suggested that Jill pretended to be ill in order to avoid being "robbed";

- In this discussion, the **gender** issue appeared more emphatically, especially
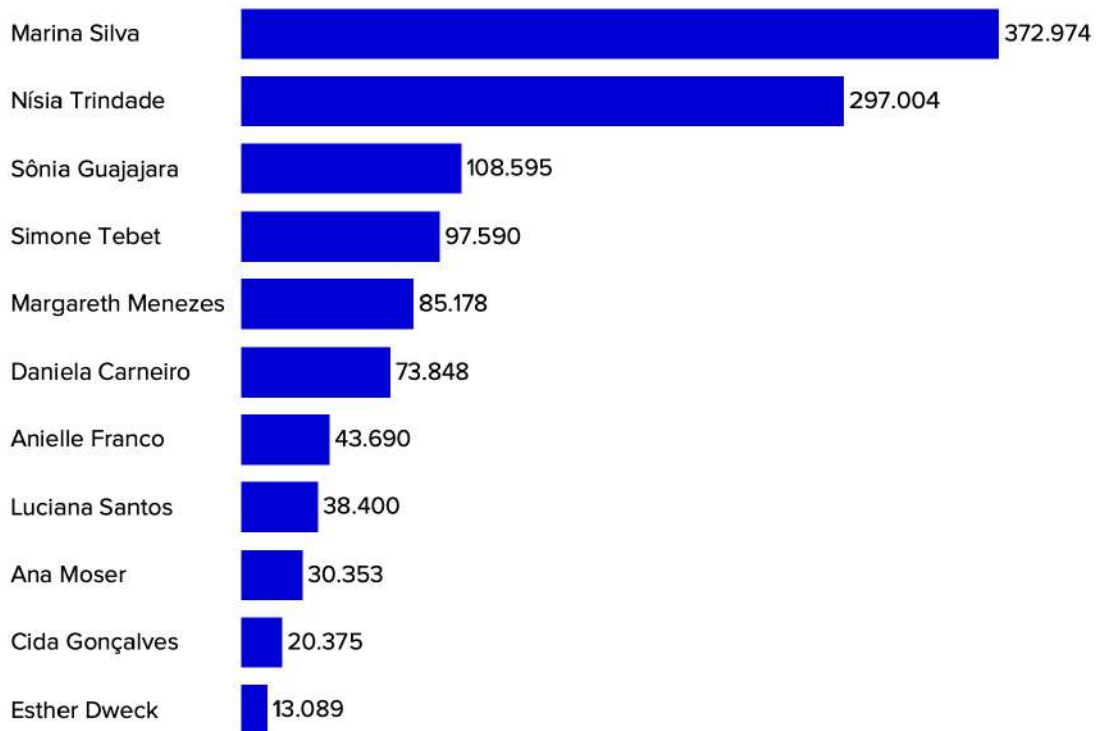
based on the evaluation of the actions of both women and of elements such as clothing and the expression of religiosity adopted by them. In a repost of a makeup tutorial video made by Michelle, for example, it was suggested that Janja does not know how to dress or apply makeup. In the same context, **Janja** is classified as "Brazil's first Pombajira" (a spirit in the Umbanda religion), in an attempt to pejoratively associate her with religions of African origin;

- Bodily attributes are also considered under the gender thematic in relation to **Janja** and **Michelle** by profiles aligned with Bolsonaro. Users said, for example, that it would be in "bad taste" to replace **Michelle**, who is "beautiful, educated and elegant", with **Janja**;

- In addition, the possibility that both may run for the Presidency of the Republic in 2026 has been raised frequently, which makes both of them not only diametrically opposed models of femininity, but also representatives of antagonistic political projects.

3. Women in the Federal Government: female ministers of the Lula administration

Volume of mentions to female ministers in the Lula administration on Twitter

Period: January 13 to February 13, 2023

Marina Silva	372.974
Nísia Trindade	297.004
Sônia Guajajara	108.595
Simone Tebet	97.590
Margareth Menezes	85.178
Daniela Carneiro	73.848
Anielle Franco	43.690
Luciana Santos	38.400
Ana Moser	30.353
Cida Gonçalves	20.375
Esther Dweck	13.089

Source: Twitter | Elaborated by: School of Communication, Media and Information at FGV

- Over the **period** analyzed, **Nísia Trindade** and **Marina Silva** stood out in volume of mentions. To a lesser extent, events related to the **ministries' agendas** drove the debate about **Sonia Guajajara** and **Margareth Menezes**. On **January 16**, there was a circumstantial and **negative** peak of discussion about **Daniela Carneiro**, with allegations of connections with the militia and cases of corruption;

- The **main peak** concerned **Marina Silva**'s presence at the **World Economic Forum** on **January 18**, and the effects of her participation extended to the dates following the event. In particular, the high volume of mentions was due to

the **strongly negative impact** of a statement on the **number of hungry people in the country**. Users questioned the reaction of the press and the Judiciary Branch regarding what they saw as fake news. Direct mentions to the "lie", "international embarrassment" and "joke" stood out, with a reduced number of offensive denominations to the minister.

- **Nísia Trindade** was in focus throughout the period due to the emphasis on the actions of the **Ministry of Health**, especially in the humanitarian crisis of the Yanomami. In this context, there was a predominance of a journalistic focus. The repercussions about the ministry saw a **positive highlight** for **Trindade**'s performance. On the negative side, users highlighted the association between the minister and the defense of the right to abortion, as well as accusations related to the Yanomami crisis.

- On **January 21**, the peak of mentions to **Sonia Guajajara** revolves around her ministry's actions in the Yanomami crisis, with emphasis on her statements and announcements. On **January 19**, it was **Margareth Menezes'** turn to show a circumstantial peak due to the announcement of funds via the **Rouanet Law**. Pejorative accusations regarding **Menezes**' interest in "favoring friends" cast doubt on the minister's credibility.

- Data from the period indicated the relationship between mentions of female ministers and the political debate on government ministries. In these terms, a photo of **Daniela Andrade** and **Anielle Franco** was heavily commented, which served to boost criticism of the figure of **Franco** and the **Lula administration**. **Sonia Guajajara** and **Nísia Trindade** were part of the repercussion of interministerial actions in the Yanomami crisis, together with the president of Funai, **Joenia Wapichana**.

From racism to the economy: female representatives reinforce dispute between government and opposition on Facebook

● *Right-wing representatives were central, with Carla Zambelli and Bia Kicis obtaining almost double the engagement of Gleisi Hoffmann, the major name in the progressive field. This trend continued when looking at the reach of each party, with the PL and the PT standing out;*

● *Among the topics mentioned by the congresswomen and female senators, the debates about women, indigenous peoples, agribusiness, racism and the economy were prominent;*

● *The left-wing representatives dominated the debate about indigenous peoples, racism and the economy, while opposition representatives led the discussions on women, agribusiness, democracy and disinformation;*

● *The thematic debate saw a protagonism of PT representatives, with highlights for both historically known names such as Gleisi Hoffmann as well as for new faces such as Carol Dartora.*

The debates about women, indigenous peoples, agribusiness, racism and the economy stood out in posts made by elected female representatives during the first month of their mandate in 2023. The PL and the PT, the two parties with the highest number of elected representatives in the parliament, had the largest volume of engagement and posts. However, the right-wing representatives were more expressive on the platform, overall. Those were the findings of a survey by the **FGV School of Communication**, which analyzed 4,039 posts made by 85 congresswomen and 10 female senators[2] between February 1 and 28.

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[2] Representatives who do not have a Facebook page or whose settings prevent data collection could not be analyzed.
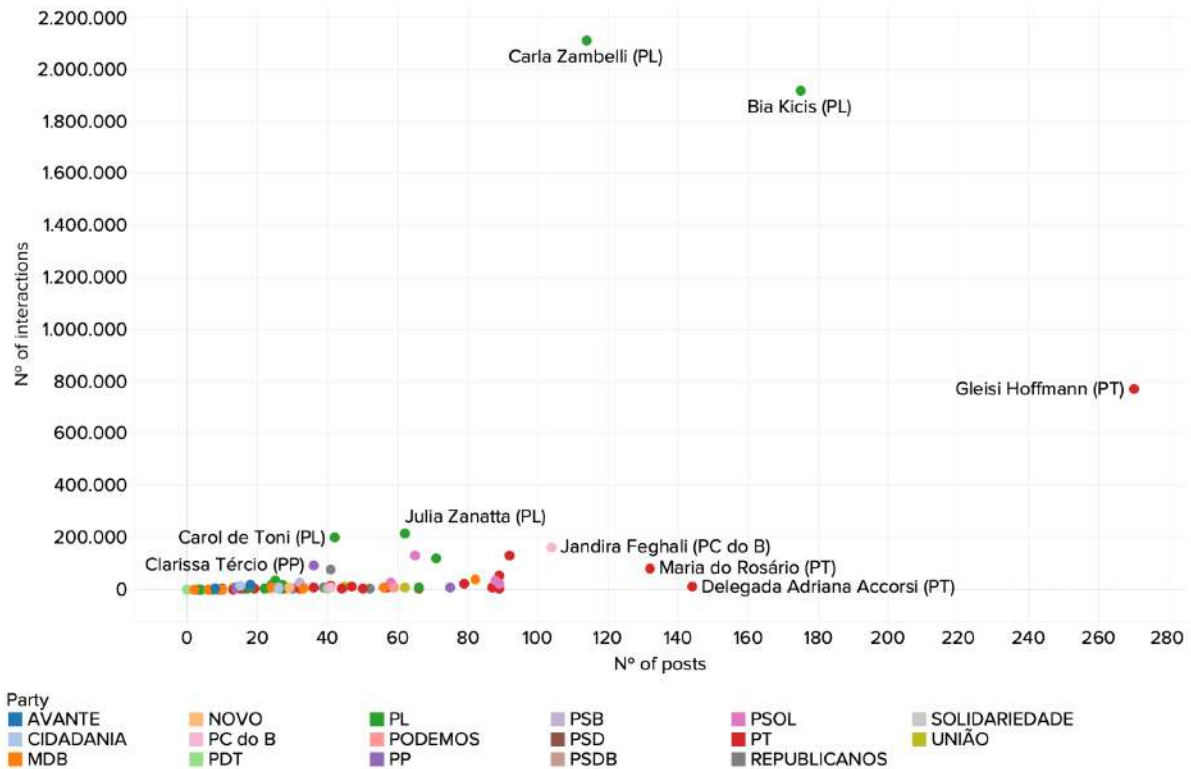
The analysis of major topics on Facebook was carried out through a topic modeling technique based on linguistic models. This model extracts semantic information from words and groups it within similar concepts, which are interpreted as topics. The representation of each topic is calculated using a ranking that takes into account the relevance of each term in the group to which is belongs.

The debate about women had the intense participation of progressive representatives, although right-wing figures also attempted to dispute the agenda, focusing on the image of Michelle Bolsonaro. This dispute was also mapped in the debate about agribusiness, with one side praising the MST and the other side criticizing Lula, as well as in the discussions about democracy and disinformation, in which the ideas of persecution, censorship and freedom of speech were mobilized by both fields. In turn, in the discussions about racism and indigenous peoples, there were no attempts to participate by the conservative field, with a strong protagonism of left-wing representatives. Congresswomen and female senators allied with the current government also stood out in the economic debate, debating the readjustment of the minimum wage.

Volume of interactions and posts per representative on Facebook

Period: February 1 to 26, 2023

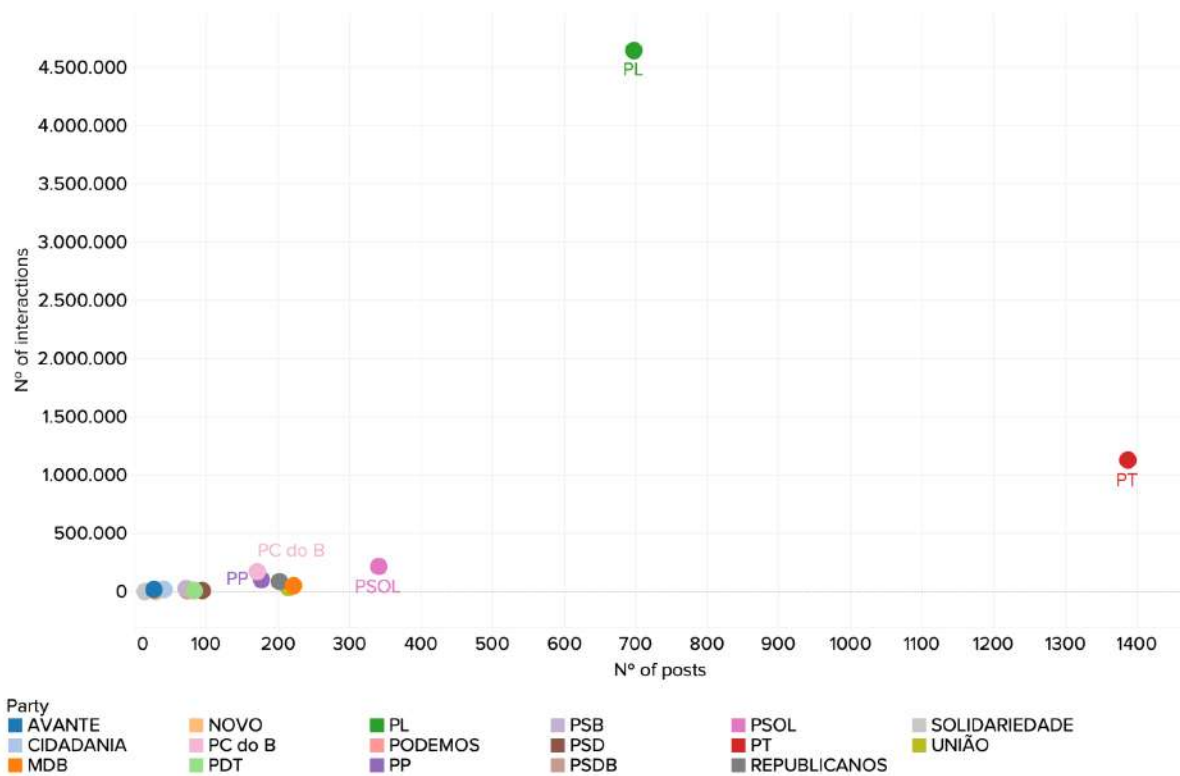Source: Facebook | Elaborated by: School of Communication, Media and Information at FGV

- The participation of right-wing representatives aligned with the former president Jair Bolsonaro (PL) was prominent in comparison to other congresswomen and female senators, with Carla Zambelli (PL-SP) and Bia Kicis at the forefront of the debate in terms of volume of interactions;

- The highlight in number of publications was the congresswomen Gleisi Hoffmann (PT-PR), a progressive representative who also has the highest volume of engagement on Facebook. Jandira Feghali (PCdoB-RJ), Maria do Rosário (PT-RS) and Delegada Adriana Accorsi (PT-GO) were also relevant names in the government support group;

- Two topics were recurrent among the publications with the highest reach made by Zambelli and Kicis: the fight for freedom of speech and the engagement around an investigation related to the January 8 acts. In Kicis' case, the support

for Bolsonaro is still explicit in her publications, which is not the case in Zambelli's page, who chooses to directly oppose Lula without mentioning the former president;

● The publications by Gleisi Hoffmann focused on systematically supporting the actions of Lula's government and, to a lesser extent, on blaming Bolsonaro for the country's bad situation, such as the Yanomami humanitarian crisis. Jandira Feghali and Maria do Rosário chose a similar narrative, but with more diversity, including friendly references to the First Lady Janja Silva. By mentioning positive aspects of the Lula administration, Hoffmann tends to focus on topics related to the economy.

Volume of interactions and posts per party on Facebook

Period: February 1 to 26, 2023

Source: Facebook | Elaborated by: School of Communication, Media and Information at FGV

● The prominence of the situation and the opposition in the debate remains in terms of the leading parties, with former president Jair Bolsonaro's Partido
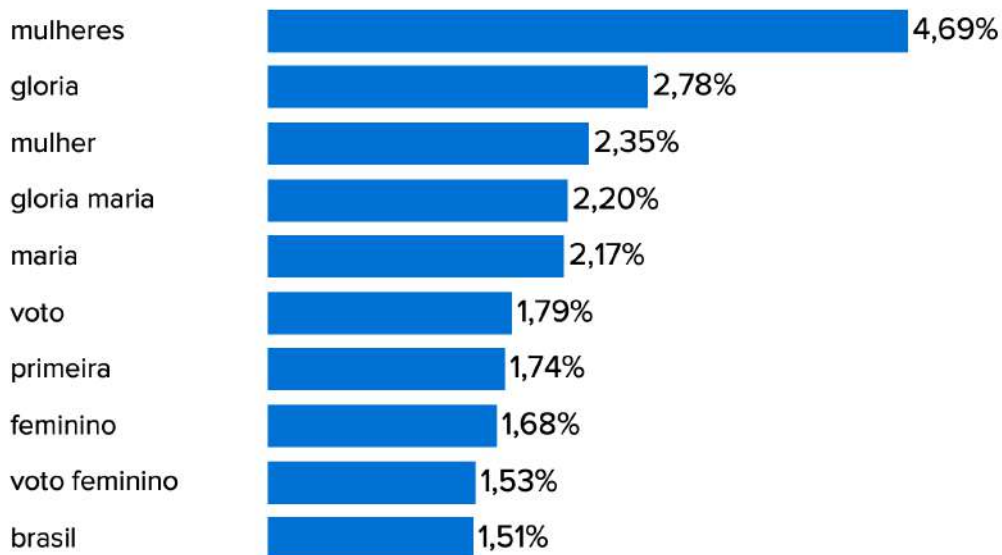
Liberal (PL) and President Lula's Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT) dominating the debate in terms of reach and number of publications, respectively.

- The highlight attributed to the PL and the PT is related directly to the significant number of elected female representatives in each party, while parties with a smaller impact on the debate elected a considerably lower number of female candidates;

- To a lesser extent, but still relevant in the discussion, the female representatives who integrate parties aligned with the government (Avante and PSOL), with the center (MDB) and the center-right (PP) stood out in the debate. The distribution of each party suggests a relatively balanced scenario between government and opposition, considering a higher reach by opposition representatives.

Major topics on Facebook

Debate about women on Facebook

Period: February 1 to 26, 2023

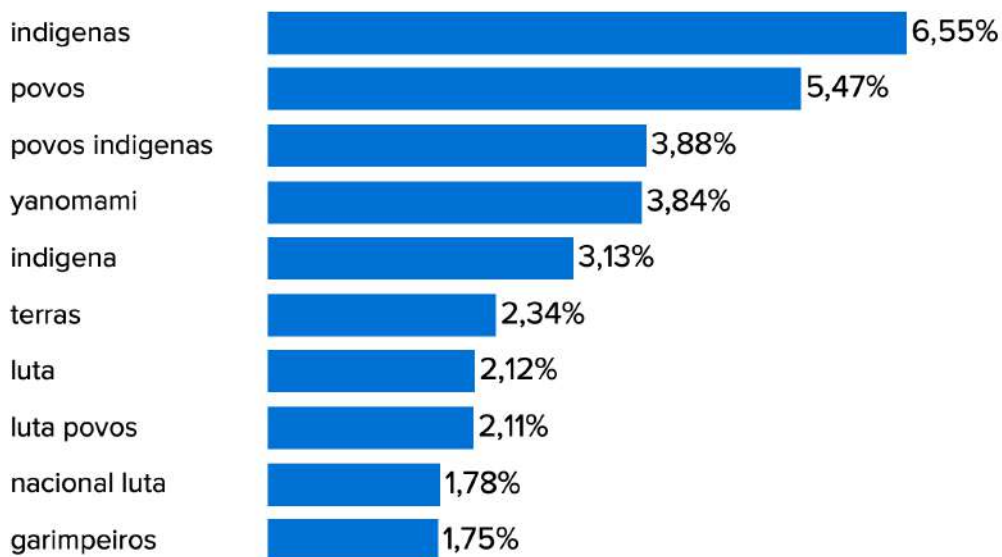|	
mulheres	4,69%
gloria	2,78%
mulher	2,35%
gloria maria	2,20%
maria	2,17%
voto	1,79%
primeira	1,74%
feminino	1,68%
voto feminino	1,53%
brasil	1,51%

Source: Facebook | Elaborated by: School of Communication, Media and Information at FGV

- The discussion about women was prominent compared to other topics in the debate, and stood out among the posts made by congresswomen and female senators on Facebook;

- Although progressive representatives such as Gleisi Hoffmann (PT-PR), Benedita da Silva (PT-RJ) and Maria do Rosário (PT-RS) are more participative in this debate, conservative representatives such as Bia Kicis (PL-DF) and Júlia Zanatta (PL-SC) mobilized a high level of engagement with single publications;

- In this context, Michelle Bolsonaro's participation as president of PL Mulher (Women's PL) was frequently mentioned and celebrated by the right wing. The former first lady is mentioned with a lot of praise and positivity and seen as an admirable woman.

- In turn, the progressive field was divided between posts discussing female voting and celebrating the relevance of Glória Maria for a more diverse journalism.

Debate about indigenous peoples on Facebook

Period: February 1 to 26, 2023

indigenas	6,55%
povos	5,47%
povos indigenas	3,88%
yanomami	3,84%
indigena	3,13%
terras	2,34%
luta	2,12%
luta povos	2,11%
nacional luta	1,78%
garimpeiros	1,75%

Source: Facebook | Elaborated by: School of Communication, Media and Information at FGV
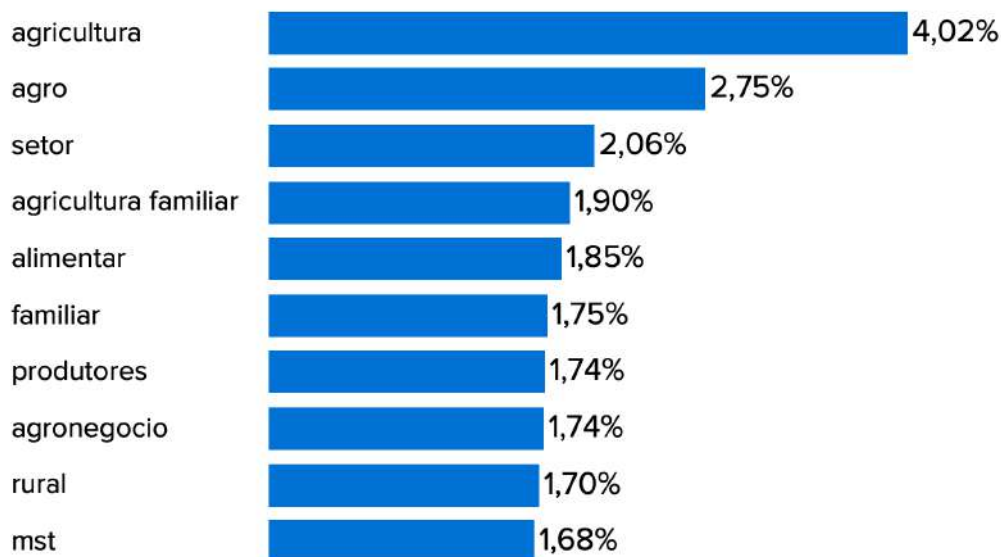
- The debate about indigenous issues emphasized the humanitarian crisis of the Yanomami people. With the protagonism of representatives in the progressive field, particularly the PT and the PSOL, the discussion was focused on publishing actions and aid channels to mitigate the crisis, in addition to blaming the former president Bolsonaro and the senator Damares Alves

(Republicanos-DF) for the situation. Gleisi Hoffmann (PT-PR) and Maria do Rosário (PT-RS) emphasized actions to fight illegal mining in the current administration, particularly the participation of institutions such as Ibama and Funai;

● The inauguration of Joenia Wapichana (Rede-RR) as the president of Funai also had significant repercussion in the period, and was mentioned by Hoffmann and Erika Kokay (PT-DF) as a symbolic act in the face of the ongoing humanitarian crisis;

● In a secondary way, center and center-right representatives were also relevant in the discussion. There were publications supporting the Yanomami made by some of the representatives from the North region, such as the congresswomen Renilce Nicodemos (MDB-PA), Elcione Barbalho (MDB-PA) and Socorro Neri (PP-AC), as well as the senator Professora Dorinha (União-TO);

● The topic of indigenous peoples was not mentioned or did not have significant reach in publications made by representatives in other political fields.

Debate about agribusiness on Facebook
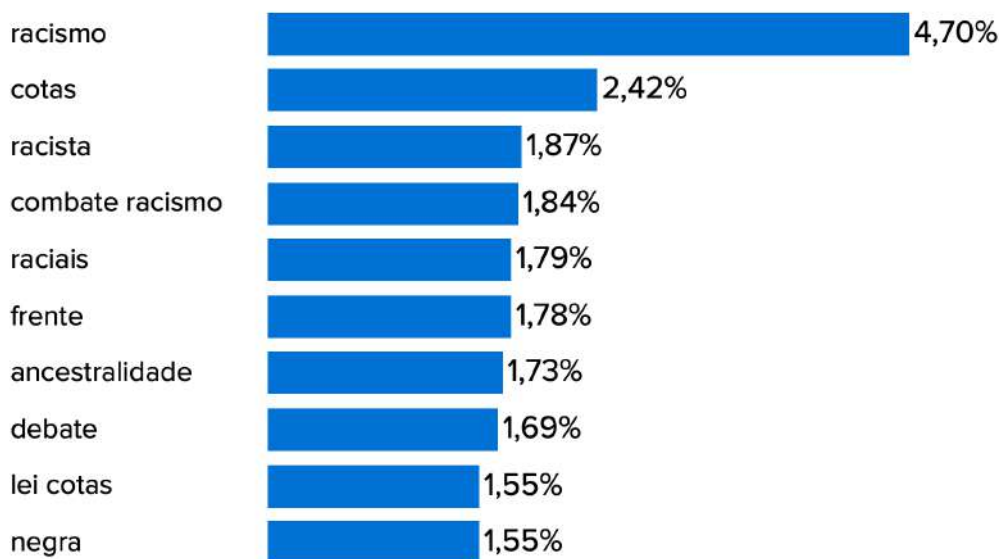
Period: February 1 to 26, 2023

Source: Facebook | Elaborated by: School of Communication, Media and Information at FGV

● Publications praising actions by the Landless Workers' Movement (MST) and the narrative that Lula's government is allegedly acting systematically against agribusiness marked a polarized debate on this topic;

- The argument that President Lula is reportedly "boycotting" agribusiness was endorsed in publications made by the congresswoman Carol De Toni (PL-SC). Júlia Zanatta (PL-SC) also argued that Lula is harming the country's economy by "villainizing" the sector. The former Minister for Agriculture in the Bolsonaro administration and current senator Tereza Cristina (PP-MS) was also relevant in the debate, but with a more moderate position and without directly opposing the actions of the current government;

- In turn, the progressive field obtained more reach by associating the MST with different fronts defended by members of the current government, such as fighting hunger and work analogous to slavery. Congresswomen such as Ana Paula Lima (PT-PR), Gleisi Hoffmann and Natália Bonavides (PT-RN) had significant reach when mentioning positive aspects of the social movement.

Debate about racism on Facebook

Period: February 1 to 26, 2023

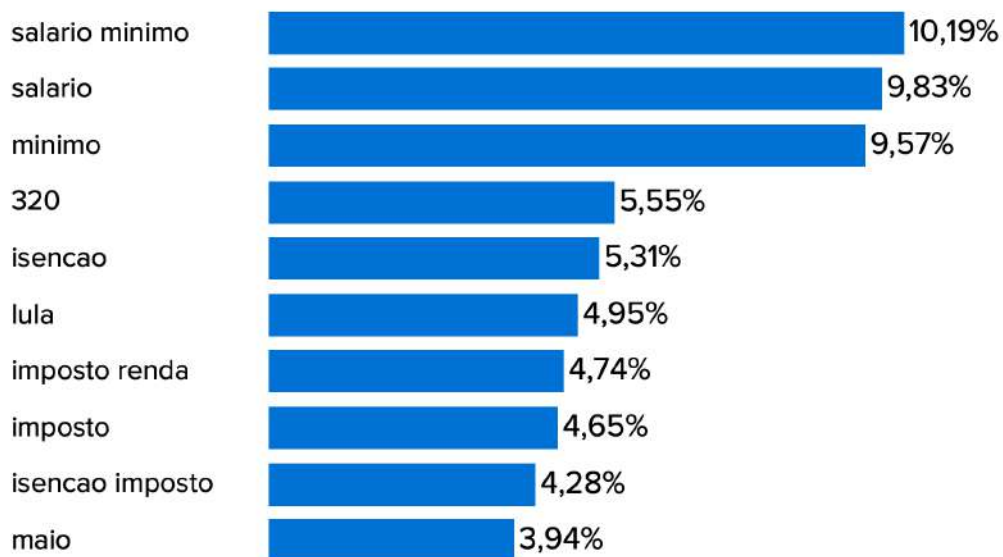Source: Facebook | Elaborated by: School of Communication, Media and Information at FGV

- The topic of racism was driven by progressive congresswomen and was divided into publications reporting on cases of racism and discussing racial inclusion policies;

- Gleisi Hoffmann (PT-PR) and Daiana Santos (PCdoB- RS) stood out my making reports, either in a more general way, mentioning structural racism, or in a more

personal way, explaining episodes of violence suffered by the congresswomen themselves. The case involving work conditions analogous to slavery in wineries in the state of Rio Grande do Sul (RS) was also mentioned, establishing associations between current times and the period of slavery in Brazil.

- On the other hand, the entry of Anielle Franco and Silvio Almeida into the ministerial team of the Lula administration was celebrated by congresswomen such as Carol Dartora (PT-PR). Dartora, as well as Dandara Tonantzin (PT-MG), also celebrated the proposal to create a Parliamentary Front to Combat Racism and Promote Education for Ethnic-Racial and Gender Relations in the Chamber of Deputies;

- The participation of center or right-wing representatives in this debate was not mapped, which may indicate a distancing between this political field and the racial agenda.

Debate about the economy on Facebook

Period: February 1 to 26, 2023

salario minimo	10,19%
salario	9,83%
minimo	9,57%
320	5,55%
isencao	5,31%
lula	4,95%
imposto renda	4,74%
imposto	4,65%
isencao imposto	4,28%
maio	3,94%

Source: Facebook | Elaborated by: School of Communication, Media and Information at FGV
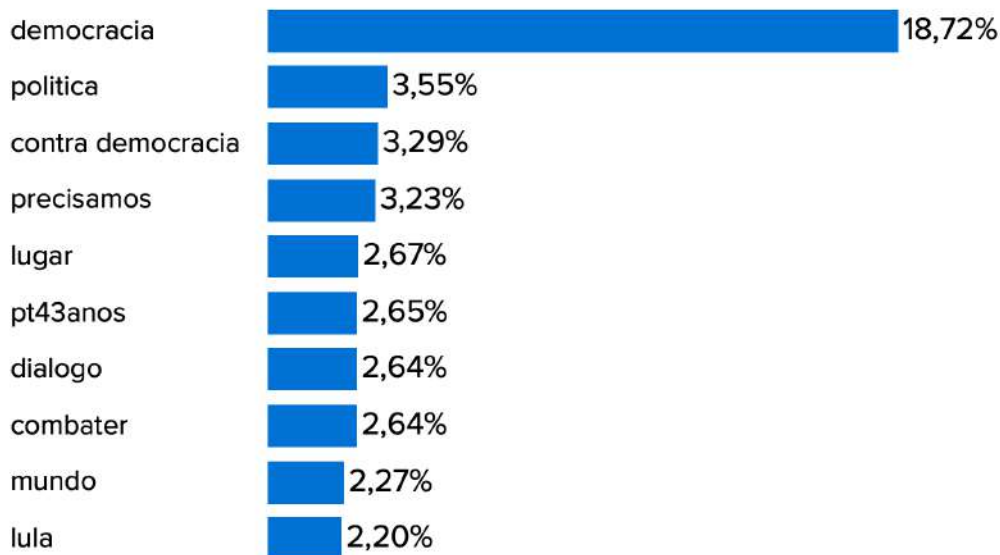
- The readjustment of the minimum wage by the Lula administration was prominent in the economic debate. Driven mostly by representatives allied with the PT support group, such as Hoffmann (PT-PR), Maria do Rosário (PT-RS) and

Benedita (PT-RJ), the discussion was associated with a series of praises for the president based on the idea that Lula keeps his promises;

● On the other hand, the president's commitment to raising the minimum wage was questioned by the opposition congresswoman Clarissa Tércio (PP-PE). Participating in a secondary way, Tércio shared a video that indicates that Lula allegedly angered workers by not fulfilling his promise to raise the minimum wage. The congresswoman also indicated, in a critical tone, that the government reportedly has "other economic priorities".

Debate about democracy on Facebook

Period: February 1 to 26, 2023

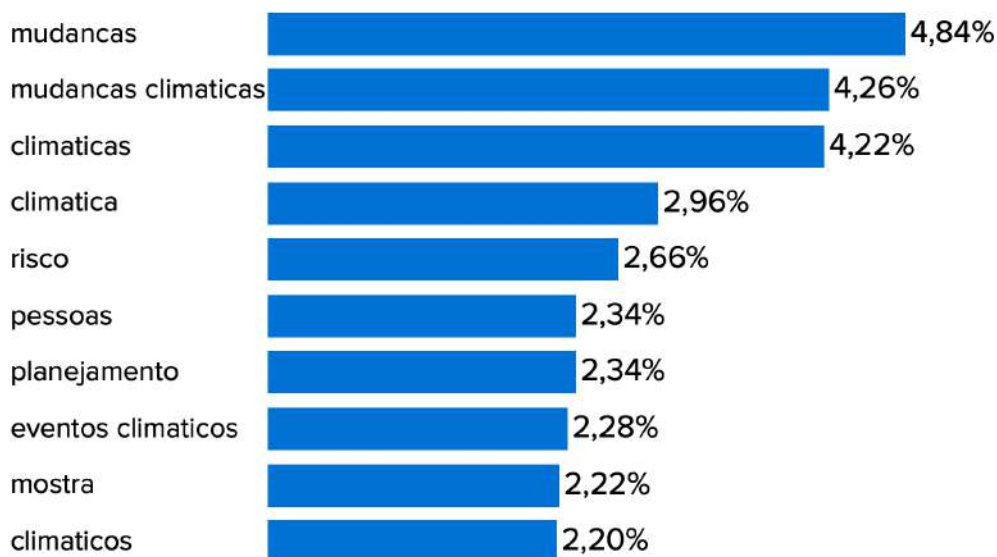| Term	Percentage
democracia	18,72%
politica	3,55%
contra democracia	3,29%
precisamos	3,23%
lugar	2,67%
pt43anos	2,65%
dialogo	2,64%
combater	2,64%
mundo	2,27%
lula	2,20%

Source: Facebook | Elaborated by: School of Communication, Media and Information at FGV

● The topic of democracy appeared in a tense way in this debate, featuring names such as Bia Kicis (PL-DF) and Jandira Feghali (PCdoB-RJ). Both political fields mutually accused each other of threatening democracy;

● Bia Kicis, for example, reinforced her close association with former President Jair Bolsonaro by focusing on posts criticizing Lula. The congresswoman claimed that democracy is at risk and that the president is attacking the freedom of his opponents. The congresswoman Jandira Feghali argued against this perspective, stating that she voted for Lula to defend Brazilian democracy, which was being threatened by Bolsonaro;

- The need for dialogue and public power were also aspects reinforced in this discussion, especially by representatives in the progressive field such as Luiza Erundina (PSOL-SP), Gleisi Hoffmann (PT-PR) and Denise Pessôa (PT-RS);

- The isolated role of Bia Kicis in this debate may indicate that, although part of the right disseminates narratives of persecution and censorship, these perspectives were not as prominent on Facebook when compared to posts by left-wing representatives.

Debate about the climate on Facebook

Period: February 1 to 26, 2023

Term	Percentage
mudancas	4,84%
mudancas climaticas	4,26%
climaticas	4,22%
climatica	2,96%
risco	2,66%
pessoas	2,34%
planejamento	2,34%
eventos climaticos	2,28%
mostra	2,22%
climaticos	2,20%

Source: Facebook | Elaborated by: School of Communication, Media and Information at FGV
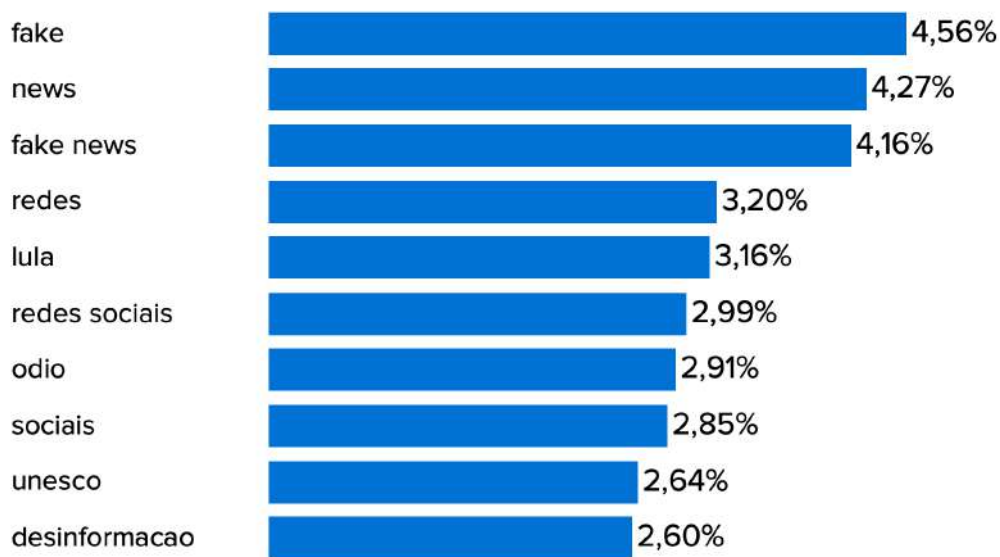
- In the climate debate, the female representatives stood out when addressing issues related to the climate emergency, a topic driven by the recent disaster on the coast of São Paulo. Congresswomen in the progressive field were in evidence, but there was also the participation of congresswomen in the center or center-right;

- There was a strong emphasis on the debate on climate change, which explains the isolated and repeated occurrence of certain terms, since they were extremely relevant in these posts. Maria do Rosário (PT-RS), for example, addressed the drought in Rio Grande do Sul, highlighting the partnership with the federal government. Jandira Feghali (PCdoB-RJ) and Talíria Petrone

(PSOL-RJ) discussed the topic with a focus on floods and high temperatures in the capital, while Camila Jara (PT-MS) drew attention to landslides in Mato Grosso do Sul. Like the other congresswomen, Luíza Erundina (PSOL - SP) reinforced the ongoing relevance of the agenda in the current scenario;

● Congresswomen from parties closer to the center and the right also joined the debate. Socorro Neri (PP-AC) commented on her proposal to create of a Joint Parliamentary Front in Defense of a Just Climate Transition. Geovânia de Sá (PSDB-SC) proposed reflections based on the disaster, calling the public to action and offering her solidarity to the victims;

● In a more reserved mention to the coast of São Paulo, Luciene Cavalcante (PSOL-SP) regreted what happened and paid solidarity to the victims. She also pointed out that her office has been working on the issue.

Debate about disinformation on Facebook

Period: February 1 to 26, 2023

fake	4,56%
news	4,27%
fake news	4,16%
redes	3,20%
lula	3,16%
redes sociais	2,99%
odio	2,91%
sociais	2,85%
unesco	2,64%
desinformacao	2,60%

Source: Facebook | Elaborated by: School of Communication, Media and Information at FGV

● This topic was driven mostly by a dispute over social media regulation based on the recent movements by the Ministry of Justice around the agenda and statements by government authorities in a Unesco forum. Governing and opposition representatives raised antagonistic points in relation to the topic and obtained similar levels of reach;

- Congresswomen like Carla Zambelli, Júlia Zanatta, Carol De Toni and Adriana Ventura endorsed the narrative that the government's approach is allegedly part of a project to weaken democracy. The central argument is that regulation would be an authoritarian mechanism for silencing political opponents, especially the extreme right. There was also mention of the risks that the return of the Fake News Bill (2,630/2020) could represent in this area;

- On the other hand, congresswomen aligned with the current administration, such as Jandira Feghali and Juliana Cardoso, argued that the regulation of social networks could help in the fight against disinformation, limiting the private decisions of digital platforms within the scope of the public debate.

Transphobic discourse and dispute for political protagonism marked mentions to International Women's Day

● *Speech given by the congressman Nikolas Ferreira (PL-MG) at the Chamber of Deputies drove hate messages against trans women, but publications with similar content had already been circulating frequently on Twitter on that day;*

● *On Telegram, groups questioned the meaning of March 8 and raised Michelle Bolsonaro to the post of "ideal woman". Nikolas Ferreira used the platform to encourage the transphobic mobilization;*

● *Actions announced by Lula in support of women and reflexive messages by Michelle Bolsonaro had a high level of repercussion and were at the center of the dispute for protagonism between both political fields;*

● *Soccer clubs and famous players had a high level of reach by paying homage to female players and supporters, attempting to mitigate the prejudice and stigma in the relationship between women and the sport.*

The discussions around International Women's Day drive a wide range of topics and political actors over March 8, with meanings associated with the date used as the object of dispute between antagonistic political fields. The topics with the most notable engagement in relation to the date was the issue of trans women, which was addressed both through an affirmation and pride point of view and through a bias of prejudice and intolerance. Those were the findings of a survey by the **School of Communication at FGV**, which analyzed publications on Twitter, Facebook and Telegram.
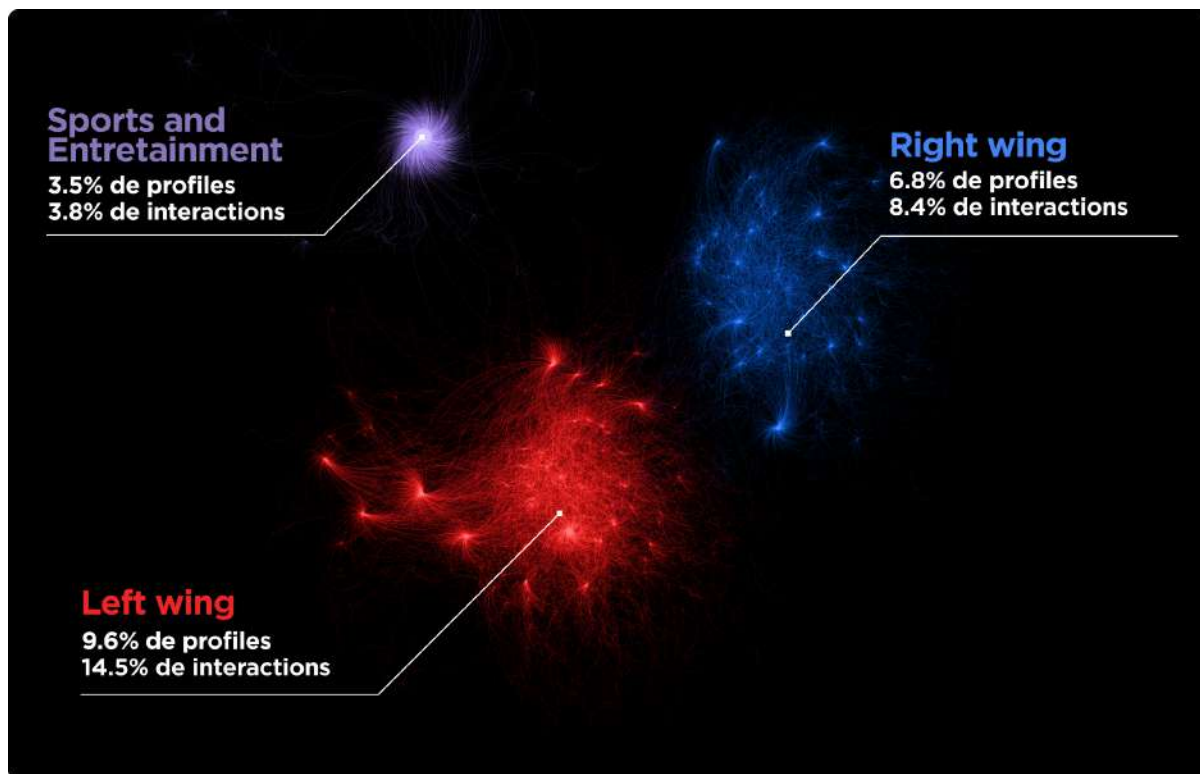
Although the statement given by the congressman Nikolas Ferreira (PL-MG) at the chamber of deputies against trans women contributed to "institutionalize" and drive transphobic messages, particularly at the end of the day, intolerant publications were already being disseminated on Twitter and Telegram since the morning. Allegedly scientific discourses were frequently used to delegitimize trans women, along with mentions to "gender ideology". On Twitter, there was a significant reaction by the progressive field, particularly by trans people, to respond to the transphobic comments and demand visibility and respect for this population, with criticism against the congressman and endorsement of the request to impeach his candidacy issued by Tabata Amaral (PSB-SP).

The date was also the object of a fierce political dispute by the political fields supporting and opposing the Federal Government, whose central actors were Lula and Michelle Bolsonaro. A bill to promote pay equity and measures against gender violence prompted mentions to Lula, while Michelle was portrayed as an "ideal female type" within the conservative ideology, as well as a political leader with competence to compete with the PT president in the next presidential elections. Statements made by the First Lady Janja da Silva and the Minister Simone Tebet about President Lula also contributed to bring the president to the center of the discussion about the International Women's Day.

Map of interactions about March 8 on Twitter

Period: March 8, 2023

Source: Twitter | Elaborated by: School of Communication, Media and Information at FGV

Left wing (Red) – 9.6% of profiles | 14.5% of interactions

Group formed by political leaders, communication outlets and left-wing profiles. The highlights were the presence of President *@LulaOficial and the congresswomen @ErikaHilton and @SamiaBomfim. The group emphasized the event carried out at the Palácio do Planalto to announce new public policies for women by the Federal Government, commenting on the presence in the event of former president Dilma Rousseff, who was applauded by the public, according to the profiles. There were significant messages remembering the importance of the date and highlighting the political nature of March 8, emphasizing the alarming rates of violence against women in the country. The speech given by the congressman Nikolas Ferreira (PL-MG) at the Chamber of Deputies was criticized by the group, who reproduced requests for action against the congressman in the Board of Ethics of the Chamber and posted repudiation messages, indicating the misogyny and transphobia in Ferreira's discourse.*

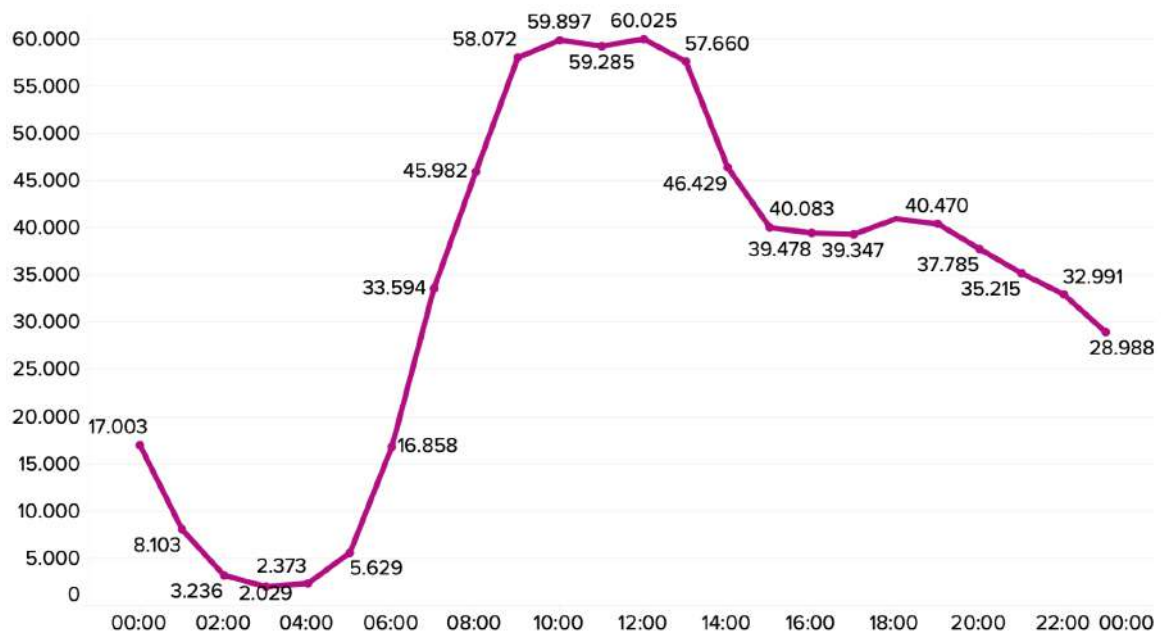***Right wing (Blue) – 6.8% of profiles | 8.4% of interactions***
Group formed by right-wing political leaders and influencers and led by [@kimpaim](#) and [@MichelleBolso22](#), *emphasizing a differentiation between conservative women and "feminists", who are allegedly not concerned with female interests. The highlights were posts paying homage to conservative women and highlighting women's sensitivity and strength. Regarding the criticism of feminists, users said these women actually do a disservice and want to put their ideology above women's interests. The homage paid to the First Lady Janja da Silva and the Federal Government's initiative to promote an equal pay law were also criticized by the group. Offensive mentions to "women with penises" were present in the group even before the speech given by the congressman Nikolas Ferreira. The profiles criticized advertisements with the presence of trans women and regretted that they had been honored on this date, stating that cisgender women were "being passed over by men", in a pejorative reference to trans women. The speech given by the congressman Nikolas Ferreira was not mentioned directly, but there was criticism of the congresswoman Tabata Amaral for having spoken against him.*

Sports and Entertainment (Lilac) – 3.5% of profiles | 3.8% of interactions
Group formed by profiles of soccer clubs, who posted messages congratulating women for the International Women's Day, and by women, who made comic posts criticizing companies that, as a way of valuing women, put 100% female teams to work on the date. Other customary March 8 practices, such as giving flowers and chocolates, also prompted jokes and comments. Requests for a "bank transfer", "treats" or "off days" were defended as ways of recognizing female challenges in everyday life;

Evolution of the debate about March 8 on Twitter

Period: March 8, 2023

Source: Twitter | Elaborated by: School of Communication, Media and Information at FGV

- The debate about International Women's Day was a highlight on the platform and **mobilized around 810 thousand tweets in 24 hours.** Congratulations and varied comments related to the date were highlights among the users, while the speech given by the congressman Nikolas Ferreira (PL-MG) targeting trans women drove the political discussion and was prominent by the end of the day;

- **The episode involving Nikolas Ferreira became the protagonist of the debate from 3 pm onwards**, with a strong repercussion of the political fields supporting and opposing the Federal Government. Profiles of different political positions, such as @choquei, @eixopolitico, @UOLNoticias, @SigaGazetaBR and @o_antagonista, mentioned the speech and its ramifications, with a highlight for the video of the moment recorded by the TV Câmara and the impeachment requests, particularly the one by the congresswoman Tabata Amaral (PSB-SP);

- **The speech by the congressman was strongly criticized in the progressive field**, and there was endorsement of the discourse accusing Ferreira of the crime of transphobia, with direct demands addressing the president of the Chamber of Deputies, Arthur Lira (PP-AL), whose condemnation of the episode also had significant repercussion. The congresswoman Gleisi Hoffman (PT-PR),

the journalist Vera Magalhães and the singer Filipe Ret stood out in the discussion due to the high reach of their criticism of Ferreira. In turn, the impeachment request issued by Tabata Amaral was a highlight both in profiles covering both entertainment (Choquei) and politics (Eixo Político), as well as institutional pages (PSB na Câmara);

● In the conservative field, **Ferreira's speech was endorsed by his supporters and prompted attacks against the fact that transsexual women** were mentioned in homages related to March 8. Criticism of "gender ideology" was circulated by profiles of right-wing representatives, such as Bia Kicis (PL-DF) and Eduardo Bolsonaro (PL-SP), as well as the political influencer Leandro Ruschel. These political actors positioned themselves as **defenders of "truly" female protagonism**, questioning, like the congressman, the legitimacy of people who identify as trans women;

● The political fields were divided beyond the referred episode. Right-wing profiles **paid homage to women identified with values such as strength and determination**, as well as respect to Christian values. In this field, the highlights were figures such as the professor Heley de Abreu Silva Batista and Michelle Bolsonaro, who was mentioned due to her participation in an advertisement for the Partido Liberal (PL). In the progressive field, **the initiatives announced by President Lula in an event celebrating International Women's Day had a moderate level of repercussion**, with a highlight for his position about unequal pay between men and women. However, the group mentioned advances in women's rights, criticized regressions of the Bolsonaro administration in the area, and remembered Dilma Rousseff in a positive light.

Major topics related to March 8 on Twitter

Period: March 8, 2023

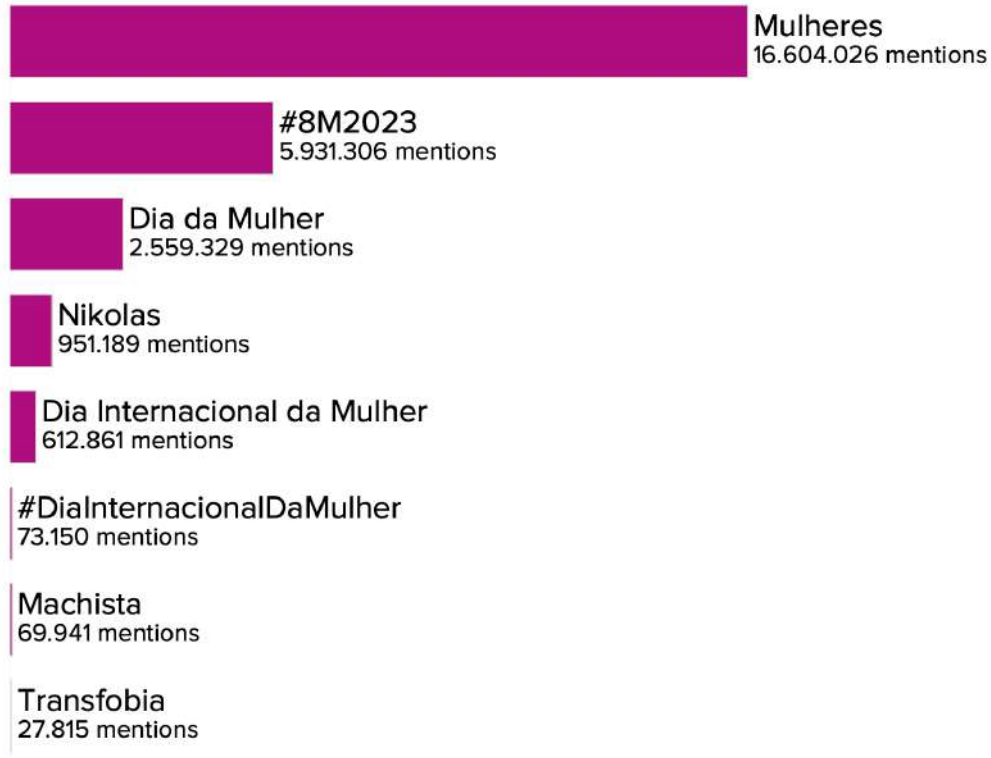Source: Twitter | Elaborated by: School of Communication, Media and Information at FGV

- Comments congratulating women for **International Women's Day** were central in the debate about March 8. Despite the predominance of positive and well-disposed tweets, messages with a political tone were associated with personalities such as the former first lady Michelle Bolsonaro and the Minister Simone Tebet, who also commented on the date. Messages supporting women published by Michelle Bolsonaro and by the PL, her husband's party, had a high level of reach on the platform. Simone Tebet, who was mocked by the outlet O Antagonista, claimed that Lula is "a male president and a female soul", in reference to the measures to gender equality signed by the president in an event celebrating March 8;

- Mobilizing more political debates, national figures such as Gleisi Hoffmann e Lula, as well as communication outlets such as Agência Brasil, used the date to share data and information on the reality of women in Brazil, indicating the **alarming rates of violence** and commenting on the **measures announced by the Federal Government to promote more public policies for Brazilian women.** The First Lady Janja da Silva was also a prominent number in this

context, with mentions to her speech about receiving more threats on the internet than the president receives. These mentions were focused mostly on hashtags such as **#8M**, **#DiaInternacionaldaMulher** (International Women's Day) and **#DiadaMulherTrabalhadora** (Working Women's Day);

- Reverences to female orixás also had high repercussion under those hashtags, in association with demands for greater protagonism of black female figures. In addition, there was a relevant mobilization by large soccer clubs, such as São Paulo e Corinthians, to pay homage to female employees and supporters, indicating an attempt to mitigate the stigma and prejudice associated to women and soccer. The hashtags **#futebolfeminino** (female soccer) and **#futebolnãotemgênero** (soccer has no gender) were widely mobilized within this debate;

- The speech given by the congressman **Nikolas Ferreira** in which he questioned the legitimacy of **trans women** was widely commented on the network, mobilizing both political fields equally. In the progressive field, there was a predominance of messages denouncing **Ferreira**'s speech and endorsing the impeachment requests against the politician, particularly regarding the initiative by the congresswoman Tabata Amaral. The terms sexism, misogyny and transphobia were frequently attributed to the congressman's attitude, while the conservative field sent messages supporting Ferreira and circulated violent hashtags against the trans and transvestite population, such as **#travequismocultural** (cultural cross-dressing) and **#empoderamentomasculino** (male empowerment). In turn, the hashtag **#marçodasmulherestrans** (March of trans women) sought to promote more inclusion and visibility to this population on the date, while the **#transfobiaécrime** (transphobia is a crime) was mobilized as a direct response to Ferreira's speech.

Trending topics related to March 8 on Twitter

Period: March 8, 2023

Mulheres
16.604.026 mentions

#8M2023
5.931.306 mentions

Dia da Mulher
2.559.329 mentions

Nikolas
951.189 mentions

Dia Internacional da Mulher
612.861 mentions

#DiaInternacionalDaMulher
73.150 mentions

Machista
69.941 mentions

Transfobia
27.815 mentions

Source: Twitter | Elaborated by: School of Communication, Media and Information at FGV

- The term "**Women**" was a highlight on the platform throughout the day, entering the **trending topics at 7:20 am and growing until 10:20 pm**, mobilizing more than 705 thousand mentions at that peak. The term was associated with posts that celebrated and made general comments about March 8. In addition to this term, words and hashtags that mentioned International Women's Day also reached the list of most mentioned topics on the platform, especially during the morning and early afternoon;

- From **8:20 pm onwards, the term "Nikolas" began to increase significantly in mentions** as a reaction to the speech given by the congressman Nikolas Ferreira (PL) in reference to International Women's Day. The speech targeting trans women was widely criticized and **prompted the term "transphobia"**, which gained more momentum over the night as political leaders and celebrities repudiated Ferreira's position.

Facebook

Major links about March 8 on Facebook

Period: March 8, 2023

Título	Veículo	Interações	
"Tenho uma vida perfeitamente feliz sem filhos", o desabafo de Ana Paula Padrão sobre a decisão de não ..	Incrível		49.163
Apenas mulheres conduzirão operação do Detran nesta quarta	Band		13.720
Policiais militares distribuem rosas e abraços em comemoração ao Dia Internacional das Mulheres	Gravataí 24 horas		8.334
Garis entregam flores e tocam músicas para mulheres nos ônibus e nas ruas de BH; VÍDEOS	g1		5.234
Primeira mulher trans é eleita vice-diretora da centenária Faculdade de Direito do Recife; 'Podemos estar em qua..	g1		3.361
Havan lança comercial produzido por colaboradoras em homenagem ao Dia da Mulher	Havan		3.228
Deputados pedem cassação e acionam STF após fala transfóbica de Nikolas	UOL		3.088
No Dia da Mulher, Nikolas discursa de peruca na tribuna da Câmara: 'Deputada Nicole'	Jovem Pan News		2.661
Nikolas Ferreira veste peruca na Câmara e diz: "Mulheres estão perdendo espaço para homens que se..	CNN Brasil		2.603
O deputado transfóbico precisa ter o mandato rapidamente cassado	UOL - Coluna de Milly Lacombe		2.015
Sem presidente misógino, cobrir o Planalto mudou para jornalistas mulheres	UOL - Coluna de Carla Araújo		1.957
Oito mulheres que fazem a diferença no dia a dia do Corinthians	Meu Timão		1.827
"Lula é um presidente masculino com alma feminina", diz Simone Tebet	O Antagonista		1.822
Mulheres lotam Planalto e gritam 'Marielle' em evento pró-equidade salarial	Universa UOL		801
Michelle Bolsonaro grava mensagem de Dia da Mulher e ignora caso das joias	UOL		573

Source: Facebook | Elaborated by: School of Communication, Media and Information at FGV

- A discussion about **compulsory motherhood, actions prepared by companies, and topics involving political actors** dominated the links about International Women's Day on Facebook. The prominent political actors included Nikolas Ferreira, Simone Tebet and Lula, as well as Michelle Bolsonaro;

- Congressman **Nikolas Ferreira**'s speech at the Chamber of Deputies, classified as transphobic, was the subject of outlets such as UOL and Jovem Pan News. While Jovem Pan reported what happened descriptively, with no value judgement of the congressman, UOL classified Nikolas' statement as transphobic. In both cases, **emphasis was placed on the request to impeach the politician** by the congresswoman Tabata de Amaral. Milly Lacombe's article on UOL was more opinionated than the others, classifying the congressman as transphobic and endorsing the request for the impeachment of his candidacy;

- Other links also had a strong political tone. The election of a trans vice-director for the Recife College of Law was highlighted in G1, as an illustration of the increasing possibilities for trans women to act in society. In turn, **Simone Tebet's statement about Lula being "a male president with a female soul"** was published on the website O Antagonista, suggesting a probable circulation in networks opposing the president;

- With a smaller reach, **protests in Planalto that remembered Marielle Franco** and developments in the **jewelry case involving Michelle Bolsonaro** were also relevant subjects in the links shared on the social network;

- News about **actions developed by companies** to give visibility to the date also stood out. The exclusivity of women in conducting Detran operations, a homage by street sweepers to women on buses in Belo Horizonte, and an advertisement starring employees of the Havan store had a relevant impact on the network, with allegedly positive content in relation to the date;

- With the link with the greatest reach, the website Incrível.club raised a discussion about **compulsory motherhood** based on the case of journalist Ana Paula Padrão, who chose not to have children. The article criticized the pressure directed at women to have children and start a family.

Messages about March 8 on Telegram

Period: March 8, 2023

Source: Telegram | Elaborated by: School of Communication, Media and Information at FGV

- Until the early afternoon on March 8, there were attempts to **dispute the meaning of International Women's Day**, with the circulation of messages that

explain the supposed "truth" about the date; this point of view claims the date was created only for "Marxist political movements", reverberating "self-sufficiency, sexual libertinism, abortion and hatred of men";

● Trying to disqualify the date and its meaning, there were also **attempts to pay homage to "good women"**, who are allegedly those associated with the parameters attributed to support for Bolsonaro in some way. In this scope, **Michelle Bolsonaro emerged as an "ideal type" of woman, with thoughts on her candidacy for president** in 2026;

● In a secondary way, **there were also debates around the notion of "gender ideology"**, prompting arguments that are already solidified among some political fields. Therefore, a series of agendas defended by the left were questioned, especially in relation to feminism and the LGBTQIA+ struggle.

Messages on Telegram about the speech given by congressman Nikolas Ferreira

Period: March 8 and 9, 2023

Source: Telegram | Elaborated by: School of Communication, Media and Information at FGV

- However, **after the speech by the congressman Nikolas Ferreira** at the Chamber of Deputies, Telegram became the stage for a series of messages and comments about transsexuality;

- Most of the messages in this context had **strong transphobic content and were published and shared by Nikolas himself** on his official Telegram channel. The congressman, similarly to the behavior seen in his speech, questioned the legitimacy of the trans body, insinuating, through mockery and irony, that transsexual women cannot be considered "real" women. **Throughout March 8 and 9, Nikolas also tried to start a mobilization on Twitter using the hashtag #SomosTodasNikole (we're all Nikole);**

- Similar content was observed beyond Nikolas' channel, **based on the circulation of memes and cartoons that use humor to attack trans women**. The arguments prompted biological questions, comparing the terms "woman" and "transsexual" as if they were opposites, antonyms and incongruent. Expressions such as "original women" were also found, disputing the meanings around "being a woman";

- **The episode also prompted attacks against the congresswoman Tábata Amaral** after she asked for Nikolas' impeachment. Similar to the aforementioned messages, irony was used to attack Tábata, called the "Yellow Tablet" in some groups. In a secondary way, more left-wing groups endorsed the narrative calling for Nikolas to be held accountable.

Founded in 1944, Fundação Getulio Vargas was born with the goal of promoting the socio-economic development of Brazil through the education of qualified administrators in the public and private sectors. Over time, FGV has expanded its role into other fields of knowledge, such as Social Science, Law, Economics, History, Applied Mathematics, International Relations and Communication, becoming a model for quality and excellence in its ten schools.

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Created in 2021, the School of Communication, Media and Information (FGV ECMI) is a pioneer in developing the new profile of professionals that will work in the strategic sectors for Communication, Media and Information of public institutions, private companies and third sector organizations. The School combines the tradition of FGV and the extensive experience of FGV DAPP in the application of Technology and Data Science to innovate and propose solutions in the field of Communication. FGV ECMI offers highly qualified professors from Brazil and abroad, an internationally recognized teaching method and an innovative curriculum, cutting-edge laboratories, and networking and professional placement experiences for students.

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About the project **Media and Democracy**

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

Realization:

Funding:

Partners: