

Queering International Relations: A Comparative Latin American Case Study

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by

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Queering International Relations: A Comparative Latin American Case Study

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This topic addresses how queer theory can be used in International Relations. The research seeks to uncover the sexual and gender discourse within the backlash towards Gender and Sexual minorities (GSM) in Brazil to see if Brazil is a paradox of being the most progressive as well as the most unprogressive country for GSM. The research focuses on a comparative case analysis on two social movements in Brazil, LGBTQ+ Social Movement and the evangelical Social Movement, to evaluate sexual and gender discourses. The social movements use its five political advantages of reach, unity, political organizing, framing, and transnationalism to protect the movement's interest and pass policies. Therefore, the following study will use Atlas.ti to collect codes to see how each movement codes for the five political advantages and the codes for perverse *and/or* not perverse to see if GSM are valued within Brazil. The factors show that GSM are receiving a new backlash from the evangelical movement as gender, sexual, religious, and conservative discourse are blaming GSM for the rise of 'gender ideology,' which the evangelical movement believes is causing harm to Christian and family values in Brazil.

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Table of Contents

List of Tables	viii
List of Figures.....	ix
List of Appendices.....	x
Introduction.....	1
Literature Review on IR Queer Theory.....	6
Introducing Queer Theory and Queer IR.....	6
Brief Introduction to Queer IR Methodologies.....	8
Queer IR Scholars.....	10
Criticism of Queer IR.....	15
Literature Review on Gender and Sexual Minorities (GSM) in Latin America.....	18
Literature on GSM in Latin America.....	18
Historical Introduction to the Creation of SOGI and the Perverse GSM	18
Current Policy Diffusion of LGBTQ+ Rights	22
The Current Backlash of GSM	24
Research Design	28
IR and Queer Theory Research Design	28
Research Design for Opposing Social Movements	29
Case Study 1: The LGBTQ+ Movement in Brazil.....	34
Reach: Have reach from well-educated and middle-class individuals.	37
Unity: Have Support from Feminism Social Movements, Other Marginalized Social Movements, University Students, and Faculty as they aligned their goals against discourses that reflect them as perverse.	41
Political Organizing: Uses Courts as the primary institution to pass policy diffusion for GSM rights.	45
Framing: Frames their Movement as a Human Rights Issue that Resonates with Other Marginalized Groups	50
Transnationalism: Have support from transnational LGBTQ+ groups and NGOs	53
GSM as the Perverse <i>and/or</i> Not Perverse	56
Case Study 2: The Evangelical Movement in Brazil.....	59

Reach: Have enormous reach from all levels of class, race, and region.....	62
Unity: Have support from the Catholic Church as they aligned their goals against anti-abortion and anti-LGBT.....	67
Political Organizing: Uses elections and affiliations with parties to move policies that protect their interest.	70
Framing: Frames their movement as keeping the family’s status quo and protecting children by stating how gender ideology is harmful to Brazil’s people	74
Transnationalism: Have support from transnational Evangelical organizations and transnational protestant churches for support	79
GSM as the Perverse <i>and/or</i> Not Perverse	84
Conclusion and Findings	87
Bibliography	91

List of Tables

Table 1. Five Political Advantages	30
Table 2. Name of Organizations for LGBTQ+ Social Movement	34
Table 3. The LGBTQ+ Social Movement’s Five Political Advantages	37
Table 4. Name of Organizations for Evangelical Organizations	59
Table 5. The Evangelical Movement’s Five Political Advantages	62

List of Figures

Figure 1. Mean earnings by age, education, and relationship	39
Figure 2. Those with more education express greater acceptance of homosexuality	41
Figure 3. Visible and Invisible: The Victimization of Women in Brazil 3rd edition – 2021	43
Figure 4: What is the Problem?.....	48
Figure 5: Citizenship Map.....	49
Figure 6. Number of LGBTI+ Deaths in Brazil (1990 to 2020)	52
Figure 7. Factsheets from Free and Equal.....	56
Figure 8. % of current Protestants who say they were raised Catholic.....	64
Figure 9: Protestants More Likely to Share Faith.....	65
Figure 10. % Among Catholics/Protestants who say the most important way Christians can help the poor and needy is.....	67
Figure 11. Exposure to Political Messages in church, by religious affiliation.....	73
Figure 12. Evangelical Representatives elected to Chamber of Deputies (1986-2010).....	74
Figure 13. Number of countries where religious groups were harassed, by year	81
Figure 14. % Who favor legal gay marriage among.....	86

List of Appendices

Appendix: Abbreviations	99
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Introduction

International Relations (IR) is a theoretical field with a fondness for traditional theories that explain power dynamics between states. Nevertheless, traditional IR theories only focus on the international sphere and often leave out the public sphere. Leaving out the public sphere creates policies that negatively impact gender and sexual minorities (GSM) and marginalized communities. In addition, queer theory in IR looks at power relations' impact on gendered and sexualized understandings of IR orders, people, states, and international organizations (Richter-Montpetit & Weber, 2017). Introducing queer theory in IR can help show how power dynamics in IR are created through sexualized and genderized discourse that impacts nation-states, non-governmental actors, leaders, and individuals.

The terminology to be used throughout the paper will first be defined here. While queer theory is an ever-changing field, the term queer theory in IR primarily seeks to examine the power relations by looking at binary and non-binary constructions of identity. For example, using queer theory as a critical lens can help avoid typical IR polarization of either/or binaries such as male/female, straight/gay, transgressive/normative, citizen/foreign, international/domestic, and sovereignty/anarchy. Next, this paper will use the term "gender and sexual minorities (GSM)" to be a more globally appropriate term to identify individuals outside of the heterosexual and gender binary. The term most used in this paper will be "Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer plus (LGBTQ+) community" when explicitly referencing the broader social movement of individuals who identify as GSM individuals. Furthermore, the text would address all individuals with the singular pronouns of their/them/theirs, as one cannot

assume the gender of a person unless they are asked what pronouns they use. Smalley, Warren, and Barefoot (2018) have utilized GSM and “their” rather than the more traditional “his” or “her” to avoid “reifying the gender binary and is thus more affirming of nonbinary individuals” (p. 9-10). Most of the information in this paper was gathered from data sources and literature that use the term LGBT since it is the most common acronym. This standard of terminology is a call for international relations scholars to set an example on inclusivity as scholars can influence policymaking and help destabilize the sexual and gender orders established by nation-states within IR academic works.

One of the research questions posed in this paper is that queer theory can explain the backlash against advancing GSM rights in Latin America. Latin America is acknowledged by Western audience and scholars as a paradox for GSM because Latin America is the most progressive region for advancing LGBTQ+ rights as well as the most unprogressive region for the high amount of discrimination and violence towards GSM communities. Of the 29 countries worldwide, that have made same-sex marriage legal, seven of those countries are in Latin America: Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Mexico, and Uruguay (Human Rights Campaign, 2020). The region has uniquely witnessed the inclusion of Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity (SOGI) landmarks, such as Argentina passing a law on gender identity, Colombia confirming gender assignment on official identification documents, and the Inter-American Human Rights Court ruling on granting a lesbian personal custody to a child (Outright Action International, 2020). Lastly, in 2021, lawmakers in Chile have legalized SSM (same-sex marriage), making Chile the 31st nation to allow SSM and taking a momentous step toward consolidating it as the standard in Latin America (Bonnefoy and Londoño, 2021).

Even so, the violence towards GSM is at an all-time high. Sin Violencia LGBTI (2019) reports that “over the course of the past five years, over 1,300 lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, and intersex (LGBTI) people have been murdered in Latin America and the Caribbean. This is tantamount to an average of about one LGBTI killing per day” (p. 5). This number is much higher as many GSM deaths in Latin America are unreported or the GSM individual’s identity is later erased as a GSM member. In addition, some credit the rise of the backlash due to the advancement of GSM rights in Latin America and conservative parties’ political pressure urging them to restrict GSM rights (Corrales, 2019). Overall, this paradox makes Latin America a plural figuration that blurs between the binary of progressive/unprogressive region for GSM.

This research will use queer theory to describe the plural binary of Brazil specifically as a progressive and unprogressive country for GSM, as the research argues that using queer theory can provide a lens to view the counter group’s positionality, GSM positionality, and the power relations struggles of gender and sexual orders in Brazil. The research will use Brazil’s evangelical and LGBTQ+ movement as a case study on evaluating the backlash because Brazil is known for being progressive as well as unprogressive for advancing LGBTQ+ rights and having the most GSM discrimination. Brazil is known for being a world leader on LGBTQ+ rights and for having many policies pass for LGBTQ+ rights. Despite this, Brazil elected a far-right president, Jair Bolsonaro, who has been in office since January 1, 2019. Bolsonaro frequently stated in interviews and public speeches how vocal they were about being proudly homophobic and transphobic by stating that no GSM rights would pass under their administration.

Consequently, Bolsonaro’s stance on SOGI and affirming Brazil as a country for families and Christians allowed their supporters to be more vocal against GSM. For this reason, using

queer theory can uncover the recent shift of Brazil experiencing the celebration of GSM rights to one that has a president and supporters that are openly against them. Queer IR provides an opportunity to look at the gender and sexual discourses within Brazil to explain why GSM are viewed as perverse *and/or* not perverse. By looking at the discourse, this paper aims to show how power relations can grant GSM rights in Brazil but at the same time continue to allow GSM to be one of the main victims of discrimination. As even before Bolsonaro's term, GSM still faced discrimination while they were gaining rights.

The research pursues the impact of the current GSM backlash from the evangelical movement. The most effective Bolsonaro and veto supporters of LGBTQ+ rights come from the evangelical movement. The backlash has been mostly associated with public opinion and is defined as the idea that policy development's success will be followed by harsh repercussions in mass attitudes and policy (Flores & Barclay, 2015, p. 44). Javier Corrales (2019) updates the definition of backlash by including Falletti and Mahoney's "reactive processes," which are "situations in which major events, such as efforts to change policy, trigger reactions and counterreactions" (p. 2). For Corrales (2019), the implementation of LGBTQ+ rights initiated reactive processes by allowing a counter group to emerge and develop new political resources, strategies, and capacity to fight back (2). Therefore, it is crucial to acknowledge that this "new" backlash on GSM in Brazil is not a recent development of opinions shifting on GSM but stems from a long-term issue that has permitted a counter group to be more vocal and discriminatory.

The structure of the paper will start with a literature review of queer theory and GSM background in Latin America. The first part of the literature review discusses what queer theory is and how queer theory has been utilized in IR. The second part of the literature review

describes the historical background of how GSM came to be “perverse” as well as the recent background of GSM in Latin America. The paper then turns to the research design. Following that section, two case studies of the LGBTQ+ Social Movement and evangelical Movement in Brazil will be reviewed. The research will then use queer theory to critically analyze the LGBTQ+ movement and the evangelical movement to look at the backlash. Looking at the backlash on GSM can help uncover the gender and sexual orders’ power struggle of Brazil being the most progressive and unprogressive state for LGBTQ+ individuals. The LGBTQ+ movement and evangelical movement both have in common how they used the five political advantages of reach, unity, political organizing, framing, and transnationalism. The section finishes with discussing the critical analysis and conclusion of the paper.

Literature Review on IR Queer Theory

Introducing Queer Theory and Queer IR

Queer theory is an anti-normative, mutating, and ever-changing theory and an approach. The term queer as a slur was used against GSM but has recently been reclaimed by the LGBTQ+ community. The meaning of queer has many definitions but an overall encompassing term for queer as defined by Sedgwick (1993) refers to: “the open mesh of possibilities, gaps, overlaps, dissonances and resonances, lapses and excesses of meaning when the constituent elements of anyone’s gender, of anyone’s sexuality, aren’t made (or can’t be made) to signify monolithically” (p. 8). Therefore, the terms queer and queer theory should be left undefined and always in flux, as current power dynamics and norms change over time.

Many scholars might believe that queer theory is only for the LGBTQ+ community, yet queer theory is not only limited to the LGBTQ+ community but it also considers all subjectivities relations to binaries and power elaborated on. Although queer theory cannot be made to signify monolithically as there is not one all-encompassing queer theory, Baker and Scheele (2016) say that it does have five features of what most queer theories could be:

1. Resisting the categorization of people
2. Challenging the idea of essential identities
3. Questioning binaries like gay/straight, male/female
4. Demonstrating how things are contextual based on geography, history, culture, etc.
5. Examining the power relations underlying certain understandings, categories, identities, etc. (p. 31)

By resisting categorization, queer theory addresses how a population of people is a concept created to recognize which people are valued or devalued. Challenging the ideas of essential identities refers to acknowledging that there is no one universal, fixed identity by accepting that

identities can be intersectional. Questioning binaries signifies how binaries are normalized to be one or the other and how the concept of normalization should be interrogated. Demonstrating how things are contextual requires examining how choices and actions all stem from the individual's position. An individual's positionality is an essential aspect of looking for agency in queer theory. Lastly, examining power relations in international relations mainly focuses on hard or soft power. Focusing on the power relations underlying gender and sexual discourse can illustrate how power is sustained to make individual identities valued or devalued within their nation-state.

Queer theory is not trying to change the field of IR studies. In fact, queer theory has been doing much work on the topics that IR covers. Weber and Richter-Montpetit (2017) state that "Queer IR scholarship investigates contemporary mobilizations of international power, specifically with respect to the overlapping categories of state and nation formation, war and peace, and international political economy" (p. 6). To be more precise, Weber and Richter-Montpetit (2017) explains how Queer IR contributions include IR themes of:

Sovereignty, intervention, security and securitization, torture, terrorism and counterinsurgency, militaries and militarism, human rights and LGBT activism, immigration, regional and international integration, global health, transphobia, homophobia, development and International Financial Institutions, financial crises, homocolonialism, settler colonialism and anti-Blackness, homocapitalism, political/cultural formations, norms diffusion, political protest, and time and temporalities (p. 1)

Queer IR is working to include more topics on how theory, binaries, and power relations can impact people within the nation-states and how power relations create identities that are perverse or not. The field is also critically post-positivist and anti-normative, allowing room for

different sexual and gender discourse topics. Therefore, Weber and Richter-Montpetit (2017)

says Queer IR explores:

- Critical genealogical investigations of powerful formations and mobilizations of sexed, gendered, and sexualized binaries (male vs. female; masculine vs. feminine; heterosexual vs. homosexual);
- Critical analyses of how these binaries are normalized (i.e., become commonsense ways of understanding and acting in the world) so that the gendered and sexualized “normal” and “perverse” subjectivities they produce appear to be normal and natural;
- Critical analyses of how (expanding) normativities are defended and confounded by queer subjectivities and/or queer publics, performativities, and logics; and
- Critical analyses of how “queerness” is constituted, appropriated, and erased by hegemonic normativities. (p. 3-4)

Queer IR, therefore, mainly looks at gender and sexualized discourse to see how it impacts people, states, and international organizations. It also seeks to explore how gender and sexualized discourses are maintained, defended, performed, normalized, erased, and appropriated by the hegemonic nation-state and normativities. The final point is that looking at gender and sexual discourse allows Queer IR and IR research to create a space for the inclusion of LGBTQ+ rights. Queer IR extends IR feminism work, which looks specifically at women, children, and men, to include sexuality and individuals who are GSM.

Brief Introduction to Queer IR Methodologies

Queer theory methodology primarily focuses on qualitative research and discourse analysis. Queer theory is often believed to be derived from post-structuralism, post-positivism, and postmodernist approaches such as feminist and postcolonial theories. Browne and Nash (2010) state, “given how queer approaches undermine the once stable sexual (and gendered) subject now conceived as fluid, blurred and contingent, the prevalence of qualitative methods in queer scholarship is perhaps unsurprising” (p. 11). In addition, queer theory scholars also call for

other scholars to queer how they collect data by including more options for GSM to join their research. The lack of quantitative methods could also be the absence of databases that collect GSM information, as most only collect data based on heteronormative standards (Browne & Nash, 2010). The heteronormative standard of collecting data is when a researcher only collects data on cis-men, cis-women, children, and straight couples even though it was supposed to collect data for the large population of a school, village, city, state, etc. The low number of quantitative methods in queer theory creates an opportunity for scholars to make and adapt quantitative methodologies.

Queer IR methodologies can be essential as queer subjectivities, constructions, and identifications are not always included in IR methodological and theoretical frameworks (Richter-Montpetit & Weber, 2017). Richter-Montpetit and Weber (2017) specify:

Ontologically, Queer IR scholars focus on queer ontologies that do not or cannot be made to signify monolithically in relation to genders and sexualities, and they read these ontologies intersectionally. Epistemologically, Queer IR scholars recognize that knowledge and ignorance in and about international relations are intricately bound up with sexualized knowledge and sexualized ignorance (p. 5).

Using an ontological approach in queer theory allows queer IR research to view how multiple binaries of queer thoughts, identities, and discourses cannot be viewed as one or the other but can be observed together. By viewing these ontologies intersectionally can allow for the discussion of IR binaries, such as “public/private, domestic/foreign, discipline/terrorism, secrecy/disclosure, natural/artificial, wholeness/decadence, and knowledge/ignorance” (Richter-Montpetit & Weber, 2017, p. 5), to be viewed at the same time and open possibilities of research outside of the binaries to include what is left out. Using an epistemological approach, queer IR scholars can understand how IR orders of knowledge and ignorance are ultimately connected with how power

relations are related to knowledge and ignorance of gendered and sexualized understandings of people, states, and international organizations.

IR scholars, most of the time, only focus on one part of the binary for simplicity. However, the simplicity of having binaries may, at times, exclude the other binary. An example of this is when IR theories use the binary of “international/domestic;” IR theory, at times, describes how international relations should only focus on the international sphere. By only focusing on a singular lens (the international), it excludes the other part of the binary (the domestic) from conversations in IR. This exclusion of the domestic in IR conversations can often create harmful policies that can affect the people living within those states. Therefore, queer theory encourages IR scholars to use a queer lens to evaluate who is often left out in binaries. In addition, queer theory also observes how power relations relate to gendered and sexualized understandings of IR orders, people, states, and international organizations. The rest of the section will discuss IR scholars’ contributions and methodologies to the field of queer IR.

Queer IR Scholars

Foucault and Butler introduced the concept of how gender and sexuality discourse sustains power relations. Foucault (1978) looks at the discourse of sexuality invented under the power to surveil those who are perverse or not. As a result of this constant surveillance through power, using sex as an object of knowledge formulates how people view other people, which leads to establishing power relations that created the idea of “populations” to identify sexual identities that are perverse or not. Alternatively, Butler (1999) introduces the concept of gender performativity: gender is a social construct. They reform how scholars viewed gender from a discourse of “being” or “biological set” to “a way of doing” (Butler, 1999, p 32). In brief, they

establish “there is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender; that identity is performatively constituted by the very ‘expressions’ that are said to be its results” (Butler, 1999, p. 32). Performativity, then, is a repetition of discourses of what it means to be a “man” or “woman;” this repeated cycle of discourse creates a sense that this gender is “real” and continues to sustain the current heteronormative standard and power relations.

Laura J. Shepherd and Laura Sjoberg (2012) also argue for a queer lens when studying IR’s security studies subfield. Security studies follow very heteronormative standards, even when using a feminist lens, as they only focus on the two binaries. Shepherd and Sjoberg (2012) discuss how security studies and IR are influenced by cisprivilege, which means “the privilege enjoyed by people who identify wholly with, feel comfortable in, are seen to belong to, or ‘are’ the gender/sex they are assigned at birth *and/or* raised to believe that they ‘are’” (p. 6). Cisprivilege then creates gender privilege within academic fields on which bodies are studied and how gender and sexual discourse structures are maintained. Therefore, for Shepherd and Sjoberg (2012), incorporating cisprivilege theory can be done in two ways of researching security studies:

1. We return to the claim that [d]iscrete genders are part of what “humanizes” individuals within contemporary culture; indeed, we regularly punish those who fail to do their gender’ right.’
2. Related to the above, we suggest that trans-/queer bodies are also rendered invisible, and cisprivilege reproduced, through the implicit or explicit historical treatment of those bodies as incidental, or, in the alternative, as trickery. (p. 11-12)

The first way relates to how security studies label gender only between female/male identification to help make sense of the world. By acknowledging this framework, it shows how scholars are discomforted with queer bodies due to these bodies challenging the binary of

man/female and heterosexual/homosexual. The second way shows how scholars often ignore queer bodies because of western discourse and are often left out of war stories and high politics. If they are included, their identities are erased by claiming them as fake. For example, when war stories often say a woman “who pretended to be a man” instead of identifying the individual as “genderqueer.”

In addition, Shepherd and Sjoberg (2012) coined the term: “genderinsecurity emphasizes the multiple dynamics of gendering security, understanding gender in security, and interrogating gender insecurity” (p. 10) to include genderqueer and trans bodies. An example is when Shepherd and Sjoberg (2012) discuss how trans and genderqueer bodies are now hypervisible as “a form of discursive violence and, further, that such strategies are produced by and productive of cisprivilege, which functions to position trans bodies as different, deviant and dangerous and simultaneously as vulnerable and in need of protection” (p. 12-13). This hypervisibility can be seen in recent news, such as when transgender bodies in immigration camps are placed at solitary cells in fear of their safety for not matching the gender binary. Another example is how the TSA facilitates using WBI scanners that produce a detailed image of the passenger’s body, including breasts, genitalia, buttocks, prosthetics, binding materials, and any objects on the person’s body (Shepherd & Sjoberg, 2012). Therefore, trans bodies are made hypervisible in the WBI scanners because it shows when a body does not match the standard body of a man or woman. Consequently, trans bodies can then be labeled as the “other” because the United Nations Special Rapporteur stated that when a man dresses as a woman, they could more likely be a male bomber. In sum, not including a queer lens and cisprivilege theory in gender securities studies can be seen to put the lives of transgender and genderqueer individuals in danger.

Multiple Queer IR scholars use Foucault and Butler's analysis of power relations underlying gender and sexuality to indicate how these discourses uncover IR orders, nation-states, and individuals. For example, Lauren Wilcox (2017) notices how the practice turn in IR is missing the inclusion of gender and queer practices. Wilcox adds a queer IR perspective by using Butler's "theory of performativity" (1999) and Judith Halberstam's work on "queer failure" (2011). For Butler, gender performativity looks at bodies that are successful at following the repetitive practices of gender discourse. The repetition makes these bodies be read as intelligible and are granted membership within their nation-state. However, for Halberstam, queer failure looks at bodies that are not able to repeat practices of gender successfully. The term queer failure then is "a figuration rather than a literal strategy; queer failure exposes the limits of certain forms of knowing and certain ways of inhabiting structures of knowledge" (Wilcox, 2017, p. 794). These queer failures are then recognized as "unintelligibility" claims Wilcox (2017), which can destabilize gender discourse:

Failing to be recognized by prevailing power structures can be a source of political autonomy. Failure to be recognizable or classifiable can be a source of resisting the discipline and hegemonic discourses, as any number of anti-capitalist and subaltern movements can attest to (p. 795)

For Wilcox, including queer failure in the practice turn of IR can help include transgender and non-binary individuals into the discussion and help shed light on the entrenched exclusion within IR literature.

Lastly, Weber (2016) created a methodology called "Queer Logics of Statecraft," which offers a lens to view sexualized orders of IR and figurations of the homosexual as either singular or pluralized. They created the methodology by combining Foucault's repressive hypothesis

(1978), Donna Haraway's definition of figuration (1997), Judith Butler's theory of performativity (1999), and Richard Ashley's notions of 'statecraft as mancraft' (1989) to explain how individuals and queer subjectivities are branded as perverse or not in sexualized orders. For Weber (2016), queer subjectivities matter as those subjectivities "do not signify as either one sex, gender, *and/or* sexuality or another; they are subjectivities that signify as (also) more than one sex, gender, *and/or* sexuality, often at the same time" (p. 3). When talking about traditional IR, it ignores queer subjectivities as it mainly focuses on one logo: the logic of Statecraft to mancraft. Statecraft to mancraft looks at how the singular logo of sovereign man of sovereign statecraft holds power to produce knowledge on how certain sex and gender discourses are either perverse or not perverse.

However, Weber (2016) then calls for a queer logic of Statecraft expanding the logo to a plural logi, combined with Roland Barthes's (1976) rule of the *and/or* to assert that these sexualized orders do not have to signify monolithically. Therefore, the *and/or* rule makes it possible for figurations and logic to be plural to describe how orders, sovereignty, anarchy, and individuals in IR can be viewed as multiplying and complicating connections, figures, and orders rather than reducing and simplifying. Weber's (2016) method of queer logic of Statecraft describes it thus:

... moments in domestic and international politics when the logos/logi as a subjectivity or the logos/logoi as a logic is plurally normal *and/or* perverse in ways that confound the norm, normativity [antinormativity] of individually or collectively singularly inscribed notions of sovereign man, sovereign states, or sexualized orders of international relations. (p. 44)

To summarize, queer logic of Statecraft can uncover more research by showing how IR figurations can be viewed as plural *and/or* singular and how sexualized sovereign subjectivities are used to preserve the international and domestic games of power.

Criticism of Queer IR

Queer theory in IR has been labeled as not inclusive to minorities. For one, Manuela Lavinas Picq and Markus Thiel (2015) contend that applying queer theory to international relations “may be limited in the ways it can travel to different geographic, cultural, and social localities” (p. 9). For them, queer theory is too anti-normative and does not mesh well into human rights that require establishing normative boundaries. They claim that the lack of fighting for LGBTQ+ rights is the downfall of queer IR since the focus is on creating intellectual work. Hence, Picq and Thiel (2015) argue for IR to adopt LGBTQ perspectives and sexual politics as it has “been propelling rights claims grounded to local experiences and meanings while also translating international norms to respond to local claims” (p. 4). However, when creating human rights for the LGBTQ+ community through normative boundaries, it will continue to sustain the current hegemonic heteronormative order. As stated by Richter-Montpetit (2018):

Queer IR perspectives can instead inquire into how (queer) subject-making is a political process. Queer inquiry thus proceeds on the basis of questioning the political formations and normalizing power of sexuality and gender, rather than assuming a stable, rights-seeking, liberal political subject. Queer inquiry seeks to trouble and destabilize – queer – ‘regimes of the normal’ (‘normal’ versus ‘perverse’) and show their contingent and thus political character. LGBTQ perspectives also tend to ignore individuals who identify as non-binary and indigenous GSM that do not identify as queer. (p. 224)

Ultimately, they argue that queer theory seeks to destabilize the power relations of the hegemonic heteronormative order that grants which individuals are granted citizenship within their nation-states. Destabilizing the order, in turn, will create space for queer futurity where any

individuals would not be restricted to the binaries of straight/homosexual, cisgender/transgender, and monogamous/non-monogamous.

Other disagreements of queer theory are that the field is biased with a Western perspective and ignores those who identify as BIPOC (Black, Indigenous, People of Color) and who experience class struggles or issues of intersectionality. Queer theory can be branded “whitewash,” as the most cited authors in queer theory are white scholars. But even so, Richter-Montpetit (2018) argues for the inclusion of queer of color critique, trans studies, and critical disability studies (crip theory) in Queer IR to be less Euro-centric and more inclusive of identities not highlighted in the LGBTQ+ community (p. 231). They also claim how the postmodernist fields has explored many of the themes and concepts considered valuable to IR. Some of the topics covered in queer postmodernist fields are homonationalism (Puar, 2013), pinkwashing (Ritchie, 2014), settler colonialism (Morgensen, 2011), black perspectives (Johnson, 2001), disidentification (Muñoz, 1999), queer futurity (Muñoz, 2009), migration and diasporas (Gopinath, 2005), neoliberalism impact on biopolitics and health (Puar, 2017 & Rodriguez, 2003) and the prison industrial complex system (Stanley & Smith, 2015).

Finally, queer theory has been labeled as “elitist” and inaccessible due to wordplay and jargon usage. Even though, for Meghana Nayak (2014), this should not be a problem for queer IR as subsequently, those “students who show resistance want to see IR as a field with terminology, jargon, and ‘skills’ to master so that they can ‘do something’ in the real world to protect people from persecution and harm” (p. 617). That being the case, if international relations students and scholars can learn the terminology for IR, then learning queer terminology should be second nature. Correspondingly Nayak (2014) suggested the confrontation to queer IR has

more to do with “the presumption that IR as a discipline holds the key to understanding the world (singular), ‘out there’” (p.617). The theoretical framework of queer IR extinguishes the idea that the world could only be comprehended by a singular presumption of binaries of anarchy/sovereignty, international/domestic, and transgressive/normative.

Literature Review on Gender and Sexual Minorities (GSM) in Latin America

Literature on GSM in Latin America

Much of the literature on LGBTQ+ Social Movements and GSM in Latin America reflects the lives of cisgender gay men. Most literature on GSM in Latin America claims the history was influenced by Western movements and the Stonewall riots. In contrast, Babb (2019) stated how these tropes of gay movements everywhere being similarly inspired by landmark events like the Stonewall uprising in New York City in 1969 are misguided (p. 315). The literature on GSM also needs to move away from how transnational LGBTQ+ social movements influence impacted the Latin American GSM movement as there is already enough research in this area. The attention should be moved to how the domestic LGBTQ+ social movement had made its own efforts to advance GSM right in Latin America. Another focus on GSM literature covers the passage of SSM and how the legalization impacts heteronormative structures in Latin America. The rest of the literature on GSM in Latin America focus on the discrimination of GSM members, the passage of rights for the LGBTQ+ community, the postcolonial work on indigenous GSM, and the lives of transsexuals, transvestites, transgender, and crossdressers. This section will review the introduction of sexual orientation and gender identity (SOGI), the policy diffusion of LGBTQ+ rights, and the reason for the backlash on GSM in Latin America.

Historical Introduction to the Creation of SOGI and the Perverse GSM

To understand the significance of how SOGI formulates power relations in Latin America, one needs to understand colonial history and how white settlers established the discourse of GSM. Before the introduction of colonization, indigenous societies were never

heteronormative. There were 100 languages to differentiate SOGI terms before the concept of LGBTQ+; for example, in terms of gender identity, Picq states how (2019):

The *muxes* in Juchitán are neither men nor women but a Zapotec gender hybridity. Across the Pacific in Hawaii, the *māhū* embrace both the feminine and masculine. Aymara activist Julieta Paredes claims Indigenous languages in Bolivia comprise up to nine different gender categories (p. 4-5).

These terms are referring to how various Indigenous people had terminology for those who identify outside of the gender binary of men and women. Picq (2019) also illustrates how Indigenous societies had several languages to reference sexual orientation or the action of having queer sex, for example:

In Tikuna, *Kaigüwecü* is the word that describes a man who has sex with another man, and *Ngüe Tügümaêgüé* describes a woman who has sex with another woman. In Tupinambá, *tibira* is a man who has sex with men, and *çacoaimbeguira* is a woman who has sex with women. Other languages have words for queer practices: *cudinhos* in Guaicurus, *guaxu* in Mbya, *cunin* in Krahò, *kudina* in Kadiwéu, *hawakyni* in Javaé. (p. 5-6)

For Picq (2019), translating Indigenous SOGI to a western discourse of LGBTQ+ does not work as Indigenous GSM invoked Native epistemologies and worldviews beyond sexuality ... it would be an anachronism to translate pre-conquest realities into contemporary frames (p. 7). Indigenous SOGI should not be compared to LGBTQ+ discourse as it invokes complex social fabrics that are untranslatable in the limited framework of Western discourse of LGBTQ+. Consequently, when the Europeans arrived in the New World, they did not understand the different SOGI and used GSM to justify the conquest as they were considered barbarians in need of saving.

After all, it was the new world colonizers who introduced the concept of GSM as being perverse. The colonization period brought the notion of *pecado nefando* (the heinous sins) and

sodomia (sodomy) to establish the regulation of sexuality through church policies. The regulation of sexuality criminalized and influenced state policy on same-sex activities and made same-sex activities punishable by death. Picq (2019) claims the theologian Peter Damian coined the term sodomy, as it refers to the explicit sin of denying God in the Old Testament (p. 8). Diez (2016) states that as early in the 13th Century, Saint Thomas Aquinas introduced natural laws in their *Summa Theologiae* on how marriage and procreation are central human goods and argued that in order for a sexual act to be moral it has to be of a generative kind and performed within the bounds of a married life (p. 29). The Natural Law ideas created the concept that a patriarchal heterosexual family is the only unit of a social organization deemed acceptable for the nation-state. For Diez (2016, p. 31), *Aquinass Summa* was one of the tools used to justify European invasions in the New World, as sodomy made same-sex activities perverse. Picq (2019) specify how sodomy provided the foundations for the invasion of the new world in terms of defining land grabbing and labeling indigenous populations as perverse and incompetent occupants in need of benevolence (p. 8).

Diez and Picq would suggest the reason for conquest is because of how the colonizers viewed the indigenous community as perverse due to their SOGI through sodomy. However, according to Daniel Brunstetter and Dana Zartner, Sepúlveda (2011) believed that the justification for the conquest was because the civilized have the right to abolish the barbarians' customs because they are intolerable to humanity; it is just to go to war to eradicate those customs that distance the [barbarians] from humane and civilized morality, life and culture, and contaminate them with such [nefarious] crimes (737). Brunstetter and Zartner (2011) described

Sepúlveda's justification for the conquest and imposing war on the indigenous community based on the call of Natural Law:

right reason and inclination to duty and to accept the obligations of virtue. The scope of following the natural law is discerning the good and just from the bad and unjust; and not only the Christian, but all those who have not corrupted the right reason with depraved conduct. The natural law leads men to conserve human society founded in charity and goodwill. Those who do not follow the natural law do not recognize the fundamental principles that govern human society, and are inclined to evil (p. 736)

Therefore, Natural Law labeled the indigenous population as barbarians who committed crimes against God by performing human sacrifice and therefore, they needed to be abolished.

Abolishing the barbarians permitted the colonizers to go to war against the indigenous population. Furthermore, Sepúlveda believed that going to war would save the innocent by bringing humanity and Christianity to the innocent and allow a new regime to take over that upholds Natural Law. It was in this way that Spain's conquest brought Christianity to the Americas through conversion tactics or violence, which changed the indigenous structure of family and sexuality practices.

By the end of the 19th century, scholarship described a medical model of homosexuality to characterizes homosexuality as a condition rather than a sinful behavior. Consequently, the introduction of the medical model of homosexuality was brought by Western works to label GSM as perverse through medical diagnosis. For example, Diez (2016) states how scholarship in Latin America on homosexuality for this period shows a similar process of medicalization to that which occurred in North America and Europe as medical and positivist explanations for homosexuality emerged and began to consider it a disease, a physiological defect, and a social threat. (p 35). Foucault acknowledged how this era brought the creation of homosexuality and

who noticed how this power relation of sexual discourses had labeled homosexuality as perverse throughout the world. To conclude, Diez (2016) proposes that the Western influence of homosexuals' medicalization contributed to nation-building in Latin America, creating a society that functions with heteronormative norms as a primary way to regulate gender relations and sexuality.

Current Policy Diffusion of LGBTQ+ Rights

Omar Encarnación (2016) specifies how Latin America, famous around the world as a bastion of Catholicism and machismo, has in recent years emerged as the gay rights leader of the Global South as international media stories proclaiming the region “out of the closet,” “surprisingly progressive on gay rights,” “gay heaven,” and “gay rights revolution that stretches from the Rio Grande to the Tierra del Fuego” (p. 1). Progressive acknowledgment is due to a surplus amount of passage of policy diffusion for LGBTQ+ rights. Encarnación (2016) says there are two reasons for the passage of policy for LGBTQ+ rights:

- Latin American concerns for policy developments from abroad have directly shaped gay rights legislation across Latin America.
- The increasing tendency of Latin American courts to engage in transnational jurisprudence, the use of legal precedents from other countries courts or international courts in their own deliberations, thereby facilitating the spread of ideas to gay rights. (p. 36-38)

For the first reason, the Fox administration in Mexico (2000-2006) states that LGBTQ+ discrimination could not be ignored thanks to the lengthy discussions of being influenced by the international public sphere and NGOs. Another example was when the Spanish administration under Zapatero (2004-2011) had spent some US \$2 million promoting LGBT rights in Latin

America, including \$150,000 in Argentina alone around the time SSM bill was being debated (Encarnación, 2016 p. 37).

Encarnación's second reason (2016) suggests how Latin American LGBTQ+ rights experience cannot fully be credited as a transnational experience as international influence misrepresents and even distorts the history of homosexuality in Latin America by obscuring national developments and local histories (p. 39). For the second reason, Diez (2016) agrees and gives three variables for the expansion of gay marriage in Latin America:

1. The ability and willingness of activist to form coalition and networks with a variety of state and non-state actors
2. The type of access to the policymaking process that is conditioned by a country's institutional features
3. The framing of demands in a manner that resonated with larger social debates (p.6)

These three variables showcase how the LGBTQ+ community successfully mobilized activists and allies for policy change to expand citizenship rights by achieving frame alignment.

Successful implementation of same sex marriage (SSM) in Latin America has been framed as a problem of equality and human rights concerns that have resonated with larger social movements, which have seen human rights as central elements of democratic citizenship (Diez, 2016). By framing SSM as a human rights issue, the LGBTQ+ community could unite with other social movements that also faced human rights issues and violence under their government. Diez (2016) points out how Mexican and Argentine LGBTQ+ groups have pragmatically joined forces with feminist social movements, students, and faculty from universities to fight for their cause but also for new politics of accountability (p .85). Lastly, Diez also notice how modernization had created GSM support, as those who are more educated and those who live in urban areas are more accepting of the LGBTQ+ community.

Bruce Wilson and Camila Gianella-Malca (2019) believe the advancement of LGBTQ+ policies related to the second variable for both Diez and Encarnación, as judicial reforms in many Latin American countries, starting in the 1980s, opened up new legal opportunity structures (LOS) that facilitated successful litigation to protect many of the rights in anti-LGBT discrimination (p.139). For example, Corrales stated how in the year 2018:

The courts continue to be the strongest advocates of LGBT rights in Latin America and the Caribbean. The Supreme Court in Costa Rica and two-family court judges in Ecuador declared unconstitutional their respective countries ban on same-sex marriage. In Trinidad and Tobago (following the example of Belize in 2016), a judge declared unconstitutional the ban on sodomy. In Bermuda, a court ruled in November that a law rescinding marriage rights for same-sex couples was unconstitutional (the government can still appeal). In Colombia, courts for the first time declared the murder of a transgender woman as a gender-based hate crime, recognizing the victim as a woman. In Guatemala, the Supreme Court mandated the creation of prison cells exclusively for LGBT inmates, to protect them from harassment while incarcerated. And it's not just national courts. International courts have also become strong LGBT advocates in the Americas. In January, the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, based in Costa Rica, issued a historic ruling calling Latin American and Caribbean countries to legalize same-sex marriage. In August, the Court also agreed, for the first time ever, to hear a hate crime case (2018)

About the passage of LGBTQ+ policies, Wilson and Gianella-Malca (2019) state that the relative ease with which these early rights were litigated appears to have arrested the development of well-organized support networks or the building of social movements to promote and successfully litigate more profound LGBT rights, such as SSM (p.142). Therefore, when observing policy diffusion, one needs to consider the LGBTQ+ social movement gathering allies to help pressure courts on the passage of GSM rights.

The Current Backlash of GSM

Many scholars (Diez, 2016, Encarnación, 2016, Muelle, 2019, and Picq 2019) view colonization as one of the reasons for the backlash of GSM in Latin American. Queer and

Postcolonial scholars discussed how nation-states are influenced by the heteronormative standards set in place by colonization and Western influence. Camila Muelle (2019) suggests how forced heterosexuality and prescriptive cisgenderism are the two main institutions of the modern hegemonic colonial sex system, which organizes the existence of people based on the ontologized establishment of a discursively defined coherence between sex, gender, and desire. In Latin America, gender roles are rigid and regulate how a person should act in their community and household. A woman's purpose is to make children, take care of the children, and tend to all household chores, whereas a man's sole purpose is to be the breadwinner of the house. Therefore, the nuclear family is the central unit of Latin America and where sex is only allowed between a married man and a married woman for reproduction. Muelle (2019) states how the structure was created for prescriptive cisgenderism:

The political institution established as a means – and as part of the ends – of the colonial modern project was to ensure the continuation of sexual dimorphism established during the 17th century in Europe and of the gender binary, in order to guarantee not only the regime of heterosexuality but also the sexual, racial, and international division of labor (p.60).

The established heteronormative model is also in place to erase pre-colonial, non-binary, non-heterosexual sex-gender systems and devalue indigenous GSM. Muelle (2019) recommends how the heteronormative standards are still upheld and set in the political economy to keep women's oppression, GSM, and other devalued identities by hyper sexualizing them through racist, ableist, or ageist discourses.

Today, the Catholic and evangelical institutions further support the heteronormative model of the family as the main unit in Latin America. The recent expansion of Protestantism has continued to reinforced practices established by postcolonial discourses to maintain the status

quo of heteronormative order. For Javier Corrales (2019), the new backlash countergroup and new veto player on the passage of GSM rights is the evangelical movement (p. 2). The number of the evangelical population is growing rapidly as the population expanded from 12.6million in 1970 to 118.6 million in 1990 and to 156.9 in 2005 (Encarnación, 2016, p. 55). In Brazil, the number of evangelists rose more dramatically, from 9 percent in 1990 to 20 percent in 2009 (Encarnación, 2016, p. 55). Corrales (2019) notices that since 2015, evangelical and conservative homo- and transphobic groups in Brazil, Chile, Colombia, the Dominican Republic, Mexico, and Peru have organized massive marches:

In Brazil, they helped elect Jair Bolsonaro, perhaps the most openly homophobic politician in Latin America since the 1990s. They have also organized a legislative block of possibly 94 members cutting across a variety of political parties. This bloc has essentially blocked most LGBT-oriented legislative actions and played a role in impeaching the progressive presidency of Dilma Rousseff. In Peru 60,000 plus people marched against gay marriage. In Colombia, conservative forces achieved two important initiatives in 2016: defeating an effort by the Ministry of Education to distribute pamphlets in schools discussing issues of bullying and tolerance for sexual diversity and mobilizing successfully to vote no on a referendum on whether to accept the peace accord between the government and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, the largest guerrilla group in the country. In Costa Rica, they helped propel an until-then-obscure, unknown political newcomer, evangelical singer Fabricio Alvarado Muñoz, to second place in the country's presidential election in 2018. (p. 11-12)

The backlash against GSM has been very vocal within the past few years in correlation with the number of conservative and evangelical forces growing in Latin America and the evangelical churches have successfully been able to gain political advantages against the movement for the advancement of GSM rights. Corrales (2019) suggests that the advancement of the evangelical movement is credited to the political advantages five factors:

1. Reach: The more sectors a movement mobilizes, the greater its impact. Evangelical churches, more so than most NGOs in the region, are cross-sectional: they have

enormous reach across different layers of society. They are present and active across class, race, and region

2. Unity: Social movement influence increases the more unity exists among the movement's constituents. The issue of LGBT rights, together with abortion and reproductive rights, is uniting an otherwise fragmented religious scene.

3. Political organizing/links with parties: Social movement influence also increases if movements develop an electoral strategy to support their candidates and views.

4. Framing: Movements that manage to frame their cause in a way that resonates (i.e., that attracts support from groups outside their constituency) are more likely to be influential.

5. Transnationalism: Another factor enhancing local influence of social movements is to count on the support of transnational actors/activists (p. 13-16)

For the first factor Reach, the churches have a wide reach of loyal members as they can integrate into impoverished and rural neighborhoods, demand frequent meetings, and have low pluralism during service. The second factor Unity discusses how the Catholic and evangelical churches had joined forces to advance their own agenda as both sides are willing to push each other agendas on anti-abortion and anti-LGBTQ+ rights. The third factor Political Organizing addresses how the evangelical movement was able to gain ties with national right parties to become influential. The fourth factor Framing looks at the framing of the opposition of ideology of gender, which is a term designed to label any effort to promote acceptance of sexual and gender fluidity, which, by extension, includes all LGBTQ+ issues (Corrales, 2019, p. 15). The ideology of gender stance changes LGBTQ+ rights framing to a stance on child protection and keeping family autonomy in Latin America. Lastly, the fifth factor Transnationalism notices how both the Catholic and evangelical churches are transnational actors who can provide more massive support to local churches in Latin America. The five factors subsequently make evangelical groups a powerful force against GSM in Latin America.

Research Design

IR and Queer Theory Research Design

IR research design and methodologies have a specific format as IR research is often observed and discussed using independent variables, dependent variables, and hypotheses (Roselle & Spray, 2012). Frequently, IR research typically follows an outline on how the paper should be written, including an introduction, a literature review, research design (methodology), a case presentation with an analysis and discussion of findings, and a conclusion. In particular, Roselle and Spray (2012) state that the research design “describes the project format, including your choice of cases, the description and operationalization of the dependent and independent variables, and your choice of sources and analytical methods (2012, p. 47)”.

In contrast, queer theory will challenge this standard of how IR research and methodologies should be designed. Some scholars will state that there are no queer methods since ‘queer’ lives can be addressed through multiple methods, and all methods can be put to the task of questioning normativities (Browne & Smith, 2010). Furthermore, Browne and Smith (2010) state that “where queer is taken to destabilize particular understandings of the nature of the human subject and subjectivities, power relations, the nature of knowledge and the manner of its production, a ‘queering’ of methods themselves might pose particular difficulties as well as possibilities for traditional data collection methods” (p. 12). After all, queer theory is an anti-normative field, permitting scholars to step outside of traditional methods and move away from positivist language. Therefore, queer research can recommend and produce a new understanding that simultaneously creates and destabilizes conventional IR research.

Research Design for Opposing Social Movements

The research design will examine the gender and sexual discourses of perverse as well as not perverse identities and orders that are heavily entwined into the Latin American conception of nationality, culture, and politics. The societal roles of how individuals contribute and act in society are firmly based on gender and sexual discourses. Therefore, using queer theory by observing gender and sexual discourse can help unpack the power relations sustaining these orders by marking individuals as valued or unvalued members of the nation-state. Unpacking the power relations that harm GSM would help researchers understand why they are devalued *and/or* valued within their nation-state and explain the new type of backlash in Brazil. In addition, the research argues that using queer theory can provide a lens to view the counter group's positionality, GSM positionality, binary of perverse *and/or* not perverse identities, and the power relations struggles of gender and sexual orders.

The first research question asks if queer theory can be used in IR to explain the backlash on GSM individuals in Brazil. The second research question wants to understand the power relations in Latin America's gender and sexual discourses which marks GSM as the perverse identity to some groups in Brazil. For this reason, Brazil's LGBTQ+ and evangelical social movements were selected to be the two case studies. Therefore, two social movements were selected because western scholars had labeled Brazil as a paradox of being the most progressive as well as the most unprogressive region for GSM. Furthermore, both social movements were selected to help uncover why GSM is labeled as perverse *and/or* not perverse, examine why Brazil was called a paradox, and investigate the power relations struggles of gender and sexual orders within the social movements and Brazil. Additionally, the evangelical group was chosen

because the rise of LGBTQ+ policies gave fuel to the evangelical group to become veto-supporters on LGBTQ+ rights policies (Corrales, 2019). The research will not use variables as the main structure of evaluating the two social movements.

Instead, the research will focus on Corrales's (2019) methodology explaining how the evangelical churches became the new veto actors against GSM in Latin America because of the political advantages five factors. The advancement to political advantages was due to the five factors of reach, unity, political organizing, framing, and transnationalism. Similarly, the five factors could be applied to the advancement of the LGBTQ+ movements on GSM policy diffusion in Brazil. Hence, using a qualitative analysis of the five factors for the LGBTQ+ Social Movement and the evangelical Movement in Brazil can help break down Brazil's plural figuration as the most progressive as well as the most unprogressive country for GSM. In addition, looking at these five factors can help illustrate how both movements achieved their political agenda concerning sexual and gender discourse and why GSM was labeled as the perverse identity in Brazil. Table 1 serves as a research structure for the research design and the information in table 1 came from the Latin America Literature Review.

Table 1. Five Political Advantages

	LGBTQ+ Social Movement	Evangelical Movement
Reach	Have reach from well-educated and middle-class individuals.	Have enormous reach from all levels of class, race, and region.
Unity	Have support from Feminism social movements, other marginalized social movements, university students, and faculty as they aligned their goals against	Have support from the Catholic Church as they aligned their goals against anti-abortion and anti-LGBT.

	discourses that reflect them as perverse.	
Political Organizing	Uses Courts as the primary institution to pass policy diffusion for GSM rights.	Uses elections and affiliations with parties to move policies that protect their interest.
Framing	Frames their movement as a human rights issue that resonates with other marginalized groups.	Frames their movement as keeping the family's status quo and protecting children by stating how gender ideology is harmful to Brazil's people.
Transnationalism	Have support from transnational LGBTQ+ groups and NGOs.	Have support from evangelical organizations and transnational protestant churches for support.

The five political advantages will be used simultaneously with queer IR methods to describe the gender and sexual discourse regarding Brazil's social movements and power relations. The research will use Weber's method called Queer Logics of Statecraft (2016) to allow both movements and Brazil's figurations to be viewed as a plural figuration of *and/or* and examine each movement's gender and sexual discourses. Queer Logic of Statecraft also encourages researchers to move away from viewing at figurations and discourses as a singular norm and normativity [antinormativity] (Weber, 2016). The method instead wants researchers to look at new structures of thinking and new orders that are instituted upon a disorienting *and/or* reorientating plural to view the hegemonic relations of power and those who wish to sustain them (Weber, 2016). In addition, Queer Logic of Statecraft can help us learn if the plural will be politicizing or depoliticizing by identifying "the precise plural each particular queer logic of statecraft employs to figure some particular 'sovereign man,' 'sovereign state,' and international

order, always asking, ‘For what constituency or constituencies does the plural operate?’” (Weber, 2016, p.44). The critical analysis will look at who benefits from the plural of Brazil being a paradox for being the most progressive and unprogressive state for GSM. Lastly, using discourse analysis as a method, approach, or lens to understand power relations of gender and sexual orders in a nation-state is a substantial part of queer theory (Weber, 2016, Butler, 1999, and Foucault, 1978).

The sources will come from data that was inputted into Atlas.ti by collecting codes from each movement’s factor. Data was gathered from various organizations’ websites which support each political factor for each movement. Furthermore, the time range of the sources selected was from 2013 to 2019. Although, a few sources came from the website's “about me” page and were undated. Dates were chosen because SSM was legalized in 2013 and the research wanted to study if there was a backlash to the legalization. Every organizational website has pages, blogs, news, or information corresponding to insights about the other and their own standing in Brazil. The reason websites were selected was because it was difficult to find another medium to collect data as there is very little quantitative data on GSM. Nonetheless, future research could look for codes in interview and survey responses from people in each movement and organization or look for codes in Facebook, WhatsApp, and television shows as it is the most popular way to distribute information.

The codes used were perverse, not perverse, reach, unity, political organizing, framing, *and/or* transnationalism. Moreover, the perverse *and/or* not perverse codes were added to assess which group is valued and see who benefits from labeling a group as the other/perverse. Multiple codes are pulled from a statement on a website that is added to one of the naming conventions or

multiple naming conventions from the list of codes. Additionally, each code can describe the meaning behind what they advocate for and can help explain the advantage of pushing their political agenda. After all the data was collected, Atlas.ti will produce a graph for each movement factors on how many times a specific code appeared and then the statements will be analyzed to see who benefits from the power relation of the recent backlash of GSM in Brazil. In conclusion, data will be entered into Atlas.ti to code for perverse, not perverse, reach, unity, political organizing, framing, *and/or* transnationalism to learn more about the power relations in the gender and sexual discourse of the LGBTQ+ and evangelical movement.

Case Study 1: The LGBTQ+ Movement in Brazil

The LGBTQ+ movement collected codes on the five political advantages and the plural figuration of perverse *and/or* not perverse from 10 different organization websites. The organizations were selected because they are the most well-known and well-established organizations, such as feminists, universities, local LGBTQ+, international LGBTQ+, and courts, recognized by local and international audiences. Table 2 has information on the name of organizations, the type of organizations, and a short description of the organizations used for the LGBTQ+ movement case study. To start, three of the ten organizational websites were feminist organizations called Feminist Center for Studies and Advice (CFEMEA), Sempreviva Feminist Organization (SOF). Another organization selected was a university called University of Sao Paulo (USP). Followed by three local LGBTQ+ social movements named Gay Group of Bahia (GGB), Brazilian Association of Lesbians, Gays, Bisexuals, Transvestites, Transsexuals, and Intersex (ABGLT), and National Association of Transvestites and Transsexuals (ANTRA). In addition, three were transnational LGBTQ+ organizations called the International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans, and Intersex Association (ILGA), Human Rights Watch (HRW), and Out & Equal (O&E). The last organization covered is Brazil's Federal Supreme Court (STF).

Table 2. Name of Organizations for LGBTQ+ Social Movement

Name of Organizations	Type of Organization	Small Description of Organization
Feminist Center for Studies and Advice (Centro Feminista de Estudos e Assessoria; CFEMEA)	Feminist Organization	CFEMEA is a public and non-profit feminist and anti-racist non-governmental organization.
Sempreviva Feminist Organization (Sempreviva)	Feminist Organization	SOF is a non-governmental organization based in São Paulo that is part of the

Organização Feminista; SOF)		women's movement in Brazil and internationally.
University of São Paulo (Universidade de São Paulo; USP)	University	Created in 1934, USP is a public university maintained by the State of São Paulo and linked to the Secretariat of Economic Development.
Gay Group of Bahia (Grupo Gay da Bahia; GGB)	Brazilian LGBTQ+ Organization	GGB is the oldest non-profit association for the defense of the human rights of homosexuals in Brazil.
Brazilian Association of Lesbians, Gays, Bisexuals, Transvestites, Transsexuals, and Intersex (Associação Brasileira de Lésbicas, Gays, Bissexuais, Travestis, Transexuais e Intersexos; ABGLT)	Brazilian LGBTQ+ Organization	The Brazilian Association of Lesbians, Gays, Bisexuals, Transvestites, Transsexuals, and Intersex, designated by the acronym ABGLT, whose name and purposes were approved on January 31, 1995, by 31 entities, is a legal entity of private law, non-profit and with indefinite duration.
National Association of Transvestites and Transsexuals (Associação Nacional de Travestis e Transexuais; ANTRA)	Brazilian LGBTQ+ Organization	ANTRA is a national network that articulates throughout Brazil 127 institutions that develop actions to promote citizenship of the population of Transvestites and Transsexuals, founded in 2000 in Porto Alegre.
International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans, and Intersex Association (ILGA)	International LGBTQ+ Organization	ILGA World is a worldwide federation of more than 1,700 organizations from over 160 countries and territories campaigning for lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, and intersex human rights.
Human Rights Watch (HRW)	Human Rights International Organization	HRW is an international non-governmental organization that investigates and reports on abuses happening in all corners of the world.
Out & Equal (O&E)	International LGBTQ+ Organization	Out & Equal is the premier international organization working exclusively on LGBTQ+ workplace equality.
Supreme Federal Court (Supremo Tribunal Federal; STF).	Brazilian Federal Supreme Court	STF is the governing body of the Judiciary, and it is primarily responsible for guarding the Constitution, as defined in Art. 102 of the Constitution of the Republic.

The case study for the LGBTQ+ movement is divided into six sections. Section one through five will each explain a political advantage of the LGBTQ+ movement. The first section

covers reach, which stands for the LGBTQ+ movement having support and acceptance among well-educated and middle-class individuals. The second section is unity, and it stands for the LGBTQ+ social movement having support from other social marginalized movements, such as the feminist movement and university. The third section covers political organizing and how the LGBTQ+ social movement uses courts as the primary institution to pass policy diffusion for GSM rights. The fourth section is framing and how the movement centers its cause around human rights issues that resonate with other marginalized groups. The fifth political advantage covers transnationalism and how the LGBTQ+ social movement in Brazil has support from other transnational LGBTQ+ groups and NGOs. The last section will critically analyze the LGBTQ+ social movement through a queer lens to see if Brazil is a binary of the most progressive as well as least progressive for GSM and understand how queer theory can explain why GSM are devalued.

All six sections will use data collected from Atlas.ti and quantitative data from other websites that support each political advantage. The data came from looking at ten organization websites that supported the LGBTQ+ social movement and translating them into documents from various news articles, blogs, mission statement pages, and history/ about me pages. Each article highlighted quotations and coded the quotations into reach, unity, political organizing, framing, transnationalism, perverse, *and/or* not perverse. Table 3 is the results of all the articles that were coded. From ten organizations, the research coded 130 documents and was able to collect 802 codes. Lastly, all codes were analyzed through Atlas.ti code-document tables, and the data on the codes were normalized on absolute and column-relative frequencies as some organizations had more documents *and/or* codes than others.

Table 3. The LGBTQ+ Social Movement's Five Political Advantages

	o Reach Gr=49	o Unity Gr=149	o Political Organizing Gr=62	o Framing Gr=214	o Trans- nationalism Gr=88	o Not Perverse Gr=54	o Perverse Gr=186	Totals
ABGLT Gr=121; GS=20	2.10%	12.59%	7.69%	32.87%	10.49%	4.90%	29.37%	100.00%
ANTRA Gr=55; GS=10	0.00%	13.23%	7.35%	27.94%	4.41%	10.29%	36.77%	100.00%
CFEMEA Gr=81; GS=27	2.04%	31.29%	0.00%	31.97%	0.00%	4.76%	29.93%	100.00%
GGB Gr=48; GS=5	7.41%	24.07%	0.00%	27.78%	1.85%	5.56%	33.33%	100.00%
HRW Gr=50; GS=8	0.00%	1.49%	10.45%	13.43%	31.34%	14.93%	28.36%	100.00%
ILGA Gr=23; GS=6	0.00%	5.00%	0.00%	25.00%	70.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%
O&E Gr=50; GS=10	25.00%	2.63%	1.32%	22.37%	42.11%	2.63%	3.95%	100.00%
SOF Gr=58; GS=15	6.49%	41.56%	3.90%	20.78%	1.30%	2.60%	23.38%	100.00%
STF Gr=59; GS=19	1.16%	2.33%	37.21%	32.56%	0.00%	10.46%	16.28%	100.00%
USP Gr=40; GS=9	24.14%	43.10%	3.45%	17.24%	1.72%	6.90%	3.45%	100.00%
Totals	6.83%	17.73%	7.14%	25.19%	16.32%	6.30%	20.48%	100.00%

Reach: Have reach from well-educated and middle-class individuals.

Reach covers how LGBTQ+ social groups have support from those who are well-educated and middle-class individuals. However, while looking at the code reach, it had the second-lowest percentage regarding the number of times it was coded. As shown in table 3, out of 802 codes, only 49 codes were found (6.83%). The reason is that LGBTQ+ organizations care more for the other political advantages in pushing GSM policies in Brazil. GSM understand that they received support from well-educated and middle-class individuals (including companies). However, their support is more in terms of acceptance than providing actions that GSM need in Brazil. For example, a USP article that was coded for reach stated that “Companies already

perceive the importance of diversity (inclusion of GSM) not only as a way to fight prejudice and overcome inequalities but also as a competitive advantage” (Jornal da USP, 2017). The competitive advantage relates to a marketing scheme that by including GSM in a company’s workplace, mission statement, or items advertised for GSM can gain consumers for being progressive. In effect, this is often related to the term pinkwashing, a term that “describes a political or marketing strategy that presents products, people, or organizations as being LGBTQ-friendly in order to present an image of progressiveness” (Holmes, 2021, p. 1326). Again, the term pinkwashing can also be associated with not only companies but with people as well.

The difficulty with pinkwashing in relation to reach is trying to understand if a company or person is inclusive and helping the LGBTQ+ community or promoting inclusion to promote the company’s or person’s image. Individuals and organizations who appear to be helping bring awareness or donate back to the LGBTQ+ community. For example, a code for reach was when “ABGLT recognizes that artists like Johnny, Renata and so many others have lent their art to activism in defense of our struggle and our bodies, which has greatly bothered the patriarchy and machismo that reinforce the daily violations of all of us LGBTI+ community (ABGLT, 2018).” Johnny Hooker knew there would be consequences as they had become a target of attacks from religious groups in 2018. As later stated by ABGLT regarding Johnny Hooker, “That is why we support ourselves and make ourselves available for any kind of support needed” (ABGLT, 2018). GSM relies on support from others; however, there is a difference when a corporation or person brings awareness on GSM discrimination or uses GSM as a method to promote their progressiveness.

A reason for pinkwashing may be that companies considered GSM as potential well-off clients. An example can be revealed by the Brazilian Census of 2010, which had some data on GSM. According to Goldani, Esteve, and Turu (2013), the Brazilian census had comprehensive data on 67,492 same-sex couples in a union, with 46 percent declaring themselves gay and 54 percent lesbian. Moreover, the census discovered that those in a same-sex partner relationship earned more than a heterosexual couple in all age groups and education levels. As shown in figure 1, a partnered gay man earned 70 percent more than a married heterosexual man as the monthly average income is \$3,107 compared to \$1,828. A partnered lesbian woman gained almost 50 percent more than a married heterosexual woman, as the average income is \$1,794 compared to \$1,211. The 2010 census findings confirm the popular stereotype of same-sex couples being an “advantage” class in terms of income.

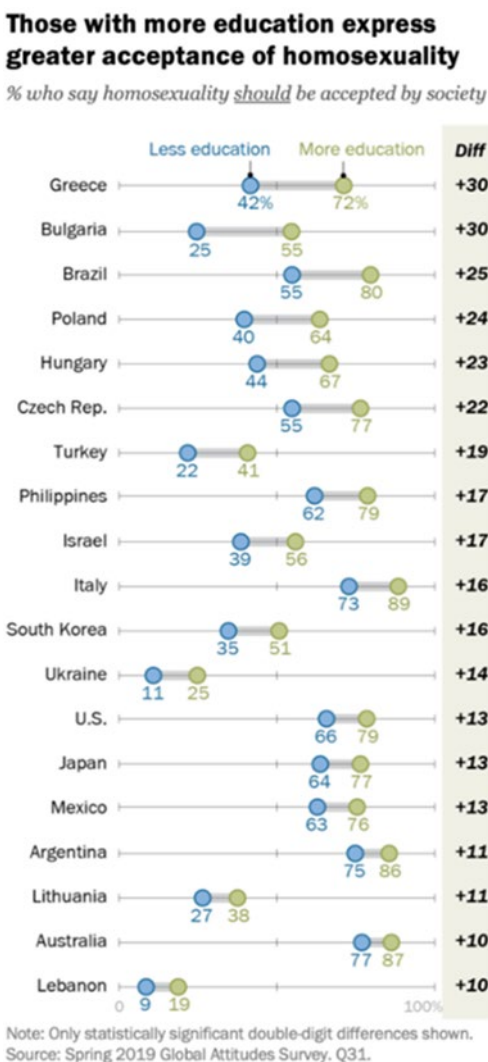
Figure 1. Mean earnings by age, education, and relationship

	Men				Women			
	Partnered gay/lesbian	Cohabiting heterosexual	Married heterosexual	Not partnered	Partnered gay/lesbian	Cohabiting heterosexual	Married heterosexual	Not partnered
Age 25-29								
Less than Primary	1.025	637	819	625	606	401	420	487
Primary Completed	971	869	1.003	754	697	562	627	584
Secondary Completed	1.549	1.170	1.397	1.182	1.144	763	785	795
Tertiary Completed	3.357	2.806	3.023	2.580	2.438	1.991	2.419	1.960
Age 30-34								
Less than Primary	942	713	832	638	591	503	471	531
Primary Completed	1.319	1.054	1.155	933	859	639	1.125	633
Secondary Completed	1.620	1.382	1.497	1.370	1.337	811	938	827
Tertiary Completed	4.916	3.387	4.428	3.265	3.841	2.326	2.623	2.241
Age 35-39								
Less than Primary	3.938	812	1.073	639	637	443	574	508
Primary Completed	1.362	1.140	1.368	1.188	848	783	740	629
Secondary Completed	2.394	1.584	1.696	1.352	1.448	1.033	1.055	987
Tertiary Completed	5.376	3.901	5.562	4.231	4.366	2.961	2.713	2.879
Age 40-44								
Less than Primary	2.931	814	915	666	1.338	465	526	512
Primary Completed	1.736	1.172	1.661	1.174	949	886	796	964
Secondary Completed	2.683	1.738	1.930	1.368	1.878	1.032	1.091	1.019
Tertiary Completed	8.017	6.303	5.670	4.720	4.001	2.650	2.753	2.811
Total	3.107	1.149	1.828	1.316	1.794	848	1.211	1.116

The research could not look at the Brazilian 2020 Census as it was postponed to 2022 due to the COVID-19 pandemic and budget loss. The 2010 census also only covered GSM individuals who were partnered. Shortly after, in 2013, same-sex partners were granted the right of marriage over civil unions. The 2022 census, therefore, can have a lot more data on the effect of SSM. Lastly, the census only covered partners in a same-sex relationship, but what about those who were single or those who were too afraid to report themselves as being in a same-sex relationship? Would that affect the level of income for GSM?

The reach section also addresses support from people who are well educated. For example, figure 2 shows the different levels of acceptance of homosexuals based on a person's level of education according to the Pew Research Center. In Brazil, about 80 percent of people with more education accepted homosexuals than those with a lower level of education. Furthermore, it also shows a positive correlation that at least 55 percent of people with lower education levels accepted homosexuals. For the most part, table 3 shows that those with a higher education level are 25 percent more likely than someone with a lower education level to accept homosexuality in Brazil.

Figure 2. Those with more education express greater acceptance of homosexuality



Unity: Have Support from Feminism Social Movements, Other Marginalized Social Movements, University Students, and Faculty as they aligned their goals against discourses that reflect them as perverse.

The LGBTQ+ movement has unity from feminist social movements, other marginalized social movements, university students, and faculty as they aligned their goals against discourses that reflect them as the other/perverse. The unity section will mostly cover data that reflects how

the feminism movement and the indigenous populations acknowledge that gender, sexual, and racial discourses are making marginalized populations be seen as the other. Table 3 displayed how unity was the third most coded from the documents, with 149 (17.73%) codes out of 802. Compared to reach the codes on unity focused on making marginalized and GSM individuals are perceived as the victims of violent discourses *and/or* understanding that the movements must work together to achieve human rights and citizenship within Brazil. Additionally, many codes for unity were coded alongside reach and framing. For example, the manifesto from the feminist organization SOF was coded for reach and unity, as they stated that

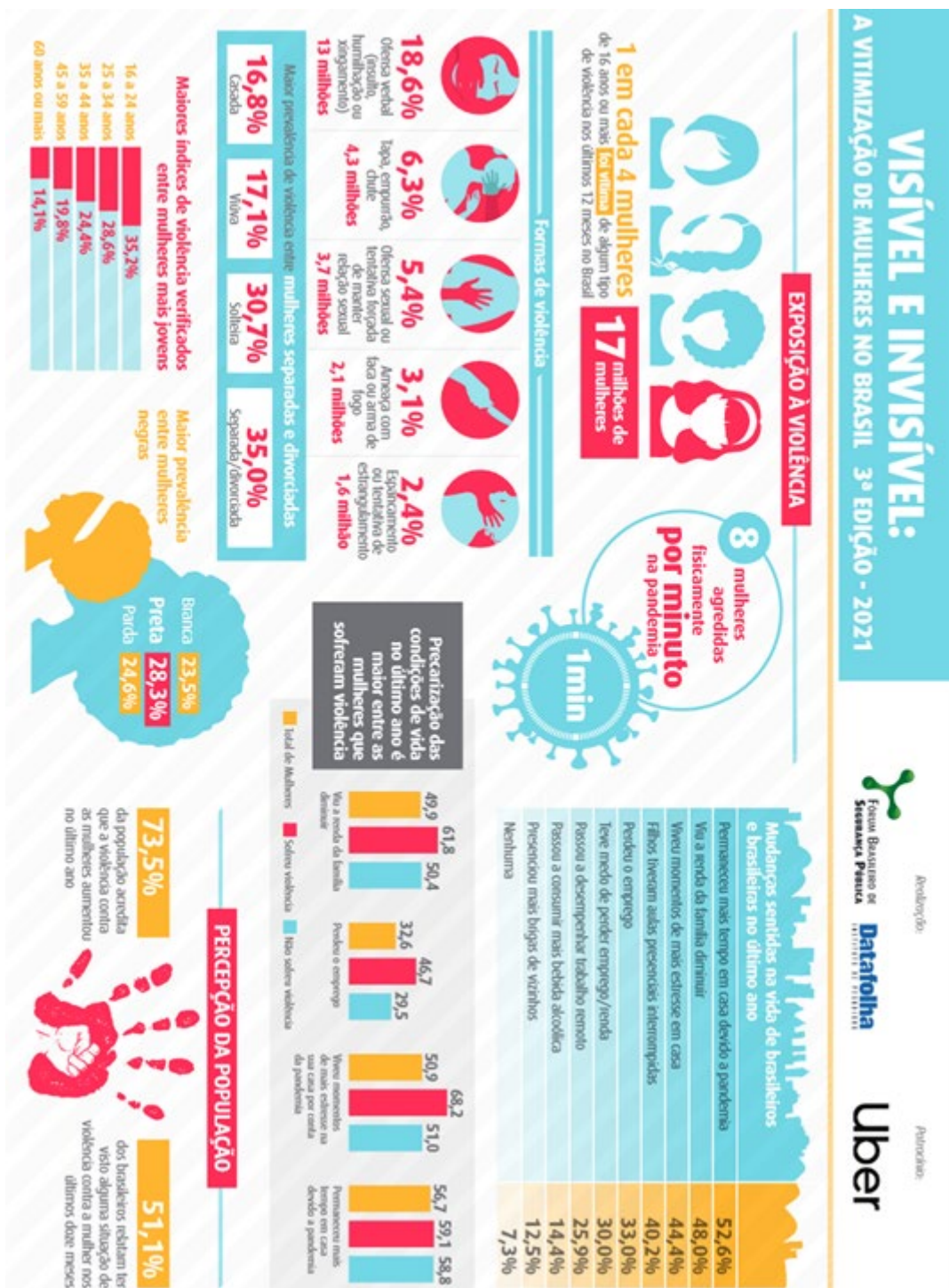
The present Movement comprises of civil society groups in defense of human rights composed of women, the black population, the LGBT population, academics, religious groups and organizations, organizations of atheists and agnostics, and other legitimate social actors who must be heard in their own beliefs and claims for human rights. (SOF, 2014). Reach mainly explained that they have support with well-off and educated individuals, but in reality, they receive more support from other social movements as they understand what it means to want fundamental human rights. The feminist and LGBTQ+ organizations have the most codes for unity as they continue to claim how marginalized groups need to work together. This is further supported through other various quotes as CFEMA, a feminist organization, believed that

It is not new that feminists, political scientists, educators, activists have denounced that Brazil has experienced a conservative/reactionary wave in politics and culture; and that the most socially marginalized groups - women, black people, LGBTI, indigenous people, quilombolas, people with disabilities, among many other marks of inequalities - are the ones whose body and existence are most attacked by an authoritarian and violent discourse and politics (Ligia Elias &

Mantovani, 2018). Also, most marginalized social movements give credit to the rise of the conservative and evangelical movement as the ongoing catalysts of marking their bodies as the other. The authoritarian and violent discourse is not only impacting GSM, but the discourse is also impacting women, black people, indigenous people, and any minority group in Brazil.

The political advantage of unity can be further explained by the data on the violence of women and indigenous people in Brazil. Figure 3 highlights several statistics from the Brazilian Public Security Forum and collaboration work with Datafolha and Uber (Fórum Brasileiro de Segurança Pública, 2021b). A statistic was that 1 in 4 women aged 16 years or older had been a victim of some type of violence in the last 12 months in Brazil. In addition, the rates of violence are higher for younger women and black women. Women ages 16 through 24 years have the highest violence rates at 35.2%, and the percentage of violence goes down as they age. Also, black women are 28.3% more likely to be victims of violence than white women at 23.5%. The section, therefore, highlights how women in Brazil are also likely to be victims of violence.

Figure 3. Visible and Invisible: The Victimization of Women in Brazil 3rd edition – 2021



Another marginalized group in Brazil is the Indigenous people called Quilombolas. The Quilombolas are the descendants of communities formed by enslaved Black and Indigenous

Peoples who fled the cruelty of slavery and lived in the forest between the sixteenth century and the year 1888 when slavery was abolished (Krenak Naknanuk, 2020). Violence against the indigenous and Amazonians has been rising as the Bolsonaro government handed over Amazonian land to Brazilian and foreign capitalists (Fuhrmann, 2021). According to a report by the Pastoral Land Commission (CPT), the number of agricultural conflicts in 2020 had a total of 2,054 registered cases and the Legal Amazon has been the focus of violence in the Brazilian countryside, with 77% of all cases (Fuhrmann, 2021). Moreover, Krenak Naknanuk (2020) stated that “the lack of public policies, the inadequate State measures to protect Indigenous and Black Peoples, the slow and weak justice for them, and the multi-dimensional violence against them characterizes what has been called structural racism in Brazil.” The loss of land and the rise of conflicts is a consequence of structural racism as it makes the indigenous population to be perceived as the other and denies them essential resources and protection. Unity can help explain how Brazilian women and the Quilombolas face discrimination and violence because of the conservative and religious discourses that mark them as the other, similar to the same discourses against GSM. Brazilian women and Quilombolas will want to support GSM gain human rights as it can also help them in deconstructing the conservative discourses.

Political Organizing: Uses Courts as the primary institution to pass policy diffusion for GSM rights.

Political organizing addresses how the LGBTQ+ social movement uses courts as the primary political institution to pass policy diffusion for GSM rights. To explain, the function of the judiciary power in Brazil “is to guarantee individual, collective and social rights and resolve conflicts between citizens, entities, and the State” (Governo do Brazil, 2021). Additionally, the

judiciary power is also responsible for the financial and administrative autonomy, which the federal Constitution guarantees. The organs of the judiciary power in Brazil is composed of seven different courts called Federal Supreme Court (Supremo Tribunal Federal; STF), Superior Court of Justice (Superior Tribunal de Justiça; STJ), Regional Federal Courts (Tribunais Regionais Federais; TRF), Labor Courts, Electoral Courts, Military Courts, and State Courts. The LGBTQ+ case study collected data from STF, which is the highest body of the judiciary. The STF overlooks the Constitution and is responsible for prosecution and judgment of cases in which it is claimed to be a threat or a violation of the constitutional provisions.

Political organizing does play a significant part in passing policy diffusion; as NYT has stated, “while the movement for same-sex marriage has advanced slowly in much of the world in recent years, the vast majority of Latin Americans now live in countries where those unions are legal. In some large nations, including Brazil and Mexico, the right has been conferred by the courts” (Bonney and Londoño, 2021). SSM has been legal since 2013, following a decision from the National Justice Council, an organ of the Brazilian Judicial System. However, Political organizing had a low number of times it was coded, from 62 (7.14%) codes of 802 (table 3). For GSM, courts are the leading political institution that GSM use to gain policy diffusion for rights. Most policy diffusion for GSM was passed through the courts by interpreting existing laws to include GSM or seeking to enact laws already blocked by Congress. For example, of a code for political organizing, ABGLT stated that they are the

amicus curiae for the Federal Supreme Court in relation to the Allegation of Non-compliance with Constitutional Precept No. 132 and Direct Action of Unconstitutionality No. 4277, both on the recognition of the same-sex common-law marriage. On several occasions, ABGLT had audiences with ministers of the STF... On May 5, 2011, the STF

unanimously recognized the right of equalization between same-sex unions and stable relationships between same-sex couples (ABGLT, 2019).

As stated, ABGLT and other LGBTQ+ organizations and movements had worked with meeting court members to justify their issues as human rights concerns and equality issues.

The support of the courts can be seen from blogs and news on the STF website. For example, regarding an existing law that passed to condemn homophobia and transphobia as crimes of racism in 2019, the President of the Federal Supreme Court emphasized: “despite the difference (in voting), in conclusion, all the votes cast repudiate discrimination, hatred, prejudice, and violence for reasons of sexual orientation and gender identity (STF, 2019).”

Throughout the ruling, every court member stated that violence against GSM is disproportional even if they voted against or in favor of making homophobia and transphobia crimes. The main problem of using courts as the primary institution for policy diffusion is that even if a law, regulation, or ruling had passed through the courts, there could be no enforcement to adapt the policy within the state level.

The lack of enforcement can be shown when All Out Brazil has opened a petition for Brazilian people to press their states to ask their government to adopt the protocol for public security forces and police station teams to learn how to deal with reports of homophobia and transphobia, according to the law. Figure 4 illustrates the problem of not implementing the law that marks homophobia and transphobia as crimes relating to racism by stating two consequences; having too much institutional violence and having too little data on LGBTIphobia (All Out Brasil, 2020). Consequence one reflects how institutional violence is practiced by agents of the public institutions that are meant to protect individuals (All Out Brasil, 2020). For

example, the violence can also come from the police. Consequence two illustrates how most GSM crimes are not recorded correctly or are not included as an option in the police report (All Out Brasil, 2020). The two consequences highlight a need for action when a law is passed to support GSM as the states need to find a way to enforce it. Otherwise, the same consequences will continue.

Figure 4: What is the Problem?

QUAL É O PROBLEMA?

Desde a decisão do STF, a maioria dos estados não se adaptou em NADA pra receber, apurar e contabilizar denúncias de LGTifobia.

E quais são as consequências disso?

Consequência 1
MUITA VIOLÊNCIA INSTITUCIONAL

- / Violência institucional é aquela praticada por agentes de instituições públicas.
- / No caso das forças de segurança, esse tipo de violência acontece dentro e fora das delegacias durante o atendimento, abordagens ou revistas de pessoas LGT+.
- / Treinamentos adequados pras polícias – civil e militar – e guardas municipais podem garantir que as pessoas LGT+ sejam acolhidas com respeito e não sofram mais violências.

Consequência 2
POUCOS DADOS SOBRE LGTIFOBIA

- / Hoje, a grande maioria dos crimes de LGTifobia não são registrados corretamente. Muitas delegacias, inclusive, ainda não incluíram essa opção no boletim de ocorrência.
- / É muito importante saber, de forma detalhada, quantas denúncias são feitas, de que tipo elas são e que tipo de pessoa é mais afetada.
- / Isso ajuda na hora de pressionar os governos por políticas públicas pra proteger as pessoas LGT+ e diminuir a violência.

QUERO AJUDAR A RESOLVER O PROBLEMA!

GSM rights are not only passed through the federal level but also at the state and municipal level. According to Equidade (2021), about 70% of the Brazilian population resides in regions where local laws protect against discrimination based on SOGI. Figure 5 shows the ABGLT interactive resource, the Citizenship Map, allowing people to click on a region to see their GSM rights (ABGLT, 2021). The map altogether had 145 information on State Legal Tool consisting of law, decree, opinion, ordinance, and resolutions passed in all regions combined. Some examples of the state tools corresponded to the right to change the social name in official

documents, recognizing LGBTQ+ council to be made within the state, and penalties or measures to combat discrimination against SOGI.

Figure 5: Citizenship Map



Indeed, GSM had developed skills at framing their demands as equal rights to pass laws through the courts in searching for human rights. However, the issue of using courts and municipal law as the vehicle for political organization is that the Brazilian people are not ready for changes to public attitudes towards GSM despite the progressive laws. Culturally, Brazil's attitudes on GSM are homophobic and transphobic. For this reason, the advancement of policy

and law diffusion has generated a new (ongoing) more substantial backlash of violence, discrimination, and resentment towards GSM. Therefore, what is needed is for engagement with the Brazilian public to change the view of GSM from the most perverse to the not perverse. Furthermore, the issue is figuring how to abolish the hegemonic power of gender and sexual discourse related to socioeconomic inequalities in Brazil.

Framing: Frames their Movement as a Human Rights Issue that Resonates with Other Marginalized Groups

The code for framing is how the LGBTQ+ social movement had framed their movement as a human rights concern that resonates with other marginalized social movements. Table 3 illustrated how framing had 214 (25.19%) codes out of 802. Framing had the most codes out of all seven codes. Furthermore, unity and reach have a link as many of the codes for framing were paired with unity *and/or* perverse. As mentioned in a previous section, the code for reach explained how women and indigenous people face discrimination through violence because of the conservative and religious discourses. The link between the codes is that GSM also faced a disproportional amount of discrimination in Brazil due to the same discourses that marked women and indigenous people as the other, which is why the code for framing has the highest number of codes. The LGBTQ+ movement is framing their problem as a human rights issue to marginalized groups and the public, as they want the same fundamental rights and safety as those who are not labeled as perverse through gender and sexual discourses and want support from other marginalized movements.

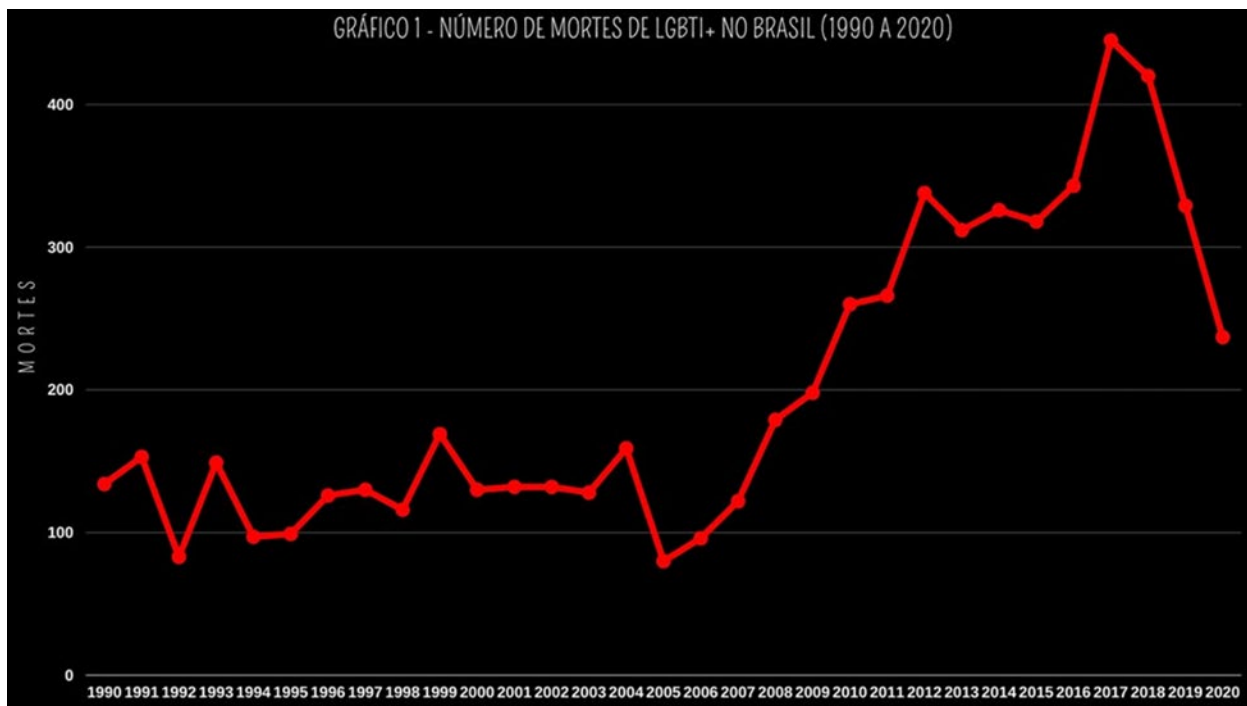
The movement's framing wants GSM to be included for human rights and citizenship in Brazil. A code for framing comes from ABGLT (2021), as the organization stated that it seeks to

“promote actions that guarantee the citizenship and human rights of LGBT, contributing to the construction of a democratic society, in which no person is subjected to any form of discrimination, coercion, and violence, for the reason of their sexual orientation and gender identity.” GGB would agree as for them, “society must be aware that defending the civil rights of homosexuals is a process of civility. And the guarantee of these rights must serve to improve the relationships between people and preserve all the Diffuse and Collective Rights of Humanity” (GGB, 2021). The LGBTQ+ movement believes that they should receive human rights as it would also benefit the rest of society, which means that if a GSM was perceived as the perverse can gain citizenship, then it should also break down the discourses that established them the perverse. Therefore, ABGLT and many other LGBTQ+ social movements seek basic citizenship, guaranteeing GSM to live free without discrimination and violence.

As stated previously, GSM experience violence and discrimination in Brazil. For example, as shown in figure 6, GGB has been gathering information on the Annual Report on Violent Deaths of GSM in Brazil). In 2020, 237 GSM died violent deaths in Brazil, with 224 homicides (94.5%) and 13 suicides (5.5%) (Observatorio de Mortes Violentas de LGBTI+ no Brasil, 2021). The graph indicates a decline in deaths from the years 2018-2019. Although, GGB stated how death has been growing throughout the decades. In particular, there was an average of 130 homicides in 2000, which jumped to 260 in 2010 and 357 within the last four years (Observatorio de Mortes Violentas de LGBTI+ no Brasil, 2021). GGB had also stated that transvestites and trans women had the highest number of deaths as 161 transvestites and trans women (70%), 51 gays (22%) 10 lesbians (5%), 3 trans men (1%), 3 bisexuals (1%) and finally 2 questioning gays (0.4%) were killed in the year 2020 (Observatorio de Mortes Violentas de

LGBTI+ no Brasil, 2021). Therefore, trans women are more likely than any other member in GSM to be vulnerable to violent deaths. Overall, data on GSM could be significantly higher if only more states report the deaths accurately of the deceased.

Figure 6. Number of LGBTI+ Deaths in Brazil (1990 to 2020)



GSM faced more types of discrimination on top of the violent deaths. According to a report by the Department of Education of the Brazilian Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transvestite, and Transsexual Association, about 68% of GSM children and young people interviewed had been verbally assaulted at school because of their gender identity (ABGLT Secretaria de Educação, 2016). Likewise, about 25% were physically assaulted and 56% were sexually harassed at school (ABGLT Secretaria de Educação, 2016). The effects of prejudice towards SOGI can impact GSM children and young-adults mental health owing to the number of suicidal deaths as there was a total of 145 suicides in the years 2018 to 2020 in the country, where most of the GSM

were between 14 and 34 years old (Observatorio de Mortes Violentas de LGBTI+ no Brasil, 2021). Moreover, GSM also face discrimination in the workforce as about 61% of GSM workers in Brazil hide their sexual orientation or gender identity for fear of losing their jobs. (Equidade, 2021). GSM often end up homeless or resorting to sex work when they cannot find a job due to their SOGI. For example, in Brazil, where prostitution is legal, about 90% of trans women are sex workers (Thomas Reuters Foundation, 2021). GSM face discrimination in every part of their daily life and the discrimination can happen at their school, workplace, and private sphere. The constant discrimination is why the LGBTQ+ social movement frames its movement for Brazilians and other marginalized social movements to see their lack of citizenship and lack of human rights as a human rights issue.

Transnationalism: Have support from transnational LGBTQ+ groups and NGOs

The last political advantage, transnationalism, demonstrates how the LGBTQ+ social movement supports transnational LGBTQ+ groups and NGOs. Transnationalism has the second-least number of codes. In total, transnationalism was coded 88 times (16.32%) out of 802 (table 3). Two reasons why transnationalism has a low amount of coding could be that GSM in Brazil are not receiving the specific help they need from international LGBTQ+ organizations or those international organizations are stretched thin as GSM discrimination is a worldwide phenomenon. Moreover, the top 3 organizations that coded for transnationalism came from the three LGBTQ+ transnational groups because they are either helping GSM or are addressing GSM inequalities in Brazil.

O&E frequently talked about the support they are giving to help GSM who are in the workforce. For O&E, their mission is to be “the global convener, thought leader and catalyst

actively working to achieve workplaces of equality and belonging - supporting LGBTQ+ employees and leaders who thrive in their careers and lives and achieve greater impact on the world (O&E, 2021).” The organization goes to Brazil and hosts conferences for GSM to attend as they talk about building a better workplace for the inclusion of GSM. In addition, the organization stated that “Out & Equal’s global work is a key growth area in our organization. And as the largest country in Latin America and one of the world’s largest economies, Brazil is a key player on the global stage and a strategic focus market for Out & Equal” (O&E, 2018). Although it is a good place to start, many companies are already promoting a form of pinkwashing or already have inclusion policies that have been proven to be not enough to stop discrimination. The problem is the work culture that continues to sustain the discrimination that GSM may face and in order to improve it means to discuss it with those who are not GSM and enforce consequences for discrimination.

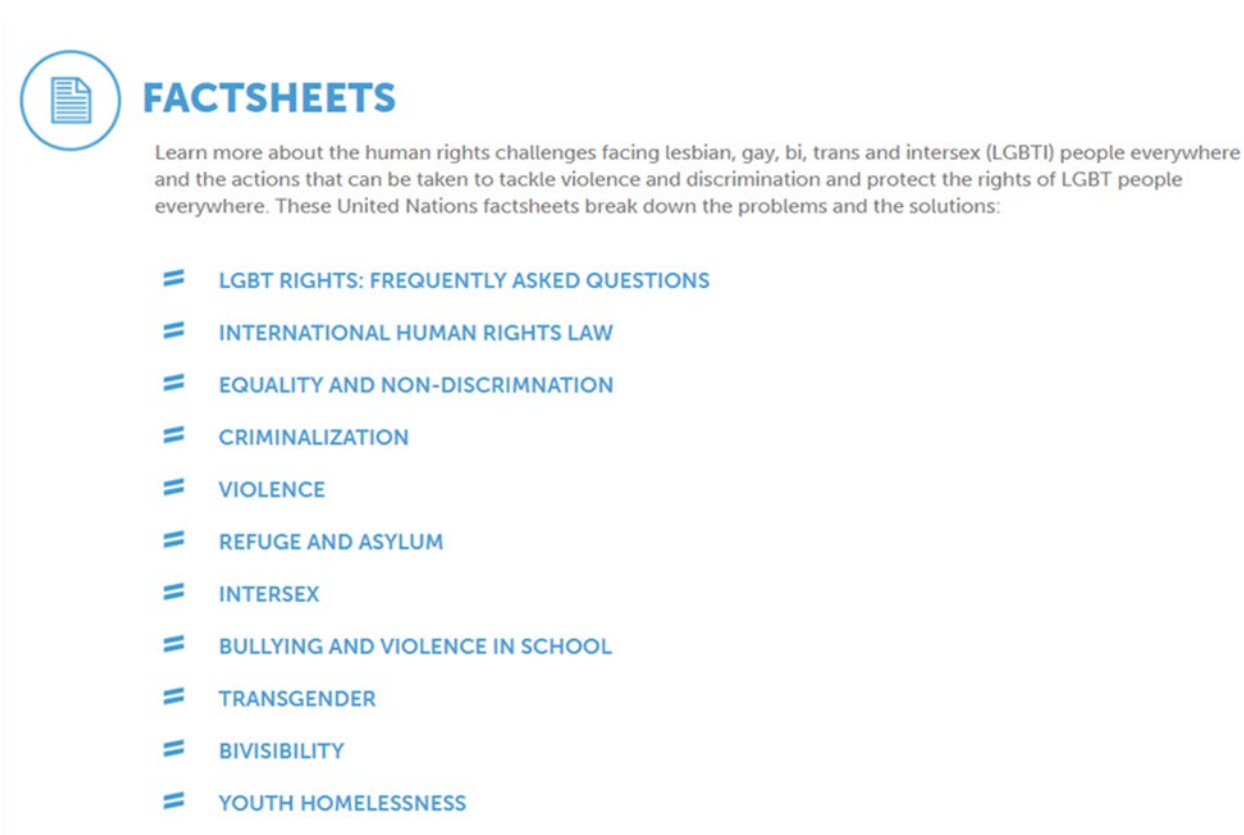
In contrast, the HRW talks about the inequalities of GSM in Brazil. For the HRW, when they talk about GSM rights, they believe that “sexual orientation and gender identity are integral aspects of our selves and should never lead to discrimination or abuse” (HRW, 2021). The most recent reports of the HRW on Brazil talked about the Bolsonaro government and their abuse of human rights towards marginalized communities. As stated by Vivanco,

Human Rights Watch will closely monitor the rhetoric and actions of the Bolsonaro government. We will continue doing the rigorous, independent research and advocacy we have carried out in Brazil for the last decades in defense of human rights for all Brazilians, regardless of gender, sexual orientation, race, political beliefs, or religion (HRW, 2018)

In addition, they describe President Bolsonaro's agenda as anti-rights as they have pursued policies that would put vulnerable populations at risk. The same article also addresses the homophobic statement that Bolsonaro said that they would rather have a son die in an accident than be gay (HRW,2018). To summarize, international human rights organizations are currently stressing the harm that the Bolsonaro government has caused as the primary agent against marginalized populations.

For the most part, LGBTQ+ transnational organizations mainly address the discrimination and inequalities that GSM struggles with worldwide. The discrimination GSM are dealt with in Brazil also happened to be reproduced worldwide. For example, in figure 7, the United Nations Free and Equal have nine out of 11 fact sheets illustrating the discrimination that GSM minorities face worldwide. The fact sheets of discrimination addressed the criminalization, violence, refuge and asylum, intersex issues, bullying and violence in school, transgender issues, bivisibility issues, and youth homelessness of GSM. In addition, Free and Equal admitted that the “official data on homophobic and transphobic violence is patchy and official statistics are scarce. Relatively few countries have adequate systems in place for monitoring, recording, and reporting homophobic and transphobic hate crimes” (Free & Equal, 2018). Thus, the same issue that Brazil has on collecting data for violence is also happening worldwide. To conclude the section, transnationalism relates to how both local and transitional LGBTQ+ organizations are dealing with the same amount of GSM discrimination worldwide due to gender and sexual discourses.

Figure 7. Factsheets from Free and Equal



GSM as the Perverse *and/or* Not Perverse

All the political advantage sections discussed the large amounts of GSM discrimination in Brazil. Therefore, the perverse code was used for the number of times the data stated that GSM had faced discrimination or the times they believed society had labeled them as the other. In contrast, the code for not perverse was used to highlight the number of times GSM had succeeded in gaining rights and how many times they felt welcome in Brazil. There is a vast difference of collection between the number of times the code for perverse *and/or* not perverse was used. Perverse was the second-highest code with a total of 186 codes (20.48%) out of 802 (table 2). While the code for not perverse was the lowest, with a total amount of 54 codes

(6.30%; table 3). Therefore, the codes for the perverse *and/or* not perverse indicated that GSM does not see Brazil as a figuration of being the most progressive as well as the not progressive country for GSM in Latin America.

The gender and sexual discourse are playing an immense impact on the quality-of-life GSM will have in Brazil. The reach section showed the statistics of the different types of GSM discrimination and the code for perverse could further illustrate the discrimination. For example, a code for perverse addressed one area of discrimination, the school environment, as ABGLT (2017) stated that “lesbians, gays, bisexuals, transvestites, and transsexuals suffer in the school environment as the invisibility of this discussion will increase the rates of homophobia, lesbophobia, and transphobia, leading to school dropout, inadequate environments for learning and reproduction of stigma, discrimination, and violence against LGBT.” In addition, GGB would agree as “28% of elementary and high school students in the state of São Paulo would not like to have homosexuals as classmates. This proportion increases if we focus only on male students: about 41% of boys do not tolerate gay or lesbian peers” (Ribeiro, 2021).

Another area of discrimination and code for perverse was the violence towards GSM. According to ANTRA (2018), “Brazil is the country that kills the most transvestites in the world, these deaths are always fraught with exquisite cruelty, they murder the physical body, and they murder the soul after death, as they almost always ignore and deny the population's right to gender identity Trans.” Furthermore, ANTRA and the majority of the organizations had pinpointed the current GSM discrimination and violence towards the Bolsonaro administration. For example, the President of ANTRA argued that “the current Brazilian government does not recognize the citizenship of the population of lesbians, gays, bisexuals, transvestites, transsexual

women, trans and intersex men (LGBTI), as it has worked tirelessly to deny their access to basic rights, promoting setbacks in the achievements of pro policies” (Simpson, 2019). The code for perverse is significantly higher than the code for not perverse because LGBTQ+ social movements are more concerned with survival and receiving fundamental human rights. Moreover, the codes for perverse all reflect the same issues highlighted within the five political advantage sections as GSM discrimination stems from Brazil's current gender, sexual, conservative, and religious discourses. The following case study focuses on the evangelical movement, which can help further explain how the current gender, sexual, conservative, and religious discourses came to be and why they are marking GSM as the other.

Case Study 2: The Evangelical Movement in Brazil

Similar to the LGBTQ+ case study, the research evaluated analyzed codes for the evangelical social movement on the five political advantages and the plural figuration of perverse *and/or* not perverse from 7 different organization websites. The organizations were selected because they are the most well-known and well-established organizations for Brazilian Evangelicals. However, the evangelical movement has three organizations less than the LGBTQ+ Movement because it was difficult to find websites that supported the evangelical movement with a blog/news section. Instead, many of these movements only had videos or podcasts. Table 4 has information on the name of organizations, the type of organizations, and a short description of the organizations used for the evangelical movement case study. The first groups of organizations are two political parties called the Republicans and Social Christian Party (PSC) that the evangelical churches and organizations had worked closely. The next type of organization is the three most popular evangelical denominations in Brazil: Universal Church, Foursquare Gospel Church, and Assembly of God (AD). Another type of organization is the transnational evangelical organization called the Latin Evangelical Alliance (AEL). The last organization type listed is a Catholic organization called the National Conference of Bishops of Brazil (CNBB).

Table 4. Name of Organizations for Evangelical Organizations

Name of Organizations	Type of Organization	Small Description of Organization
Republicans (<i>Republicanos</i>)	Political Party	The Republicans are a conservative political movement founded on Christian values, having the family as the foundation of society,

		preserving national sovereignty, free initiative, and economic freedom, encouraging technological progress as an inevitable path to human development.
Social Christian Party <i>(Partido Social Cristão; PSC)</i>	Political Party	The PSC is a Christian-conservative political party in Brazil.
Universal Church <i>(Igreja Universal)</i>	Evangelical Church	Universal Church began in a small bandstand in the suburbs of Rio and today evangelizes people in more than 100 countries around the world.
Foursquare Gospel Church <i>(Igreja do Evangelho Quadrangular)</i>	Evangelical Church	The Foursquare Gospel Church exists to glorify God's name and promote the growth of His kingdom on earth. The commandment of Jesus Christ is to bring the gospel and make disciples in all nations.
Assembly of God <i>(Assembleia de Deus; AD)</i>	Evangelical Church	AD are a group of Pentecostal denominations in Brazil founded by Daniel Berg and Gunnar Vingren, who came to Brazil as missionaries from the Swedish Pentecostal movement.
Latin Evangelical Alliance <i>(Alianza Evangélica Latina; AEL)</i>	Transnational Evangelical Organization	AEL had its origin in the Ibero-American Forum of Evangelical Dialogue (FIDE) (WEA) promoted by the World Evangelical Alliance, (WEA) which from 2001 worked to integrate and strengthen the fraternal relationship between the different national Evangelical Alliances and Confraternities of different Ibero-American countries.
National Conference of Bishops of Brazil <i>(Conferência Nacional dos Bispos do Brasil; CNBB)</i>	Catholic Organization	CNBB is the permanent institution that brings together the Bishops of the Catholic Church in the country (Brazil).

The case study for the evangelical movement is divided into six sections. Section one through five will each explain a political advantage of the evangelical movement. The first section covers reach, which stands for the evangelical movement having enormous reach from all class, race, and region levels. The second section is unity, and it stands for the evangelical social movement having support from the Catholic church as they aligned their goals against anti-abortion and anti-LGBT. The third section covers political organizing and how the evangelical movement uses elections and affiliations with parties to enact policies that protect their interests. The fourth section is framing and how the movement frames its ideology as keeping the family's status quo and protecting children by stating how gender ideology is harmful to Brazil's people. The fifth political advantage covers transnationalism and how the evangelical movement in Brazil has support from transnational evangelical organizations and transnational protestant churches. The last section will critically analyze the evangelical movement through a queer lens to see if Brazil is a binary of the most progressive as well as least progressive for GSM and understand how queer theory can explain why GSM are devalued by looking at the codes of perverse *and/or* not perverse.

Like the LGBTQ+ case study, all six sections will be using data analyzed from Atlas.ti and quantitative data from other websites supporting each political advantage. The data came from looking at seven organization websites that supported the evangelical movement and translating them into documents from various news articles, blogs, mission statement pages, and history/ about me pages. From seven organizations, the research coded 101 documents and was able to collect 526 codes. The only modification is that the code for perverse *and/or* not perverse are coded differently than the LGBTQ+ case study. The codes for perverse addressed

Evangelicals negative attitudes that marked GSM as the other, negative reaction to policy diffusion that GSM had gained, *and/or* trying to block a policy diffusion for GSM. While the code for the not perverse highlighted either positive attitudes towards GSM *and/or* policy diffusion GSM had received in Brazil. Table 5 shows the results of all the articles that were coded.

Table 5. The Evangelical Movement's Five Political Advantages

	○ Reach Gr=13	○ Unity Gr=31	○ Political Organizing Gr=101	○ Framing Gr=277	○ Tran- snationism Gr=7	○ Not Perverse Gr=20	○ Perverse Gr=77	Totals
AD Gr=33; GS=6	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	62.00%	0.00%	0.00%	38.00%	100.00%
AEL Gr=16; GS=7	4.76%	0.00%	4.76%	61.91%	23.81%	0.00%	4.76%	100.00%
Republicans Gr=127; GS=43	4.76%	1.59%	31.75%	40.74%	0.00%	3.70%	17.46%	100.00%
CNBB Gr=69; GS=18	2.17%	27.17%	5.43%	53.26%	0.00%	4.35%	7.61%	100.00%
Foursquare Gospel Church Gr=18; GS=5	0.00%	0.00%	13.04%	47.83%	0.00%	13.04%	26.09%	100.00%
Universal Church Gr=78; GS=11	0.00%	0.00%	15.39%	73.63%	0.00%	6.59%	4.40%	100.00%
PSC Gr=35; GS=10	1.92%	5.77%	34.62%	44.23%	0.00%	0.00%	13.46%	100.00%
Totals	1.95%	4.93%	15.00%	54.80%	3.40%	3.95%	15.97%	100.00%

Reach: Have enormous reach from all levels of class, race, and region.

The first political advantage addresses reach and how the evangelical movement has vast reach from all classes, races, and regions. Although reach had the lowest number of codes, 13 out of 526 (1.95%) codes (table 5), this low percentage does not discount the fact that the evangelical movement has a wide range of reach. Instead, it shows that the outreach through social media on the Church websites focuses more on spreading the Churches' theology. The outreach can be

further illustrated in table 5, where the three Brazilian evangelical denominations had zero reach codes when the church discussed gender ideology or GSM and in the section of framing.

Furthermore, the few codes for reach primarily addressed helping the poor, children, and women when an article/post mentioned LGBTQ+ or gender ideology. Most of the time, it was to protect the poor and the Brazilian nuclear family from gender ideology. For example, a code for unity, framing, and reach was when CNBB stated that the Brazilian churches' responsibility regarding gender ideology is that as a collective, "We (churches in Brazil) must fight to stop and protest against the destruction of the family and the death of our children. We have a duty to defend, protect, and promote our families and our children and the lives of the weakest, the elderly, the suffering, and the poor" (Ubiratan, 2017). This statement sets up how the rest of the section will be addressed after the reach section, but the essential part is how it introduces that Christians in Brazil are compelled to spread their faith as they must stop gender ideology.

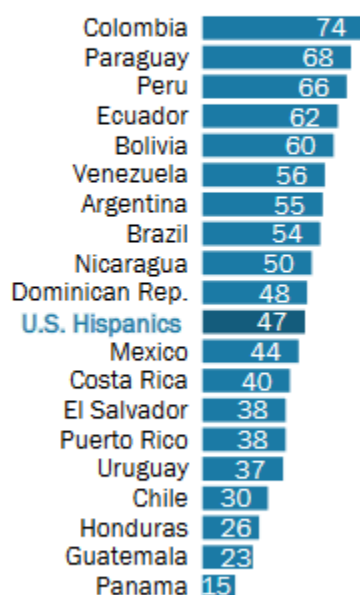
Brazil was the most populated Latin American country in 2020. According to the World Bank, the population total of Brazil is 212,559,409 (World Bank, 2021). Furthermore, Brazil is also known to be the second-largest Christian population globally and the largest Catholic country. The Brazilian Census stated that in 2010, 64.6% of the population has identified as Catholic and 22.2% of the population has identified as evangelical (Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, 2012). However, there has been a decline in the Catholic faith. Datafolha (2013) stated that in 2013 the number of Catholics in Brazil reached 57%, the lowest number ever recorded by Datafolha since August 1994. In contrast, the percentage of evangelicals grew to 31%. The movement away from Catholicism and toward Protestantism in Brazil is further supported by the Pew Research Center (2014, p. 5). For example, as shown in figure 8, 54% of

Brazilian protestants stated that they were raised Catholics. Thus, Brazil's Christian dynamics are changing as many Brazilians are becoming evangelicals.

Figure 8. % of current Protestants who say they were raised Catholic

Many Protestants Were Raised as Catholics

% of current Protestants who say they were raised Catholic



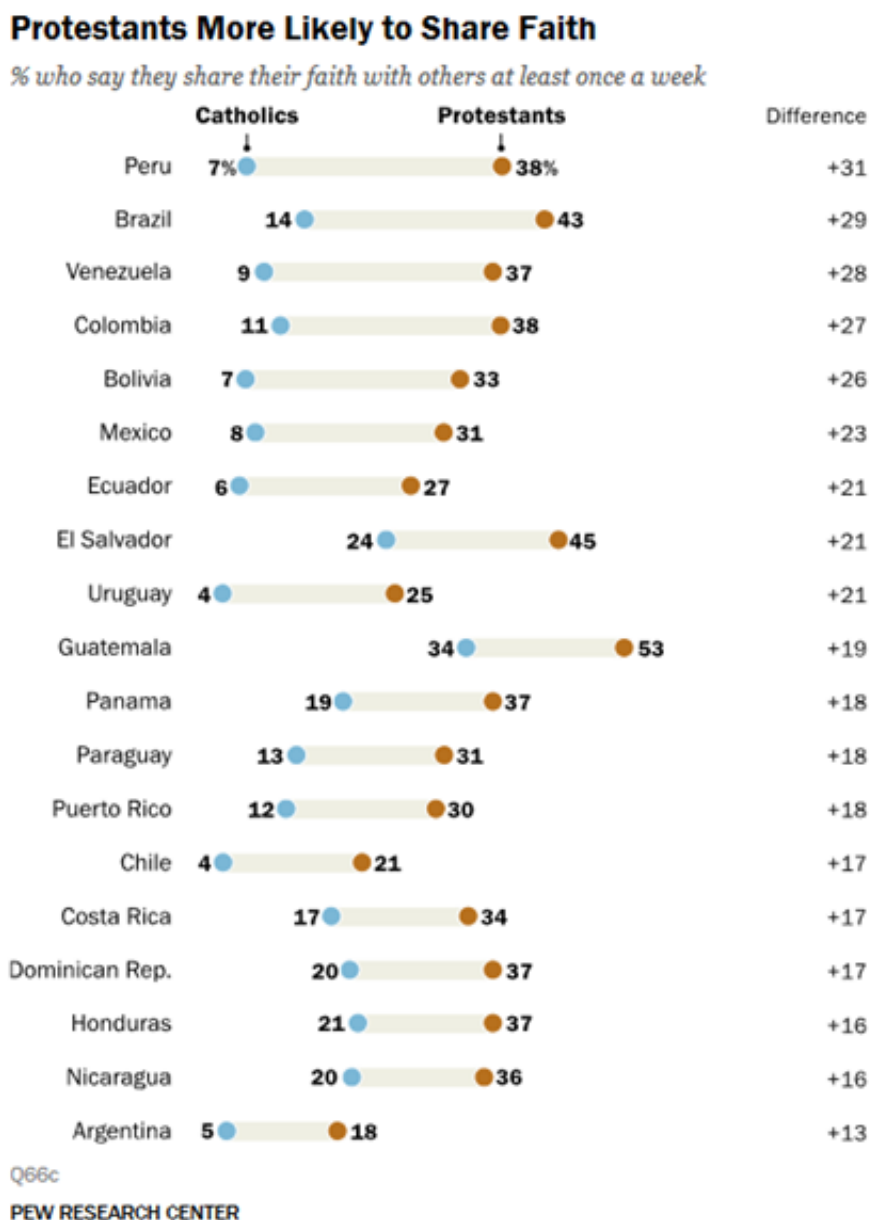
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Even though the population size of evangelicals is smaller than the Catholic population, they still have enormous reach and participation. For example, Datafolha (2013) expressed how Evangelicals are more likely to attend church as 63% of Pentecostals and 51% non-Pentecostals stated that they went to church more than once a week. On the contrary, among Catholics, the rate is 17%. Therefore, having more active participation in the Church can show how devoted a person is to their faith and the willingness to share their faith. Furthermore, the Pew Research

(2014, p. 6) data further supports how Protestants are more likely to share their faith with others than Catholics. For example, figure 9 demonstrates how 43% of Protestants are more likely to share their faith with others at least once a week than Catholics at 14%, which is a 29-point difference.

Figure 9: Protestants More Likely to Share Faith



At the societal level, evangelicals have a vast reach due to the levels of class, region, and race. Regarding class information, Pew Research (2014, p. 90) showed how Christians in Brazil are helping the poor. Figure 10 illustrates how 56% of Protestants valued bringing the poor and needy to Christ compared to 24% of Catholics. Therefore, Protestants are more likely than Catholics to actively recruit poor members into evangelical churches, while Catholics are more inclined to say that performing charity work for the poor is the most important *and/or* persuading the government to protect the poor in Brazil. Bringing the poor to the church could explain why the reach section scored low on the websites as they are more concerned about spreading their theology and recruiting more people when it comes to talking about gender ideology. To conclude, the reach section explains how evangelicals' reach is to bring any person to Christ if members can follow their theology and become active participants of the Church.

Figure 10. % Among Catholics/Protestants who say the most important way Christians can help the poor and needy is...

Protestants Emphasize Evangelism, Catholics Stress Charitable Works as *Most Important* Means of Helping the Poor

% among Catholics/Protestants who say the most important way Christians can help the poor and needy is ...

	Bring the poor and needy to Christ			Perform charity work for the poor			Persuade government to protect the poor		
	Catholics	Protestants	Diff.	Catholics	Protestants	Diff.	Catholics	Protestants	Diff.
Argentina	18	51	-33	53	37	+16	26	10	+16
Bolivia	24	56	-32	45	34	+11	23	8	+15
Brazil	27	46	-19	46	37	+9	25	16	+9
Chile	20	35	-15	53	48	+5	19	11	+8
Colombia	23	56	-33	47	21	+26	26	20	+6
Costa Rica	28	42	-14	46	39	+7	22	16	+6
Dominican Rep.	46	66	-20	42	28	+14	12	5	+7
Ecuador	31	57	-26	49	29	+20	18	9	+9
El Salvador	32	47	-15	49	38	+11	18	14	+4
Guatemala	11	23	-12	63	55	+8	25	21	+4
Honduras	34	47	-13	50	38	+12	14	15	-1
Mexico	13	31	-18	63	56	+7	19	9	+10
Nicaragua	30	55	-25	43	30	+13	26	14	+12
Panama	12	31	-19	61	48	+13	24	19	+5
Paraguay	37	68	-31	49	22	+27	11	9	+2
Peru	24	55	-31	53	30	+23	20	11	+9
Puerto Rico	23	39	-16	58	48	+10	14	8	+6
Uruguay	22	43	-21	53	40	+13	13	7	+6
Venezuela	31	60	-29	52	37	+15	16	3	+13

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Differences that are not statistically significant are indicated in gray.

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Unity: Have support from the Catholic Church as they aligned their goals against anti-abortion and anti-LGBT.

The code for unity addresses how the Catholic church had aligned its goals with the evangelical movement on creating a stance against anti-abortion and anti-LGBTQ+ policies. Unity was formed between evangelicals and Catholics because of how the denominations were able to frame gender ideology as promoting abortion, sexual reproductive health rights, and same-sex relationships. The code for unity had the fourth-lowest number of times as it had 31

codes (4.93%) out of 526 codes. Also, similar to reach, none of the Brazilian evangelical denominations had a code for unity. Instead, the highest code for unity came from CNBB, the Catholic organization, followed by the PSC, the Christian Political Party. The majority of CNBB codes addressed to the public the harms of gender ideology and how it is embedded in LGBTQ+ ideology, women's reproduction, abortion, and attack on the Christian family and children. PSC code for unity addresses the same concepts but it also looked at how parties and Churches are coming together to combat gender ideology. The concept of gender ideology has been combined to view GSM rights, reproductive health rights, and abortion rights as perverse and immoral.

CNBB had several codes for unity on the harm of gender ideology brought by GSM and feminists. For example, CNBB has stated

they (GSM and feminists) promote 'free choice in reproduction,' a euphemism used to refer to induced abortion. As a 'lifestyle,' they promote homosexuality, lesbianism, and all other forms of sexuality outside of marriage. Among us, they want to introduce this ideology, using the term "reproductive health." Moreover, they use the trick of words, especially "discrimination" and "fight against prejudice." Under this seductive name (since we are all against unfair discrimination and prejudice), they want to pass on the ideology of gender, the dictatorship of moral relativism, and establish a new anti-Christian anthropology under the name of democracy (Rifan, 2017).

For CNBB, gender ideology promotes abortion, sexual reproductive health rights, and GSM relationships. In addition, they believe the concept of gender ideology is making the churches feel that democracy is being undermined due to anti-Christianity rhetoric and they feel they are being coerced to accept the LGBTQ+ movement and feminist movement actions. The concern is further stated as CNBB wants Christians to overcome gender ideology as Archbishop Juiz de Fora called "to Christians, whether Catholics or Evangelicals, who make up most of the Brazilian people, I would offer the Word of the Lord who calls us to fight fearlessly: 'In the world, you

will have trials. But have courage! I have conquered the world'. We have faced worse things in history, but common sense and the order established by God have always won" (Moreira, 2017). Therefore, most Christians believe that their ideas of family, marriage, and reproduction are morally justified, which means that both churches will work together to combat gender ideology.

Furthermore, PSC and the Republicans party also share the same concerns of gender ideology. However, the political parties tend to discuss their accomplishments and plans to promote Christian or conservative values when reaching out to evangelicals and Catholics. For instance, the Republicans had stated that "the Catholic and Evangelical Parliamentary Fronts in Defense of Life ...signed official letters and were delivered by the fronts that expressed their position against the release of abortion, the decriminalization of illicit drug use, the fight against gender ideology, and political party indoctrination in schools, and other topics" (Republicanos10, 2017). The political organizing section will discuss more information about Brazil's conservative and Christian parties working with the evangelical movement.

The section of unity and framing illustrated that the concept of gender ideology does not only make GSM perverse but as well as women and people with uteruses who seek sexual reproductive health and abortions. Currently, abortions are only allowed under two circumstances under the Brazilian Penal Code, dating from 1940. Under the code, a physician may perform an abortion when it is the only means to save the life of a pregnant person or when the pregnancy is the result of rape (Women on Waves, 2021). As a result, unsafe abortion is the fourth leading cause of maternal mortality, where the reported maternal mortality rate is 45.8 per 100,000 live births (HRW, 2021). In addition, public attitudes for acceptance of abortion are relatively high as 71% believe abortion should be allowed if the pregnancy will harm the person.

The topic of overall public attitudes outside of the two circumstances was challenging to find as there was hardly any research done about it. Instead of research on public attitudes, there is data on abortion repression from bills making abortion difficult. To further illustrate, “in 2019 alone, between February and September, 28 Bills (PLs) presented in the House of Representatives mentioned the word “abortion” – for comparison purposes, the year 2018 presented 9. Of these, 43% intended to restrict the rights to termination of pregnancy” (CPOP, 2020). The rise of the attempt to pass bills to restrict abortion and GSM rights showcases that political parties’ attitudes reflect the view of the people who elected them and the unity between Catholics and evangelicals when it comes to combatting gender ideology.

Political Organizing: Uses elections and affiliations with parties to move policies that protect their interest.

The code for political organizing is how the evangelical movement used elections and connections with parties to advocate for policies that protect their interest. The code for unity had the second-highest number of coding as it had 101 codes (15%) out of 525. The coding for political organizing was covered by all organizations except AD, which had a website that only focused on lectures about gender ideology. The two parties, Republicans and PSC, had the highest number of coding in political organizing as both parties have announced to be a party for Christians and family values. Republicans and PSC have made their framing reflect those of their constituents, protecting Christian and family values to gain as many votes as possible since voting is compulsory in Brazil. For example, a code for political organizing is when the Republicans stated that they are “a conservative political movement, based on Christian values, having the family as the foundation of society, preserving national sovereignty, free enterprise

and economic freedom, and encouraging technological progress as an inevitable path to human development” (Republicanos, 2021).

Furthermore, many of the codes for political organizing was paired with framing *and/or* perverse. The reason for the pairing is that political organizing can be a code on how a party or politician had prevented GSM bills that they believe are connected to gender ideology. For instance, Republicans Politician Antonio Bulhões, during a special commission, had defended the right to remove the concept of gender ideology (which was the teaching of SOGI in schools) from the National Education Plan because if “introduced into legislation it would entail total sexual permissiveness. The family institution would come to be seen as an ‘oppressive’ category in the face of new and invented genders, such as homosexuality, bisexuality, transsexuality and others” (Republicanos, 2015). Therefore, both political parties had tactfully marked GSM as perverse to win the Christian’s vote.

In addition, evangelical churches are active when it comes to encouraging their members to vote. As a result, the code for political organizing was high among Universal Church and Foursquare Gospel Church as they have encouraged their members to vote for candidates that match their theology. To demonstrate, Universal Church stated in an article on the importance of voting against gender ideology that

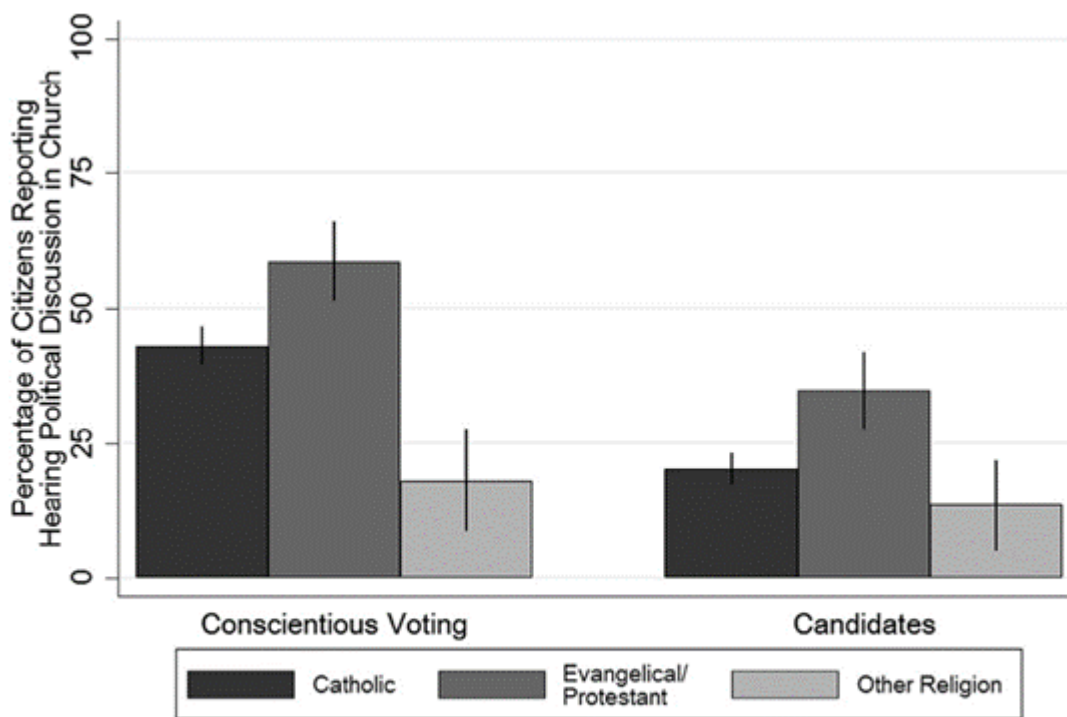
if you (a member of the church) were still thinking about voiding your vote or voting for anyone without consideration, think again. Deputies, governors, senators, and the president will be God’s voice at the center of the country’s decisions. Therefore, it is crucial to vote for those who share the same values as you. So, if you are against gender ideology, do some research and see if your candidate is not in favor of it either. You have the power in your hands and voting is your biggest weapon to destroy ideas that want to undermine the family values targeting children. So do not let them experiment on our culture, entertainment, and education to confuse what God has established in the creation

of human beings. Children cannot, must not, and are not subjects of this gender ideology (Cury, 2018).

Hence, the encouragement of political organizing is essential for evangelicals to protect their interest as evangelical denominations and conservative parties are using fear tactics to gain votes. The conservative and Christian parties used fear tactics and political organizing to win elections by gathering the evangelical votes. While evangelicals used fear tactics and political organizing to push their values into the Brazilian government to help spread their theology.

As was previously stated in the reach section, evangelical members are active members in the church regarding participation as they are more likely to attend church more than once a week. Active participation means they are more likely to receive influences and messages from their pastors when voting. According to figure 11, almost three-fifths (58.6%) of evangelicals report hearing calls to 'vote conscientiously in church, in contrast with 43.0% of Catholics and 18.2% of other religious groups (Smith, 2017). However, the conversation about voting for candidates is lower as one-third (34.8%) of evangelicals have heard discussion of political candidates in church, while 20.4% of Catholics and 13.5% of those in other religious groups (Smith, 2017). Smith (2017) states that campaigning on conscientious voting is higher than candidate voting because conscientious voting is embedded within Brazilian political culture as members and clergy automatically adopt the language of citizenship and rights within elections.

Figure 11. Exposure to Political Messages in church, by religious affiliation



Note: Percentages are weighted by neighborhood population, sex, and age. N=1,089. Lines represent 95% confidence intervals.

The impact of encouraging evangelical members to vote for their Christian values is successful as the number of evangelicals elected within the Chamber of Deputies has been rising. The rising evangelicals in the Chamber of Deputies can be further illustrated in figure 12 (Campos, 2018) as in the year 2014, 16.18% of the members were evangelicals compared to the year 1986, where it was only 6.78%. The coding for political organizing has been proven to be accurate as evangelicals successfully teach their members how to vote. Therefore, the Christian and conservative parties can depend on the evangelical communities to vote them in as long as they continue to push policies relating to Christian values and combating gender ideology. The evangelical movement had become a powerful veto player against GSM because of the success

in participation among the church members to spread their theology and vote for candidates who represent them.

Figure 12. Evangelical Representatives elected to Chamber of Deputies (1986-2010)

Table 1. Evangelical representatives elected to Chamber of Deputies (1986-2010)

Election Date	Total Members	Evangelicals elected	Percentage
1986	487	33	6,78%
1990	503	22	4,37%
1994	513	31	6,04%
1998	513	53	10,33%
2002	513	65	12,67%
2006	513	42	8,19%
2010	513	68	13,26%
2014	513	83	16,18%

Framing: Frames their movement as keeping the family's status quo and protecting children by stating how gender ideology is harmful to Brazil's people

The code for framing reflects how the evangelical movement frames its movement to protect the family and children from gender ideology. Framing has the highest amount of coding as the code had more than half of the number of codes compared to the other codes. The code for framing has 277 (54.80%) codes out of 526 (table 6). In addition, the code for framing was found within every organization analyzed in Atlas.ti as well as the highest number of coding for all organizations that supported the evangelical movement. Framing was also paired the most with perverse and political organizing. The codes for framing, political organizing, *and/or* perverse demonstrate how they used their theology and political opinions to spread their messages that GSM are the primary reason for gender ideology coming into Brazilian society and media. In

short, the code for framing reflects how important it is for the evangelical movement and its supporters to spread their message about the harm that gender ideology is causing to the Brazilian people

The evangelical movement had two approaches on how the websites addressed Gender Ideology. The first approach is by creating blogs/articles on the definition or meaning of gender ideology and then stating the real-life implications gender ideology has on the children, families, and Brazilian people. For example, Universal Church had a code for reach when it described the definition and implications of gender ideology as they stated,

You may have heard of gender ideology. As the name implies, it highlights an idea that some people have that no one is born male or female and that the male or female gender would be a social construction. Did you find it confusing? Now can you imagine imposing this thought as the only and true thing for children and teenagers through schools, movies, soap operas, etc.? Unfortunately, many people already want and try to do just that (Carolina Cury, 2018b).

Universal Church and the evangelical Movement excels at framing gender ideology as a false concept that is confusing and harmful. Therefore, the evangelical movement spread false information about gender ideology to mark those who do not follow the heteronormative standards as a perverse identity who seek to destroy the family unit and Brazilian culture.

The Evangelical movement also does not provide data on most of their claims and statements of the harms gender ideology brings. Most of the codes for framing will instead state a claim and then addresses the harm or confusion gender ideology would cause. For instance, Universal Church argued that “The number of children in treatment, because of disorders caused by gender ideology, has increased in several countries. And one of the most influential pediatric medical associations in the United States has issued a scathing note against gender theory and

explained that this ideology could greatly confuse the minds of young people” (Carolina Cury, 2018b). As a result, Universal Church and evangelical churches can continue to spread false information through blogs/articles to make their audience believe and fear gender ideology and GSM.

The second approach to the evangelical movement’s framing uses the Church theology to show how gender ideology is sinful or wrong. To illustrate, AD (2018) believes that “gender ideology propagates that the roles of men and women have been socially constructed and that such patterns must be deconstructed. This position does not accept biological sex (male and female) as a determining factor in defining the social roles of men and women. However, the Holy Scriptures clearly teach the natural distinction of the sexes (Gen 2:15-25; Prov 31:10-31).” Moreover, the evangelical movement continues to preach using in-text bible citation that GSM, SSM, and gender ideology threaten the nature of family and Christian values. Namely, AD (2018) argues that “the idea to disappear sex-related roles will have a deleterious impact on the family. Gender Ideology considers attraction to the opposite sex, which ignores marriage and family social norms previously established by society. In this context, the first institution loved by the Creator (Gen 2:24) is constantly devalued, criticized, and massacred.” Thus, the second approach normalizes their theology as the correct and proper ideology while marking gender ideology as false and damaging to Christian, family, and Brazilian values.

The evangelical movement’s framing condemned GSM for spreading gender ideology into Brazilian society, but it also blamed feminist and progressive-leftist individuals labeled as Marxist or communist. For example, AD (2018) claimed that

Marxism exerted a strong influence on feminism, especially in the book *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State* (1884), where the patriarchal family is treated as an oppressive system between men and women. Thus, the central idea of the concept of gender was born with the feminist and Marxist Simone de Beauvoir, author of *The Second Sex* (1949), where it is stated that ‘you are not born a woman, you become a woman.’ Therefore, from the Marxist social context, which gave rise to the ‘class struggle,’ the culturalist ideology emerged as a ‘gender struggle,’ that is, a fanciful ‘class struggle between men and women.’ In this aspect, Gender Ideology intends to deconstruct male and female roles in today’s society.

Therefore, the Evangelical movement will mark those who go against their teaching as following gender ideology to label GSM, feminist, and progressive-leftist as perverse in Brazilian public attitude. The rise of policies for GSM and leftist can give the Evangelical movement a cause for the backlash as GSM are the perverse identity and are the reason for the injustices of the family unit in Brazil. In other words, framing gave the Evangelical movement fuel to become more active in political organizing to combat policies that do not reflect their values.

Even though no statistical data was found on Brazilian public opinion on gender ideology, the lack of data on public opinion does not dispute how often the evangelical movement and conservative political parties frame their concerns of protecting the family and Christian values from gender ideology. To illustrate the importance of Christian and family values, in 2018, Bolsonaro won the election and became president under their political campaign, “Brazil above everything, God above everyone.” Moreover, Bolsonaro stated that their government would work to unite the people by valuing the family, respecting religions and the Judeo-Christian tradition, and fighting gender ideology by preserving Brazilian values (Presidência da República, 2019). For that reason, Bolsonaro’s appeal lay in their promises about protecting Christian values and providing proposals on extreme solutions to lessen the population’s anger and fear of inequalities, corruption, and violence in Brazil.

Before the 2018 election, the Brazilian people were displeased with the Pink Tide movement as they believed they had failed their promises which was further strengthened by the Former President Lula corruption scandal and the impeachment of President Dilma. Despite Brazil being one of the world's largest economies, it has a high level of income inequality and unemployment. Specifically, Brazil's income inequality in 2018 had a Gini coefficient of 53.9%, which was the highest level of income inequality Brazil had gotten within the past ten years (World Bank, 2021b). In addition, the past three decades had a high rate of violence until President Cardoso and Lula brought it down. Despite the progress within those two administrations, there has been an increase in violence as 2018 had an all-time high level of homicide rate as it was among the largest globally, where 63,880 people were killed (Londoño & Darlington, 2018). In a Washington Post opinion article, President Cardoso would agree as they stated that "it was no wonder that the political system collapsed because of the reason listed above. Of the four presidents elected after the 1988 Constitution took effect, two were impeached, one is in jail for corruption, and the other is me" (Cardoso, 2018).

The election was therefore left open for Bolsonaro as they capitalized on their political campaign against corruption, received a vast amount of support from the evangelical Church as they promised to protect Christian values, and promoted a neoliberal discourse of reducing the allegedly "parasitic role" of the state in all areas of Brazilian society (Loureiro & Saad-Filho, p. 107, 2020). Therefore, the framing of the evangelical movement and conservative parties to mark the left and GSM as harmful to Brazilian society due to gender ideology, the flawed pragmatic neoliberal policies from the Pink Tide, and the corruption scandal brought consequences of

allowing public attitude to focus the faults on the system to those identities who are marked perverse for the inequalities and violence in Brazil.

Transnationalism: Have support from transnational Evangelical organizations and transnational protestant churches for support

The code for transnationalism is how evangelical denominations have support from transnational evangelical organizations and protestant churches. Transnationalism had the third-lowest amount of coding as it had 7 (3.40%) codes out of 526. Furthermore, AEL was the only organization that had codes for transnationalism. AEL had the most codes since it was a transnational evangelical group for Latin American countries. The low number of codes for transnationalism was because the political advantage is not the primary way for the evangelical movement to protect their domestic interest. For that reason, it was challenging to find other evangelical transnational organization websites that mention gender ideology as most transnational organizations' purpose was to recruit people to join a missionary. As a result, AEL was chosen as it was an alliance group of numerous evangelical groups in Latin America with news articles on its website mentioning gender ideology. Finally, the few codes it had for transnationalism demonstrated that the evangelical movement framing on gender ideology is not unique to only Brazil but also similar to other Latin American countries.

AEL has a few quotes on transnationalism that references how gender ideology because of GSM and feminist are destroying the family and Christian values. Furthermore, most of the articles mentioned state how the 22 countries participating in AEL all share the same theology. For example, in an article about protecting traditional family and bible values from gender ideology, AEL (2018b) stated, "we are committed, the 22 countries represented, to make a

defense of the principles and values based on the Word of God our own.” Another code for transnationalism is when AEL expressed how other evangelical countries should follow Argentina when the senate failed to pass a bill to legalize abortion in 2018 and successfully combat gender ideology influenced. For instance, AEL (2018a) expressed,

Today this country is an example to follow for all of Ibero-America. The Evangelical Churches of the Argentine Republic encourages all the evangelical alliances of the 22 Ibero-American countries that make up the AEL to have it as a historical reference and to continue in these challenges in defense of life, family, equality and religious freedom, and the ethical and moral values consigned in the Bible, the Word of God.

Both codes for transnationalism illustrated how AEL wants all members of the organizations to stand in defense against gender ideology to protect Christian and family values. What is significant about AEL transnationalism messaged to combat gender ideology means that the members within those 22 countries would feel justified to change policies within their own countries to protect Christian values. Therefore, AEL transnationalism means that the usage of fear of gender ideology is not unique to Brazil but also similar to other Latin American countries.

Data for transnationalism among transnational evangelical organizations primarily reflect on how Christians and Muslims are some of the largest minority groups who tackle discrimination worldwide due to restrictions on religion or discuss recruiting members for foreign missionary work. To illustrate, figure 13 demonstrates how Christians had faced high levels of discrimination in 144 countries within the year 2016 (Kishi, 2018). In addition, 87% of transnational missionary funding goes for work among those already Christian (Within Reach Global, 2021). Muslims and Christians indeed face discrimination in different states due to being seen as the perverse identity within various states. However, the problem is when a majority Christian state is concerned that they are also facing domestic discrimination as Christians due to

“attacks” on Christian values from perverse identities. Although no codes for transnationalism reflect this statement, framing had some codes for discrimination Christians in Brazil are facing.

For example, PSC stated

The term Cristophobia (prejudice against Christians and their religious practices), baptized by deputy Marco Feliciano (PSC-SP), gained attention after transsexual model Viviany Belebony characterized herself as Jesus Christ crucified at the 19th LGBT Pride Parade (Lesbians, Gays, Bisexuals, Transvestites) from São Paulo, in June 2015. In an interview, Feliciano says that he feels persecuted because of his faith and will start to judge all threats and prejudices against him and his family (Torres, 2015).

The discomfort against Christians in Brazil is minor compared to the deaths and discriminations compared to Christians labeled perverse globally and GSM labeled perverse in Brazil.

Furthermore, feeling persecuted due to discomfort, like when a transsexual model dressed as Jesus Christ, is not a form of discrimination.

Figure 13. Number of countries where religious groups were harassed, by year

Harassment of most religious groups increases in 2016

Number of countries where religious groups were harassed, by year

	'07	'08	'09	'10	'11	'12	'13	'14	'15	'16
Christians	107	95	96	111	105	110	102	108	128	144
Muslims	96	91	82	90	101	109	99	100	125	142
Jews	51	53	63	68	69	71	77	81	74	87
Others*	33	34	39	52	42	39	38	43	50	57
Folk religions**	24	19	24	26	23	26	34	21	32	41
Hindus	21	18	11	16	12	16	9	14	18	23
Buddhists	10	11	7	15	9	13	12	10	7	17
Unaffiliated	— CODING WAS NOT DONE —					3	5	4	14	14
Any of above	152	135	147	160	161	166	164	160	169	187

* Includes Sikhs, members of ancient faiths such as Zoroastrianism, members of newer faiths such as Baha'i, and other religious groups.

** Includes, for example, followers of African traditional religions, Chinese folk religions, Native American religions and Australian aboriginal religions.

Note: This measure looks at the number of countries in which groups were harassed, either by government or individuals/social groups. It does not assess the severity of the harassment. Numbers do not add to totals because multiple religious groups can be harassed in a country.

Source: Pew Research Center analysis of external data. See Methodology for details. "Global Uptick in Government Restrictions on Religion in 2016"

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Nevertheless, Christians in predominated American-Christian nations believe they will be discriminated against due to policies that challenge their beliefs. For example, the October Evangelical Leaders Survey asked the United States evangelical leaders about their experience with persecution and their projections for the future. The results stated that while only 32 percent indicated they had been persecuted for their Christian faith, 76 percent expected they would be persecuted in the coming years (NAE, 2021). Many respondents stated that future discrimination would arise because of social, financial, and political pressure, not physical violence. In comparison, AEL shares similar feelings of persecution as they had published a 78-page book in 2017 on the dangers that gender ideology presents to Christians in the Americas (Religi3n en

Libertad, 2017). In addition, AEL and the evangelical movement used many examples within their framing of the dangers of gender ideology from data collected by United States' conservative think-tanks and associations. For example, Universal Church had another code for framing when they used an example from a socially conservative advocacy group of pediatricians in the United States that "declared that 'the ideology of gender is harmful to children' and called on US lawmakers and educators to reject policies that indoctrinate children to accept these concepts" (Carolina Cury, 2018a). Hence, the United States and Latin America's transnationalism share similar public attitudes on the fear of progressive left policies that challenge Christian values.

GSM as the Perverse *and/or* Not Perverse

The section will address the codes for perverse *and/or* not perverse for how the evangelical movement perceives GSM. The codes for perverse addressed evangelical's negative attitudes that marked GSM as the other, adverse reaction to policy diffusion that GSM had gained, *and/or* trying to block a policy diffusion for GSM. On the other hand, the code for the not perverse highlighted either positive attitudes towards GSM *and/or* policy diffusion GSM had received in Brazil. The codes for perverse had the third-highest coding, which was 77 codes (15.97%) out of 526. In contrast, the code for not perverse had the second-lowest score of 20 (3.95%) codes out of 526. The codes for perverse also had the most codes linked to framing, which further illustrates that framing is the main political advantage that the evangelical movement uses to gain support. As a result, the evangelical movement's numerous codes for perverse accused GSM of spreading gender ideology in Brazilian society. In other words, gender and sexual orders can influence public attitudes to view GSM as perverse individuals who are attacking Christian and family values in Brazil.

Most of the codes for not perverse were articles that mention positive success or attitudes of GSM in Brazil but were then connected with a counterpart of why it is harmful to society. Therefore, almost half of the codes for not perverse (9 out of 20) were paired together with a code for perverse. To illustrate, a code for perverse, framing, and not perverse was when Universal Church interviewed Psychiatrist Alexandre Saadeh to speak on how gender ideology influences young people. Saadeh stated

As the media publicizes the existence of trans people and this becomes popular, many transsexuals can come out of invisibility. And that is important. But, the phenomenon also attracts confused and unstable people who fit into this new paradigm as a way to

overcome their difficulty in belonging to existing groups or to become a ‘media celebrity’ for a short period of time (Igreja Universal, 2019).

Therefore, Universal Church was able to turn a positive opinion on transgender people into a negative one as it continued to say that showing transgender people on media is confusing and causing harm to children as their cognitive brains are not ready. The statement also correlates to framing and how the evangelical movement frames gender ideology as children needing protection from GSM influences. Thus, the vast number of codes for perverse did not have a positive statement, as most evangelicals in Brazil do not have a favorable opinion on GSM.

Many of the codes for perverse instead labeled GSM as the other or pivoted GSM to the rise of gender ideology in society. Some organizations explicitly name GSM as perverse as many AD’s codes for perverse have lectures on why GSM are sinful. For instance, AD (2021) stated, “homosexuality is the sexual relationship of people of the same sex. Within the Holy Bible, it is known as the sin of Sodom and Gomorrah (Deuteronomy 23:18; 1 Cor. 6.9,10; 1 Tim. 1.10). This abomination runs counter to the divine plan for marriage which, in addition to being monogamous and indissoluble, is heterosexual (Gen. 2:24).” CNBB made a similar statement to which it states

The Church cannot fail to tell the truth that the practice of homosexuality is reprehensible... Our Catechism also says that they are contrary to natural law as they cannot perform the sexual act for the gift of life as it does not come from a genuine sentimental and sexual complementarity; in no case can they be approved (cf. n. 2357). Propagating in favor of homosexuality, even claiming that it is something natural, is bad and reprehensible.”

The message from the evangelical movement on GSM being sinful and against nature has coincided in making evangelicals view GSM as the other. For example, figure 14 illustrates how 25% of Brazilian protestants favor SSM compared to 51% of Catholics and 54% unaffiliated

(Pew Research, 2014, p. 21). In short, the codes for perverse could accuse GSM of spreading gender ideology or label GSM as the perverse by simply stating how their actions and embodiment are against Christian theology.

Figure 14. % Who favor legal gay marriage among...

**Religious Groups' Views
on Same-Sex Marriage**

% who favor legal gay marriage among ...

	Protestants	Catholics	Unaffiliated	Total
Uruguay	35%	59%	77%	62%
Argentina	32	53	75	52
Mexico	35	50	65	49
Chile	26	46	67	46
U.S. Hispanics	25	49	67	46
Brazil	25	51	54	45
Puerto Rico	20	39	49	33
Costa Rica	14	32	45	29
Colombia	14	29	n/a	28
Venezuela	14	33	n/a	28
Peru	11	29	n/a	26
Dom. Rep.	12	29	32	25
Panama	17	26	n/a	23
Bolivia	10	25	n/a	22
Ecuador	9	17	n/a	16
Nicaragua	10	21	25	16
Paraguay	8	15	n/a	15
Honduras	10	14	20	13
Guatemala	7	16	n/a	12
El Salvador	7	12	20	11

Q15

"n/a" indicates that adequate sample size is not available for analysis.

Darker shading indicates higher levels of support.

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Conclusion and Findings

The research wanted to observe if queer theory could be used in IR to help explain the new backlash on GSM in Brazil. IR is a theoretical field with a fondness for traditional theories that explain power dynamics between states and primarily focus on the international sphere. Using traditional IR theories that only focus on the international would exclude the domestic, therefore creating policies that can negatively impact GSM and marginalized communities. Queer theory instead looks at various power relations' impact on gendered and sexualized understandings of IR orders, people, states, and international organizations (Richter-Montpetit & Weber, 2017). The research used a comparative case study between two social movements by using queer discourse analysis on the figurations of the perverse *and/or* not perverse and on the Five Political advantages used to uncover the backlash of GSM in Brazil.

The research explained how the evangelical movement was able to label GSM as a perverse identity due to the political advantages of the evangelical movement. By using a comparative case study and queer theory, the research was able to decipher how one set of political advantages has a more significant impact on defining gender and sexual orders if the movement pays attention to public attitudes. The LGBTQ+ social movement predominantly focuses on survival regarding how they used their political advantage, which can be shown when most of the codes went to framing, perverse, and unity. In addition, GSM pushed for policy diffusion through the courts as a faster mechanism to gain human rights. However, the policy diffusion through the courts and municipal laws created a new backlash for GSM in Brazil as the Brazilian people are not ready for changes to public attitudes towards GSM despite the progressive laws. In addition to focusing on policy diffusion via courts, GSM should focus on

the Brazilian public to change the view of GSM from the most perverse to the not perverse. In comparison, the evangelical social movement has better engagement as their reach is vast and they focus more on changing public opinion to protect their interest.

The evangelical movement had become the new veto player in response to the policy diffusion being passed for GSM due to their political advantages, which is due to how the Evangelical movement's framing marked GSM as the perverse identity. More than half of the codes went to framing as the evangelical movement wanted Brazilian Christians to be frightened of gender ideology that was being spread by GSM, feminists, and the progressive left. Even though most of the codes for framing were repeating the same statement on how gender ideology is attacking family and Christian values, they successfully captured votes to help win elections for parties that protect their interest. Furthermore, the evangelical movement was able to help get Bolsonaro into the presidency, which gained them a spokesperson for their theology. What the evangelical movement had over the LGBTQ+ social movement was a large platform with an audience and political representatives who were receptive to the fears of gender ideology. In contrast, the LGBTQ+ social movement platform was small and had help from other social movements, which were also marked as perverse from the evangelical movement.

Additionally, transnationalism, unity, and reach had a small number of codes because the evangelical movement already has a solid base of active participants domestically, as shown within the reach section. The evangelical movement does not need to convince public attitudes to change their morals when Christianity is the predominant religion in Brazil. Instead, the Evangelical movement only needs to focus on its framing to continue the fear of gender ideology and fear of the progressive left to get its members to vote for politicians to protect the interests of

the evangelical movement. The evangelical movement and the conservative parties will continue to focus on framing GSM, feminists, and progressive leftists as the perverse identity due to gender ideology to pinpoint them as the reason for the societal and systematic issues.

Regardless of how the evangelical movement frames GSM as the perverse identity, its political advantage has been proven to have real-life consequences. The case study on the LGBTQ+ Social movement shows how GSM faced ongoing discrimination because of violence and lack of access to a quality life. Furthermore, the level of discrimination is due to negative public attitudes on GSM as gender and sexual orders are evident on who should belong in Brazilian society. GSM had always faced discrimination and violence in Brazil. However, the framing of the evangelical movement in attributing GSM for spreading gender ideology is bringing a new type of backlash. Thus, the evangelical movement is the new veto player against GSM, making GSM more hypervisible as the perverse identity in Brazil.

The research also used Brazil as a case study because it wanted to see if it was a plural figuration of the *and/or* rule because of how the western audience had labeled Brazil as a paradox of being the most progressive as well as the most unprogressive country for GSM. However, the paradox was confirmed to be false as GSM do not see Brazil as the most progressive due to the many codes that perverse had compared to not perverse within both social movements. The high number of codes for perverse further illustrates the violence, discrimination, and negative public attitudes GSM struggle within Brazil.

The research had difficulty uncovering the power relations within Brazil's gender and sexual orders that made GSM the perverse identity. Because data on GSM is almost non-existence due to heteronormative standards of collecting data, it is often challenging to obtain

reliable data about this phenomenon which led analyzing gender and sexual orders difficult. Therefore, the research became dependent on using websites to collect data. Future case studies should instead concentrate on getting data from surveys or interviews from people within the social movements to gain more information about gender and sexual orders of the country as websites tend to be a place of resource or advertisement.

Although the research had limitations, the findings illustrated that the evangelical movements impacted the backlash due to their five political advantages, as they had demonstrated to be a strong veto player against GSM. Furthermore, due to policy diffusion, this phenomenon of the rise of backlash on GSM is not unique to Brazil but similar to other Western and Latin American countries. The framing was also repeated in other Latin American countries and the United States on the fear of Christian values being under attack due to GSM, feminists, and the progressive left. Therefore, there are plenty of case studies to repeat this research and see what methods can be used to dig deeper into sexual and gender orders. Other future case studies can also look at the effectiveness of political organizing between lawmakers and courts. For example, lawmakers passed SSM by a majority vote between both chambers in Chile, while Brazil and Mexico passed SSM through the courts. Lastly, this research hoped it had created more opportunities for IR scholars to utilize queer theory on how they look for power relations within IR orders, people, states, international organizations, and social movements.

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Appendix: Abbreviations

- ABGLT:** Brazilian Association of Lesbians, Gays, Bisexuals, Transvestites, Transsexuals, and Intersex
- AD:** Assembly of God Another type of organization is the transnational Evangelical organization called the
- AEL:** Latin Evangelical Alliance
- ANTRA:** National Association of Transvestites and Transsexuals
- BIPOC:** Black, Indigenous, People of Color
- CFEMEA:** Feminist Center for Studies and Advice
- CNBB:** National Conference of Bishops of Brazil
- GGB:** Gay Group of Bahia
- GSM:** Gender and Sexual Minorities
- HRW:** Human Rights Watch
- ILGA:** International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans, and Intersex Association
- IR:** International Relations
- LGBTQ+:** Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, and Plus Identities
- O&E:** Out & Equal
- PSC:** Social Christian Party
- SSM:** Same Sex Marriage
- SOGI:** Sexual and Gender Identity
- SOF:** Sempreviva Feminist Organization
- STF:** Federal Supreme Court
- STJ:** Superior Court of Justice
- TRF:** Regional Federal Courts
- USP:** University of Sao Paulo