

**From Global to Local:
movements of the anti-gender offensive in the
Education Plans of the state of Santa Catarina¹**

*Do Global ao Local:
movimentos da ofensiva antigênero nos
Planos de Educação do estado de Santa Catarina*

*Del Global al Local:
movimientos de la ofensiva antigénero en los
Planes de Educación en el Estado de Santa Catarina*

Josimar Lottermann²
State University of Santa Catarina

Laura de Campos Pereira³
State University of Santa Catarina

Geovana Mendonça Lunardi Mendes⁴
State University of Santa Catarina

Abstract: This article analyzes how the anti-gender offensive materializes in the State Education Plan of Santa Catarina and in the state's Municipal Education Plans. Anchored in the Policy Cycle approach, the study examines the context of the production of political texts, taking the National Education Plan as a reference to understand the disputes at the state and municipal levels. The results indicate that the offensive operates through different strategies: at the state level, through the adoption of generic language that produces semantic evasion; and at the municipal level, through the intensification of processes of silencing, exclusion, and regulation of the term "gender." It is argued that these dynamics configure a cycle of exclusion and regulation, in which gender is not eliminated, but its meanings and possibilities for emancipation are controlled in educational policies.

Keywords: Anti-gender offensive; Educational Policies; Education Plans; Gender; Policy cycle.

Resumo: Este artigo analisa como a ofensiva antigênero se materializa no Plano Estadual de Educação de Santa Catarina e nos Planos Municipais de Educação do estado. Ancorado na abordagem do Ciclo de Políticas, o estudo examina o contexto de produção dos textos políticos, tomando o Plano Nacional de Educação como referência para compreender o deslocamento das disputas para as escalas estadual e municipal. Os resultados indicam que a ofensiva opera por meio de diferentes estratégias: no plano estadual, pela adoção de linguagem

¹ Graziela Cristina Gonçalves, UDESC, Itajaí, Brazil. E-mail: professoragraziela@itajai@gmail.com.

² Master of Education. Universidade do Estado de Santa Catarina (UDESC), Florianópolis, Santa Catarina (SC), Brazil. E-mail: josimarlottermann@gmail.com; Lattes: <http://lattes.cnpq.br/1147440002785647>; ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0009-0007-8015-4956>.

³ Master of Education. Universidade do Estado de Santa Catarina (UDESC), Florianópolis, Santa Catarina (SC), Brazil. E-mail: laurapereira.pedagoga@gmail.com; Lattes: <http://lattes.cnpq.br/3322420951647725>; ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0009-0003-0573-4345>.

⁴ PhD. Universidade do Estado de Santa Catarina (UDESC), Florianópolis, Santa Catarina (SC), Brazil. E-mail: geolunardi@gmail.com; Lattes: <http://lattes.cnpq.br/6078460594205572>; ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8848-7436>.

genérica que produz evasão semântica; e, no nível municipal, pela intensificação de processos de silenciamento, exclusão e regulação do termo “gênero”. Argumenta-se que essas dinâmicas configuram um ciclo de exclusão e regulação, no qual o gênero não é eliminado, mas tem seus sentidos e possibilidades de emancipação controlados nas políticas educacionais.

Palavras-chave: Ofensiva antigênero; Políticas Educacionais; Planos de Educação; Gênero; Ciclo de políticas.

Resumen: Este artículo analiza cómo se materializa la ofensiva antigénero en el Plan Estadual de Educación de Santa Catarina y en los Planes Municipales de Educación del estado. Basado en el enfoque del Ciclo de Políticas, esta investigación examina el contexto de la producción de textos políticos, tomando como referencia el Plan Nacional de Educación para comprender el desplazamiento de las disputas a los niveles de estado y municipio. Los resultados indican que la ofensiva opera a través de diferentes estrategias: al nivel de estado, mediante la adopción de un lenguaje genérico que produce evasión semántica; y a nivel de municipio, mediante la intensificación de procesos de silenciamiento, exclusión y regulación del término "género". Se argumenta que estas dinámicas configuran un ciclo de exclusión y regulación, en el que el género no se elimina, pero sus significados y posibilidades de emancipación se controlan en las políticas educativas.

Palabras clave: Ofensiva antigénero; Políticas Educativas; Plan de Educación; Género; Ciclo de políticas.

Received on: March 31, 2026.

Accepted on: May 25, 2026.

Introduction

In recent decades, Brazilian educational policies have become a field marked by disputes and tensions surrounding issues of gender and sexuality. This process intensified particularly during the development and approval of the National Education Plan (2014 - 2024), when the inclusion of these themes in official policy documents became the target of strong opposition from conservative, religious, and political actors. Within this context, the so-called anti-gender offensive emerged and consolidated itself in Brazil as a political and ideological movement aimed at restricting rights, delegitimizing gender studies, and preventing the incorporation of gender-related issues into educational public policies.

Far from being an isolated phenomenon, this offensive is articulated on a global scale through transnational networks that connect discourses, strategies, and political actors across different countries. It represents an organized reaction to the advances achieved by feminist and LGBTQIAPN+ movements and operates through alarmist narratives centered on the defense of the traditional family and the alleged protection of children. Within these narratives, gender is constructed as a moral and social threat, frequently associated with indoctrination, the corruption of values, and the disruption of the social order.

In Brazil, these disputes have become particularly prominent within the educational field, especially during discussions surrounding the drafting and approval of the National Education Plan (PNE) at the National Conference on Education (CONAE). During this process, explicit references to gender and sexual orientation were challenged, contested, and ultimately removed from the final text following intense political pressure. This movement not only marked a turning point in national educational policy but also shifted these conflicts to state and municipal levels, transforming the development of education plans into arenas of political and moral contestation as well as sites for the production of meanings about education itself.

It is within this context that the present article is situated. Its objective is to analyze how the anti-gender offensive manifests itself in the State Education Plan and the Municipal Education Plans of Santa Catarina. The study examines both the state plan and the municipal education plans of the state, seeking to understand how gender is incorporated, transformed, displaced, manipulated, or silenced within these policy texts. The article argues that the anti-gender offensive operates not only through the direct exclusion of gender-related issues but also through a discursive engineering that regulates their meanings and redefines the boundaries of what can be addressed and how it can be addressed within educational policy.

The Anti-Gender Offensive: Discourses, Circulation, and Moral Panic

The anti-gender offensive can be understood as an articulated reaction to the advances of feminist and LGBTQIAPN+ agendas, taking the form of a transnational political and ideological movement (Junqueira, 2018; Butler, 2024). Across different national contexts, networks composed of religious groups, political actors, international organizations, and media apparatuses have mobilized to promote the global circulation of discourses and strategies aimed at contesting gender equality policies (Butler, 2024; Junqueira, 2018; 2022). This transnational dimension demonstrates that such developments are not isolated phenomena restricted to Brazil or Latin America, but rather constitute a coordinated process of meaning-making and political mobilization sustained by articulations operating simultaneously at both symbolic and institutional levels across the globe.

From a genealogical perspective, this offensive can be traced back to disputes surrounding the institutionalization of gender as a category within the field of international human rights, particularly following the Cairo Conference (1994) and the Beijing Conference

(1995), when conservative religious groups began mobilizing against the incorporation of the concept into official documents (Corrêa, 2018). In this context, the Vatican played a central role in formulating a counter-discourse that portrayed gender as a threat to the heterosexual family and the social order, inaugurating a political grammar that linked demands for equality to moral and civilizational risks (Corrêa, 2018).

This reaction was not confined to the religious sphere. Rather, it expanded through transnational networks that articulated financial, media, and cultural structures, enabling the widespread circulation of anti-gender discourses throughout society. In this sense, the anti-gender offensive can be understood as a multifaceted network that seeks to delegitimize and challenge affirmative demands related to gender and sexuality, operating across different social and political arenas (Tesser, 2022). It thus constitutes a global strategy that is translated into local contexts, assuming specific configurations according to the balance of political forces within each territory.

As Butler (2024) argues, at the discursive level, the anti-gender offensive is organized through the construction of alarmist narratives that associate gender with threats to childhood, the dissolution of the family, and the moral decline of society. The philosopher interprets this phenomenon as an expression of an “inflamed syntax” (Butler, 2024), that is, a way of ordering the world that captures diffuse social anxieties and reorganizes them around a common enemy. Within this process, fears associated with economic precarity, social transformation, and the erosion of patriarchal authority are displaced onto gender, which comes to function as a signifier that condenses these tensions. By externalizing such anxieties onto an apparently identifiable object, this political grammar simplifies the complexity of contemporary social transformations and intensifies perceptions of threat (Butler, 2024).

This mechanism produces a scenario of moral panic (Cohen, 1972), in which gender is constructed as an existential threat, thereby legitimizing practices of censorship, exclusion, and social control. At the same time, this discursive operation functions as a mechanism of depoliticization insofar as it redirects attention away from the structural causes of contemporary crises toward an easily identifiable symbolic target. As Junqueira (2022) argues, the notion of “gender ideology” does not constitute an analytical category but rather a political-discursive artifact designed to mobilize affects, generate adherence, and legitimize interventions in the field of public policy. Similarly, Bortolini (2023, p. 17) argues that “engagement in an anti-LGBTQIAPN+ and anti-feminist agenda, particularly in education, gradually became a means of producing visibility and electoral capital for conservative politicians.”

In Brazil, this dynamic became particularly pronounced from the 2010s onward, when the expression “gender ideology” came to occupy a central position in public debate and educational disputes. Events such as the suspension of the *Escola sem Homofobia* educational materials, the expansion of the *Escola sem Partido* movement, and, above all, the controversies surrounding the approval of the 2014–2024 National Education Plan (PNE) illustrate the growing mobilization capacity of these groups. During the legislative process of the PNE, pressure exerted by conservative sectors resulted in the removal of references to gender and sexual orientation from the final text (Vianna; Bortolini, 2020), producing political and symbolic effects that reconfigured the boundaries of educational debate. This exclusion not only silenced specific agendas but also inaugurated a new discursive regime in which the mere mention of gender became an object of suspicion and contestation, paving the way for the expansion of the anti-gender offensive at both state and municipal levels.

The Policy Cycle and the Local Translation of Educational Policies

Over recent decades, educational policies have been produced within a context of increasing internationalization, in which multilateral organizations and global agendas oriented toward efficiency, performativity, and competitiveness have exerted significant influence on education systems. This process, deeply shaped by neoliberal rationality, has challenged the role of the state and reconfigured the notion of public education, progressively associating it with performance metrics and productivity. As Ball (2001) argues, educational policies must be understood within this global context, being continuously shaped by pressures operating at international, national, and local scales, while expressing disputes, negotiations, and conflicts among different social, political, and economic forces.

It is from this perspective that the present study is grounded in the Policy Cycle Approach (Bowe, Ball, & Gold, 1992; Ball, 1994), which conceives educational policy as a dynamic, non-linear, and constantly contested process. This approach shifts the focus away from a sequential view centered on formulation, implementation, and evaluation toward an understanding in which policies are continuously reinterpreted, recontextualized, and translated across different arenas. As Mainardes (2006) emphasizes, this framework enables researchers to follow policies from their conception to their incorporation into school contexts, highlighting relations of power and processes of meaning-making.

Drawing on this approach, Lopes and Macedo (2011) systematize the Policy Cycle into three interrelated contexts. The first, the Context of Influence, refers to the arena in which different groups—including political parties, religious organizations, social movements, and economic actors—compete to shape the meanings of public policies, defining priorities, values, and directions for state action through discursive strategies.

The second, the Context of Policy Text Production, concerns the formalization of these discourses into official documents and involves executive and legislative bodies responsible for drafting laws, plans, guidelines, and policy statements (Lopes & Macedo, 2011). Within the scope of this study, this context assumes particular analytical relevance, as it encompasses the production of the Santa Catarina State Education Plan and the 295 Municipal Education Plans. These are understood as policy texts that condense disputes surrounding the inclusion, reformulation, or exclusion of gender-related issues, thereby expressing negotiations, tensions, and reinterpretations among the actors involved.

The third, the Context of Practice, refers to the processes through which policy texts are received, interpreted, and translated within school settings. In these contexts, policies are recreated in the everyday life of educational institutions and may be appropriated, adapted, or resisted by the actors who engage with them (Lopes & Macedo, 2011). Policy implementation, therefore, should not be understood as a passive process but rather as a contested field shaped by political positions and pedagogical conceptions.

As Ball et al. (1992) argue, the Policy Cycle constitutes a heuristic tool that enables researchers to grasp the complexity of policy processes by rejecting linear interpretations and emphasizing the relational character of different policy contexts. As Ball (1994) further notes, understanding educational policies requires moving beyond dichotomies such as global/local or macro/micro and instead focusing on the interrelationships among these different levels.

Moreover, policies can be understood as textual interventions that produce both material and symbolic effects. They do not operate in a neutral manner, as they carry particular constraints and possibilities for action. Drawing inspiration from Michel Foucault, Ball (1992) argues that certain policies may constitute “regimes of truth,” producing discourses that shape institutional practices and ways of thinking within the educational field. This perspective is particularly relevant for analyzing the anti-gender offensive, as it highlights how specific discourses regulate what can and cannot be said about gender and sexuality.

This article forms part of a broader research project examining the impacts of the anti-gender offensive on educational policies in Santa Catarina. In this specific analysis, attention

is focused on the Context of Policy Text Production, articulating the State Education Plan and the Municipal Education Plans through a multiscalar perspective. This approach makes it possible to understand how disputes surrounding gender-related issues manifest themselves at different levels, revealing both continuities and local variations.

Regarding the methodological procedures, Municipal Education Plans were collected and downloaded from municipal council websites, alongside the Santa Catarina State Education Plan. The documents were organized in a spreadsheet for systematization and analysis, followed by an exploratory reading aimed at identifying the presence, absence, replacement, or reformulation of the term “gender.”

This stage of the analysis was guided by the understanding that education plans constitute policy texts traversed by discursive disputes. Consequently, the analysis went beyond a quantitative verification of the term and considered its uses, erasures, and reconfigurations, making it possible to identify patterns of silencing, strategies of terminological substitution, and forms of conceptual emptying as expressions of the anti-gender offensive.

This methodological approach thus enables an examination of how guidelines produced within global and national contexts are recontextualized at the state level and translated into municipal education plans, revealing the multiscalar dynamics of the anti-gender offensive and the ways in which its discourses and strategies circulate and become materialized within educational policies in Santa Catarina.

From the National Education Plan to the Santa Catarina State Education Plan: The Institutionalization of Silence

The approval of the National Education Plan (PNE) represents a decisive moment in the institutionalization of the anti-gender offensive in Brazil. The removal of explicit references to gender and sexual orientation from the final text constitutes more than a merely terminological change; it represents a political displacement that redefines the boundaries of educational debate. By eliminating categories that name structural inequalities, the plan comes to address discrimination in generic terms, thereby diluting the specificity of forms of violence related to gender and sexuality.

This movement became evident in the very process through which the 2014–2024 PNE was formulated. At the 2010 National Conference on Education (CONAE), the inclusion of gender and sexuality issues in teacher education and school curricula was proposed; however, the final text underwent significant modifications (Cavalcante et al.,

2017). In 2014, the Chamber of Deputies approved a version that incorporated references to gender equality and sexual orientation, which were subsequently replaced by the Senate with a generic guideline concerning citizenship. Although the expression “gender equality” was temporarily reinstated when the proposal returned to the Chamber, pressure from conservative sectors—who associated its inclusion with the promotion of homosexuality in schools—ultimately resulted in the approval of a plan containing no explicit references to these categories (Vianna & Bortolini, 2020).

With the enactment of Law No. 13,005/2014, which required the development of state and municipal education plans by 2015, the conflict was displaced to other scales of the policy cycle. In this context, the dissemination of discourses opposing the so-called “gender ideology” operated as a vector for the standardization of exclusion, producing direct effects on the formulation of state and municipal plans. The omission of these themes undermines policies aimed at combating LGBTQIAPN+ discrimination, sexism, and misogyny, renders certain subjects invisible, and weakens teacher education for inclusive schooling.

The disputes surrounding the PNE directly shaped the Santa Catarina State Education Plan (Law No. 16,794/2015). Although Article 2 affirms a commitment to the “overcoming of inequalities” and the “eradication of all forms of discrimination” (Santa Catarina, 2015), the plan omits terms such as “gender,” “sexuality,” and “sexual orientation.” This omission constitutes not merely an absence but part of a broader pattern of discursive regulation within state education plans.

As Vianna and Bortolini (2020) demonstrate, State Education Plans can be grouped according to different approaches to gender: explicit prohibition, total omission, partial incorporation, and explicit inclusion of gender and sexual diversity agendas. Santa Catarina falls within the category of partial incorporation, which includes fourteen Brazilian states where gender-related issues appear diluted within generic formulations linked to human rights, a culture of peace, or equality between men and women, without direct reference to gender inequalities or the demands of LGBTQIAPN+ populations.

Within this group, one observes the systematic replacement of the category “gender” with terms such as “sex” or the binary formulation “men and women,” alongside the absence of references to sexual diversity and gender identities. Such a configuration empties the critical potential of the category and reinscribes educational policy within a cisheteronormative matrix, in which inequalities are treated as universal abstractions.

In the case of Santa Catarina, this movement is expressed in particularly significant ways. The plan includes references to domestic violence and the promotion of a culture of peace, yet without explicitly linking these issues to gender relations. As

Vianna and Bortolini (2020) argue, this type of formulation allows themes such as sexism, gender-based violence, and discrimination to be addressed in a manner disconnected from the structures that produce them, opening space for both progressive and conservative interpretations.

Furthermore, the plan contains provisions that reaffirm the primacy of the family over the school in addressing these issues, shifting education from a field concerned with the guarantee of rights to a space regulated by private moral values. In doing so, it reinforces the delegitimization of schools as legitimate arenas for debate on gender and sexuality.

Thus, rather than a simple form of silencing, what can be observed in the Santa Catarina State Education Plan is the consolidation of a specific mode of governing the issue of gender. Gender is not explicitly prohibited; instead, it is displaced into a discursive field in which it loses its capacity to name inequalities and provide a foundation for public policy. This operation preserves the appearance of a commitment to equality while simultaneously neutralizing the conceptual tools necessary for its realization.

The analysis of the Santa Catarina State Education Plan therefore demonstrates that the anti-gender offensive operates not only through direct suppression but also through strategies of dilution, generalization, and discursive reconfiguration. Within this terrain, a productive silence is established—one that avoids challenging structures of oppression and contributes to the maintenance of hegemonic norms, thereby limiting the formulation of effective actions and transforming the discourse of equality into a mechanism of invisibilization.

Municipal Education Plans: The Intensification of the Anti-Gender Offensive

It is at the level of Municipal Education Plans that the anti-gender offensive manifests itself most intensely and capillarily. The analysis of the 295 education plans in Santa Catarina reveals that gender is not simply eliminated but rather subjected to different discursive strategies that regulate its meanings. In this context, a range of movements can be observed, from semantic emptying to explicit prohibition, including intermediate forms of inclusion that restrict the political scope of the issue.

Studies examining the development of municipal education plans in Santa Catarina demonstrate that this process was marked by intense disputes in which organized religious groups played a central role. In the case of Blumenau, Bolda and Souza (2018) show that the formulation of the Municipal Education Plan revealed the coordinated action of political-religious actors who, mobilizing electoral capital (Bortolini, 2023) linked to churches and

religious leaders, intervened directly in the legislative process to ensure the removal of references to gender and diversity from the final text. The actions of council members supported by religious constituencies, combined with the mobilization of congregants and the circulation of moralizing discourses, demonstrate that the exclusion of these categories was not a collateral effect but the result of deliberate political action aimed at defending specific political agendas and securing legitimacy among voters. As a result of these actions, the Blumenau Municipal Education Plan inscribes gender in a prohibitive sense, explicitly determining that the issue should not be addressed in schools:

The distribution and production of materials within the municipal public education system that reference gender policies, gender ideology, or gender orientation are prohibited. [...] The maintenance or inclusion of the expressions “gender ideology” and “gender orientation” in any educational documents, particularly curriculum guidelines, is prohibited (Blumenau Municipal Education Plan, 2015).

Similarly, Santin et al. (2019) demonstrate that, in Chapecó, the process of developing the Municipal Education Plan was marked by a highly conflictive public hearing in which educational debate became the terrain of an explicit dispute between antagonistic educational projects. According to the authors, the Municipal Council chamber on July 31, 2015, was overcrowded, with an unusually large public presence, ticket distribution, and even restrictions on entry due to capacity limits. This scenario indicates the degree of mobilization surrounding the issue. The hearing space itself was physically divided. On one side were groups opposed to the inclusion of the term “gender,” predominantly linked to Christian churches, carrying signs reading “boys are born boys and girls are born girls” and “no to gender ideology, no to brainwashing our children” (Santin et al., 2019). This group included religious leaders such as the Bishop of the Diocese of Chapecó and a Pentecostal pastor from another state, demonstrating that the mobilization extended beyond the local sphere and was articulated through broader networks (Santin et al., 2019).

On the other side of the chamber were students, teachers, union representatives, and members of LGBTQIAPN+ movements who defended the inclusion of gender as a fundamental category for understanding social inequalities and combating violence. Their interventions expressed a different political grammar, grounded in the defense of secularism, human rights, and education as a space of plurality. Their signs demanded “an education that no longer promotes oppression” and “respect for the Constitution, without fundamentalism” (Santin et al., 2019).

These cases reveal that municipal councils became central arenas of the anti-gender offensive, where religious discourses, political strategies, and electoral interests converged in the production of educational policy texts. This was therefore not merely a reproduction of national-level disputes but an active process of translating and intensifying conflicts, in which local actors played a decisive role in determining what could or could not be said in official policy documents.

The analysis of the 295 Municipal Education Plans in Santa Catarina empirically demonstrates the concrete effects of the displacement of the anti-gender offensive to the local level. The data reveal an uneven distribution among silencing, semantic emptying, and restricted or expanded forms of gender inclusion, indicating that the anti-gender offensive operates even within the very presence of the term itself.

The findings show the formation of two major groups: those plans in which the word “gender” appears and those in which it is absent. In 153 plans, the term appears at some point in the text, while 141 documents contain no mention of the word whatsoever; one plan could not be located. However, this initial division, although relevant, does not capture the full complexity of the phenomenon. A closer examination of the 153 plans in which the term appears reveals that its presence is highly heterogeneous and, in many cases, disconnected from any commitment to gender-related issues in education. In 68 of these documents, the term is used in contexts unrelated to political or pedagogical debates, such as “text genres,” food categories, or statistical descriptions of population distribution. This indicates a process of semantic emptying in which the term is retained while being deprived of its capacity to name inequalities.

Considering this finding, only 85 of the 295 plans effectively mobilize the term “gender” in ways related to education, diversity, or inequality. Even within this group, its presence is unevenly distributed. In 53 plans, references to gender are limited and often concentrated in teacher education, suggesting a displacement of the issue into a technical-pedagogical sphere that restricts it to teacher training while avoiding its broader incorporation into curricula, school practices, and institutional guidelines. This movement suggests a form of discursive accommodation in which gender is admitted in a controlled manner without directly challenging curricular content or the organization of educational policy. Only 32 plans display a broader and more transversal incorporation of the issue, distributing references throughout the document and linking them to principles of equality, citizenship, and the fight against discrimination.

These findings demonstrate that the mere presence of the term “gender” cannot be interpreted as a direct indicator of the incorporation of diversity agendas into

educational policies. On the contrary, they reveal that the anti-gender offensive also operates within presence itself, regulating the possible meanings of the term and limiting its political and pedagogical reach. What is at stake, therefore, is not simply a conflict between presence and absence but a dispute over the very conditions of intelligibility of the concept within policy texts.

Conversely, the group of 141 plans in which the term is absent demonstrates the effectiveness of silencing strategies. In these documents, the exclusion of “gender” is frequently accompanied by its replacement with generic formulations such as “the eradication of all forms of discrimination” or “the promotion of human rights,” thereby diluting the specificity of gender- and sexuality-based inequalities. Furthermore, cases were identified in which the term, initially present, was subsequently removed through municipal legislative amendments, as occurred in the municipalities of Garopaba, Gravatal, and Palma Sola. These cases indicate that policy texts remain objects of ongoing intervention even after their formal approval.

In this sense, rather than a simple division between inclusion and exclusion, the findings reveal the coexistence of multiple forms of regulating gender within Municipal Education Plans: silencing, semantic emptying, restricted inclusion, broader incorporation, and, in some cases, explicit prohibition (as in Blumenau and Pomerode). These different configurations indicate that the anti-gender offensive operates not only through direct suppression but also through a political grammar that reorganizes the meanings of educational policy by defining what can be said, how it can be said, and under what conditions.

Municipal Education Plans therefore constitute the arena in which the anti-gender offensive becomes most capillary and materially embedded. It is at this level that the discursive conflicts observed at national and state levels are translated into concrete decisions regarding policy texts, demonstrating that silence surrounding gender is not an absence but the outcome of political disputes that determine which lives, experiences, and inequalities may—or may not—be named within the educational field.

Final Considerations: The Cycle of Exclusion and the Regulation of Gender

Santa Catarina did not merely absorb the discourses of the anti-gender offensive; it institutionalized them. The state became a laboratory for the production and dissemination of these narratives, which are translated into policies that silence, render invisible, and exclude. The deliberate omission of gender and sexuality from educational plans is the expression of a political project that operates through exclusion, fear, and the denial of diversity.

The analysis of different levels of educational policy demonstrates that this process does not occur in a fragmented manner but rather as part of an articulated pattern of action. At the national level, the formal suppression of gender redefines the parameters of debate. At the state level, semantic evasion through generic formulations displaces and dilutes conflict. At the municipal level, both the intensification of censorship strategies and more refined forms of regulating meaning can be observed. Far from being isolated developments, these movements form a continuous process in which different strategies combine and generate cumulative effects of silencing. What emerges is a cycle of exclusion and regulation of gender in which the issue is not entirely eliminated but has the boundaries of its discursive existence constantly redefined.

Within these policy documents, silence is not neutral; it is strategic. What is not named does not exist, and what does not exist requires no protection. As demonstrated throughout this analysis, however, this silence is not an absolute absence but part of a regime of discursive production that regulates what can be said, thought, and legitimized within educational policies. Through strategies of generalization, displacement, and containment, this regime reshapes the contours of educational debate and produces concrete effects on the visibility of subjects, forms of violence, teacher education, and possibilities for confronting inequalities.

Drawing on the Policy Cycle Approach, this study demonstrates that such omissions are the result of ideological choices articulated across different scales, revealing that educational policies are produced within a field of disputes in which global discourses are translated, reconfigured, and intensified in local contexts. At the same time, the analysis shows that policies do not end with the text itself; they are continuously reinterpreted within contexts of practice, where tensions, negotiations, and possibilities for resistance also emerge. Although education plans constitute important mechanisms of discursive regulation, they do not determine in any absolute sense what occurs in everyday school life. The actors who work in schools are not merely executors of official prescriptions but active interpreters of policy. Consequently, even in contexts marked by the silencing or exclusion of gender-related issues, teachers, school leaders, students, and the broader school community may produce interpretations that expand the meanings of policy beyond its formal limits.

These reinterpretations may take different forms: the incorporation of debates on human rights, diversity, respect for differences, and the prevention of violence; the development of pedagogical projects committed to inclusion; and the construction of supportive practices for LGBTQIAPN+ students, among many other possibilities. Thus, although the anti-gender offensive imposes significant restrictions within policy texts, its effects are neither homogeneous nor entirely predictable, since policies are constantly recreated in the contexts in which they are lived.

To resist this silencing is to reaffirm that schools should be spaces of plurality, protection, and transformation. More than that, it is to recognize that the educational field itself remains a terrain of dispute where different projects of society and collective life confront one another. May we continue to challenge these attempts at the “institutionalization of prejudice” (Butler, 2024), striving to strengthen public policies committed to dignity, belonging, and human rights. After all, education is a right for everyone.

References

- BALL, S. J. *Diretrizes Políticas Globais e Relações Políticas Locais em Educação*. Currículo sem Fronteiras, v.1, n.2, pp.99-116, Jul/Dez 2001. Disponível em: <http://www.curriculosemfronteiras.org/vol1iss2articles/ball.pdf>. Acesso em: 25 de abril de 2025.
- BALL, S. J. *Educational reform: a critical and post-structural approach*. Buckingham: Open University Press, 1994.
- BLUMENAU (SC). *Lei Complementar nº 994, de 16 de julho de 2015*. Aprova o Plano Municipal de Educação de Blumenau – PME e dá outras providências. Blumenau, SC, 2015. Disponível em: <https://leismunicipais.com.br/plano-municipal-de-educacao-blumenau-sc>. Acesso em: 19 mar. 2025.
- BOLDA, B.S.; SOUZA, J. *A Atuação da Bancada Religiosa na Controvérsia em Torno da Presença das Questões de Gênero no Plano Municipal da Educação (PME) em Blumenau de 2015*. Ciências Sociais y Religión/Ciências Sociais e Religião, Porto Alegre, v. 20, n. 28, p. 47-62, 1 jul. 2018. Disponível em: <https://periodicos.sbu.unicamp.br/ojs/index.php/csr/article/view/8669774>. Acesso em: 04 set. 2024.
- BORTOLINI, A. *É para falar de gênero sim: fundamentos legais e científicos da abordagem de questões de gênero na educação*. [s.n.], Brasília, 2023.
- BOWE, R.; BALL, S. J.; GOLD, Anne. *Reforming education & changing schools: case studies in policy sociology*. London: Routledge, 1992.
- BUTLER, J. *Quem tem medo do gênero?* São Paulo: Boitempo, 2024.
- CAVALCANTE, J. M. et al. *Discursos Políticos Acerca da “Ideologia de Gênero” na Discussão do Plano Municipal de Educação de João Pessoa-PB*. Interfaces Científicas - Educação, Aracaju, v. 5, n. 3, p. 17-30, 5 jul. 2017. Disponível em: <https://periodicos.set.edu.br/educacao/article/view/4362>. Acesso em: 04 set. 2024.
- COHEN, S. *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The Creation of the Mods and the Rockers*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1972.
- CÔRREA, S. *A “política do gênero”: um comentário genealógico*. Cadernos Pagu (53), 2018. Disponível em: <https://doi.org/10.1590/18094449201800530001>. Acesso em: 05 de out. 2023.

JUNQUEIRA, R. D. *A invenção da “ideologia de gênero”: a emergência de um cenário político-discursivo e a elaboração de uma retórica reacionária antigênero*. Psicologia Política, vol. 18, n° 43, p. 449-502 set. – dez. 2018. Disponível em: <https://pepsic.bvsalud.org/pdf/rpp/v18n43/v18n43a04.pdf>. Acesso em: 16 de set. de 2025.

JUNQUEIRA, R. D. *A invenção da Ideologia de Gênero: um projeto de poder*. Brasília: Editora Letras Livres, 2022.

LOPES, A. C.; MACEDO, E. *Teorias de Currículo*. São Paulo: Cortez, 2011.

MAINARDES, J. *Abordagem do Ciclo de Políticas: uma contribuição para análise de políticas educacionais*. Educação e Sociedade, Campinas, vol. 27, n. 94, p. 47-69, jan./abr., 2006. Disponível em: <http://www.scielo.br/pdf/es/v27n94/a03v27n94.pdf>. Acesso em: 30 de abril. 2025.

SANTA CATARINA. *Decreto de Lei nº 16.794, de 14 de dezembro de 2015*. Aprova o Plano Estadual de Educação (PEE-SC) e dá outras providências. Florianópolis: Governo, 2015.

SANTIN, M. A. V.; CATTANI, D.; CECCHETTI, E. Gênero e religião: disputas políticas na construção do plano municipal de educação de Chapecó/SC. *Revista Pedagógica*, Chapecó, v. 21, p. 306-21, 20 dez. 2019. Disponível em: <https://pegasus.unochapeco.edu.br/revistas/index.php/pedagogica/article/view/5261>. Acesso em: 04 set. 2024.

TESSER, T. P. *Ofensivas Antigênero e Antifeminismo*. Nexo Políticas Públicas. Disponível em: pp.nexojornal.com.br/glossario/ofensivas-antig%c3%aanero-e-antifeminismo. Acesso em: 13 de jun. de 2025.

VIANNA, C.; BORTOLINI, A. *Discurso antigênero e agendas feministas e LGBT nos planos estaduais de educação: tensões e disputas*. Educação e Pesquisa, São Paulo, v. 46, p. 1-25, 2020. Disponível em: scielo.br/j/ep/a/Tc37WjhH7ywmFCpJJ4NbBCH/?format=pdf. Acesso em: 13 mar. 2025.