

“Our gender comes from God”:¹

Heterosexual and cisgendered normativity in children's religious videos on YouTube

“Nosso gênero vem de Deus”:

Normatividade heterossexual e cisgênera em vídeos religiosos infantis no YouTube

Danielle Brasiliense

Professor at the Graduate Program in Culture and Territorialities (UFF).

Universidade Federal Fluminense, Programa de Pós-graduação em Cultura e Territorialidades, Niterói (RJ), Brasil.

Tatiana Clébicar

Doctoral candidate in Information and Communication in Health (Fiocruz), Capes scholarship holder.

Fiocruz, Programa de Pós-graduação em Informação e Comunicação em Saúde, Rio de Janeiro (RJ), Brasil.

Introduction

Polemic discussions about sexuality are not rare in the Brazilian political field. Several critics based on moral issues concerning gender and sex have produced affinities among different groups of Christians

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which, in the last few years, have gained power in the building of public policies which are moving further and further from secularism and are guided by doctrinal and religious convictions (MACHADO, 2012). One of the issues in the agreement is the so-called “gender ideology”. The expression was first used before the turn of the century on a document from the now defunct Pontifical Council for the Family (1999) and today it is capable of uniting protestants and catholics. Since then, the notion of gender ideology has become the main discursive strategy of conservative groups, which are opposed to the progress of sexual rights in the country (LIONÇO et al., 2018). Their arguments, which targets particularly the educational area, notably those related to children and adolescents, were highly applied during the 2018 Brazilian presidential campaign, although they had already been expanding throughout right-wing groups worldwide. This moral panic scenario, which was installed during the electoral debates, started spreading narratives concerning what was called gender shifting and which, supposedly, aimed to defend the minors’ cisgender and heterosexual moral integrity.

The way that the Head of the Human Rights, Family and Woman Ministry, Damara Alves, celebrated when she officially took office in 2019, strengthens this perception about the children and the adolescents place in her speech and also by the way she addresses the genders in these categories. By means of amateur videos posted on social media websites and which captured the media's full attention, she warned: “Attention, attention! It’s a new era in Brazil: boys wear blue and girls wear pink!”(PAINS, 2019). Her line summarized a speech which was already going around in different fields, specially mobilizing social actors who move among education, politics and religion, despite the significant difference in the addressing. Whilst the minister talks about the children, videos which were posted on Youtube were willing to talk to the children about gender issues.

In the light of this context, it seemed to be appropriate to analyze the contents of productions made for children which are available on the internet. Our goal with this article is to map audiovisual productions which are meant to reassure only two possibilities of gender, feminine and masculine, therefore, deconstructing and silencing discussions on the LGBTQIA+ agenda over the non-binarity of genders. We know that reinforcing the binary gender category brings together voters and people who agree with these claims, a political motivation which is able to give more power to the religious ones. However, besides this attempt to conquer the empathy of the conservative ones, why have they chosen this theme and why have they propelled it through children? Why is it so important for the traditional Christian thinking mode to

refer to gender as a condition to the social order? Under what circumstances can transexuality and other gender identities be understood as sin, impurity and disorder? These are the issues we intend to raise in this article.

As we understand the relevance of Christian religions to western culture, this is the first reason we decided to interconnect christianity and gender. Thinking about this influence, we have as assumption the idea that our culture is deeply soaked by the notions of sin and purification. Our society is characterized by categories and strict moral issues, supported by christianity as the maintenance of social order. The second but not less important reason is that we are aware of it and we know the means catholics and protestants, generally with shallow biblical bases or supported by the common sense, have devoted themselves to the truth of two only possible forms of sex and gender, having its origin in what they consider as being the nature of human creation and represented by the genesis of Adam and Eve. The discursive memory of this binary mode of thinking about gender takes away the possibility of its construction as a discursive body performance (BUTLER,1999), bodies that talk. For that matter, the christian narratives have framed our bodies in one only sense, making it more difficult for us to see them as multiple, various and, therefore, deny them as a possibility of truth. The binary narrative being supported to the limit causes physical and moral violence to bodies, intending to punish and erase them, or rather, erase other possibilities of truth, moving further from doctrinal proposals based on “healthy secularismo” of the State (LIMA, 2017). Yet, why does this happen? Would it be by the desire of being unquestionable, as questioning could make the power of who speaks weaker?

The reflections about conservative beliefs and values in our culture will be built from our object of study, videos geared towards children available on Youtube which contributes to the denial and intolerance discourse related to gender diversity. The concern of religious and political groups with childhood is to safeguard the Christian discourse over gender binarism to the future generations, trying to avoid what is considered to be deviant. So we selected three videos which use children in the main roles and which last for a short time - less than five minutes. The first video was posted on November 21, 2017, the same date when a meeting was being held by the special commission to debate the bill 7180/2014, named as *School without Political Parties*. The video is titled *Gender ideology* and intends to explain what

the term refers to. The second video brings the Trio R3² singing a repetitive chorus in the videoclip *Our gender comes from God*, which was posted on May 5, 2018. The third video, *Fun time: The Creator's math book*, posted on August 8 of the same year.

With these media contents, we will conduct a reflective analysis of some concepts to understand the reasons that justify the religious and political needs to produce this audiovisual material which affirms gender binarism as the truth. We specifically chose to discuss the categories of *error* and *impossibility of changing*, although others may also be present in the study. We believe it is important to discuss them since they are highlighted in the conservative arguments, which understand them as trespassing and interdiction. This evidence has motivated us to examine how the taboo institution and the social order return and enhance. We will present a discussion on Sigmund Freud's work (2001) and will relate it to concepts described by Mary Douglas concerning religiosity and ideals of purity and sin in order to better understand the forms of organization of the Christian moralist discourses and its bases to support discourses of truth, as said by Michel Foucault. We tried to notice how the previously mentioned questions connect to the idea of necessity of building truths from the normatization of individuals, as "there cannot be particular types of subjects of knowledge, orders of truth, or domains of knowledge except on the basis of political conditions that are the very grounds on which the subject, the domains of, and the relations with truth are formed" (FOUCAULT, 2001, p. 15). After discussing the relationship between the constructions of the order and the historical truths concerning taboos, social purities and impurities, we also propose a discussion about the transsexuality and gender violence issues, to comprehend how these discourses taken as the truth, especially by the Christian narratives, contribute to the rejection and erasing of the other, that is, the sexual and gender differences.

As a method of analyze of the videos, we searched to understand, from a perspective of the narratives exhibited, the discourses of order which propose the truth and power, due to the comprehension that discourses are not what simply portraits the fights or the domination system, but that what one strives for with the reason of power and ownership (FOUCAULT, 1981). According to Foucault, sexuality and politics are social regions where black holes are multiplied - and the discourse, which has

² The vocal trio is formed by siblings Rayane, Rony, and Rayssa, children of musicians Ronny and Simone Barboza, who work in the gospel segment.

nothing of transparency or neutrality, is “one of the places where sexuality and politics exercise in a privileged way some of their most formidable powers” (FOUCAULT, 1981, p.52).

Owing to this condition of concern with what must be fearful, we propose a more attentive observation of these videos geared towards children, the future generation which will take hold of narratives about gender and sexuality in our country.

Error, taboo and sin

As stated in Freud (2001), the establishment of taboo is a primitive strategy to prevent a disorder from happening. Taboo, he claims, holds an ambivalent definition which will echo in the way we deal psychologically and socially with morality. The term is simultaneously featured as sacred or holy and dangerous, impure or forbidden. Its violation offers a huge potential of contagion by the negative effects of trespassing behaviour, which motivates purification rituals, generally with some sort of sacrifice or confessional modality, so as to neutralise the supposed consequence, at first read, as well as to discourage imitation, since without punishment, the trespasser may be seen as someone who was allowed something which is forbidden to others.

Its effectiveness as an indisputed ordaining element is, nevertheless, proportional to its inaccurate origin. “Every sort of thing is forbidden; but they have no idea why, and it does not occur to them to raise the question. On the contrary, they submit to the prohibitions as though they were a matter of course and feel convinced that any violation of them will be automatically met by the direst punishment” (FREUD, 2001, p. 25). The prohibition inputs into the individual’s behaviour an ambivalent attitude towards the object. For being denied, contact with the object becomes desirable. In elaborating his theory, Freud remarks that there is a structural kinship between the tribal taboo and the moral interdictions of his times. According to the author, “the violation of certain taboo prohibitions constitutes a social danger which must be punished or atoned for by all the members of the community if they are not all to suffer injury” (FREUD, 2001, p. 39). Owing to this collective dimension, the punitive feature of the reparation demanded for a taboo trespassing weighs more than the purification. Here, there is no intention in reinstating the trespasser back into society, yet to show to others that the example cannot be followed. This perception

motivates Freud to claim that taboo has established the moral consciousness, also originated from the ambivalence between what is desired unconsciously and what is repressed consciously.

For the author, religion, science and mythology are three huge views of the world which seek to explain it from a non negotiable perspective: death. As of the awareness of finitude, these three ontological pillars that, at times converge and at others move further, get themselves together to find explanations which will order the world. Turning to the myth of the murder of the father by his sons, a trespassing of a totemic taboo, Freud claims that the non-agression pact among the brothers, which contributes to the prohibition of the incest, founds a social taboo that will order the society. The author indicates how this organization is made: “society was now based on complicity in the common crime; religion was based on the sense of guilt and the remorse attaching to it; while morality was based partly on the exigencies of this society and partly on the penance demanded by the sense of guilt” (FREUD, 2001, p. 170).

At this point, Freud established a link with the religions whose doctrine sits on the existence of a father and an ordinary sin, shared by the whole group of its members. He mentioned Christianity as an exemplary narrative, in which the Son sacrifices his life in atonement for his brothers’ sin to reconcile with the Father. In analogy to the individual’s psychological structuring, Freud noticed the notion of the psychology of the masses, in which the trespassing of a forbidden act refers to the symbolic death of the Father and it is transmitted from generation to generation by fear. This way, “it updates a whole hobbesian tradition, who understands politics as the art of controlling the other by violence, as well as it introduces in the political science, with energy, a powerful theory of the sacrifice” (SELIGMANN-SILVA, 2013, p. 223). Freud recognizes that it is unclear how this process is transmitted from generation to generation, even though he warns that tradition and straight communication cannot explain it satisfactorily. We turn to other authors so as to try to get any progress in this direction.

The dialogue between Psychoanalysis and Anthropology takes place on a two-way road. Mary Douglas (2001) admits that in the myth described or unveiled by Freud the interdctions of a group can show its cosmology and social ordering. Yet with a caveat: if there is some validation on Freud’s postulations concerning his effort to compare the society from his times and the groups considered primitive, there is also relevance in the critique made by Evan-Pritchard which says human groups are less uniform than the theoreticians could suppose. From the perspective that the rituals dichotomies purity x

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impurity and cleanliness x dirtiness are related to the social dichotomy order x disorder, the author proposes a conjugation of intentions which focus on what there is in commun in the constitution of societies with specific variations. "The right basis for comparison is to insist on the unity of human experience and at the same time to insist on its variety, on the differences which make comparison worthwhile." (DOUGLAS, 2001, p. 78).

Thus, as she researched the sacred contagion, the author investigates what is universal and what is specific in the relationship between religion and taboo. She takes back Leviticus's biblical prescriptions, giving special emphasis on the interdicts. The book composes the Pentateuch, shared by the Jewish-Christian tradition as if it was compiled from the Mosaic teachings. In spite of observing the existence of positive prescriptions, the negative ones - the prohibitions - are those which carry the sense of the ideal of holiness, target of The Old Testament recommendations.

The author is particularly interested in the eating norms from the book and asks herself what would make one animal pure or impure for consumption, based on a theoretical construction which moves further from the idea that eating diets are strictly set by a physiological symbology and assuming that the dialectic rules are disciplinary measures. She refutes the attempts of explanation which sought to find allegorical directions in the recommendation, as in many times these allegories were incoherent, being valid for an animal and not to another, which directs her research to a commun point. This point is the quest for sanctity. She reminds us that we find the idea of separation in the etymology of this word, in manners that the feature of the saints, who should be imitated, is to be put apart in a special place. They deserve this for not trespassing certain norms whose transmission would be passed on to the following generations by the means of oral, written tradition as well as ritualistic acts, as recommended in the text.

What determines the sacred feature of certain animals and people is their separate condition. Parts of the harvest and animals offered in sacrifice were the best sample of the plantation and the herd; the ones which were flawless. The same used to happen to the persons, such as priests, who were not allowed to take part in the trades of the temple in case they were ill. Having contact with body fluids, that which had been rejected by the body, could also pollute the sacred environment. For the same reason, the dead body could also contaminate the living ones, and that is why priests were not allowed to touch corpses, doing it in very strict conditions. In all these situations, there are attributes of totality and integrality - both being qualities related to perfection. The hybridisations or ambiguities were not desired. Douglas draws

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attention to a translation mistake of the term in Hebrew *tebhel*, which means confusion and was translated as perversion. The author is not interested in the fact that the word chosen was the one which mentions the Freudian myth of the object that takes the father's place (*père-version*). She intends to show the illegal nutritional contradict anything which carries ambiguities, which cannot be classified according to the defined parameters. Would it be possible to establish a connection with the minister's line about the children's clothes color?

Pork, impure food according to Leviticus laws, is one of the examples which may help to bring light to the matter. Without concerning the habit of wallowing in the mug and living on leftovers and dirtiness, porc could not be part of their diet owing to features from two different categories: cloven hooves, like the ruminants, and monogastric digestion, like the non-ruminants. As a result, it did not fit neither of the group... In the same way, scaleless and finless sea animals were prohibited. We may forsake other examples and get straight to the point: Douglas turns to the Creation account, in which every animal had its characteristics and place, so as to understand the logic and risk to say that if the Hebrew writing knew penguins existed, they would have been included in the group of impure animals seeing that, even being birds, they cannot fly and they use their tiny wings as fins. So, according to this logic, beings which cannot be clearly put apart are not considered as pure or saintly. It is not really necessary a huge effort to think about transgender people as we establish a parallel with contemporaneity.

Although it emphasizes the permanence of the law, Christianity updates the eating rules and adopts a spiritual interpretation of what is sanctity. Douglas refers to Saint Paul's epistolary writings in which food is not considered as a spiritual contamination agent any longer. Jesus himself makes reference to it when talking about the hypocrites' behaviour: "It is not what enters one's mouth that defiles that person; but what comes out of the mouth is what defiles one. (...) But the things that come out of the mouth come from the heart, and they defile" (THE BIBLE, MATTHEW, 15, 11;18).

Douglas's interpretative key is appealing to those who are keen on the biblical text, yet her enormous contribution is addressed to her field. As a preamble of the analysis she will do on The Leles of the Kasai, people from the Belgian Congo which was visited for the first time in 1949, she alerts to the importation of uncritical ideas of the emptying ritual. For Douglas, it is impossible to conceive a religion which does not have symbols or rites. Its external shape does not represent its inner shape, but it *is* the

inner shape externalised. In spite of this, considering the videos, we highlight an extract in which she refers to the religious practice itself, something that gives support to this study.

So long as Christianity has any life, it will never be time to stop echoing the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican, to stop saying that external forms can become empty and mock the truths they stand for. With every new century we become heirs to a longer and more vigorous anti-ritualist tradition. (DOUGLAS, 2001, p. 62)

The critic refers to protestantism's comprehension of the hypocrisy which filled the catholic rituals with norms, but which also emptied them of sense. The complaint went beyond the critical review and became, according to the author, a prejudice against the ritualistic practices. To suppose it is possible to waive the symbols is to ignore the matter which forms the human beings. Thus, to understand the symbolic dimension that enlivens the human experiences, even the most literals, consists of an understanding exercise of the social relationships, specially those which are able to establish the wrongs and rights, the power relations. These relations, as the author remarks, are manifested through the bodies, symbols in miniature of the society itself, with its inscriptions and boundaries. Therefore, to talk about bodies and the forces which act on them is to speak about binarism that features our social identity: "The rituals work upon the body politic through the symbolic medium of the physical body." (DOUGLAS, 2001, p. 129).

Not just through the rituals, but also through the ordinary practices, the body is the practical place of control (FOUCAULT, 1978). Life itself, expressed in the forms of health and sexual management, has become a priority form of exercise of power. As he developed a reflection that aimed the coercitive forms of imposing normativity to families, to the forms of social organization, to desires and to psychological norms, Foucault moved his research from the cultural field to the philosophical one. According to Safatle (2015), along with other authors who took the difference as an ethical value to be pursued, Freud contributed to the "consolidation of a philosophical frame which is more suitable to the 'resumption of the otherness recognition issue as central political issue'" (SAFATLE, 2015, p. 328).

In Foucault's view, the devices of sexuality have a discursive dimension which is manifested by "the way in which sex is put into the discourse" (FOUCAULT, 1978, p.11), and which took place along the 16th century, being intensified in the 19th century. At odds with what was said about the repressive theory, the importance that issues related to sex gained - as well as Freud himself as he highlights them - builds a control mechanism of the individuals and the populations. It is a question of the "'will to knowledge' that

serves as both their support and their instrument” (FOUCAULT, 1978, p. 12). One of the strategies identified by Foucault was the imposition of the Christian pastoral ministry to inscribe sex into the context of what should be said in the religious confessions. Not any longer the way confessions were made before, in every detail, but within a model in which, despite the fact that the words should be diminished, the experiences gained lively colors. The sinner should not only register their trespassing, but also should state their desire as a discourse in that secretive environment of the confessional.

Next to the religious environment, many others joined the scenario, enlarging the boundaries where the theme “forbidden” was being unfolded. Thus, science became the environment where it could be approached in order to try to manage it as much as possible. Sex as a dispositive of control of the population takes a leading role. The strategies capable of making sexual relations useful to the economic system needed to be understood and brought into circulation. Foucault claims that, in spite of what was said in victorian times, sex has not stopped being a topic of conversation; people just started talking about it differently, in a more secretive manner.

From these reflections about the taboos and the norms which are part of our culture by the condition of a discursive construction which frames truths and divides the world into normal and abnormal ones, we will analyze the videos we have chosen to think the narratives engaged by religious principles.

The religious videos for children and the diverging reflections about gender

Two boys and two girls, who seem to be between 5 and 12 years old, take turns in explaining what the expression *gender ideology* is about. Having scripts, costume and editing resources, the video ratifies the signs related to femininity and to masculinity, as well as it interdicts any other possibility. The video begins with the Psalm 8, verse 2 of the Holy Bible: “Through the praise of children and infants you have established a stronghold against your enemies, to silence the foe and the avenger”. We transcribed the lines said in the video. The slashes were used to show there is change in the child who is narrating.

There is a lot of talk around / about gender ideology. / This ideology claims that nobody is born man or woman. / It says you are free to decide what you want to be. / What??? / That's right. / It wants to make you confused, / telling you that boys can be girls. / And that girls can be boys. / But it's wrong. / Yes, very wrong indeed. / Because with it they want to confuse our faith, / saying that Our God can fail. / They intend to exchange God's truth for a lie. / But Our God never fails. / He never gets wrong./ My God made me a girl. /

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My God made me a boy. / God didn't fail with me. / I am what I am because God made me like this. / For that, our answer to the gender ideology is: / My God never fails. / My God never fails. / My God never fails. / My God never fails. / Say no to gender ideology. / Because my God never fails (IDEOLOGIA..., 2017).

In the video clip *Our gender comes from God*, we have the singers of the group Trio R3 as the key players. The girls wear dresses in shades of pink with hair bows and the boys wear trousers, shirts and suspenders, making it clear the conservative references to masculin and feminin. On a grass field, girls play with dolls and teddy bears apart from the boys who play with toy cars. The two groups do not play together and not even interact. Along the chorus, the girls touch their hair while the boys flex their biceps.

I am a boy! / I am a girl! / I am a boy! / I am a girl! / The Good Creator made boys and girls. / With His great love He teaches His Words. / I was not born in the wrong body. / My beloved Creator designed a body for me. / I am a girl, I am feminin. / I am a boy, I am masculin. / We are not accidents or diverging mistakes. / We are made by the Creator. / I am a boy, different from the nice girls. / I am a feminin girl and it is beautiful and just great. / Our gender comes from God and cannot be changed. / I take myself as I am; I will answer the calling of God. / I am a girl, a feminin girl. / I am a boy, a masculin boy. / We are not accidents or diverging mistakes. / We are made by the Creator. / I am a boy, different from the nice girls. / I am a feminin girl and it is beautiful and just great (NOSSO..., 2018).

The video *Fun time: The Creator's math book* announces that The Creator's Math book has just arrived.

Man plus woman plus children equal family. / God made me a boy. I am happy this way. / God made me a girl and a girl I will always be. / God created man and woman in his image and likeness and this can never be changed. It comes with beautiful illustrations, colouring activities and some math calculation exercises explained in a super fun way. The Creator's math: / man / plus woman / plus children / equal family. / Products Canção Nova, gifts which transform lives (HORA..., 2018).

A child narrates the presentation of the new publishing, while girls with hair bows and nails done do the activities proposed by the book. In the sequence, boys and girls take turns in saying sentences which reinforce their identities and the "mathematical formula of the family". As in the other videos, the toys are gender signs: a boy holds a ball and a girl holds a teddy bear.

As we analyzed the texts of the videos, some categories stood out:

1. The opposition boy/man/masculin x girl/woman/feminin: the three videos start from a binary, stationary understanding and opposed to the binomial sex-gender, taken as synonyms;
2. Divine designation: in the three videos, the notion of gender is an imposition from God, Perfect and Kind. The concept of the innate natural condition seems to be God's choice, repealing any possibility that

the sexual roles performance were socially constructed. Concerning this, it is not taken into account innate conditions such as interssexuality;

3. Notion of error: the idea of error covers two aspects. The first is that the lack of identification with one of the two biological sexes by the child is considered as a mistake. Besides, it is not just considered as a mistake but also as something harmful any proposals to think the binomial sex-gender from the social construction theory perspective. Although the word error was applied in just two of the videos, this idea is also present in the video of the math formula, in which any variation in the factor alters the result expected. Differently from the two first videos, this one triggers a scientific sense (mathematics). It might be hard to do the maths for the heterosexual couples who cannot have babies, even if they follow the primer;

4. Impossibility of changing: the perfection and kindness of God would be justifications which would avoid mistakes or any ambiguity or transit from one gender to another.

Having made these critical comments about the videos, we believe it is necessary to reflect on the intelligibility of the genders, departing from the studies which deconstruct the idea of binarity as the absolute truth. After the feminist critical studies, the gender concept was integrated to the debate as it is the base of one of the matrices of the exercise of power. If the first feminist generation conceptualized sex as an identity biologically given and gender as a social and cultural construction, as enunciated by Beauvoir (1967), Butler (1999) starts from a radical political critic - the identitary categories themselves - and gets to the thesis that either sex as well as gender are both socially constructed: the first owing to its relation with culture and the second because of its performative feature. Having her arguments structured on a philosophical base which contradicts the metaphysics of the substance, Butler elaborates a social theory of gender in which she conceptualises it as “a *relation* among socially constituted subjects, in specifiable contexts” (BUTLER, 1999, p. 15, emphasis added).

Therefore, gender, in the opposite direction of what is said in the videos, is a relational and context-based concept, which depends on converging historical and cultural variations, and that produces effects on identities which *are* nothing themselves but which *express* themselves through performative practices. Butler claims that “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. 33, emphasis added).

For Butler, as it is deepened, the concept destabilises not only identity categories but also the notion of individual, which requires a certain level of unity and stability, offering legal certainty in exchange to some liberty: “‘intelligible’ genders are those which in some sense institute and maintain relations of coherence and continuity among sex, gender, sexual practice, and desire”(BUTLER, 1999, p. 23). Any kind of disconnection between these factors may put the social order in a risky position. For the benefit of associated identities, it is established a cultural matrix which denies the existence of others. Despite the efforts in the opposite direction, like the videos brought here in the study which must be seen as examples - even apparently being naive ones – “disconnected” identities insist on being seen. Thus,

certain kinds of “gender identities” fail to conform to those norms of cultural intelligibility, They appear only as developmental failures or *logical impossibilities* from within that domain. Their persistence and proliferation, however, provide critical opportunities to expose the limits and the regulatory aims of that domain of intelligibility and, hence, to open up within the very terms of the matrix of intelligibility rival and subversive matrices of gender disorder (BUTLER, 1999, p. 24, emphasis added).

The flexibility proposed by Butler, which should be used in the approach of gender issues, resulted in critics from the radical feminist theories representatives, as the individual they were fighting for (woman/women) had been deconstructed - besides, obviously, the predictable opposition of the movements based on a phallogocentric tradition. On the other hand, other schools of thought see in her approach an invitation to strengthen the fight against the oppression of the patriarchy by inclusion. Her ethic-political proposition embraced populations whose gender expressions are built by ambiguities, such as the transgender people. Differently from what the radical feminist theories make us believe, the author suggests the parody made by the people who live in ambiguous manners or supposed as incoherent (transvestites, drag queens, butchers) do not degrade the feminine condition. On the contrary: mocking the idea of a truth related to gender by a caricatural performance makes clear “the distinctness of those aspects of gendered experience which are falsely naturalized as a unity through the regulatory fiction of heterosexual coherence” (BUTLER,1999, p. 175). For the Brazilian feminist authors, her critics to the dichotomy has contributed to an opening to the otherness and the welcoming of the differences (POMBO, 2017).

Joining a theoretical matrix which segregates less seems to be especially important in the Brazilian context, when we watch videos which were made for children and adolescents during the period they are building up their identities. Beyond that, we understand that through those narratives, the legal democracy is not reflected in everyday life concerning the real respect to the differences (BENTO, 2008) and as a result we see psychological (POMBO, 2008) and civil (VENTURA, 2010) abandonment of people who do not identify with those ideas or the binary genders, as reinforced in religious narratives.

This strategy of binary framing has always been unfeasible to transgender people, whose bodies “would be the materiality of the impossibility of the assimilation” (BENTO, 2017, p. 59) and that, in the collective imagination, mainly within the Christian religious people, pollute the social scene with their existence. This is the trouble which is mentioned by the children in the first video. For those who live the transgender experience, there is not much left in terms of cleansing performance. In order to set the dimensions of those physical and symbolic abuses which this part of the population is exposed to, the author asks for the use of the right suffix when one refers to the invisibilized routine of extermination: she proposed to call it “LGBTcide. It is not just ‘LGBTphobia’, but about a permanent cases of murder of this population which do not face any legal process and very little international impact” (BENTO, 2017, p. 55).

Jesus (2015) emphasizes that neither the non-hegemonic sexually-affected experiences nor the non-cisgender identities are effectively recognized by the society. Nevertheless, the author draws attention to the fact that transgender or intersex people, considered as incomprehensible, are seen as abject, suffering violent consequences which may be understood as hate crimes due to the hideous form they are committed. Beyond the high death rate, she mentions the cruelty used in the crimes, which makes us take notice that these people, who are not always seen like people, experience under-citizenships.

The same perception is shared by authors from the field of health care, who demand that the “society not to see transgender people as abnormalities which need excluding but to see them as PEOPLE who need to be respected” (SANTOS, 2015, p. 23, emphasis in original). Interested in discussing the psycho-social well-being of this population, Santos enumerates a series of violations this group suffers throughout their childhood and adolescence, which make the transgender population specially vulnerable to depression. Alongside, she observes legal marks that, despite the slow rhythm, will have repercussions on a long run. An example is the regulation of the transgenderlizer process by the SUS (public Brazilian health system). Another example, a draft bill still in the text elaboration phase, which refers to the

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changing of the names and genders in the civil register, authorized by the Supreme Court in March 2018 by the Right Action of Unconstitutionality 4275 (BRASIL, 2018). The author's proposal is that these advancements will take the next generations to be recognized as people, something that should be evident but which is not. Surely, these steps are paving the road in this sense. The videos *Gender ideology, Our gender comes from God* and *The Creator's mathematics*, the minister's speech, and legislative proposals like *Schools without Political Parties*, however, show that the direction might be different.

Final considerations

The voices of these children speak out their conservatism which denies the possibility of the existence of gender as a discursive element, as Butler (1999) has shown us, disconnecting the nature of the sexual organs and the sexual desire of the bodies. In the last few years, studies about bodies have gained some room in contemporary society. Thus, discussions about gender and sexuality have expanded and it has scared those who only believe in Adam and Eve as man and woman and all their reproduction story. Consequently, there has been a growth of the conservative opinions, specially the religious ones, which do not understand gender as a subjective, discursive construction which is disconnected from sexuality. The videos analyzed manifested the worry to reinforce the binary categories of gender, which took part in a government project a few years later. It is clear we cannot credit them as being the main responsible for the acts of violence against anyone, or even for inciting them. However, as they repelled what they call gender ideology, they hit people. It happens through bodies, with bodies and on bodies that these actions are aimed, usually furiously. It is what is observed in the face of overwhelming statements which start by closing any possibility of dialogism (BAKHTIN, 2011) as they propose to silence others.

To stop moral panic and prevent violence, which are started in a discourse, it is fundamental to answer this rhetoric, bringing onto the table what the prophets of intolerance announce as the truth and what really propose the gender studies (LIONÇO et al, 2018). Nevertheless, the narrative dispute tends to lean to the side of the bodies which have been violated if the dissonant voices from the religious context - yes, they do exist (MARTIN, 2018; LIMA, 2016, 2021; SERRA 2019) - are able to go further and sound beyond the university walls, maybe through the voices of other children.

Danielle BrasilienseORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9523-9836>*Universidade Federal Fluminense, Programa de Pós-graduação em Cultura e Territorialidades, Niterói (RJ), Brasil.**PhD in Communication / UFRJ**E-mail: dabrasiliense@gmail.com***Tatiana Clébicar**ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1134-8793>*Fiocruz, Programa de Pós-graduação em Informação e Comunicação em Saúde, Rio de Janeiro (RJ), Brasil.**Master in Information and Communication in Health / Fiocruz**E-mail: tatiana.clebicar@gmail.com*

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Abstract

Brazilian society is going through an intense discussion about “gender ideology”, triggered by religious politicians who take childhood as a priority object. Therefore, we consider it important to reflect on evangelical and Catholic narrative productions about gender and sexuality, in children's videos published on YouTube. By analyzing three productions that reiterate gender binarism as the only possibility of existence, we understand that these Christian discourses try to disqualify the problematization of gender diversity. Our goal is to understand how segregated cultures via primary ideas about taboos and social order support conservative discursive practices. We believe that this alignment with the concepts of sin, purity and impurity contributes to forms of violence against those who assume non-binary gender identities, especially transgender people. We observe that the videos defend an idea of abnormality and end up authorizing, in a certain way, the intolerance against people who do not align themselves with cisgender and heteronormative ideals.

Keywords: Gender. Religious discourse. YouTube. Childhood. Gender identity.

Resumo

A sociedade brasileira passa por intensa discussão sobre “ideologia de gênero”, mobilizada por políticos religiosos que tomam a infância como objeto prioritário. Por isso, consideramos importante pensar produções narrativas evangélicas e católicas sobre gênero e sexualidade, em vídeos infantis publicados no YouTube. Ao analisar três produções que reiteram o binarismo de gênero como única possibilidade de existência, entendemos que esses discursos cristãos tentam desqualificar a problematização sobre a diversidade de gênero. Nosso objetivo é perceber como as culturas de segregação via ideias primárias sobre tabus e ordem social favorecem práticas discursivas conservadoras. Acreditamos que este alinhamento aos conceitos de pecado, pureza e impureza contribui para formas de violência contra quem assume identidades de gênero não-binárias, especialmente pessoas trans. Observamos que os vídeos defendem uma ideia de anormalidade dos sujeitos e acabam por autorizar, de certa maneira, a intolerância contra pessoas que não se alinham aos ideais cisgêneros e heteronormativos.

Palavras-chave: Gênero. Discurso religioso. YouTube. Infância. Identidade de gênero.

Resumen

La sociedad brasileña atraviesa una intensa discusión sobre la “ideología de género”, desencadenada por políticos religiosos que toman la infancia como objeto prioritario. Por eso, consideramos importante reflexionar sobre las producciones narrativas evangélicas y católicas sobre género y sexualidad, en videos infantiles publicados en YouTube. Al analizar tres producciones que reiteran el binarismo de género como única posibilidad de existencia, entendemos que estos discursos cristianos intentan descalificar la problematización de la diversidad de género. Nuestro objetivo es comprender cómo las culturas segregadas a través de las ideas primarias sobre los tabúes y el orden social apoyan las prácticas discursivas conservadoras. Creemos que esta alineación con los conceptos de pecado, pureza e impureza contribuye a formas de violencia contra quienes asumen identidades de género no binarias, especialmente las personas transgénero. Observamos que los videos defienden una idea de anormalidad y terminan autorizando, de cierta manera, la intolerancia hacia personas que no se alinean con ideales cisgénero y heteronormativos.

Palabras clave: Género. Discurso religioso. YouTube. Niñez. Identidad de género.

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