

# **Unveiling Patriarchy: Brazilian Gender Dynamics Through the Lens of the Bolsonaro-Maria do Rosario Incident**

Iuri Macedo Piovezan

Political Science

## **1. Introduction**

Sexism, machismo, and the patriarchy are here to stay in Brazilian politics. Over the years, these systems have twisted themselves in Brazilian society, dictating attitudes, power dynamics, and norms to be executed and mindlessly followed. Despite attempts at lessening their relevancy and effect, politics remains a stronghold for traditional gender roles and expectations. This paper seeks to address the topic by utilizing an event that is still talked about to this day: Jair Bolsonaro and Maria do Rosario's discussion that began in 2003, only ending in 2014. With it, this essay hopes to outline how Jair Bolsonaro's statements about Maria do Rosario exemplify a patriarchal power dynamic in Brazil alongside its acceptance of machismo.

Before this paper's main discussion begins, it will present relevant literature on the field. It will start by introducing key works on Brazilian and Latin-American machismo, outlining its function and reflexes for those particular societies. Then, it will dive into the language used by the patriarchy, specifically in the political sphere. In its analysis section, it will outline Bolsonaro's and Rosario's first discussion in 2003, with its repeat in 2014 on two occasions. It will also show its repercussions and consequences. This paper will also discuss relevant works on feminist research as a basis for its analysis.

In the analysis section, this essay provides a comprehensive examination of Bolsonarismo in relation to gender. It dissects Bolsonaro's attempts to bolster his image and assert his

perceived manliness. The essay then presents the complete transcript of Bolsonaro's and Rosario's initial confrontation, delving into the words exchanged, their significance, and the far-reaching consequences they had.

## 2. Literature Review

Brazilian society is cursed by its prevalent machismo. According to the Cambridge Dictionary, machismo is the "male behavior that is strong and forceful, and shows very traditional ideas about how men and women should behave."<sup>1</sup> More specifically in Brazil, such ideas are influenced and passed down by "the political, social, economic, and cultural structures."<sup>2</sup> As it is with many other Latin-American nations, Brazil is known for its acceptance and perpetuation of patriarchal ideas, impacting many spheres of life.<sup>3</sup> This essay will examine one of them by utilizing the then Federal Deputy Jair Bolsonaro's altercation with Maria do Rosario, another Federal Deputy, where Bolsonaro expressed his unwillingness to "rape" Rosario since she "was not worthy of it."<sup>4</sup>

Latin America's acceptance of machismo is well-known among academia. In her work, Nubia Nieto examines Mexican and Brazilian machismo, and in which ways both nations tolerate and propagate the notions of the patriarchy. In Brazil's case, Nieto explains that historically, such a system was institutionalized by the Portuguese and was "fostered and endorsed by the Catholic Church as a way to preserve male power and female submission, and promote women purity."<sup>5</sup> In it, physical strength, courage, independence, are all valued amongst men, but disincentivized in women.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, women tend not to have a voice in societal matters, where "the process of gender socialization... empowers men to feel and be superior towards women in family, work, and public places."<sup>7</sup> Nubia elaborates that many men feel like

women are there for their personal use and for services like cleaning, not to be vulgar, a “self-sacrificed mom,” and to “keep quiet and accept any physical, emotional or psychological mistreatment,” which are habits formed since childhood.<sup>8</sup> These ideas, as shown by the author, are propagated on famous TV programs, songs, and popular sayings.<sup>9</sup>

In a society where machismo becomes normalized, it is not a surprise that the rates of violence against women are notable. For Nieto, “violence against women in... Brazil is due to prevalent machismo.”<sup>10</sup> And while looking at recent data, such numbers become much clearer. According to the Agência Patricia Galvão, 76% of the women interviewed were assaulted at work, and 36% at home.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, Brazil has the seventh highest rate of violence against women in the world, with “a woman assaulted every 15 seconds, and one murdered every two hours.”<sup>12</sup>

Bahlleda, in an article about the legacy of the patriarchy, also alludes to the fact that patriarchy fuels violence against women in what he calls the “ecology of violence.”<sup>13</sup> The author elucidates that in nature, animals kill one another only as a survival mechanism, whereas “humans have evolved to the point where they do not need to kill... yet they continue to do so.”<sup>14</sup> As per the methods in which patriarchy has the potential of causing violence, the author explains that it enforces a dominance of males vertically in any sphere of life, where deviating from it would be a great offense.<sup>15</sup> One way that this is done is through the notion that men have a sexual role in society, where that can be abused to great extents.<sup>16</sup> In her paper, Stella Advani also documents how patriarchy and machismo perpetuate in the workplace, further impacting women. In her words, “workplaces are gendered both by the numerical predominance of the sex within them and by the cultural interpretations of given types of work which... dictate who is... best suited for different sorts of employment.”<sup>17</sup> To navigate such a scenario, women employ a

variety of tactics to “self-regulate” and to “appear and sound... like their colleagues” which proves to be “stressful, time-consuming, undermining for the self, and... harder to hear.”<sup>18</sup> It is no surprise, then, that many women simply comply, and choose to assimilate. One notable example would be Bia Doria, the wife of João Doria, the then-Governor of Sao Paulo. While in an interview with the *Folha de São Paulo*, Bia was asked what she does on a busy day, which she “described it as ‘being stuck in traffic texting on WhatsApp and seeing how beautiful life was on Instagram’.”<sup>19</sup> Bonneval points out that instead of her commenting on “existing social structure disparities that plague the biggest city in the country,” she decided to talk about mundane and uninteresting endeavors.<sup>20</sup>

The language in the patriarchy influences politics, shaping not only the political discourse but also what gets passed. In many instances, language can be seen as a tool of patriarchy, helping to pass down the notions already described above, which revolves around the superiority – in every sense of the word – of men. In Brazil’s case, the language used by the patriarchy “helps shape politics of enmity which characterize the current state of democracy” in the nation.<sup>21</sup> In his paper, Rodrigo Borba uses two case studies to exemplify how this occurs in Brazil. The first takes Dilma Rousseff – Brazil’s first woman president – into consideration. More specifically, it uses the fact that Dilma, instead of using the word “presidente” to refer to her role as president, she used the feminine version, “presidenta,” which is technically incorrect.<sup>22</sup> Many voters, however, saw this as an “apparent lack of care for the language,” equating her apparent absent proficiency in Portuguese with her “lack of political savoir faire,” passing the notion that Dilma aims to destroy the nation like she did with its language.<sup>23</sup> Another example was a school that used the “X” as an attempt to gender neutralize Portuguese in one of their posts, which generated a national commotion and prompted comments calling the ideology

“gaystapo” and “feminazi.”<sup>24</sup> It must be said, nonetheless, that Dilma is still credited as an important figure for feminism and the rights of women in Brazil, spearheading the creation of the “Ministry of Women, Racial Equality, and Human Rights, sanctioning of the law which criminalizes domestic violence,” and “the legalization of same-sex marriage.”<sup>25</sup> Academia also present many other studies on the roles of language and its intersection with womanhood in Brazil.<sup>26</sup>

Feminist scholars have provided many different lenses on how one should conduct feminist research. On this note, this paper will take into consideration two different lenses. The first, outlined by Gillian Wilson in her article, is that “feminist research is grounded in a commitment to equality and social justice, and is cognizant of the gendered, historical and political processes involved in the production of knowledge.”<sup>27</sup> The other, by Brown et al., who claim feminist research “also strives to explore and illuminate the diversity of the experiences of women and other marginalized groups, thereby creating opportunities that increase awareness of how social hierarchies impact on and influence oppression.”<sup>28</sup>

### **3. Analysis**

Jair Bolsonaro’s interactions with Maria do Rosario represent one of the most absurd cases of abuse of power and misogyny in Brazilian politics. It outlines Bolsonaro’s personal issues regarding Rosario and the deeply entrenched attitudes that perpetuate such attitudes in Brazil. In this analysis section, this essay will present the complete transcript of their fight and then point out relevant information that can be taken from what was said. Mainly, one should pay attention to Bolsonaro’s misogynistic comments, gender roles, and his comments of a sexual nature.

It all began in 2003, with a conversation not related to gender equality. In 2003, Liana Friedenbach and Felipe Caffee, both teenagers, were murdered by an underaged person.<sup>29</sup> In Brazil, one cannot be tried as an adult if one is below the age of eighteen, and the debate surrounding Jair Bolsonaro and Maria do Rosario was whether this should change to sixteen.<sup>30</sup> Bolsonaro believed that it should, and Maria heavily disagreed.<sup>31</sup> While outside Congress giving separate interviews, both started a discussion seemingly “out of nowhere.”<sup>32</sup> Rosario accused Bolsonaro for inciting violence, where he then misunderstands it, claiming that she called him a rapist.<sup>33</sup> In response, Bolsonaro shouts – as he points a finger at her – that he would “never rape” her because she “did not deserve it.”<sup>34</sup> Appalled, Rosario says that she would hit him if he ever tried, prompting him to say that he would hit her back, calling her a “dog” as he pushed her.<sup>35</sup> As she began to cry, Bolsonaro added, “Are you going to cry, now? Crazy.”<sup>36</sup> Here, it is relevant to note Bolsonaro’s choice of words. When one implies that one is not “deserving /worthy of” an action, one is implying one’s superiority over the other. In this case, Bolsonaro is clearly implying that Rosario is not worthy of his perceived sexual prowess, as if it is her “loss” that she does not “deserve” to be raped. Not only, but Bolsonaro clearly illustrates his inability to have a civil disagreement with a woman, answering to his frustrations by employing gendered and derogatory language towards Rosario, even inciting violence.

The second instance happened in the Brazilian version of the House of Representatives in 2014, the House of Deputies.<sup>37</sup> On that day, Rosario made a speech defending the “Commission of Truth,” which investigated crimes that occurred during the Brazilian dictatorship, explaining that the dictatorship was an “utter shame.”<sup>38</sup> As she left the stand, and Bolsonaro came forth, the former president once again repeated that Rosario was not worth raping.<sup>39</sup> Here, it is important to say that Bolsonaro rose as a big supporter of the dictatorship, denying any wrongdoing that

happened during that period. For instance, during a speech on the 58<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the coup d'état of 64 – that gave birth to the dictatorship – Bolsonaro praised all the dictators for their work.<sup>40</sup> He explained that the date was in fact not important since “nothing” happened 58 years ago, and that all the presidents were elected according to the constitution.<sup>41</sup> Rosario, however, was known for being critical over the dictatorship.<sup>42</sup> In response to Bolsonaro, Maria explained that rape was a “recurring form of torture used against prisoners during the military dictatorship,” one that Bolsonaro defends.<sup>43</sup> She further adds that “what makes me especially indignant and, at the same time, saddened, is that the expressions he uses promote violence. It is an expression of power used in torture structures; many women were tortured with sexual violence. When he's saying I don't deserve to be raped, does he mean anyone else does?”<sup>44</sup>

The third instance was shortly after the second, when Bolsonaro was giving an interview on the “Zero Hora” show.<sup>45</sup> There, Bolsonaro asserted that Rosario “doesn't deserve it because she's very bad, because she's very ugly, she's not my type, I would never rape her. I'm not a rapist, but if I were, I wouldn't rape her.”<sup>46</sup> The host of the show followed up with a question of whether Bolsonaro believed there were people who indeed “deserved” to be raped, to which the former president replied that he was being ironic.<sup>47</sup> In the same interview, Bolsonaro also talked about Brazil's workforce, one he believed had “too many work rights.”<sup>48</sup> Bolsonaro also argued that if he was a business owner, he would rather employ men over women since “she'll soon get pregnant.”<sup>49</sup> Related to the wage gap, Bolsonaro – in between laughs – said that if a woman makes less than a man and is not satisfied, she should look for another job.<sup>50</sup>

It must be stated that Bolsonaro attacking women is not a new occurrence. In her article, Inara Chagas summarizes not one, two, nor three, but nine times in which Bolsonaro has threatened women's rights or women directly.<sup>51</sup> In 1998, for instance, Bolsonaro hit Conceição

Aparecida Aguiar, the then manager of Planajur, in the back.<sup>52</sup> In 2011, when asked by Preta Gil – a black singer – what would be his reaction if one of his sons ever dated a black woman, Bolsonaro said that he did not “fear” it since they were “well-raised” and did not frequent the same “environment like” Gil.<sup>53</sup> Moreover, in 2017, Bolsonaro publicly said that he had already four sons, and on the fifth pregnancy – since he was feeling rather weak – they had a daughter.<sup>54</sup> In 2019, as President, Bolsonaro claimed that Brazil could not be a nation of “gay tourism,” but if people wanted to go there to have “sex with women, please feel welcomed.”<sup>55</sup> Lastly, in 2020, Bolsonaro accused Patricia Campos Mello, a journalist, of using sex as a way to gather information against him.<sup>56</sup>

The consequences for offending Rosario on those three separate occasions could not have been weaker. After repeated offenses and derogatory comments aimed at Rosario, many politicians were requesting that Bolsonaro either willingly resigned or be removed from his post.<sup>57</sup> Due to raging public sentiment, Brazil’s judiciary intervened, and requested Bolsonaro to pay R\$10,000.00 to Rosario (around \$2000) and post this in all of his social media accounts.<sup>58</sup> If this does not sound like a lot, it is because it is not. As a comparison, in 2018, one of Bolsonaro’s sons bought a mansion for R\$6 million (around \$1,2 million).<sup>59</sup> Moreover, a president’s salary in Brazil is around R\$30,000.00 (around \$6,000.00), meaning that what he paid to Rosario constituted around a third of his monthly income.<sup>60</sup>

Taking the information presented above, Bolsonaro’s actions clearly exemplify Brazil’s patriarchy and its acceptance of machismo. As seen, pervasive sexism and traditional gender roles shaped, and continue to dominate Brazilian society. Bolsonaro’s unpolished and derogatory remarks aimed at Rosario highlight the accentuated misogyny, sexism, and machismo within the country. Within what scholarship understands of machismo and gender roles, it is relevant to see

that Bolsonaro clearly exemplified several of its characteristics. From threatening to slap and actually hitting women, to a hyper masculinization of his perceived sexual prowess, Bolsonaro embodied Brazilian machismo. A well-known and relevant example, apart from the Rosario incident, is what happened on September 7, 2022, Brazil's Independence Day. While next to First Lady Michelle Bolsonaro, Bolsonaro raised a chorus among his supporters, calling him the word "imbroxavel."<sup>61</sup> In Portuguese, the word "broxar" refers to a man who cannot perform sexually. When paired with the prefix "in," it is the negation of the word. Hence, "inbroxavel" is a man who would always perform. As the chant happened, Bolsonaro awkwardly kissed the first lady, prompting applauses from the crowd.<sup>62</sup> In the words of Simone Tebet, Bolsonaro's actions that day showed his complete disregard and disrespect for women, and outlined his "toxic" and "childish" masculinity.<sup>63</sup> Not only, but Bolsonaro's consequences after the Rosario incident is also relevant when examining Brazil's patriarchy. One would logically expect that when a man refers to a woman using the same words Bolsonaro used, that that man would either be arrested, pay a significant fine, or both. This was, as seen above, not what happened. Not only was Bolsonaro never incarcerated, but the fine he paid was minimal, almost insignificant in fact. It is also relevant to point out that Bolsonaro's actions had such low consequences for him as a politician that he achieved what most deemed impossible, the Presidency.

#### **4. Conclusion**

In dissecting Bolsonaro and Rosario's interactions, it becomes apparent the importance of these events in understanding Brazilian patriarchy and its acceptance of misogynistic ideas, which are deeply rooted within Brazilian society. Bolsonaro's derogatory comments not only reveal his personal weaknesses but also shed light on an engrained culture of machismo and

sexism that has invaded Brazil. From his poor choice of language to the threat of physical violence and sexual prowess, Brazilian gender dynamics become evident in that interaction.

Moreover, the consequences of said event, both legally and socially, are also relevant. As seen, Bolsonaro was ordered to pay an incredibly low amount to Rosario and post about the judicial decision on his social media, which does not match the severity of what was said to Rosario on multiple occasions. Additionally, if taken into consideration Bolsonaro's family and their economic status, as well as the President's monthly salary, the consequences of this case become even more absurd.

This incident, while important, has roots that span over a decade and is representative of Bolsonaro's pattern of poor behavior characterized by a disregard for women, women's rights, and many others. As this paper demonstrated, Bolsonaro has a history of making derogatory comments towards women, threatening to use violence against them, and even disregarding their rights. Here, what Bolsonaro said to Rosario exemplifies all three. Moreover, Bolsonaro's choice of words, specifically the "worthiness" aspect of his threats are relevant in understanding his perceived sexual prowess, and how that related to Brazilian machismo. Lastly, Bolsonaro's political success, mainly becoming one of Brazil's presidents, is also of extreme importance outlining Brazil's acceptance of machismo. In other words, Bolsonaro's words were so accepted that he achieved the presidential office.

## Endnotes

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- <sup>2</sup> Nubia Nieto, “Mexican and Brazilian Machismo: Cultural Tolerance,” *Journal of Comparative Studies* 42, no. 13 (2020): 104.
- <sup>3</sup> Aida Hurtado, and Mrinal Sinha, *Beyond Machismo: Intersectional Latino Masculinities* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2016); Marta Mensa, and Jean M. Grow, “‘Now I Can See’: Creative Women Fight Against Machismo in Chilean Advertising,” *Gender in Management: An International Journal* 37, no. 3 (2021).
- <sup>4</sup> “Agressão Documentada.” *Correio Brasiliense*, November 15, 2023.
- <sup>5</sup> Nieto, “Mexican,” 108.
- <sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 107.
- <sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 107.
- <sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 111.
- <sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 112.
- <sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 107.
- <sup>11</sup> “Violência contra as mulheres em dados,” *Agência Patricia Galvão*, accessed March 18, 2024, <https://dossies.agenciapatriciagalvao.org.br/violencia-em-dados/>.
- <sup>12</sup> Melanie Hargreaves, “Brazil’s ‘Machismo’: A License for Abuse,” *New Internationalist*, May 13, 2015, <https://newint.org/features/web-exclusive/2015/05/13/brazil-domestic-violence>.
- <sup>13</sup> Robert Bahlleda, “The Legacy of Patriarchy,” *Counterpoints* 488 (2015): 46.
- <sup>14</sup> Bahlleda, “Legacy,” 46.
- <sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.
- <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 38.
- <sup>17</sup> Stella M. Advani, “Two Case Studies from Emergency Medicine in Quebec.” In *Living with Patriarchy: Discursive Constructions of Gendered Subjects Across Cultures*, edited by Danijela Majstorovic and Inger Lassen, 224.
- <sup>18</sup> Advani, “Emergency,” 240.
- <sup>19</sup> Philippe Armand de Bonneval, “Brazil’s Stubborn Machismo,” *Council on Hemispheric Affairs*. October 25, 2016, <https://coha.org/brazils-stubborn-machismo/>.
- <sup>20</sup> Bonneval, “Stubborn.”
- <sup>21</sup> Rodrigo Borba, “Gendered Politics of Enmity: Language Ideologies and Social Polarization in Brazil,” *Gender and Language* 13, no. 4 (2019): 423.
- <sup>22</sup> Borba, “Gendered,” 427.
- <sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 431.
- <sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 426; Sabrina Fernandes, “Dilma Rousseff and the Challenge of Fighting Patriarchy Through Political Representation in Brazil,” *Journal of Women’s Studies* 13, no. 3 (2021): 114.
- <sup>26</sup> Thais de Bakker Castro, “Gender, Sexuality, and International Politics in Troubled Times: A Conversation with Laura Sjoberg in Brazil,” *Contexto Internacional* 41, no. 1 (2019).
- <sup>27</sup> Gillian Wilson, “Research Made Simple: An Introduction to Feminist Research,” *Evidence Based Nursing* 26, no. 3 (2023): 87.
- <sup>28</sup> Grace Brown, Deborah Western, and Janice Pascal, “Using the F-Word: Feminist Epistemologies and Postgraduate Research,” *Affilia* 28, no. 4 (2013): 445.
- <sup>29</sup> “Bolsonaro Xinga Deputada na Câmara,” *Correio Brasiliense*, November 12, 2003.
- <sup>30</sup> Benigno Nunez Novo, “Maioridade Penal,” *Brasil Escola*, accessed March 19, 2024, <https://meuartigo.brasilecola.uol.com.br/brasil/maioridade-penal.htm>.
- <sup>31</sup> “Bolsonaro.”
- <sup>32</sup> Fernanda Cirenza, and Vinicius Mendes, “‘Sinto uma atitude ameaçadora’, diz Maria do Rosário,” *Brasileiros*, January 17, 2015, <http://web.archive.org/web/20170209133010/http://brasileiros.com.br/2015/01/sinto-uma-atitude-ameacadora-diz-maria-rosario/>.
- <sup>33</sup> “Agressão Documentada.” *Correio Brasiliense*, November 15, 2023.
- <sup>34</sup> The word “deserve” can also be translated to “worth it” or “worthy,” in the sense that Bolsonaro said Rosario was not worthy of raping.
- <sup>35</sup> “Agressão Documentada.” *Correio Brasiliense*, November 15, 2023.

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<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Marcio Falcao, and Gabriela Guerreiro, “Para Rebater Deputada, Bolsonaro diz que Não a “Estupraria,” *Folha de São Paulo*, December 9, 2014, <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2014/12/1559815-para-rebater-deputada-bolsonaro-diz-que-nao-a-estupraria.shtml>.

<sup>38</sup> “Para rebater deputada, Bolsonaro diz que não a 'estupraria',” *Folha de S. Paulo*, December 9, 2014, <http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2014/12/1559815-para-rebater-deputada-bolsonaro-diz-que-nao-a-estupraria.shtml>.

<sup>39</sup> Falcao, and Guerreiro, “Rebater.”

<sup>40</sup> Guilherme Mazui, and Paloma Rodrigues, “Em discurso, Bolsonaro defende ditadores militares e deputados dos atos antidemocraticos,” *GI*, March 31, 2022, <https://g1.globo.com/politica/noticia/2022/03/31/em-discurso-no-planalto-bolsonaro-defende-ditadores-militares-e-deputado-reu-por-atos-antidemocraticos.ghtml>.

<sup>41</sup> “Bolsonaro defende ditadura militar e manda ‘cala a boca’ a STF,” *NexoJornal*, March 31, 2022, <https://www.nexojornal.com.br/extra/2022/03/31/bolsonaro-defende-ditadura-militar-e-manda-cala-a-boca-a-stf>.

<sup>42</sup> “Maria do Rosário apresenta projetos que tratam sobre período da ditadura,” *BrasildeFato*, March 31, 2021, <https://www.brasildefatores.com.br/2021/03/31/maria-do-rosario-apresenta-projetos-que-tratam-sobre-periodo-da-ditadura>; “Maria do Rosário propõe que documentos da ditadura sejam de guarda permanente do Estado,” *CartaCapital*, March 31, 2022, <https://www.cartacapital.com.br/cartaexpressa/maria-do-rosario-propoe-que-documentos-da-ditadura-sejam-de-guarda-permanente-do-estado/>.

<sup>43</sup> Cesar Sanson, “‘É uma expressão de poder utilizada na tortura’, diz Maria do Rosário sobre agressão de Bolsonaro,” *Instituto Humanitas Unisinos*, December 11, 2014, <https://www.ihu.unisinos.br/categorias/170-noticias-2014/538357-e-uma-expressao-de-poder-utilizada-na-tortura-diz-maria-do-rosario-sobre-agressao-de-bolsonaro>.

<sup>44</sup> Sanson, “Expressão.”

<sup>45</sup> “Pela terceira vez, Bolsonaro é condenado a indenizar Maria do Rosário,” *CartaCapital*, August 15, 2017, <https://www.cartacapital.com.br/politica/pela-terceira-vez-bolsonaro-e-condenado-a-indenizar-maria-do-rosario/>.

<sup>46</sup> “O que Bolsonaro disse a Zero Hora em 2014 sobre direitos das mulheres,” *Zero Hora*, August 29, 2018, <https://gauchazh.clicrbs.com.br/politica/eleicoes/noticia/2018/08/o-que-bolsonaro-disse-a-zero-hora-em-2014-sobre-direitos-das-mulheres-cjlfyilei05bk01qk0zsj66ce.html>.

<sup>47</sup> “Bolsonaro disse.”

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Inara Chagas, “Veja nove vezes em que Bolsonaro atacou os direitos das mulheres,” *Brasil de Fato*, March 8, 2022, <https://www.brasildefato.com.br/2022/03/08/veja-nove-vezes-em-que-bolsonaro-atacou-os-direitos-das-mulheres>.

<sup>52</sup> Chagas, “Veja.”

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> “Em vídeo de palestra, Bolsonaro diz que ter filha foi 'fraquejada',” *O Globo*, April 6, 2017, <https://blogs.oglobo.globo.com/blog-do-moreno/post/em-video-de-palestra-bolsonaro-diz-que-ter-filha-foi-fraquejada.html>.

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<sup>60</sup> Nathalia Larghi, “Quanto ganha o presidente do Brasil? Veja quanto esse salário cresceu,” *Valor Investe*, October 29, 2022, <https://valorinveste.globo.com/mercados/brasil-e-politica/noticia/2022/10/29/quanto-ganha-o-presidente-do-brasil-veja-quanto-esse-salario-cresceu.ghtml>.

<sup>61</sup> Danilo Moliterno, and Gabrielle Varela, “Bolsonaro puxa coro de ‘imbrochável’ em discurso no Dia da Independência,” *CNN Brasil*, September 7, 2022, <https://www.cnnbrasil.com.br/politica/bolsonaro-puxa-coro-de-imbrochavel-em-discurso-no-dia-da-independencia/>.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*

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