“WOMAN DOESN’T FIT IN A BOX”: TROUBLESHOOTING MACHINE AND FEMININITY FROM THE MUSIC “PERFEITINHA”

“MULHER NÃO CABE EM CAIXINHA”: PROBLEMATIZANDO MACHISMO E FEMINILIDADES A PARTIR DA MÚSICA “PERFEITINHA”

“LA MUJER NO CABE EN UNA CAJA”: MÁQUINA DE SOLUCIÓN DE PROBLEMAS Y FEMINIDAD DE LA MÚSICA “PERFEITINHA”

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ABSTRACT: Feminisms encompass different aspects, but in general, they constitute a movement that claims gender equity, based on the struggle for women's social and political rights. In this study, we assume the femininity category as the multiple ways of becoming a woman, covering different identities/differences, dimensions and social markers. This study is part of a more comprehensive qualitative research carried out in three Basic Education schools in a municipality in Cariri, Ceará, which aimed to analyze the narratives of young/women students about feminisms and femininities in the school context. The investigative procedures involved conducting a semi-structured interview, based on the problematization of the song “Perfeitinha”, through Foucauldian discourse analysis. In view of the analyses, it was possible to perceive that macho culture reflects in society and in different cultural artifacts, including in country music where they are manifested more explicitly. In this way, we highlight the need to incorporate, in a continuous and systematic way, the themes of gender, feminism and femininity in school and academic curricula, so that we can rethink education from a queer approach.

Introduction

From the post-structuralist perspective, we emphasize that feminisms encompass different aspects, but in general, they constitute a movement that claims gender equity, based on the struggle for women's social and political rights, arising with the intention of deconstructing the patriarchy that supports prejudices such as sexism and misogyny. In this study, we assume the femininity category as the multiple ways of becoming a woman covering different identities/differences, dimensions and social markers.

In this perspective, gender represents a sociocultural construction in our constitution as men and women, encompassing educational processes that operate through/or are supported by different institutions, not necessarily convergent, harmonious and stable (NICHOLSON, 2000; SCOTT, 1995). In addition to discussing the gender dimension, it is also important to understand that sexuality involves thoughts, values, behaviors, desires, fantasies, representations, languages and experiences built throughout people's lives, through social and cultural relations, it does not exist as a unique pattern, as it encompasses a whole process of social historical construction, in addition to our body, subject to transformation (ABRAMOVAY; CASTRO; SILVA, 2004; LOURO, 2000).

According to the Brazilian Public Security Forum, Brazil has high rates of gender violence. In 2021 alone, there were 1,319 feminicides in the country, with an average of one woman killed every seven hours due to her gender. Since, most of the time, the criminals were their own “companions” who, in many cases, carried out a sequence of violent episodes until they became homicidal. It is also important to highlight that the Cariri region of Ceará has a high rate of domestic violence.

According to the Secretariat of Public Security and Social Defense of Ceará (SSPDS/CE)\(^3\), Ceará is among the states that most kill women in the country. In 2022, criminal indicators indicate that by the month of June of that year, 9,106 cases of violence had already been registered based on Law nº 11,340/2006 (BRASIL, 2006), in Ceará.

Thus, it is necessary to problematize and disseminate (in)formation, aiming to deconstruct the gender inequalities that permeate society and school. It is important to bring these themes to educational spaces, especially schools and universities, engaging young people and adults, to discuss, in addition to the deconstruction of machismo and other prejudices, the hegemonic standards of femininity. Thus, this work had as its main objective

to analyze discourses about feminisms and youth femininities in the school context of Cariri Ceará from the problematization of the song “Perfeitinha” (ENZO RABELO, 2019).

We organize the text in the following blocks: after this initial introduction, where we present our research problem, objective and some central concepts of the research, we will present the methodological paths taken, as well as a brief description of the cultural artifact chosen to be problematized in this article, the “Perfeitinha” music. Next, we will present the analysis of the participants' speeches, problematizing the main statements related to the lyrics of the song “Perfeitinha”. Finally, we make some considerations about Queer studies.

Methodological Paths

This study is part of a broader research carried out in three basic education schools in a municipality in Cariri, Ceará, which aimed to analyze the narratives of young/women students about feminisms and femininities in the school context. The investigative procedures involved conducting a press conference with 13 young women, students of public high schools, held virtually through the digital platform Google Meet, due to the current scenario caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, which established social distancing as a public health and safety protocol.

The meeting lasted approximately 2 hours and 15 minutes for the problematization of the song “Perfeitinha”, seeking to relate the points raised with the theme under study. It is noteworthy that our conversation was recorded and later transcribed; then, the semi-structured collective interview was started based on general questions about gender, feminism, machismo, femininity and masculinity in the school context.

As an analytical procedure, we adopted Foucault's discourse analysis to problematize in what ways feminisms and femininities are (de)constructed in the school context and what discourses are (re)produced in this educational space from the problematization of student narratives in relation to music as a cultural artifact. Foucault (1996, p. 135) emphasizes “discourse as a set of statements supported by the same discursive formation.” It is worth noting that statements, in this sense, are not only “things”, but also the events themselves. The analysis of the utterance instigates an investigative and dialogical look to think about the conditions of existence and problematize the materiality and the effects of “truths” that make up the discourses produced through every day experiences (SILVEIRA, 2007).
The new cultural configurations have gained space in educational institutions, thus constituting a new state of culture, causing many of the representations made available in different cultural artifacts to reach schools and come into conflict with the content taught. In this sense, media culture has expanded the places where we inform ourselves and learn to think about ourselves, and about multiple identities/differences. Therefore, it is worth recognizing that “[...] when a cultural artifact articulates information, learning, feelings and thoughts, it is composing the text of a curriculum” (MAKNAMARA, 2021, p. 206, our translation).

For Hall (1997), the media is one of the main cultural instances that convey current ideas and images. Thus, cultural artifacts such as television, cinema and music, for example, come to be seen as “teaching machinery” (FISCHER, 1997; KELLNER, 2001; GIROUX, 2001). In this context, music occupies a central position in the contemporary scenario, in which media culture has become part of people's lives.

In this study, we use cultural artifacts as analytical-investigative instruments about discourses referring to feminisms and femininities in the school context, in a post-structuralist perspective. We highlight "cultural pedagogies" as a productive theoretical tool that emerged from the approximation of educational processes with culture, politics and power, promoting reflections on inequalities and the different identities/differences, which, together with the different social classes, are those that most cause social exclusion and widespread gender inequalities in society (ANDRADE; COSTA, 2015).

For Maknamara (2014), when composing media culture, music is increasingly present in schools and has also become a privileged object for the educational field, constituting a potent cultural artifact for the analysis of cultural pedagogies. In other texts, the author highlights the recognition of different cultural artifacts as constituents of a cultural curriculum, since it has been problematized by different researches in education (MAKNAMARA, 2020, 2021). Accordingly, the notion of cultural curriculum reiterates the importance of investigating “other curricula (in addition to the school curriculum) that contribute to the formation of people and that compete for space in the production of meanings and subjects” (PARAÍSO, 2007, p. 24, our translation).

In this way, we will analyze the country song “Perfeitinha”4 by the singer Enzo Rabelo, released in 2019, which is available on digital platforms. The song tries to pass on a message of romanticized love in a childish voice, but, when observing the lyrics, we are

faced, in a subtle way, with the varied archetypes of machismo hidden by seduction, by the naming of the girl as “princess”, with indications of the woman as property, in addition to the stereotype of a woman who runs away from standards. “Male domination” and emotional violence are also present in the song.

Deconstructing romanticized machismo: “women don’t fit in a box”

Beyond society, the macho culture is even reflected in country music, where it is explicitly manifested. When analyzing “Perfeitinha” (2019) by child singer Enzo Rabelo, the lyrics, at first, seem harmless, but the song is full of machismo archetypes, camouflaged by seduction through a subtle language, as it is seen as an expression of the romanticism of a man in love. In this way, we problematize sexist discourses naturalized in music, through student narratives, relating them to feminisms and femininities.

When asked which verse of the song drew the most attention, Isabela and Lorena's statements converge when they highlight the excerpt "She's a princess who doesn't wear a crown, she wears a cap, she goes to the dance with just sneakers on her feet", relating with multiple femininities, especially when criticizing the idea that “women have to be ‘perfeitinha’”, “behaved” and that to be feminine they would need to “wear heels”. Such sayings signal a problematization of hegemonic femininity, of stereotyped representations of gender and normative standards (re)produced by society. For Silva, Sales and Bastos (2017), television media, music, films and children's drawings reinforce normative standards of femininity and gender stereotypes, teaching from childhood how to “be a woman”, how to behave socially, establishing a pattern normative that regulates female characteristics of “good girl” to attract and conquer a partner.

Machismo is also present in the song's lyrics, as Kely and Alice's statements show, converging when they highlight the excerpts "she's all perfect and the best thing is that she's all mine" "[...] she's perfect, just that if it ended, he wouldn't let her live with other people”; “she is all perfect, makes you want to keep it in a box, so no one can steal it”. Relating to romanticized male possessiveness, a sense of ownership and misogyny masked as love. Some sertanejo songs corroborate the representation of men as women's owners, naturalizing violence and female submission; as they circulate in the most varied spaces, such as the school, they are heard by the students (BLAU; CADONÁ, 2019), so it is essential to problematize such gender stereotypes, especially in relation to femininities.
This idea of “keeping women in a box” was quite problematized by the participants Bianca, Lorena and Alice, respectively, when they reported that they had already experienced abusive relationships: “only those who have been in a relationship know that you are “small” compared to that person who takes you as an object, who guards you as possession [...] This part of keeping it in a little box is very shitty [...] very abusive”; “I've been through an abusive relationship where the guy tried to deprive me of many things and when I was in that relationship, I thought it was his concern, you know?”; “I've been through this, for a long time in an abusive relationship, which is really sick, the person who holds you back, [...] controls your mind in a way”.

Such statements warn us about sexist attitudes that underpin abusive relationships, as they tend to manifest themselves in a veiled way, disguised as care and concern, making it difficult to recognize abuse. Santos, Sanchotene and Vaz (2019, p. 3, our translation) explain that an abusive relationship comprises any type of “violence, psychological and emotional in affective relationships. In addition to physical violence, demonstrations of jealousy and actions that would lower self-esteem or limit women's autonomy become practices considered abusive. The author also points out that unlike harassment and rape, abusive relationships are often not recognized, due to the fact that there is an intimacy between the victim and the aggressor (SANTOS; SANCHOTENE; VAZ, 2019).

Furthermore, the reports encourage us to question the difficulty of a person leaving an abusive relationship. It often starts in a subtle or camouflaged way, with surveillance through the invasion of privacy, trying to control the size of clothing and friendships, constituting a game of abuse, embarrassment and violence against the other. Albertim and Martins (2018) point out that the abusive relationship consists of a cycle; first there is tension; secondly, an explosion of violence that is followed by a “honeymoon” as a form of reward to trap the victim in this vicious cycle, making it difficult for the person to see the violence suffered. Therefore, when going through this path, the woman is weakened due to emotional dependence and for disbelieving that she is capable of living without the aggressor.

Student Lorena highlights: “Not only in this song, but I've seen it in many other songs that talk about jealousy, and they end up putting it in a positive way as if it were a partner's concern.” These statements refer to two important aspects: the first is the question that women do not fit inside a box, since we are free to live and be whatever we want. And the second is the issue of songs that convey machismo and misogyny, naturalizing violence against women, after all, we hear them every day in the most varied social spaces. In this sense, Garcia et al.
(2017) emphasize that television, radio and internet show how much machismo is present in our daily lives disguised as love and protection, naturalizing women as sexual objects.

When Lorena adds "If the person comments on the problem that the music shows, people immediately say: oh, what a mimizenta person, only sees the bad side of music [...]", it is worth explaining that the term "mimizenta" is usually used by men to get around the situation and keep sexist and sexist practices intact, trying to silence women's place of speech. In this sense, it is important to problematize the term “Gaslighting”, which means manipulation and corresponds to psychological abuse often expressed through misogynistic statements such as “you're crazy”, “she has PMS”, that is, a way of manipulating situations causing the victim to doubt his position and even his lucidity (DÁVILA, 2019).

From this perspective, when asked if they could relate the song's lyrics to the theme of feminism and femininity, we captured a multiplicity of discursive statements in the participants' speeches. The speeches of Lorena, Isabela and Melissa converge when they say, respectively: “the first stanza is related to femininity, it talks more about how a woman can be more feminine. [...]”; “femininity is linked to how a woman behaves, dresses and everything else”; “she doesn't wear heels, to the dance with sneakers on her foot, related to the standard of femininity like feminine attitudes”. Such statements are close to the concept of femininity, since they signal the deconstruction of a hegemonic femininity, enabling the recognition and construction of multiple femininities. It is noteworthy that these are socioculturally constructed and cover the different ways of becoming a woman, encompassing behaviors, experiences, relationships, sexual and gender identities (BERALDO, 2014).

Beraldo (2014, p. 15, our translation) points out that “The pattern of femininity would be associated with what they identify as the traps that patriarchal society builds to undermine women's reflective capacity, in order to keep them under male domination”. Thus, a critique is presented of the normative standards imposed by society, which determine stereotyped representations of gender, mainly imposing a set of attributes and rules naturalized as “feminine characteristics” on women.

On the other hand, participant Isabela points out that the second stanza of the song could be related to feminist struggles, since: “feminism is basically the struggle that we have, you know, us women on a daily basis, for equality in this country and in the world. The abusive relationship [...] is one of the things that feminists fight against”. In this context, the participant points to feminism as a social movement that struggles to combat male domination and sexist practices such as possessiveness, abusive relationships, violence, femicides. For
Margaret Rago, feminism consists of a political and liberating movement that combats sexist practices and misogyny, raising a fight against inequalities, aiming at gender equity (RAGO, 2001).

On the other hand, participant Alice highlights “when a woman doesn't want to do what the guy wants, she ends up suffering violence, and many times it can even kill the woman”. Read it as femicide! This statement portrays a violent scenario experienced by many women who, when trying to leave an abusive relationship, often suffer episodes of violence, causing femicide. In this context, it is important to understand the concept of violence and femicide. Jane Felipe and Jéssica Morais, using the World Health Organization (WHO), define the term violence as the” deliberate use of physical force, whether in the form of an effective threat against oneself, or another person/group/community, causing or likely to cause injury, death, psychological harm, psychological disorders or deprivation” (FELIPE; MORAIS, 2019, p. 4, our translation).

With regard to violence that occurs within the family, according to the Ministry of Health, it can be understood as any action or omission that harms the well-being, physical or emotional integrity or freedom of another person. This type of violence can occur inside or outside the home environment, by a member of the family, including people who assume parental roles (BRASIL, 2001). Femicide, on the other hand, according to Radford and Russell (1992), represents the extreme terror of violence against women, including a wide variety of verbal and physical abuse and the motivation of the crime is based on the gender of the victim, with cis women as the main target, and trans. According to Enríquez (2010), the category of femicide obliges the State to recognize the depoliticization of the victim's death, since it reduces the crime to the passionate dimension. Since it concealed the sociopolitical conditions of the crimes, disregarding the nature of this type of violence that refers to the place of women in gender structures (ENRÍQUEZ, 2010).

On the other hand, it is worth noting that, when relating music to feminism and femininity, the statements of participants Lorena and Alice, at times, present a mistaken and contradictory view of feminism by confusing it with machismo when they enunciate: “The second stanza can be related to feminism because it talks a lot about this issue of ownership of the guy, who he thinks is in charge of the woman”; “related to feminism, it's when a guy doesn't let his woman go out of the house, wear certain clothes, it's as if they were really supposed to be kept in a box [...]”, because such statements correspond to sexist practices.
confuse feminism as opposed to machismo, however, it is worth mentioning that they are very different movements. Machismo constitutes a prejudice based on the male/female binary opposition that, by propagating an arbitrary idea of male superiority, inferiorizes and kills women, while feminism fights against machismo and for equal rights between genders.

“No woman likes to be spanked”: necessary problematizations

It is possible to analyze how gender inequalities reflect on cultural artifacts, permeating the walls of schools, since the participants, when relating the lyrics of the song with their personal experiences and/or in the school environment, highlight a series of statements that refer to sexism, misogyny and male domanation that oppresses the female figure. In addition to the issues of toxic and abusive relationships, which manipulate and cause emotional dependencies in many women, as well as blackmail, physical and emotional violence, caused by sexist attitudes mainly in school spaces, since it is the place of speech in which the participants are inserted. In this way, we highlight the main fragments of speeches from the interviews with the young women/students, problematizing the divergences and convergences on the subject based on their opinions, doubts and questions.

In this context, Bianca's and Lorena's statements converge, respectively, when they relate the song's lyrics to their personal and school experiences when they say “I've been through this at school. “[...] they said I was very cute”. And that they wanted to put me in the pot [...] I think they were trying to praise me, [...] I don't know, that was toxic”; “I had an abusive relationship in which he really wanted to deprive me of everything, and he did, because you don't know what to do [...] something I lived and there was in this song the fact of “keeping it in a box”. Such statements demonstrate the romanticized machismo and abuse propagated in cultural artifacts that reflect in school spaces and student experiences, as they make misogyny and silent violence not manage to be identified. That said, the naturalization of machismo convinces people and makes them believe and see such an attitude as something “natural” in every affective relationship. However, this fact favors the construction of a game of abusive practices, creating a cruel bond that is difficult to break, which causes irreversible damage to the lives of victims involved in educational and/or social spaces (OLIVEIRA et al., 2016).

It is worth emphasizing that abusive relationships were the experiences that stood out the most in student reports. When asked about the concept of abusive relationships,
participant Bianca explains: "it's a relationship that really turns off your light". Whereas, “deprives you of doing the things you used to do, of friendships, of wearing the clothes you want, curses you, mistreats you.” That is, “it is a really toxic relationship, it makes you feel bad, it puts the blame on you, and he is often to blame for some things. He steps on you, diminishes you to boost his ego and makes you feel small”. It should be noted that control and care motivated by jealousy is not love, it is abuse. Machista attitudes such as controlling social media, clothing, partner friendships, usually seen as a symptom of passion, actually consists of a sign that the relationship is abusive (CAMPOLINA, 2015). Such practices are also present in school spaces, as young students' affective relationships begin there.

In this direction, it is important to point out that an abusive relationship is characterized by an excessive game of power relations, usually by the man over the woman within an affective relationship. In addition to blaming the partner for the violence suffered, responsibility for their abusive actions is removed, seeking justifications for them (MOREIRA, 2016).

Participant Lorena also emphasizes: “[...] when you start to realize that the relationship is toxic, that you are already on the alert, the guy realizes and starts trying to fix the good times in his mind, [...] as if those good things that happened made up for what he was doing bad”. Converging with Bianca when she states: “when you realize that you are already connecting that it is wrong, and that you no longer want to be submissive and all that. He starts to change, maybe to be a better person for you”, such statements make up one of the phases of abusive relationships, as previously highlighted, known as the “honeymoon” (OLIVEIRA et al., 2016).

Participant Kely's speech differs from the others when she highlights “there are many women who seem to like to be beaten, they like to be there in that grip, to be arrested” when reporting the abusive relationship experienced by her aunt. This statement is often repeated in different social contexts, including school ones, to justify abusive practices and male domination. On the other hand, at this point in the interview, there was some friction between the participants, as participant Bianca retorts in a reproachful tone: “My friend, my friend, take it easy! No, no woman likes to be beaten! [...] I can say with absolute certainty, “no woman likes to be beaten, likes to be cursed, to be mistreated, to be humiliated”. This warning highlights the recognition that abusive practices are the result of power relations that (re)produce female vulnerability and submission as a reflection of the patriarchy that objectifies women as possession of the male figure (OLIVEIRA et al., 2016). In this view, the
speech of participant Bianca signals the deconstruction of these misogynistic discourses that cause the oppression and submission of many women.

Participant Bianca further complements “the woman who has already gone through this knows how exhausting it is [...] Many women remain in an abusive relationship, because that guy makes you feel “so small” diminishes you so much, that “you feel so small”, “that you cannot live without that person””, representing the psychological violence that causes emotional dependence, often related to financial conditions, among other factors that condition women to remain in an abusive relationship. Gomes (2018, p. 49) points out that “emotional and financial dependence, valuing the family, concern for the children, helplessness and lack of social support appear as one of the main factors that favor the victim’s remaining in abusive relationships”. Thus, it is worth noting that feminism enables a change in this scenario, as it fights for political and social emancipation, enabling women to have autonomy and gain their independence both in school spaces and in other social spheres.

When reporting their personal experiences, the statements of participants Lorena and Alice converge when they say: “I had scars, I suffered a lot in this relationship, the girls told me to denounce him.”; “[...] I’m curing myself of a depression that a bastard left me.” And Alice adds: “I suffered physical aggression, he beat me, that at school, once a teacher saw him calling me a “whore”, cursing me out of nowhere, but the guy really manipulates and makes you think that without him you are nobody”. Such statements point out that gender violence is also present in the school context and warn us that, in addition to physical aggression and destroying many lives, it also causes psychological damage, such as depression, which can lead to suicide, in addition to femicide (HIRIGOYEN, 2006).

It is noteworthy that violence against women in affective relationships permeates the walls of schools and reflects in student contexts, affecting women of different races, ethnicities and social classes. It often starts with “micro” violence, which can be verbal, moral and, consequently, evolve into physical aggression that is usually naturalized, constituting one of the factors that favor the victim’s permanence in the abusive relationship (HIRIGOYEN, 2006).

In this scenario, it becomes necessary to discuss feminisms and femininities in order to promote and develop different studies and projects in schools, involving audiences of all age groups, with the aim of minimizing the impacts of gender violence and maximizing understanding of female behavior. staying in a toxic and abusive relationship. However, it is also necessary to promote a support network for the victims, especially in the school context,
since when a person goes through this whole process, it directly affects their performance and often causes dropout and school dropout (GOMES, 2018).

When Alice points out “I think it is very important that this is talked about in schools, as long as the girls are at an age like this in pre-adolescence, this guideline of abusive relationships. I was innocent at the time, if someone had come up to me and said “look at this and all” it would have been very important”. This statement warns about the importance and, at the same time, the lack of gender, feminism and femininity themes in school curricula, not only during adolescence, but at all levels of education, so that children start from childhood to recognize and deconstruct sexist practices. Therefore, according to Oliveira et al. (2016, p. 02) “this romanticization and cultural acceptance of violence against women must be discussed in order to generate a reassessment of gender relations”, to denaturalize violence that occurs within an abusive relationship.

In this way, we emphasize the importance of discussing feminisms and femininities in the school context so that students can recognize and pay attention to the practices of abusive relationships that are often present in their routines and do not know how to break free. It is worth mentioning that the abusive practices that permeate students are not limited to affective relationships, but are present in all aspects and in all spaces, from the school, through the institutional and reaching the social, through practices and attitudes that make women invisible and deprive them of contemplating their freedom.

**Queer Considerations**

The speeches of the young students based on the lyrics of the song “Perfeitinha” denounce a series of sexist, misogynistic and sexist speeches that corroborate physical and psychological violence against women. Furthermore, the problematization of music as a cultural artifact allows us to see the “subtle” and/or manifest nuances of abusive relationships that precede cases of femicide, since our culture tends to romanticize practices of female objectification and submission with the justification of protection and even careful. After all, “those who love care”, but this statement is usually subverted in favor of an erroneous understanding of “care” and “romantic love”, read manipulation and female appropriation. Such reports provoke problematizations and questions about gender and feminisms that instigate several reverberations in our school practices.
Which queer compositions can we do with gender? From their experiences/narratives, the students evidenced sexism based on stereotyped gender patterns imposed by society and (re)produced at school, as well as the non-recognition of multiple femininities. In this horizon, we highlight the need to incorporate, in a continuous and systematic way, the themes of gender, feminism and femininity in school and academic curricula, so that we can rethink education from a queer approach. That is, through an incessant exercise of questioning language, discourses and cisgender-heteronormative models that underpin violence, abusive relationships, prejudices and gender inequalities, favoring the recognition of multiple sexual identities/differences, as well as femininity and masculinity as plural and changeable. After all, all this multiplicity shows how much we women (and also men) do not fit into little boxes...

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