

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.18764/2178-2229v33n2e27193>

The history of sexual education in Brazil in eight periods: preliminary research notes

Gisele Cristina Garcia Tofoli

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0685-8986>

Michele Garcia

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000000196720122>

Paulo Rennes Marçal Ribeiro

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1552-5702>

Abstract: This study, based on bibliographic research, describes and analyzes the process of institutionalization of Sexual Education in Brazil, considering both its non-formal scope (that which occurs in everyday life since the colonial period) and its formal scope (that which develops institutionally from the first decades of the twentieth century). The main objective is to present how the process of development of sexual culture and sexual knowledge in Brazil took place, culminating in the institutionalization of this body of knowledge from the second half of the nineteenth century and in the emergence of Sexual Education in the first decades of the twentieth century. A narrative literature review was used as the method for analysis and data collection. Works and texts addressing the six historical moments proposed by Ribeiro (2004) were analyzed, as well as the period from 2004 to 2024, which was not examined by the author but already presents feasible elements to compose two new historical moments. This update made it possible to establish a more comprehensive chronology of the historical moments into which Sexual Education in Brazil can be divided. Finally, the study seeks to relate the trajectory of Sexual Education to teacher education in undergraduate teacher-training programs and the importance of its applicability within the Brazilian education system.

Keywords: sexual education; history of sexual education; teacher training; teaching degree.

1 Introduction

This article originates from a work by Ribeiro (2004), who, for the first time, proposed an understanding of the history of sex education in Brazil based on distinct moments classified into periods (six in total), spanning from the colonial period to the publication of the National Curriculum Parameters (PCN) in 1997. Ribeiro (2004), however, concluded his analysis in the period in which the PCN were published, but, between 1997 and 2026, the year in which this article is being published, almost three decades of variations in behaviors, values, and understanding of issues related to sexuality have passed, the intensity of which has led us to propose an update to this model, expanding it to eight historical moments: 1st – Colonial Brazil and the interference of the Catholic Church; 2nd – The Empire and the standardization of



Esta licença permite que outros distribuam, remixem, adaptem e criem a partir do seu trabalho, mesmo para fins comerciais, desde que lhe atribuem o devido crédito pela criação original.

medical morality; 3rd – The Republic and the emergence of sexology and sex education; 4th – The 1960s and sex education in schools; 5th – From the late 1970s to 1998: strategies and practices in sex education during the dictatorship and redemocratization; 6th – The 1990s and the National Curriculum Parameters; 7th – From 2000 to 2014: the rise and fall of sex education; and 8th – From 2015 onwards: the far right and the new sexual repression.

Sexual education is of paramount importance, and its application in schools will contribute to the psychosexual development of children and adolescents, promoting health and well-being, preventing abuse and sexual violence, and enabling the acquisition of a positive view of sexuality. This leads students to have, on the one hand, sexual knowledge and empowerment and, on the other, to develop the necessary sensitivity to understand the breadth of sexuality, to value diversity, and to acquire an ethical and responsible stance regarding sexual attitudes and behaviors. Furthermore, educators with training and knowledge in sexual education are better able to deal with the sexual issues that arise daily in the school environment, as noted by Louro (1999), Maia and Ribeiro (2011), Santos and Bruns (2000), Egypto (2003), Figueiró (2006), and Bonfim (2012), among others.

For the reader's clarification, we explain that both Sexual Orientation and School Sex Education refer to an institutionalized, systematized, organized, and localized intervention, with the participation of professionals trained for this work. In the 1960s–1990s, Sexual Orientation was more commonly used by psychologists, and Sex Education more by pedagogues and educators. When the term Sexual Orientation also began to be used for the physical, emotional, and sexual attraction that one person feels for another, at the end of the 1990s, intensifying its use in studies on sexual diversity, its use gradually consolidated to define how and with whom people establish affective relationships, whether heterosexual, homosexual, bisexual, pansexual, or asexual, among other forms (Ribeiro, 1990; Ribeiro, 2004; Maia; Ribeiro, 2011). Since then, Sex Education has replaced Sexual Orientation in its educational sense. The term “Sexuality Education,” which is more commonly used by UNESCO, has the same meaning as “Sex Education” and has come to be used without scientific criteria, simply to gain greater support from parents who might not feel comfortable with, or even approve of, the word “sexual” (Ribeiro, 2017).

The main objective of this article, therefore, is to describe the process of development of sexual culture and knowledge in Brazil, culminating in the institutionalization of this knowledge from the second half of the 19th century and the emergence of sex education in the first decades of the 20th century. In the mid-1860s and subsequent years, medical schools, mainly those in Rio de Janeiro and Bahia, produced theses whose themes dealt with sexual hygiene, prostitution, the pathologization of deviance, and the regulation of societal morality through medicine. These theses served as an important instrument in the construction of medical knowledge about sexuality (Rohden, 2003), influencing doctors to propose sex education in schools as early as the first decades of the 20th century (Bedin, 2016; Ribeiro, 2019).

We used a narrative literature review as our method of analysis and data collection, aiming to describe and discuss the historical moments of sex education in Brazil from the perspective of authors who have published texts on this topic. As Rother (2007, p. v–vi) explains,

[...] narrative review articles are broad publications, appropriate for describing and discussing the development or the "state of the art" of a given subject, from a theoretical or contextual point of view [...] They basically consist of an analysis of the literature published in books and articles from printed and/or electronic journals... This category of articles plays a fundamental role in continuing education because it allows the reader to acquire and update knowledge on a specific topic in a short period of time [...]. They are considered narrative review articles and are qualitative.

Based on this methodology, we were able to describe and analyze, chronologically, the trajectory of sex education in the country. Thus, the article is structured in five parts: an Introduction, in which we present the research proposal, the methodology used, and the relevance of the topic; a second part, describing and analyzing the historical moments studied by Ribeiro (2004), which provide the historical basis for understanding the institutionalization of sex education in Brazil and anchor the description and analysis of the subsequent period (2000 to 2025), presented in the third and fourth parts; and, finally, a summary of the article's main results in the fifth part, entitled "Final Considerations."

2 Historical moments proposed for the 16th to 20th centuries

The colonial period lasted three centuries, undoubtedly the longest, and it was during this time that the formation of Brazilian sexual culture began. We established the year 1500 as our starting point, notwithstanding the existence of indigenous peoples in Brazil before the arrival of the Portuguese and aware of the importance of decolonial studies. Even with the richness of the different cultures, including values, attitudes, and sexual behaviors very different from those prevalent in Christian lands (as reported by Staden, 2013; Scalia, 2014; Fernandes, 1989; Raminelli, 2004), we chose to consider the colonization of Brazil as the initial landmark for developing the study proposed for this article.

Writing about sexual practices, values, and behaviors prior to the arrival of the Portuguese implies a complex and comprehensive study, requiring specific sources, which is beyond the scope of this discussion. Furthermore, classic authors of Brazilian history have recognized Colonial History as the beginning of the historical formation of Brazilian nationality (Abreu, 2000; Holanda, 2000; Lima, 2000), without disregarding the experiences, creations, thoughts, and perspectives of the original peoples. Parker (1991) wrote about Brazilian sexual culture based on historical documents produced by Pero Vaz de Caminha, Amerigo Vespucci, Hans Staden, and Manoel da Nóbrega, who lived in the 15th and 16th centuries, and on the classic works of Paulo Prado, Gilberto Freyre, Sergio Buarque de Holanda, and Antonio Cândido, which, as Bueno (2014, p. 210) summarized, portrayed “[...] the formation of the Brazilian people, sometimes as a racial mixture, sometimes as a cultural mixture of European whites, African blacks, and native indigenous people.”

It is the encounter between the Portuguese and the native peoples, the meeting of two antagonistic cultures, that surprises both sides. On the one hand, the nudity of the native women, female autonomy, and the conception of sexual practices distinct from that prevalent in the Portuguese Catholic world. On the other hand, the interference of the Church, the submission of women, and the androcentrism that is so natural.

Priore (2000, p. 17) states that “[...] upon disembarking in what was then called the Land of the Holy Cross, the newly arrived Portuguese were impressed by the beauty of our Indian women: brown-skinned, well-disposed, with long hair,

walking naked and without shame.” For Gomes and Novais (2013), even Pero Vaz de Caminha was surprised and wrote to Portugal mentioning the sexual characteristics of indigenous women.

With the pre-colonization phase complete, the Portuguese Crown needed to populate the land with an increasingly large number of colonists, including white women, and a new ethnic group: enslaved Africans to supply labor in the sugar mills. Thus, the multi-ethnic tripod that gave rise to the Brazilian people was formed. Subjugation continued, now more institutionalized, with:

[...] the plantation owner, who owned the land, the slaves, the wife, the daughters, the sons, and the employees, occupying the top of a hierarchy in which only men had voice and reason. Women, white or black, were submissive and denied any rights. The former would be the mothers of his heirs; the latter, objects of desire (Ribeiro; Bedin, 2013, p. 159).

The period, extensively studied by Freyre (1978), Vainfas (1997a, 1997b), Priore (2000, 2009), among others, was characterized by non-formal sexual education that took place daily, influenced by the Catholic ideology of sin and transgression (although not necessarily followed), reproducing values, attitudes, and behaviors of female submission and extreme valuation of male power. Ribeiro (2004, p. 16) speaks of “[...] libidinous multiethnic sex for men; submission and repression of women's sexual behavior, [and] norms, rules, and condemnations on the part of the Church.” Vainfas (1997a, p. 27) comments on the “[...] subservient clergy, [the] privatism of the masters, [and] religion circumscribed to the sphere of powerful families [...]”.

The first records of formal sex education were made in Sweden in 1770, related to public lectures on sexual functions (Boëthius, 1984), and Foucault described an experience in Germany in 1776, in which the progressive writer Johann Bernhard Basedow organized a meeting with the purpose of “showing the success of sex education given to students” (Foucault, 1980, p. 31).

As Foucault observes in his works, there is greater control over female sexuality. Specifically, in *The History of Sexuality I: The Will to Knowledge*, he describes sexuality as a discursive-institutional creation, whose function would be the control of individuals and populations, in which the concept of sexuality is a historical and political construction produced by relations of power and knowledge, and was born as the just measure of separation between normality and abnormality (Foucault,

1980). However, these studies apply more to the 18th–19th centuries, when the concepts of normal and pathological are forged, even though they can serve as a reference for understanding the sexual attitudes and behaviors of the Colony.

The first historical moment of sex education in Brazil, therefore, is filled with eroticism and violence, sensuality, and sexual abuse. Documents from the Inquisition, diocesan visits, and letters sent to Portugal describe sexual practices between Portuguese men and various indigenous and enslaved African women, and even homoerotic relationships (Mott, 1988; Vainfas, 1997a; Vainfas, 1997b; Araújo, 1997).

This documentation.

[...] contém numerosos exemplos de senhores que, não obstante casados, possuíam nas escravas amantes habituais, das quais tinham filhos, dando escândalo público de seus atos. Enlaces entre senhores e escravas, utilização homossexual de cativos, paixões ou violências que pontuavam, no mundo sexual, as relações entre o mundo dos senhores e a senzala, nada disso falta à documentação judiciária relacionada à Colônia [...] (Vainfas, 1997b, p. 234).

The colonial Catholic Church, constituting the ultimate force influencing attitudes, behaviors, and sexual conceptions, ended up institutionalizing the development of thought, character, and sexual culture of the Brazilian people throughout their history:

Christian morality, which established a very large distance between individuals and their bodies, with sexual conduct focused exclusively on reproduction and not on pleasure, found in Brazilian lands a true battleground against the “perdition of the flesh.” The process of shaping the sexuality of both the natives and the colonists who came to settle in the territory became part of the Church’s civilizing project. Starting from the reaffirmation of feminine stereotypes such as that of the “holy mother”—which encompassed a whole series of desired characteristics for women such as being pious, submissive, and asexual—the establishment of “honor” as a mechanism for controlling sexuality delimited the spaces of action for men and women not only in relation to sexual conduct, but in the entire complex network of interpersonal relationships of that society (Braga Junior, 2015, p. 207).

With Independence in 1822, the second historical moment of sex education in Brazil began. The newly formed country wished to show the world its new political status, and, as soon as the war of independence ended in 1824, it compelled a cultural, political, and economic rapprochement with Europe, aiming for recognition and preventing a possible recolonization, a desire still held by the Portuguese kingdom. Modernization was necessary, as were new values and customs.

Although authors from the margins (Costa; Cravo, 2023; Oliveira; Pimenta, 2022; Ribeiro; Terra, 2021) question the process of Brazilian Independence, it is not appropriate, in this article, to conduct a revisionist analysis of this process. We understand and value the rewriting of official history that gives voice to marginalized groups, such as enslaved people, women, indigenous people, and the LGBTQIA+ community and, in a way, we write the History of Sex Education from this perspective. However, in this article, we use the term Independence only to refer to the historical process that ended Portuguese colonial rule.

However, patriarchy persisted—it was not even possible to eliminate it—and the Church's religious discourse regarding sexual practices found an ally in medical discourse, in which sexuality came to be treated as a matter of hygiene and health. Here, we use Saffiotti's (2015) concept, which explains that patriarchy is a structure of social domination and exploitation of women's submission to men, sustained both by the exploitation of labor and by ideology. Saffiotti sees patriarchy not in isolation, but in conjunction with capitalism and racism, forming a threefold system, which she calls the "knot of dominations," that underlies Brazilian society.

In the 19th century, Medicine consolidated itself in the country, since, during the Colony, there was no recognition of the profession. Sexual behavior, previously seen in the realm of sin, became a risk of contracting organic or mental diseases (Ribeiro, 2004). The need for a national project places Medicine and the Brazilian State side by side, as allies, from the second half of the 19th century onwards, as analyzed by Oliveira (2013, p. 1-2):

From this perspective, natural science museums, medical schools, and law schools should create a robust intelligentsia capable of generating the discursive resources that would align the interests of liberalism [...] However, for this project to be carried out, greater state intervention in the regulation of individuals would be necessary, as well as a restructuring of the very mechanisms of control of social order... medicine will play an important mediating role in individual and social regulation by the State, which occurred through its gradual interference in the family.

In the Empire, three contexts stand out in which sexuality is perceived, although, unlike the Colony, where there is vast documentation to be studied about sexual practices, the period throughout the 19th century lacks numerous sources about sexual practices and behaviors.

Firstly, we have the Codes of Conduct, which constitute:

[...] uma fonte extremamente rica para se compreender não só a sexualidade, mas também os costumes, a vida privada e a vida pública... Introduzidos no Brasil a partir da vinda da corte portuguesa, esses códigos e tratados de conduta remontam ao século XVIII e em especial à França. [...] Escritos de maneira didática e de fácil manuseio [...] ensinam] como agir, como se portar frente às situações, tais como na Igreja, no Paço, no tratamento com as pessoas, nas assembleias, nas situações sociais mais diversas (Senatore; Morila, 2013, p. 171-173).

The most famous of these codes is *The Code of Good Manners or Rules of Civility and Good Living in the 19th Century*, written by Canon José Ignácio Roquette (1801–1870). There is also the significant number of theses defended in medical faculties, whose themes address prostitution and syphilis. And, thirdly, the medical morality of regulation itself, present in the social and health actions in force throughout the 19th century. According to Machado *et al.* (1978, p. 335),

[...] the Academy and the Faculty of Medicine turn to prostitution and show how it harms the Brazilian population, directly affecting the family. Through theses, memoirs, and sessions dedicated to prostitution, doctors point out the dire consequences of unregulated prostitution. The major disease resulting from this situation is syphilis, contagious, hereditary, and a powerful morbid agent. [...] The Brazilian family finds its very existence threatened by a disease that, through its "head," contaminates wife and children.

If in the Colony the Church regulated the sexual practices of the family and society in general, in the Empire the interference was from Medicine:

Hygienist medicine imposed on families a physical, moral, and sexual education that would be responsible for several changes in family customs... It contributed, along with other social instances, to transforming it into the conjugal and nuclear institution characteristic of our times [...] The nuclear and conjugal family [...] was hygienically treated and regulated (Costa, 1989, p. 13).

From the medical interest in the family, intimacy, and sexuality itself, culminating in theses on prostitution, we move to the third historical moment of sex education in Brazil. This one is explicitly related to sex education, as it is the period in which this term is used for the first time in books published by important publishers. We are in the first decades of the 20th century, more precisely from 1920 to 1950, when Sexology consolidates itself and “[...] sexual knowledge [is] assimilated and interpreted by doctors, educators, and priests, and disseminated in Brazil through books intended for the general public” (Reis; Ribeiro, 2004, p. 28).

Great works on sex education have been written and published, most notably by the Rio de Janeiro physician José de Albuquerque (1904–1984), a pioneer of sex

education in Brazil, whose first book on this subject was *Sexual Education*, in 1934, published by Editora Calvino, in Rio de Janeiro. Previously, he had already published *Introduction to the Study of Sexual Pathology*, in 1928; *Sexual Hygiene*, in 1929; and *Sexual Morality*, in 1930. Later, he published, among others, *Sexual Education by Radio*, in 1935; *Catechism of Sexual Education*, in 1940; and *Four Letters, Five Lustrums*, in 1958.

José de Albuquerque can be considered the first idealizer or proposer of a national project to bring sex education to the entire country. He created the Brazilian Circle of Sex Education (C.B.E.S.), which, according to Ribeiro (2004),

[...] it was an institution with penetration into the most important Brazilian intellectual and political circles of the 1930s and, contrary to the idea of sexual repression prevalent in the period—a remnant of Victorianism—it was able to disseminate its work of guiding the population effectively (Ribeiro, 2004, p. 35).

Albuquerque promoted public lectures, events, book awards, used the radio as a space for sex education, organized a museum and an art gallery at the C.B.E.S. headquarters, defended divorce (remembering that divorce was only implemented in the country in 1977), and instituted November 20th as Sex Day. He created the important periodical *Boletim de Educação Sexual* (Bulletin of Sex Education), in 1933, which lasted until 1939. More in-depth studies on José de Albuquerque can be found in Carrara (1997), Russo and Carrara (2002), Reis and Ribeiro (2004), Reis (2006), Felício (2011), Oliveira (2012), Carrara and Carvalho (2016), Fontoura (2018), and Oliveira *et al.* (2023). Besides Albuquerque, this third historical moment has as pioneers Hernani do Irajá, Álvaro Negromonte, and Gastão Pereira da Silva.

The fourth historical moment of sex education in Brazil is short, corresponding to less than a decade, yet of enormous importance. This is the period in which, for the first time, sex education takes place in schools in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, and Belo Horizonte. Ribeiro (2004) describes in which schools sex education was implemented:

In Belo Horizonte, in 1963, at the Barão do Rio Branco School Group; in Rio de Janeiro, in 1964, at the Pedro Alcântara School, and in 1968 at the Infante Dom Henrique, Orlando Rouças, André Maurois, and José Bonifácio Schools; in São Paulo, at the Fidelino Figueiredo Application School, from 1963 to 1968, at the Vocational Gymnasiums, from 1961 to 1969, and at the Pluricurricular Experimental State Gymnasium, from 1966 to 1969 (Ribeiro, 2004, p. 19–20).

However, the 1960s were the years of the 1964 coup d'état, and sex education in those schools was interrupted.

The intensification of repression also affected those innovative schools, whose work ended up being interrupted. The times no longer seemed favorable for openly discussing sex. Schools were closed, teachers were denounced, and some were even prosecuted when they dared to provide sex education (Barroso; Bruschini, 1982, p. 22).

Because it is a recent period in our history, many authors have focused on works and documents that provide information, and the studies carried out bring us very similar points of view. As suggested readings, we have Werebe (1977), Barroso; Bruschini (1982), Ribeiro (1990, 2004), Guimarães (1995), Figueiró (1998), Ribeiro (2008), and Maio (2013), among others.

However, for a long time, studies indicated the 1960s as the landmark of the beginning of sex education in Brazil, and the first decades of the 20th century did not receive due attention. Even in this fourth historical moment, we had an important step for sex education, although it was ultimately useless due to the political context and the refusal of its approval by the National Commission of Morality and Civics of the Ministry of Education and Culture. On February 12, 1968, Rio de Janeiro congresswoman Julia Steinbruch, from the MDB, filed Bill No. 1,035/68, which aimed to make sex education mandatory in all primary and secondary schools nationwide (Brazil, 1968). In 1967, the congresswoman was considered one of the ten most active parliamentarians in the Chamber of Deputies, but even so, her mandate was revoked by Institutional Act No. 5 of December 13, 1968 (AI-5), and her political rights were suspended for ten years. The promulgation of the AI-5 led the country to experience the “years of lead,” a period marked by increased censorship, indiscriminate torture, disappearances and assassinations of opponents, and the suspension of constitutional guarantees, which made both sex education and its proponents and defenders objects of persecution. Barroso and Bruschini (1982) explain that:

[...] from 1968 onwards, there was a setback in matters of sex education which, in fact, accompanied the wave of puritanism that swept the country at that time and which manifested itself mainly through the intensification of the rigor of censorship (Barroso; Bruschini, 1982, p. 23).

From 1978 to 1998, the fifth historical moment of sex education in Brazil took place, when “[...] public bodies—in this case, municipal and state education

departments—undertook sex education projects in schools” (Ribeiro, 2004, pp. 21–22). Starting with the political opening under President Ernesto Geisel (1974–1979)—characterized as slow, gradual, and safe—actions to implement sex education were resumed, this time developed from projects undertaken by the São Paulo Municipal Government (between 1978 and 1982) and the São Paulo State Department of Education (between 1980 and 1986). These were followed by other initiatives, such as that of the Municipal Government of Campinas (from 1984 to 1998) and a new proposal in the Municipal Government of São Paulo (1989 to 1992), this time during the administration of Luiza Erundina, of the Workers' Party (Gallacho, 2000). Ribeiro (2004) assesses that:

[...] these were important projects as benchmarks for spaces to debate issues of sexuality and sexual orientation in the school educational sphere, several of them with very significant results; however, the interruption of their development with changes in government was a characteristic observed, which contributed to the fact that we did not necessarily have continuous projects carried out due to their need and quality, to the detriment of the partisan politics in force with each change of mayor or governor (Ribeiro, 2004, p. 23).

It was in the 1980s that Rose Marie Muraro conducted important research on the sexuality of Brazilian women (Muraro, 1983), analyzing how female sexuality was experienced in Brazil based on the class situation of bourgeois, peasant, and working-class women. Marta Suplicy published *Conversando sobre sexo* (Suplicy, 1983), a book that was very successful with the general public. Between 1980 and 1986, she became known for being the protagonist of the “Conversando sobre Sexo” segment on the *TV Mulher* program on Rede Globo. Before her, only José de Albuquerque, who, in the 1930s, talked about sex on the radio even during prime time—*A Voz do Brasil!* Marta Suplicy dared to speak about penises and vaginas, about female orgasm, about sex education, in broad daylight and [...] “provoked reactions from conservative sectors” (Bedin *et al.*, 2020, p. 81).

Furthermore, in 1985, the military government ended, and a civilian president, José Sarney, took office, initiating the process of democratic transition in the country, culminating in the promulgation of the 1988 Constitution, called the Citizen Constitution for having restored democracy and civil rights. From this political redemocratization, freedom of customs was achieved—including sexual freedom—

and society experienced a rapid expansion in the change of sexual values, practices, and conceptions.

The resumption of large-scale publications of works on Sex Education was the result of actions carried out intensely since the political opening that occurred during the government of Ernesto Geisel (1974–1979): in the 1970s and 1980s, scientific associations in the area of sexuality and sex education were created; sexual behaviors and practices were the subject of debate in the middle class, even though Brazil was living under a dictatorship; and we highlight the creation of institutions focused on training or assistance in sexuality, such as the H. Ellis Institute, from 1984, in São Paulo.

The beginning of the 1980s, even under the aegis of the military dictatorship, is a period with intense publication of books and articles containing analyses and proposals about Sex Education, highlighting Barroso; Bruschini (1982, 1983), Goldberg (1981), Matarazzo (1983), França (1983), Suplicy (1983), among others. The newspaper *Folha de São Paulo*, in its *Tendências & Debates* section (always on page 3), regularly published articles by Marta Suplicy, already mentioned, and Flávio Gikovate (1943–2016), a psychiatrist who wrote for several widely circulated periodicals, including *Revista Cláudia*, and had a weekly column on human behavior in the *Folha de São Paulo* newspaper between 1980 and 1984.

The process of redemocratization in Brazil after the 1964 military dictatorship, described as “slow, gradual, and safe” and occurring between 1974 and 1985, had as a contributing factor the discussion, in society, of sexual values and behaviors and the consolidation of feminism, initially. As César (2009) analyzed, sex education, gender, and feminism became milestones in the struggle for the redemocratization of the country. Likewise, the advent of Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (AIDS), later, with the National Program for the Control of Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STDs/AIDS), in 1985, brought the debate about sexuality and, for the first time, advertisements about condoms on TV.

In fact, in the 1980s, as described by Ribeiro (1990, p. 15),

[...] the political opening [...] brought significant implications in the field of sexuality. While the people were making political demands, choosing their leaders, and taking to the streets in the “Diretas Já” campaign, erotic magazines were publishing frontal photos of naked women and men, which had been prohibited until recently; cinemas were showing films with scenes of so-called explicit sex; and sex shops were appearing in large cities.

Sexual liberation brought new behaviors, questioning prejudices, breaking down taboos, and shaking solid conservative traditions...

Specifically regarding the effects of the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV/AIDS) epidemic on Brazilian society as a catalyst for changes in values, we found that there were:

[...] a great impact on education, as the paradigm of information as a “weapon” against the epidemic grew. Thus, in the early 1990s, schools were taken as a fundamental place for the dissemination of information about “safe sex,” which included, in addition to HIV/AIDS and other STDs, “teenage pregnancy,” which, for specialists, began to be considered an important “pedagogical problem.” From that moment on, the discourse on sexuality in Brazilian schools was definitively colonized by the idea of health and prevention of sexually transmitted diseases and teenage pregnancy, taken as synonymous with physical and social health problems (César, 2009, p. 42).

In the 1990s, research groups focused on sexuality emerged in universities (Bedin, 2010; Bedin, 2016); publications on sex education continued, such as those by Ribeiro (1990) and Guimarães (1995); and the Brazilian Society of Human Sexuality, which had been created in 1987, launched the *Brazilian Journal of Human Sexuality*. The oldest research group was the Group for Studies in Education and Gender Relations (GEERGE), created in 1990 at the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul, in Porto Alegre, whose first coordinator was Guacira Lopes Louro. In 1991, the Center for Sexuality Studies (NES) emerged at the State University of Santa Catarina, in Florianópolis, and the Kaplan Institute, in São Paulo. Later, we have the Center for Sexuality Guidance and Development (CEDES), in São Caetano do Sul, founded by Celso Marzano in 1995; and the Paulista Institute of Sexuality (InPaSex), founded by Oswaldo Martins Rodrigues Junior and Carla Zéglío, in São Paulo, in 1996 (Russo; Rohden, 2011).

The advent of the National Curriculum Parameters (PCN) (Brazil, 1997), the first official document approved and released by the federal government with reference to sex education, therein called sexual orientation, inaugurates the sixth historical moment, enabling (theoretically) the emergence of a mental, social, and educational environment favorable to educational actions related to sexual issues. Created to guide Basic Education teachers and provide them with a curricular framework for Education, the PCN, together with the Law of Guidelines and Bases “Darcy Ribeiro” (LDB), of 1996, recognize sex education as a necessary and important school educational action. Ribeiro (2004) concludes his proposal of

historical moments in sex education here, actually designating the period immediately following the PCN and the LDB as the sixth moment, but without an in-depth analysis: “From this official initiative, doors are opened for schools, institutions, educators, and other professionals to carry out sexual orientation work with the support and monitoring of government agencies” (Ribeiro, 2004, p. 14).

At this point, then—with the publication of the National Curriculum Parameters (PCN)—Ribeiro (2004) concludes his proposal to organize and contextualize the historical periods of sex education in Brazil, which led us to propose an update aimed at analyzing the context and insertion of sex education in subsequent historical periods, more specifically the periods from 2000 to 2014 and from 2014 to 2025.

3 Rise and fall of sex education: from 2000 to 2014

If we consider the second half of the 19th century as the beginning of scientific production on sexual themes, with the defense of theses in medical schools as the open space for academic debate, we will have 150 years of a gradual process of institutionalization and growth of a field of knowledge—sexology—responsible for the emergence of sex education in the first decades of the 20th century. Gradually, in the 3rd, 4th, and 5th historical moments of sex education proposed by Ribeiro (2004), we observe how much Brazilian sexual scientific thought has evolved, notwithstanding the oscillation of waves of containment and freedom.

The 2000s bring the consolidation of studies and research in sex education, and it is precisely on February 7, 2000, that Paulo Rennes Marçal Ribeiro creates the Center for Sexuality Studies at the São Paulo State University “Júlio de Mesquita Filho” (UNESP), Araraquara campus. Marcos Ribeiro created the Center for Sexual Orientation and Education (CORES) in Rio de Janeiro (Russo; Rohden, 2011), certainly without knowing that, two decades later, he would pursue a master's degree at UNESP.

New times, democratic atmospheres, and freedom of expression contribute to society thinking about and discussing sexual matters.

We entered the 2000s with a strong, vibrant, and recognized sex education system, with many publications, notably reference books, capable of important achievements, such as the I, II, III, and IV Brazilian Congresses of Sex Education UNESP – UEL – UDESC, in 2008, 2012, 2014, and 2016

(Araraquara, Araraquara, Florianópolis, and Araraquara), preceded by two symposia (Araraquara, 2005, and Londrina, 2006). [...] The recognition of several legal milestones for work with Sex Education indicated how the mental, social, and school environments built over 150 years appeared solid and stable (Ribeiro, 2019, p. 34).

This is the seventh historical moment for sex education in Brazil, precisely the period in which society is reaping the rewards of a century-long investment:

From 2003 to 2011, Brazilian society made extremely significant progress in the field of gender equality and in combating homophobia, the latter with the creation, in 2004, of a Program aimed at promoting citizenship and human rights for the LGBT population and combating violence and discrimination. In 2006, the Maria da Penha Law was enacted. In 2008, the 1st National Conference on Public Policies and LGBT Human Rights was held, convened by President Lula to hear the demands of the LGBT population throughout the country. In 2010, the adoption of children by same-sex couples was permitted [...]. In 2011, civil unions between people of the same sex were recognized [...] (Ribeiro, 2019, p. 35–36).

As demonstrated by the research results of Russo and Rohden (2011) and Bedin (2010), the production of dissertations and theses on sexuality and sex education in Brazil intensified, as did the creation of research groups, such as the Sexuality and School Research Group (GESE) at the Federal University of Rio Grande (FURG), in 2002. In 2003, at the 23rd Annual Meeting of the National Association of Postgraduate Studies in Education (ANPED), in Poços de Caldas, the proposal to create Study Group (GE) 23, titled Sexuality, Gender, and Education, was approved (Ribeiro, 2016). Guacira Lopes Louro, from the Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul, and Paulo Rennes Marçal Ribeiro, from the São Paulo State University “Júlio de Mesquita Filho” (UNESP), were chosen as coordinator and vice-coordinator, respectively.

The first Master's program in Sexual Education in the country was created in 2012 at the Faculty of Sciences and Letters of the São Paulo State University “Júlio de Mesquita Filho” (UNESP), Araraquara campus, through the initiative of Paulo Rennes Marçal Ribeiro. In the same year, the II International Congress on Sexuality and Sexual Education was also held in Araraquara (Bedin, 2016; Ribeiro, 2016). We believe that this Master's program was created at the right time, as it would very likely have been blocked shortly thereafter.

In 2014, the wave of conservatism in Brazil, which began the previous year, intensified. During Dilma's second term (which began on January 1, 2011), the growth and strength of evangelical deputies who opposed issues they considered

contrary to “Christian principles” and that harmed the family and good citizens—sexuality, sexual education, LGBT rights, and human rights—was already noticeable. If, since the 1980s, we have seen Brazilian society moving down a pro-sexual path, from 2014 onwards an anti-sexual discourse has intensified, announcing the rapid and significant growth of a conservative, authoritarian, and prejudiced position, currently adopted by half of the country's population.

In fact, according to data from the consortium Institut Public de Sondage d'Opinion Secteur/Instituto de Inteligência em Pesquisa e Consultoria Estratégica (Ipsos/Ipec), “[...] Brazilian society presents a profile of high conservatism, especially on issues of customs, with approximately 49% of Brazilians exhibiting a high degree of conservatism” (Ipsos-Ipec, 2025).

The term “gender ideology” has been elevated to unprecedented heights, even though the concept has existed since the 1990s, launched by the conservative wing of the Catholic Church as an aid in combating the “pernicious” influence of gender studies, which were rapidly on the rise (Reis; Eggert, 2017). Assimilated by sectors of society and turned into a rallying cry in the fight against progressive groups, “gender ideology” has come to be used indiscriminately by all those who have opted for a bias that aims to suppress freedom of expression, human rights, and citizenship and who have chosen a repressive conception of sexuality.

An alliance composed of evangelicals and more fundamentalist Catholics resulted in the dissemination of:

[...] distorted information to prevent the achievement of gender equality and respect for sexual diversity, as had been ratified internationally and nationally for decades with the intention of reducing gender-based discrimination and violence (Reis; Eggert, 2017, p. 18).

Even without any scientific basis and without recognition from the field of Gender Studies, the term “gender ideology” has gained strength and followers due to the strong misleading propaganda linked to this ideology (fake news), which uses it to justify actions against the debate on gender identity and sexual orientation in schools, reproductive rights, citizenship, and the rights of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender / transexual / transvestite, Queer, Intersex, Asexual, Pansexual / plurisexual, Non-binary, and other identities (LGBTQIAPN+), traditional gender roles—submissive and caring woman, dominant and provider man—and sex education itself. The dissemination of this concept has supported political and cultural mobilization and

inflammatory speeches against social advances that would lead to the destruction of the family and the indoctrination of children (Ribeiro; Monteiro, 2019; Ribeiro, 2017).

From 2014 onward, a conservative mobilization—ideologically aligned with the far right—gained momentum, progressively attracting a significant portion of the Brazilian population through a discourse that challenged agendas labeled as left-leaning, which were portrayed as needing to be eradicated from society. These included civil and human rights, gender equality, the fight against homophobia, women’s empowerment, the eradication of racism, and the promotion of environmental protection, among others (Ribeiro, 2019).

Within this context, the Movimento Brasil Livre (MBL) stands out as a liberal-conservative association, predominantly composed of young members and capable of organizing large-scale street demonstrations, with active participation in the impeachment of President Dilma Rousseff in 2015–2016.

Yamamoto and Moura (2018, p. 154) explain that:

[...] despite the MBL calling itself non-partisan, neutral, and a defender of the country's freedom and wealth, a preliminary analysis of its statements reveals clear objectives: to end the Workers' Party (PT), to facilitate the imprisonment of former President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, to diminish the State's intervention in social life, among others.

Bedin *et al.* (2020) point out that, between 2014 and 2015, the Municipal Education Plans that were drawn up with topics that signaled sex education and the debate around gender equality issues had the articles that favored educational actions on these topics suppressed by several city councils.

The National Education Plan (PNE) of 2015 omitted actions aimed at gender equality and respect for sexual diversity and eliminated the word “gender.” There was a retreat on the part of the federal government due to pressure from the Chamber of Deputies. Teachers were intimidated as a result of a movement that aimed to prevent the discussion of gender issues in the classroom, including diversity, homosexuality, and related topics, topics then labeled as “gender ideology.” It is worth noting, however, that

[...] none of the final documents from the National Education Conferences of 2008, 2010, and 2014 [...] mention the term “gender ideology,” but rather aim to guarantee the achievement of gender equality and respect for sexual diversity (Reis; Eggert, 2017, p. 17).

This context contributed to the advent of a period that divided Brazil and greatly harmed the political, social, and sexual achievements that had previously been valued and considered indispensable to Brazilian culture:

[...] primarily from 2015 onwards, an anti-sexual discourse opposed to hard-won freedoms has swept across Brazil from north to south. A wave of conservatism, fueled by exacerbated Christian fundamentalism, initiated a crusade against attitudes, demonstrations, and speeches considered contrary to so-called Christian principles. Gender equality, sexual diversity, homophobia, citizenship, and freedom of expression became themes associated with communism, the left, and the Workers' Party (PT), and were subsequently condemned by sectors of society that, until then overshadowed by democracy, gained strength by opposing the then government of the Workers' Party. In 2018, they managed to elect a far-right president aligned with Christian fundamentalism, and since January 2019, the government's political actions have been subject to the scrutiny of a new morality that guides decisions based on religious principles and subjective evaluation (Ribeiro; Monteiro, 2019, p. 1257).

What we have observed, then, at the end of this historical moment, is the intensification of stigmas and prejudices against women and LGBTQIAPN+ people, the exacerbation of censorship, and the emergence, out of fear, of self-censorship in schools and universities. This marks the beginning of the demobilization and dissolution of public policies aimed at developing citizenship, rights, and equality initiatives. We have come to have a manipulated population, an absence of critical thinking, and insane and scientifically unfounded stances, attitudes, and discourses, most notably the anti-vaccine movement and the belief in a flat Earth.

4 The far right and the new sexual repression from 2014 onwards

The political, social, and cultural setbacks of the previous historical moment intensified after the impeachment of President Dilma Rousseff in 2016, both during the governments of Michel Temer (2016–2018) and Jair Bolsonaro (2019–2022). In the case of Education, the clearest example is the approval of the National Common Curriculum Base (BNCC), the most important document defining the essential learning for all Brazilian students in Basic Education. As had already happened with the 2015 National Education Plan, the BNCC underwent a series of cuts and modifications in its final text:

The Brazilian Congress (perhaps even more so the Chamber of Deputies) is conservative, with a large number of representatives who do not dare to

debate Sex Education, Sexuality, and Gender, considering these topics to be discussed within the family context. In the case of Gender, there is a difficulty in accepting that women have the same rights as men. With the rise of the far right, empowered and well represented since the Temer government, conservative values are disseminated with the aim of suppressing freedom of expression, affecting the text of the BNCC (Monteiro; Ribeiro, 2020, p. 17).

The current BNCC (National Common Core Curriculum) had two versions prior to the one that was approved, one released in September 2015 and the other in March 2016. In both versions, items, paragraphs, and passages containing references to sexuality, gender, or sexual diversity were suppressed (Leão *et al.*, 2024; Desidério, 2020) until a version free of “ideological” and “inappropriate” words and content could be approved. However, many progressive sectors criticized and continue to criticize this repressive wave of censorship and exclusion. After all, “[...] faced with a document that excludes the theme of sexuality, resistance is a necessary and fundamental action for effective sex education work with children in schools” (Desidério, 2020, p. 110).

In the two years since the impeachment, with this ideology dominating the majority of the Brazilian Congress, there has been a significant reduction in the political priority given to the rights of women and the LGBTQIAPN+ population and a veritable institutional dismantling by the federal government. Michel Temer abolished the Ministry of Women, Racial Equality, and Human Rights, and several councils and commissions that dealt with the promotion of gender equality and sexual diversity were dismantled. There was censorship and the removal of textbooks from circulation, and the discourse used to justify these actions focused on “the advocacy of gender ideology.”

Regarding teachers,

[...] conservative forces, generally linked to religions, are now working in the opposite direction, delegitimizing teachers and researchers and relegating sex education to the private sphere, arguing that it is the duty of families. [...] they claim, in fiery speeches in public forums and on social media, that teachers want to teach “pornography” in schools and teach children to “be gay” (Silva *et al.*, 2020, p. 157).

With the 2018 election and the victory of Jair Bolsonaro, the country came to have a far-right government, a liberal and conservative ideology with a tendency to remain vibrant, and a Congress with a minority on the left. Issues of sexuality, gender, and diversity continued to be addressed from the same conservative

perspective influenced by Christian fundamentalism, only with much greater intensity. The president and his ideological allies, including state governors, widely used the term “gender ideology” in speeches opposing debates on gender identity and sexual diversity in schools and in public policies, significantly impacting administrative decisions, official speeches, and federal programs.

Overtly, the government and members of Congress aimed to restrict approaches to gender and sexuality in the school curriculum and to extinguish actions, programs, and structures that supported the LGBTQIAPN+ population. Bolsonaro dissolved the National Council to Combat LGBT Discrimination, and, during his administration, any activities aimed at public policies focused on the protection and visibility of this population were neglected and weakened. Homophobic and transphobic speeches became routine in the president’s discourse. During the Bolsonaro administration, the Evangelical Caucus in Congress influenced appointments in the ministries of education, human rights, and health, due to its privileged access to the Presidential Palace.

The rise of Bolsonarism¹ increased the discourse and violence against women and the LGBTQIAPN+ population, including by public figures who legitimized inclusive practices. The extreme political polarization that ensued, allied with inflammatory hate speech against opponents and dissenters, left the country more divided, culminating in an attempted coup d’état on January 8, 2023, represented by a series of acts of vandalism, invasions, and destruction of the Supreme Federal Court building, the National Congress, and the Presidential Palace.

We are therefore living through the eighth historical moment of sex education in Brazil, characterized by an authoritarian and hostile political environment, a period of setbacks, and an adverse scenario in which sex education needed defenders to keep alive the agendas and proposals for citizenship and sexual and reproductive rights. However, it is important to recognize that there was opposition to barbarity and

¹ Bolsonarism is characterized by radical right-wing populism, ultraconservative in nature and grounded in a nationalist and pseudo-patriotic worldview; therefore, it becomes complex to conceptualize. It combats the left in an exacerbated manner, fosters hate speech, and defends traditional values and authoritarianism. It goes beyond the figure of Jair Bolsonaro, forming a collective identity that is based on the negation of everything that is not “Bolsonarist”: the other, the left, minorities, and freedom of expression when it belongs to the other. We suggest reading *The Word and the Thing: Bolsonarism as Convergence, Horizon, Infrastructure, Ecology and Machine*, by Rodrigo Nunes (2024), and *What Is It to Be a Bolsonarist*, by Matheus Magenta (2022), for a better understanding.

ignorance, so much so that a new and fierce electoral contest gave victory to Luís Inácio Lula da Silva, who became president of Brazil, taking office for his third term on January 1, 2023. Social movements, Non-Governmental Organizations, universities, and sectors of the Judiciary, notably the Supreme Federal Court (STF), acted actively in the defense of rights related not only to sexuality and gender, but also to citizenship and freedom, guaranteeing the maintenance of the democratic rule of law.

5 Final Considerations

This eighth historical moment in sex education in Brazil is the current moment; as already stated, it has not yet ended and is marked by remnants of the ideology of hate and hope for the future. We coexist with two diametrically opposed thoughts, with two extremely distinct visions of seeing society and its values. Politics is polarized between left and right, constituting a real war that exacerbates intolerance and symbolic violence between “leftists” and “patriots.”

On the one hand, we have fundamental rights and freedoms, the guarantee of respect for the law and the supremacy of the Constitution, the protection of citizens’ rights, individual freedom, and the certainty that the power of the State and its organs and representatives will always be limited and regulated by law. On the other hand, we have disrespect for citizenship and individual rights, authoritarian social control, repression, lack of transparency in the distribution of public funds, environmental destruction, oppression, the use of violence to demonstrate authority, and many other forms of authoritarianism.

On one side, we have science; on the other, belief and ignorance. Bringing to mind a timeless book by the great master Régis de Moraes, we are “[...] between education and barbarism” (Moraes, 1983). With sex education, this antagonism is repeated. With chronological oscillations between the forbidden and the permitted, between freedom and repression, sex education continues to build its history.

Consequently, this knowledge is important and necessary for the training of teachers in undergraduate and pedagogy programs, as well as in continuing education. Manifestations of sexuality in schools are increasingly present, intense, and diverse, regardless of the wishes of conservative sectors and institutionalized repression. It is necessary for teachers to also possess historical and cultural

knowledge about the construction of sexuality in order to deal with today's sexual attitudes and behaviors.

There is no way to bring sex education to school without understanding its thematic affinity with issues of repression and discrimination resulting from culture and society throughout history. Where are we going? We will only be able to know for sure in a few years, when other researchers have studied our history and want to continue the narrative of the history of sex education in Brazil.

REFERENCES

- ABREU, Capistrano de. **Capítulos de história colonial: 1500-1800**. Belo Horizonte: Itatiaia; São Paulo: Publifolha, 2000. (Grandes nomes do pensamento brasileiro).
- ALBUQUERQUE, José. **Introdução ao estudo da pathologia sexual**. Rio de Janeiro: Typ. Coelho, 1928
- ALBUQUERQUE, José. **Higiene sexual**. Rio de Janeiro: Livraria Freitas Bastos, 1929.
- ALBUQUERQUE, José. **Moral sexual**. Rio de Janeiro: Typ. Coelho, 1930.
- ALBUQUERQUE, José. **Educação sexual**. Rio de Janeiro: Editorial Calvino, 1934.
- ALBUQUERQUE, José. **Educação sexual pelo rádio**. Círculo Brasileiro de Educação Sexual, 1935.
- ALBUQUERQUE, José. **Catecismo da educação sexual**. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1940.
- ALBUQUERQUE, José. **Quatro letras, cinco lustros**. Rio de Janeiro: Gráfica e Editora Jornal do Comércio, 1958.
- ARAÚJO, Eduardo. Arte da sedução: sexualidade feminina na Colônia. *In*: Mary del Priore (org.). **História das mulheres no Brasil**. São Paulo: Contexto, 2004, p. 45-77.
- BARROSO, Carmen; BRUSCHINI, Cristina. **Sexo & juventude: um programa educacional**. São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1983.
- BARROSO, Carmen; BRUSCHINI, Cristina. **Educação Sexual: debate aberto**. Petrópolis, Vozes, 1982.
- BEDIN, Regina Celia. **A história do Núcleo de Estudos da Sexualidade e sua participação na trajetória do conhecimento sexual na UNESP**. 2016. 157f. Tese (Doutorado em Educação Escolar) – Faculdade de Ciências e Letras, Universidade Estadual Paulista, Araraquara, 2016.
- BEDIN, Regina Celia. **A institucionalização do conhecimento sexual enquanto tema de investigação e ensino em universidades brasileiras a partir das ações de grupos de pesquisa**. 2010. 109f. Dissertação (Mestrado em Educação Escolar) – Faculdade de Ciências e Letras, Universidade Estadual Paulista, Araraquara, 2010.
- BEDIN, Regina Celia; MUZZETI, Luci Regina; RIBEIRO, Paulo Rennes Marçal. A institucionalização do conhecimento sexual no Brasil: sexologia e educação sexual do século XX aos dias de hoje. **Revista Humanidade & Inovação**. Tocantins, v. 7, n.

27, p. 72-88, 2020. Available at:
<https://revista.unitins.br/index.php/humanidadeseinovacao/article/view/5160> .
Accessed on: April 15, 2025.

BOËTHIUS, Carl Gustav. La educación sexual en Suecia y sus resultados. **Actualidades de Suecia**. Estocolmo, n. 315, 1984, p. 1-10.

BONFIM, Cláudia. **Desnudando a educação sexual**. Campinas: Papyrus Editora, 2012.

BRAGA JUNIOR, Walter de Carvalho; BRAGA, Anna Paula Oliveira Sales Ferreira. Adestrar os corpos, civilizar os sentidos: a honra como dispositivo de controle da sexualidade no Brasil (colônia e império). **Entrepalavras**, Fortaleza, v. 5, n. 5, p. 207-218, 2015. Available at:
<http://www.entrepalavras.ufc.br/revista/index.php/Revista/article/view/574> . Accessed on: April 15, 2025.

BRASIL. Congresso Nacional. Câmara dos Deputados. Comissão de Constituição e Justiça. **Parecer ao Projeto de Lei nº 1.035/68**. Brasília, DF, 15 out. 1968.

BRASIL. Ministério da Educação e Cultura. Secretaria de Educação Fundamental. **Parâmetros Curriculares Nacionais: pluralidade cultural e orientação sexual**. Brasília, DF: MEC/DEF, 1997.

BUENO, Heitor Campos. Corpos, prazeres e paixões. **Revista de História da UEG**, Morrinhos, v. 3 n. 1, p. 209-212, 2014.

CARRARA, Sérgio. Sexualidade e sexologia no Rio de Janeiro de entre guerras: notas preliminares de pesquisa. **Cadernos IPUB**, Rio de Janeiro, n 8, p. 113-128, 1997. Available at: <https://www.ipub.ufrj.br/cadernos-ipub/> . Accessed on: April 15, 2025.

CARRARA, Sérgio; CARVALHO, Marcos (org.). **Meu encontro com os outros: memórias de José de Albuquerque, pioneiro da sexologia no Brasil**. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Fiocruz, 2016.

CÉSAR, Maria Rita de Assis. Gênero, sexualidade e educação: notas para uma “Epistemologia”. **Educar em Revista**, Curitiba, n. 35, p.37-51, 2009.

COSTA, Vilma Perez; CRAVO, Têlio. **Independência: memória e historiografia**. São Paulo: SESC, 2023.

DESIDÉRIO, Ricardo. A exclusão da temática sexualidade nos anos iniciais do ensino fundamental na BNCC e seus reflexos para o ensino de ciências. **Horizontes: Revista de Educação**, Dourados, v. 8, n. 15, p. 98-112, 2020. Available at: <https://ojs.ufgd.edu.br/horizontes/article/view/12282> . Accessed on April 15, 2025.

EGYPTO, Antonio Carlos (org.). **Orientação sexual na escola: um projeto apaixonante**. São Paulo: Cortez Editora, 2003.

FELÍCIO, Leandro Alves. Um projeto de Educação Sexual para o Brasil: o Círculo Brasileiro de Educação Sexual (1933-1945). *In*: SIMPÓSIO NACIONAL DE HISTÓRIA, 26, 2011, São Paulo. **Anais eletrônicos** [...]. São Paulo: Associação Nacional de História, 2011. Available at: [http://www.snh2011.anpuh.org/resources/anais/14/1300919582_ARQUIVO_Trabalho_paraAn_puh\(primeiraversao\).pdf](http://www.snh2011.anpuh.org/resources/anais/14/1300919582_ARQUIVO_Trabalho_paraAn_puh(primeiraversao).pdf) . Accessed on: April 15, 2025.

FERNANDES, Florestan. **A organização social dos tupinambás**. São Paulo: Hucitec: UnB, 1989.

FIGUEIRÓ, Mary Neide Damico. **Formação de educadores sexuais**: adiar não é mais possível. Campinas: Mercado de Letras; Londrina: EDUEL, 2006.

FIGUEIRÓ, Mary Neide Damico. Revendo a história da educação sexual no Brasil: ponto de partida para construção de um novo rumo. **Nuances**, v. 4, n. 4, p. 123-133, 1998. Available at: <https://revista.fct.unesp.br/index.php/Nuances/article/view/84> . Accessed on: April 15, 2025.

FONTOURA, Antonio. José de Albuquerque, o esquecível: método histórico e o pioneirismo na educação sexual no Brasil. **Rev. HISTEDBR On-line**, Campinas, v.18, n.3, p. 671-697, 2018. Available at: <https://periodicos.sbu.unicamp.br/ojs/index.php/histedbr/article/view/8652134> . Accessed on April 15, 2025.

FOUCAULT, Michel. **História da sexualidade**: I – a vontade de saber. Rio de Janeiro: Graal, 1980.

FRANÇA, Carlos Alberto Vidal. Orientação sexual: algumas considerações. **Revista Prospectiva**, Porto Alegre, v. 2, n. 13, p. 41-43, 1984. Available at: <https://sites.google.com/view/aoergs-biblioteca-virtual/prospectiva> . Accessed on: April 15, 2025.

FREYRE, Gilberto. **Casa grande & senzala**. Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1978.

GALLACHO, Jane Cruz. 2000. **A orientação sexual em um trabalho integrado educação e saúde**: estudo analítico descritivo e documental de um programa de intervenção. Dissertação (Mestrado em Educação Escolar) – Faculdade de Ciências e Letras, Universidade Estadual Paulista, Araraquara, 2000.

GOLDBERG, Maria Amélia Azevedo. **Educação sexual**: uma proposta, um desafio. São Paulo: Edições Aruanda, 1981.

GOMES, Aguinaldo Rodrigues de; NOVAIS, Sandra Nara da Silva. Práticas sexuais e homossexualidade entre os indígenas brasileiros. **Caderno Espaço Feminino**. Uberlândia, v. 26, n. 2, p. 44-57, 2013. Available at: <https://seer.ufu.br/index.php/nequem/article/view/24666/13726> . Accessed on: April 15, 2025.

GUIMARÃES, Isaura. **Educação sexual na escola: mito e realidade**. Campinas: Mercado de Letras, 1995.

HOLANDA, Sérgio Buarque de. **Visão do paraíso: os motivos edênicos no descobrimento e coonização do Brasil**. São Paulo: Brasiliense: Publifolha, 2000. (Grandes Nomes do Pensamento Brasileiro).

IPSOS. IPEC. **Recuo no índice de conservadorismo do brasileiro**. [S. l.]: IPSOS, 1 ago. 2025. Available at: <https://www.ipsos.com/pt-br/indice-de-conservadorismo-brasileiro-2025> Accessed on: January 27, 2025.

LEÃO, Adriana Marques de Castro; LEÃO, Andreza Marques de Castro; RIBEIRO, Paulo Rennes Marçal. Historicização da educação sexual no Brasil pós PNE e BNCC: entre embates e possibilidades. **Doxa: Revista Brasileira de Psicologia e Educação**. Araraquara, v. 25, n. 00, e024002, 2024. Available at: <https://periodicos.fclar.unesp.br/doxa/article/view/18581/> . Accessed on: April 15, 2025.

LIMA, Oliveira. **Formação histórica da nacionalidade brasileira**. Rio de Janeiro: Topbooks; São Paulo: Publifolha, 2000. (Grandes nomes do pensamento brasileiro)
LOURO, Guacira Louro. **Gênero, sexualidade e educação: uma perspectiva pós-estruturalista**. Petrópolis: Vozes, 1999.

MACHADO, Roberto; LOUREIRO, Angela; LUZ, Rogério; MURUCY, Kátia. **Danação da norma: medicina social e constituição da psiquiatria no Brasil**. Rio de Janeiro: Graal, 1978.

MAGENTA, Matheus. **O que é ser bolsonarista**. Londres: BBC News Brazil, 11 ago. 2022. Available at: <https://www.bbc.com/portuguese/brasil-62490534>. Accessed on: January 27, 2026.

MAIA, Ana Claudia Bortolozzi; RIBEIRO, Paulo Rennes Marçal. Educação sexual: princípios para ação. **Doxa: Revista Brasileira de Psicologia e Educação**, Araraquara, v. 15, n. 1, p. 75-84, 2011. Available at: <https://acervodigital.unesp.br/handle/11449/124985?mode=full> . Accessed on: April 15, 2025.

MAIO, Elaine Rose. História da educação sexual no Brasil: dos Ginásios Vocacionais à nova LDB (1960 – 1980). **Doxa: Revista Brasileira de Psicologia e Educação**, Araraquara, v. 12, n. 1 e 2, 2013, p. 183-219. Available at: <https://periodicos.fclar.unesp.br/doxa/> . Accessed on: April 15, 2025.

MATARAZZO, Maria Helena. **Arte de amar**. São Paulo: Editora Três, 1985.

MONTEIRO, Solange Aparecida de Souza; RIBEIRO, Paulo Rennes Marçal. Sexualidade e gênero na atual BNCC: possibilidades e limites. **Pesquisa e ensino**, Barreiras, v. 1, p. 1-24, 2020. Available at: <https://revistas.ufob.edu.br/index.php/pqe/article/view/626> . Accessed on: April 15, 2025.

MORAIS, Régis de. **Entre a educação e a barbárie**. Campinas: Papirus Editora, 1983.

MOTT, Luiz. **O sexo proibido**: virgens, gays e lésbicas nas garras da Inquisição. Campinas: Papirus Editora, 1988.

MURARO, Rose Marie. **Sexualidade da mulher brasileira**. Petrópolis, Editora Vozes, 1983.

NUNES, Rodrigo. A palavra e a coisa: Bolsonarismo como convergência, horizonte, infraestrutura, ecologia e máquina. **Lua Nova**: Revista de Cultura e Política. São Paulo, v. 122, 2024, p. 1-20.

OLIVEIRA, Cecília Helena de Salles; PIMENTA, João Paulo (org.). **Dicionário da Independência do Brasil**: história, memória e historiografia. São Paulo: EDUSP, 2022.

OLIVEIRA, Cristiane. “Libertar o brasileiro do seu captivo moral”: identidade nacional, educação sexual e família no Brasil da década de 1930. **Psicologia e Sociedade**, Belo Horizonte, v. 24, n. 3, p. 507-516, 2020. Available at: <https://www.scielo.br/j/psoc/i/2012.v24n3/>. Accessed on: April 15, 2025.

OLIVEIRA, Cristiane. Higiene matrimonial, sexualidade e modos de subjetivação no Brasil do século XIX (1847-1870). **Revista EPOS – Genealogia, subjetivação e violências**, Rio de Janeiro, v. 4, n. 2, 2013. Available at: https://pepsic.bvsalud.org/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S2178-700X2013000200005. Accessed on: April 15, 2025.

OLIVEIRA, Suellen de; RIBEIRO, Paulo Rennes Marçal; SILVA, Robson Coutinho. José de Albuquerque: o pioneiro da educação sexual museal. *In*: Massarani, Luisa; Waltz, Igor (org.). **Divulgação científica e sua interface com o ensino em biociências e saúde**, Curitiba: CRV, 2023. p. 134-152,

PARKER, Richard. **Corpos, prazeres e paixões**: cultura sexual no Brasil contemporâneo. São Paulo: Best Seller. 1991.

PRIORE, Mary Del. **Corpo a corpo com a mulher**: pequena história das transformações do corpo feminino no Brasil. São Paulo: Senac, 2000.

PRIORE, Mary Del. **Ao sul do corpo**: condição feminina, maternidades e mentalidades no Brasil Colônia. São Paulo: editora UNESP, 2009.

RAMINELLI, Ronald. Eva tupinambá. *In*: DEL PRIORI, Mary (org.). **História das mulheres no Brasil**. São Paulo: Contexto, 2004, p. 11-44.

REIS, Toni; EGGERT, Edla. Ideologia de gênero: uma falácia construída sobre os planos de educação brasileiros. **Educação e Sociedade**. Campinas, v. 38, n. 138, p. 9-26, 2017. Available at: <https://www.scielo.br/j/es/a/htcmPttvFjg4sb8rYT8CzPD/>. Accessed on: Abr. 12, 2025.

REIS, Giselle Volpato dos; RIBEIRO, Paulo Rennes Marçal. A institucionalização do conhecimento sexual no Brasil. *In*: RIBEIRO, Paulo Rennes Marçal (org.).

Sexualidade e educação: aproximações necessárias. São Paulo: Editora Arte & Ciência, 2004. p. 27-71.

RIBEIRO, Gladys Sabina; TERRA, Paulo Cruz (org.). **Múltiplos olhares sobre o Oitocentos.** São Paulo: Alameda Casa Editorial, 2021.

RIBEIRO, Paula Regina Costa Ribeiro. Revisitando a história da educação sexual no Brasil *In*: RIBEIRO, Paula Regina Costa Ribeiro; RIZZA, Juliana Lapa; MAGALHÃES, Joanalira Corpes; QUADRADO, Raquel Pereira. **Educação e sexualidade.** Rio Grande: Editora da FURG, 2008. p. 161-167.

RIBEIRO, Paulo Rennes Marçal; BEDIN, Regina Celia. Notas preliminares sobre historiografia da educação sexual brasileira: apontamentos de uma cronologia descritiva. 1) Atitudes e comportamentos sexuais no Brasil nos documentos da Inquisição dos séculos XVI e XVII. **Doxa: Revista Brasileira de Psicologia e Educação**, Araraquara, v. 13, n. 1 e 2, p. 149-168, 2013. Available at: <https://repositorio.unesp.br/entities/publication/47af73e3-0388-4066-8d34-553c513b4e69>. Accessed on: April 15, 2025.

RIBEIRO, Paulo Rennes Marçal. **Educação sexual além da informação.** São Paulo: EPU, 1990.

RIBEIRO, Paulo Rennes Marçal. Os momentos históricos da educação sexual no Brasil. *In*: RIBEIRO, Paulo Rennes Marçal (org.). **Sexualidade e educação: aproximações necessárias.** São Paulo: Editora Arte & Ciência, 2004. p. 13-25.

RIBEIRO, Paulo Rennes Marçal. Caminhos da educação sexual nas memórias de um pioneiro da Universidade Estadual Paulista “Júlio de Mesquita Filho” – UNESP. *In*: RODRIGUES JUNIOR., Osvaldo M (org.). **Histórias de las Sexologias Latinoamericanas.** São Paulo: Instituto Paulista de Sexualidade, 2016. p. 67-88. v. 2.

RIBEIRO, Paulo Rennes Marçal. Entrevista: Educação para sexualidade. *In*: **Revista Diversidade e Educação.** Rio Grande, v. 5, n. 2, p. 7-15, 2017. Available at: <https://periodicos.furg.br/divedu/article/view/7867/>. Accessed on: Abr. 12, 2025.

RIBEIRO, Paulo Rennes Marçal. Desafios contemporâneos em educação sexual: a perda do ambiente mental, social e escolar. *In*: DESIDÉRIO, Ricardo (org.) **Interseccionalidade e transgressões em educação sexual.** Londrina: Syntagma, 2019. p. 29-39.

RIBEIRO, Paulo Rennes Marçal; MONTEIRO, Solange Aparecida de Souza. Avanços e retrocessos da Educação Sexual no Brasil: apontamentos a partir da eleição presidencial de 2018. **Revista Ibero-Americana de Estudos em Educação.** Araraquara, v. 14, n. esp. 2, p. 1254-1264, 2019. Available at:

<https://periodicos.fclar.unesp.br/iberoamericana/article/view/12701> . Accessed on: April 15, 2025.

ROHDEN, Fabíola. A construção da diferença sexual na medicina. **Cadernos de Saúde Pública**. Rio de Janeiro, v. 19, Supl. 2, p. s201-s212, 2003.

ROTHER, Edna Terezinha. Revisão sistemática x revisão narrativa. Editorial. **Acta Paulista de Enfermagem**, São Paulo, v. 20, n. 2, p. 5-6, 2007. Available at: <https://www.scielo.br/j/ape/a/z7zZ4Z4GwYV6FR7S9FHTByr/>. Accessed on: April 15, 2025.

RUSSO, Jane Araújo; CARRARA, Sérgio Luís. A psicanálise e a sexologia no Rio de Janeiro de entreguerras: entre a ciência e a autoajuda. **História, Ciência, Saúde**. Rio de Janeiro, v. 9, n. 2, p. 273-290, 2002. Available at: <https://www.scielo.br/j/hcsm/a/q5JQ6MVH4ByCrFcNMFXFcrw/>. Accessed on: April 15, 2025.

RUSSO, Jane; ROHDEN, Fabíola. **Sexualidade, ciência e profissão no Brasil**. Rio de Janeiro: CLAM: IMS: UERJ, 2011.

SANTOS, Claudiene; BRUNS, Maria Alves de Toledo. **A educação sexual pede espaço: novos horizontes para a práxis pedagógica**. São Paulo: Ômega Editora, 2000.

SCALIA, Anne Caroline Mariank Alves. **Um estudo histórico da educação sexual no Brasil Colonial a partir das representações do corpo feminino encontradas em crônicas e xilogravuras do século XVI**. 2014. Tese (Doutorado em Educação Escolar) Faculdade de Ciências e Letras, UNESP, Araraquara, 2014.

SENATORE, Regina Celia Mendes; MORILA, Ailton Pereira. Manuais da civilidade e de bem viver no século XIX: O Código de Bom Tom de J. I. Roquette. **Doxa: Revista Brasileira de Psicologia e Educação**, Araraquara, v. 13, n. 1 e 2, p. 169-181, 2013. Available at: <https://periodicos.fclar.unesp.br/doxa/index>. Accessed on: April 15, 2025.

SILVA, Juliana Collares da; MARASCHIN, André de Azambuja; FUNARI, Catiúcia Anselmo; MELLO, Elena Maria Billig; JUNQUEIRA, Sônia Maria da Silva. Gênero e sexualidade na BNCC: uma análise sob s perspectiva freireana. **Revista Diversidade e Educação**, Rio Grande, v. 8, n.2, p. 152-156, 2020. Available at: Available at: <https://periodicos.furg.br/divedu/article/view/12104>. Accessed on: April 15, 2025.

SUPLICY, Marta. **Conversando sobre sexo**. São Paulo: Edição da Autora, 1983.

VAINFAS, Ronaldo. **Trópico dos pecados: moral, sexualidade e Inquisição no Brasil**. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Nova Fronteira, 1997a.

VAINFAS, Ronaldo. Deleites sexuais e linguagem erótica na sociedade escravista. *In*: SOUZA, Laura de Mello e (org.) **História da vida privada no Brasil**. Cotidiano e vida privada na América portuguesa. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1997b.

WEREBE, Maria José Garcia. **A educação sexual na escola**. Lisboa: Moraes Editores, 1977.

YAMAMOTO, Eduardo Yuji; MOURA, Júlia Frank. O Brasil a partir do Movimento Brasil Livre: imagens de uma comunidade imaginada. **Comunicologia**, Brasília, DF, v.11, n.1, p. 153-169, 2018.

Received in november 2025 | Approved in march 2026

MINI BIOGRAPHY

Gisele Cristina Garcia Tófoli

Graduated in Pedagogy. Master's degree in Sex Education (UNESP). Member of the Sexuality Studies Center – NUSEX, a research group accredited by CNPq. Pedagogical Coordinator in Early Childhood Education in Ribeirão Preto, SP.

E-mail: g.tofoli@unesp.br

Michele Garcia

Graduated in Biology and Pedagogy. Master's degree in Education (CUML) and doctoral candidate in School Education (UNESP). Member of the Sexuality Studies Center – NUSEX, a research group accredited by CNPq. Teacher in the Municipal Education Network of Pradópolis, SP.

E-mail: michele.garcia@unesp.br

Paulo Rennes Marçal Ribeiro

Graduated in Psychology and Pedagogy. Master's degree in Education (UNICAMP). PhD in Mental Health (UNICAMP) with postdoctoral studies at UFRJ. Senior Associate Professor of Sexology and Sexual Education at UNESP, working in the Postgraduate Programs in Sexual Education and School Education, where he supervises master's and doctoral students.

E-mail: paulo.rennes@unesp.br

Translated by **Déborah Ramos Crivellari**