

FROM SLOGAN TO PUNISHMENT: PUBLIC PEDAGOGIES OF FEMICIDE IN GOVERNMENT CAMPAIGNS AND LEGISLATIVE CIRCULATION, 2024-2025

DO SLOGAN À PENA: PEDAGOGIAS PÚBLICAS DO FEMINICÍDIO EM CAMPANHAS ESTATAIS E NA CIRCULAÇÃO LEGISLATIVA DE 2024-2025

DEL ESLOGAN A LA PENA: PEDAGOGÍAS PÚBLICAS DEL FEMINICIDIO EN CAMPAÑAS ESTATALES Y EN LA CIRCULACIÓN LEGISLATIVA DE 2024-2025

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ABSTRACT

This article examines an institutional and journalistic archive, assembled on the basis of discursive relevance, whose materials sought, between August 2024 and February 2025, to make femicide publicly legible: Femicídio Zero (“Zero Femicide”) campaign pages and materials, institutional and sports news on its circulation, Carnival materials, Law No. 14,994/2024, and the legislative news item announcing its entry into force. I argue that these materials organize an ambivalent public pedagogy. They broaden the projected field of recognition by connecting violence, support, and prevention to the possibility of femicide, while giving the issue portable forms whose informational density and preferred responses vary. I identify three movements: the serialization of femicide as a repeatable public formula; its displacement into sports and festive settings, which redistribute address and specify different vulnerabilities; and the foregrounding of penal severity in the legislative presentation of the issue. The comparison does not treat condensation as necessarily impoverishing or posit a causal sequence from campaign to legislation. It examines how the selected materials propose ways of recognizing, preventing, and responding to violence, without inferring reception or effectiveness.

Keywords: Femicide. Public Campaigns. Discourse Analysis. Punitivism. Institutional Circulation.

RESUMO

Este artigo examina um arquivo institucional e jornalístico, reunido por pertinência discursiva, cujos materiais buscaram, entre agosto de 2024 e fevereiro de 2025, tornar o feminicídio publicamente legível: páginas e peças da campanha Femicídio Zero, notícias institucionais e esportivas sobre sua circulação, materiais de Carnaval, a Lei nº 14.994/2024 e a notícia legislativa que anunciou sua entrada em vigor. Sustento que esses materiais organizam uma pedagogia pública ambivalente. Eles ampliam o campo projetado de reconhecimento ao conectar violência, acolhimento e prevenção à possibilidade do feminicídio, ao mesmo tempo que conferem ao

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problema formas portáteis cuja densidade informativa e cujas respostas privilegiadas variam. Identifico três movimentos: a serialização do feminicídio como fórmula pública repetível; seu deslocamento para cenas esportivas e festivas, que redistribuem o endereçamento e especificam vulnerabilidades distintas; e o destaque da severidade penal na apresentação legislativa do problema. A comparação não trata a condensação como necessariamente empobrecedora nem postula uma sequência causal entre campanha e legislação. Examina como os materiais selecionados propõem modos de reconhecer, prevenir e responder à violência, sem inferir recepção ou eficácia.

Palavras-chave: Feminicídio. Campanhas Públicas. Análise de Discurso. Punitivismo. Circulação Institucional.

RESUMEN

Este artículo examina un archivo institucional y periodístico, reunido por su pertinencia discursiva, cuyos materiales buscaron, entre agosto de 2024 y febrero de 2025, hacer públicamente legible el feminicidio: páginas y piezas de la campaña Feminicidio Zero, noticias institucionales y deportivas sobre su circulación, materiales de carnaval, la Ley n.º 14.994/2024 y la noticia legislativa que anunció su entrada en vigor. Sostengo que estos materiales organizan una pedagogía pública ambivalente. Amplían el campo proyectado de reconocimiento al conectar violencia, acogida y prevención con la posibilidad del feminicidio, al tiempo que dan al problema formas portátiles cuya densidad informativa y cuyas respuestas privilegiadas varían. Identifico tres movimientos: la serialización del feminicidio como fórmula pública repetible; su desplazamiento hacia escenas deportivas y festivas, que redistribuyen los destinatarios y especifican vulnerabilidades distintas; y el protagonismo de la severidad penal en la presentación legislativa del problema. La comparación no trata la condensación como necesariamente empobrecedora ni postula una secuencia causal entre campaña y legislación. Examina cómo los materiales seleccionados proponen modos de reconocer, prevenir y responder a la violencia, sin inferir recepción ni eficacia.

Palabras clave: Feminicidio. Campañas Públicas. Análisis del Discurso. Punitivismo. Circulación Institucional.



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INTRODUCTION

I begin from the premise that the public intelligibility of femicide is exhausted neither by the brutality of the harm nor by the mere existence of a criminal offense. In earlier work coauthored with Santos Júnior, I examined the retrospective production of that intelligibility in journalistic dossiers on specific cases (Aguiar; Santos Júnior, 2026). The question here is different, though closely related: what happens when the state itself tries to anticipate public

recognition of femicide before it stabilizes as a case? The question remains within the Brazilian debate surrounding the category of femicide (Pasinato, 2011), its simultaneously symbolic and political density (Machado; Elias, 2018), and the discomfort the term elicits in digital and journalistic settings (Hauber, 2020) but shifts the focus toward the institutional production of a horizon of recognition.

A related discursive inquiry brings Law No. 14,994/2024 into relation with educational material on violence against women (Bastos; Casagrande, 2026). The comparison developed here centers on the formula's material adaptations and on the distinct institutional and journalistic settings in which recognition and response are proposed.

That earlier article, however, calls for a retrospective qualification of its empirical reach. In some passages, the empirical reach assigned to a small, case-based corpus exceeded what the evidence warranted, particularly when localized observations were extended into more general formulations about recurring social and discursive mechanisms. I therefore use its results here within narrower bounds: they document specific operations of naming, agency, and institutional authority in the materials examined, without establishing the prevalence of those operations in Brazilian public circulation or reconstructing pre-lethal processes as an autonomous object of analysis.

To examine this question, I bring together pages and news releases from the Ministério das Mulheres (Ministry of Women), official materials from the *Feminicídio Zero* campaign, a sports news item that relays the campaign, Law No. 14,994/2024, and the legislative news item celebrating its entry into force. The task is no longer to observe the controversy surrounding a single case, but to ask what happens when the state attempts to anticipate its legibility by turning femicide into a slogan, seal, banner, card, digital banner, sticker, stadium campaign, Carnival action, and a separate criminal offense. The broader context is documented by the 18º Anuário Brasileiro de Segurança Pública (18th Brazilian Public Security Yearbook): Brazil recorded 1,467 femicides in 2023, the highest figure since the legal classification of femicide was introduced in 2015 (Fórum Brasileiro de Segurança Pública, 2024).

Figure 1 – Indicators of violence against women mobilized in the context of the Femicídio Zero campaign



Source: FIEPB (2024). Data: Fórum Brasileiro de Segurança Pública (2024) and Instituto DataSenado; Observatório da Mulher contra a Violência (2023).

Figure 1 shows a form of condensation that cuts across the public presentation of the problem itself. Four indicators of different kinds – the frequency of femicides, the proportion of Brazilian women reporting domestic violence, the frequency of sexual violence, and the daily number of reports of sexual importuning – are reorganized into nearly identical modules, with the time interval or proportion set against a purple field and the category of harm in bold. Graphic equivalence does not make the metrics equivalent but places them within a shared grammar of urgency: each datum becomes a short unit of reading, easy to circulate and remember. Public pedagogy can therefore also be observed in the conversion of statistics into an immediately recognizable visual form.

The scope adopted here changes both the scale and the nature of the problem. I do not follow the retrospective dispute surrounding a single death; I follow an institutional attempt to teach in advance how femicide should be recognized, prevented, narrated, and punished. A prospective scene of public instruction moves to the foreground, displacing the retrospective scene of naming. The shift turns the main question into another, more uncomfortable one: before the extreme event occurs, how does a public administration seek to shape the moral, temporal, and political categories through which it is to be perceived?

Government campaigns and legislative circulation publicize an issue while also assigning salience, producing scales of urgency, selecting addressees, and presenting sequences of violence as objects of recognition and intervention. When a ministry states that no form of violence against women can be tolerated and provides serial materials ready for replication, while legislative circulation associates the problem's intelligibility with a longer sentence, these operations, read in contrast, expand public information and organize an elementary regime of perception: what counts as a sign of danger; who is expected to recognize it; who should act; how preventive instructions contrast with the promise of exemplary punishment; and in what form the state presents itself as both pedagogical and punitive authority. The emphasis, then, falls on the making

of an institutional horizon of recognition.

I draw here on the notion of public pedagogy. Following Giroux (2004), I take it not as a loose metaphor for the social diffusion of messages, but as a name for sites and devices outside formal schooling that teach perceptions, affects, responsibilities, and conduct in public life (Nascimento; Aguiar, 2025). What makes these materials interesting is that this teaching does not occur only through grand doctrinal statements. It works through repetition, portability, and the ability to attach itself to everyday formats. A campaign provides cards, a social-media avatar, banners, and a sticker; a ministry news release restages the campaign as an event; a sports story reinscribes it in the journalistic circuit of football coverage; the law establishes femicide as a separate offense; legislative news celebrates harsher punishment; Carnival places the problem in yet another regime of circulation, now tied to festivity, harassment, and public health. These are not isolated items. They form a chain of heterogeneous materials that teaches the problem even as it simplifies it to circulate it.

The hypothesis organizing my reading of the archive is therefore deliberately ambivalent. On the one hand, there is expansion. The slogan “nenhuma violência contra a mulher deve ser tolerada” (“No form of violence against women should be tolerated”) links harassment, threats, assault, and death within the same sequence, shifting attention from the final scene to the continuum through which the campaign presents its possible emergence. On the other, there is contraction. That expansion is materially condensed in the brand and differently framed when the legislative segment foregrounds penal severity; whether condensation also narrows the account of violence depends on what each format retains, omits, or makes accessible elsewhere. This tension allows neither a merely cynical reading, as though every campaign was nothing more than institutional window dressing – nor an easy celebration. The materials are not homogeneous: prevention, pedagogy, popularization, visibility management, and the promise of punishment coexist within them. What interests me is precisely that coexistence, not its hasty resolution. Feminist critiques of the centrality of carceral responses within gender justice remain an important reference at this point, even though my aim is not to reconstruct that debate in its entirety (Bumiller, 2008; Bernstein, 2012).

I also need to delimit the scope of the analysis. I do not intend to measure the campaign’s effectiveness, infer the actual behavior of its addressees, or treat ministerial self-description as sufficient evidence of social transformation. I examine something else: the operations through which this institutional and journalistic archive seeks to make femicide publicly teachable and

administrable. Accordingly, I work with formulas, slogans, headlines, statutory summaries, lists of materials, and news about circulation and, when graphic form directly bears on the argument, with the visual materials reproduced in the text; I do not, however, work with reception or quantifiable impact. What interests me is the public grammar that emerges from these materials; more precisely, the way prevention, modes of address, masculinity, festivity, and punishment are distributed within the same institutional circuit.

I therefore follow the archive's own inflections. After delimiting the scope and procedure, I examine the moment when femicide becomes fixed as a repeatable, anticipatory formula; I then observe its entry into strongly masculinized spaces – football – where state pedagogy is relayed through institutional and journalistic channels. I turn next to the establishment of femicide as a separate criminal offense and the public celebration of harsher punishment; finally, I read the Carnival archive as a stress test for the device, because prevention, race, public health, popularization, and risk management coexist there without collapsing into a single idiom. I do not bring these lines together to harmonize them, but to show that the apparent unity of the campaign rests on frictions that circulation itself tends to erase.

CORPUS, SCOPE, AND PROCEDURE

The corpus was constructed on the basis of discursive relevance, not with any claim to exhaustiveness. This article is concerned not with measuring the presence of the term femicide in the public sphere, but with observing how institutional materials and their journalistic relays, teaches the problem, distributes speaking positions, and reorganizes the passage from prevention to punishment. The inclusion criterion is therefore formal and relational: within the chosen period, items enter the corpus when they introduce an observable change in medium, intended audience, temporality, enunciating authority, or mode of response. The corpus thus brings together a small but strategically heterogeneous set of materials that make different scenes of femicide's public circulation comparable. I bring three series into analytical relation: official campaign pages and materials; institutional and journalistic items that reinscribe the campaign into other circuits of attention; and legal and news texts linked to the establishment of femicide as a separate criminal offense and the communication of its entry into force. Their articulation is analytical; it presupposes neither institutional coordination nor a causal relationship among campaign, journalistic relay, and legislation. Heterogeneity is not an obstacle. It is constitutive of the

problem, because the contrast between genres, media, and enunciating authorities is precisely what allows us to observe how this institutional and journalistic archive produces femicide as an object of public discourse.

Methodologically, the unit of analysis shifts from the case to the formula in circulation. I therefore do not follow the factual sequence of an episode of violence, but the operations through which these materials anticipate conduct, distribute responsibilities, define publics, and organize horizons of intervention. I examine titles, headlines, statutory summaries, lists of materials, slogans, instructions, promises of prevention and punishment, modes of address, and, in the visual materials reproduced here, operations of graphic hierarchy, verbal condensation, and adaptation of the utterance to different formats. The analytical task is not to count occurrences but to reconstruct operations: how an expression is stabilized; what kind of subject it addresses; what temporality it establishes; what role it assigns to the state, to men, to women, to potential victims, and to partner institutions. At this level, the question is less how often femicide is named than how it is made teachable, repeatable, and governable in materials that project different publics without entirely relinquishing institutional authorization.

I identify a pedagogical operation where a material proposes a way of recognizing violence, assigns a position of responsibility, or specifies a response. Teaching names an orientation inscribed in the material, not an observed learning outcome.

Choosing a small, heterogeneous archive means accepting from the outset what it can and cannot show. I am not working with a representative sample or with a selection designed to support statistical generalizations about the public circulation of femicide in Brazil. Table 1 sets out the core documentary series: the campaign and its serial materials, institutional and journalistic mediations, legal and legislative circulation, and the Carnival campaign. Figure 1 is treated separately as contextual visual material reproduced by FIEPB, whose graphic organization also enters the analysis; it is not evidence of the reception or effects of the campaign. This is documentary closure, not a claim that the universe of potentially relevant materials has been saturated. I do not claim that new materials could no longer introduce analytically relevant differences; only that the delimited set makes it possible to compare changes in medium, intended audience, temporality, enunciating authority, and mode of response without any claim to exhaustiveness.

For the same reason, I combine materials that occupy various positions of enunciation. The ministry page fixes the authorized voice of the state; the list of campaign assets shows its

serial orientation; the sports news item works as a relay into another regime of attention; the statutory summary condenses the problem's movement into normative language; the Carnival materials allow us to observe how prevention, festivity, vulnerability, and the call to report violence are articulated in a new setting. I do not read these materials as equivalent blocks, but as distinct positions within the same analytical construction of the archive. Bringing them together demonstrates neither coordination among the authorities that produced them nor a causal sequence from campaign to legislation. What varies among them is more than the medium: the mode of instructing conduct, producing urgency, and distributing credibility also changes.

Table 1 – Corpus under analysis

#	Source	Date	Type	Formula / analytical focus
C1	Ministério das Mulheres (Ministry of Women)	07/08/2024	Campaign page	central slogan; prevention; “no form of violence...”
C2	Ministry of Women	07/08/2024	Materials page	visual serialization across cards, an avatar, banners, and a sticker
C3	Ministry of Women	19 and 22/08/2024 (publication dates given in the references)	Institutional news	manifesto; football; engaging men in dialogue
C4	GE	10/08/2024	Sports news	journalistic relay of the campaign in a Rio derby
C5	Brasil / Agência Senado	09–10/10/2024	Law + legislative news	separate criminal offense; statutory penalty of 20–40 years' imprisonment; increased penal severity
C6	Ministry of Women / Secom (Secretariat for Social Communication)	February 2025; Secom news item: 10/02/2025	Action	festive popularization; public health; race; reporting

Source: author's compilation based on the corpus listed in the references.

Figure 1 provides a supplementary contextual visual comparison and is not included in C1-C6.

Dates refer to the publication of the listed documents where this can be established; dates of announced events are distinguished in the analysis.

The period selected – August 2024 to February 2025 – is organized around two complementary inflections. The first is the launch and circulation of the *Feminicídio Zero* campaign during *Agosto Lilás* (Lilac August), accompanied by materials designed for physical media and social networks, actions in stadiums, and later its reinscription in Carnival. The second is the establishment of femicide as a separate criminal offense under Law No. 14,994/2024, immediately celebrated for its capacity to increase sentences and subject the offense to harsher

punishment. Read alongside one another, these materials make a double movement visible: the pedagogical expansion of the issue and its punitive compression. I exclude dispersed social-media comments, routine news items outside the documentary series delimited here, and documents that merely repeat an included item without a relevant change in medium, intended audience, temporality, enunciating authority, or mode of response. The exclusion follows from method, not disinterest: the selection privileges materials that introduce one of these observable changes without treating expansion or compression as an entry criterion.

These dimensions guide both selection and comparison; finding variation along them is therefore not an independent result. The analysis concerns how the selected materials organize that variation and whether their particular contrasts support the proposed relation between expansion and compression.

SLOGAN, SERIALIZATION, AND ANTICIPATION

The campaign is organized, first, as a serial formula. On the main *Feminicídio Zero* page, the Ministry of Women defines its aim as preventing “*todos os tipos de violência*” (“all forms of violence”) and calling on society to perceive, confront, and interrupt them “*a fim de que não chegue a um feminicídio*” (“so that they do not lead to femicide”) (Ministério das Mulheres, 2024a). The analytical focus lies in the temporal reordering this writing produces, rather than merely in the presence of a striking phrase or the choice of an easily remembered watchword. Femicide ceases to appear only as a retrospective name for lethal violence and begins to function as an anticipated horizon, the extreme point of a chain that starts earlier, extends through dispersed signs, and calls for preventive reading.

Anticipation changes the temporal regime of the problem. By linking death to a prior continuum of violence, the campaign shifts the axis of public intelligibility: instead of waiting for the final scene to name it, it seeks to teach prior recognition of a sequence. The slogan therefore works as rhetorical condensation and as an operator of anticipation. Its force lies precisely in this double economy: it simplifies the problem enough to make it circulate while trying to prevent femicide from being imagined as a sudden eruption detached from the harassment, threats, control, and assaults that prepare it.

Excerpt 1 – Central campaign formula

“Feminicídio Zero – Nenhuma violência contra a mulher deve ser tolerada”.

English translation

Zero Femicide – No form of violence against women should be tolerated.

Source: Ministério das Mulheres (2024a).

The formula extends beyond the injunction “do not kill women”: it cannot be reduced to a prohibition of the final act. By declaring every form of violence intolerable, it shifts attention to the continuum that prepares the extreme scene. Discursively, the operation denaturalizes femicide as an isolated explosion and reinscribes the problem within a sequence of practices: harassment, threats, assault, control, humiliation, noncompliance with protective orders, escalation. Death thereby ceases to be treated as a sudden anomaly and becomes legible as the culmination of prolonged social tolerance.

Here, the sequence operates at the level of institutional representation: I examine the prospective continuum through which the campaign makes femicide legible before the lethal event, rather than reconstructing concrete pre-lethal sequences in individual cases. Such reconstruction belongs to another analytical problem and requires a different corpus and regime of evidence, since the campaign materials examined here do not establish how warnings, requests for help, or protective interventions were received and processed in specific trajectories.

Beyond extending the campaign’s represented sequence of violence, the utterance redistributes responsibility in the present. If “nenhuma violência” (“no form of violence”) is to be tolerated, the interpellation is no longer directed only at the aggressor or at the police apparatus after the fact; it extends to relatives, neighbors, institutions, services, and ordinary bystanders. The campaign thus attempts to turn femicide into a problem of distributed vigilance, support, and early intervention. The absolute negative formulation is part of this redistribution. The formula’s universal scope produces an effect of public clarity, but that clarity has a cost: even as it broadens the field of recognizability, the slogan itself suspends the unequal social mediations through which violence is perceived, believed, or interrupted.

The same formula also gains force because it can be repeated with almost no friction. The campaign’s materials page makes this repeatability concrete by offering, among other items, a series of cards, a social-media avatar, banners in different formats, and a sticker, reproduced in Figures 2-7 (Ministério das Mulheres, 2024b). Here femicide ceases to be only the name of an offense and becomes a circulable brand, available for rapid, standardized reproduction across

platforms. This is neither graphic detail nor secondary packaging. The material form of circulation participates in the politics of the utterance because it teaches the problem while adjusting its legibility to demands for speed, portability, and immediate recognition.

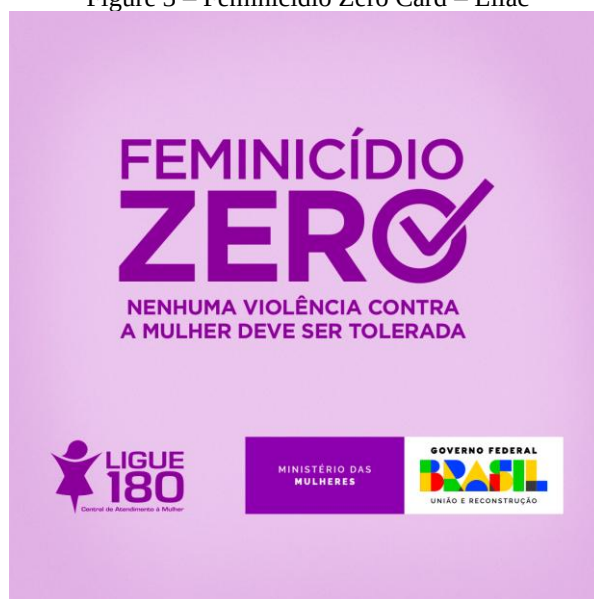
The materials page makes the movement between message and medium visible, and Figures 2-7 make it materially observable. What is offered is not only content but a kit for reinscription. The campaign already anticipates that the utterance must fit profiles, banners, panels, mobile screens, events, and government offices. Rather than producing a single scene of interpellation, it produces an infrastructure of reappearance. Femicide thus enters a circuit in which being understood depends, in part, on being immediately recognized as a familiar institutional sign. Repetition is not mere echo; it is a condition of public intelligibility in an environment where attention is contested, and the state seeks to keep its vocabulary from disappearing after a single launch event.

Figure 2 – Femicídio Zero Card – Purple



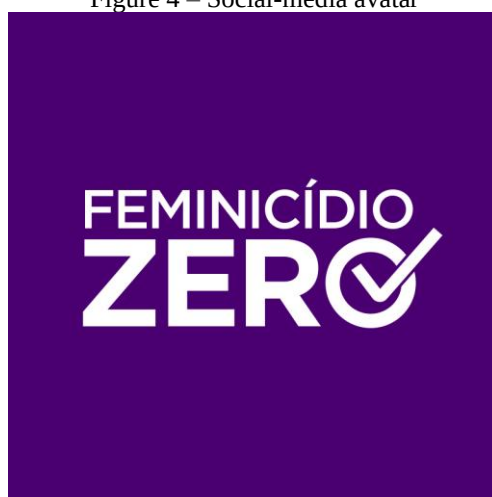
Source: Ministério das Mulheres (2024b).

Figure 3 – Femicídio Zero Card – Lilac



Source: Ministério das Mulheres (2024b).

Figure 4 – Social-media avatar



Source: Ministério das Mulheres (2024b).

Figure 5 – 468 × 360 banner – Learn



Source: Ministério das Mulheres (2024b).

Figure 6 – 1150 × 200 banner



Source: Ministério das Mulheres (2024b).

Figure 7 – Femicídio Zero sticker (8 cm)



Source: Ministério das Mulheres (2024b).

In Figures 2 and 3, the formula retains the same verbal core and visual signature while changing its informational density: the purple card adds Ligue 180, a WhatsApp number, and institutional marks, whereas the lilac version preserves the slogan, Ligue 180, and the institutional

signatures in a more spacious square composition. Figure 4 takes condensation one step further: the avatar drops the slogan, contact channels, and institutional signatures, leaving only the *Feminicídio Zero* mark, suited to repeated recognition across social-media profiles. Figures 5 and 6 show that adaptation to medium is not neutral: the 468×360 banner restores the slogan and adds the call “Saiba mais” (“Learn more”), while the 1150×200 format compresses the campaign into a horizontal strip in which the name and slogan almost exhaust the visual field. In Figure 7, the circular sticker recombines the mark, slogan, Ligue 180, and institutional signatures within a small, portable format.

Serialization has simultaneous effects that should not be separated too early. There is, unquestionably, a gain in material portability: the formula is prepared to fit media with different dimensions and uses, as well as everyday circuits of quick reading. Informational density nevertheless varies across formats. The avatar omits information available on the cards, while the “Saiba mais” banner points beyond its own surface. These differences show what each piece makes immediately available; they do not establish a necessary loss of complexity across the connected campaign.

Condensation is built into the material conditions of this circulation, but it need not have the same consequence in every format. The relevant contrast is not between a slogan and an analytical fullness imagined outside it. It is between the relations a given piece makes visible and those it leaves to another piece, a service, or a linked resource. Public pedagogy works through this uneven distribution. Its critical limit becomes observable where the general grammar of warning leaves differentiated exposure to violence unnamed; brevity alone does not establish that limit.

FOOTBALL, MASCULINIZED SPACES, AND POPULAR PEDAGOGY

When the campaign enters stadiums, femicide is moved into masculinized spaces. In an August 2024 news release, the Ministry of Women states that the campaign’s actions “*miram o diálogo com os homens*” (“seek to engage men in dialogue”) and justifies this choice by referring to studies according to which violence against women increases on match days (Ministério das Mulheres, 2024c; 2024d). I do not treat this claim as independent evidence produced by this article, but as part of the campaign’s own rhetoric of legitimation. Its function here is discursive: it authorizes a strategy of address. If femicide should not be read only at the final moment of

death, prevention must also intervene in environments where masculinities are collectively performed and celebrated (Aguiar; Nascimento, 2025).

It is not enough, however, to say that the stadium is a “male” space. In the reading I propose, the campaign enters a space that institutional communication itself describes as predominantly attended by men and that offers state speech a less formal setting than its own channels. I read this insertion as an attempt to work from within the public atmosphere of the match. By attaching itself to the energy of the occasion, the state’s utterance seeks to redirect that energy toward a register of ethical vigilance. Prevention here does not take shape against the spectacle, but within it.

Excerpt 2 – explicit address to men

“Ações de conscientização para enfrentar a violência contra as mulheres miram o diálogo com os homens, importantes aliados na causa”.

English translation

Awareness-raising actions to confront violence against women seek to engage men – important allies in this cause – in dialogue.

Source: Ministério das Mulheres (2024d).

Addressing men therefore produces a political shift in the archive. Preventive materials addressed to women emphasize operations such as recognizing signs, seeking support, and using channels for reporting violence; the entry into football explicitly adds men as campaign addressees. By naming them, however briefly, the campaign partially shifts the axis of preventive responsibility. The point, of course, is not that the potential victim ceases to be an interlocutor, but that these materials effect a limited redistribution of address: alongside communication with women exposed to violence, men and masculinized institutions are explicitly interpellated.

Within these materials, public pedagogy begins to include men and masculinized institutions as both a problem and a target audience, while continuing to instruct women to report violence and seek help. Football does not appear here by chance. Precisely because of its place in the public organization of hegemonic masculinities (Connell; Messerschmidt, 2005), it functions as an infrastructure of exposure, legitimacy, and identification – in short, as a circuit through which the campaign seeks wider circulation.

Addressing men is not, by itself, evidence that the relations sustaining violence have been displaced. Salter (2016) questions preventive appeals that isolate desirable masculinity from the social conditions in which gendered power operates. The materials examined here establish an

explicit male addressee; they do not show how that address is taken up or whether it changes those conditions.

I use popular pedagogy² locally to name this inflection, as a descriptive label for one modality of public pedagogy rather than as an autonomous concept or an uncritical celebration of the popular. The term does not refer to an essence of “the people,” nor to an easy opposition between conceptual elaboration and simple language. It names, instead, an effort to gain traction in ordinary circuits of collective attention, where the message is shaped for quick reading, repetition, visual memory, and affective association. The stadium condenses this regime: it does not teach systematically but offers a scene of simultaneous exposure for a short, repeatable formula.

Excerpt 3 – sports-media relay of the campaign

“O time entrará em campo com uma faixa com a mensagem da campanha [...] Também haverá a exibição de vídeos no telão”.

English translation

The team will enter the pitch carrying a banner with the campaign message [...] Videos will also be shown on the stadium’s big screen.

Source: GE (2024).

Mediation takes the campaign beyond a strictly ministerial circuit and reinscribes it in sports journalism, with its own routines of presentation. Once femicide enters sports news, it no longer circulates only as an institutional message; it appears as a topic compatible with football’s editorial repertoire. The observable gain lies in wider availability and a changed situation of enunciation: the utterance is now offered outside the ministerial channel and, through the design of the text itself, redirected to a sports audience. The message remains brief, but the relay is not exhausted by a shorter slogan: the ge story also provides information about Ligue 180. The change concerns the setting and organization of the message, not a demonstrated replacement of an extended account of gender relations by an empty formula.

The ge story on Vasco’s action shows that this circulation also occurs through journalistic relay. The article reproduces the full slogan, reports that the team will enter the pitch carrying the campaign banner and announces the planned screening of videos on the stadium’s big screen (GE, 2024). The state utterance thereby moves from a ministry page into a journalistic environment

² I use the expression in a strictly descriptive sense: it names the redirection of the problem toward ordinary circuits of collective attention and its relay through the media; I do not treat it as a normative category or as a synonym for popular education in any specific tradition.

built around everyday football coverage; the medium changes, the formula does not.

The operation is not exhausted by the change of medium. As the utterance passes through sports news, it acquires an additional layer of journalistic framing: it no longer appears only as a government message, but as a newsworthy event tied to the ritual of the match, the club's agenda, and football's editorial repertoire. The mediation changes the situation of enunciation without requiring the article to infer how actual readers receive it. The formula enters the ordinary flow of sports news; the change, then, concerns not just the medium but the textual context in which it is offered.

There is, however, a counterpart. The more femicide enters the scene as a condensed emblem of moral consensus, the greater the risk that it will be absorbed as a ceremonial gesture tied to the occasion. Banners, big screens, slogans, and news coverage produce visibility; they do not, by themselves, provide an account of the gender relations that make the campaign necessary. The corpus does not authorize the conclusion that the action is empty. The corpus supports a more limited conclusion: the campaign is made available within the brief format of sports news, but neither ceremonial absorption nor a loss of substantive information follows from that format alone.

FROM SLOGAN TO PUNISHMENT: FEMICIDE AS A SEPARATE OFFENSE AND THE COMPRESSION OF THE PROBLEM

The sharpest inflection in the corpus appears in the movement from the language of prevention to the language of punishment. Law No. 14,994/2024 establishes femicide as a separate criminal offense, increases the penalty attached to it, and amends a broad set of criminal and procedural provisions (Brasil, 2024). Legally, the change is substantial. Discursively, the change recasts the problem: femicide begins to circulate not only as extreme gender-based violence, but as an object of maximum penal severity.

The statutory summary follows the enumerative conventions of its genre: it identifies the offense, the penalties, and the provisions altered. Enumeration alone does not establish a punitive framing. Its relevance here lies in the contrast between a problem organized through legal classification and sanction and the campaign's instructions for recognizing and interrupting violence. The stronger evidence for the public salience of severity comes from the legislative news item, whose headline, opening, and reported parliamentary justifications foreground

increased punishment.

With this inflection, the term becomes legible under a different regime. In the campaign, *Feminicídio Zero* operates as a prospective formula oriented toward interrupting a chain that can still be stopped. In the law's statutory summary, by contrast, femicide appears as an object already delimited by the grammar of criminal classification, aggravation, and enforcement. Here, the dominant vocabulary is that of legal classification and sanction, rather than the campaign's instructions for recognizing and interrupting earlier violence.

Excerpt 4 – statutory summary of Law No. 14,994/2024

“[...] para tornar o feminicídio crime autônomo, agravar a sua pena [...] e estabelecer outras medidas destinadas a prevenir e coibir a violência praticada contra a mulher”.

English translation:

[...] to establish femicide as a separate criminal offense, increase the penalty for it [...] and establish other measures intended to prevent and curb violence against women.

Source: Brasil (2024).

The Senate's legislative news item intensifies this shift. Its title foregrounds a prison sentence of up to 40 years; the body of the article presents the new penalty as the highest prison term provided for in Brazilian law and proceeds to enumerate aggravating factors, loss of rights, and restrictions on sentence enforcement (Agência Senado, 2024). Public pedagogy is reorganized here around severity.

In reporting the legislative change, the Senate story returns that change to the public in the form of a pedagogical number. “Up to 40 years” is a portable formula, suited to repetition and relay in other scenes of speech. In this presentation, a higher penalty offers a short and prominent sign of state action. Its prominence can be compared with the treatment of other responses in the same news item, without assuming that the number displaces every preventive or protective measure.

Excerpt 5 – legislative celebration of harsher punishment

“Lei que pune feminicídio com até 40 anos de reclusão entra em vigor”.

English translation

Law providing for up to 40 years' imprisonment for femicide enters into force.

Source: Agência Senado (2024).

Here too, I reject two easy shortcuts: automatic celebration of the law and an abstract

rejection of punishment. I do not deny the legal importance of establishing femicide as a separate offense, nor the political value of expanding mechanisms for protecting women. By punitive compression I mean the selective foregrounding of penal severity as a readily repeatable sign of the state response, observable in the organization of this legislative news item rather than inferred from criminalization or statutory enumeration alone. This warning does not come from outside feminist debate. As Bumiller (2008) and Bernstein (2012) show, gender-justice agendas can be reabsorbed into a carceral vocabulary that presents penal intensification as though it could, by itself, contain the entire horizon of response. It is in this restricted, historical rather than moralistic sense that I use “punitivism” here.

Establishing femicide as a separate offense should not be read simplistically here. There are cases in which naming a form of violence separately matters for recognition, statistics, public policy, and symbolic contestation. What these materials allow us to see is something else: in the legislative and journalistic segment examined, this naming is reorganized by the prominence of punishment and the rhetoric of harsher penalties. Recognition does not disappear; in this segment, it is overlaid by a pedagogy of severity.

Recognition and penal intensification should remain analytically distinct. Campos (2015) examines the political importance of naming femicide without treating a demand for recognition as equivalent to a demand for more punishment; Machado and Elias (2018) likewise place criminalization within a dispute that exceeds a merely symbolic response. This distinction matters for the present comparison. The question is not whether the autonomous offense has value, but how the news item makes increased severity especially visible among the meanings and measures attached to that recognition.

The legislative news item supports that narrower reading. The headline and opening foreground the increased penalty, and the reported parliamentary interventions present severity as a reason to support the change. Yet the story also mentions measures beyond a longer sentence. The contrast concerns their relative prominence, not their absence: punishment supplies the most immediately repeatable sign of the response in this item, without exhausting the provisions reported or the policy horizon they invoke.

Read from this angle, the legislative section returns the article to a broader question. In the campaign materials, simplification worked through slogan, repetition, and portability; here it works through harsher punishment and normative celebration. The mechanisms are not identical, nor do these materials authorize us to treat them as causally connected. They do, however, allow

the mechanisms to be compared through a shared formal operation of reduction: in one case, prevention becomes a formula; in the other, the state response is condensed into punishment. The materials do not show one language simply replacing the other. They show an uneven overlap in which prevention remains the declared horizon, while punishment provides, in the legislative segment, the most textually prominent sign of public action.

CARNIVAL, RACE, AND THE AMBIVALENCES OF PREVENTION

Carnival, in turn, makes visible what the slogan/punishment pair does not exhaust. On the page Carnaval Nota 10. Feminicídio Zero, the Ministry of Women states that the festival should be “um espaço de respeito e segurança para todas” (“a space of respect and safety for all women”) and insists that violence against women cannot be normalized; it then instructs: if there is aggression, report it (Ministério das Mulheres, 2025). The same campaign is presented by the Secretaria de Comunicação Social da Presidência da República (Secretariat for Social Communication of the Presidency of the Republic; Secom) as a mobilization involving panels, a banner on the avenue, stickers in restrooms, and graphic materials at the Sapucaí Sambadrome, with an institutional estimate of approximately five million spectators, including attendance during technical rehearsals (Secretaria de Comunicação Social, 2025).

Rather than simply providing a setting for dissemination, Carnival functions here as a specific regime of circulation: in the materials examined, the festival is associated with crowds, work, safety, reporting, support, and differentiated attention to the vulnerability of Black women. When the state places the campaign within this circuit, the preventive formula is reinscribed within the festival rather than simply projected onto an abstract public. The campaign articulates respect, safety, and reporting in festive time; Secom, in turn, adds care, public health, and race. Public pedagogy acquires another density: in these materials, Carnival functions as a scene in which prevention and protection are presented in relation to vulnerabilities explicitly named by the institutional material itself.

Excerpt 6 – Carnival as a space of prevention and reporting

“A violência contra as mulheres não pode ser normalizada ou tolerada. Se presenciar ou sofrer qualquer agressão, denuncie”.

English translation

Violence against women must not be normalized or tolerated. If you witness or experience any act of aggression, report it.

Source: Ministério das Mulheres (2025).

In Carnival, a feature already present in football becomes more pronounced: the campaign enters spaces of festivity, affect, corporeality, and large crowds. Unlike the stadium, however, the Carnival materials introduce two additional elements. The first is public health, as ministers and administrators frame prevention in terms of care, support, and the Salas Lilás (Lilac Rooms); the second is race, as Anielle Franco describes Black women as especially affected by violence and as making up the majority of women working in Carnival (Secretaria de Comunicação Social, 2025). The inflection is grounded in the institutional material itself rather than inferred from outside the corpus.

Public health adds a layer that the campaign’s condensed version does not fully capture. In the material, Salas Lilás are associated with support and a vocabulary of care, partially shifting the problem away from reporting after the fact toward protection in the immediate situation. The Carnival materials do not merely say that aggression should be punished; they associate prevention with devices of care and protection. The report presents health as a contributor to prevention as well as to support after violence. Although that discussion is situated in Carnival, the material does not establish that these roles are confined to the festival. Nor does it demonstrate a deeper reordering of the social conditions that distribute exposure to harm.

Excerpt 7 – explicit insertion of race into the device

“Esse tema mexe especialmente com nós, mulheres negras, maioria das trabalhadoras do Carnaval [...] as mais vulneráveis à violência”.

English translation

This issue especially affects us, Black women, who make up most of the women working in Carnival [...] and are the most vulnerable to violence.

Source: Secretaria de Comunicação Social (2025).

The addition shows that the public pedagogy of femicide can, at certain moments, exceed the abstract universalization of the category “woman” and reinscribe the problem in concrete asymmetries of work, race, and exposure to violence. For gender studies, prevention acquires

density only when exposure to violence ceases to be treated as a homogeneous surface. Here Anielle Franco's intervention is theoretically more fertile than the mere repetition of the slogan because it reintroduces, however briefly, the unequal distribution of vulnerability. This reading draws on Crenshaw's (1989) critique of treating race and gender as separate categories, and it also converges with Collins (2000) and Davis (2016), for whom the abstract figure of "woman" effaces labor, class, racial position, and differential regimes of exposure to harm. At this point, the circulation of state discourse also touches on the question of grievability: not every woman's life enters the national scene as equally grievable (Butler, 2009).

The reference to Black women in the Carnival material is not the first racial specification in the material examined: Figure 1 already marks the proportion of femicide victims who are Black. The difference concerns the form of that specification. In the infographic, race appears as a distribution of victimization; in the quoted intervention, it is articulated through work, exposure to violence, and a situated speaking position. The contrast qualifies the universal category "woman" without establishing when race first entered the campaign or whether it organizes the campaign as a whole.

In the selected materials, racial differentiation and care occupy different places alongside a stable visual mark. Their presence complicates the generalizing form of the slogan, but the corpus is not sufficient to determine their position within the campaign's entire organization. The observable tension lies between the uniformity of the mark and the more differentiated accounts attached to it in particular materials, not between an initially raceless campaign and a late correction.

Another tension concerns the positioning of women. By calling on people to report violence, offering support, and inscribing prevention within the festive circuit, these materials place women in multiple and not always compatible positions: potential victim, exposed worker, Carnival-goer to be protected, witness called upon to watch the scene, and citizen addressed as someone who should activate the state apparatus. This multiplication of positions broadens the problem's public legibility but also redistributes it into unequal communicative tasks. Prevention gains substance through this distribution of tasks, but care, recognition of aggression, and reporting remain distinct responses; the materials bring them together without showing that they constitute a single practice of surveillance.

The main result of this section is that, within this institutional and journalistic circuit, femicide resists a single description. The state seeks to arrive before death, bring the issue into

wider circulation, and make its language travel through sports and festive settings; at the same time, it translates a substantial part of that operation into a brand, a promise of distributed vigilance, and harsher punishment. In these materials, femicide appears publicly not only as a legal event or as crime news, but as an object of campaigning, prevention, and institutional pedagogy. Its strongest ambivalence may lie precisely here: expansion of the problem often coincides with forms that make it administrable through reduction.

CONCLUSION

The materials examined here show how femicide is made available for recognition through government campaigns and legislative circulation in 2024-2025. They do not offer a single account of the problem. The campaign anticipates violence as something to be recognized and interrupted; serial materials give that instruction a repeatable visual form; institutional and journalistic items place it in other settings; the legal and legislative materials organize a different vocabulary of classification and response.

Three movements emerge from this comparison. The formula is adapted to portable media while retaining a recognizable mark. Its circulation through football and Carnival changes the projected addressees and connects prevention to masculinity, work, care, and racial vulnerability. In the legislative segment, the increased penalty becomes an especially prominent sign of state action. These are contrasting operations assembled within the analysis, not stages of a demonstrated causal sequence from campaign to law.

The relation between expansion and compression is therefore uneven. A short format can omit distinctions, preserve a practical instruction, or direct attention to information elsewhere. The avatar, the cards, the “Saiba mais” banner, and the sports news item do not distribute the same content. Their differences make it possible to examine what becomes immediately legible in each setting without assuming that portability necessarily impoverishes the connected campaign.

The legislative comparison requires a corresponding distinction. Legal classification and an account of increased penalties are not, by themselves, evidence of punitivism. In the news item examined, the headline, opening, and reported justifications make severity particularly visible, while other measures remain present. Punitive compression names that selective prominence here, not the disappearance of recognition, protection, or prevention from the law or from public

policy as a whole.

Carnival further limits a simple opposition between slogan and punishment. Care enters as a mode of response, while racial differentiation appears in a situated account of work and vulnerability. Race is not entirely new to the materials: Figure 1 already gives statistical visibility to Black victims. The contrast concerns different forms of specification, rather than a movement from complete absence to a late correction. The selected documents allow these forms to be compared, but do not establish how centrally they organize the campaign as a whole.

The contribution lies in reading these materials together without treating them as interchangeable or causally coordinated. The archive shows the language and forms through which authorities and journalistic relays propose recognition and response. It does not measure learning, behavioral change, the use of support services, or the preventive effects of increased punishment. Those questions require other units of analysis and other evidence. Within these limits, the comparison identifies a public pedagogy whose reach is projected through portable forms and whose informational density, addressees, and preferred responses vary across the materials.

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