RESEARCH ARTICLE

The Far-Right Doesn't Always Win: Public Conversations on Brazil's "Anti-Abortion Bill" in the Chamber of Deputies' Digital Platforms

Michele Goulart Massuchin

Federal University of Paraná (UFPR)

Emerson Urizzi Cervi

Federal University of Paraná (UFPR)

ABSTRACT: The public debate around moral and cultural issues in contemporary Brazil has often been dominated by the conservative camp. However, there are instances where far-right narratives do not prevail entirely. One such case is Bill 1904/2024, which seeks to criminalize legal abortion in Brazil after 22 weeks of pregnancy. This article analyzes empirical data drawn from public comments on Bill 1904/2024 in two online platforms hosted by the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies: the YouTube live chat during the session that approved the bill's urgency status, and the comments section of an open survey published on the Chamber's official website. Using automated content analysis techniques, the study identifies lexical patterns and the heterogeneity of responses, measured by the number of clusters (CHD) associated with each position on the bill. The findings reveal a decline in far-right dominance within these online participatory arenas. This outcome is closely tied to three main factors: (1) the mobilization of civil society, (2) the role of mainstream media, and (3) the reframing of the issue within the public debate. The coordinated actions of social movements, activists, and media outlets demonstrate the resilience of these actors, reflected in the ways they organize and communicate.

KEYWORDS: Abortion, Bill 1904/2024, Brazil, Civil Society, Media Outlets.

CORRESPONDING AUTHOR(S): michelemassuchin@ufpr.br; ecervi7@gmail.com

1. Introduction

In Brazil, online platforms used for political engagement are often dominated by conservative perspectives when it comes to moral and cultural issues (Sinderski 2020; Bitencourt and Weber 2015; von Bulow and Dias 2019; Campos-Domínguez, Penteado, and Cervi 2021; Recuero, Soares, and Zago 2021; Chagas, Carreiro, Santos, and Popolin 2022). These interactions reflect ongoing culture wars (Hunter 1991), where progressive movements and activists rarely succeed in advancing their political agendas. On the other hand, there are moments when the direction of the debate shifts. Although such opportunities seem increasingly rare amid the global rise of the far-right and its strategic use of online communication (Caiani and Parente 2016), it is still crucial to examine the conditions that can limit the influence of these groups.

From this perspective, this article analyzes debates on online platforms in Brazil sparked by Bill 1904/2024, introduced on May 17, 2024, by Congressman Sóstenes Cavalcanti (Liberal Party–RJ), a pastor affiliated with the Assembleia de Deus Church. Under current Brazilian law, abortion is a criminal offense except in three cases: when necessary to save the pregnant woman's life, in cases involving anencephalic fetuses, or when the pregnancy results from rape. If approved, Bill 1904/2024 would criminalize abortion even under these exceptions, establishing a 22-week limit and treating abortions performed after that point as equivalent to homicide.

Research indicates that abortion remains a deeply contested issue in Brazil, with no clear societal consensus (Miguel 2012). Furthermore, the topic has also become a key battleground in the broader culture wars, playing a central role in the rhetoric of political elites as well as conservative and religious activists (Miguel, Biroli, and Mariano 2017). Over the past decade, the country has seen significant setbacks in this area (Luna 2014; Belin and Rizzotto 2021; Mariano and Biroli 2017; Zaremberg and Almeida 2022), largely driven by the rise of conservatism–particularly among evangelical lawmakers–who have largely dominated the public debate on the issue (Brandão and Cabral 2019; Souza 2021).

The debate over abortion rights remains a major issue in Brazil, yet advocates for the cause have become less visible in public discourse (Zaremberg and Almeida 2022). In online spaces, their presence has been shaped–and often constrained–by the hybrid flow of information (Chadwick 2017), the phenomenon of visibility disorder (Alves 2022), and the growing influence of far-right movements and leaders (Mudde 2019). Within this background, one might expect discussions around Bill 1904/2024 to be dominated by conservative perspectives. However, the public response on the Chamber of Deputies' online platforms, following the sanction of the bill's urgency status, points to a more complex scenario.

This phenomenon can be understood within the inherent logics of communication and resilience debates, which encompass different levels and methodological aspects for its comprehension (Houston and Buzzanell 2020). More specifically, the actions opposing Bill 1904/2024 demonstrate processes of coping and adaptation through communication and collective organization (Buzzanell and Houston 2018). In other words, resilience is understood as a multilevel process (van Breda 2018) that, in this case, involves social movements, activists, and media outlets articulated through both digital and traditional communication channels. Although resilience discussions commonly occur within contexts of climate change, gender and feminism and disasters (Buzzanell and Houston 2018; Buzzanell 2021; King, Kam, Cornejo, and Mendez Murillo 2023; Anthony, Venette, Pyle, Boatwright, and Reif-Stice 2019), the current scenario characterized by far-right extremism, conservatism, and informational disorder in Brazil involves the resilience of actors working counter to this scenario.

2. Online Conversations on Controversial Topics: Between Activism and Conservatism

Online conversations serve as forms of public expression that unfold both on social media and on government-run deliberative platforms (Birchall and Coleman 2023). While there is growing interest in fostering high-quality deliberative exchanges (Choucair and Maia 2024), it is equally important to consider the affordances of social media platforms (Esau et al. 2017) and the social behaviors they often enable – such as hate speech and incivility (Rega and Marchetti 2021; Udupa 2021). In general, public expression in online spaces is shaped by echo chambers, the presence of haters and bots, and non-organic strategies such as astroturfing (Recuero et al. 2021; Barranquero and Moraes 2021; Chagas et al. 2022; Keller et al. 2019). These diagnoses are inherent to the process of algorithmic governance that has impacted the public sphere in situations of weak governance and regulation (Duffy and Meisner 2022).

In Brazil, affective polarization and ideological radicalization further intensify these dynamics (Fuks and Marques 2022). At the same time, monitoring public engagement in these environments offers valuable insights into behavioral patterns and shifts in public opinion in response to controversial issues – driven by competing interests, diverse opinions, and ongoing debates (Campos-Domínguez et al. 2021), as seen with the issue of abortion in Brazil.

A 2022 survey by IPEC[1] found that 70% of Brazilians oppose the legalization of abortion, while 20% are in favor. Support or opposition is influenced by factors such as religion and educational level. However, opinions often shift in specific circumstances – such as when a woman's life is at risk, the fetus has a severe condition, or depending on the stage of pregnancy[2]. In the case of Bill 1904/2024, 70% of respondents expressed opposition to the proposal[3]. The abortion debate tends to mobilize public opinion when an event gains widespread visibility, such as the death of vulnerable women or a vote on a legislative proposal (Biroli 2016).

In the Brazilian circumstances, public arenas for political expression often include many controversial and divisive issues, such as abortion, gun ownership rights, the age of criminal responsibility, drug legalization, and LGBTQIA+ rights (Sinderski 2020; Bitencourt and Weber 2015). These spaces serve as battlegrounds for opposing viewpoints, with hashtags playing a key role in framing the debate and measuring its intensity and support (von Bulow and Dias 2019; Chagas et al. 2022). In recent political conflicts, however, certain actors and positions – especially those aligned with the political right – have come to dominate public discourse (Campos-Domínguez et al. 2021; Recuero et al. 2021; Chagas et al. 2022). This dominance is driven by both organic engagement and strategies that simulate organic participation (Keller et al. 2019).

In Brazil, the abortion debate is largely driven forward by right-wing leaders with strong religious ties, particularly to Pentecostal and neo-Pentecostal churches, which have played a role in national politics since the 1980s (Tadvald 2015). Other conservative groups have also aligned themselves with the anti-abortion movement (Rocha 2020). Moral and cultural issues are frequently framed by religious leaders and elected officials as part of a broader defense of Christian values and the traditional family (Tadvald 2015), placing them at the forefront of the pro-life movement (Luna 2014). In particular, abortion has been strategically

---

[1] See at: https://g1.globo.com/politica/noticia/2022/09/13/ipec-70percent-dos-brasileiros-dizem-ser-contra-a-legalizacao-do-aborto.ghtml. Retrieved on: October 22, 2024.

[2] See at: https://www.cnnbrasil.com.br/nacional/pesquisa-aponta-empate-tecnico-entre-favoraveis-e-contrarios-a-legalizacao-do-aborto-no-brasil/. Retrieved on: October 22, 2024.

[3] See at: https://g1.globo.com/politica/noticia/2024/06/20/66percent-dos-brasileiros-sao-contra-o-pl-sobre-o-aborto-diz-datafolha.ghtml. Retrieved on: October 22, 2024.

appropriated by members of the Evangelical Parliamentary Front in the Brazilian Congress (Miguel, Biroli, and Mariano 2017).

In addition, right-wing activist groups such as the *Legislation and Life Movement*, *Brazil Without Abortion*, the *National Network for the Defense of Life*, and the *Union of Catholic Jurists* have played an active role in shaping the abortion debate (Souza 2021). In recent years, these groups have increasingly adopted a veneer of scientific reasoning to reinforce arguments that were once primarily rooted in religious discourse (Souza 2021). Abortion continues to be a recurring campaign issue (Miguel 2012) and regularly reemerges during political terms – both in speeches on the legislative floor and through symbolic gestures aimed at conservative movements (Rocha 2020).

As a result, the abortion debate has become increasingly aligned with a conservative agenda, led by religious groups and amplified by the far-right, which employs professional online campaigning strategies to advance anti-democratic causes (Chagas et al. 2022). Similar dynamics have been observed in counter-movements in Mexico, where religion and conservatism also intersect (López 2020). Consequently, dominant narratives in the online public arena often favor these groups, as their messages gain visibility and shape the tone of the "debate." In Brazil, this dynamic is reflected in hashtags such as #fechadocombolsonaro (aligned with Bolsonaro), identified by Chagas et al. (2022).

Despite this challenging landscape, the Brazilian feminist movement has maintained a long-standing engagement with the issue of abortion, both within institutional arenas and in civil society. Today, it stands as the most organized and well-funded movement in the country, a strength rooted in its long history of advocacy on critical issues such as democratization (Barsted 2009), and one that enables it to mobilize around a wide range of demands. The movement has also been instrumental in debates over the Statute of the Unborn, the Maria da Penha Law during Michel Temer's presidency, and the Women's Spring (Carone 2018). Furthermore, it operates within a wider Latin American context, where abortion remains a highly contentious issue (Brown 2020; Zaremberg and Guzmán-Lucero 2019; Calvo et al. 2025).

Online organizing has become a central force in the dynamics of the feminist movement's dynamics, a phenomenon that can be described as a form of digital resistance (Russell 2005), which manifests in hybrid and diverse ways (Tufekci 2014), particularly in Latin America (Magallanes-Blanco and Treré 2019). Hashtags such as #MeToo, #BeenRapedNeverReported, and #YesAllWomen have gone viral, pushing gender issues into the spotlight (Mendes et al. 2019). In this context, digital activism (Treré and Kaun 2021) has played a key role in mobilization, awareness-raising, and advocacy, giving global visibility to feminist causes through "femitags" that contribute to building a transnational agenda (Mendes et al. 2019; Rovira-Sancho and Morales-i-Gras 2023). Despite the darker side of the digital space, which can amplify inequalities, exclusions, and put activists at risk (Vachhani 2024), some initiatives have shown strong connections to offline actions (Rovira-Sancho and Morales-i-Gras 2023), helping to foster counterpublics and support networks – especially around the issue of abortion (Belin and Rizzotto 2025). Such actions can also be understood through the logic of connective action proposed by Bennett and Segerberg (2012), which emphasizes how social movements utilize technology and media to create networks and facilitate sharing information among users.

As a final point, over the past two decades in Brazil, feminist movements have increasingly institutionalized their relationship with the State (Abers 2021), particularly during the Workers' Party (PT) administrations, blending protest movements with political engagement inside institutional arenas (Bereni 2021). While debates persist over the implications of this "institutionalization," the connection with the state has been key to resisting the advance of conservative policies through contentious political strategies (Bereni 2021; Zaremberg and Guzmán-Lucero 2019). However, during Jair Bolsonaro's presidency, feminist movements distanced themselves from the State, as progressive actors were largely excluded from government and replaced by conservative groups (Abers et al. 2021).

3. Bill 1904/24: Setbacks in the Abortion Debate in Brazil

Bill 1904/2024[4] was originally introduced by Deputy Sóstenes Cavalcanti (Liberal Party/RJ) in the Chamber of Deputies on May 17, 2024. In the weeks that followed, between late May and mid-June, 55 additional deputies co-signed the proposal. While the majority of support came from the Liberal Party (PL), the bill also received backing from members of several other parties, including União Brasil, Brazilian Social Democracy Party (PSDB), Progressistas (PP), Brazilian Democratic Movement (MDB), Republicans, Democratic Renewal Party (PRD), and Avante, representing various states. This broad coalition underscores the significant political support the bill received[5].

The bill under review in the Chamber of Deputies – which triggered the public reactions analyzed in this article – seeks to amend three articles of the Brazilian Criminal Code. Under this proposal, the crime of simple homicide would apply to abortions performed when fetal viability is presumed, set at 22 weeks of pregnancy. In practice, this would criminalize any abortion performed after 22 weeks, even in the three cases that are currently exempt from criminalization under the Criminal Code: when the pregnancy results from rape, poses a risk to the woman's life, or involves an anencephalic fetus.

In addition to classifying abortion after 22 weeks as simple homicide, the bill also imposes criminal penalties on doctors who perform the procedure on rape victims beyond that point. In such cases, the offense would be treated as simple homicide, carrying a sentence of up to 20 years in prison. By comparison, under the same Criminal Code, the penalty for rape ranges from 6 to 10 years, increasing to 8 to 10 years when the victim is under 18. These sentencing disparities are telling, as they underscore a key finding of our analysis: the shift in how the bill has come to be framed in public discourse.

4. Corpus and Analysis Method

Our empirical corpus consists of two groups of reactions to the bill. The data were collected from institutional participatory spaces managed by the Chamber of Deputies, which played a central role in the dynamics of public debate around the Bill, particularly in terms of enabling participation from organized civil society. The first group includes comments from the YouTube profile that streamed the live session of the Chamber of Deputies, during which the urgency for the bill's review was approved. This profile is part of the official YouTube account of the Chamber of Deputies[6]. We divided this corpus into two parts: one for comments supporting the bill and another for those opposing it. In total, we collected 6,862 comments from the seven-hour session, which took place from 2 p.m. to 9 p.m. on June 12, 2024.

The second corpus was collected from position statements on the bill submitted through the online public consultation tool on the Chamber of Deputies' website[7]. This tool allows citizens to participate in surveys about bills under review in the legislature. Participants can express their support or opposition to a proposal

---

[4] Full information about the project can be found at:
https://www.camara.leg.br/proposicoesWeb/fichadetramitacao?idProposicao=2434493. Retrieved on: October 21, 2024.

[5] To view all the authors of the project, see:
https://www.camara.leg.br/proposicoesWeb/prop_autores;jsessionid=node01rvcite7s2kpe7e8847ukrcn794327.node0?idPropo sicao=2434493. Retrieved on: October 21, 2024.

[6] The Chamber of Deputies' YouTube profile: https://www.youtube.com/@camaradosdeputadosoficial. Retrieved on: October 22, 2024.

[7] View the survey results: https://www.camara.leg.br/enquetes/2434493/resultados. Retrieved on: October 21, 2024.

and provide additional comments in a text box to justify their stance. The survey becomes available as soon as a bill enters the legislative process, and, according to the website, the results are shared with the bill's rapporteurs.

The survey for Bill 1904/2024 opened on May 17, 2024, when the bill was filed by the proposing deputy. By the end of June, the survey had received over 1.1 million votes, with 88% (947,393) opposing the proposal and 12% (124,580) supporting it. Additionally, 7,913 citizens submitted written justifications for their votes, of which 7,870 were considered for this article[8]. According to the Chamber of Deputies' website, which ranks surveys by participation, the survey for this bill attracted the highest level of engagement in the preceding six months[9].

5. Data Analysis

5.1 Quantitative Analysis of Pro- and Anti-Bill 1904/2024 Messages

Graph 1 illustrates the percentage of comments both supporting and opposing the bill during the live stream of the Chamber of Deputies session on YouTube on June 12, 2024. Supportive comments were identified by phrases like "Yes to Bill 1904," "Yes to life," "No to abortion," and "Abortion is murder." On the other hand, opposing comments were identified by terms such as "No to Bill 1904," "A rapist is not a father," "A child is not a mother," and "Girls' lives also matter."

Graph 1 - Distribution of Positions in Comments on the YouTube Live Stream
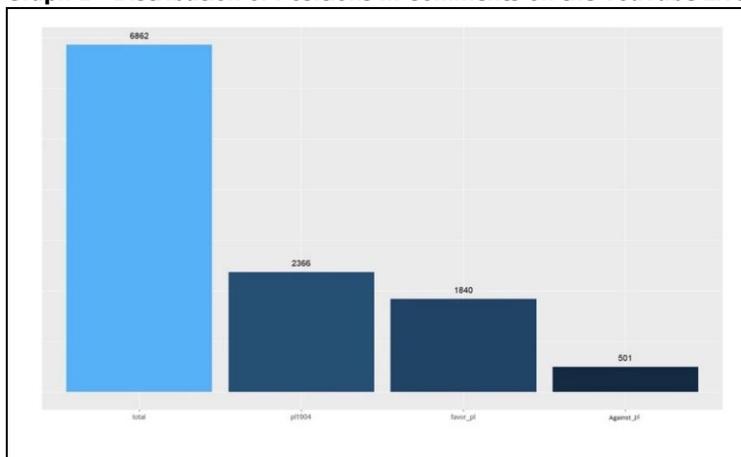
Source: *Authors' analysis based on YouTube comments from the Chamber of Deputies (2024)*

Throughout the seven-hour session, a total of 6,862 comments were made, with 2,366 (34.4%) referencing the bill. Although the bill was put to a symbolic vote only in the final 20 minutes of the session, after 8 p.m., to advance it for urgent review – with no discussion or roll-call vote – the first comment mentioning Bill 1904 appeared at 3:33 p.m. This early comment shows that both opposing and supporting movements were active from the start of the session.

---

[8] 43 justifications were not analysed due to errors in automated content extraction.
[9] Data from October 21, 2024, obtained from https://www.camara.leg.br/enquetes/2434493/resultados. Retrieved on: October 21, 2024.

Comments supporting Bill 1904 were significantly more prevalent, accounting for 77.7% (1,840) of the total mentions of the bill, while opposing comments made up only 21.1% (501)[10]. This disparity shows that supporters of the bill played a dominant role in the debate, mirroring the alignment of these supporters with the more conservative wing of Congress, which has strong ties to the Evangelical Parliamentary Front and right-wing parties.

A different trend emerges from the position statements collected through the Chamber of Deputies' public consultation survey following the plenary session. Out of the 7,913 justifications, 5,857 (74%) opposed the bill, while 2,056 (26%) supported it. This shift in stance contrasts with the Youtube comments made during the session. The survey also offers two additional pieces of information: the number of likes each justification received and a daily breakdown of justifications submitted before and after the vote on the urgent request to advance the bill's processing in the Chamber.

Table 1 presents data from the first position statement submitted in the system on May 22, 2024, up to June 30, 2024. Since the Chamber's survey tool does not provide daily vote counts, the table summarizes key descriptive statistics for the justifications, including the date they were submitted. We only included days where at least one justification was submitted[11]. Additionally, the table shows the number of likes each justification received. In terms of reactions, the difference is even more striking: justifications opposing the bill received 504,300 positive reactions, while those supporting it garnered only 49,300.

Table 1 - Summary of Justifications in Support of and Against Bill 1904 in the Survey

Tipo	Total	Daily Average	Max Value	Min Value
Justifications Against	5,806	207	2,276	0
Justifications in Favor	2,025	72	501	0
Likes on Justifications Against	504,390	18,014	176,068	0
Likes on Justifications in Favor	49,323	1,762	11,981	0

Source: Authors' analysis based on the Chamber of Deputies (2024) data

Once again, positions opposing the bill's sponsors and the conservative faction in Congress stood out – highlighting an atypical case of effective organization and mobilization by more progressive groups, especially when the discussion revolves around cultural and moral issues. Over the 30-day period, respondents submitted an average of 207 justifications against the bill per day, while those in favor submitted an average of 72. In terms of likes, justifications opposing the bill received an average of 18,000 per day, compared to 1,700 for those in favor. However, these averages hide significant daily fluctuations. For all types of engagement, the minimum value was zero, indicating that, on at least one day, there were no justifications or interactions. The highest engagement across all categories occurred on June 13, the day after the urgency vote was approved.

On June 13 alone, the platform registered 2,276 justifications opposing the bill, which received over 176,000 likes. In contrast, there were 501 justifications in support of the bill, receiving 11,900 likes. Overall, opposition to the bill was far more prominent, reflecting a more active and organized progressive presence on the Chamber of Deputies' online platform – especially when compared to the comments during the YouTube livestream of the plenary session, where pro-bill messages prevailed.

---

[10] The difference between the two positions and the total is due to neutral comments, which did not clearly take a stance on either side and were in the minority compared to the two groups.

[11] The days from May 23 and 24, May 26 to 31, June 1 to 3, and June 27 were not considered, as no justifications were recorded on those days.

Graph 2 illustrates the daily count of position statements. Until June 11 – before the issue gained broader attention through the Chamber of Deputies plenary session and media coverage – the number of daily position statements remained low and fairly balanced between the two sides. However, on June 12, a noticeable spike occurred, with opposing statements outnumbering supportive ones – 835 compared to 499 on that day. The disparity widened even further the following day, when opposition statements surged to over 2,200, while supportive ones stayed steady at around 500. In the days that followed, the number of responses steadily declined, returning to pre-session levels by June 19. This trend indicates a brief yet intense surge of public engagement, with interest peaking and then rapidly subsiding as the bill entered the broader public debate.

Graph 2 and 3 - Daily Distribution of Position Statements in the Chamber of Deputies Survey and Total Number of Position Statements by Time Period
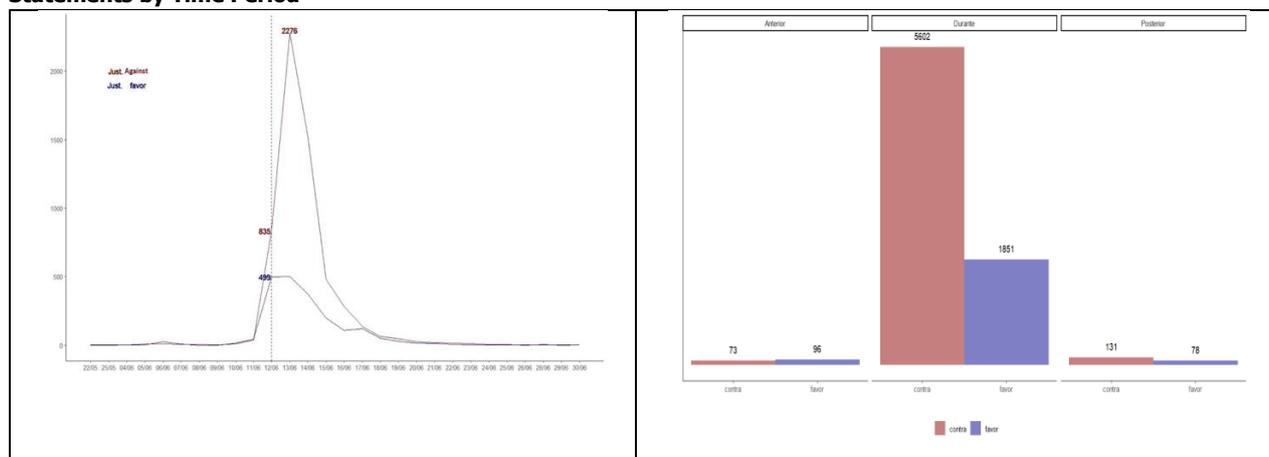
Source: *Authors' analysis based on the Chamber of Deputies (2024) data*

The volume of statements and the contrast between the periods before and after the issue gained public attention suggest a general increase in interest. However, the data alone does not reveal whether the nature of participation changed before and after the peak in engagement, as shown in Graph 3. In other words, beyond the sharp, temporary spike depicted in Graph 2, there was also a shift in the majority position.

The period from May 22 to June 11, before the congressional session, saw more supportive statements for the bill than opposing ones, with 96 in favor and 73 against. However, during the surge in participation from June 12 to 18, opposing statements nearly tripled those in favor, with 5,602 against and 1,851 supporting the bill. From June 19 to 30, despite an overall decrease in participation, opposition responses continued to dominate. This shift clearly shows a reversal in positions expressed in the Chamber of Deputies' survey on Bill 1904. Overall, while participation differed between the two platforms – YouTube and the Chamber of Deputies' website – the most significant change occurred in how citizens evaluated and engaged with the bill over time within the same platform, particularly on the Chamber of Deputies' website.

5.2 Content of Messages on YouTube and the Chamber of Deputies' Website

This section analyzes the content of comments from the YouTube livestream and vote justifications in the Chamber of Deputies' survey. We employed lexical analysis to identify the most frequently used terms on each platform and how these terms group into thematic clusters. Graph 4 below illustrates the formation of these clusters using the Reinert method algorithm, with terms displayed on a bifactorial graph. The first image shows the formation of five clusters in the YouTube comments.

A clear distinction emerges between Cluster 5 and the other clusters. Cluster 5 contains terms that oppose the bill but are less politically charged, such as "rape," "abuse," "victim," and "criminalize." Cluster 1 also opposes the bill but is more politically charged, featuring terms like "child," "mother," "no to Bill 1904," "hypocrite," "misogynist," and "pedophilia." Clusters 2, 3, and 4 represent pro-bill lexicons, with terms like "free will," "yes to Bill 1904," "baby," "save," "infanticide," "murderers," and "womb." In terms of overall participation, pro-bill clusters account for 56.4% of the total, while anti-bill clusters make up 44.6%. This means that, during the live session on YouTube, the pro-bill clusters slightly outweighed the anti-bill ones.

Graph 4 - Clusters and Factors Based on Lexical Presence in the YouTube Comments
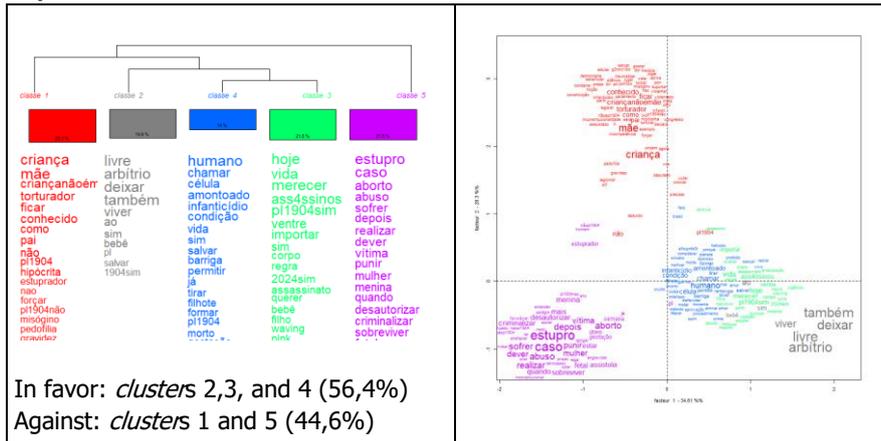
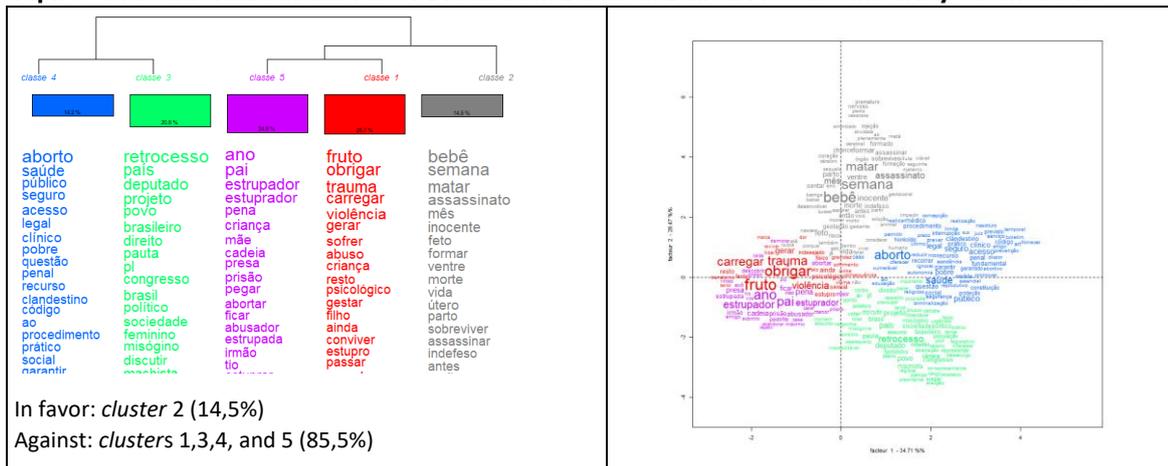**Source:** *Authors' analysis based on the Chamber of Deputies data*

The second image in Graph 4, which displays the distribution of terms in a bifactorial space, highlights the proximity of different positions. Anti-bill terms from Cluster 1 appear on the left side of the graph, alongside those from Cluster 5. However, along Factor 2, these clusters diverge, with Cluster 1 and Cluster 5 occupying separate quadrants. On the right side, the three pro-bill clusters appear closely grouped within the same quadrant, reflecting greater lexical similarity among supportive messages. In Cluster 1, key terms include "mother" and "child," while Cluster 5 centers on words like "rape" and "abuse." The three pro-bill clusters prominently feature terms such as "free will," "life," "human being," and "infanticide." Overall, the number and distribution of clusters suggest that pro-bill messages were more consistent in their lexical choices, whereas anti-bill messages divided into two main groups: one linking the discussion to rape in more politicized terms, and another focusing more technically on the relationship between mother and child.

The lexical analysis of the justifications submitted through the Chamber of Deputies' survey reveals notable differences compared to the YouTube (Graph 5). Although the same five clusters were formed here, their internal distribution varies. In this case, only Cluster 2 contains terms clearly supportive of the bill – such as "baby," "murder," and "innocent" – indicating the reduced influence of conservative arguments within this setting. The other four clusters, including two derived from Cluster 2, consist of lexicons opposing the bill but with distinct emphases. Cluster 4 features terms like "public health," and "legal,", while Cluster 3 includes "backward," "rights," and "feminine." Cluster 5 groups terms such as "rapist," "father," "mother," and "prison," whereas Cluster 1 centers on words like "force," "trauma," "violence," and "abuse." Among these, Clusters 1 and 5 show the highest individual participation rates, accounting for 25.6% and 24.7% of the analyzed content, respectively.

In the second image of Graph 5, the clusters are mostly concentrated near the center of the quadrants. Along Factor 1, Clusters 1 and 5 overlap on the left side, while Clusters 3 and 4 appear on the right, with Cluster 2 positioned closer to the center. Along Factor 2, Cluster 3 is located toward the bottom of the graph, Cluster 2

appears at the top, and the remaining clusters are distributed around the central axis. The cluster supporting the bill is marked by terms like "kill," "baby," and "murder," while the opposing clusters emphasize words such as "trauma," "force," "rapist," "public health," and "setback". This distribution highlights the multiple fronts from which the bill was challenged, illustrating how, in this setting, progressive perspectives converged and overlapped.

Graph 5 - Cluster Formation and Factor Distribution Based on Lexical Presence in Survey Justifications

Source: Authors' analysis based on the Chamber of Deputies (2024) data

To connect the lexical analysis to semantic meaning and better understand how each side framed their arguments for or against the bill, we conducted a Similarity Analysis using "typical segment" scores. These scores reflect the presence of compound terms within each group, providing insight into the distinct ways participants interpreted and articulated the issue – specifically, Bill 1904/2024. Graph 6 presents similarity trees showing the relationships among terms found in both the YouTube comments (separated by support and opposition) and the survey justifications (also divided between supporters and opponents).

For each of the four groups, we highlight the three highest-scoring phrases, which reflect the most prominent expressions used in each set of comments. Among the supportive comments on YouTube, the top scores were for the hashtag "#SimAoPL1904" ("Yes to Bill 1904"), followed by "vidas do nascituro importam" ("unborn lives matter") and "fora assassinos de bebê" ("say no to baby killers"). This pattern shows that support for the bill on YouTube was primarily framed around the defense of life and the portrayal of opponents as "baby killers." In contrast, among the opposing comments on YouTube, the highest score also went to a hashtag: "#NãoAoPL1904" ("no to Bill 1904"). The next highest-scoring phrases were "criança não é mãe" ("a child is not a mother") and "estuprador não é pai" ("a rapist is not a father"), suggesting that the dominant opposition narrative centered on protecting minors and denouncing rapists.

In the position statements submitted through the Chamber of Deputies' survey, hashtags – whether for or against the bill – do not appear among the highest-scoring phrases. Among the statements supporting the bill, the dominant theme remains the protection of unborn lives, with the top scores going to phrases such as "killing a fully formed baby," "homicide from 22 weeks," and "lives of innocent babies," all reflecting a life-centered discourse closely tied to religious values. On the opposing side, the top three phrases were "a child is not a mother, a rapist is not a father," "they're treating rapists as victims," and "criminalizing women who are victims is a step backward." Both sides framed their arguments around the notion of crime – supporters focused on the crime against the baby, while opponents emphasized the crime against the mother.

Graph 6 - Similarity Trees and Scores of Most Common Terms

YOUTUBE – IN FAVOR	YOUTUBE - AGAINST	SURVEY – IN FAVOR	SURVEY – AGAINST
Scores: Yes to Bill 1904: 5,442.47 Unborn lives matter: 3,874.75 Say no to baby killers: 3,123.48	Scores: No to Bill 1904: 3,360.54 A child is not a mother: 3,119.28 A rapist is not a father: 2,466.00	Scores: Killing a fully formed baby: 807.25 Homicide from 22 weeks: 778.69 Innocent babies' lives: 680.95	Scores: A child is not a mother, a rapist is not a father: 414.12 They're treating rapists as victims: 404.42 Criminalizing women who are victims is a step backward: 388.98

Source: *Authors' analysis based on the Chamber of Deputies (2024) data*

Graph 6 also reveals two key observations when comparing the four similarity trees and their scores. First, the volume of scores differs significantly: on YouTube, scores reach into the thousands, while in the survey they remain in the hundreds. This indicates that terms and phrases were repeated much more frequently on YouTube. A clear example is the dominance of the "yes" and "no" hashtags among the top scores. In contrast, the survey responses show greater diversity in how participants constructed their arguments. In other words, YouTube functioned more as a space for collective expressions of support or opposition based on group identity, while the survey responses reflected more independent and personal forms of engagement.

Finally, the colors in the similarity trees indicate the formation of term communities, adding another layer of specificity. The greater the number of colors, the more distinct the distribution of terms within the tree. Three of the trees — both YouTube trees and the tree representing opposition in the survey — formed three or more communities. Only the tree representing support for the bill in the survey did not form communities, appearing in a single color. This pattern occurs when the text set is smaller and the terms used are more uniform, meaning the arguments for the bill were simpler and more consistent across the comments. These two features — smaller size and greater lexical uniformity — define that particular tree. In the two YouTube trees (both for and against the bill), the text corpora were not large but showed greater lexical diversity. On the other hand, the corpus representing opposition in the survey was the largest among the four.

6. Discussion

Both supportive and opposing positions identified in the comments relied on the repeated use of certain lexicons, suggesting prior coordination among the groups involved. Hashtags served as signals for each side, a common strategy in public disputes and controversies and also reflects feminist activism as previously documented in other circumstances (Mendes et al. 2019; Rovira-Sancho and Morales-i-Gras 2023). This practice enhances the visibility of specific issues and fosters debates grounded in shared language and

perspectives (von Bülow and Dias 2019; Campos-Domínguez et al. 2021), pointing to a level of coordination in efforts to mobilize public opinion (Chagas et al. 2022).

Additionally, the steady stream of YouTube comments throughout the entire session — even in the absence of any real debate among parliamentarians — suggests a coordinated effort to keep the issue circulating in the online environment, a strategy observed in other situations and often linked to right-wing activism (Chagas et al. 2022). In this case, pro-bill comments dominated, indicating that conservative groups organized more effectively around the issue to advance their agenda.

However, while 77% of comments on YouTube on June 12 supported the bill, by the end of June, 88% of responses in the Chamber of Deputies' survey were against it. Our quantitative data present a scenario that contrasts with many other online debates involving conservative and progressive groups. For example, in discussions about lowering the age of criminal responsibility in Brazil, the punitive perspective dominated the online conversation (Sinderski 2020). This finding also differs from Chagas et al. (2022), who observed that the far-right's defense of Bolsonaro was more prominent on Twitter, marked by effective use of hashtags and a more organized online presence in polarized environment. Although platform differences must be taken into account (Maia et al. 2015), our case shows a shift in the origin of the mobilization, with progressive voices emerging more strongly than conservative ones. These voices emerge from strategically organized actions by social movements, highlighting the role of digital technologies in contentious politics (Bennet and Segerberg 2012).

Another interesting observation is that 74% of those who justified their position in the survey were opposed to the bill. This indicates a shift in positions and reflects a higher level of digital activism, which—although it manifests in multiple and at times contradictory ways throughout Latin America—has also contributed to building bridges between distinct movements (Magallanes-Blanco and Treré 2019). Justifying one's vote is optional, meaning only those who are genuinely motivated to express their opinion choose to participate. Additionally, analyzing the number of justifications submitted daily throughout June reveals the format and intensity with which the issue captured the public's attention, forming a clear engagement curve. Before the approval of the urgency request, the number of justifications in the Chamber of Deputies' survey was relatively low. However, this number spiked on June 12 and reached its peak on June 13, with over 3,000 justifications submitted in a single day.

The vote on the urgency request, therefore, sparked a mobilization process that deviates from typical online dynamics, where conservative groups are usually more organized, strategic, and effective in their use of digital platforms (Chagas et al. 2022), as well as more visible (von Bülow and Dias 2019). What accounts for this shift? Three key factors appear to have driven this change: (1) the media spotlighted the issue, (2) pro-abortion rights activists organized their efforts, and (3) the framing of the debate around Bill 1904/2024 evolved, introducing new dimensions to the conversation.

A broad mobilization of interest groups – including collectives, activist organizations, and social movements – emerged after the session, this time more heavily concentrated on the left than the right. In the days that followed, demonstrations were held in various cities across the country[12], bringing together legal and medical associations, feminist movements, and organizations focused on human rights and child welfare. The Brazilian Bar Association (OAB) voiced concern over the bill[13], while the NGO Conectas, along with more than twenty

---

[12] See at: https://g1.globo.com/sp/sao-paulo/noticia/2024/06/15/manifestantes-protestam-contra-pl-que-equipara-aborto-a-homicidio-e-interditam-avenida-paulista.ghtml. Retrieved on: March 13, 2024.

[13] See at: https://g1.globo.com/sp/sao-paulo/noticia/2024/06/14/presidente-da-oab-sp-diz-que-pl-do-aborto-remonta-a-leis-da-idade-media-e-intensifica-um-sistema-de-proibicao-socialmente-injusto.ghtml. Retrieved on: March 13, 2024.

other organizations, appealed to the United Nations for intervention[14]. Among these groups were even religious women's organizations – both Catholic and Evangelical – such as the "Frente de Mulheres de Fé," which issued a manifesto opposing the bill, despite the explicit support from several lawmakers affiliated with the Evangelical Parliamentary Front (FPE). Several medical associations also voiced their concerns, including the Feminist Network of Gynecologists and Obstetricians and the Medical Network for the Right to Decide (Global Doctors for Choice–Brazil). They drew attention to the health risks of pregnancy in children and to the fact that pregnancies resulting from rape are often not detected until after 22 weeks. This framing – focused on women's health – was also a central element in the abortion debate in Argentina (Brown 2020).

There was also significant mobilization by the *Early Childhood Network[15]*, an organization that advocates for children's rights, as well as strong involvement from the feminist movement – represented by organizations such as the Center for Reproductive Rights, the Feminist Center for Studies and Advisory Services (CFEMEA), and the National Front Against the Criminalization of Women and for the Legalization of Abortion. Additionally, the Brazilian Women Scientists Network mobilized support via Instagram to encourage voting in the survey analyzed in this study. The content published on its Instagram account exemplifies an institutional intervention aimed at fostering engagement: 'Join the protests being organized across Brazil against the bill and vote to disagree with the proposal on the Chamber's website.[16]. Research institutions such as the Oswaldo Cruz Foundation[17] and academic journals in gender studies, such as *Cadernos Pagu[18]*, also voiced their opposition to the bill. Several Brazilian celebrities, including Luciano Huck, Daniela Mercury, and Luana Piovani, publicly expressed their views on the bill through their personal social media accounts, with the majority opposing it. This broad group of organizations shows that not only feminist entities were involved in the actions carried out during the period. However, it is important to highlight the current capillarity of the feminist movement in Brazil, which operates at multiple levels — both local and national. It is also worth noting the relevance of these groups' activities, often consolidated in digital environments, organized as collectives, and guided by an intersectional perspective (Perez and Ricoldi 2023) — key elements for understanding the breadth and diversity of their actions.

The data analysis clearly shows this broad mobilization, revealing two distinct sets of arguments. The discourse from the pro-bill group exhibited a clear consistency, largely grounded in religious perspectives that have historically shaped the abortion debate in Brazil (Mariano and Biroli 2017). In contrast, the opposition's discourses – as shown in Graphs 4 and 5 – reflected the diversity of the groups involved. These arguments unite different types of commenters opposing the bill, mobilized from various fronts, including collectives focused on violence against women, medical professionals, and researchers from health and law disciplines, among others. It is important to emphasize that various actions were mobilized through the digital environment, highlighting the use of platforms as spaces of resistance and activism. However, there is clearly a combined online and offline action, especially with protests[19] and coverage by traditional media.

---

[14] See at: https://www.conectas.org/noticias/ongs-fazem-apelo-urgente-a-onu-contra-projeto-de-lei-que-equipara-aborto-legal-a-homicidio/. Retrieved on: March 13, 2024.

[15] See at: https://www.facebook.com/redenacional.primeirainfancia/photos/fiocruz-divulga-nota-de-posicionamento-contra-pl-do-aborto-nota-da-fiocruz-se-po/873299671505398/?_rdr/. Retrieved on: March 13, 2024.

[16] See at: https://www.instagram.com/p/C8NDEcYOPnA/. Retrieved on: March 13, 2024.

[17] See at: https://agencia.fiocruz.br/sites/agencia.fiocruz.br/files/u91/nota_pl1904.pdf. Retrieved on: March 13, 2024.

[18] See at: https://www.scielo.br/j/cpa/a/yt7gBVDHCXgFgxghBpZkkvn/?lang=pt. Retrieved on: March 13, 2024.

[19] See at: https://agenciabrasil.ebc.com.br/direitos-humanos/noticia/2024-06/manifestantes-vao-as-ruas-contra-projeto-que-equipara-aborto-homicidio-0. Retrieved on: September 16, 2025.

The second factor is the extensive coverage by traditional media, which brought the issue to the forefront of public debate. For example, *Folha de S. Paulo* published over 40 articles on Bill 1904/2024, with the first reports appearing on June 13, 2024. The newspaper *O Estado de S. Paulo* also published its first article the day after the session, followed by more than 20 additional pieces by early July[20]. In the following days, the issue received widespread coverage from both alternative media and major outlets such as CNN, BBC, Exame, UOL, Band, *Correio Braziliense*, and *Terra*, among others. This is a crucial factor because, despite the anti-abortion stance of many media outlets in 2010, when the issue first surfaced in electoral campaigns, the press has historically been more open to discussing the topic (Miguel 2012). In Belin and Rizzotto's (2021) research, they found that media coverage, while episodic, leaned toward supporting the need for public debate on the issue.

Finally, the lexical and semantic analyses confirm a shift in the framing of the debate – from "abortion" to "rape", highlighting the networked actions of distinct organized groups and the final outcome of what can be understood as "digital resistance" (Russell 2005). On YouTube, during the congressional session, commenters exhibited a high level of coordination, with frequent use of hashtags by both sides. Supporters of the bill used terms such as "free will," and "infanticide," while opponents emphasized words like "mother," "rape," "abuse," and "victim." In the written justifications, supporters continued to stress these terms. The most significant difference was in the distribution of participation: the pro-bill cluster comprised just 14.5% of responses, while the opposing clusters made up 85.5%.

The final part of the analysis, based on term frequency scores from the similarity trees, further confirms that the lexicon used by supporters of the bill includes terms such as "unborn lives matter," "homicide from 22 weeks," "innocent babies' lives," and "say no to baby killers" – arguments that have long been central to conservative discourse on the issue. On the opposing side, terms like "a child is not a mother," "a rapist is not a father," "they're treating rapists as victims," and "criminalizing women who are victims is a step backward" highlight a (re)framing of the debate, shifting the focus toward sexual violence and women's rights.

The novel framing – "*a child is not a mother*" – marks a significant shift in the argument, recasting the issue not merely as rape, but specifically as child rape. This perspective underscores the emergence of a broad coalition that brought together feminist movements, advocates for children's rights, and medical professionals advocating from a public health perspective. As a result, the bill began to be viewed not just through the lens of abortion, but as a measure that punishes survivors of rape while protecting their rapists – who, notably, would face relatively lenient sentences. Additionally, it's important to consider that lawmakers may have taken public opinion into account. Given that the proposal was eventually "shelved" following backlash[21], the results of the Chamber of Deputies' poll likely reflected the pressure legislators felt from their constituents.

While far-right and conservative groups have often dominated public debates on controversial issues, there are instances where progressive mobilization has been highly effective. Understanding the dynamics of these debates – and how arguments are strategically structured – is crucial. In this case, abortion is a particularly significant issue for conservative groups, but it also intersects with a range of concerns championed by feminist movements, public health advocates, and legal experts, which organize themselves even in an unfavorable context and on platforms that are often opaque in the way they manage the flow of information (Duffy and Meisner 2022). These progressive groups were able to effectively shift the focus away from the term "abortion" – which remains highly contentious in Brazilian public opinion – and instead highlighted other dimensions that resonate more with public sentiment in Brazil.

---

[20] Folha de S. Paulo and O Estado de S. Paulo are the two main quality papers with national circulation.

[21] As of March 2025, when this article was finalized, the bill has not progressed since August 2024. See at: https://www.camara.leg.br/proposicoesWeb/fichadetramitacao?idProposicao=2434493. Retrieved on: March 13, 2024.

About the limitations of this study, two aspects are noteworthy. First, the analysis focuses on a specific period of the abortion debate in Brazil, without accounting for discussions arising from other initiatives led by the conservative far-right, such as PEC 164/2012 and PL 1305/2025. Second, the study does not consider other arenas of debate, including messaging applications and social media platforms, which would encompass non-institutionalized spaces.

7. Conclusions

The analysis of the debate surrounding Bill 1904/2024 in Brazil, particularly within online public spaces hosted by the Chamber of Deputies, reveals significant findings. The bill garnered considerable attention on both YouTube and the Chamber's online survey, with the latter becoming the most responded-to poll in the preceding six months. Although these platforms could have been dominated and co-opted by conservative groups, this did not occur. Instead, noticeable shifts in the debate emerged over time, evidencing the concepts of digital resistance and processes characterized by communicative resilience. This resilience is reflected in various strategies, including discourse framing, alliance-building, and the amplification of dissenting perspectives.

Even in a context where social media is widely used and various intermediaries shape public debate, traditional media played a pivotal role in this case. Historically, the mainstream media in Brazil has leaned more progressive on abortion (Miguel 2012; Belin and Rizzotto 2021), contributing to the public discussion beyond the arguments pushed by conservative groups online and in their public statements. Despite the expertise and strategic use of platforms by conservative groups (Chagas et al. 2022; von Bülow and Dias 2019; Campos-Domínguez et al. 2021), these groups do not always dominate the discussions on topics that matter to them. In this case, a topic initially introduced by religious conservatives was reframed as it gained public visibility, leading to a loss of control over the discourse by these groups. Our study, therefore, focuses on understanding a situation in which the debate was not led or controlled by conservative forces.

We must also underscore the vital role of organized civil society – including feminist movements, child advocacy groups, and medical and scientific associations – which, alongside the media, played a key part in reshaping public discourse. Our data reveals a strategic, coordinated effort that helped shift the debate in favor of progressive causes, effectively countering the dominance of conservative groups. Ultimately, the new framings that emerged proved crucial for mobilizing public engagement in complex environment, with an emphasis on actions that demonstrate the connective logics of digital media (Bennet and Segerberg 2012), especially when the issues at hand typically face low levels of public support. By reframing the bill as a measure that protects rapists and endangers abused children, opponents successfully redirected the debate, distancing it from the long-standing rhetoric of religious lawmakers – particularly the "baby murder" trope (Miguel 2012). While this alone does not signal a broader shift in Brazilian public opinion on abortion, especially given that our analysis focuses on a single event, it does suggest a clear public rejection of any legal change perceived to favor perpetrators of sexual violence over the rights and safety of women who have been raped.

Our findings from the Brazilian case point to signs of resilience and a reassertion of leadership by organized civil society, considering that these actors reorganized their actions in response to the unfavorable context. The observed actions are directly related to the concepts of digital resistance (Tufekci 2014) and connective action (Bennett and Segerberg 2012), within a framework dominated by conservative forces. They also underscore the prominent role of key institutions, particularly traditional media and social movements, in shaping the public debate. Moreover, the collective mobilization strategies and discursive organization of civil society

demonstrate how online platforms can be effectively harnessed to support civic engagement, rather than solely serving anti-democratic agendas. Future research emerging from these findings could explore the potential for large-scale mobilization efforts that combine offline actions, media visibility, and strategies to bring key issues into the public spotlight.

Acknowledgements/Funding

References

Abers R. (2021), Institutions, networks and activism inside the State: women's health and environmental policy in Brazil, *Critical Policy Studies*, *15*(3): 330-349. https://doi.org/10.1080/19460171.2020.1860782

Abers R., F. Rossi, and M. von Bülow (2021), State–society relations in uncertain times: Social movement strategies, ideational contestation and the pandemic in Brazil and Argentina, *International Political Science Review*, *42*(3): 333-349. https://doi.org/10.1177/0192512121993713

Alves M. (2022), ¿Desorden de visibilidad? Un análisis comparativo entre las menciones en la prensa tradicional y la difusión digital, *Razón Y Palabra*, 26(113). https://doi.org/10.26807/rp.v26i113.1899

Anthony, K. E., Venette, S. J., Pyle, A. S., Boatwright, B. C., and Reif-Stice, C. E. (2019), The role of social media in enhancing risk communication and promoting community resilience in the midst of a disaster. In *Risk communication and community resilience*, New Jersey: Routledge.

Barsted L. L. (2009), O movimento das mulheres e o debate sobre o aborto, in: Rocha M. I. B., R. M. Barbosa (orgs.), *Aborto no Brasil e países do Cone Sul: panorama da situação e dos estudos acadêmicos*, Campinas: Núcleo de Estudos de População (Nepo/Unicamp).

Barranquero A., S. Morais (2021), Hate speech as a media practice: The portray of haters and polarization in The Internet Warriors. In *Hate Speech and Polarization in Participatory Society* (pp. 193-204), New Jersey: Routledge.

Belin L., C. Rizzotto (2021), Menos Estigma, Pouco Aprofundamento: Uma Análise de Enquadramento Noticioso sobre o Direito ao Aborto, *Eco-Pós*, 24(1): 159–187. https://doi.org/10.29146/ecopos.v24i1.27609

Belin L., C. Rizzotto, C. (2025), Buy clandestine misoprostol, get feminist advice for free: powerful narratives in women's digital counterpublics on reproductive rights in South America, *Third World Quarterly*, 1–20. https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2025.2478572

Bennett W. L., A. Segerberg (2012), The logic of connective action, *Information, Communication & Society*, 15(5), 739–768. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118x.2012.670661

Bereni L. (2021), The women's cause in a field: rethinking the architecture of collective protest in the era of movement institutionalization, *Social Movement Studies,* 20(2): 208-223. https://doi.org/10.1080/14742837.2019.1679107

Birchall C., S. Coleman (2023), Creating spaces for online deliberation. *In Handbook of digital politics* (pp. 137-180), United Kingdom: Edward Elgar Publishing.

Biroli, F. (2016), *Aborto em debate na Câmara dos Deputados,* CFEMEA, IPAS e Observatório de Sexualidade e Política.

Bitencourt S., M. Weber (2015), Eleições, aborto e temas controversos: o ativismo político-midiático de grupos religiosos e o silenciamento do governo, *Contemporanea*, 13(2): 434-452.

Brandão E., C. Cabral (2019), Sexual and reproductive rights under attack: the advance of political and moral conservatism in Brazil, *Sexual and Reproductive Health Matters*, 27(2): 76–86. https://doi.org/10.1080/26410397.2019.1669338

Brown J. (2020), Del margen al centro: De la construcción del aborto como un problema social al aborto como un derecho (1983-2018), *Cuestiones de sociología*, 22. https://doi.org/10.24215/23468904e095

Buzzanell P. M., J. B. Houston (2018). Communication and resilience: Multilevel applications and insights – A Journal of Applied Communication Research forum, *Journal of Applied Communication Research*. https://doi.org/10.1080/00909882.2017.1412086

Buzzanell P. M. (2021), Designing feminist resilience. In Eckert S., I. Bachmann (Eds.), *Reflections on feminist communication and media scholarship: Theory, method, impact* (pp. 43–58). Routledge.

Caiani M., L. Parenti (2016), *European and American extreme right groups and the Internet*, London: Routledge.

Calvo, D., M. Iranzo-Cabrera, J. Morales-i-Gras, and R. Tarullo (2025). The club of the discontents: motivational roots, polarise narratives, and key actors of Spanish-speaking anti-abortion communities on Twitter. *Humanities and Social Sciences Communications*, 12(1): 1-10.

Campos-Domínguez E., C. Penteado, and E. Cervi (2021), Polarización en Twitter. El caso de Brasil a través de cinco conflictos políticos, *Cultura, Lenguaje Y Representación*, 26: 127–147. https://doi.org/10.6035/clr.5837

Carone R. (2018), A atuação do movimento feminista no Legislativo Federal: caso da Lei Maria da Penha, *Lua Nova: Revista de Cultura e Política*, (105): 181-216. https://doi.org/10.1590/0102-181216/105

Chadwick A. (2017), *The hybrid media system: Politics and power*, Oxford: University Press.

Chagas V., R. Carreiro, N. Santos, and G. Popolin (2022), Far-Right Digital Activism in Polarized Contexts: A Comparative Analysis of Engagement in Hashtag Wars, *Media and Communication*, 10(4): 42-55. https://doi.org/10.17645/mac.v10i4.5622

Choucair, T., R. Maia (2024), Different dimensions of communicative exchanges in online political talk: Measuring reciprocity through structures, behaviors, and discourses, *International Journal of Communication*, 18: 1582-1610.

Duffy, B. E., C. Meisner. (2022), Platform governance at the margins: Social media creators' experiences with algorithmic (in)visibility, *Media, Culture & Society,* 45(2): 285-304. https://doi.org/10.1177/01634437221111923

Esau K., D. Friess, and C. Eilders (2017), Design matters! An empirical analysis of online deliberation on different news platforms, *Policy and Internet,* 9(3): 321-342. https://doi.org/10.1002/poi3.154

Fuks M., P. Marques (2022), Polarização e contexto: medindo e explicando a polarização política no Brasil. *Opinião Pública,* 28(3): 560-593. https://doi.org/10.1590/1807-01912022283560

Houston, J. B., P. M. Buzzanell (2020), Communication and resilience: Introduction to the Journal of Applied Communication Research special issue, *Journal of Applied Communication Research,* 48(1): 1–4. https://doi.org/10.1080/00909882.2020.1711956

Hunter J. (1991), *Culture Wars: The Struggle To Define America*, New York: Basic Books.

Keller F.B., D. Schoch, S. Stier, and J. Yang (2019), Political astroturfing on Twitter: how to coordinate a disinformation campaign, *Political Communication*, 63(2): 1–25. https://doi.org/10.31235/osf.io/a5gk6

King J., J. A. Kam, M. Cornejo, and R. Mendez Murillo (2023), Enacting resilience at multiple levels during the COVID-19 pandemic: exploring communication theory of resilience for U.S. undocumented college

students, *Journal of Applied Communication Research*, 51(5): 539–558. https://doi.org/10.1080/00909882.2023.2178855

López J. A. (2020), Aborto, contramovilización y estrategias de comunicación contra la expansión de derechos en México, *Revista interdisciplinaria de estudios de género de El Colegio de México*, *6*. https://doi.org/10.24201/reg.v6i0.621

Luna N. (2014), Aborto no Congresso Nacional: o enfrentamento de atores religiosos e feministas em um Estado laico, *Revista Brasileira de Ciência Política*, (14): 83-109. https://doi.org/10.1590/0103-335220141404

Magallanes-Blanco, C., E. Treré (2019), Contemporary social movements and digital media resistance in Latin America. In J. P. Andina-Díaz (Ed.), *Media cultures in Latin America* (pp. 18–34). Routledge.

Maia R., P. Rossini, V. Oliveira, and A. Oliveira (2015), Sobre a importância de examinar diferentes ambientes online em estudos de deliberação, *Opinião pública*, 21: 490-513. https://doi.org/10.1590/1807-01912015212490

Mariano R., F. Biroli (2017), O debate sobre aborto na Câmara dos Deputados (1991-2014): posições e vozes das mulheres parlamentares, *Cadernos Pagu*, 50: e175013. https://doi.org/10.1590/18094449201700500013

Mendes K., J. Ringrose, and J. Keller (2019), *Digital feminist activism: Girls and women fight back against rape culture*, Oxford: University Press.

Miguel L. F. (2012), Aborto e democracia, *Estudos Feministas*, 20: 657-672. https://doi.org/10.1590/s0104-026x2012000300004

Miguel L. F., F. Biroli, and R. Mariano (2017), O direito ao aborto no debate legislativo brasileiro: a ofensiva conservadora na Câmara dos Deputados, *Opinião Pública*, 23(1): 230-260. https://doi.org/10.1590/1807-01912017231230

Mudde C. (2019), *The far-right today,* New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons.

Perez, O. C., A. M. Ricoldi (2023), A quarta onda feminista no Brasil, *Revista Estudos Feministas*, 31: e83260. https://doi.org/10.1590/1806-9584-2023v31n383260

Recuero R., F. Soares, and G. Zago (2021), Polarization, Hyperpartisanship, and Echo Chambers: How the disinformation about COVID-19 circulates on Twiter, *Contracampo,* 40(1): 1-16. https://doi.org/10.22409/contracampo.v40i1.45611

Rega R., R. Marchetti (2021), The strategic use of incivility in contemporary politics. The case of the 2018 Italian general election on Facebook, *The Communication Review*, 24(2): 107-132. https://doi.org/10.1080/10714421.2021.1938464

Rocha, C. (2020), Cristianismo ou conservadorismo? O caso do movimento anti-aborto no Brasil, *Revista TOMO*, (36): 43-77. https://doi.org/10.21669/tomo.vi36.12777

Rovira-Sancho, G., J. Morales-i-Gras (2023), Femitags in the networks and in the streets: 50 hashtags for feminist activism in Latin America, *Profesional de la información*, *32*(3). https://doi.org/10.3145/epi.2023.may.19

Russell, A. (2005), Editorial: exploring digital resistance, *New Media & Society*, 7(4): 513-515. https://doi.org/10.1177/1461444805054115

Sinderski R. (2020), *Conversação política online sobre a redução da maioridade penal: uma análise comparativa das fanpages Quebrando o Tabu, Movimento Brasil Livre e Senado Federal entre 2015 e 2018,* Master Thesis, Universidade Federal do Paraná, Curitiba.

Souza L. P. (2021), *A articulação dos movimentos sociais de direita pela pauta do aborto no legislativo brasileiro*, PhD Thesis, Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte.

Tadvald M. (2015), A reinvenção do conservadorismo: os evangélicos e as eleições federais de 2014. *Debates do NER,* 16(27): 259-288. https://doi.org/10.22456/1982-8136.56482

Tufekci Z. (2014), The medium and the movement: Digital tools, social movement politics, and the end of the free rider problem. *Policy & Internet*, 6(2): 202–208. https://doi.org/10.1002/1944-2866.poi362

Treré, E., A. Kaun (2021), Digital media activism: A situated, historical, and ecological approach beyond the technological sublime. In Balbi G., N. Ribeiro, V. Schafer, and C. Schwarzenegger (Eds.), *Digital Roots: Historicizing Media and Communication Concepts of the Digital Age* (pp. 193-208). De Gruyter Oldenbourg.

Udupa S. (2021), *Digital technology and extreme speech: Approaches to counter online hate*. Research Paper for the United Nations Peacekeeping Technology Strategy.

Vachhani S. (2024), Networked feminism in a digital age—mobilizing vulnerability and reconfiguring feminist politics in digital activism, *Gender, Work & Organization*, *31*(3): 1031-1048. https://doi.org/10.1111/gwao.13097

Van Breda, A. D. (2018), A critical review of resilience theory and its relevance for social work, *Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk*, 54(1): 1–18. https://doi.org/10.15270/54-1-611

von Bülow M., T. Dias (2019), O ativismo de hashtags contra e a favor do impeachment de Dilma Rousseff, *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais,* (120): 5-32. https://doi.org/10.4000/rccs.9438

Zaremberg G., D. Almeida (2022), *Feminisms in Latin America: pro-choice nested networks in Mexico and Brazil,* Cambridge: University Press.

Zaremberg G., A. Guzmán-Lucero (2019), Aborto, movimientos y femocracias: un análisis relacional, *Revista mexicana de sociología,* 81(1): 145-177. https://doi.org/10.22201/iis.01882503p.2019.1.57830

Authors' Information:

Michele Goulart Massuchin is Professor of Communication at the Federal University of Paraná (UFPR, Brazil) and Research Productivity Fellow at the National Council for Scientific and Technological Development (CNPq, Brazil). Vice-Coordinator of the Research Group on Political Communication and Public Opinion (CPOP) and Associate Researcher at the National Institute of Science and Technology on Informational Disputes and Sovereignties (INCT-DSI). Visiting researcher at the University of Valladolid (2014–2015), the University of Valencia (2024-2025), and the Complutense University of Madrid (2025-2026).

Emerson Urizzi Cervi is Professor of Political Science at the Federal University of Paraná (UFPR, Brazil) and Research Productivity Fellow at the National Council for Scientific and Technological Development (CNPq, Brazil). Coordinator of the Research Group on Political Communication and Public Opinion (CPOP) and Associate Researcher at the National Institute of Science and Technology on Digital Democracy (INCT-DD).