

**THE LEGACY OF MARIELLE FRANCO IN THE POLITICAL EDUCATION OF  
BLACK WOMEN**

***O LEGADO DE MARIELLE FRANCO NA FORMAÇÃO POLÍTICA DE MULHERES  
NEGRAS***

***EL LEGADO DE MARIELLE FRANCO EN LA EDUCACIÓN POLÍTICA DE LAS  
MUJERES NEGRAS***



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**ABSTRACT:** Sociologist Marielle Franco was elected councilwoman in Rio de Janeiro in 2016, receiving 46,502 votes, placing her in the fifth position among the most-voted candidates. She presented herself as a Black woman, mother, daughter, sister, wife, and hailing from the Maré favela. The issue of race was present in her campaign and her proposed projects during her term as councilwoman. Intersectionality and Black feminism offer an approach in which race, gender, and class are inseparable. It is with this perspective that this article is structured. The councilwoman was assassinated in 2018, along with her driver Anderson Gomes, in a shooting attack that remains unresolved to this day. The Instituto Marielle Franco was created after her death to fight for justice, preserve her memory, disseminate her legacy, and strengthen initiatives inspired by Marielle. The Anti-Racist Platform in Elections (PANE), created for the 2020 elections to encourage the participation of Black women in decision-making spaces, and the "Estamos Prontas" Movement, developed in conjunction with the Mulheres Negras Decidem Movement, aiming to increase the political representation of Black women, LGBTQIA+ individuals, and marginalized communities acting as collective leaders throughout Brazil, are proposals that will be analyzed to assess Marielle's legacy in the political empowerment of Black women. In this analysis, we will also refer to authors such as Lélia Gonzalez, Angela Davis, Bell Hooks, Djamila Ribeiro, Sueli Carneiro, Patricia Hill Collins, and Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw, among others, through their theoretical contributions.

**KEYWORDS:** Marielle Franco. Black Feminism. Intersectionality. Women in Politics.

**RESUMO:** A socióloga Marielle Franco foi eleita vereadora no Rio de Janeiro em 2016, obtendo 46.502 votos, o que a colocou na quinta posição entre os candidatos mais votados naquela eleição. Ela se apresentava como uma mulher negra, mãe, filha, irmã, esposa e proveniente da favela da Maré. A questão racial esteve presente na sua campanha, assim como nas suas propostas de projetos, durante o exercício do mandato de vereadora. A interseccionalidade e o feminismo negro propõem uma abordagem na qual raça, gênero e classe são considerados indissociáveis. É com essa perspectiva que o presente artigo é estruturado. A vereadora foi assassinada em 2018, juntamente com seu motorista Anderson Gomes, em um atentado a tiros que, até hoje, permanece sem esclarecimento. O Instituto Marielle Franco foi criado após a sua morte, para lutar por justiça, preservar sua memória, difundir seu legado e fortalecer iniciativas inspiradas por Marielle. A Plataforma Antirracista nas Eleições (PANE), criada para as eleições de 2020 com o objetivo de incentivar a participação de mulheres negras nos espaços de tomada de decisão, e o Movimento Estamos Prontas, criado em conjunto com o Movimento Mulheres Negras Decidem, visando aumentar a representação política de mulheres negras, LGBTQIA+ e periféricas que atuam como líderes coletivas em todo o Brasil, são propostas que serão analisadas para analisar o legado de Marielle na formação política das mulheres negras. Nessa análise, também faremos referência a autoras como Lélia Gonzalez, Angela Davis, Bell Hooks, Djamila Ribeiro, Sueli Carneiro, Patricia Hills Collins, Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw, entre outras, por meio de suas contribuições teóricas.

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** Marielle Franco. Feminismo Negro. Interseccionalidade. Mulheres na Política.

**RESUMEN:** *La socióloga Marielle Franco fue elegida concejala en Río de Janeiro en 2016 con 46,502 votos, lo que la convirtió en la quinta candidata más votada en esa elección. Se presentaba como "mujer, negra, madre, hija, hermana, esposa y criada en la favela de Maré". La cuestión racial permeó su campaña, así como sus propuestas de proyectos, ya actuando como concejala. Raza, género y clase vistos como indisociables como propuesto por la interseccionalidad y por el feminismo negro. Es con esa mirada que el presente artículo se estructura. La concejala fue asesinada en 2018, junto con su conductor Anderson Gomes, en un atentado a tiros, hasta hoy sin esclarecimiento. Después de su muerte, se creó el Instituto Marielle Franco "para luchar por la justicia, defender la memoria, difundir el legado y regar las semillas de Marielle". Y es a través de propuestas del Instituto como la Plataforma Antirracista en las Elecciones (PANE), creada para las elecciones de 2020 con el objetivo de promover la participación de mujeres negras en los espacios de decisión, y el Movimiento Estamos Prontas, creado en colaboración entre el Instituto Marielle Franco y el Movimiento Mulheres Negras Decidem, cuyo objetivo es ampliar la representación política institucional de mujeres negras, LGBTQIA+ y periféricas que actúan como liderazgos colectivos en todo Brasil, que pretendemos analizar el llamado legado de Marielle en la formación política de mujeres negras, recurriendo también a la teoría de autoras como Lélia Gonzalez, Angela Davis, Bell Hooks, Djamila Ribeiro, Sueli Carneiro, Patricia Hills Collins, Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw, entre otras.*

**PALABRAS CLAVE:** *Marielle Franco. Feminismo Negro. Interseccionalidad. Mujeres en la Política.*

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## 1. Introduction

More than just a name associated with political spheres, Marielle Franco became a symbol of the causes she advocated for, expressed in the Agenda Marielle Franco systematized by the Institute that bears her name. Additionally, she significantly represented Black women in politics. She was elected as a councilwoman for the Socialism and Liberty Party (PSOL) in Rio de Janeiro in 2016, receiving 46,502 votes, placing her as the fifth most-voted candidate in that election. She presented herself as a "woman, Black, mother, daughter, sister, wife, and product of the Maré favela". The issue of race permeated her campaign and her proposed projects, demonstrating her work as a councilwoman. During Marielle's campaign, the concepts of race, gender, and class were inseparable, and it is through the lens of intersectional feminism we propose the analysis of her legacy in this article.

On March 14, 2018, Marielle and her driver Anderson Gomes were shot and killed in an ambush that has yet to be clarified. After her assassination, the Instituto Marielle Franco was created to "inspire, connect, and empower Black women, LGBTQIA+ individuals, and those from marginalized communities to continue moving the structures of society for a more just and equal world" (INSTITUTO MARIELLE FRANCO, [21--], our translation).

As highlighted on the Institute's website, the pillars of their actions are fighting for justice, defending memory, multiplying the legacy, and nurturing seeds. The Institute was established to promote initiatives that aim to include Black women, marginalized communities, and LGBTQIA+ individuals in politics through educational actions based on Marielle Franco's political and professional trajectory, with the objective of preserving her legacy.

The Institute promotes several initiatives, including the release of a comic book that portrays Marielle Franco's life, available for free download on their website; "Março por Marielle e Anderson", a month dedicated to remembering their murder, with various activities aimed at bringing visibility to the unsolved crime; the "Mapa dos Coletivos", a list that gathers organizations inspired by Marielle, aiming to strengthen these initiatives; the aforementioned "Agenda Marielle Franco"; the "Plataforma Antirracista nas Eleições" (PANE), created for the 2020 elections, aiming to promote the participation of Black women in decision-making spaces; and the *Estamos Prontas* Movement<sup>2</sup>, a partnership between the Instituto Marielle Franco and the Movimento Mulheres Negras Decidem<sup>3</sup>, which will expand the institutional political representation of Black women, LGBTQIA+ individuals, and those from marginalized communities who act as collective leaders throughout Brazil. For this article, we will focus on the Agenda Marielle Franco.

It is essential to briefly contextualize the underrepresentation of black women in politics and its implications in Marielle's politics.

## **2. Underrepresentation of Women, Particularly Black Women, in Brazilian Politics**

As Manon Tremblay (2008) pointed out, the electoral system in each country can be more or less conducive to female candidacies. However, secondary variables also influence women's low representation, such as political, socioeconomic, and cultural aspects. In other words, according to the author, the lack of female representation is the result of multiple factors with different origins, all of which are rooted in the construction and maintenance of patriarchal discourse in politics.

Pateman (1993) argues that, in studies on social contracts, except for Hobbes, classical theorists categorize women as subordinate, stating that they do not possess the same capacities

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<sup>2</sup> The Movimento *Estamos Prontas* is a campaign created to encourage and empower women to occupy more spaces in politics and society.

<sup>3</sup> The Movimento *Mulheres Negras Decidem* is an initiative created by Brazilian black women to promote the political participation and empowerment of black women in society.

as "individuals" (men). Women are not considered participants in the contract; they are treated as objects within it.

The contract formula legitimizes interpersonal relationships of subordination because it is based on possessive individualism. Women or workers may relinquish a significant portion of their autonomy in exchange for a salary or the protection of a husband because it is believed that they are "owners of themselves" and, therefore, can alienate rights just as external properties are alienated. There are two points of criticism here. First, such decisions, seen as "free", result from material and symbolic impositions and the absence of alternatives. It is no coincidence that capitalism systematically blocked all forms that non-owners had to ensure their subsistence, from the enclosure of communal lands, still in the early modern era, to force them into wage labor. Or that in societies marked by male domination, unmarried women are prevented from enjoying their freedom by law or custom (MIGUEL, 2017, p. 5).

For a more accurate understanding, we adopt the definition stipulated by the Statute of Racial Equality in calculating the coefficient of black women, which identifies black people as those who self-declare as black or mixed race according to the color or race criteria used by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), or who adopt a similar self-definition (BRASIL, 2010).

Despite black women constituting the largest demographic group in Brazil (28%), they are severely underrepresented in politics and other positions of power. According to data from PNAD 2019, black women earn the equivalent of 44% of the salary of a white man. Additionally, this group represents 64.2% of the unemployed workforce in Brazil currently.

In the 2020 elections, women accounted for only 16% of elected councilors. Of these, only 6.3% were black. Some cities, such as Curitiba (PR), Vitória (ES), and Goiânia (MG), elected black women as councilors for the first time in their history: Carol Dartora (PT), Camila Valadão (PSOL), and Aline Flausino (PCdoB), respectively (CÂMARA DOS DEPUTADOS, 2020).

Even when already involved in formal party politics, black women still face resistance to participating in leadership positions. Often, they occupy lower-level positions and are not given opportunities to take on prominent roles. Additionally, they experience moral and sexual harassment and do not receive campaign funding equivalent to male candidates (PANKE, 2016).

This disparity highlights the importance of affirmative measures, such as quotas, providing a minimum gender reserve for female candidates. In 2020, the Supreme Federal Court (STF) ruled that political parties should allocate electoral fund resources proportionally

between male and female candidates, taking into account racial considerations as well. This is another step towards ensuring the participation of black women in the Brazilian democratic process.

The underrepresentation of women in politics is a paradox considering the electoral data, as 52.65% of voters in Brazil are women (BRASIL, 2022a). In addition to the issue of representation, concerns related to gender-based violence in the political sphere are also alarming.

As stipulated in Article 326-B of the Electoral Code, the electoral crime of political gender-based violence is characterized by harassment, embarrassment, humiliation, persecution, or threats, both online and offline, against female candidates or elected officials to impede or hinder their electoral campaign or elected mandate, showing disregard or discrimination based on their gender, color, race, or ethnicity (BRASIL, 2022b, our translation).

### **3. Intersectional Feminism**

The political proposals and legacy of Marielle Franco cannot be analyzed without considering the intersection of gender, race, and class. For this reason, we must not overlook the importance of intersectionality, a term introduced by American researcher Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1989.

Especially during the so-called Second Wave of Feminism, which began with women's activism in the 1960s in the United States, Black intellectuals began to claim greater space in the debates, which white women mostly led. One of the books considered precursors to the modern feminist movement, "The Feminine Mystique", addresses the role of women in society from the perspective of middle-class American housewives. However, Hooks (2020) argues that this book simply erased from history the women who suffer from violence and economic oppression, namely non-white women, as proposed by US society's ethnic-racial configuration.

The example cited by Hooks serves as a warning: we cannot treat the feminist movement as a field of homogeneous discourses and experiences. We must understand that we are dealing with *different feminisms*, where women's voices must be considered, precisely, to avoid invisibility, which is one of the themes of this article. With middle-class white women taking the lead in the Second Wave of Feminism, Black women were not included in the debate on gender discrimination, further affecting a group historically excluded from spaces traditionally reserved for economic and intellectual elites.



Racism constantly emerges in the writings of white feminists, which only reinforces white supremacy and denies women the possibility of politically overcoming racial and ethnic limitations. It was precisely because past feminism refused to see and combat racial hierarchies that the connection between race and social class was hindered (HOOKS, 2020, p. 30, our translation).

Therefore, by focusing on the invisibility of Black women in politics and the theoretical systematization of Black feminism, it becomes essential to amplify the voices of women who experience this exclusion firsthand. It is through the thinking of Black feminists that concepts like intersectionality, for example, emerge. This concept originated in the work of American intellectual Kimberlé Crenshaw and sought to highlight the issues of gender and race that, as Hooks has already emphasized, were not addressed in the feminist theory systematized by white women.

Intersectionality is a conceptualization of the problem that aims to capture the structural and dynamic consequences of the interaction between two or more axes of subordination. It specifically addresses how racism, patriarchy, class oppression, and other discriminatory systems create fundamental inequalities that structure the relative positions of women, races, ethnicities, classes, and others. Furthermore, intersectionality addresses how specific actions and policies generate oppressions that flow along these axes, constituting dynamic or active aspects of disempowerment. (CRENSHAW, 2002, p. 177, our translation).

Another relevant concept within Black feminism is "speaking from a specific position". The idea of speaking from a specific position in communication considers the social location of groups for discourse analysis. According to Amaral (2005), the venue of speech in popular media differs from that of reference newspapers, which is reflected in their forms of expression.

In addition to the field of Communication, Ribeiro (2017) highlights that there needs to be a consensus regarding the epistemology of this concept. Although the term's origin is imprecise, the author suggests its creation may have emerged from discussions on diversity, critical racial theory, and decolonial thought.

In one of the most important works of Black feminism, Collins (2019) discusses what has become known as the *feminist standpoint*. According to the author, African-American women, despite their differences in age, sexual orientation, region, and religion, constitute a group exposed to various forms of exclusion concerning housing, employment opportunities, education, and even treatment in the public sphere. These challenges result in "patterns of experience for individuals who comprise the group" (COLLINS, 2019, p. 85, our translation).

#### 4. The Legacy of Marielle Franco

According to the Agenda Marielle Franco of 2020<sup>4</sup>, 81 vereadores eleitos em 54 municípios de diferentes regiões do Brasil comprometeram-se integralmente com as pautas propostas pela iniciativa.

Amongst these options, we selected Black women for a brief analysis of the influence of Marielle's legacy. We identified 42 women and collectives as Black or mixed-race. Among them, no party declared itself as right-wing. Twenty are affiliated with the Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT), sixteen with the Partido Socialismo e Liberdade (PSOL), the same party as Marielle Franco, three with the Partido Comunista do Brasil (PCdoB), two with the Partido Democrático Trabalhista (PDT), and one with the Cidadania Party. For data collection from social media, we selected the two parties with the most significant representation on the list, PSOL, and PT. Thus, we analyzed 36 profiles of Black councilwomen.

The Instituto Marielle Franco considers the Agenda as the document that systematizes the legacy of the councilwoman. In this article, we sought mentions of Marielle or the Agenda on social media (specifically Instagram, the social media platform used by almost all sampled councilwomen) and on the official websites of the Agenda Marielle Franco signatories. We analyzed the posts of signatories from the PSOL and PT parties in 2022, the year of the electoral campaign when many councilwomen ran as candidates for state or federal deputies.

We began the analysis with the collective mandate Pretas por Salvador (PSOL) in Salvador (BA). We found no mention of Marielle Franco or the Agenda on their website. We found the following posts on Instagram (@pretasporsalvador): a *Reels* video posted on July 27 to celebrate the International Day of Afro-Latina and Caribbean Women in memory of Marielle.

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<sup>4</sup> Disponível em: [www.agendamarielle.com.br/agenda-2020](http://www.agendamarielle.com.br/agenda-2020). Acesso em: 10 jan. 2023.



Figure 1 - Reels in tribute to Marielle



Source: Pretas por Salvador (2022)<sup>5</sup>

On the same profile, we found a publishing dated April 23, documenting a meeting between one of the representatives of the collective and the trans councilwoman from Aracaju (SE), Linda Brasil (PSOL), in front of a street mural with Marielle's face. On March 14, the day that marks the anniversary of Marielle Franco's and her driver Anderson Gomes' assassination, two *Reels* videos are protesting the lack of clarification regarding the perpetrators of the crime.

On March 13, four posts were published about Marielle's assassination: a *Reels* video calling on Laina Crisostomo, one of the co-councilwomen of the collective, to participate in street demonstrations on March 14; publishing with a photo of Cleide Coutinho, one of the co-councilwomen, holding a sign with Marielle's image in the City Council, calling for acts in memory of the assassination; another post informing about the agenda of the events; and one with a picture of Marielle reading "4 years without answers," calling for a Special Session in the City Council of Salvador.

On International Women's Day, celebrated on March 8, the profile posts a video with excerpts from a speech by Marielle in reference to the date, reaffirming their commitment to the councilwoman's legacy and mentioning the "seeds of Marielle" in the caption. Also, in celebration of March 8, Marielle Franco is commemorated in a *Reels* video alongside other women who have taken a stand against gender-based political violence.

<sup>5</sup> Available at: <https://www.instagram.com/pretasporsalvador/>. Accessed in: 10 jan. 2023.

On the website of councilwoman Maria Marighella (PT) from Salvador (BA), there is no mention of the agenda or Marielle Franco. However, on her Instagram profile, ten posts are found on March 13 and 14 in memory of the assassination of Marielle and Anderson. Additionally, on March 12, a publication called for the Special Session in Tribute to the Memory of Marielle Franco and Anderson Gomes, an event organized by Maria Marighella and the collective Pretas por Salvador.

**Figure 2** - Post protesting the four years without a solution to the assassination of Marielle Franco



Source: Maria Marighella (2022)<sup>6</sup>

Adriana Gerônimo, a co-councilwoman from the collective mandate Nossa Cara (PSOL) in Fortaleza (CE), is one of the leaders of the Instituto Marielle Franco in Ceará. Since there is no official website, we only analyzed her Instagram profile.

On August 5, there is a post featuring Anielle Franco, Marielle's sister and president of the Instituto Marielle Franco, discussing the Estamos Prontas Movement, one of the organization's initiatives aimed at empowering black, peripheral, and LGBTQIA+ women to occupy political positions and spaces. On the same date, there is another publication about the national meeting of black women candidates for state representatives, supported by the Instituto Marielle Franco, held in Rio de Janeiro. On August 4, a *Reels* video mentions the gathering of black women candidates for state representatives supported by the Instituto Marielle Franco

<sup>6</sup> Available at: <https://www.instagram.com/mariamarighella>. Accessed in: 10 jan. 2023.

and the Mulheres Negras Decidem (Black Women Decide) movement. On June 18, a post about the Festival de Juventudes do Grande Bom Jardim featured a photo in front of a mural depicting Marielle Franco. On May 31, there was a publication about the initiative of the Instituto Marielle Franco titled "Não seremos interrompidas" (We will not be interrupted), which aims to combat gender-based political violence.

**Figure 3** - Post featuring a meeting of black women candidates for state representatives



Source: Adriana Gerônimo (2022)<sup>7</sup>

Councilwoman Camila Valadão (PSOL) from Vitória (ES) does not make any mention of Marielle Franco or the Agenda on her official website. On Instagram, there is a post from August 5 where she appears next to the statue of Marielle Franco, commemorating the National Meeting of the Estamos Prontas Movement.

<sup>7</sup> Available at: [https://www.instagram.com/adriana\\_geronimovs/](https://www.instagram.com/adriana_geronimovs/). Accessed in: 10 jan. 2023.



Figure 4 - Post about the national meeting promoted by the Estamos Prontas Movement



Source: Camila Valadão (2022)<sup>8</sup>

On May 11, councilwoman Camila Valadão (PSOL) from Vitória (ES) reposted a publication from the Estamos Prontas Movement, an initiative to empower black women as political leaders. On May 1, she shared a video containing excerpts from a speech commemorating Workers' Day while standing in front of a flag that read "Justice for Marielle." On March 24, the councilwoman emphasized the actions taken during her term to support popular demands, sharing a photo of herself in front of a mural depicting Marielle.

On March 14, the day that marks the anniversary of Marielle Franco's assassination, Camila Valadão made three posts: one with a screenshot of a column she wrote for the newspaper "A Gazeta" and the other two with images and tributes to Marielle. On March 8, there were two publications: a video with protest footage related to International Women's Day featuring flags bearing Marielle's face. On February 22, a post celebrated the approval of a bill that establishes March 14 as the Municipal Day of Confronting Political Violence against Women. The councilwoman wore a t-shirt with the phrase "Fight like Marielle Franco."

<sup>8</sup> Available at: <https://www.instagram.com/camilavaladaopsol/>. Accessed in: 10 jan. 2023.

As for councilwoman Karla Coser (PT) from Vitória (ES), there is only one post with a screenshot of a tweet referencing March 14 on her Instagram profile. On the official website of the councilwoman, there is no mention of Marielle Franco or the agenda.

**Figure 5 - Screenshot of Councilwoman Karla Coser's tweet**



Source: Karla Coser (2022)<sup>9</sup>

On the official website of councilwoman Iza Lourença (PSOL) from Belo Horizonte (MG) are photos with t-shirts and posters commemorating Marielle Franco. In the "News" section of the portal, a post-dated June 15 was found in which the councilwoman requests support to join a manifesto in response to the veto of a bill she authored, which aimed to name a Health Center in Belo Horizonte in honor of Marielle Franco. Additionally, on the website, there is a post from March 15 informing about the tribute held at the City Council of Belo Horizonte in memory of Marielle Franco on the fourth anniversary of her assassination.

<sup>9</sup> Available at: <https://www.instagram.com/karlascoser/>. Accessed in: 10 jan. 2023.

Figure 6 - Post on Iza Lourença's official website



Source: Iza Lourença (2022)<sup>10</sup>

On councilwoman Iza Lourença's Instagram, there is a publication featuring a *Reels* video in tribute to the Day of the Latin American and Caribbean Black Woman, celebrated on July 25th. The video showcases a segment of a speech delivered by Marielle Franco.

Figure 7 - *Reels* tribute to the Day of the Latin American and Caribbean Black Woman



Source: Iza Lourença (2022)<sup>11</sup>

On July 9th, Iza Lourença posted calling on the population to participate in the voting that would take place on July 12th at the City Council of Belo Horizonte for the creation of Marielle Franco Day. On July 11th, a *Reels* video was shared informing the population about the vote on the bill related to Marielle Franco's Legacy, which proposed the establishment of Marielle Franco Day on March 14th. On July 12th, three posts were made regarding the vote

<sup>10</sup> Available at: <https://izalourenca.com.br/manifesto-por-marielle/>. Accessed in: 10 jan. 2023.

<sup>11</sup> Available at: <https://www.instagram.com/izalourenca/>. Accessed in: 10 jan. 2023.



for creating Marielle Franco Day, focusing on combating violence against women in politics. One of the publications features a screenshot of a tweet from the councilwoman expressing her dissatisfaction with the denial of the project. Another post includes a video segment of Iza's speech at the City Council of Belo Horizonte. On July 13th, a screenshot of a publication from *Jornal Estado de Minas* mentioning the denial of the project was shared.

On July 6th, Iza made a publication calling on the population to sign a manifesto in response to the veto of her bill, which aimed to name the Health Center in Belo Horizonte in honor of Marielle Franco. On July 1st, a *Reels* video was shared about the manifesto, with the following opening phrase: "I defend Marielle's legacy." On June 23rd, a post was published highlighting the importance of reading an article in which Iza advocates for the recognition of Marielle in public facilities, squares, and streets as part of an organization to combat political violence against Human Rights activists. On June 17th, a post shared the column written by the councilwoman in the newspaper "O Tempo" addressing the murders of Marielle, indigenist Bruno Pereira, and journalist Dom Phillips. On June 15th, another post was published regarding the manifesto in response to the veto of the bill that aimed to honor Marielle at the Health Center of Belo Horizonte. On June 13th, the councilwoman shared a post mentioning the denial of the aforementioned bill.

On June 7th, a post was published with an image of Marielle in which Iza expressed that her fight is against the "culture of erasure," seeking to preserve the history of the Black people. On June 3rd, there was a publication with a photo of Marielle and a protest against the President of the Republic.

On May 14th, a *Reels* video was shared in protest of the murder of Marielle and Anderson, posted by the profile *Esquerda online* (@esquerdaonline), which identified the councilwoman as a partner in the publication. On May 2nd, a *Reels* video was published reaffirming the commitment to Marielle Franco's legacy, mentioning the Instituto Marielle Franco and citing the project to change the name of a Health Center in Belo Horizonte. On April 23rd, a post was published referencing a column that discussed the possibility of changing the name of Vila Cemig Health Center. On April 22nd, a publication with a photo of Iza in front of a mural with an illustration of Marielle Franco's face commemorating 1,500 days without Marielle and without answers about the crime.

On March 14th, two publications were made: a video with a segment of Iza's speech, recalling Marielle's assassination, and a *Reels* video showing the occupation at the City Council of Belo Horizonte. On March 10th, a protest image was published, reminding of the proximity

of March 14th. On March 13th, a publisher called for the tribute to Marielle at the City Council. On March 16th, a video containing excerpts from the mentioned tribute, which took place on the 14th, was shared. On March 17th, two posts were published: one with a call for the column Iza wrote in the newspaper "O Tempo" about Marielle's legacy; the other post shows Iza embracing deputy Andreia de Jesus, calling themselves "Seeds of Marielle."

On councilwoman Gilsa Santos' (PT) Instagram, from Governador Valadares (MG), there is a post in memory of the four years since Marielle's assassination. We did not find an official website.

Figure 8 - Post in memory of the 4th anniversary of Marielle's assassination



Source: Gilsa Santos (2022)<sup>12</sup>

On councilwoman Rose Oliveira's (PT) Instagram, from Lavras (MG), we did not find any mention of Marielle Franco. We were still looking for an official website for the councilwoman. We also could not find the official Instagram or website of councilwoman Eliane Moreira (PT) from Teófilo Otoni (MG). On councilwoman Dandara's (PT) Instagram, from Uberlândia (MG), there are two posts in memory of the fourth anniversary of Marielle's assassination on March 14th. One of these posts reaffirms the commitment to Marielle's legacy.

<sup>12</sup> Available at: <https://www.instagram.com/gilsa.santos/>. Accessed in: 10 jan. 2023.

Figure 9 - Post in remembrance of the 4th anniversary of Marielle Franco's assassination



Source: Dandara Tonantzin (2022)<sup>13</sup>

On councilwoman Professora Mazéh Silva's (PT) Instagram, from Cáceres (MT), we found a mention of Marielle Franco on March 14th, in memory of the fourth anniversary of her assassination. We were unable to locate an official website for the councilwoman.

<sup>13</sup> Available at: <https://www.instagram.com/todandara/>. Accessed in: 10 jan. 2023.

Figure 10 - Post in tribute to Marielle on the 4th anniversary of her assassination



Source: Mazéh Silva (2022)<sup>14</sup>

On Professor Graciele's Instagram account, from Sinop, Mato Grosso, a post-dated August 5th was found, in which the councilwoman is seen alongside the statue of Marielle Franco during the national meeting of the Estamos Prontas Movement. On May 13th, the councilwoman shared a publication from the Estamos Prontas Movement (@estamosprontas), promoting the partnership between the Marielle Franco Institute and Cenarium magazine to promote pre-candidacies of women social activists. On March 14th, the councilwoman made a publication in memory of the four years since the assassination of Marielle and Anderson. On March 8th, about International Women's Day, two posts were made: one containing a speech by the councilwoman, in which she wears a t-shirt with the face of Marielle Franco, and another showing two unidentified women wearing the same t-shirt. On March 7th, the councilwoman posed with the same t-shirt, mentioning sexism and the need for legislation to protect women. On March 5th, photos were posted with students from the Federal Institute of Mato Grosso (IFMT), all wearing the same t-shirt.

<sup>14</sup> Available at: [https://www.instagram.com/prof\\_mazeh\\_silva](https://www.instagram.com/prof_mazeh_silva). Access in: 10 jan. 2023.



Figure 11 - Post about the national meeting of the Estamos Prontas movement



Source: Teacher Graciele (2022)<sup>15</sup>

On the official website of Professor Graciele (<https://profgraciele.com/>), a publication highlighting the ceremony commemorating International Women's Day, held on March 8th, was found. The post includes a photo of unidentified women wearing t-shirts with the face of Marielle.

Figure 12 - Post on the website about the solemn session in honor of Women's Day



Source: Teacher Graciele (2022)<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Available at: <https://www.instagram.com/profgraciele/>. Access in: 10 jan. 2023.

<sup>16</sup> Available at: <https://profgraciele.com/>. Access in: 10 jan. 2023.

On Professor Madalena's Instagram account (PSOL) from Abaetetuba, Pará, a post-dated July 27th was identified, which commemorates Marielle Franco's birthday. On July 15th, the councilwoman shares a post about the launch of the "A Voz de Marielle" platform, an initiative by the Marielle Franco Institute that gathers speeches and statements by Marielle. On March 30th, there is a publication in solidarity with the Women Amazônidas caucus, a collective mandate from Belém (PA), which assumes the position of councilwoman in the Municipal Council of Belém after the Partido Avante was penalized for gender quota fraud in the elections. The women pose in front of a banner with Marielle's image. On March 17th, a video was published containing a segment of a speech that raised questions about the clarification of Marielle Franco's assassination. On March 15th, images of artistic intervention in memory of the four years since Marielle's assassination are posted. On March 10th, a post called for an event in memory of this date was published. No corresponding official website was found.

Figure 13 - Post in remembrance of Marielle Franco's birthday



Source: Teacher Madalena (2022)<sup>17</sup>

On councilwoman Beatriz Caminha's Instagram account (PT) from Belém, Pará, a post-dated July 27th was identified, paying homage to the International Day of Afro-Latin American and Caribbean Women, featuring the image of Marielle Franco. On March 14th, a post

<sup>17</sup> Available at: <https://www.instagram.com/profmadalenapsol/>. Access in: 10 jan. 2023.



commemorates the four years since Marielle's assassination. No corresponding official website was found.

**Figure 14** - Post in tribute to the International Day of Afro-Latin American and Caribbean Women



Source: Bia (2022)<sup>18</sup>

On councilwoman Livia Duarte's Instagram account (PSOL) from Belém, Pará, a post-dated June 21st was identified, in which she appears alongside Patrícia Bittencourt, a candidate for federal deputy, showing support for Lula's candidacy for the presidency, in front of a graffiti painting with the face of Marielle Franco. On June 19th, Livia shared a photo of Francia Marquez, elected vice president in Colombia, holding a banner with Marielle's image and the phrase "Justice for Marielle." On June 8th, she shares a post about the visit of Livia Gadelha, a *Braking* athlete, to her office. Both pose in front of a painting with Marielle's face. On April 25th, Livia poses, holding a Public Hearing request regarding the regularization of Terreiros and Barracões of African Matrix Religions in the Municipality of Belém, in front of a painting with Marielle's face. On March 14th, three posts are identified in memory of Marielle's assassination: one shows photos of the solemn session in the Municipal Council, another shows a picture of the councilwoman in the Council, and the third displays artwork with Marielle's face. No corresponding official website was found.

<sup>18</sup> Available at: <https://www.instagram.com/beatrizcaminha>. Access in: 10 jan. 2023.

Figure 15 - Francia Marquez holding a banner with Marielle Franco's face



Source: Livia Duarte (2022)<sup>19</sup>

On councilwoman Vivi Reis's Instagram account (PSOL) from Belém, Pará, a post-dated July 9th was found, addressing political violence against PSOL lawmakers. The image illustrating the post is a photo of Marielle Franco. On June 28th, the councilwoman shared a post about the XIX LGBTQIA+ Seminar of the National Congress, featuring an image of Marielle Franco in the artwork. On May 24th, she posted about her visit to Brasília for a public hearing in the Chamber of Deputies in defense of Bank of Amazon workers. She posed in front of a street sign named Marielle Franco. On April 22nd, she made a post alluding to the 1,500 days without answers regarding the assassination of Marielle Franco. On April 20th, two seats were made in which she addressed the conviction of Federal Deputy Daniel Silveira (PTB) for the crimes of coercion in the course of the process and incitement to attempt to impede or restrict, through the use of violence or serious threat, the exercise of constitutional powers.

On April 18th, the councilwoman posted about the visit of representatives from the Brazilian Council of Architecture and Urbanism (CAU/BR) to her office, posing in front of the street sign Marielle Franco. On April 7th and March 31st, two more posts were made, one each day, about visits to her office and a photo in front of the street sign named Marielle Franco. On March 30th, there was a publishing with pictures of street signs with the name Marielle Franco in protest against Daniel Silveira. Also, on March 30th, there was a post in support of the Women Amazônidas collective, with a photo in front of the banner with the name of Marielle Franco.

<sup>19</sup> Available at: <https://www.instagram.com/liviaduartepsol/>. Access in: 10 jan. 2023.

On March 19th, a post was published about the inaugural class of the Emancipa Belém and Ananindeua Network (PA), featuring a photo in front of a banner displaying Marielle's face. On March 14th, five publishing were found commemorating the four years since Marielle's assassination: a video with Vivi's speech about the case, two more posts with photos of protest actions, one listing 14 reasons to fight for justice in the Marielle case, and one with an illustration asking: "Who ordered Marielle's murder?". On March 15th, three posts were found: one calling for a symbolic act in the Chamber of Deputies, one with photos from the Justice for Marielle event in the Green Hall of the Chamber of Deputies, and one with pictures from the solemn session in memory of Marielle. On March 25th, there was a post in solidarity with councilwoman Benny Briolli (PSOL) from Niterói (RJ), who suffered transphobic attacks. The image illustrating the publishing shows Benny holding a street sign with Marielle Franco's name. On January 14th, Vivi reposted a post from the Marielle Franco Institute, in which they remember the 1,400 days without answers regarding the assassination of Marielle and Anderson. No official website was found.

Figure 16 - Post about political violence against PSOL lawmakers



Source: Vivi Reis (2022)<sup>20</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Available at: <https://www.instagram.com/vivireispsol/>. Access in: 10 jan. 2023.

On councilwoman Danielle Portela's (PSOL) Instagram, from Recife (PE), a post was found on July 27th in tribute to Marielle Franco's birthday. On July 12th, there is a publication about "July of Black Women", featuring an illustration of Marielle in the image. On March 15th, Danielle posted in celebration of the approval of Marielle Day. On March 8th, a *Reels* video was shared in honor of International Women's Day, where they remember Marielle with the chant "Marielle Presente!" (Marielle is Present) and the message "We will not be silenced".

Figure 17 - Post celebrating the approval of Marielle Franco Day



Source: Dani Portela (2022)<sup>21</sup>

Based on the official website of councilwoman Danielle Portela, available at <https://www.daniportela.com.br>, a post-dated April 19th reported the rejection of the proposal to create Marielle Franco Day. Another news article from March 25th mentions an attempt by the Conservative Caucus to change the name of Marielle Franco Day. On March 12th and 18th, a publication each day addresses the proposal for the Marielle Franco Day Bill, which aims to combat gender violence against Black women, lesbians, bisexuals, transgender women, and women from marginalized communities.

<sup>21</sup> Available at: <https://www.instagram.com/daniportelapsol/>. Access in: 10 jan. 2023.



**Figure 18** - News published on Councilwoman Danielle Portela's website regarding rejecting the proposal to create Marielle Franco Day



Source: Dani Portela (2022)<sup>22</sup>

On councilwoman Flávia Hellen's (PT) Instagram, representing Paulista (PE), a *Reels* video was found, reposted from the Instituto Marielle Franco, in memory of the four years since Marielle's tragic death. This publication took place on March 14th. However, no mention of Marielle or related agenda was found on the councilwoman's official website.

**Figure 19** - *Reels* video commemorating the four years since Marielle Franco's death



Source: Flávia Hellen (2022)<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Available at: <https://www.daniportela.com.br>. Access in: 10 jan. 2023.

<sup>23</sup> Available at: <https://www.instagram.com/flaviahellen13/>. Access in: 10 jan. 2023.

On councilwoman Carol Dartora's (PT) Instagram, representing Curitiba (PR), a post-dated July 28th was found addressing the "Enegrecendo Muros" (Blackening Walls) project. This project aims to promote urban art and give visibility to Black personalities. The image used to illustrate the post is of Marielle Franco. In another publication dated July 27th, Carol pays tribute in memory of Marielle's birthday and also demands answers regarding her assassination. On March 15th, the councilwoman shared a video containing an excerpt from her speech after the rejection by the City Council of Curitiba of the proposal to name a Municipal Early Childhood Education Center (CMEI) in honor of Marielle Franco. On March 14th, two posts were published: one to remember Marielle's death and demand action from the authorities and another protesting against the rejection of the name change for a CMEI in Curitiba. On March 11th, Carol informed about the proposal to change the name of the CMEI in honor of Marielle. Lastly, on February 4th, a post was shared showing a photo of Carol observing a street mural with Marielle's image and mentioning the 1,423 days without answers about who ordered Marielle's assassination.

Figure 20 - Post protesting the rejection of the name change for a CMEI



Source: Carol Dartora (2022)<sup>24</sup>

On councilwoman Carol Dartora's official website (<https://caroldartora.com.br/>), a post was found that addresses the "Enegrecendo Muros" project. This publication presents a photo featuring an artwork depicting Marielle Franco.

<sup>24</sup> Available at: <https://www.instagram.com/caroldartora13/>. Access in: 10 jan. 2023.



Figure 21 - Post about the "Enegrecendo Muros" project



Source: Carol Dartora (2022)<sup>25</sup>

On councilwoman Benny Brioli's Instagram account (PSOL), representing Niterói (RJ), a post-dated August 8th was identified, containing a video that presents a tribute segment alongside the statue of Marielle Franco, created by Benny and Councilman Chico Alencar (PSOL) from Rio de Janeiro (RJ). On July 28th, there is a *Reels* video about the statue's inauguration in honor of Marielle Franco. On July 27th, two videos pay tribute to Marielle Franco, one featuring images honoring Marielle and the other featuring photos of the statue.

On July 26th, a post invites people to the inauguration of Marielle's statue on July 27th. On July 25th, a *Reels* video pays tribute to the International Day of Black Women, Latin American, and Caribbean Women, featuring images of Marielle Franco. On April 21st, a publication was made celebrating the conviction of Daniel Silveira, with a picture showing a broken sign named Marielle Franco Street. On April 14th, there is a post reminding us that it has been 49 months since Marielle's murder without any answers. On March 14th, there are two posts commemorating the deaths of Marielle and Anderson: one calling for the Festival Justiça por Marielle e Anderson (Justice for Marielle and Anderson Festival) at Circo Voador (RJ), and another video paying tribute to Marielle. On March 8th, in celebration of International Women's Day, there is a publishing featuring an image of several prominent black women, including Marielle. On January 24th, there is a post denouncing Benny's death threat. The photo

<sup>25</sup> Available at: <https://caroldartora.com.br/enegrecendo-muros-pode- virar-lei-em-curitiba/>. Access in: 10 jan. 2023.

illustrating the publication shows Benny holding a street sign with Marielle Franco's name. An official website could not be found.

Figure 22 - Post paying tribute to Marielle alongside the statue



Source: Benny Briolly (2022)<sup>26</sup>

In the Instagram account of councilwoman Verônica Lima (PT), from Rio de Janeiro (RJ), a post in memory of the assassination of Marielle Franco was found, dated March 14th. It was not possible to locate an official website.

<sup>26</sup> Available at: <https://www.instagram.com/bennybriolly/>. Access in: 10 jan. 2023.

Figure 23 - Post in remembrance of the assassination of Marielle Franco



Source: Verônica Lima (2022)<sup>27</sup>

On councilwoman Tainá de Paula's (PT) Instagram account from Rio de Janeiro (RJ), a *Reels* video post was found, dated July 2nd, regarding the opening of the event "Julho das Pretas" (Black Women's July), where a T-shirt with the image of Marielle Franco is displayed. On April 21st, Tainá posted a photo holding the street sign honoring Marielle Franco in celebration of Daniel Silveira's conviction by the Supreme Federal Court (STF). On March 14th, two posts were found commemorating Marielle on the 4th anniversary of her assassination: a photo of Tainá alongside Marielle and another post showing a banner with the phrase "Who ordered the killing of Marielle?" in front of the City Council of Rio de Janeiro. It was not possible to locate an official website.

<sup>27</sup> Available at: [https://www.instagram.com/veronicalima\\_ve/](https://www.instagram.com/veronicalima_ve/). Access in: 10 jan. 2023.



Figure 24 - Post in memory of Marielle Franco



Source: Verônica Lima (2022)<sup>28</sup>

On councilwoman Thais Ferreira's (PSOL) Instagram account, from Rio de Janeiro (RJ), a post-dated July 27th was found, celebrating the inauguration of the statue of Marielle Franco. Also, on July 27th, there is a publication about the "Pretas e Poderosas em Debate" (Black and Powerful in Debate) Livestream, containing a video with a snippet of Marielle Franco's speech. On March 14th, a post commemorates the 4th anniversary of Marielle's assassination. No mention of Marielle or the councilwoman's agenda was found on her official website.

Figure 25 - Post in celebration of the inauguration of the statue of Marielle Franco



Source: Thais Ferreira (2022)<sup>29</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Available at: <https://www.instagram.com/tainadepaularj/>. Access in: 10 jan. 2023.

<sup>29</sup> Available at: [https://www.instagram.com/sou\\_thaisferreira](https://www.instagram.com/sou_thaisferreira). Access in: 10 jan. 2023.

On Natal (RN) councilwoman Divaneide Basílio's (PT) Instagram account, a post-dated July 27 was found, in which the birthday of Marielle Franco is commemorated and the fact of being a representative of the Agenda Marielle Franco is celebrated. On May 4, the councilwoman posted in celebration of the approval of the Bill that establishes March 14 as the Day of Confronting Political Violence against Black, LGBTQIA+, and Peripheral Women in memory of Marielle's murder. On May 1, a publication was published about the National Meeting of Black Women in Salvador, where Divaneide poses for a photo next to a poster with Marielle's image, reading "National Forum Marielles". On April 9, a snippet of a live video was shared, showing a flag in the background with the inscription "Marielle Presente" ("Marielle is Present"). On April 7, another snippet of a live broadcast shows the same flag in the scenery.

On March 15, the councilwoman appears in a video calling for the vote on the Transcidadania Project, wearing a t-shirt with the print of the Marielle Franco Street sign. On March 14, two videos were published in memory of the 4th anniversary of Marielle's assassination. One of them addresses the Bill proposing the creation of the Marielle Franco Commemoration. On the official website, there is a post-dated May 4 informing about the approval of Marielle Franco Day.

**Figure 26 - Post in tribute to Marielle Franco's birthday**



Source: Divaneide (2022)<sup>30</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Available at: <https://www.instagram.com/divaneidebasilio/>. Access in: 10 jan. 2023.

Figure 27 - Post about the approval of Marielle Franco Day



Source: Divaneide (2022)<sup>31</sup>

On Denise Pessôa's Instagram profile, residing in Caxias do Sul, Rio Grande do Sul, there is a post-dated March 14 that commemorates the fourth anniversary of Marielle Franco's assassination. However, the official website does not mention Marielle Franco or her agenda.

Figure 28 - Post in remembrance of the 4th anniversary of Marielle Franco's assassination



Source: Denise Pessôa (2022)<sup>32</sup>

On Karen Santos' Instagram, affiliated with PSOL and residing in Porto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul, two posts were published on March 14 in memory of the four years since the death of Marielle Franco. One is a video of a protest demonstration, and the other is a repost of a video produced by councilwoman Benny Brioli, also from PSOL.

<sup>31</sup> Available at: <https://divaneide.com.br/>. Access in: 10 jan. 2023.

<sup>32</sup> Available at: [https://www.instagram.com/denise\\_pessoa/](https://www.instagram.com/denise_pessoa/). Access in: 10 jan. 2023.



**Figure 29** - Karen Santos at a public demonstration in memory of the 4th anniversary of Marielle Franco's assassination



Source: Karen Santos (2022)<sup>33</sup>

**Figure 30** - Post on Karen Santos' website about the 4th anniversary of Marielle's assassination



Source: Karen Santos (2022)<sup>34</sup>

On Laura Sito's Instagram profile, affiliated with PT and residing in Porto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul, there is a post-dated August 8 about the National Meeting of the "Estamos

<sup>33</sup> Available at: <https://www.instagram.com/karensantospoa/>. Access in: 10 jan. 2023.

<sup>34</sup> Available at: <https://karenalicerce.com.br/>. Access in: 10 jan. 2023.

Prontas" Movement, promoted by the Marielle Franco Institute and Mulheres Negras Decidem (Black Women Decide). On August 5, a video of the "Estamos Prontas" Movement meeting was published. On April 27, a publication informed that Laura Sito was one of the 27 selected participants for the "Estamos Prontas" Movement. On March 14, a post was made in memory of the four years since Marielle's assassination. An official website related to Laura Sito could not be found.

Figure 31 - Post about the National Meeting of the "Estamos Prontas" Movement



Source: Laura Sito (2022)<sup>35</sup>

On the official Instagram profile of councilwoman Paolla Miguel from the Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT), representing the municipality of Campinas (SP), a post was published on July 29 depicting a meeting between the councilwoman and Councilman Eduardo Sallum, also from the PT, from the city of Tatuí (SP). In the image, both are seen in front of a panel containing the image of Marielle Franco. On June 20, a publication about the election of Francia Marquez as Vice President of Colombia. In the shared picture, Francia Marquez is shown holding a bandana with the image of Marielle Franco.

On April 7, a post was made depicting visits to the office, along with a photograph in front of a street sign bearing the name of Marielle Franco. On March 31, publishing was shared about the injunction suspending evictions in the Marielle Vive Encampment located in Valinhos. The eight photos' main image in the carousel shows a banner with the inscription

<sup>35</sup> Available at: <https://www.instagram.com/laura.sito>. Access in: 10 jan. 2023.

"Marielle Vive Fica" (Marielle Lives Stays). On March 14, two posts were made to remember the four years since Marielle's death. One consists of a video with an excerpt from Paolla's speech at the City Council. The other post is a carousel of five images presenting information about projects proposed by Paolla, inspired by Marielle's legacy. On March 7, a protest was published against the rejection by the Campinas City Council of the proposed Bill that sought to establish Marielle Franco Day as a measure to combat gender-based violence in politics. No official website related to these publications could be found.

Figure 32 - Post with Paolla's proposed bills inspired by Marielle



Source: Paolla Miguel (2022)<sup>36</sup>

There are several relevant posts on councilwoman Guida Calixto's Instagram profile, affiliated with the PT and representing Campinas, São Paulo. On August 19, a publication demonstrating solidarity with the Marielle Vive Encampment, that was targeted by gunfire. On July 27, there is a post about Marielle's birthday. On July 6, there is a posting about a meeting held at the Marielle Vive Encampment for the launch of the comic book "Territórios Negros" (Black Territories). On March 14, a post commemorates the four years since Marielle's death.

<sup>36</sup> Available at: <https://www.instagram.com/vaipaolla/>. Access in: 10 jan. 2023.



On the official website of the councilwoman (<https://blogdaguida.net.br/>), no recent posts were found.

Figure 33 - Post in tribute to Marielle Franco's birthday



Source: Guida (2022)<sup>37</sup>

On councilwoman Taíze Braz's Instagram profile, affiliated with the PT and representing Catanduva, São Paulo, is a post-dated March 14 commemorating the four years since Marielle Franco's death. An official website related to councilwoman Taíze Braz could not be found.

<sup>37</sup> Available at: <https://www.instagram.com/guidacalixtopt/>. Access in: 10 jan. 2023.



Figure 34 - Post in remembrance of the 4th anniversary of Marielle's death



Source: Taise Braz (2022)<sup>38</sup>

On councilwoman Fernanda Curti's official Instagram profile, affiliated with the PT and representing the municipality of Guarulhos (SP), three posts were made on March 14 to commemorate the four years since Marielle Franco's assassination. One of the publications contains artwork emphasizing the lack of answers regarding the crime. Another post presents a screenshot of a tweet in which Fernanda reproduces a quote from Marielle: "How many more need to die for this war against the poor to end?" Additionally, a video with images of Marielle was shared. On February 17, a publication addressed political violence against black women in Brazil, mentioning Marielle's assassination in the caption text. No official website related to these posts could be found.

<sup>38</sup> Available at: <https://www.instagram.com/braztaise/>. Access in: 10 jan. 2023.

Figure 35 - Post in remembrance of the 4th anniversary of Marielle's assassination



Source: Fernanda Curti (2022)<sup>39</sup>

On councilwoman Juliana Curvelo's official Instagram profile, affiliated with the PSOL and representing the municipality of Osasco (SP), a publication was made on July 27 containing a *Reels* video in tribute to Marielle Franco's birthday. On April 21, a post was published celebrating the conviction of Daniel Silveira by the Supreme Federal Court (STF) and recalling that he broke the street sign with the name of Marielle Franco. On March 14, a posting marked the four years since Marielle Franco's death. No official website related to these posts could be found.

<sup>39</sup> Available at: <https://www.instagram.com/fecurti13/>. Access in: 10 jan. 2023.

Figure 36 - Post in memory of the 4th anniversary of Marielle's death



Source: Juliana Gomes Curvel (2022)<sup>40</sup>

Several relevant posts have been made on councilwoman Debora Camilo's official Instagram profile, affiliated with the PSOL and representing the municipality of Santos (SP). On July 27, Marielle Franco's birthday, a publication was shared demanding answers regarding her assassination. On July 24, a post was published about Anielle Franco, Marielle's sister, and director of the Instituto Marielle Franco, as part of a series of posts honoring "Julho das Pretas" (Black Women's July). On July 14, also as part of the same series, there was a post about Marielle Franco. On July 5, a video was shared in which Debora talks about political violence against women and recounts that during a vote, she heard the phrase, "You deserve what Marielle had". On May 21, Debora reaffirmed her commitment to Marielle Franco's legacy by announcing her pre-candidacy for state deputy. On May 18, a publication was made to promote a column in the newspaper "A Tribuna" titled "Marielles Mil", written by Arminda Augusto. On May 17, another article was published in the newspaper "A Tribuna", this time about the approval of the Marielle Franco Day by the mayor of Santos, following controversies in the votes. On the same day, a post was made about debates about the Marielle Franco agenda and the anti-racist struggle. On May 16, there was a celebration of the approval of the Bill that institutes the Marielle Franco Day to Confront Political Violence Against Black Women,

<sup>40</sup> Available at: <https://www.instagram.com/julianagcurvelo/>. Access in: 10 jan. 2023.

LGBTQIA+ individuals, and Peripheries. On May 11, a post was shared with a reproduction of a section of an article from the newspaper "Diário do Litoral", which informs about Councilman Rogério Santos' (PSDB) attempt to veto the Bill that institutes the Marielle Franco Day.

On May 5, a post was published containing reproduced excerpts from the newspaper "Diário do Litoral" about the approval of the Marielle Franco Day by the City Council of Santos. On May 3, a publication celebrated the support of the Marielle Franco Day Bill. On the same day, a screenshot of a tweet by Debora Camillo on the same topic was shared. Additionally, on May 3, three posts were made before the vote. One featured an image of Debora Camillo behind a street sign with Marielle's name. Another post reproduced a tweet by Debora about the Bolsonaro movement's opposition to Bill's approval. The third publication warned about the Bolsonaro movement's opposition to the Bill's permission. On April 22, a post was made in memory of the 1,500 days without answers regarding Marielle's assassination. On April 20, there was a publishing celebrating the conviction of Deputy Daniel Silveira. In the photo, Debora poses in front of a portrait of Marielle and holds a street sign with Marielle Franco's name. On April 6, Debora was photographed holding the book "O fim do Ministério da Cultura" (The End of the Ministry of Culture), written by Rafael Moreira, with a frame containing illustrations of Marielle's face visible in the background. On March 27, a photo of the Planet Hemp concert at the Lollapalooza Festival was published, in which an image of a street sign with Marielle Franco's name was displayed on the screen.

On March 26, during a plenary session for the pre-candidacy for state deputy, images of the City Council were recorded, where banners with the phrase "quem mandou matar Marielle?" (Who ordered the killing of Marielle?) were displayed. On March 14, two posts were made to remember Marielle's assassination: one containing artwork with the phrase "4 years without answers", and the other showing an image of a protest seeking answers about Marielle's assassination. On March 11, there was a call for an event in memory of Marielle's assassination to be held on March 14. The councilwoman's official website found no direct mentions of Marielle or her agenda (<https://debora50500.com.br/>).



Figure 37 - A post announcing Debora Camilo's candidacy for state deputy



Source: Débora Camilo (2022)<sup>41</sup>

There are several relevant publications in the Instagram profile of Councilwoman Erika Hilton, who is affiliated with PSOL and representing São Paulo. On July 27th, there is a post with a *Reels* video about Marielle Franco's birthday. On March 14th, there is a publication in memory of the four years since the death of Marielle. On February 5th, there is a photo of a protest against the deaths of black people, with a mention of Marielle in the caption. No statement of Marielle or her agenda was found on the official website of the councilwoman (<https://www.erikahilton.com.br/>).

Figure 38 - Post in memory of the four years since the death of Marielle Franco



Source: Erika Hilton (2022)<sup>42</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Available at: <https://www.instagram.com/deborapsol/>. Access in: 10 jan. 2023.

<sup>42</sup> Available at: [https://www.instagram.com/hilton\\_erika](https://www.instagram.com/hilton_erika). Access in: 10 jan. 2023.

On the official Instagram profile of Councilwoman Luana Alves, affiliated with the Partido Socialismo e Liberdade (PSOL) and representing the city of São Paulo (SP), several relevant publications have been made. On July 27th, a post was published containing a video about the inauguration of the statue of Marielle Franco in commemoration of her birthday. On April 13th, there was a publication about the bill proposed by State Deputy Monica Seixas (PSOL) against racial fraud in the Legislative Assembly of the State of São Paulo (ALESP), where the illustrative image shows Monica wearing a mask with the picture of Marielle. On March 18th, a video was shared with various protest images and Luana's work, where a banner with the image of Marielle can be seen. On March 14th, there was a publication in memory of the date of Marielle Franco's death. On March 10th, a post was shared about the approval of a law authored by Luana, which establishes September 19th, the birthday of Paulo Freire, as the Municipal Day of Education. The photo illustrating this publication shows Luana holding a banner with the image of Marielle. The councilwoman's official website found no direct mentions of Marielle or her agenda (<https://luanapsol.com.br/>).

**Figure 39** - Post in memory of the four years since the death of Marielle Franco



Source: Luana Alves (2022)<sup>43</sup>

The official Instagram profile of councilwoman Elaine Mineiro, representing Quilombo Periférico for the Partido Socialismo e Liberdade (PSOL) in the city of São Paulo (SP), is

<sup>43</sup> Available at: <https://www.instagram.com/luanapsol/>. Access in: 10 jan. 2023.

unavailable. However, we have located the website of the collective mandate Quilombo Periférico, which includes both women and men. Due to our analysis focused on women, we did not search for the content on the social media platforms of Quilombo Periférico.

## 5. Final Considerations

The analysis of the profiles of the signatories of the Agenda Marielle Franco reveals that mentioning Marielle Franco's legacy and positioning oneself as "seeds" of her work is a constant theme in their social media. However, there are some notable differences, especially regarding political parties. Among the councilwomen from the Partido Socialismo e Liberdade (PSOL), we observe a higher number of posts related to Marielle's death and her legacy compared to councilwomen from the Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT).

Some councilwomen even explicitly mention the commitment to the Marielle Franco Agenda, although this is not the majority position. Most councilwomen made posts referring to the four-year milestone of Marielle's assassination on March 14, demonstrating solidarity and demanding answers from authorities regarding the unsolved crime.

These observations indicate the need to deepen the analysis, especially regarding the institutional positioning of PSOL, the same party as Marielle. Does the party have any institutional stance that strengthens Marielle's memory, or do these councilwomen follow her legacy solely because they are affiliated with the Instituto Marielle Franco?

What becomes clear from this initial analysis is that Marielle's legacy can be translated through a commitment to agendas related to the Black, female, and peripheral universe, which are aligned with the seven plans systematized by the Marielle Franco Agenda: racial justice and defense of life; gender and sexuality; the right to the favela; economic justice; public, accessible, and high-quality healthcare; public, free, and transformative education; culture, sports, and leisure.

Based on this article, it becomes necessary to observe with greater attention and depth the next steps of the Instituto Marielle Franco in initiatives for the training and inclusion of Black women in politics and the role of Marielle's legacy in the proposition and development of new public policies.

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