

University of Grande Rio – Unigranrio

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**Employability Initiatives and Organizations: An ANTi-History about
Transgender People Inclusion in Brazilian Labor Market**

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**Employability Initiatives and Organizations: An ANTi-History about
Transgender People Inclusion in Brazilian Labor Market**

by

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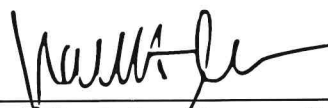
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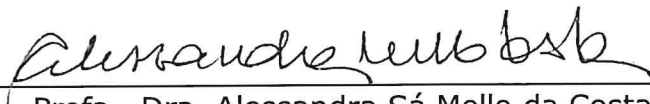
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Nothing will change in society if the mechanisms of power that work outside, below, alongside the State apparatus at a much more elementary, quotidian level are not modified.

(Michel Foucault)

ABSTRACT

In Brazil, a country with the highest rate of trans people murders and a scenario where most of these people are in conditions of misery and social exclusion, without access to health, education, and labor. Recently, we observed a movement of organizations seeking to promote the employability of transgender people in the country. This scenario is not built from isolated events that occur today, but it reflects relationships that were built over time. This past is full of events that can be considered advances and setbacks arising from associations between people, initiatives, regulations, organizations, and other actors that intervene in this regard. Thereby, this study seeks to investigate socio-political relations of actors-network highlighting the main mobilizations and demobilizations in the trajectory of employability of transgender people in organizations in Brazil. For this, we resorted to ANTi-History as a theoretical and methodological approach, which is historically informed by the Actor-Network Theory and was developed in Management and Organization Studies in order to allow us to understand the phenomenon through a unique and retrospective lens. The analysis of this research (re)assembles a version of history about the observed phenomenon and brings a network-rhizome that involves a multiplicity of actors and their relations over time. This implies rescuing memories in the transgender-society-labor market relationship, as well as revealing a broader context that surrounds recent employability initiatives and silencing around this matter.

Keywords: ANTi-History, transgender, organizations, employability, work.

RESUMO

Em um cenário como o Brasil, país com o maior índice de assassinatos de pessoas trans e onde a maioria delas estão em condições de miséria e exclusão social, sem acesso à educação, à saúde e ao mercado de trabalho. Recentemente, observamos um movimento de organizações em busca de promover a empregabilidade de pessoas transgêneras no país. Compreendemos que esse cenário não é construído a partir de eventos isolados que ocorrem na atualidade, mas que refletem relações que foram construídas ao longo do tempo. Tal passado está repleto de eventos que podem ser considerados avanços e retrocessos que decorrem de associações entre pessoas, iniciativas, normas legais, organizações e outros atores que intervêm nesse sentido. A partir disso, o presente estudo procura investigar relações sócio-políticas de atores-rede evidenciando as principais mobilizações e desmobilizações na trajetória da empregabilidade de pessoas transgêneras nas organizações do Brasil. Para isso, recorreremos à ANTi-History como abordagem teórico metodológica, que é historicamente informada pela Teoria Ator-Rede e foi desenvolvida em Estudos Organizacionais a fim de permitir compreender o fenômeno através de uma lente retrospectiva e singular. A análise dessa pesquisa (re)monta uma versão da história sobre o fenômeno observado e traz uma rede-rizoma que envolve uma multiplicidade de atores-rede e suas movimentações ao longo do tempo. Isso implica um resgate de memórias na relação transgeneridade – sociedade – mercado de trabalho, bem como, desvela um contexto mais amplo que circunda as recentes iniciativas de empregabilidade e silenciamentos em torno desse mote.

Palavras-chave: ANTi-History, transgênero, organizações, empregabilidade, trabalho.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ABGLT	Associação Brasileira de Gays, Bissexuais, Lésbicas, Travestis e Transexuais [Brazilian Association of Gays, Bisexuals, Lesbians, Transvestites and Transsexuals]
ABHT	Associação Brasileira de Homens Trans [Brazilian Association of Trans Men]
ABRAT	Associação Brasileira de Transgêneros [Brazilian Transgender Association]
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ANT	Actor-Network Theory
ANTRA	Associação Nacional de Travestis e Transexuais [National Association of Transvestites and Transsexuals]
ASTRAL	Associação das Travestis e Liberados [Association of Transvestites and Liberated]
ATRAS	Associação das Travestis de Salvador [Salvador Transvestites Association]
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CCJ	Comissão de Constituição de Justiça [Justice Constitution Commission]
CEP	Comitês de Ética em Pesquisa [Research Ethics Committees]
CFM	Conselho Federal de Medicina [Federal Council of Medicine]
CIT	Comissão Intergestores Tripartite [Tripartite Interagency Committee]
CLAM	Centro Latino-Americano em Sexualidade e Direitos Humanos [Latin American Center on Sexuality and Human Rights]
CMS	Critical Management Studies
CNS	Conferência Nacional de Saúde [National Health Conference]
CONEP	Comissão Nacional de Ética em Pesquisa [National Research Ethics Commission]
CONITEC	Comissão Nacional de Incorporação de Tecnologias no SUS [National Commission for the Incorporation of Technologies in SUS]
COVID-19	Coronavirus Disease 2019
CREMESP	Conselho Regional de Medicina do Estado de São Paulo [Regional Council of Medicine of the State of São Paulo]
CRM-MG	Conselho Regional de Medicina - Minas Gerais [Regional Council of Medicine - Minas Gerais]
CRM-PR	Conselho Regional de Medicina – Paraná [Regional Council of Medicine – Paraná]
CRM-SC	Conselho Regional de Medicina - Santa Catarina [Regional Council of Medicine - Santa Catarina]
CRM-SP	Conselho Regional de Medicina - São Paulo [Regional Council of Medicine - São Paulo]

DEGRAN	Departamento das Delegacias Regionais de Polícia da Grande São Paulo [Department of Regional Police Stations of Greater São Paulo]
ENCM	Encontro Nacional dos Conselhos de Medicina [National Meeting of Medical Councils]
ENTLAIDS	Encontro Nacional de Travestis e Liberados que Atuam na Prevenção da Aids [National Meeting of Transvestites and Liberals who Work in the Prevention of AIDS]
FMUSP	Hospital de Clínicas da Faculdade de Medicina [Clinical Hospital of the Faculty of Medicine]
FONATRANS	Fórum Nacional de Travestis e Transexuais Negras e Negros [National Forum of Black and Black Transvestites and Transsexuals]
FURG	Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo [Federal University of Espírito Santo]
GABLE	Gay, Ally, Bisexual, Lesbian and Transgender Employees (Procter&Gamble)
GGB	Grupo Gay da Bahia [Bahia Gay Group]
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HUPE	Hospital Universitário Pedro Ernesto [Pedro Ernesto University Hospital]
IBGE	Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística [Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics]
IBRAT	Instituto Brasileiro de Transmasculinidades [Brazilian Institute of Transmasculinities]
IBTE	Instituto Brasileiro Trans de Educação [Trans Brazilian Institute of Education]
ICD	International Classification of Diseases
ILGA WORLD	The International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association
IMS	Instituto de Medicina Social [Institute of Social Medicine]
ISER	Instituto Superior de Estudos da Religião [Higher Institute of Religious Studies]
LGBTQIA+	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transsexual/ Transgender, Queer, Intersexual, Asexual, all other diversities and pluralities of sexual orientation or gender identity that exist
MECMPAS	Instituto de Psiquiatria da Fundação Faculdade de Medicina [Psychiatry Institute of Faculty-Foundation of Medicine]
MOS	Management and Organizational Studies
MPDFT	Ministério Público do Distrito Federal [Federal District Public Ministry]
MPF	Ministério Público Federal [Federal Public Ministry]
MPSP	Ministério Público do Estado de São Paulo [Public Ministry of the State of São Paulo]
NAHT	Núcleo de Apoio a Homens Trans [Support Center for Trans Men]
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization

OAB	Ordem dos Advogados do Brasil [Brazilian Bar Association]
OMS	Organizational Memory Studies
PUC-Rio	Pontificia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro [Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro]
PUC-SP	Pontificia Universidade Católica de São Paulo [Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo]
RENATA	Rede Nacional de Travestis [National Transvestite Network]
RENTRAL	Rede Nacional de Travestis e Liberados [National Network of Transvestites and Liberated People]
SEJUR/CFM	Setor Jurídico do Conselho Federal de Medicina [Legal Sector of the Federal Council of Medicine]
SINAN	Sistema de Informação de Agravos de Notificação [Notification Grievances Information System]
STD	Sexually Transmitted Diseases
STF	Supremo Tribunal Federal [Federal Court of Justice]
SUDS	Sistemas Unificados e Descentralizados de Saúde nos Estados [Unified and Decentralized Health Systems in the States]
SUS	Sistema Único de Saúde [Health Unic System]
TGEU	Transgender Europe
TJSP	Tribunal de Justiça do Estado de São Paulo [Court of Justice of the State of São Paulo]
TMM	Trans Murder Monitoring
TRF	Tribunal Regional Federal [Federal Regional Court]
UERJ	Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro [State University of Rio de Janeiro]
UFES	Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo [Federal University of Espírito Santo]
UFG	Universidade Federal de Goiás [Goiás Federal University]
UFMG	Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais [Minas Gerais Federal University]
UFRGS	Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul [Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul]
UNIDAS	Associação de Travestis Unidas na Luta pela Cidadania [Association of Transvestites United in the Fight for Citizenship]
USP	Universidade de São Paulo [University of Sao Paulo]
WHO	World Health Organization

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PROLOGUE

It is not news that we discuss issues about power relations in discourse, reflecting on which voices have space for speech and which are marginalized and often silenced (seeing the works of Bourdieu, Foucault, and Butler). However, it seems that the expression *place of speech* has become popular here in Brazil very recently, and, despite being present in several discussions, many people still do not understand for sure what it is. At least, this is my experience in forums, meetings, conferences, and conversations with colleagues and friends. Some people can explain the topic in greater depth, such as Djamilia Ribeiro – Brazilian, feminist, philosopher, writer (I even recommend this source to anyone who wants to understand the place of speech better). However, briefly, I would say that when we talk about the place of speech, we are arguing about social issues that impact different spaces and organizations (whether political, cultural, or intellectual) and that limit and make individualized aspects of the experiences invisible because some of these voices were silenced since individuals were excluded from these spaces.

But why am I talking about this?

Because many of you are reading this work, upon seeing the title, you must have wondered if I am a trans woman (by the way, answering the question, I am not).

Then, other questions will probably arise (Why did you choose to talk about this topic? How did you get to it? Can you talk about it? Do you want to speak in place of a trans?).

Supposedly, I have to explain myself and report what brought me closer to this topic and what made me interested in researching the topic of transsexuality. Anyone who knows me personally knows that (although I do not consider myself a shy person) I am quite reserved, especially when it comes to matters in my personal life. So, for me talking a little more about some personal issues here is a huge challenge!

However, I will try to explain a little bit here from my path. I will tell you about some events in my trajectory that now (looking back) I believe were part of that choice and that somehow justifies it for me. It is important to remember that this might make sense only to me, in such a way that someone can understand this journey, but it may not answer all your questions or expectations. These next words translate a little of what I believe, my version, the place I occupy, and where I am talking.

I come from a very simple family in economic terms and complex in everything else. My father died when I was four years old, and at that time, my mother found herself in a difficult situation. Woman, young, widow, with low education, without residence and having as her source of income only one minimum wage (from her husband's death pension). With that, she was suddenly dependent on the help of family, friends, and neighbors and had to find a way to support herself and a child. Without having an academic background or professional experience combined with the prejudice faced by being a woman and a single mother, entering the formal labor market was a problem for a long time.

Among the few opportunities that arose, I remember that during my childhood and adolescence, she worked in professions that always required a great physical and mental effort on her part – with long working hours and remunerations that were not always constant or fair. Meanwhile, in her "absence", I was living in parallel with these work experiences and taking on responsibilities of adult life from a very early age.

In that situation full of restrictions that we both went through, I remember a phrase that my mother always repeated to me: "Study, my daughter, to be someone in life, to have your job, your home and not depend on any man – not even on a man or nor anyone's". I think my mother did not even know about the feminist movement at that time, but she was already giving me valuable lessons about gender relations through her words and attitudes.

Another close person very important in my trajectory is an uncle who became a kind of idol for me during this phase of my life. He was the only person in the family with a college degree. So, I had him as a reference. I thought it was amazing the way he spoke, the songs he listened to. Everything about him was admirable to me. An open homosexual, he faced his battles against prejudice.

Despite all the mishaps during childhood and adolescence, I have no intention of occupying a place of speech that is not mine. I always had access, at some level, to education, health, and leisure. I am heterosexual, and I was born with fair skin. Also, today I have a formal job. I know this all circumstances places me as a person who occupies certain privileged positions within such a prejudiced, racist, and LGBTQIA+phobic society.

I come from a northeastern family, live in the Rio de Janeiro outskirts, and am a woman (whose physical biotype is often used to judge my appearance and my reasoning, knowledge, and the ability to speak for myself). However, despite the privileged places I currently occupy, I witnessed (and continue to witness) prejudice and social exclusion. I experienced (and continue to experience) a part of it, and I believe that such occurrences have influenced my motivation for this research topic.

I am uncomfortable with a reality where people do not have the same opportunities or possibilities. So why wouldn't I stay?! Looking around and seeing that certain problems belong to everyone is very important for us to start thinking about solutions. Using the words of Professor Luiz Alex Saraiva (Saraiva, 2016):

(...) we live in dangerous blindness to everything that does not affect us personally. Only when this unspeakable violence comes close to we know does it seem to concern us. We lose empathy, the ability to put ourselves in the other's shoes to see the suffering of others as somehow close to ourselves for the sake of humanity (p. 762).

I attended elementary and high school, as well as graduated from public institutions. However, I remember that after one year of studying alone for the entrance exam, the news of my approval was accompanied by moments of anguish and many concerns. My entrance to university was almost impeded because we could not pay the monthly cost of bus tickets. At the time, my mother was barely able to pay the expenses, family members were already helping with other things, the internship was over, and I had not gotten any job (at 17 years old, looking younger and with no experience in the market of work). I applied for the second semester (already planning to have more time

to get a job), and luckily (or whatever you want to call it) with one month before the start of classes, I got a so-called odd job (a job without guarantees or rights such as signed license, vacation or even the minimum wage), but that was the solution at that time. Imagine feeling frustrated at the thought of giving up a place at a public university because you do not have money for transportation. So, yes, I have personal reasons to believe that public policies to reduce social inequality make a difference. If I had received some government support there (a scholarship, a free pass on public transport, any assistance that currently exists – at least until today), the experience of passing the entrance exam would have been different.

All this to be able to say that I feel uncomfortable with social exclusion – for me, my history, and others. Once again, quoting the words of Professor Luiz Alex, in a free translation from the original: I am with all those who fight for a collective cause, who do not hide under corrosive individualism. I deeply regret the victims of an order that denies difference (Saraiva, 2016, p. 772).

What I want to make clear is that my trajectory influenced my academic and professional trajectory. My basic education was in public school, and I studied Administration since high school (through a technical course at FAETEC), including a bachelor's degree, a Lato Sensu postgraduation in Public Management, a Master's degree and an ongoing Doctorate. My perception of the possibilities of management and organizations goes beyond something that only occurs within corporations, and it is not new that I am interested in researching gender issues (a theme I have been working on for years). The relationship between the management area and society is clear to me, added to an experience that is part of the nature of exclusion.

Today as an administrator and researcher in Administration, I have a place where I can talk about certain aspects, but I recognize that many others are not within my competence. Therefore, it is important to clarify that I do not intend to speak for a transgender person. I do not want to try to convey the perspective or experience of a transgender person. I do not occupy this place of speech. But I want to make other researchers in Administration, future managers, or current managers reflect on this issue. I want to address the different forms of social exclusion, gender identity prejudice, inequality, and role inclusion policies, citizenship, and guaranteed access to education, leisure, health, and work.

So, for this reason, I chose to bring to my thesis an important social issue that is still silent in the area. I did that seeking to draw attention to the problem and a change, however small it is. Furthermore, if your biggest question when reading the title of this work was: *Is the author trans?* – it might be very interesting that you keep reading the content and try to understand how this is everyone's problem.

1 INTRODUCTION

Recently, we have noticed a movement of certain organizations regarding initiatives to include transgender people in formal work relationships. These movements are taking place through the elaboration or adoption of actions, programs, and policies arising from the management of public and private organizations. It is possible to verify this through, for example, the indices on the Transempregos website (focused on the inclusion of trans professionals in the labor market) – which in the year 2014 had only 12 companies using its services and are currently using its services totals 46 partner companies (Lima, 2018).

It is also possible to notice the change in this scenario through the diversity and inclusion actions that are taking place in large corporations, such as IBM (International Business Machines) – which has a diversity leader in the team; Procter&Gamble – which features a company group titled GABLE (Gay, Ally, Bisexual, Lesbian, and Transgender Employees) to discuss LGBTQI+ issues; Carrefour – with the support of the Conexão Varejo project, of the NGO *Rede Cidadã* and the hiring of trans people; Pernod Ricard – which, in partnership with NGOs, offers free bartending courses for transsexuals (Lima, 2018).

The reasons may not be altruistic. Consulting surveys show that, on average, companies with plural teams perform 57% better than the industry in general, involving issues of organizational climate, employee engagement, productivity, and innovation (Lima, 2018). In addition, many of the companies are possibly trying to reach and attract

potential consumers and employees who connect with the LGBTQIA+ cause (Lima, 2018).

At this point, it is also worth considering that even companies that are LGBTQIA+ friendly focus more on LGB than on TQIA+, and despite a growing global awareness of the struggles trans people face, many employers are unaware of these challenges (Thoroughgood et al., 2020). The awareness, understanding, and acceptance of the general public of trans people have increased in the last decade; however, the stigma surrounding trans people is still widespread, which leads to structural discrimination in society (Ciprikis, et al., 2020). Thus, these initiatives encompass an undermost portion of the social problem related to the inclusion of trans people in the formal labor market. ANTRA data show that only 4% of transvestites and transsexual women are in formal jobs (Benevides & Aguiar, 2019).

The issue of transsexuality has gained greater prominence in recent decades mainly due to the regulation of assistance programs in public health, thus causing a movement to reflect on ethical, bioethical, legal, and social issues (Arán, 2006). After a slow process full of resistance fighting for space and recognition of rights, the LGBTQIA+ population has achieved some advances in relation to transsexuality. Including the growth in the number of countries that are adopting gender legal recognition policies and the increase of the issuance of official documents in which a specific gender identification is not indicated¹In this, we see examples such as the first Trans Pride event that took place in 2013 in Brighton, England (Stonewall, 2017); the

¹ The health card of the child, named Searyl Atli, was issued by the government of British Columbia Province with the letter "U" in the space reserved for sex, which can be interpreted as undetermined (undetermined) or unassigned (not assigned) (Source: <<http://www.bbc.com/portuguese/geral-40497693>>).

case of the state of Virginia, in the United States, which elected Danica Roem – the first transgender candidate elected to a state legislature in American history (CNN, 2019) and; the publication by the Scottish government of legislation to reform the process of obtaining legal gender recognition (BBC News, 2019).

It is also imperative to recognize the advances made with transsexuality in Brazil (Grant, 2015) – despite the very timid way they occur. Public policies aimed specifically at transgender people² went through several stages and presented important modifications over time. In our country, we have some relevant examples, such as the publication of Resolution No. 1482 in 1997 by the Federal Council of Medicine (CFM). In this Resolution, sex reassignment surgery – which was prohibited in Brazil – was authorized for transsexual patients in the country on a therapeutic basis (Arán, et al., 2009). We also have the publication of Ordinance No. 457 in 2008, which allowed the monitoring of cases of transsexuality and the performance of surgery by the SUS (Brazilian public health system). As well as more recent examples such as the ban on the use of the term transsexualism; the framing of LGBTQphobia in Law No. 7,716/89, which addresses crimes of prejudice and discrimination (Silva, 2019); the depathologization of trans identities by the World Health Organization (WHO) which officially adopted the International Classification of Diseases - 11th Revision (ICD-11)³ (Transgender Europe, 2019) and; the publication of Ordinance No. 1370 in 2019,

² Transgender is an 'umbrella' term associated with people whose self-identification or self-expression goes beyond socially established gender categories or boundaries, thus not limited to, but including, transsexuals, cross-dressers, and gender blenders (Grossman, et al., 2005).

³ In ICD-11, trans-related categories were removed from the Chapter on Mental and Behavioral Disorders, meaning trans identities are formally depsychopathological in ICD-11.

according to which the SUS began to cover procedures related to the redesignation of the female phenotype to the male phenotype (such as vaginectomy and metoidioplasty).

Despite these meager achievements, the problems and difficulties faced by transsexual people remain, especially concerning issues that dehumanize and marginalize such individuals who discriminate and exclude them from society. Thus, the movement around creating public health policies does not include other basic themes that guarantee citizenship. For example, in Brazil, there is the possibility of changing the sex in the civil registry regardless of having surgery (Superior Court of Justice, 2017). However, even after going through all the bureaucratic steps of a judicial process, access to this right is dependent on a favorable outcome in the judgment. To get an idea of the issue entanglement, so far in the country, we only know about the case of a transgender child having been authorized to change their documents, which occurred in 2016 (Lemos, 2018).

The labor market faces a major crisis that has been particularly impacted worldwide by the Covid-19 pandemic when companies closed, and millions of people lost their jobs (CNN Brasil Business, 2021). According to data released by the IBGE (the main provider of geographic information and statistics in Brazil), the unemployment rate in the 4th quarter of 2020 was 13.9% (IBGE, 2021), and the country reached the record of the historical series started in the year of 2012 with 14.1 million unemployed people (Vassalo, 2021). Since the problems faced in the labor market by trans people exceed those by cis-gender people considering that transphobia limits or denies them job opportunities (UFMG, 2020).

One of the biggest problems faced by trans people is LGBTQIfobia, a hate crime against the LGBTQIA+ population whose conduct is unbailable and

imprescriptible (Putti, 2019). In Brazil, this crime was only recognized by the Supreme Court in June 2019 (STF, 2019). Among members of the LGBTQIA+ population, transgender people are strongly affected by violence. The numbers of cases of assaults and deaths against transgender people are staggering. According to data from the Trans Murder Monitoring Project (Trans Murder Monitoring - TMM⁴) only in the period from October 2017 to September 2018, there were 369 cases of murders of transgender and diverse people. The majority of murders occurred in Brazil (with 167 cases), Mexico (71), the United States (28), and Colombia (21) (Transrespect, 2018). In 2020, there were registered a record number of murders against transvestites and trans women with 175 cases (ANTRA, 2021a).

Most trans people are in misery and social exclusion conditions without access to education, health, the labor market, and specific public policies (Nogueira, 2018). Such exclusion and violence imply a sub-citizenship that reflects, for example, a life expectancy calculated at 35 years of age for trans people, less than half the Brazilian national average (Alves, 2018).

We understand that the theme of transsexuality still represents an arena full of power disputes in which the parties sometimes take antagonistic positions. On the one hand, we have actors seeking to advance in discussions on this topic; on the other hand, we have a rescue of ideologies that promote the reopening of deep wounds and arising from a violent period for the LGBTQIA+ community. In order to understand the

⁴ Project developed in April 2009 by TGEU (Transgender Europe) that conducts a systematic collection, monitoring, and analysis of murders reported by trans/gender variants around the world, as well as works to raise awareness about the extent of human rights violations committed against transgender people on a global scale. It was launched to fill the gap in the documentation of violence against transgender people (source: <https://tgeu.org/issues/violence-hate-speech/>).

dichotomy *advances* and *setbacks* in relation to the inclusion of trans people in the labor market, it is essential to look to the past and analyze the trajectory of a certain event or historical landmark, tracing the socio-political trajectory actors, as this allows us to understand the constitution of pasts that acted in the maintenance and even the legitimation of gender relations in the now (Hartt et al., 2017).

One of the examples of something that today is considered a great historical mark for transsexuality in Brazil occurred, surprisingly, during the *tenebrous time* of the Brazilian dictatorial regime (Memories of Dictatorship, 2019a). The first sex reassignment surgery of a transsexual woman in Brazil took place in 1971. This medical procedure which happened at the *Hospital das Clínicas* of the Faculty of Medicine of USP (University of São Paulo) – already recognized at the time as a reference hospital in several specialties and linked to one of the main medicine schools of the country – and after five years of its realization it has become a judicial court case. Since, in 1976, the Public Ministry of São Paulo accused of the crime of bodily injury the doctor responsible for the surgery (Ministério Público do Estado de São Paulo, 1976) and considered the patient a victim by default (Luna & Barros, 2021). The surgery that was initially celebrated as a successful case of medicine in Brazil – considering its high complexity – suffered a sudden turn and was identified as a crime. In 1978, the doctor was sentenced to two years of imprisonment in the first instance, having been cleared of the prosecution only after appealing the decision in the second instance (Rossi, 2018). This judicial process was later used for purposes of legal basis in other similar cases as well as in processes to change the civil registry (State of São Paulo, 1976) and is currently considered by the São Paulo Court of Justice itself as a document historical

(found at random and transformed into part of an exhibition⁵ alongside 28 other processes, among which, the 1924 Revolution and the known Red-Light Bandit case) (TJSP, 2017).

This case represented an important moment for transsexuality in Brazil – specifically in sex reassignment surgery – but it was not the only one, as other events were also fundamental for this trajectory. In this way, we understand that within each trajectory, we have several occurrences that represent turning points that left a mark, changed the understanding of transsexuality in Brazilian society including significant changes regarding the intelligibility of transsexuality in organizations.

Based on this, we were able to recognize that turning points occur through constant articulations and movements between multiple hybrid actors, among which are people, laws, norms, events, organizations, and other actors that influenced the understanding of a social-past. In this research, it is considered that such movements reflect in mobilizations (with the unification of discourse, thought, or action) and demobilizations (which result in silencing, removals, or exclusions) of actors or networks of actors who influenced trans employability issues among other aspects. In this sense, we still understand that these turning points can be perceived as other narratives that are inserted, embedded, contained by this broader and more visible trajectory where the *longer* history ends up making, the smaller ones invisible – *hiding*

⁵ The TJSP collection was damaged after a flood and, during the restoration of the affected documents, the surgery lawsuit was identified, classified as historical, and included as part of the exhibition called "From Paper to the Digital Era". In this exhibition were displayed information and images of 29 processes selected by the Document Management Program of the Secretariat of First Instance, whose cases are related to historical and legal facts that guided the country's course (Luna & Barros, 2021).

in a black box individual elements and processes through their unification (Latour, 1987).

The trajectory of trans employability is a complex issue composed of several facets and encompassing social, political, health, legal, labor dimensions. Moreover, this trajectory is not an isolated issue but is intertwined with narratives in a broader context such as (a) transsexuality as a psychiatric disorder; (b) first sex reassignment surgery (as well as the history of how a medical procedure became a court case and even later was designated a historical document) and; (c) transsexuality assuming a space among public health policies.

As stated earlier in this research, we adopted a historical perspective as we infer that it allows us a different look to understand contemporary events, which is not only informed by what happened in the immediate past but which can inform such occurrences and also our current condition (Durepos, 2009). In developing our argument with a focus on the performance of the past and its problematics, we turn to ANTi-History (Durepos, 2009), an approach developed in the area of Management and Organizational Studies (MOS) that allows us to understand the phenomenon through a unique and retrospective lens. Through ANTi-History, we can analyze the socio-political trajectory of trans employability in Brazil as one of the multiple ways of creating knowledge about its past following the traces left by the networks that acted in it (Durepos, 2009; Myrick et al., 2013).

ANTi-History assumes that the construction of history can be understood through the socio-politics of networks of actors. Therefore, by following the socio-politics of these networks, it becomes possible to expose the interests of the networks of actors involved in the construction of history. In other words, we chose to look at the

phenomenon through a historical approach informed by the Actor-Network Theory (Law, 1986; Callon, 1986; Latour, 1987). Then, we understand that all these issues raised so far involve different levels of force (power of influence) driven by different actors (human and non-human) who have partial and distinct perspectives on the past.

Thus, the present study seeks to investigate the socio-political relations of actors-network, highlighting the major mobilizations and demobilizations in the trajectory of employability of transgender people in organizations in Brazil, (re)assembling a version of history. Since such ordering of traces results in a socio past version that enabled the current adoption of actions and policies for the insertion of trans people in the labor market. For this, a critical, procedural, relational, and practical lens will be adopted: the theoretical-methodological approach ANTi-History (Durepos & Mills, 2017; Durepos & Mills, 2012; Durepos, 2009).

In short, based on assumptions mentioned above, this thesis argues that (re)assembling a past version of the trajectory of employability of transgender people – analyzing the different hybrid actors in the continuous organization of translation networks – we understand its social construction, and we can from that mobilize agents who work in the maintenance and legitimization of the existing relationships in this phenomenon.

That said, from the present introduction, the study is structured as follows: (1) exposition of the research objectives, delimitation of the treated phenomenon, its relevance and justification; (2) the theoretical foundation regarding historical research, gender issues, prejudice, and organizations; (3) explanation of the methodological procedures to be used; (4) discussions and analysis, and finally; (5) the final considerations of this thesis.

1.1 RESEARCH PURPOSE

1.1.1 Main Purpose

To investigate socio-political relations of actors-network highlighting the main mobilizations and demobilizations in the trajectory of employability of transgender people in organizations in Brazil, (re)assembling a version of the past in the light of the theoretical-methodological approach ANTi-History.

1.1.2 Specific Purposes

- a. Understand historical aspects that influenced the construction of transgenderism in Brazilian society and its impact on labor market issues.
- b. Identify elements that constituted the scenario regarding the guarantee of rights to transgender people.
- c. To map initiatives, policies, and actions to include transgender people in the formal labor market, which are currently carried out in Brazil by organizations of different natures and economic sectors.

1.2 RELEVANCE, CONTRIBUTIONS AND DELIMITATIONS

This topic brings aspects related to the investigation relevance and delimitation, complementing some of the points already presented in the introduction to this work. Thus, initially, it deals with the possible contributions to the development of studies with historical approaches, organizational studies, and gender studies in the area of Administration, then afterward, it approaches the research's delimitation dimensions.

1.2.1 Research Relevance and Contributions

As previously pointed out, this research uses a historical, theoretical lens that is considered recent in the field of Administration, the ANTi-History (Durepos & Mills, 2012; Durepos, 2009). One of the reasons for this choice was that through ANTi-History – which is informed by the Actor-Network Theory (Latour, 1987) – it is possible to analyze the socio-political trajectory of transsexuality in Brazil as one of the multiple forms of creation of knowledge about its past, following the traces left by the actor-networks who are part of it (Myrick et al., 2013; Durepos, 2009). The relevance of using ANTi-History in Management and Organizational Studies (MOS) is also present with regard to the call for the Historical Turn in the area (Booth & Rowlinson, 2006) as it responds to this invitation through (a) critical reflection and academic researcher's reflexivity; (b) questioning the false necessity or assumed naturalness of organizations

and theories of an organization; (c) fusion of business history and historical theory; (d) transparency regarding its epistemological and ontological assumptions; (e) satisfaction of the need for philosophically transparent knowledge; (f) mainly, development of an alternative way of writing (Durepos, 2009).

Gabrielle Durepos elaborated the theoretical-methodological approach in question in her doctoral thesis under Professor Albert J. Mills's supervision (Durepos, 2009). Despite its important contribution to the area, more than a decade after its creation, research using ANTi-History in Management and Organizational Studies is still scarce (Durepos & Mills, 2012; Myrick et al., 2013; Hartt et al., 2014; Ipiranga et al., 2016; Durepos & Mills, 2017; Quelha-de-Sá & Costa, 2018). Nevertheless, historical analyses can feed an emancipatory management research program by developing content that changes class consciousness, enhances self-knowledge, and helps to raise awareness of social, ideological, environmental, and economic constraints, serving to influence, educate, and create awareness about marginalized groups (Durepos et al., 2019).

Furthermore, at some level, this research expects to make a methodological contribution for ANTi-historians. Since commonly, ANTi-History studies present a certain point of centrality in the network around which the research is built, which is limited to a specific institution or physical space. For example, in her doctoral thesis, Durepos (2009) exemplifies the use of his approach to understanding the history of a specific organization (Pan American Airways), and Quelha-de-Sá (2018) builds in her master's thesis a narrative around an organization located in a physical space the *Memorial da Resistência* (Resistance Memorial) in São Paulo. This thesis takes a path that differs from those ANTi-History studies on which it is based, especially when it

does not focus on a specific institution, physical space, or establishment. Nonetheless deals with a past inherent to a social collective and various organizations of different natures. In short, the process of following the network led to different collections, the surveys took on some particularities, a mapping of recent and ongoing history was carried out, bringing network actors of more current inclusion policies, actions, and initiatives in addition to understanding and use of tools aimed at diagramming networks. As a result, some needs arose throughout the process, and the choice and adoption of methodological procedures had to be adapted to resolve some issues (explained in the inherent chapter), understanding that such solutions can be used in research with a similar object.

In gender studies, this study can contribute to discussing transsexuality – which despite not being a recent topic in academia (being addressed by different areas such as health, communication, law, and bioethics), its discussion expanded Organizational Studies. Although academic production on trans living has increased and, as pointed out by O'Shea (2020), there is a growing body of work in management and related areas that focuses on the experience of trans people at work (Schilt, 2006; Schilt & Connell, 2007; Connell, 2010; Knights & Thanem, 2011; Muhr & Sullivan, 2013), transgender issues are still a minority and receive little attention in MOS (Thanem & Wallenberg, 2016). Few studies bring this theme to the discussion addressing, for example, labor relations (Carrieri et al., 2014; Licciardi et al., 2015; Kaffer, et al., 2016; Pizzi et al., 2014; Pizzi, et al., 2017); the management of diversity (Lima & Albuquerque, 2017) and; prejudice in organizations (Cândido, 2016).

Also, as well as Ciprikis et al. (2020), we understand that the results of this study present important elements to help policy interventions, raise awareness and encourage

employers to adopt fairer and more inclusive management practices that promote an improvement in the labor market for trans people. Furthermore, we hope to contribute to the managerial aspect of organizations, as there is a possibility of integrating their content with a practical vision, for example: (a) in the implementation of inclusion policies in the formal labor market (in areas such as responsibility corporate social, people management and brand management) and; (b) in technical production with the development of material aimed at internal communication and the offer of informative courses for management.

1.2.2 **Delimitation**

In addition to the relevance and the complexity, and variety of possible designs that this study could take, it is worth highlighting aspects that delimit it. The research phenomenon is the socio-political trajectory of actions and initiatives related to the employability of transgender people in organizations in Brazil. The focus is on analyzing socio-political relations between actors-network, contemplating the identification of its mobilizations and demobilizations, and mapping of central hybrid actors (human or non-human) whose involvement has been delineated through the traces found in the main turning points of this trajectory.

The term 'mobilization' can take on some interpretations and especially be related to social movements. Thereby it is worth mentioning that in this research, the terms mobilizations or demobilizations are used to refer to movements of multiple

network-actors that could promote a discourse strengthening/ silencing (respectively), a unification/ removal of actors around a thought, or an articulation/exclusion of some actions and places. As mentioned above, network actors comprise hybrid actors, human and non-human, which, although encompassing, is not limited to actions of social movements or collectives.

Given the length and complexity of the temporal and geographic space related to the scope of this study, it is also important to clarify that it does not intend to exhaust the identification of the network actors involved in the observed trajectory. In addition to the unfeasibility of an analysis that (i) identifies all network-actors and reassembles all the relationships involved in the trajectory of employability of trans people, (ii) incorporates a temporal retrospect that exceeds 50 years, (iii) covers the entire length of a country like Brazil observing regional specificities, the result of which would be exhausting to follow and unnecessary for this research.

This research intends to reassemble a version of the social-past that makes it possible to demonstrate how some movements that occurred over time changed relevant aspects of the social-political trajectory of the employability of trans people in Brazil. Also, during this (re)assembly process, there is an effort to identify and unveil the network-actors relations that appear in relevant movements or turning points.

Added to this, it is worth pointing out that when outlining general aspects related to the phenomenon observed, it is not the responsibility of this study to permeate topics of public management, public health, or transsexuality that go beyond these aspects, nor to go into individual experiences. These topics have indisputable relevance; however, each requires a level of depth that would provide several other discussions and future productions.

With the use of ANTi-History (due to its ontologically amodern and relational character), this research renounces categorizations imposed by modern thought, contests dualisms, and reductionisms. It adopts a relational approach to the study of phenomena (Quelha-de-Sá, 2018), being essential to recognize the active and reflexive role of the researcher (Durepos, 2009).

Considering the impact of reflexive role in a socio past version that is being built in this research, it is recognized that this version is limited to the selection of documents carried out, the researcher's narrative, as well as her knowledge and understanding of mobilizations and demobilizations that are identified, understood and analyzed in the contexts in which actors' movements are tracked. As pointed out previously, the purpose of this study involves investigating the socio-political relations of actors-network, highlighting the major mobilizations and demobilizations of actors. From this, for the selection of what is considered *main*, one must keep in mind the theoretical lens used and the importance of reflexivity and active participation of the researcher in *monitoring the network*.

Therefore, it is worth highlighting that this research will result in only one of the multiple possible versions of the narrative about the trajectory analyzed, and its result will not be perceived as a single or absolute truth.

2 THEORETICAL FOUNDATION

The following chapter presents the theoretical foundation of this thesis project. Thus, initially, it is about the historical turn in MOS and the main concepts of the ANTi-History – a theoretical-methodological approach used to analyze the phenomenon through historical traces and which allows reaching the main objective of this study. Then, some concepts debated in the academy are exposed to help us understand gender issues, such as performativity and transsexuality. Afterward, we bring from the literature some discussions that cover prejudices, including some about the diminution of the individual and institutionalized transphobia.

2.1 ORGANIZATIONAL STUDIES, HISTORY, AND ANTI-HISTORY

History is an important part of an organization's legitimation process as it is at this moment that it starts to be seen as important and its activities become validated over time (Myrick, et al., 2013). Therefore, this section will deal with the Historical Turn in Organizational Studies and with ANTi-History, which answers multiple calls from this turn and is a theoretical-methodological approach that deals with how history becomes constructed and written.

2.1.1 Historical Turn in Organizational Studies: The Origin of the Call

The past is pervasive – in the sense of belonging to everyone, being accessible to all people and places, and being highly diffused in society – however, it is something under-theorized in Management and Organizational Studies (Weatherbee et al., 2012). It is worrying that management research often assumes and reproduces the ideas that are presented about an organization or its management - as they act as universal references and convey the notion that such entities have always been as they are now and that they are immutable, regardless of time and place (Durepos, 2009).

Within the MOS field, contestations of the past have been relatively limited, largely more incorporated than expressed and most often confused with history (Weatherbee et al., 2012). It still occurs in this area despite the influence of social theories – which became evident from the mid-1980s – with their borrowings and resignifications from anthropological, philosophical, and sociological perspectives which promoted the questioning of the use of rational models, behavioral, institutional, and cognitive (Lacruz et al., 2017). Thus, as pointed out by Weatherbee et al. (2012), in many studies in the field of Organizational Studies, history is reduced to one thing (a *variable*), and the past is presumably assumed to be part of that thing.

Critical scholars of organizations – drawing on Marxist, Foucaultian, Weberian, post-colonial, feminist, and critic theories – have long argued about the importance of the past in understanding current management practice and theory, drawing on notions of conflict of classes, epistemes, rationality, colonization and patriarchy (Weatherbee et al., 2012).

In Brazil, there are studies that – agreeing with the need for a historical turn in Organizational Studies due to the urgency of overcoming the ahistoricity of the area and the problematization of naturalized concepts – also point to the uncritical assimilation of theories with the geographic position of which the same part (Wanderley, 2015; Sauerbronn & Faria, 2009). In such a way that the studies developed in the area block the development of local stories about management, naturalize an imported administrative knowledge and remove it from the socio-historical context of its origin (Barros & Carrieri, 2015).

In 2006, the inaugural edition of the journal *Management & Organizational History* drew attention to the problematic nature of ahistoricity in Organizational and Management Studies and problematic issues related to historiography (Booth & Rowlinson, 2006). In addition, the editorial policy of *Management & Organizational History* also expanded the domain of what was considered acceptable academic history, leaving behind some of the frontiers found by MOS researchers interested in publishing in the area, going beyond purely business or realistic approaches which dominate the mainstream (Weatherbee et al., 2012).

In this same edition, while Booth and Rowlinson asked for a historical turn in Organizational Studies, they too defended the application of critical questioning about the historical method as well as favored the idea of greater involvement with it (Booth & Rowlinson, 2006). These authors also held an open discussion about the problematic nature of history (discipline), history (study object), and the relationship between these two concepts, besides raising questions about the relationship between history and the past (although this oscillated between the notions of past as real and constructed) (Weatherbee et al., 2012).

As part of the historical turn, Booth and Rowlinson suggested that universalism and presentism in organizational studies be problematized and that the many benefits that could be obtained from conducting research situated in their historical context be discussed (Durepos, 2009). Rowlinson, referring to the integrationist approach⁶ by Üsdiken and Kieser (2004), suggests that the past is not so much about the interpretation of facts but stories built around traces of the past (Booth & Rowlinson, 2006). Thus, summarily, these traits constitute the raw material of the historian's discourse, not the events themselves (Weatherbee et al., 2012).

Such reflection represents an important change in past understanding in Organizational Studies, as the process of problematizing the past and its relationship with history begins (Weatherbee et al., 2012). Furthermore, from this perspective, an epistemological and ontological rupture is made between the present and the past, in which the latter is subject to discursively mediated understandings (Weatherbee et al., 2012).

Later, in 2011, during the Critical Management Studies – CMS conference, among the discussion propositions presented at the event, the reason for under-theorizing was addressed and the constant and continuous problem regarding the vision of the area. As highly ahistorical – discussions that attract the attention of numerous MOS scholars (Weatherbee et al., 2012). In fact, since the call for a historical turn proposed by Booth and Rowlinson in 2006, researchers have increasingly recognized

⁶ The integrationist approach (defended by Üsdiken and Kieser) is about a fusion of social science data collection (mainstream in Management and Organizational Studies) with the interpretivist aspects of the humanities (especially history). This approach, like the supplementary, implies that the past is contained in a series of facts but differs from it by arguing that these historical facts are represented through a mode of interpretation (i.e., history) (Weatherbee, et al., 2012).

the importance of history in understanding organizational life (Van Lent & Durepos, 2019). These academic discussions involve debates about: the onto-epistemological differences between history and the social sciences (Rowlinson et al., 2014; Coraiola et al., 2015; Suddaby, 2016); the potential for integration in the theorizing of the relationship between history and MOS (Durepos & Mills, 2017); and the possible contributions of historical perspectives to the area (Suddaby, 2016; Maclean et al., 2016).

From these provocations to reflection and in response to the call for the Historical Turn in Organizational Studies, Gabrielle Durepos elaborates the theoretical-methodological approach ANTi-History in her doctoral thesis under the supervision of Albert J. Mills. A work in which the Durepos (2009) highlights that with regard to the points listed by Booth and Rowlinson (2006), ANTi-History attempts to address the call for the historical turn in management and organizational studies through (a) critical reflection and reflexivity of the scholar; (b) questioning the false necessity or assumed naturalness of organizations and organization's theories; (c) fusion of business history and historical theory; (d) transparency regarding its epistemological and ontological assumptions; (e) satisfaction of the need for philosophically transparent knowledge; and (f) development of an alternative way of writing (Durepos, 2009).

2.1.2 ANTi-History

As pointed out earlier in this research, ANTi-History was developed mainly to meet the Historical Turn in MOS (Durepos, 2009). In this area, the mainstream approach is Organizational Memory Studies – characterized by adopting productivist and empiricist models and by a relentless search for measurable relationships between types of memories and strategic or economic variables of organizations (Quelha-de-Sá, 2018). Thus, ANTi-History emerged as an alternative approach to the mainstream that can understand the constitution of the socio past of any network of actors, including an organization, technology, truth, ritual, fact, culture, and practice (Durepos, 2009).

Durepos (2009) uses the term socio past to reinforce a difference with the idea of a naturalized/ mainstream and stable past, thus providing dynamism and enabling the emergence of stories resulting from associations between elements of heterogeneous nature (Quelha-de-Sá, 2018). Thus, through such an approach, it becomes possible to understand the existence of multiple ways of reading and multiple ways of creating knowledge about this past (Quelha-de-Sá, 2018).

ANTi-History has been so named for at least four reasons:

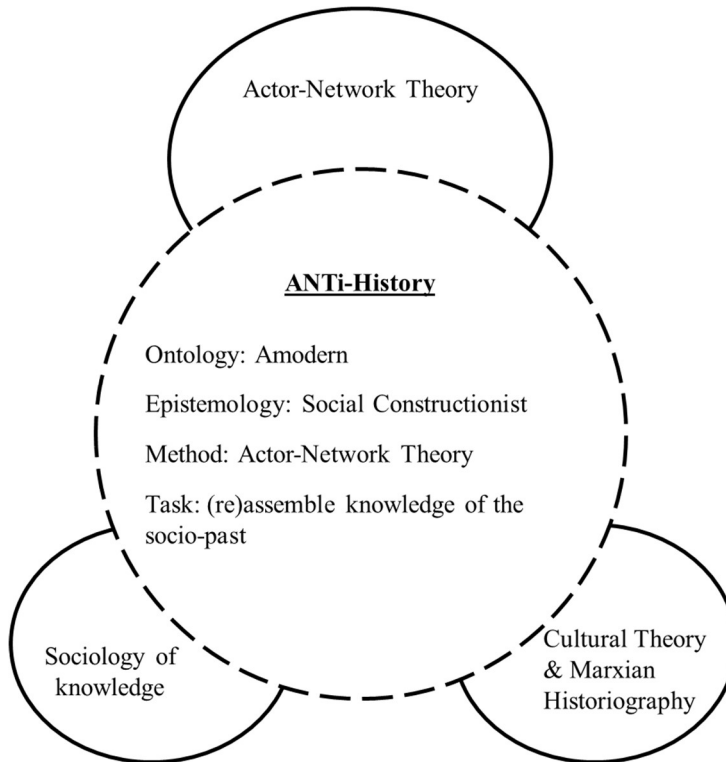
(1) is anti-history in the sense of denying the possibility of pre-given stories of the past (history) awaiting discovery; (2) is anti-History in the sense of questioning the limitations imposed by the academic category of History upon making history; (3) is anti- history but pro-histories; and (4) draws on ANT, thus ANTi-History (Durepos, 2009, pp.152-153).

This research approach is informed by a modern (postrealist) ontological assumptions and social constructionist (antipositivist) epistemological assumptions. ANTi-History is dedicated to the relational, textual, and contextual performance (as opposed to a description) of the constitution of truth(s) and facts, empirically demonstrating how the social context in which a textual feature is incorporated influences the ordering of many traits in a *tempered* narrative of history (Durepos, 2009).

According to Durepos and Mills (2017), in contrast to history (held as universal), which is assumed to be substantial and relevant for all people at all times, ANTi-History is an approach that explores the various relational activities that produce knowledge about the past whose stories make transparent the ties with the communities from which they originated. Thus, although it is a theory of knowledge of the past, ANTi-History is not epistemology. However, it is epistemologically rooted and takes precautions against letting theoretical ideas (epistemology) provide a priori certainty in relation to empirical discoveries (Durepos, 2009).

ANTi-History adopts concepts and principles that are based on three theoretical contributions (figure 1): Actor-Network Theory (Actor-Network Theory - ANT); Sociology of Knowledge (Sociology of Knowledge - SoK), and; Historiography (Historiography) (Durepos, 2009). Being important to emphasize that, in contrast to the Actor-Network Theory, the focus of ANTi-History is not directed to the study of phenomena in the present time (present condition) but the understanding of the present constitution from a past condition (past condition) (Quelha-de-Sá, 2018).

Figure 1. ANTi-History Diagram



Source: Durepos (2009, p.193).

ANTi-History is based on ANT to assume history as an effect of situated networks (ideological, spatial, and temporal) and uses this Theory when (re)assembles the constitution of the socio-historical past, tracing the various associations that act to keep this past together (Durepos, 2009). The Actor-Network Theory – elaborated by Latour (Woolgar & Latour, 1986; Latour, 1987), Law (1986; 1992; 1994), and Callon (1986) – is mainly dedicated to the performance of the construction of the social (Latour & Weibel, 2005). Then, through the use of ANT, ANTi-History comprises the processes in which knowledge occurs as submitted to social policies of negotiation, registration, and translation of actor-networks (Durepos, 2009).

Another aspect to be considered in relation to the use of ANT in ANTi-History refers to the symmetry principle of the Actor-Network Theory, according to human and non-human elements have the same relevance at the analytical level, and both are endowed with an agency (Quelha-de-Sá, 2018). In addition, ANTi-History rescues a discussion neglected by ANT (on the issue of ideology and its implications for the socio-political of actor-networks) by assuming that actor-networks located in different ideological foundations will give rise to different ways of knowing your past (Durepos, 2009).

According to ANTi-History, all knowledge of the past is situated (knowledge is an effect of social policies of actor-networks and influenced by the specific circumstances of their time and place) and positioned (historical, cultural, and political factors influence what happens to be seen as valued knowledge) (Durepos, 2009). Therefore, such an approach incorporates some understandings from the Sociology of Knowledge to understand the knowledge creation activity of a common past, guided by interests, socially constructed, political, and situated (Durepos, 2009).

Due to its ontologically amodern and relational character, ANTi-History renounces categorizations imposed by modern thought, contests dualisms and reductionisms, and adopts a relational approach to studying phenomena (Quelha-de-Sá & Costa, 2018). In this sense, amodern is taken in reference to the placement of Latour (1990; 1993b), in which the author points to the fact that there would be nothing to talk about being modern or post-modern since we would never have been really modern. Latour (1993b) suggests that modernism is a myth that we were never modern and that we always exist as mixtures of socio-natural phenomena, as hybrid processes, reactions, and interactions.

By assuming relationalism for the understanding of history, ANTi-History points out that the traces of the past unite as history as they relate to each other and, therefore, does not assume a realistic point of view (the modernist notion that the reality is a singular, absolute and definitive entity) or relativist (a position associated with postmodernism that implies that there is no absolute truth but that there are many *truths* that emerge from different contexts and worldviews) (Bettin & Mills, 2018).

This research is based on the socio-political of historical accounts considering that the stories are active and relational socio-political practices and have no end. With this, it is assumed that networks of actors are always in the middle of this practice, and their condition is between end and beginning (Hartt et al., 2017). Therefore, one of the many consequences of a-modernism for ANTi-History is being reflected in the intention to discuss the construction and constitution of *pure* epistemological categories such as *natural sciences, social sciences, past, history, modernism* (Hartt et al., 2017).

Regarding the contribution to Historiography, this refers to philosophically instructed methods constructed and used by thought communities with a historical mentality in their craft of history (Durepos, 2009). Currently, positivist historiography is considered mainstream in Western history, having been adopted by other academic disciplines that seek to make histories such as business or administration history (Durepos, 2009).

In many ways, the historical turn in management and organizational studies articulates the character of the historical analysis that is applied (Durepos, 2009). The development of ANTi-History, as an alternative approach to accessing the past, stems in part from the notable problematics of positivist historiography (Durepos, 2009). Thus, the implication for ANTi-History is to emphasize the relationship between

contextual conditions (material conditions) and the intellectual, social, and political domain of those who make history (Durepos, 2009). Including this perspective is the reflexivity of writing in ANTi-History, which involves presenting the research as a situated result (in time and place) produced by the researcher who is influenced by his professional, academic and ideological background (Durepos et al., 2019).

Unlike empiricists, positivists, and traditional historians who believe in disinterested research, Marxist scholars and ANTi-History postulate that all history is influenced by the material conditions of society (Durepos, 2009). Through a more collective approach and adopting a social constructivist lens, the organization builds its memory through narratives, rites, and symbols, where the focus is no longer concentrated on grouped individual memories (without necessarily being situated) (Quelha -de-Sá, 2018). In this sense, ANTi-History is based on Foucault regarding the “problematization of beginnings and endings in history, as well as on his emphasis on understanding actors in their own ‘evident arrangement’” (Durepos, 2009, p. 122). It involves looking at power differentials and writing narratives that have been marginalized, forgotten, or silenced, including gender, class, and ethnic rules, as well as geopolitical boundaries in knowledge construction (Durepos, et al., 2019). There is, therefore, no absolute and universal truth, as well as beginnings and ends, but rather a continuous process of becoming (*becoming*) (Quelha-de-Sá, 2018).

2.1.3 Black Box, History, Past and Socio past

ANTI-History suggests that history, or the construction of knowledge of the past, can be understood through the process of black boxing or punctuation (Durepos, 2009), with the concept of Black Box coming from the Actor-Network Theory (Latour, 1991; Callon & Latour, 1992; Law, 1992).

According to the Actor-Network Theory, heterogeneous actors (Latour, 1993a) are active political agents who seek to attract others to their cause to make it more durable (Latour, 1991) and create networks. However, there are cases in which such networks are composed of extremely aligned actors so that they are understood as a single actor (Law, 1992). Through these networks, the actors that form them generally hide a series of negotiations and political tactics that enable them to act in this way (Callon & Latour, 1992). Thus, ANT scholars referred to these seemingly unitary entities as box or punctuations⁷ – consisting of individual elements and processes that have been hidden by their unification (Latour, 1987).

ANTI-History builds on ANT to suggest that history is a punctuated actor and that, therefore, it hides a series of socio-political relationships from the actor-networks that enabled its formation (Durepos, 2009). Thus, for ANTi-History, history is a category constructed according to the interests of certain actors who privilege a specific (realistic) way of making history (Durepos, 2009). The union of multiple actors

⁷ The term punctuations make an almost visual reference to its meaning. In a diagram of a network of agents, the actors would be considered separate points, but when there is a formation of a network of unified agents, punctuation is a joining of these points (actors) in such a way that it looks like just one point larger than the others (individual agents).

(punctuation) – who sometimes carry contradictory interests – around a common cause involves a cycle of negotiations and disputes (configuration of a black box), thus carrying a political and partial (Quelha-de-Sá & Costa, 2018).

In a black box, the associations, negotiations, maneuvers, and configurations that resulted in its existence become invisible to other entities, which only the result is displayed (only the entries and exits of a black box remain observable since the extreme alignment between its actors-network ensures simplification and the listening of a voice in unison) (Durepos, 2009; Durepos & Mills, 2012; Quelha-de-Sá, 2018).

ANTI-History draws on postmodern historiography and cultural theory to distinguish and problematize the notions of the past (understood as everything that occurred before a present condition) and history (understood as a narrative or a knowledge of it. past) (Durepos, 2009). History is made by (re)assembling the constitution of the past through the ordering of its traces or vestiges, followed by the attribution of an interpretation to create a narrative (Durepos, 2009).

For ANTi-History, all knowledge about the past is partial, situated, and positioned, therefore, influenced by the circumstances and socio-political context in which it is constituted (Quelha-de-Sá & Costa, 2018). Thereby, it is legitimized the multiplicity of possible versions, since assuming that there is no absolute and unambiguous truth but versions that become "official" stories and are recognized through sharing by a dominant group within a society, to the detriment of others that are silenced and remain underground (Quelha-de-Sá & Costa, 2018).

While History is a static and immutable representation that is just waiting for its discovery, in ANTi-History, knowledge about the past is not understood as a single, unequivocal and absolute truth (Durepos & Mills, 2012). Under this logic, history is

constituted and performed by associations between extremely aligned actors – whose movements and negotiations arise in networks of actors who make history, perform history and establish different versions of history (Quelha-de-Sá & Costa, 2019) – thus, ANTi-History is pro-histories and anti-History (Durepos & Mills, 2012).

Thus, the socio past manifests itself as a historical interstice in which meshes of networks of heterogeneous translations continuously (re)shape the socio-political context of what happened (Ipiranga et al., 2016). In such a way, the more extensive and stronger the connections of a historical narrative, the greater it is capacity to legitimize itself as the dominant version and, therefore, to silence alternative narratives (Quelha-de-Sá, 2018).

2.1.4 Performativity, ANTi-History and Gender

With ANTi-History, the past is (re)assembled following and mapping vestiges, social policies, and the assembly of actor-networks to map a series of performativities (Durepos, 2009). It is an approach to history that focuses on (re)assembly the constitution of the socio past past and is not guided by assumptions defined a priori regarding the constitution of a given socio past (Durepos, 2009). In this view of a modern history, as we look at this social-past, we understand how stories produce marginalized categories of people and how these stories are produced and maintained by and through networks of actors (Hendricks, et al., 2020).

The history of the construction of past knowledge is an effect of politics of actor-networks, and the process by which the past (or knowledge of the past) is constituted is deeply contested, in flux, relational, and replete with power representations. Thus, within this perspective, a (re)assembly of the constitution of a socio past is not initiated, based on the principle that certain associations exist in the past; instead, it is encouraged to follow the range of actors that engage in political acts, negotiations, enrollments, and translations, while seeking to form networks (Durepos, 2009).

In this way, the role of history helps shape what we currently recognize as discrimination, but in addition to that, we must also be aware of the processes that lead to the production of knowledge of the past (Hendricks et al., 2020). In this sense, the socio past and the networks of actors that constitute it are understood through a process of becoming, and history traces the performativity of the networks of actors, which are in constant change - recognizing, therefore, that the ordering of these networks in a coherent narrative/history does not represent a final state due to its performativity (Durepos, 2009).

Thus, when discussing the past, we do not assume that it is a singular entity whose existence is accessed through things like memory or experience or retrieved through the contestation of facts (Hartt et al., 2014). Instead, we see the past as a retrospective way of creating meaning (Weick, 2001), whose viability is not in accessing what happened but in constructing plausible accounts of what went before. The past is neither a real nor a singular entity, so we can only access what happened before through a selected meaning-making process, in which certain meanings are selected and others ignored (Hartt et al., 2017).

By bringing this understanding of past and history construction into discussing gender issues, Hartt et al. (2017) argue relevant aspects. The authors point out that, in order to correct gender realities, it is necessary to consider that: (1) the past – in the sense of situated notions of certain events that are embedded in a particular network of actors – is a powerful aspect of the process of construction of gender in particular situations, as gender (produced through a series of relational activities) depends largely on previous notions of the actors involved in its constitution; (2) notions of the past about gender are punctuated (that is, apparently fixed) through actor-network formation processes, hence, gender is domiciled in the sociopolitics of the construction of reality; (3) to address the past, we need to see it as problematic but also sociopolitical (Hartt, et al., 2017). Also, according to Hartt et al. (2017), the construction of stories (more or less formal accounts of people and lived events) can serve to reproduce History as a powerful discourse and, in this process, divert attention from the problematic nature of the reproduction of the past that occurs at one level more immediate performance.

Gender is relational and “critical organizational historiography” (Taylor & Freer, 2002; Booth & Rowlinson, 2006), especially ANTi-History (Durepos, 2009; Durepos & Mills, 2012), offers promise in correcting the history of gender through its focus not only on the past (history) but particularly on the set of narratives about the past (historiography). Based on this, we can, through ANTi-History – which presents among its pillars the ANT (Latour, 2005; Law, 1994), the Sociology of Knowledge (Mannheim, 1968), and the Post-Structuralist Historiography (Jenkins, 1995) – track how knowledge of gender is produced, disseminated and punctuated (or even when its political conditions of creation are hidden and starts to act as an uncontested phenomenon) (Hartt et al., 2017).

In this regard, the challenges of historical analysis to open space for gender studies in organizational studies are discussed in order to include the development of methodological differences that encourage the examination of the way social life (including past social life) is constructed and the implications of this for action (Hartt et al., 2017). It is also important to recognize the power of organizations in generating discriminatory historical narratives and the need to explore further how such narratives are produced as knowledge of the past (Hendricks, et al., 2020). Thus, this line of thought suggests that attention be directed to the need to understand the various ways in which stories written or incorporated into organizational practices are constructed and the consequences for the production of gender realities (Hartt et al., 2017).

The roots of this facet of ANTi-History are similar to the problematization of race, as stated by Haraway (2004), in such a way that gender – when summarized as male and female – fits into fixed “natural cultural” categories to order social life. Haraway (2004) further suggests that categories such as gender affect semiotic-material social relations situated in various ways, and their specific constitution stems only from these situated relations. Thus, the similarity with ANTi-History is that, although these categories are relatively recent effects of our modern condition, they are imposed on all things from the past; they order the past (Hartt, et al., 2017).

From this, the task of mapping the socio past – following a series of social policies of the actors' networks, to understand how they build their past – suggests that gender practices can be constructed through specific actors and the way they influence events (Hartt et al., 2017) – noting, more specifically concerning the object of this research, that certain identities are privileged, marginalized, or neglected through a

series of interconnected historical meanings that create the potential for comparative associations (Hendricks, et al., 2020).

Recognizing the socially constructed nature of our theoretical apparatus, Hartt et al. (2017) points out that to write or reassemble the past in order to understand the gender, we must reassemble all human and non-human actors, as well as their associations, seeing history as a punctuated actor or a black box. After all, the processes of privilege and marginalization depend on how a particular nexus is configured in historical narratives and trajectories (Hendricks et al., 2020).

Unlike what one might suppose, when using ANTi-History, punctuated gender histories do not assume an air of naturalness and concreteness that would enclose any opportunity to revisit, rewrite or renegotiate the gender realities that history advocates, but it becomes possible to effect changes, understanding how to stop the dissemination of gender knowledge or sow new forms of knowledge (Hartt et al., 2017). Using ANTi-History, punctuated stories are active actors in capturing and translating the interests of other actors to enroll them in the acceptance of what is read or told (Hartt et al., 2017).

As previously stated, Latour (1993a) suggests that we move towards a condition that precedes modernism – hence, amodernism – and, following this, in ANTi-History, we assume history as constituted of heterogeneous actors (a miscellaneous of social actors and natural) (Hartt et al., 2017). The implication of this for gender, in short, is that such a concept needs to be recognized as a problematic category of thought, constituted and reconstituted by heterogeneous actors.

2.2 GENDER, TRANSEXUALITY, AND ORGANIZATIONS

The movements and social transformations related to different markers in the construction of political identities in the transvestite and transsexual movement are in constant dispute in various areas of social life that intersect such as activism, science, state bureaucracy, and public policies, not being, therefore, subject to a linear and definitive explanation (Carvalho, 2018). Considering this and seeking to provide sufficient elements for the reader to understand the argumentative alignment to be adopted in this research, this section brings theoretical references that address issues related to performativity and gender identity related to transsexuality, including the discussion of the theme in organizations.

2.2.1 Gender Performativity

Performativity theory assumes that norms act on us before we have an opportunity to act and that when we act, we recapitulate those norms, perhaps in new or unexpected ways, but always concerning the norms that precede us (Joy, et al., 2015). When we think about the idea of gender-defined based on sex (as a natural, binary, and hierarchical category), we see that it grounds essentialist or totalizing theories, according to which there is only one stable and homogeneous way of being a woman or being a man, thus establishing fixed and stable gender categories (Narvaz & Koller,

2006). In this sense, we are far from being sovereign individuals capable of making independent decisions, as we are products of the ongoing process from which our vision of ourselves and the world derives (Joy et al., 2015).

According to this binary conception of gender, while *sex* described the biological aspects, *gender* understood the cultural construction on the differences between men and women, based on their biological differences - such propositions only came to be refuted in the third feminist generation, where this gender perspective from previous generations was denaturalized and deconstructed (Narvaz & Koller, 2006).

The concept of gender was not constituted consistently and linearly but from various movements – with propositions and rebuttals – that took place over time. This research focuses on understanding this concept from the introduction of post-structuralist tendencies, in which Butler – returning to philosophers such as Derrida and Austin – states that gender is a performance (Butler, 2002)—derived from the convergence with racial, class, ethnic, sexual, and regional modalities of discursively constituted identities (Butler, 2016). In such a way that it is only possible to understand the notion of gender when we start from the political and cultural intersections that form, produce and maintain it (Butler, 2016).

Performativity is not a singular act but a reiteration of a norm or a set of norms and which, as it acquires the condition of an act in the present, hides or conceals the repetition conventions (Butler, 2002). In this way, gender is in a continuous construction process, open to interventions and resignifications, being the repeated styling of the body, which crystallizes in time to produce the appearance of a substance, of a natural class of being (Butler, 2016, p. 69).

By stating that gender is a performance, Butler states that such a concept is an identity maintained by the reiteration and repetition of gender norms, therefore, inserted in the power logic of heterosexism and phallogocentrism (Butler, 2016). The concept of gender as a performative act understands it as an effect produced or generated (Butler, 2016). Thus, gender is not limited to a representation that designates someone through male or female binary characteristics, as gender is its own result, differing through its practices and experiences (Butler, 2016).

The awareness of gender performativity rescues understanding each individual's unique construction process, resuming a field of possibilities that is reaffirmed or renegotiated through continuous performances (acts, concrete practices) and not naturalized essences (Butler, 2016). Since the term performativity itself refers to the fictitious constructs on which the notions about genders are produced.

Furthermore, due to a series of internal and external factors, people may or may not conform to what is socially normalized (Linstead & Pullen, 2006). Therefore, as identity is completely related to an intelligible idea of the person, those who do not recognize themselves within the norms of gender intelligibility - socially instituted and maintained - are considered "beings" (who look like people, but are not), because they belong to an "incoherent" or "discontinuous" gender (Butler, 2016, p. 43).

In a study of gender and violence in India (Joy et al., 2015), the authors explored how gender performativity (acting and actions constrained by gender norms) affects identity and, therefore, individual agency. In such work, to understand the vulnerability of women in India, regardless of class and caste, the authors point out the importance of performativity and precariousness. As explained by Joy, Belk, and Bhardwaj (2015), gender norms (with performativity) define how women are treated in India, preceding

any act of will and action, and precariousness involves the notion of a life governed by unpredictability (Joy, et al., 2015). Bringing understanding to the thesis context – reserved for the specifics related to each of the researches – we can observe that these questions can also apply to the agency of a trans person in Brazil. In such a way that it is relevant to understand the aspect of gender performativity and precariousness (fueled by prejudice, social and political exclusion) constant in the life of a transgender person in Brazil and to understand how this affects the agency of the individual, of their family members, social groups, political groups, as well as organizations.

2.2.2 Transsexuality

According to Bento (2008), transsexuality is an identity experience characterized by conflict with gender norms since such norms are based on dimorphism, heterosexuality, and idealizations. Thus, transsexual people refute the regulatory strategies of gender categories based on binarity and materialize in their bodies the possibility of resistance to this norm (Larrat, 2015). Furthermore, this binary opposition, which constitutes the dimorphism of genders, implies a reductionism that encompasses all levels of a person's life, as according to such an understanding, males and females are only intelligible when referenced to sexual difference (Bento, 2008).

Even before birth, the body is already inscribed in a discursive field full of social expectations conditioned to the genital organ (Bento, 2008). However, some bodies escape the production process of these intelligible genders – as happens with

transsexuality – and demonstrate not only that there are possibilities for transforming gender norms but also that we are not predestined to fulfill the wishes of our corporeal structures (Bento, 2008, p. 38). From this, certain gender identities are treated as developmental failures or as logical impossibilities just because they do not conform to the norms of cultural intelligibility (Butler, 2003).

Being a transsexual man/woman is an evocation of identity that implies a debate about demarcation with other identities – in this case, mainly, with transvestility (Bento, 2008). Both are identity constructions that represent responses to conflicts generated by gender norms, but one of the differences traditionally pointed out was related to the performance of the surgical intervention. However, this idea began to be relativized by transsexual people who do not condition the change of gender to surgery (Bento, 2008).

The differences that delimit transsexuality and transvestility are continually merging, coming closer. A possible difference may lie in the mechanisms used by transgender people to be legally and socially recognized for their gender identities, as they activate a complex network of discourses located in medical, religious, educational, political, legal, family institutions (Bento, 2008, p. 77). In addition, there is a diversity and plurality that exists among transsexual people, and it is also not appropriate to associate gender identity with a particular sexual orientation (Bento, 2008).

Despite being present in medical literature since the 1940s, the term transsexual had its origin officially recognized in 1949, through an article published by sexologist David Cauldwell, where the same was used as the nomenclature *Transexuales Psychopathia* (Silva & Brito, 2017). For this and other reasons, transsexuality itself is considered strongly associated with medicine in our society, and, at times, it is reduced to it. However, transsexuality is a form of expression of personal identity that can be

changed throughout life, according to the dynamics of the individual's experiences (Barboza, 2012, p. 554)—above all, considering that there are transsexual people who question the effectiveness of surgery as a guarantee to exercise their masculinity or femininity (Bento, 2008).

Transsexual is not only the individual who wants to surgically change (or alter) the morphological sex but also the person who lives the gender to which it is wanted to obtain recognition of this identity, regardless of modification of their genitalia and their sexuality (Barboza, 2012, p. 554). Despite this, the importance of surgery should not be diminished, as this is not a secondary issue (Bento, 2008). For many people, surgery is the possibility of recognizing oneself in their body (in cases of intense abjection with the genital organ) and to add humanity to bodies that are interpreted as impossible to exist by gender norms (Bento, 2008, p. 64). Therefore, the decision to undergo the hospital process as a whole, or even the decision on the best time to do so, are issues conditioned to the biography of each person (Bento, 2008).

What differentiates the performances between biological and transsexual women/men is the legitimacy established from a discursive dispute, which establishes who is the center and the margin (Bento, 2008). The effort to configure transsexuality as a pathology worked to limit these people's access to their rights in such a way that those who could not or did not want to submit to very specific conditions were excluded (Coacci, 2018). Since the gender performativities articulated outside the norms are socially assumed as disturbed, abnormal, psychotic identities, aberrations of nature, weird things (Bento, 2008, p. 45).

Thus, actions that do not correspond to expectations structured in assumptions are, by physical or symbolic violence, kept apart from what is considered humanly

normal (Bento, 2008, p. 43) – and transsexuality ends up becoming an experience that involves intense suffering, especially that caused by social precariousness (Arán, 2006).

2.2.3 Transsexuality, prejudice, exclusion, and organizations

As pointed out earlier in this study, established gender norms create binary – and, therefore, exclude – patterns in search of uniformity of gender identity through a type of *compulsory heterosexuality* (Butler, 2003). Such norms are regulatory fictions that consolidate and naturalize power regimes converging with male and heterosexist oppression (Butler, 2016, p. 70). Thus, as the gender patterns established in our society cannot capture all the bodies it produces, transvestites, transsexuals, and transgender people are marginalized and stereotyped as pathologized or *deviant beings* (Dieguez, 2016).

The concept of gender performativity allows us to understand that subjects are constituted through concrete acts and practices (Butler, 2016) and that there is a continuous construction process – where gender involves a stylization of the body, which goes through interventions and resignifications until it crystallizes in time and produces a natural class of being (Butler, 2016, p. 69). In this sense – as recognized even by the American Psychological Association (2014)⁸ – Gender identity denotes how a person makes sense of himself, whether male, female or transgender.

⁸ In this excerpt, it is recognized that the mentioned association is part of a (medical-psychiatric) network that commonly presents a biological/natural/binary position on gender, which is refuted

According to Bento (2008), the identity experience is not ahistorical, and transsexuality is one of several expressions of identity that emerged in a “normal/abnormal” binary social system that focuses on identity only in the body. In this sense, the author also reports how, over time, social conventions established a change in thought, with new subjectivities and collective identities, also talking about the migration from isomorphism to dimorphism.

In general terms, isomorphism dealt with a homogeneity between men and women and, even the sexual organs were considered physiologically equivalent (for example, the vagina was seen as an inverted penis). At the same time, dimorphism framed a discourse of differences in sexual hierarchies between male and female, according to which the only habitable place for the female is in women's bodies, and for the male, in men's bodies (Bento, 2008).

Added to this dimorphism present in subjectivities and collective identities (Bento, 2008), transsexuality is correlated with a pathological condition. A large portion of research on transsexuality, carried out in the human and social sciences, still is translated into the questioning and deconstruction of pathologizing, marginalized, and linked to a particular sexual exoticism conception (Prado & Freitas, 2016). In part, this situation derives from a condition that has been attributed to it, for decades, in areas such as psychiatry and psychoanalysis – in which, for a long time, transsexuality was called by the term *transsexualism*, seen as identity disorder or psychosis given the existence of non-conformity between biological sex and gender (Arán, 2006).

by the post-structuralist theoretical thinking that is adopted in this Work. With this, we seek to reflect that, at this point, even associations like this can reinforce the thoughts outlined here.

When we turn our gaze to the field of organizational studies, we see that several studies dealing with transsexual experiences in work relationships address the issue of prostitution as a sex work (Prado & Freitas, 2016). Thus, reflecting a scenario of lack of opportunities due to family, school, and social exclusion, as portrayed by the ANTRA data – which indicate that 90% of the population of transvestites and transsexual women are in prostitution, 6% are in prostitution in informal activities without employment relationship and only 4% informal jobs (Benevides & Aguiar, 2019). Therefore, it is understood how the work relationships experienced by trans people demonstrate the limiting effects of gender norms and their cultural, social, and historical constraints (Prado & Freitas, 2016).

This prejudice and marginalization of transsexuality correlated to a pathological condition have been present in our society for some time. *Hermaphroditism*, *Transsexualism*, and *Transsexuality* represent some of the terms used to refer to the same gender issue, expressing completely different meanings. After all, hermaphroditism and transsexualism were terminologies used to refer to a disease, where the suffix *ism* took on a pathological connotation, being therefore curable (Ceccarelli, 2017). While, Transsexuality (especially after depathologization) refers to the recognition of an identity experience (Bento, 2008), of the individual's mental health, and the consequent right to decide on one's own body (Bento & Pelúcio, 2012).

In this way, normative practices of the gender binary and the logic of authenticity affect the violation of rights and the recognition and identification of transsexuality (Prado & Freitas, 2016). As part of this social construction, organizations reflect and reproduce these ideas and patterns that are located at the center, increasingly pushing away those who were left out. Therefore, this process harms transsexual people

(personal frustration, feeling of indignity, social and emotional non-recognition) that materialize in everyday experiences in the family, school, occupational, social, and political spheres (Prado & Freitas, 2016).

The stigmatization process of transsexuality leads to the exclusion of trans people from the labor market, schools, and health services, denying their fundamental rights as citizens (Larrat, 2015). The psychopathologization of transsexuality has affected (and still affects) people's lives, both because of the difficulty in accessing public policies and in relation to the stigma attached to it, which takes away the dignity of the experience of identity (Prado & Freitas, 2016). The social rights guaranteed in the Federal Constitution of 1988 (education, health, food, work, housing, transport, leisure, security, social security, maternity and childhood protection, and assistance to the homeless) do not seem to reach transsexual people (Agência Senado Federal, 2017). Furthermore, the stigma attributed to transsexuality generates acts of violence that lead many people to death (Larrat, 2015).

A transgender person (transvestite, transsexual or transgender) is part of one of the most victimized groups in Brazil (Nogueira, 2018). LGBTQphobia is considered a critical and hostile social behavior, accompanied by institutional, religious, and political factors, directly related to the hegemonic model on gender roles – which occurs both due to lack of information and discrimination against people with different behavior expected (Benevides & Aguiar, 2019). Transphobia occurs when this hateful behavior (of someone who thinks they have the right to attack and kill) is directed at trans people (Agência Senado Federal, 2017).

In Brazil, most transgender people are in conditions of misery and social exclusion, without access to education, health, the formal labor market, and specific

public policies (Nogueira, 2018). This exclusion manifests itself in such profound ways that even collecting data on transphobia in society becomes an arduous task and generally happens independently (outside the public authorities). Thus, the lack of official data on the murders of transvestites and transsexuals in Brazil (Silva, 2019) makes the work of certain organizations, such as the National Association of Transvestites and Transsexuals (ANTRA) – which articulates 127 institutions that develop actions to promote citizenship of the population of Transvestites and Transsexuals in the country (ANTRA, 2019).

The lack of structure and acceptance in the care aimed at trans people who are victims of violence also corroborates the lack of official statistical data, since many of the victims do not file a formal complaint and, when they do, they are identified through what appears in your civil document – which often diverges from their gender identity (Benevides & Aguiar, 2019). According to ANTRA, among the various limitations for its performance, the main challenges in the last five years of monitoring have been consolidated in the lack of government data and underreporting (ANTRA, 2021a).

The official recognition of gender identity depends on a court decision authorizing their civil requalification, in such a way that it is not guaranteed to trans people and does not always occur, mainly due to the restricted legal perception of sexual diversity that often clings to determinism biological (Barboza, 2012). Such marginalization experienced by trans people stems from their social non-compliance with the system of gender and sexuality norms that is still widely adopted, in which gender must necessarily correspond to their anatomophysiological body (Larrat, 2015). More serious is the general belief that court orders, even those relating only to name change, are only granted after surgery, which is frequent. The physical cut has a

convincing effect, and there are cases in which withdrawal is required of the uterus or ovaries so that only the first name can be changed (Barboza, 2012).

Stigma and discrimination against trans people are real and part of a continuous circle of oppression that deprives them of their fundamental rights (Transrespect, 2018). Unfortunately, prejudice causes trans people to be commonly associated with a figure that is “monstrous” and disgusting (except when it serves the erotic fantasies of some subjects), being completely removed from the space of social intelligibility (Larrat, 2015, p. 65).

2.2.4 Institutionalized Transphobia

For a long time and in different parts of the world, trans people have been victims of gender-based violence, which occurs severely and repetitively through various forms of disrespect and ill-treatment, including beatings, mutilations, rapes, and murders (Transgender Europe, 2019). However, it is impossible to estimate the absolute number of cases since, in most countries, statistical data are not systematically produced (Transrespect, 2018).

The lack of education and discussions on transsexuality encourages the growth of violence stemming from prejudice. According to a survey carried out by different NGOs in 72 countries, Brazil is responsible for approximately 40% of the murders of transgender people worldwide in the last ten years, followed by Mexico and the United States (Alves, 2018).

It is estimated that more than 85% of families have difficulties in respecting the individuality of their members (Benevides & Aguiar, 2019), and it is common that, on average, at 13 years of age, a transgender person is expelled from their home by their parents (Alves, 2018). Furthermore, the family itself is responsible for many of the cases of verbal threats, beatings, and burns, especially concerning underage transsexuals – who end up suffering a silent and difficult crime to prove (Benevides & Aguiar, 2019).

In addition to violence in the family environment, many children find it challenging to remain in the formal education structure (Benevides & Aguiar, 2019). Transphobia affects development and profoundly limits opportunities from childhood onwards, as the school often establishes a hostile and excluding environment (Pereira, 2018). There is a process of *expulsion* (which is critical to differentiate from the idea of dropout) from the school environment, where many children leave school because they cannot bear the hostile, limiting, and intolerant daily life (Bento, 2008, p. 166). In such a way, about 56% of transgender people have not completed elementary school, 72% do not have a high school, and only 0.02% have higher education (Benevides & Aguiar, 2019).

The training and schooling process of transsexuals is affected by *institutional violence* that affects the experience of these people and distances them from institutions (Prado & Freitas, 2016, p. 330). The commitment to training and low qualifications complete the exclusion situation these people face, who often see prostitution as their only path (Lima, 2018). This issue implies a sub-citizenship of transgender people, in which both the training process and the insertion in labor relations are limited (Prado & Freitas, 2016).

In a study carried out by Almeida and Vasconcellos (2018), entities representing the rights of the trans population in São Paulo pointed out that the main barriers to accessing the labor market for these people would be: (1) prejudice and transphobia; (2) civil registration documents; (3) use of a bathroom, changing room and uniform; (4) low education and involuntary school dropout; and (5) body and verbal language (which involves a constant devaluation of communication modes made through, for example, gestures, tone of voice, use of slang).

The precariousness of employment and income possibilities acts to keep transsexuals in underemployment (even with a level of education equivalent to or higher than the required one), performing clandestine activities, financially dependent, and with uncertain occupations (Prado & Freitas, 2016). Respect for the transsexual person's gender identity within organizations in Brazil is still an exception (Lima, 2018). In selection processes, trans people face the prejudice revealed in the performance of those responsible for managing people (Moura & Lopes, 2014). Reaching the interview stage, phrases such as "We do not hire this type of person" can be heard by trans people, in addition to other barriers to be faced by them, such as recurring cases of harassment and those barriers mentioned before (Pereira, 2018).

The work environment is often tense and embarrassing for trans people. Moreover, acceptance and respect may be conditioned to personal parameters and criteria of the head (Prado & Freitas, 2016). Thus, when there is a possibility of action, they face many forms of discrimination present in organizational practices, which are perceived in the behavior of co-workers, in awkward looks, in forms of treatment, in restrictions imposed to attend some spaces, and in the resistance to interpersonal coexistence (Cândido, 2016). Thus, the fear of dismissal due to discrimination and

prejudice (even if in a veiled way) from colleagues and superiors is one of the biggest obstacles for transsexual people to assume their gender identities at work (Lima, 2018).

Fear makes silence and discretion become strategies for getting hired or staying in a job (Carrieri, et al., 2014). The constraints (or their expectations) in interviews or in the work environment itself postpone some transition processes of trans people (Prado & Freitas, 2016). Thus, a portion of the trans population is composed of people who have obtained their education, have professional qualifications, and are already in the labor market; however, they came out later (Lima, 2018). In such a way that 61% of Brazilian LGBTQI+ people interviewed by the Center for Talent Innovation institute stated that they hide their gender or sexuality in the organizational sphere (Lima, 2018). Intolerance regarding gender issues is also present in other institutional dimensions, especially noted in the legislative sphere of the State, where discussions and projects that seek to guarantee the right to citizenship of the LGBTQIA+ population are absent (Benevides & Aguiar, 2019). In Brazil, for example, no legislation regulates and determines the immediate alteration of the civil registry after the process of gender transition, requiring a court decision for it to materialize. However, such a decision is not always granted, based on the principles of intimacy and privacy, and some judges deny the request in its entirety based strictly on biological criteria (Pereira, 2018).

In the area of health, trans people suffer from symbolic violence in care (e.g., the impediment to blood donation due to stigmas related to sexually transmitted infections, HIV/AIDS, and viral hepatitis) to violations of fundamental rights (e.g., expulsion from public restrooms and denied access to medical appointments) (Benevides & Aguiar, 2019).

Under-citizenship, exclusion, and violence are unveiled in the life expectancy of a trans person, who is 35 years old (Alves, 2018), while the national average is 76 years old, according to IBGE data (Augusto, 2018). These people are, therefore, socially discriminated against and stigmatized for not fitting into the attributes and categories that society recognizes as "normal," being removed and treated as beings (not people) who are dangerous and evil (Larrat, 2015).

During the dictatorial period in Brazil, there was an official and institutionalized sexual policy to control manifestations considered 'perversions' or 'deviations' such as eroticism, pornography, homosexuality, and transgenering (Quinalha, 2017, p. 314). However, despite the advances arising from a period of democratization in Brazil, transphobia is institutionalized and such progressions have not impacted the population of transvestites and transsexuals in the country (Larrat, 2015).

Violence against LGBTQIA+ people also took on another dimension in the dictatorship in Brazil, which was not committed directly by public agents, but admitted and encouraged by other forces of the State, where the omission and collusion based on the LGBTQphobic discourses that emanated from the official bodies of repression were fundamental to culturally nurture discriminatory views and practices in Brazilian society (Quinalha, 2017, p. 223).

The use of violence against trans people is a practice inherited from a dictatorial period (in which it assumed significant proportions) and is still present in many institutions, such as police stations. Commonly civil and military police officers treat people trans as hybrid or subversive beings, denying them the right to exercise their gender identity (Larrat, 2015, p. 159). Sometimes, after physical aggression, the transgender person still has to deal with transphobic care from public agents, such as

hospitals or police stations (Silva, 2019). Thus, they suffer from the small and various everyday sanctions imposed by society: embarrassment, humiliation, and severe discrimination that confine them to one of the many ghettos destined for abnormals (Barboza, 2012).

3 METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES

Considering its interpretive and constructionist ontological, epistemological basis, this is research with a qualitative approach, and this chapter presents the methodological procedures adopted in this thesis, including: (1) description of the methodological path; (2) definition of the methodological approach used and; (3) operationalization method, which also comprises the procedures for data collection and the elaboration of network diagrams. It is stated to investigate the socio-political relations of actors-network highlighting the main mobilizations and demobilizations in the trajectory of employability of transgender people in organizations in Brazil, adopting ANTi-History for this (Durepos, 2009; Durepos & Mills, 2012; 2017).

3.1 ROUTE AND APPROACH

3.1.1 Research Path

This work is the result of a long journey, and not only because it is a process inherent to the Doctorate but because it was built through several initial explorations (theoretical and empirical) prior to it. In ANTi-History, history is understood as a punctuated actor or a black box and requires reflexivity in history's (re)assembly

(Durepos, 2009). Such reflexivity involves presenting the research as a situated result (in time and place) of the researcher – influenced by their professional experience, academic background, and ideology – and an active reflection on how the research was drawn (representation choices). Reflexive writing can be achieved through writing in the first voice, as opposed to using the third voice (which promises a neutral view) (Durepos, et al., 2019). In such a way, emphasizing the researcher's reflexive role in ANTi-History, it is worth reporting some of the previous steps that were taken and, for that, in this section, from this point, the use of first-person conjugations will be used.

As a researcher, I have a growing wish to research issues of gender inequality (according to the reasons presented in the prologue of this thesis) and, during my academic trajectory, I have gone through several studies related to this theme. After an approach to Feminist Studies, I started to research diversity and gender identities out of a heteronormative and binary pattern. At the beginning of the Doctorate, I was working with the performativity existing in markets (using a critical Marketing Studies approach) and based on the observation of the variety of products available to act in the transformation of the bodies of trans women. At the time, my focus was directed to the investigation of bodies and patterns established for what is considered (or rather, socially defined) as the feminine ideal, and the initial intention in my thesis project was to research the formation of a market still in construction. From this objective, I started a previous exploration stage directly in the research field. With that, I visited different archives in person and consulted various documents available in some local collections in Rio de Janeiro, such as the *Biblioteca Nacional* [National Library] and the *Arquivo Nacional* [National Archive].

During this stage, I came across several sources of LGBTQIA+ history in the news, books, and academic papers, some of which had a clear connection with relevant civil and public organizations. Based on this identification, we (my guiding teacher and I) decided to go deeper into such stories – as said earlier, we were both inserted in another area of research, and with this decision, we had to seek theoretical lenses that would allow us to retake the past and these stories within the Administration area. So, through close researchers working with the approach, we had contact with ANTi-History, and we saw in it a possibility of investigation and discussion that would represent a relevant contribution in the area of MOS – and also a possibility of contributing to the management practice.

As previously pointed out, this thesis takes its path and, as its construction, we have been identifying and adopting methodological procedures that have met specific needs of this research – thus recognizing, once again, the influence of our role, of our geographic location and the current political scenario on the constitution of this version of history, reassembled here.

In this sense, an important point to consider is the interference of the COVID-19 pandemic situation in the methodological procedures. At the beginning of this research, we had delineated a research design different from the one adopted, which included interviews. We even contacted some organizations that adopted actions to include trans people and whose initiatives we had already learned about – mainly through our participation in events, lectures, and presentations. We even held some prior dialogues and obtained positive feedback for future contacts. However, at the collection period beginning, the country and the world were suffering the impacts of a pandemic due to COVID-19 (Coronavirus Disease 2019), which caused essential changes in the

way people communicate and interact. With this, we entered a phase of necessary social isolation here in Brazil, and we were all going through a great process of adaptation in general, both individually and collectively.

At the beginning of the period of social isolation, I still interviewed one of the people responsible for the strategic management of the human resources sector of a global company in the chemical and pharmaceutical industry. Nevertheless, the scenario was not favorable. Personnel managers worked on projects to adapt their employees to remote jobs or new relay formats, scales, and other extra tasks. As a result, returns became increasingly scarce, and maintaining that strategy could compromise the feasibility of the research. The interview created an excellent approximation with the field and could be used in future works; however, we had to rethink and reformulate the research design.

3.1.2 Methodological Approach

ANTI-History aims to develop a critical alternative to conventional historiography (Durepos, 2009). Such an approach specifies that the methods valid for the study of the past must be supported by empirical analyses of that past (Durepos, 2009). Furthermore, it is dedicated to tracing the constitution of the socio past and doing this through (a) assuming that the socio past is constituted by heterogeneous actors and (b) following the traces of these heterogeneous socio-political actors to (re)assemble its constitution (Durepos, 2009).

For application purposes in this research, the methodology is based on the premises established by ANTi-History, which are: (1) ontologically relativistic nature - which seeks to understand the phenomena that emerge from the socio past through interactions, associations and movements performed for the social construction of a reality, in a specific time and context; (2) opposition to preconceived models – considering the continuous, fluid and dynamic process of constructing a narrative about a socio past; (3) multiplicity of possible versions of the same socio past – according to this premise, knowledge of history constitutes an actor-network, being subject to different interpretations, accesses, associations; (4) performative character - under which the history not is given, but the performed to from the movements of the actors and their reproduction and repetition of the version that has prevailed during the negotiation process; (5) reflexive character – which considers the role of the researcher and his reflexive behavior regarding his role in the constitution of the socio past version to be constructed (Quelha-de-Sá, 2018).

As a methodology for the study of history, the focus of ANTi-History is on the constitution of the socio past – instead of the constitution of the social (Latour, 2005) or the historical subject (Foucault, 1982; 1997) – passing through aspects of postmodern historiography, Foucault's archeology and genealogy, as well as Latour's ANT, but being different from these (Durepos, 2009). Thus, while Foucault focuses on the subject and assumes it as a means to study and gain insights into the various discourses that operate through it and that shape it, and Latour (2005b) focuses on how the social (in the present tense) is performed through the social or socio-political relations of actor-networks. Instead, ANTi-History seeks to map the social, following the series of social policies of actor-networks, to understand how they build their past (Durepos, 2009).

Thus, the ANTi-History task is different, as it does not assume a given phenomenon (socio past) is already constituted. However, it recognizes that history and knowledge of the social-past constitution are carried out through the effort of an actor to define and characterize it (Durepos, 2009). Therefore, using ANTi-History means being careful not to let someone's prejudices impose themselves on the ordering of past traits and privileging the voice of the actors over that of the researcher. Furthermore, ANTi-History suggests that socio-politics and power techniques should be written to show history as a socially constructed, ordered, political and situated product (ideologically, spatially, temporally). When applying this method, we need to see the researcher equally situated so that he cannot be understood as separate from the contextual conditions from which he originated and in which he matured as a historian (Durepos, 2009).

As pointed out by Durepos (2009), the Actor-Network Theory has been used to trace the constitution of society and knowledge, being a theory about how actors get involved in the formation of networks. More specifically, ANT presupposes that the social is constituted by actors – who are described as any material that has the capacity to act on or alter another (Law, 1986) – and they continuously participate in political work, engaging the interests of others. Actors mobilize their interests, translating them, finally recruiting actors to take up the same cause (Latour, 2005). ANT (although not limited to this) can be applied as a methodology that offers specific ontological and epistemological insights to understand the construction of knowledge (Durepos, 2009). In such a way that, designed based on Actor-Network Theory, ANTi-History is interested in tracing the networks of actors that constitute a socio past, in which the past

is seen as composed of actors, whom they are understood as capable of altering the course of other actors (Durepos, 2009).

So, by using ANTi-History in this study, we seek to investigate the socio-political relationships of the network actors involved in the trajectory of employability of transgender people in organizations in Brazil and make the main socio-political movements that have taken place over time transparent., whose ordering of traces or traces to be carried out here will result in a version of this socio past.

The use of the ANTi-History method implies: (i) an emphasis on performativity – that is, making history (re)assembling the socio past by tracing the associations of actor-networks; (ii) to privilege the voice of actors over that of the historian; (iii) on the premise of the empirical over the theoretical when (re)combining the traces of the socio-historical past and; (iv) that the social-past is constituted by networks of materially heterogeneous actors (human and non-human) (Durepos, 2009). Regarding this last aspect, it is worth mentioning that ANTi-History is dedicated to a relational understanding between human and non-human actors that constitute the socio past, in such a way that the networks, in which knowledge of the past is built, comprise many actors such as historians, archivists, and their traces, the archive itself, computers, paper, among others (Durepos, 2009).

During the methodological procedures, the ANTi-History parameters were observed regarding the adoption of symmetry between the consulted sources – in such a way that the researched documents, whether they were considered official or not, assumed the same relevance for this research – and the multiplicity of possible versions of the same socio past. It is an important aspect because only through observing these parameters would it be possible to reach and unveil versions of silenced stories.

At this point, it is worth mentioning that the limitations of ANTi-History, as pointed out by Quelha de Sá (2018), arise from its empirically realistic and reflexive character. Being reflexive in research requires a consideration of choices (made in the past) of methods, epistemology, ontology, historical traces, and literature that goes beyond a passing justification (Durepos, et al., 2019). It involves reflecting on how such choices were made in the past, and the researcher who made them has designed the resulting narrative (Durepos, et al., 2019).

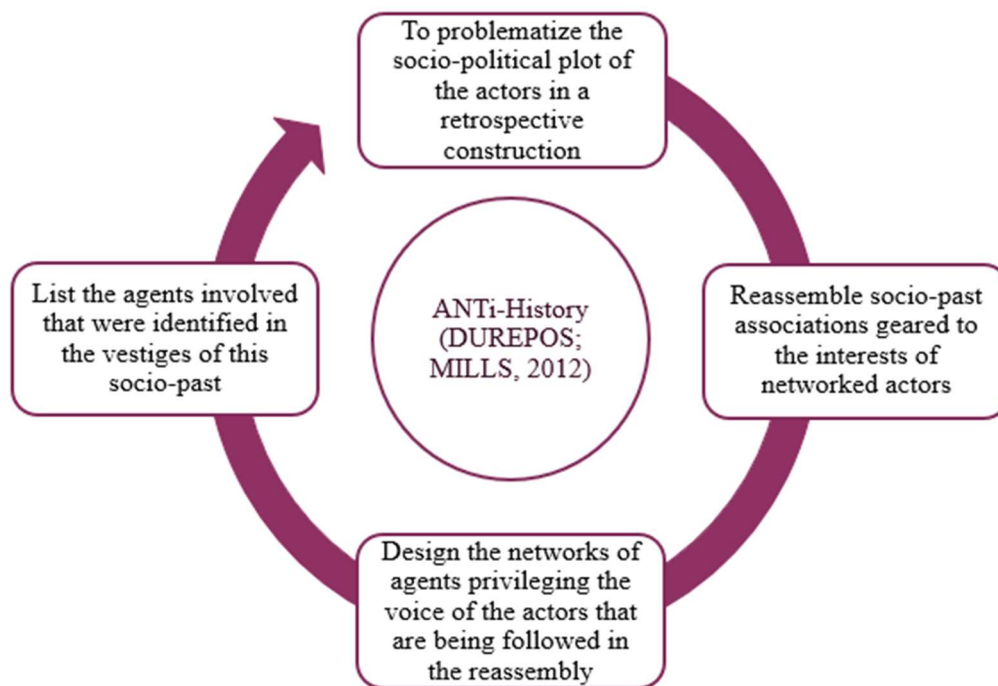
Based on the ANT, ANTi-History indicates the archive as a center of calculation and a place of translation - as it ends up translating the interests and influencing the multitude of actors who pass through it (Durepos, 2009), being a valuable place to track the social policies of actor-networks (Latour, 2005). Thus, the approach adopted here was developed as a methodology in which researchers, using the archive, can extract networks of actors to historicize theories of management or organization (Durepos, 2009). Still based on this same Theory, ANTi-History proposes to map the socio past following the trajectories of the actors-network – in an attempt to understand how they make history – but without imposing, for this, a generic ordering structure or pre-determined plot that was inherited through conventional academic training to transform traces of the past into history (Durepos, 2009).

In this attempt to understand how network actors make history and map the socio past (Ipiranga, et al., 2016), Durepos and Mills (2012) suggest the following: (a) problematize the actors' socio-political plot a priori in heterogeneous networks in a retrospective construction; (b) to reassemble past associations as an effect of the socio-political oriented towards the interests of the actors in the network; (c) privilege the

voice of the actors who are being followed in the reassembly; (d) consider that the realities are multiple and, therefore, the process of creating this knowledge.

Based on this, it was observed that throughout this research process, these aspects suggested by Durepos and Mills (2012) resembled steps that occurred within a kind of continuous cyclical movement. Then, from an adaptation, a diagram was created (figure 2), which served as a basis for mapping actors-network and (re)assembly of socio past in this study.

Figure 2. Diagram of the socio past (re)assembly process



Source: Own elaboration, based on Durepos and Mills (2012).

In this process diagram, the problematization of the plot was adopted as an initial step, as, as pointed out by Durepos et al. (2019), (re)writing history makes it possible to problematize origins, demonstrate that starting points are not natural or given, but culturally constructed constructions that have been established over time—furthermore,

problematizing what is presented as something that evolved naturally or linearly since its origin has been the focus of ANTi-History (Durepos, et al., 2019).

3.2 RESEARCH OPERATIONALIZATION METHOD

ANTi-History specifies that the methods that are valid for past study must be based on empirical analyzes of socio past and dedicate themselves tracing the constitution of this past: (a) assuming that the socio past is constituted by actors heterogeneous and (b) following the traces of these actors to (re)assemble their constitution (Durepos, 2009) – considering, for this, that only when the heterogeneous actors that make up a network are aligned in their interpretation and knowledge of the past, history is possible (Durepos, 2009). Thus, we understand that the trajectory of this research itself was built, altered, and expanded throughout the process, as movements of actors involved in the phenomenon were identified and this, consequently, influenced the method of operationalization, to be detailed below.

3.2.1 Procedures for Data Collection

In ANTi-History, "the archive is not the only site on which a researcher can draw to inform his historical work of the past", but it is a useful place to (re) reunite the social past (Durepos, 2009, p. 133). The data collection for this research resulted in several documental sources, such as lawsuits, books, interviews, academic research, and reports, which will be detailed in this section. The consulted sources were organized and listed in spreadsheets to support during the analysis of the collected material and help in the process of (re)assembling the socio past (as seen in Annex A and Table 2).

For the use of materials found in collections, we sought to observe some points of caution that were incorporated into the ANTi-History by Durepos (2009). Thus, we sought to: not assume a historical status of a document just by virtue of its inclusion in an archive; and recognize that archival materials have been ordered according to the conventions of archivists (not always trained) and that, therefore, archives obey an ideological rather than a natural order.

Based on this understanding and the research design, the actions (see Table 1) and the procedures (detailed in items A, B, C, and D, below) adopted during collecting and organizing the research were listed as the material that supported analysis.

Table 1. Actions were taken to collect research data

<i>Item</i>	<i>Action</i>
<i>A</i>	Survey of historiographies, documents and dissertations on transsexuality in Brazil
<i>B</i>	Survey of the main laws established within the investigated context
<i>C</i>	Survey of actions and policies carried out by different types of organizations (e.g. companies, civil organizations and public institutions)

Source: Own elaboration.

A. Survey of historiographies, documents, and dissertations on transsexuality in Brazil

Table 2, which follows, provides a summary of the procedures and collection materials related to the first action taken in order to achieve one of the specific research objectives.

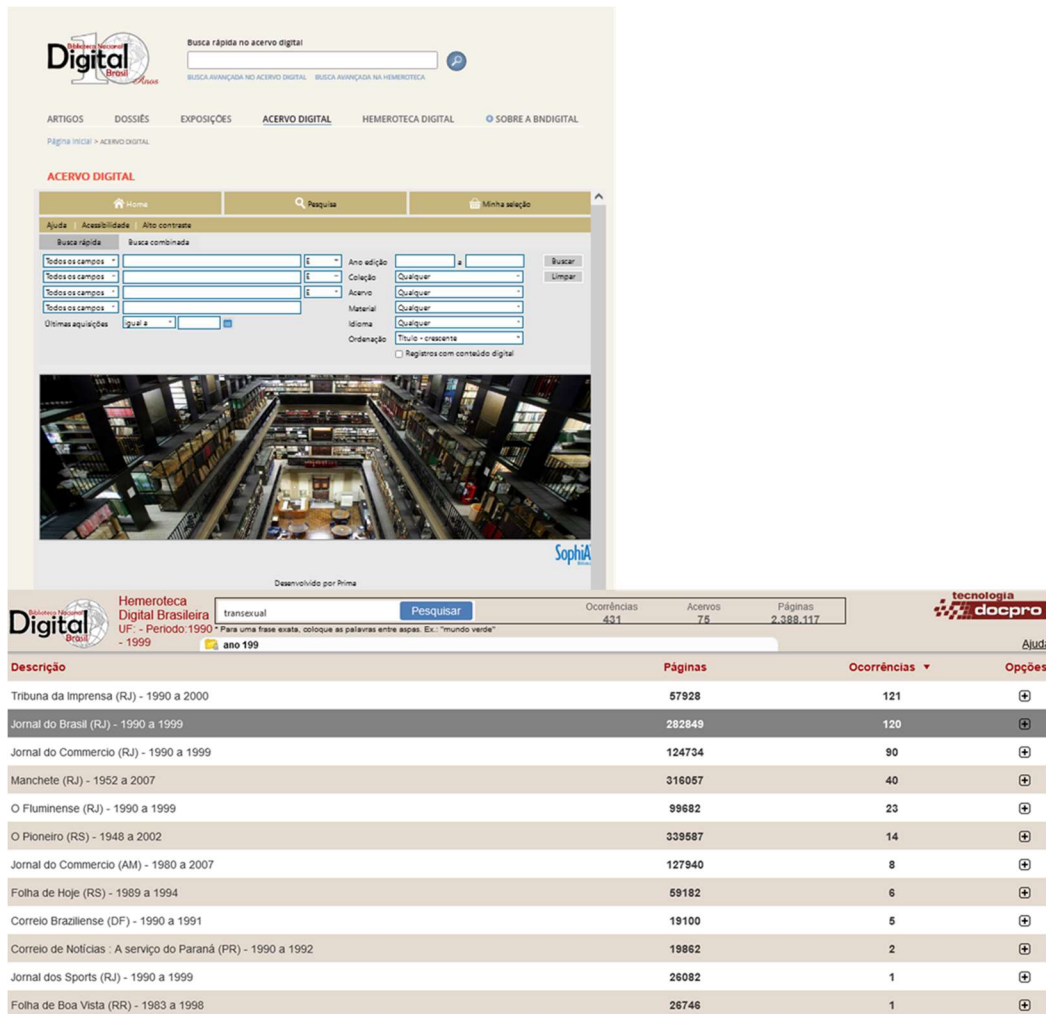
Table 2. Action's A Procedures

Action	Action Purpose	Procedures	Research material collected
<i>Survey of historiographies, documents and dissertations on transsexuality in Brazil</i>	Understanding of historical aspects that influenced the construction of transsexuality in Brazilian society	<p>Visits to collections in the city of Rio de Janeiro (National Library and National Archives) and to collections in the city of São Paulo (Technical Reserve of the São Paulo Court of Justice (TJSP).</p> <p>Remote access to virtual collections, including Hemeroteca Digital, the collection of Estadão Newspaper and the Lampião da Esquina newspaper.</p> <p>The search terms used were: transsexual / hermaphrodite / transvestite. Considering, for this, that the search sought to go back a few decades.</p>	<p>ANTRA Dossiers. CNV and CV-SP report (<i>Rubens Paiva</i>).</p> <p>Interviews.</p> <p>3 Lawsuits (including a criminal action consisting of 5 volumes plus appendix).</p> <p>Publications, including: editions of <i>Jornal do Brasil</i> (1970-1979 and 2000-2001); <i>Realidade Magazines</i> (1972), <i>Literary Supplement</i> (1978/1979) and <i>Chanacomchana</i>; <i>EX newspaper</i>; and 41 issues of the newspaper <i>Lampião da Esquina</i>.</p>

Source: Own elaboration.

As shown in Table 2, an initial investigation was carried out on the social past of transsexuality in Brazil. During the beginning of the journey, before the COVID-19 pandemic situation, some visits were made to physical collections with consultations in publications, processes, and books. After the onset of the health crisis, we started to make several searches in the virtual collections (such as the digital *Hemeroteca* [newspaper library] and the *Biblioteca Nacional* [National Library] collection - shown in Figure 3), in which we had access to publications made decades ago with factual content, mostly, in magazines and newspapers.

Figure 3. Biblioteca Nacional Collection and Digital Hemeroteca



The screenshot displays the 'ACERVO DIGITAL' search interface. At the top, there is a search bar with the text 'Busca rápida no acervo digital'. Below the search bar, there are navigation links for 'ARTIGOS', 'DOSSIÉS', 'EXPOSIÇÕES', 'ACERVO DIGITAL', 'HEMEROTECA DIGITAL', and 'SOBRE A BNDIGITAL'. The main search area includes a search bar with the text 'transsexual' and a 'Pesquisar' button. To the right of the search bar, there are statistics: 'Ocorrências: 431', 'Acervos: 75', and 'Páginas: 2.388.117'. Below the search bar, there is a table with the following columns: 'Descrição', 'Páginas', 'Ocorrências', and 'Opções'. The table lists various newspaper titles and their corresponding page counts and occurrence counts.

Descrição	Páginas	Ocorrências	Opções
Tribuna da Imprensa (RJ) - 1990 a 2000	57928	121	⊕
Jornal do Brasil (RJ) - 1990 a 1999	282849	120	⊕
Jornal do Commercio (RJ) - 1990 a 1999	124734	90	⊕
Manchete (RJ) - 1952 a 2007	316057	40	⊕
O Fluminense (RJ) - 1990 a 1999	99682	23	⊕
O Pioneiro (RS) - 1948 a 2002	339587	14	⊕
Jornal do Commercio (AM) - 1980 a 2007	127940	8	⊕
Folha de Hoje (RS) - 1989 a 1994	59182	6	⊕
Correio Braziliense (DF) - 1990 a 1991	19100	5	⊕
Correio de Notícias - A serviço do Paraná (PR) - 1990 a 1992	19862	2	⊕
Jornal dos Sports (RJ) - 1990 a 1999	26082	1	⊕
Folha de Boa Vista (RR) - 1983 a 1998	26746	1	⊕

Source: <https://bndigital.bn.gov.br/acervodigital/>

The search - or even the (re)assembling process in this research - began with the reading of an article in a newspaper, published on March 28, 2018, which had a history referring to surgery in a trans woman in times of civil-military dictatorship in Brazil, which became a lawsuit brought by the Public Ministry of São Paulo against the surgeon responsible for the medical procedure.

Based on this initial source, we started looking for the official documents and the judicial process mentioned in the article. After exploring the process, we found a

website with the news of a historical exhibition called *From Paper to the Digital Era*, organized by the Court of Justice of São Paulo (TJSP). This exhibition was set up around processes that had been recently found in Court's collection considered historical due to the relevance of their memories. The exhibition (whose images can be seen in Figure 4) included a total of 29 processes, selected by the *Document Management Program* team, from the First Instance Secretariat and kept in the *Technical Reserve* section of the TJSP (TJSP, 2017).

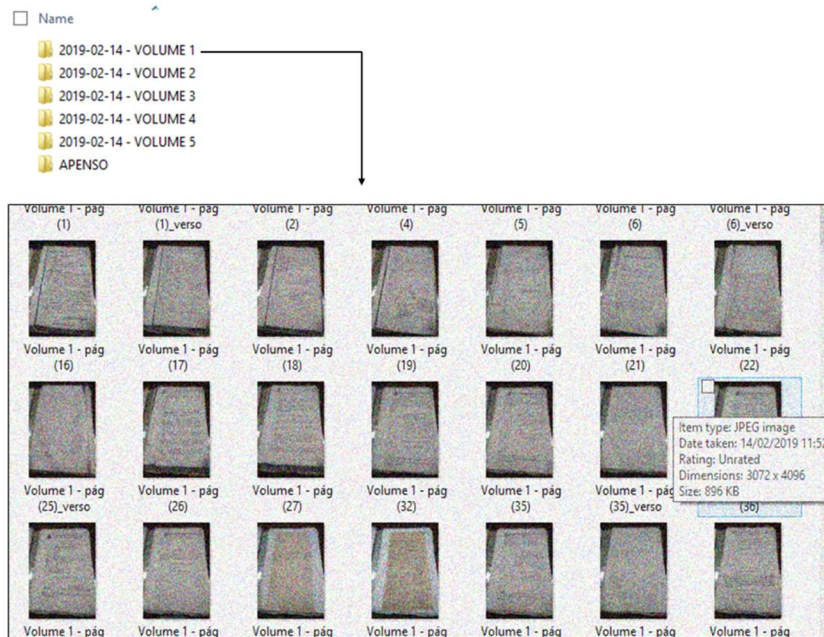
Figure 4. TJSP Exhibition - From Paper to the Digital Era



Source: <https://www.tjsp.jus.br/Exposicao/Noticias/Galeria>

After that, we contacted the sector responsible for the custody of the case, scheduled a visit to the place where the TJSP collection is located, the transfer from Rio de Janeiro to São Paulo was carried out, and all the documents of the case against the doctor were photographed, for later analysis. As a result of this collection, we obtained access to the five volumes and attachments of the lawsuit in question, totaling around a thousand images (one photo per page). Furthermore, the photos of each page were digitally stored, and for their organization, they were renamed according to the page and volume to which they belonged (figure 5).

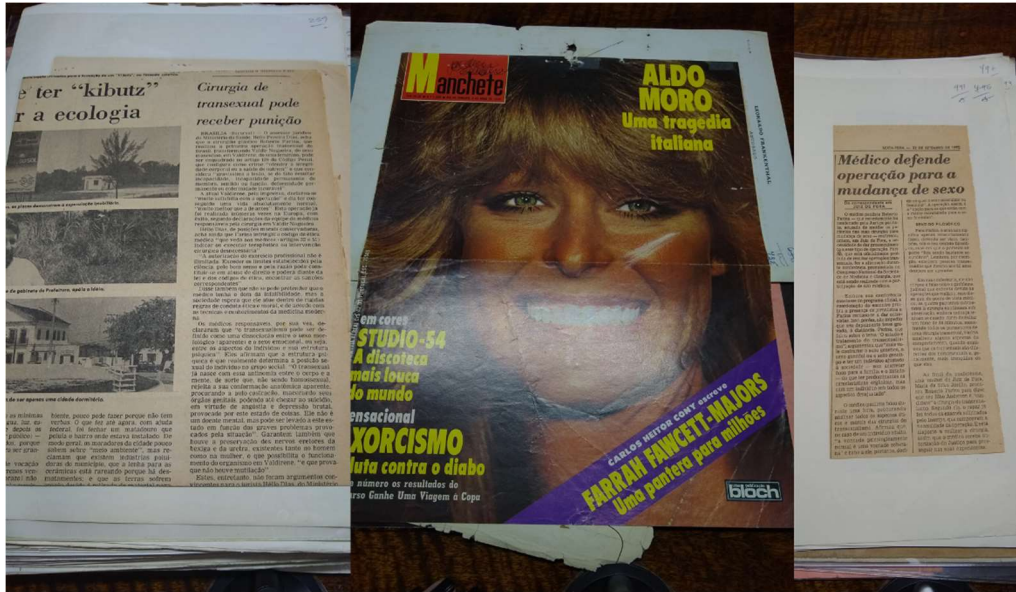
Figure 5. Storage and Organization of Research Material Collected



Source: Personal Archive

While reading the material, we began to understand how the process was introduced, how the structuring of its pages did not necessarily follow an exact chronological sequence, which was the main actors involved in this beginning (as well as which actors or relationships emerged in the scenario). We also saw how the process was composed of materials drawn from the media (e.g., news in newspapers and magazines, as seen in Figure 6) that influenced its course, serving as sources, evidence, or justification for an argument.

Figure 6. Media records in process composition



Source: Judicial Process (Ministério Público do Estado de São Paulo, 1976).

A point to be highlighted in this stage of in-person collections is that we noticed different actors' influence, such as collection's location, institutions responsible for keeping the documents, professionals present at the time of the visit (who helped to handle the document in the collection), the language used in the documents (complete with localized terms, which are, for example, inherent to a decade or a specific area, such as the legal field) and the visibly weakened condition of some documents (which in addition to the action of the time, they suffered damage from other factors, such as a flood at the file location). All these human, non-human, and hybrid elements affected the results achieved in this research.

B. Survey of the main laws established within the investigated context

Below, in Table 3, the procedures and collection materials related to one of the actions (action B in Table 1) traced to achieve one of the specific research objectives are presented.

Table 3. Action's B Procedures

<i>Action</i>	Action Purpose	Procedures	Research material collected
<i>Survey of the main laws established within the investigated context</i>	Understanding the scenario regarding the guarantee of rights for transgender people	Virtual search for publications online using the following keywords: transsexuality + legal landmarks + Brazil. The results led to a document issued by the Ministry of Health of Brazil in 2015, Transsexuality and Transvestility in Health, which – together with other websites, such as NGO pages, online newspapers and magazines – helped to continue the 'follow the network' !.	Law Projects; Legal Standards (e.g., Ordinance No. 457/2008; Resolution No. 12/2015; Decree No. 8,727/2016; Resolution No. 1/2018; Ordinance No. 1370/2019) and; CFM Opinions, Resolutions and Dispatches (1991-2019).

Source: Prepared by the author.

Regarding the laws' survey (Table 3), the search for publications led to different sources, including a document called Transsexuality and Transvestility in Health, from which (re)assembly of the legislation's connections contained therein. In addition, in the version of history contained in this document, some periods of absence of references to legislation (breaks in the timeline) were noted, which led to new searches.

The identification of the Federal Council of Medicine network actor within this regulatory scope led to the collection available on the CFM portal (figure 7). In this digital collection, normative publications on transsexuality were sought using research tools from the site itself.

Figure 7. CFM Digital Collection

The image shows the CFM Digital Collection search interface. At the top, there is a green header with the CFM logo and a search bar. Below the header is a navigation menu with categories like INSTITUCIONAL, ÉTICA MÉDICA, COMUNICAÇÃO, BIBLIOTECA, EDUCAÇÃO, SERVIÇOS, and FALE CONOSCO. The main content area is titled 'Buscar Normas CFM e CRMs' and contains a search form with various filters and a search button.

Buscar Normas CFM e CRMs

Busque normas

Selecione os tipos de normas que deseja buscar:

Resoluções Pareceres Recomendações Notas Técnicas

Despachos

Selecione o estado: Número: Ano:

Assunto:

Texto a ser encontrado:

[Limpar Busca](#)

Source: <https://portal.cfm.org.br/buscar-normas-cfm-e-crm/>

In order to obtain a broad result, standards were sought: (a) of all types available – Resolutions, Opinions, Recommendations, Technical Notes, and Orders; (b) from all Federal States and; (c) published in all available years. This search was repeated three times, modifying only the keywords used in the Subject field, which were: (1) *Transsexualism* – total of 20 results; (2) *Transgender* – total of 07 results; (3)

Transgenitalization – a total of 15 results. The results were organized in an Excel spreadsheet and, after eliminating the repetitions, they were derived from the information shown in Table 4.

Table 4. CFM Search Results

Search Term	Regulation Type	State	No. / Year	Regulation Situation
Transexualismo	Opinion	CFM	11/1991	Integra
Transexualismo	Opinion	CFM	12/1991	Integra
Transexualismo	Opinion	CFM	39/1997	Integra
Transexualismo Transgenitalização	Resolutions	CFM	1482/1997	Revogada
Transexualismo	Opinion	SP	2263/1999	Integra
Transexualismo Transgenitalização	Resolutions	CFM	1652/2002	Revogada
Transexualismo	Opinion	CFM	8/2004	Integra
Transexualismo	Opinion	CFM	2/2007	Integra
Transexualismo Transgenitalização	Resolutions	SP	208/2009	Integra
Transexualismo	Opinion	CFM	20/2010	Integra
Transexualismo Transgenitalização	Resolutions	CFM	1955/2010	Revogada

Search Term	Regulation Type	State	No. / Year	Regulation Situation
Transgenitalização	Opinion	CE	12/2011	Integra
Transgenitalização	Opinion	PR	2340/2011	Integra
Transexualismo Transgenitalização	Opinion	PR	2378/2012	Integra
Transexualismo	Opinion	CFM	8/2013	Integra
Transexualismo	Opinion	PR	2511/2015	Integra
Transexualismo	Opinion	MG	5646/2015	Integra
Transgenitalização	Order	CFM	100/2015	Integra
Transgenitalização	Opinion	SC	2372/2015	Integra
Transgênero	Order	CFM	220/2016	Integra
Transgênero	Order	CFM	380/2016	Integra
Transgenitalização	Opinion	PR	2563/2017	Integra
Transgenitalização	Opinion	PR	2660/2018	Integra
Transexualismo Transgenitalização	Opinion	PR	2716/2018	Integra
Transexualismo Transgenitalização Transgênero	Opinion	DF	49/2018	Integra
Transexualismo	Opinion	ES	11/2019	Integra

Search Term	Regulation Type	State	No. / Year	Regulation Situation
Transexualismo	Opinion	PE	4/2019	Integra
Transgênero	Order	CFM	114/2019	Integra
Transexualismo Transgenitalização Transgênero	Opinion	CFM	25/2019	Integra
Transexualismo Transgenitalização Transgênero	Resolutions	CFM	2265/2019	Integra

Source: Prepared by the author.

C. Survey of actions and policies carried out by different types of organizations

The procedures and collection materials for action C are listed below (see Table 5).

Table 5. Action's C Procedures

Action	Action Purpose	Procedures	Research material collected
<i>Survey of actions and policies carried out by different types of organizations (e.g., companies, civil organizations and public institutions)</i>	Mapping of actions and policies that are currently adopted in Brazil	<p>Initial virtual search, with keywords: transsexuality + jobs. Among the results, there was a page called Transempregos, with the largest database of vacancies for trans people in Brazil.</p> <p>In this database, the ads were filtered by Federative State and then by 3 (three) categories, namely: (a) Individual ads (which are the opportunities sent by the companies themselves); (b) Transfriendly Companies (links to partner companies' websites - capable of receiving trans people) and; (c) Courses and activities (announcement of courses and events and any other important information).</p> <p>For a more complete access to information, it was necessary to open each ad individually. The collection was carried out between 09/11/2020 and 09/30/2020.</p>	Information on a total of 707 ads, which were organized in a spreadsheet.

Source: Own elaboration.

The need to carry out this survey emerged at an event organized by a media company, in which the researcher became aware of recent initiatives for the inclusion of trans people in the labor market, which took place in the city of Rio de Janeiro. A search for similar occurrences began from this, which led to an organization that concentrates on several initiatives called TransEmpregos. This organization, in turn,

maintains a virtual database available for wide access to the public on its website, which was used to collect information regarding its advertisements.

In the TransEmpregos database (see Figure 8), the ads can be filtered by Federative State and by 3 (three) categories, namely: (a) Individual ads – job opportunities sent by the companies directly to the portal in order to prioritize the hiring of a trans person for a vacancy; (b) Transfriendly Companies – these are links to the websites of companies that want and can receive trans people and; (c) Courses and activities – announcement of courses and events and any other important information (Transempregos, 2020).

Figure 8. Transempregos' Vacancy Bank

The image shows the Transempregos website interface. At the top, there is a navigation bar with the logo '#Transempregos' and links for 'Quem Somos', 'Oportunidades', 'Projetos', and 'Para Empresas'. Below the navigation bar is a large banner with the text 'O maior banco de vagas para pessoas Trans do Brasil' and a red button labeled 'Cadastrar Currículo'. Underneath the banner is a search section titled 'Procure sua vaga aqui!'. This section contains several input fields: 'Título / Cargo' with a search icon, 'Empresa' with a search icon, and 'Limpar'. Below these are three dropdown menus for 'Estado', 'Ensino', and 'Tipo', followed by a red 'Atualizar' button. A link 'Ou cadastre-se em nosso Banco de Talentos' is located below the search filters. The search results are displayed in a grid of six job listings, each with a red 'Candidatar' button. The listings include: 1) Remoto, BHS, Estágio de Gestão de Pessoas; 2) Remoto, South System, Business Partner; 3) Salvador, Lauro de Freitas, Camarão, Simões Filho, Mercado Livre, Analista Administrativo Financeiro; 4) São Paulo, SP, Novartis, Analista Suporte; 5) São Paulo, SP, Elevadores Otis, Técnico(a/e); 6) Santos, Elevadores Otis, Técnico(a/e).

Source: <https://www.transempregos.com.br/>

The information collection was carried out directly from the portal and through the use of selection and filter tools that the website offered (which also conferred the user experience). Following the selection sequence by State, one category at a time was selected until the possible combinations were exhausted (e.g., AC + Individual Ads; AC + *Transfriendly* Companies; AC + Courses and activities). The information was organized in a spreadsheet (Appendix C) with the following columns: *Research Item ID*; *Organization*; *Ad Title*; *City*; *State* and; *Industry Area of Expertise*. As the ads that appeared in the search results generated a link to a new page with complete information, to complete the spreadsheet, it was necessary to open each of the ads, and, when some information was missing, the corresponding information was sought on the organization's website.

The collection was carried out from 09/11/2020 to 09/30/2020, and, at the time, the filter by location showed flaws and often brought results referring to states other than the one selected. Thus, at the end of the collection, the duplications were checked and eliminated.

Another aspect worth mentioning regarding the use of this database is that, at the time of collection, the expiration date of advertisements was not included in one of the search filtering parameters. Therefore, most did not specify the term information directly in the TransEmpregos advertisement, but it was possible to identify this issue in some cases. As examples of this type of occurrence, I can mention vacancies destined to courses that took place a year before the date of collection and work opportunities in campaign hospitals against COVID-19 that had been closed some time ago. This situation was evaluated, but given the thesis purpose and nature, a benefit was perceived in collecting data relating to the near past, so it was decided to keep all advertisements

as a result of the database, regardless of its validity during the collection period. Thus, at this stage end, information was gathered for a total of 707 advertisements in the spreadsheet (Appendix C).

3.2.2 Preparation of Network Diagrams

As previously mentioned, certain methodological procedures and representation choices were made during the construction process of this research, and one of these choices refers to the diagramming of the networks identified in the (re)assembled version of the history.

ANTi-History still does not solve the graphical part, which the application seems to demand. Thus, although the theory does not require diagramming, as identifying network-actors advanced, (re)assembling their relationships through diagrams became essential in this thesis.

So, to resolve this issue of layout, I started from the understanding that the ANT network is close to the idea of rhizome of Deleuze and Guattari (1995) and thus brings an idea of multiplicity, with no unity and information, but agencies and transformations (Luz, 2016). From this, bringing this aspect of ANT to ANTi-History and understanding that construction of these networks is close to a rhizomatic composition⁹, I sought to

⁹ Related to the idea of Rhizoma, placed by Deleuze and Guattari in *A Thousand Plateaus (Capitalism and Schizophrenia)*. Being especially associated in this research with the 5th and sixth principles - Principle of cartography and decal, according to which the map - which is part

elaborate graphical representations that brought the connections between different dimensions, with diagrams without beginning or end, but constructed with a means through which it develops (Deleuze & Guattari, 1995).

Then, to carry out the question of representation in practical terms, I resorted to a possibility of diagramming found in a virtual course. At the beginning of the pandemic situation, online courses became a trend, and it was during this period, I got in contact with a free online course called Introduction to Digital Humanities offered by Harvard University. In this course, I learned about something that could help us solve the graphical part of the network reassembly. Thus, the choice for the elaboration of network diagrams in this work was to use Gephi, a visualization, and exploration software for various graphs¹⁰ and networks, open-source. Through the graphs generated by this software, it was possible to interpret the data from this research from a different point of view.

In Gephi, actors were identified as nodes (vertices), and their relationships were defined as edges. For application purposes, all the collected information was organized in spreadsheets and later worked according to the software's needs and specifications. Also, to clarify the understanding and reading of graph data, four different projects were created in Gephi, with their respective sets of vertices and edges, whose results are shown at the end of each of the sections of the analysis chapter in this work.

As mentioned before, each of the spreadsheets was composed of nodes and edges, and the respective Ids, Labels, sources, targets, and types (inherent software

of the rhizome - "is open, connectable in all its dimensions, dismantlable, reversible, susceptible to constant changes" (Deleuze & Guattari, 1995).

¹⁰ In brief and general terms, graphs refer to sets of vertices interconnected by edges.

items to be filled in to establish connections) were defined in them in order to create a database of data to be processed by the program. Thus, each of the actors was identified from an ID code and named with a label, and a list was created with the relationship between them. Finally, these spreadsheets were imported separately into the Data Laboratory area, considering each of the different column configurations.

For the first three graphs, the feature of degree centrality and the following distribution functions were used: (1) *Force Atlas* (with adjustment of the repulsion force) or *Fruchterman Reingold*, selected as necessary to obtain a better visualization of the graph; (2) *Adjust labels* and; (3) *Do not overlap*. For the fourth and final diagram, these resources discriminated above were also used distributions Map of Countries and Geo Layout (inherent in plug-ins pre-installed). For such execution, it was necessary to add to the table for us the latitude and longitude information.

To collect this geographic location data was necessary to carry out an individualized search, referring to each of the 707 IDs contained in the node's tables of that graph on Google Maps. In cases of information lack about the exact address referring to the ID (when unavailable in advertisement and on the institution's website), a common location of the city and to which the advertisements were directed was assigned in the spreadsheet.

In addition, it should be noted that, for the completion of each graph, adjustments were made in the Gephi visualization settings for nodes, node labels, edges, and edge arrows, namely: (a) partitioning of nodes by color, better to identify the different connections between actors in time; (b) definition of node dimensions, with ranking adaptation (by degree); (c) edge thickness adjustment and; (d) font-size regulation (by ranking).

4 ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

When talking about employability initiatives for transgender people in the Brazilian labor market, I can think of several issues that mediate their trajectory and the relationships that are built around this phenomenon in the present time. In an attempt to clarify some of the questions that arise when I deal with the theme, in this section, the researcher is inserted in the network - assuming her active and reflexive role on the version of the past constructed in this thesis – and (re)assembling this trajectory from a historical perspective, in a movement to follow the tracks of actors involved in it. For this, I use an alternative approach to the mainstream in MOS that contributes to understanding the constitution of the socio past: the ANTi-History.

One of the points of this approach that is important to be highlighted for this section is that it allows us to understand the constitution of the past of any network of actors, including a technology, truth, ritual, fact, culture practice, and others; that is, it allows going beyond the understanding of an organization (Durepos, 2009). Another equally important point is that ANTi-History draws on the Actor-Network Theory (Latour, 1991; Callon & Latour, 1992; Law, 1992) to suggest that history is a punctuated actor and therefore conceals a series of relationships socio-political networks of actors that made its formation possible (Durepos, 2009).

History is made by (re)assembling the constitution of the past through the ordering of its traces or vestiges, followed by the attribution of an interpretation to the creation of a narrative (Durepos, 2009). Thus, this section (re)assembles the history of employability actions of transgender people within organizations, bringing the main

mobilizations and demobilizations of the network actors involved in this process. It is just one of the possible versions of this socio past since ANTi-History is pro-stories and anti-History (Durepos & Mills, 2012).

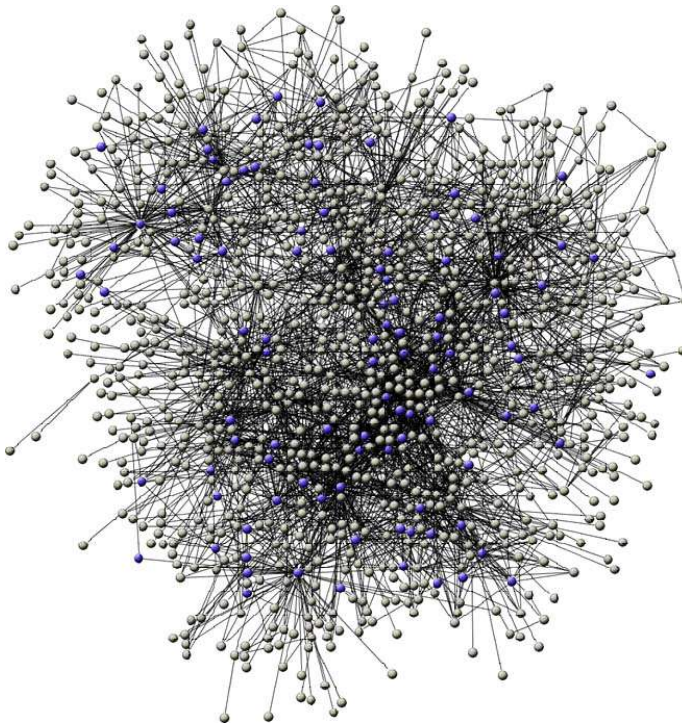
It is important to emphasize to the reader that the order of events is presented here according to the sequence of traces and traces that I, in the researcher role and actor-network, have been finding, following, and structuring along this thesis trajectory. Thus, this version of history reassembled here is a situated result (Durepos et al., 2019): research carried out in Brazil, during a period of the serious pandemic situation in the country, which was produced by the researcher and influenced by her training professional, academic and ideological.

When retracing this trajectory - within a process involving movements of comings and goings - I realized that this version of history comprises an enormous complexity, involving the composition of different actors, which associate themselves through space and time in a kind of overlapping of different layers of relationship. In such a way that, although other authors (ANTi-historians) generally choose to investigate the past from a network linked to a specific organization, no rule determines this, and following this path would not allow the understanding of something that encompasses practices of different organizations, in different times, contexts and spaces.

As mentioned above, the network composition was understood through the idea of rhizome by Deleuze and Guattari (1995), and it is possible to see in Figure 9 an example of how this rhizomatic configuration would be shaped. Based on this, I present a version of the history of employability initiatives for trans people in Brazil that is reassembled through layers of a network rhizome. Thus, following the analogy with

botany, as the visible element of the plant is excavated and its substrate is removed; consequently, layers of its rhizome gradually become exposed, making it possible to visualize more and more parts of its entirety as you dig.

Figure 9. Rhizomatic composition of networks



Source: Blog for Dr. Tony D. Sampson, University of East London (Virality, 2012).

These layers indicate the parts of a complex network that are being unveiled in this thesis. So, when (re)assembling a version of history, I adopted as analysis unit of the relationships established between actors-network, through which it becomes possible to identify moments of mobilizations and demobilizations that determined changes or silencing that crystallized for a while or remain until today and came to impact the observed phenomenon.

In this sense, it is still worth pointing out that the layers later listed in this work could come to try to be classified as categories of research analysis, but these two elements follow different epistemological models. Analysis categories help to organize, classify and validate responses found in the collection, but, by definition, they cannot have overlapping elements, and no unit of analysis can fit into two or more categories – which is opposite to what happens when I treat on the relationships and associations between actors in a network. When I present the layers, it reaffirms that thought is oriented towards a rhizomatic composition – without beginning or end, which is open, connectable, detachable, reversible, susceptible to modifications (Deleuze & Guattari, 1995).

Added to this, the idea of organizing in layers helps us to (re)assemble a social past without necessarily obeying a chronologically ordered time. The periodization of history is an important element in the construction of meaning, but in ANTi-History, delineating a timeline that follows a chronological order does not seem to reflect the relationships established between the actors in a network. Actor-network associations are not naturally ordered in time, and their identification requires a process of following tracks or "branches". The layers overlap but also interconnect, so an actor-network identified in layer X can pull a branch to an actor in layer Y. same time and space is only unveiled in a deeper layer – such discovery having been occasioned by a trail left by a third actor-network. Quelha-de-Sá (2018) highlighted this issue by bringing a schematic model in mesh format to bring concepts such as fluidity, folds, and overlaps and avoid the imposition of false chronological linearity of the milestones identified in his work (p. 110-111).

In ANTi-History, it cannot be assumed that the tracks being followed lead to a pre-ordered history unearthed in its entirety. Rather it assumed that the researcher's role has an active influence on the ordering of the tracks of past in history, and an effort is made to (re)assemble the constitution of socio past, looking at the actors relationally and understanding how interests were changed during interactions and which networks were built as a result of these relationships (Durepos, 2009).

That said, I can say that such effort resulted in the following layers of the network-rhizome: (1) the beginning of this version: when the trans body is no longer regarded as a *bem fisico tutelado* [material property conserved] by the Brazilian State; (2) on the path to guaranteeing fundamental rights: socio-political (trans)formations in Brazil; (3) retracing a normative path: right to health, depathologization of transsexuality and recognition of an employable individual; (4) mobilizations and demobilizations of trans employability in movement and (5) black box and opportunities: recent employability initiatives in organizations.

4.1 THE BEGINNING OF THIS VERSION: THE TRANS BODY AS A MATERIAL PROPERTY CONSERVATED BY THE BRAZILIAN STATE

Considering the active and reflexive role of researchers in ANTi-History (Durepos, 2009), it is worth pointing out that when starting this research, I identified the need to consider the relationship between transsexuality, gender norms, and the body – understanding the question referring to the place of speech I occupy, but in order to

establish a rapprochement between the audience of this work and the theme discussed here.

Understanding this relationship is extremely relevant, as, as pointed out earlier in this thesis, Bento (2008) states that the body, even before birth, is inscribed in a discursive field full of social expectations conditioned to the genital organ. However, in transsexuality, bodies escape this production process of culturally intelligible genders, demonstrating possibilities for transforming these norms.

Transsexuality is an evocation of identity (Bento, 2008) and a personal expression (Barboza, 2012) that is not ahistorical. Thus, transsexuality is one of the various expressions of identity that has emerged in a *normal/ abnormal* binary social system that focuses on the body (Bento, 2008). Thus, it is relevant to reiterate here that, although the transsexual person is not limited to the individual who wants to surgically change (or alter) the morphological sex (Barboza, 2012), in many cases, surgery is the possibility of the person being able to recognize themselves in the body itself (Bento, 2008). Thus, due to its importance, I defined sex reassignment surgery as a starting point for the (re)assembly of the trajectory of employability of trans people.

It should be noted that, in Brazil, sex reassignment surgery was widely recognized as the first (although it was not actually¹¹), took place in 1971 – within the tenebrous stage of the Brazilian dictatorial *regime* known as the *Years of Terror* (Memórias da Ditadura, 2019) – in a public hospital, linked to one of the largest universities in Brazil in area of medicine, the University of São Paulo (USP) (Luna &

¹¹ Despite media coverage, this surgery is the first surgery on a trans woman, but not the first sex reassignment surgery in Brazil. Because, by following the network, I found records that in 1959, another doctor had already performed a sex reassignment surgery in Brazil on a transsexual man in the city of Itajaí (Memória Política de Santa Catarina, 2020).

Barros, 2021). It is also important to highlight that the successful surgery was performed by a doctor and professor at the institution in question – a highly recognized professional whose figure often appeared in social columns of major newspapers at the time. Moreover, the patient underwent follow-up by a USP medical and psychiatric board for approximately two years before the procedure (Ministério Público do Estado de São Paulo, 1976).

In 1975, the doctor (plastic surgeon) presented the case of this patient at the XV Brazilian Congress of Urology, and this was published in one of the main newspapers in São Paulo, with the article entitled: Sex change, pioneering in AL¹² and whose publication was included in the process by the prosecution (O Estado de São Paulo, 1975). The news aroused the interest of some police and judicial entities at the time¹³ and, in the following year (1976), the Public Prosecutor's Office of São Paulo denounced the plastic surgeon for very serious bodily injury and filed a lawsuit against the doctor, where the patient is considered a victim in her absence (Luna & Barros, 2021).

The establishment of this process did not only affect the actors directly involved. It had a greater reach with opening a legal precedent to avoid a multiplication of similar cases by medicine in Brazil. In the year of the Public Ministry's complaint, the patient already belonged to a small group of still unknown people who underwent sex reassignment surgery between 1971 and 1975. In those mentioned above 1975

¹² In the title *Sex change, pioneering in AL* [free translation], the initials AL refer to Latin America.

¹³ The MPSP prosecutor's office even used a newspaper clipping with the article mentioned above as one of the grounds for its complaint against the plastic surgeon, which appears in the case files (Ministério Público do Estado de São Paulo, 1976).

Congressional presentation, the plastic surgeon also announced another nine patients who had undergone the same surgery up to that time, as well as the existence of more than 50 people who were undergoing follow-up and preparatory tests for the operation (O Estado de São Paulo, 1975).

At that time, the justice system still reproduced many of the sexist, homophobic, and transphobic values present in Brazilian society and public security agencies (Quinalha, 2017, p. 215). In addition to the initiation of the judicial process itself, in the document, there are other various evidence of transphobia present at the time and involving human actors (e.g., the attorney) and non-human actors (e.g., the judicial process and the organization represented). As, for example, the statement of the attorney in the case, which states the following:

There is and cannot be, with these operations, any sex change. What he achieves is the creation of stylized eunuchs for the better pleasure of their deplorable sexual perversions and, also, of the profligate who are satisfied in them. Such individuals, therefore, are not transformed into women, but into true monsters, through an anomalous artificial conformation¹⁴ [free translation from original] (Ministério Público do Estado de São Paulo, 1976).

As mentioned before, the accused physician was a recognized professional at the time, a member of the staff of a reference hospital linked to one of the largest medical schools in the country, and participated in several academic conferences, national and

¹⁴ The citation has a strongly transphobic position, but it was decided to keep it, as it was taken from an excerpt from an official document at the time (the lawsuit filed against the doctor who performed the first sex reassignment surgery in Brazil) and reveals the profound problems surrounding the network.

international, in his area. Along this trajectory, he established relationships with many international scientific community members, some of whom came to manifest themselves in the judicial process. Moreover, it appears in records that, even in 1976, several statements were made by other professionals in defendant support, including those of a plastic surgeon from Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine and a psychiatrist from the School of Medicine of the University of California in Los Angeles, who pointed out that in none of the other countries in the world where this type of medical treatment has been practiced has a doctor been accused of criminal conduct by State (Rossi, 2018).

At the same time as the complaint against the surgeon by the Public Ministry, in addition to not having legal or criminal sanctions for sex reassignment surgeries in Brazil, the situation was already showing an advance in some other countries. For example, in the United States, states such as Arizona, Louisiana, Illinois, and Mississippi granted a new birth certificate to people who underwent the surgical procedure, or even, in New York, they had their documents corrected. In Argentina, a surgeon was accused of very serious bodily injury, imprisoned for four years, and acquitted by the Criminal Chamber of Buenos Aires in 1969. There was also news that in Sweden, in Stockholm, he was being discussed a bill to allow the exchange of name and sex (Chaves, 1977).

Despite this, in Brazil, in 1978, the doctor was still tried and sentenced, in the first instance, to two years' imprisonment, his sentence having been based on more transphobic actions, such as considering that the male organs removed in operation constituted a *material property* conserved by the State, *inalienable* and *unwaivable* (Ministério Público do Estado de São Paulo, 1976). This process continued with the

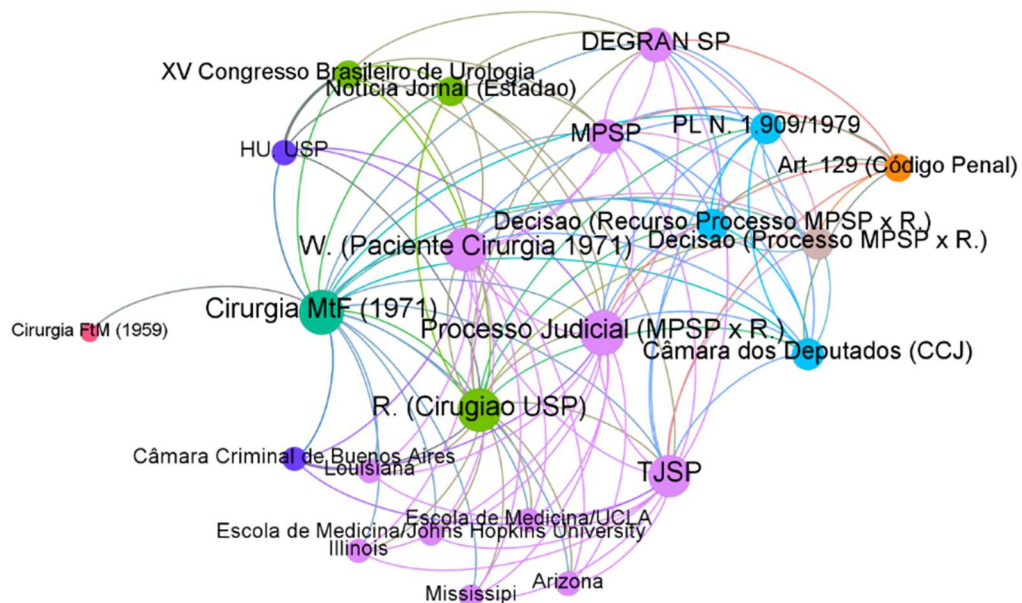
filing of a request for appeal to the second instance by the defendant's defense lawyer, and only then, in 1979, by majority vote, the judges of the Chamber of the Court of Criminal Appeal acquitted the surgeon, in judgment (TJSP, 2018).

That same year, on October 2, 1979, one of the members of the Chamber of Deputies, based on the case of the court case against the surgeon, filed a request to amend Article 129 of the Penal Code through the Bill of Law. No. 1.909/1979, with the Committee on the Constitution of Justice (CCJ), to prevent the criminalization of surgical intervention in cases of transsexuality (Brasil, 1979). This amendment followed legal procedures and was later approved by the CCJ (unanimously) and the Chamber of Deputies, but with a total veto in Presidency of the Republic and Federal Senate, in 1984. The document intended to add a paragraph to the Penal Code, which established that, from that publication, it would not constitute a crime the ablation of organs and parts of the human body, when considered necessary in a unanimous opinion of the medical board and preceded by the express consent of an adult and capable patient (Brasil, 1979).

When remounting this socio past, the points argued by Hartt et al. (2017) in relation to the reality of gender: the past, the notions of gender past, and; the understanding of the past as problematic and sociopolitical. These network formation processes that took place a few decades ago influence the notion of transgenderism in Brazil. Therefore, it is essential to resume this construction to understand that certain mobilizations and demobilizations of actors around the issue of employability of trans people in the country permeate aspects inherent to their recognition as part of the social fabric and to which rights fundamental guarantees.

The path traced so far allows us to identify associations of network actors that crystallize around the evident importance of the physician's acquittal in the judicial process and the impact on the relationship between organizations and transsexuality in Brazil (figure 10). Thus, despite the total veto of the 1.909/1979 PL, this is a moment in the trajectory in which the beginning of a transformation on the State's mistaken perception in relation to the presumption of ownership over the trans body can be seen tangibly.

Figure 10. Network-Rhizome Diagram (1st layer)



Source: Own elaboration.

From this point onwards, there is an opening for possibilities for changes in Brazilian legislation. At the end of the procedural document, it is recorded that it became a source of consultation and had its removal required for different purposes. It was

possible to trace that a Law Student at PUC-SP (Pontifical Catholic University of São Paulo), an intern in the Medical Improvement course in Legal Medicine, requested the dismissal of the case for academic purposes in October 1983. Then, a judge of the 1st Court Auxiliar do Juri requested a copy of the case file in November 1984. Moreover, in 1992, a Judge of Law requested a copy of the sentence and judgment of the case in order to instruct judgment in the process of change of name and gender civil law (Estado de São Paulo, 1976, p. 928).

In a document published in 1977, a chapter entitled *Rights to life, to the body and its parts (transplants). Sterilization surgical operations for 'sex change'. Right to the corpse and parts of it*, there is an excerpt from the speech of the doctor who was the defendant in the process of the "first" surgery (recalling that, as mentioned above, in 1959, another sex reassignment surgery had already been performed in Brazil in a trans man), in which he points out that:

Instead of incriminating the doctors for the practice of the sexual readjustment operation, the jurists should discipline the matter of the legislation of the operated cases (change of seat or registration, problems related to retirement, military service, and a series of resulting implications) and leave the criteria of the medical class, this problem of a highly philosophical and scientific nature (Chaves, 1977, p. 152).

Following the network, I understand that leaving for this arena looking for the traces that led to changes related to legislative matters in the country would require an effort whose result would comprise another layer of actor-network relations – to be deepened in the next topic of this thesis.

4.2 TOWARDS THE GUARANTEE OF FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS: SOCIO-POLITICAL (TRANS)FORMATIONS IN BRAZIL

The networks of actors that have mobilized and strengthened themselves over a long time in Brazil constituted a version of history in which transgender people were silenced and deprived of access to basic rights considered fundamental to Brazilian citizenship, especially because they were not recognized as absolutely capable (in the legal sense of the term) by organizations. As pointed out by Alves (2009), the lack of recognition of the right of transsexuals to change their first name and sex according to their gender identity violates fundamental precepts of the current Federal Constitution of Brazil, such as the principles of human dignity (art. 1, item III), the prohibition of hateful discrimination (art. 3, item IV), equality (art. 5, caput), freedom and privacy (art. 5, caput, and item X).

As mentioned before, it is relevant to understand situated notions of some events embedded in a particular network of actors to understand the process of gender construction, in particular, situations (Hartt et al., 2017). In such a way that, to retrace the trajectory of employability of transgender people, it appears that the past – being for the present investigation especially related to gender issues – is, as pointed out by Quelha-de-Sá and Costa (2018), influenced by the socio-political context in which it is constituted. So, when dealing with this employability theme, it is essential to address points prior to it and that are inherent to it, such as access and guarantee of fundamental rights to trans people and the social movements around this process over time.

The socio-political transformations in a country include legislative changes, and they are not simple movements among the network actors involved. In short, the Brazilian legislative process is a set of preordained acts to create rules of law. It is the responsibility of the Legislative Power (although, exceptionally, the Executive and Judiciary Powers may draft laws). Their content, form, and sequence comply with a series of specific rules (e.g., rules of general scope regarding the initiative, quorum for approval, referral, deadlines) defined by the Federal Constitution of Brazil and specified according to the level of regulatory competence (Novo, 2018).

Also, in this scenario, the motto of institutionalized transphobia should be considered, and that, as highlighted by Benevides and Aguiar (2019), intolerance towards gender is especially noted in the legislative sphere. Thus, the formation of this network of actors assumes a complexity that involves several factors. For example, for the production of legal norms (e.g., constitutional amendments, ordinary laws, provisional measures, decrees, and resolutions), the legislative process can be divided into six phases or stages: (1) initiative; (2) discussion; (3) deliberation (or vote); (4) sanction or veto; (5) enactment; and (6) publication (Novo, 2018). In each of these stages, I have hybrid processes, connections, and interactions between different actors.

Such mobilizations and demobilizations to effect legislative transformations involve an extensive network of human and non-human actors, who act individually or collectively, not always identifiable separately – and may therefore find themselves in black boxes. In this sense, for the analysis of this social past, it must also be considered that legal principles, analogy, and customs are sources of law; therefore, Brazilian legislation itself provides that some legal responses may derive from places other than written law, in cases where it is silent (Coacci, 2018).

Therefore, the influence on the socio past here (re)assembled goes beyond the laws themselves, the occupants of public office, political parties, departments, commissions, congregations, interests, and general public administration. It is, therefore, especially important to recognize that regulatory changes often start with mobilizations and pressures on the part of actors who are constantly silenced, in such a way that in this version of the past, the trajectory of fundamental rights guaranteed to trans people also encompasses the effort to mobilize actors inserted in LGBTQIA+ social movement networks.

In the preceding topic, I observe a layer of history that refers to the recent past when the trans body was explained as a material property conserved by the Brazilian State, this layer being associated with numerous forms of violence. In this thesis, Brazil is the country in which trans people are killed the most, whose violence cases are frequent, and most of these people find themselves in conditions of misery and social exclusion (Nogueira, 2018).

According to the survey obtained by the magazine *Gênero e Número*, for the last year analyzed by the Ministry of Health (the year 2017) - based on the Notifiable Diseases Information System (SINAN) - in Brazil, on average, 11 transsexual people were assaulted per day during this period (Silva, 2019). Compared to a gay cis man¹⁵, the trans person is 14 times more likely to be murdered and nine times more likely to have such a violent death (Nogueira, 2018). Furthermore, aggressions against

¹⁵ Cis or cisgender is a nomenclature used to refer to the individual who presents himself to the world and identifies with his biological gender (Source: < <https://www.uol.com.br/universa/noticias/redacao/2018/03/19/glossario-de-genero-entenda-o-que-significam-os-termos-cis-trans-binary.htm>>).

transgender people registered in public health units increased by more than 800% from 2014 to 2017 (Silva, 2019).

Traces of violence visibly mark this scenario. However, it is not limited to them, being constituted by several actors who transformed it at different times and still manage to provoke significant changes (turning points) in the socio-political situation of this history. Even in a national scenario of profound transphobia, in which the life expectancy of a trans person is 35 years of age, the mobilizations of these social actors made possible in the 2018 elections, a record number of 52 candidacies submitted by trans people to run for positions in the Brazilian Legislative Power (Vasconcelos, 2018). Regarding this movement, I rescued a speech by Jovanna Cardoso da Silva, known as Jovanna Baby, who is considered the founder of the Organized Movement of Transvestites and Transsexuals in Brazil, in which he says the following:

If we do not organize ourselves, we are still just the target population. That was our speech at the time of the emergence of ASTRAL (...). Participating in public life, political and electoral life is important to give visibility. It will take a segment to a Legislative, a Parliament that necessarily has to discuss this issue [free translation from original] (Nascimento & Caetano, 2020).

With this, one notices the manifestation of a network of actors that is, at times, silenced but that mobilizes to try to demobilize a previously established network in civil society, where a network of actors creates spaces of resistance to act on changes in the legislative sphere and break with the silencing process, through pressure exerted by marginalized groups that organized themselves and found openings to become heard. Since this is not something that happens suddenly or has a continuous kind of

“evolution”, from the mobilizations and demobilizations among the actors – also considering their power relations – the networks strengthen and weaken over time.

Certain associations, negotiations, maneuvers, and configurations in the early 1990s resulted in alignments between network actors that are currently recognized as organizations that initiated the political movement of trans people in Brazil. With this, in terms of the political organization of transgender people, I realized that the mobilizations of network actors gained more strength in the 1990s, with actions that were initially concentrated regionally. Among the associations mentioned in documents, academic researches, historical profiles of organizations, newspaper articles and reports from actors involved at the time, there is the *Associação das Travestis e Liberados* (ASTRAL) [Association of Transvestites and Liberated People] established in 1992 in Rio de Janeiro (Rio de Janeiro), the *Associação das Travestis de Salvador* (ATRAS) [Association of Transvestites of Salvador] operating in the Northeast since 1995, the *Grupo Filadélfia de Travestis e Liberados* [Filadélfia Group of Transvestites and Liberated People] which became active in the city of Santos (São Paulo) in 1995, the *Grupo Igualdade* [Equality Group] in Porto Alegre (Rio Grande do Sul) in 1999 and, in the same year, the *Associação de Travestis Unidas na Luta pela Cidadania* (UNIDAS) [Association of Transvestites United in the Fight for Citizenship] with activity in Aracaju (Sergipe) (De Jesus, 2018).

ASTRAL was born out of the need to organize transvestites in response to police violence, especially in traditional places of prostitution in the city, such as Lapa, Central do Brasil, Copacabana, and Praça Mauá itself (Carvalho & Carrara, 2013). Jovanna Baby, active in the foundation of ASTRAL, describes how the scenario for trans people and transvestites was at the end of the dictatorial period in Brazil:

I could not even walk on the streets; we were very good at night, prostituting ourselves, but going out during the day, nobody went out. I had to look first if there was not a car parked nearby to go to the supermarket or the pharmacy; our main struggle was to remedy the violence in any way [free translation from original] (Nascimento & Caetano, 2020).

The beginning of ASTRAL, like most other mobilizations, also involved the search for health-related rights. In the 1980s, an epidemic of HIV and AIDS caused many deaths in the transvestite population in Brazil (Kulick, 1998). Thus, the first ASTRAL meetings took place at the *Instituto Superior de Estudos da Religião* (ISER) [Higher Institute of Religious Studies], an organization linked to the diocese of Rio de Janeiro and which, at the time, promoted a project with sex workers for the prevention of Sexually Transmitted Diseases called *Health in Prostitution* (Carvalho & Carrara, 2013).

In addition to the AIDS prevention project and the space for meetings, ISER's involvement in ASTRAL's foundation also took place through the work of one of its lawyers at the time of this organization's institution. Jovanna Baby reports that the text of the statute for the transvestite's association was prepared by the ISER lawyer and, according to her, the text produced in that *archaic* phase presents *absurd things that I would never accept today, but for the time we stayed delighted with that thing made by a lawyer, with his initials there* (Nascimento & Caetano, 2020). In addition, this actor-network also constituted other relationships that influenced the institution of ASTRAL and are possible to observe when Jovanna narrates the following:

(...) Then he said: no, I predispose, I will make the bylaws, let us call *Fantástico*¹⁶ (...) to follow up on the record. Said and done, he made the statute; we went to register, then the entire television was already there. The people at the registry office, when they read the statute when saw the paper we handed in, the application with the documents, they only registered it because I think because the television was there, they were terrified [free translation from original].

The narrative brought up by Jovanna Baby allows us to understand certain connections and relationships between actors-network that occurred in the past and possibly would have remained silent if not for their trajectory of participation at the beginning of the Organized Movement of Transvestites and Transsexuals in Brazil. In this sense, it is essential to recognize the reflexivity role in historical research and that some of the associations could be identified in this research and constitute a version of the past, precisely because they were accessed by researchers in unveiled stories and were mentioned by network actors who were identified in the process of following the network. A very clear example of this is the excerpt from the documentary in which Jovanna says that the history they tell us that it all started in 1992 and *it is not true*, because the prostitutes had already organized before, in 1979, in Espírito Santo. She even declares that she was an integral part of this mobilization, formally registered as the *Associação das Damas da Noite* [Ladies of the Night Association] in 1981 (Nascimento & Caetano, 2020).

¹⁶ *Fantástico* is a Brazilian television program presented on Sundays by a large open commercial television network (TV Globo). The show premiered in 1973 and was originally called *Fantástico: O Show da Vida* [Fantastic: The Show of Life].

Another association founded a few years later and is part of the history of the construction of these initial moments around the political movement in Brazil is ATRAS, present in the city of Salvador (Bahia). ATRAS was formed by a group of transvestites and members of the *Grupo Gay da Bahia* (GGB) [Gay Group of Bahia] – an organization recognized for its history of struggles and achievements. In 1999, ATRAS was registered as an autonomous civil society, defender of human rights and citizenship for transvestites, transvestites, and transsexuals, is considered a pioneering NGO in the Northeast (ATRAS, nd). Currently, ATRAS establishes relationships with other network actors and is part of the *Associação Brasileira de Gays, Bissexuais, Lésbicas, Travestis e Transexuais* (ABGLT) [Brazilian Association of Gays, Bisexuals, Lesbians, Transvestites and Transsexuals], the *Articulação Nacional de Travestis e Transexuais* (ANTRA) [National Articulation of Transvestites and Transsexuals], the International Lesbian and Gay Association (ILGA) and the *Fórum Baiano LGBT* [Bahia LGBT Forum] (ATRAS, nd).

Above mentioned the *Grupo Filadélfia de Travestis e Liberados* that was established in the city of Santos, São Paulo coast, and was identified as part of this initial movement that was gaining strength in the 1990s Indianara Alves Siqueira, was founding president of the Group, and interview published in an academic article, describes how *Filadélfia* began:

(...) with the death of several friends from AIDS, my sister, in 1994, and from saying that every transvestite dies of AIDS, I wanted to know and know more about [the syndrome]. So, as the Municipal STD Program – Sexually Transmitted Diseases/AIDS in Santos (the capital of AIDS at the time) needed to include transvestites and women prostitutes in prevention, social workers and

psychologists went out on the street to distribute condoms, talk about the importance of use, how use and the importance of the test. Of course, everyone wanting to work, they just got the condom and bye. Then one day, they found me, and I stopped to listen, so they invited me to meet the Municipal Program. From the first meeting, other meetings came, where I brought other trans. Moreover, the work multiplied, and the *Grupo Filadélfia de Travestis e Liberados* de Santos was born (I suggested the name for the film, which touched me a lot). I was elected president. So, the Program informed us about the 1995 ENTLAIDS and [asked] if we wanted to participate, and we accepted. They signed us up, and we came to Rio de Janeiro. We then met Jovanna Baby, the founder of the organized trans movement, and moved on. I returned to Rio in the same year to represent *Filadélfia* at the ILGA international meeting (it was the only time it happened in Brazil) [free translation from original] (De Jesus, 2014).

When talking about the beginning of the organization, Indianara ends upbringing aspects related to the worrying health situation, reinforcing the influence of this issue on the formation of this network of actors at the time. Through her report, relationships that have been established between the *Filadélfia* Group and events, people, and other groups and associations – including ENTLAIDS – are also unveiled.

The first *Encontro Nacional de Travestis e Liberados que Atuam na Prevenção da Aids* (ENTLAIDS) [National Meeting of Transvestites and Liberals Working in the Prevention of AIDS], took place at the beginning of 1993, in the city of Rio de Janeiro, and was organized by the ASTRAL group (Sousa, nd). From this, other editions of this meeting were held in which different approaches and relationships between actors who came to form this network were developed (see figure 11). I could observe that

ENTLAIDS became increasingly present in narratives about the constitution of trans associations and movements that emerged in later years. Carrijo et al. (2019) also comment on the affective and solidarity relationships woven by the transvestites and made up little-recognized processes in militant activities.

Figure 11. IV ENTLAIDS (Rio de Janeiro, 1996) from left to right: André Fernandes, Jovanna Baby, Indianara Siqueira and Kátia Tapety



Source: Keila Simpson's personal archive, In: Carrijo et al. (2019)

A few years later, another mobilization emerged that began with a regional action identified in this research, the *Associação de Travestis Unidas na Luta pela Cidadania* (UNIDAS) [Association of Transvestites United in the Fight for Citizenship]. UNIDAS was established in 1999 and, according to Jessica Taylor, one of

its founders, constituted the first institution dedicated exclusively to transvestites in the State of Sergipe. About the beginning of UNIDAS, Jessica explains the following:

We arose from the need to give transvestites access to fundamental rights, and it is precisely to provide better quality and conditions of life for these girls that we work with. Therefore, we guide, try to help as much as possible, and give each of the new opportunities [free translation from original] (Jornal da Cidade, 2020).

In this sense, it is important to recognize that articulations were often mediated by the need to face violence and AIDS but were not fixed to it. The experience of the transvestites' struggle movement in Brazil is accompanied by several solidarity actions that have generated forms of activism and political participation (Carrijo et al., 2019).

From various mobilizations and demobilizations of actors involved in this political movement, some networks were strengthened over time and built relationships with broader reach. Thus, associations were formed whose operations were no longer located regionally and, instead, sought to act nationally, such as *Rede Nacional de Travestis* [National Transvestite Network] (RENATA), which was founded in 1995; *Rede Nacional de Travestis e Liberados* [National Network of Transvestites and Liberated] (RENTRAL) created in 1997; *Articulação Nacional de Travestis e Transexuais* [National Articulation of Transvestites and Transsexuals] (ANTRA) founded in 2000; *Instituto Brasileiro de Transmasculinidades* [Brazilian Institute of Transmasculinities] (IBRAT) established in 2013 (De Jesus, 2018).

For a national network to exist, several attempts were made between 1993 and 2000 (Sousa, nd). In such a way that several changes occurred in the organizations as

the relationships were structured, for example: (a) in 1995, RENATA was created to provide greater articulation for Brazilian transvestites; (b) in 1997, the name was changed from RENATA to RENTRAL in order to increase the number of people participating in this network and bring *Liberados* [Released] (the *L* in the acronym of ENTLAIDS) to streamline the articulation and; (c) in 2000, once again the organized movement guided the possibility of having a nomenclature more in line with the institutions that were being organized and being born, and thus, at a meeting organized at a meeting in the city of Porto Alegre in December, it was decided the change of the name RENTRAL to ANTRA – which at that time originated as *Articulação Nacional de Transgêneros* [National Transgender Articulation] (Sousa, nd).

An important aspect of association name changes is that they are built around relationships – both those that have already been established at some point and those that are intended to be achieved. In the historical trajectory built by ANTRA, the organization comments on the change from the National Articulation of Transgenders to the National Association of Transvestites and Transsexuals (keeping the same acronym for both nomenclatures) – although the initial nomenclatures of the movement do not have legal entity registration (which only happened in 2002) (Sousa, nd). According to ANTRA, the use of the term transgender had been much debated in the meetings that preceded this decision, and one of the very strong arguments for the acceptance of this term was the pejorative charge that the word transvestite carried (Sousa, nd). Only years later, after clashes, debates, and a movement to remove the stigma of the term transvestite, did ANTRA manage to remove and modify its nomenclature (Sousa, nd).

A more recently established national network was the *Instituto Brasileiro de Transmasculinidades* [Brazilian Institute of Transmasculinities]. IBRAT is located in several Brazilian states and defines itself as a national network of activist transsexual men who fight to recognize social rights and citizenship and promote political training, studies, and research on transmasculinity (Perdigão, 2015). Until 2010, the presence of trans men in political movements was scarce, but there was already an articulation taking place around the recognition of their identities and needs. Not long after, the number of people who started to appear in the movements gradually increased. From this, associations are created, such as: the *Núcleo de Apoio a Homens Trans* [Support Center for Trans Men] (NAHT) which was established in 2011; the *Associação Brasileira de Homens Trans* [Brazilian Association of Trans Men] (ABHT), created in 2012; and the *Instituto Brasileiro de Transmasculinidades* [Brazilian Institute of Transmasculinities] (IBRAT), founded in 2013 (Dos Passos & Casagrande, 2018).

One of the aspects pointed out by IBRAT is that the association aims to address and problematize health issues and guarantee the human rights of the transmasculine community. The institute makes specific reference to Article 23 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Dos Passos & Casagrande, 2018). This article in question deals with the right to free, fair, and paid work, bringing the following text:

- (1) Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favorable conditions of work, and to protection against unemployment. (2) Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.
- (3) Everyone who works has the right to just and favorable remuneration, ensuring for themselves and their family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection. (4)

Everyone has the right to form and join trade unions to protect their interests (UN General Assembly, 1948).

It is an issue that stands out for reflecting a significant change; after all, it is a moment when the discussions of the political movement of trans people begin to open space to bring to the agenda important rights that were previously totally invisible by the actions of extreme violence and oppression. Jovanna Baby points out that back in the 1980s and 1990s, during the initial articulations, the formal labor market was not their discussion. What they wanted was to be able to engage in prostitution without being persecuted (Nascimento & Caetano, 2020).

Durepos (2009) stated that history is traced by the performativity of constantly changing networks of actors. From this, it is understood that these mobilizations mentioned above (not intending to list here all the associations that were formed over time) reflect the effort of network actors whose discourses, actions, and very existence have been historically made invisible through strong transphobia. The existence of militancy aimed at inclusive political agendas in the Brazilian scenario allowed for discussions on concepts such as transsexuality and transgenderism (De Jesus, 2018).

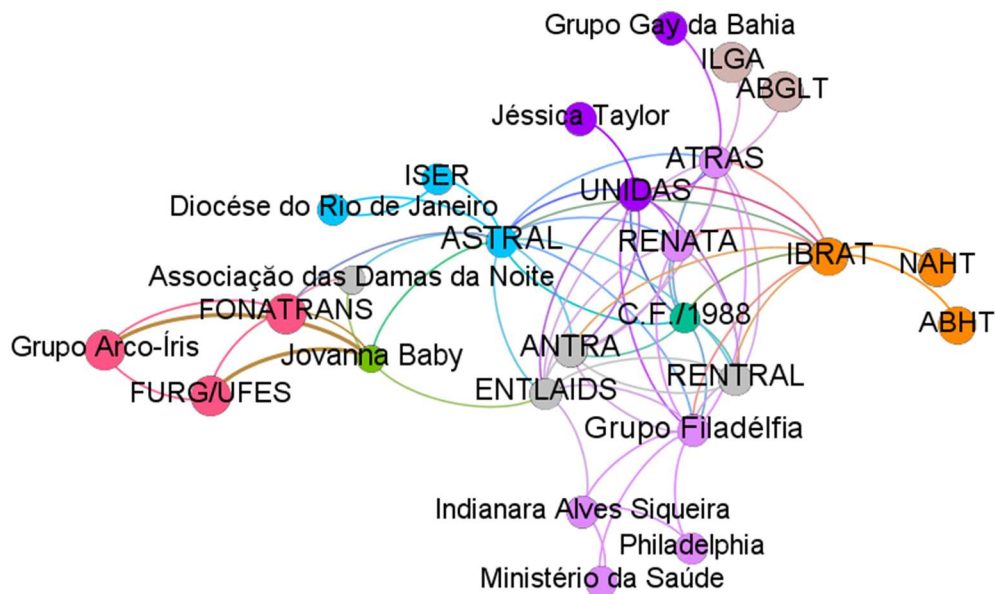
The documentary film about the trajectory of the transvestite and transgender movement in Brazil was produced through a partnership between the *Centro de Memória LGBTI João Antônio Mascarenhas da Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo* [João Antônio Mascarenhas LGBTI Memory Center of the Federal University of Espírito Santo] (FURG/UFES) and the *Centro de Memória e Formação do Grupo Arco-Íris de Cidadania LGBTI* [Rainbow Group's LGBTI Citizenship Memory and Training Center], launched in 2020 and published on FONATRANS' social media. The *Fórum Nacional de Travestis e Transexuais Negras e Negros* [National Forum of Black and

Black Transvestites and Transsexuals] (FONATRANS) was established in 2013 and brought a moment of relevant change to the trajectory of the political movement, introducing intersectionality to the discussions.

Jovanna, who was also part of this process, reports that this initiative was taken after noticing that the majority of transvestites who are in prostitution, who are infected with HIV and are contaminated with sexually transmitted diseases, are black. Moreover, the movement hardly discussed it (Nascimento & Caetano, 2020). This question reveals intersectionality issues in the deep problem that is transphobia in the country. According to data from the Dossier on Violence published by ANTRA, 80% of murders against transgender people in Brazil are trans women and black transvestites – those with less education, less access to formal labor market public policies (ANTRA, 2021b).

Political associations are in a constant construction process, and, as demonstrated by the still so violent and unequal scenario, there is still a long way to go along this path. Nevertheless, in this research (figure 12), it is possible identify some mobilizations and demobilizations of network actors that occurred in the search for the structuring of the political movement, for the guarantee of rights, for the expansion of articulations and discussions, which resulted in important changes in the Brazilian scenario.

Figure 12. Network-Rhizome Diagram (2nd layer)



Source: own elaboration.

When (re)assembling this past, it is clear that in its beginning, political movements of transvestites and transsexuals were strongly associated with issues of institutional violence and public health. It is also noted that the issue around health encompassed more than the fight for actions to prevent AIDS; it involved the effort against transphobia present in organizations in this area. About this, Jovanna reports the following: Doctors... At that time, prostitutes were not treated at the health service. If I was a trans... If I were a transvestite, then I would not even pass the door of a health center [in a free translation from the original] (Nascimento & Caetano, 2020). From this speech by Jovanna Baby in the documentary, following the traces led to a new layer of this network-rhizome to be dealt with in the following section.

4.3 (RE)ASSEMBLING A NORMATIVE COURSE: RIGHT TO HEALTH, DEPATHOLOGIZATION OF TRANSSEXUALITY AND RECOGNITION OF “EMPLOYABLE PEOPLE”

As indicated in previous sections of this thesis, there are strong relationships between the movements in the area of public health and the guarantees of the rights of trans people vis-à-vis organizations in the country. One of these approaches is found in the way the psychopathologization of transsexuality affected for decades and still affects this identity experience (e.g., the difficulty of accessing public policies and the stigma carried by these people) (Prado & Freitas, 2016).

According to Hartt et al. (2017), when mapping the socio past, it is necessary to follow a series of social policies of the actors' networks to understand how they build their past. When (re)assembling the past, I observed that the changes in the sphere of public health norms in Brazil influenced the guarantee of rights for transgender people, establishing relationships that even came to interfere with access to work. Among these changes, I can point out (recalling an issue presented in this thesis) that the sex reassignment (or transgenitalization) surgery itself, currently recognized as a public health issue, has already been qualified by the State as *criminal mutilation* (Estado de São Paulo, 1976, p. 785). Thus, the court decision in this case directly influenced important regulatory changes in public health policy in Brazil.

I understand that legislative changes in Brazil involve relationships between hybrid actors and turning points in the trajectory of employability of trans people in the country's organizations. I start from the understanding that legislations are active

political agents (Latour, 1991) who constantly act in the awareness of gender performativity and, therefore, in the understanding of the unique construction process of each individual (Butler, 2016).

By re-assembling this layer of the network, I begin with the important changes that took place during the 1970s, when there was a growth of the health movement in the country, which was crucial for the broad debate on issues related to health policy in Brazil. The expansion of discussions resulted in one of the important milestones for the legalization of sex reassignment surgery, which took place in 1979 when the Conselho Federal de Medicina [Federal Council of Medicine] – a professional council that seeks to oversee and regulate medical practice in Brazil (CFM, nd) – was consulted for the first time about the possibility of including breast implants in male biological patients (registered under CFM Protocol No. 1.529/79) (Alves, 2017).

The progress in the sanitary movement started in the 1970s also triggered the 8th *Conferência Nacional de Saúde* [National Health Conference] (CNS), which only took place in 1986 but is considered a milestone for the health area in the country (CNS, 2019). This event was the first national Conference open to society, including users' participation as well, as, previously, only figures participated such as deputies, senators, sector authorities, members of secretariats, and intellectuals invited by the Ministry of Health. The 8th CNS also established the guidelines for the construction of a decentralized and single health system and the bases for the foundation of the SUS, which was later created with the promulgation of the Federal Constitution in 1988 (CNS, 2019).

The issues discussed at this Conference resulted in the creation of the *Programa de Desenvolvimento de Sistemas Unificados e Descentralizados de Saúde nos Estados*

[Program for the Development of Unified and Decentralized Health Systems in the States] (SUDS) in 1987 (Brasil, 1987) – a program that served as a transition policy until the creation of the *Sistema Único de Saúde* [Single System of Health] (SUS) in 1988.

SUS is an actor whose role is fundamental for this network and the mobilization of access to rights and guarantees by trans people, and its constitution is a turning point in this trajectory. It is a moment of transition from a period that precedes the legalization of care for transsexuals in Brazil's scope of public health and makes sex reassignment surgery a crime. It is also worth pointing out that a political transition to re-democratization was taking place, considering that this health system is inscribed in the Federal Constitution of 1988.

Two years after the origin of the SUS, it was regulated in the country with the publication of Law No. 8,080/1990, covering health actions and services throughout the national territory (Brasil, 1990). One of the points contained in the text of Law No. 8090/90 states that health is a fundamental human right, and the State must provide the conditions essential for its full exercise (Brasil, 1990).

In 1991, sex reassignment surgery was still prohibited in Brazil, being considered by the Federal Council of Medicine (CFM) at the time as something contrary to the *laws of the country and the ethics that govern the practice of medicine* (CFM, 1990) and *serious mutilation and offense to bodily integrity* [free translations from originals] (CFM, 1991). In that same year, physicians made two requests to the CFM to perform sexual conversion surgery, but in both cases (contained in CFM Consultation Processes No. 11 and No. 12, both from 1991), contrary opinions were given by the Council.

With this, I understand that despite there being a so-called advance in terms of national health policy, an important discussion in this sphere, which involved a portion of the population, was being silenced. The CFM's denials reflect the resistance faced by trans citizens in recognizing their rights to health in Brazil.

In the documents referring to the consultation mentioned above processes, I found expressions correlated to actors whose position in favor of sex reassignment surgery was directly related to the guarantee of health (such as *deep conflicts in the psycho-sexual and affective sphere, psychological rejection, and the appointment of suffering*) (CFM, 1990; 1991). However, at the time, given the decision that prevailed, the mobilization of these actors was being stifled by other network actors who strengthened the version of history in which surgery was considered a crime. In such a way, more than a decade after the court decision favorable to the doctor responsible for the first surgery on a transsexual woman, the network actors who demobilized the performance of the surgery presented an argumentative structure that still prevailed. Therefore, I see that advances occur slowly, and in 1991, the denials were still being based on the same legal issues that surrounded the lawsuit filed against the doctor in 1976 (serious bodily harm, mutilation, and false identity) and silenced the fact of the acquittal of the defendant in 1979.

On August 10, 1995, the CFM board promoted a *debate on the topic of transsexualism* [a free translation from original] in a plenary session (CFM, 1997a). After that, only on March 19, 1997, on the occasion of the first *Encontro Nacional dos Conselhos de Medicina* [National Meeting of Councils of Medicine] (ENCM), a CFM Commission promoted another debate on the subject. At this meeting, the plenary was mostly in favor of the surgical procedure (known at that period as transgenitalism

surgery), except the legal basis (to be assessed a posteriori) and the understanding that the surgery constituted a special form of medical treatment, with technical foundation and legal adequacy (CFM, 1997a).

The discussions mentioned above (from 1995 and 1997) resulted in creating a CFM commission, called the Study Commission on Transsexualism, and a document, the Opinion, and Proposal for Resolution PC/CFM/Nº 39/97. Among the introductory elements to this Proposal for a Resolution, it is possible to identify several actors that influenced what was happening in Brazil. They are human, non-human, and hybrid actors, such as the *lay press* (the expression used in the document), the CFM advisers, a professor and physician in the area of Psychotherapy and Psychiatry, a professor and plastic surgeon, a deputy, a lawyer from the rights section human beings, articles 129 and 307 of the Penal Code¹⁷, Article 42 of the Code of Medical Ethics, Article 199 of the Federal Constitution of 1988, Law No. 9,434/ 1997, the newspaper of the Regional Council of Medicine of the Federal District (CRM-DF), the poet Fernando Pessoa, the National Congress, the Consultation-Opinions approved by the CFM (referring to the years 1975 and 1991, when the Council was against the surgery) and the aspirations of society (CFM, 1997a).

PC/CFM/Nº 39/97 (a Consultation-Opinion) was approved on May 9, 1997, and the resolution proposed therein (Resolution No. 1482) was published and became effective on September 19 of that same year. Through this Resolution, the CFM authorized, on an experimental basis, transgenitalization surgery in Brazil - establishing

¹⁷ Article 129 of the Penal Code deals with crimes of bodily harm and article 307 with false identity crimes (Brasil, 1940).

the types of surgery (neocolpovulvoplasty, neophalloplasty¹⁸), instructing the complementary medical procedures and defining some criteria, such as the minimum age of the patient and the exclusive practice *in university hospitals or public hospitals suitable for research* [in a free translation] (CFM, 1997b). This change came to be widely publicized in newspapers with a large circulation in the country, accompanied by comments, reservations, and the association of surgery with the crime of bodily injury. In 1998, *Jornal do Brasil* (figure 13) wrote about the discharge from the hospital received by the first Brazilian to undergo a sex reassignment surgery since the Federal Council of Medicine considered this procedure 'ethical', in September 1997 (at the time, the use of male articles to refer to trans women was a constant in the major media outlets). The article says that the hospital superintendent did not release the names of those who participated in the operation since the surgery, *although supported by the CFM and a judge's opinion, is still illegal under the Penal Code in force*. The procedure is classified as a *very serious bodily injury*, and the doctor can be sentenced to two to eight years imprisonment (Marques, 1998).

¹⁸ The practice called neophalloplasty consists of surgical techniques for the construction of the penis and the surgical intervention that seeks the construction of the vagina, accompanied by plastic surgery for the construction of the labia minora and majora, is called neocolpovulvoplasty (neocolpoplasty, which means the reconstruction of the vaginal canal and neovulvoplasty which means the reconstruction of the vulva) (Penna, 2010).

Figure 13. Jornal do Brasil: *Operated transsexual is discharged*



QUINTA-FEIRA, 16 DE ABRIL DE 1998.

Brasil

MST vai recrutar desempregados

■ Aliança com CUT marca ato contra massacre no Pará

VASCONCELO QUADROS

SÃO PAULO - O ato de protesto de amanhã, para cobrar o fim da impunidade no massacre de 19 agricultores de Eldorado dos Carajás, no Pará, vai marcar a primeira ação de parceria entre Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra e a Central Única dos Trabalhadores no recrutamento de desempregados urbanos para engrossar os acampamentos. Em todas as capitais serão montadas bancas de cadastramento de desempregados que, além de ajudar a CUT

Correio Popular de Campinas

Transexual operado recebe alta

FABRÍCIO MARQUES

SÃO PAULO - Recebeu alta na cidade de Campinas, a 89 quilômetros da capital paulista, o transexual E (a família não revela o nome), de 26 anos, conhecido como Bianca, primeiro brasileiro submetido a uma cirurgia de mudança de sexo desde que

o Conselho Federal de Medicina considerou "ético" esse procedimento, em setembro de 1997. A cirurgia, feita dia 8 no Hospital das Clínicas da Universidade Estadual de Campinas (Unicamp), só foi anunciada anteontem.

O superintendente do hospital, Paulo Eduardo Rodrigues da Silva, não divulgou os nomes dos médicos que participaram da operação, um urologista, um cirurgião plástico, um endocrinologista e um ginecologista. É que essa cirurgia, embora amparada pelo CFM e pelo parecer de um juiz, ainda é ilegal pelo Código Penal em vigor. O procedimento é classificado como "lesão corporal gravíssima" e pode render pena

de dois a oito anos de prisão ao médico.

A operação consiste no esvaziamento do pênis e na construção de uma vagina com a própria pele e os tecidos penianos. E se recupera na casa de uma tia. Sua mãe, Maria Cecília Magro, comemorou a operação. "Isso tinha que ser reparado. Era um problema genético. Ela nasceu homem, mas desde pequenina se comportava como mulher."

E recebeu atendimento psicológico na Unicamp por cinco anos e se encaixava nos critérios definidos pelo CFM. Integrante da direção de uma organização não-governamental que defende os direitos dos transexuais, E tentará agora mudar o seu nome para Bianca Vieira.

Source: Jornal do Brasil, Year 1998, Edition 00008

Resolution No. 1482/1997 considered one of the foundations for the surgery to be the transsexual patient with a permanent *psychological deviation of sexual identity*, with a rejection of the phenotype and *tendency to self-mutilation or self-extermination* [free translation from original] (CFM, 1997b). Despite the evident transphobia present in its text, it is worth recognizing that this resolution established relationships between different actors who at that time contributed to advances in the health of trans people. Since 1997, several services began to be organized, especially given the demands of transsexual people who started to seek care after learning about the possibility of having the surgery in the SUS (Almeida & Murta, 2013, p. 10).

In 1999, CFM issued a favorable opinion, in Consultation No. 2,263, to perform a mastectomy in a transsexual patient, indicating that the patient should be referred to one of the Research Centers or Universities authorized by the legislation in force at the time. This decision was different from the opinions issued in similar consultations by the Council in 1991; thus, there is a clear result of the mobilizations of the network

actors that took place over that time – especially considering that the opinion in question specifically cited the Resolutions 196/96, of the CNS, and 1482/1997, of the CFM (CRM-SP, 1999). In addition, it is clear that the text also presents more inclusive elements, starting to consider, for example, the *social-professional* and *quality of life* aspect of the trans people (CRM-SP, 1999). Evidence also points to a change in media publications about surgery, for example, in a publication in *Jornal do Brasil* that treats the medical procedure as *an important step in the fight against the prejudice that transsexuals are victims* and makes use of the female article to refer to a trans woman, saying that *the model who was also operated on by the hospital staff* [free translations] (Julião, 1999).

Figura 14. *Jornal do Brasil*: Eve’s soul, Adam’s body



Source: *Jornal do Brasil*, Year 1999, Edition 00284 (1)

Another important moment occurred in 2001 when the *Ministério Público Federal* [Federal Public Ministry] (MPF) filed a Public Civil Action (No.

2001.71.00.026279-9/RS) against the Union¹⁹ in order to claim the performance of sex reassignment surgery by SUS (TRF4, 2001). In this action, the MPF claimed that enabling surgery for transsexuals through the SUS was a constitutional right, encompassing the principles of respect for human dignity, equality, intimacy, private life, and health. The Union took a stand against the request, arguing that the surgery had an experimental nature and was performed only in university or public hospitals suitable for the research and claiming that it was a controversial issue due to its legality being questioned (TRF4, 2007). Thus, the action was dismissed in the first instance without judgment on the merits, under the argument that the request was legally impossible (TRF4, 2007). The MPF appealed the decision to the higher court and, despite the effect not having taken place at that time, this movement proved to be fundamental for the result generated years ahead.

In January 2002, the new Civil Code came into force (Law No. 10.406/2002), changing the age of the majority from 21 to 18 years of age and the authorization to practice all acts of civil life (BRAZIL, 2002). In November of that same year, the CFM published Resolution No. 1652/2002, defining as one of the criteria for “the selection of patients for transgenitalism surgery” [free translation], the minimum age of 21 years (CFM, 2002). In other words, at that time, an 18-year-old trans person had full civil liability but would still have to wait three years to access certain rights related to their health.

Together, the Resolution mentioned above (CFM No. 1652/2002) removed the experimental character of neocolpovulvoplasty surgery (i.e., neophalloplasty remained

¹⁹ Union is the legal entity of Public Law representing the Federal Government at the internal level and the Federative Republic of Brazil at the external level.

an experiment), and this expanded the possibilities of access to sex reassignment procedures, as well as in the care of female transsexuals in public and private health institutions (Arán et al., 2008). This document also revoked CFM Resolution No. 1482 of 1997 and brought in its text reference to other actors involved, such as the Penal Code, the Federal Constitution of 1988, CNS Resolution No. 196/96, and CFM Resolution No. 1.482/97 (CFM, 2002).

In 2003, the theme of LGBTQIA+ and SUS rights was discussed the following year during the 12th CNS National Health Conference (Ministério da Saúde, 2013a). At the end of that same year, a lawyer (identified in the document only because of her professional occupation) consulted the CFM on the interpretation of one of the items of CFM Resolution No. 1652/2002 that dealt with the age requirement for transgenitalization surgery, in view of the changes arising from the Brazilian Civil Code. Despite this, the attempt was demobilized and, in response, the CFM expressed an opinion with the permanence of the minimum age criterion of 21 years, releasing itself "to make changes to follow a newly created law" since (according to the agency at the time) the link with the age of majority was not explained in the Resolution (CFM, 2003).

Then, in 2004, the Brazilian government instituted at the national level, with the participation of civil society, a program called "Brazil without Homophobia – Program to Combat Violence and Discrimination against GLTB²⁰ and the Promotion of Homosexual Citizenship" [free translation], through which recommendations were

²⁰ GLTB (Gays, Lesbians, Transgender, and Bisexual) corresponds to the designation mentioned in the drafting of official documents at the time.

made to the different sectors of the government to ensure policies, programs, and actions against discrimination (Ministério da Saúde, 2013a). Also, in the same year that this program was instituted, the Ministry of Health constituted a Technical Committee for Health of the GLTB Population with the proposal to build a specific policy for the SUS (Ministério da Saúde, 2013a).

The next landmark mobilizations took place on September 9th and 10th, 2005, an event of great importance that promoted the discussion on health issues aimed at trans people, called First National Journey on Transsexuality and Health: public assistance in Brazil. This event took place at the *Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro* [State University of Rio de Janeiro] (UERJ) and was organized by the *Instituto de Medicina Social* [Institute of Social Medicine] (IMS) together with the Coordination of Mental Health of the Ministry of Health on historical, political and social aspects, surgical aspects, as well as ethical and legal effects of transsexuality (CLAM, 2005).

In 2006, the Ministry of Health approved the SUS Users' Rights Charter, in which it ensured that every user identification document had a field to register the name by which one *prefers to be called*, regardless of the civil registry (Ministry of Health, 2006). It is worth noting that in that year, the LGBTQIA+ population gained its representation in the National Health Council (Ministry of Health, 2013a), resulting in greater democratic participation in the SUS concerning issues of sexual orientation, gender identity, and their repercussions on health.

In this sense, it is appropriate to "open a parenthesis" here to highlight that the official recognition of gender identity, with the change of name in the civil registry, is a practice around which frequent demobilizations are identified over time. However,

changing the name is not something simple or accessible, and I see several pieces of evidence of the difficulty faced by trans people to obtain a permit in Brazil.

Recovering the history of sex reassignment surgery, which was classified as a crime of bodily injury, the woman identified as a victim in her default in the lawsuit filed against the doctor was identified through another judicial process in which she requested a change of her name in the civil registry. The chief delegate, at the time, of the *Delegacia Seccional do Centro* [Sectional Precinct of the City Center] (Department of Regional Police Stations of São Paulo - DEGRAN) states that: the fact would have been hidden had it not been for the victim's intention to change his gender to female in the birth registration [free translation] (Estado de São Paulo, 1976, pp. 114-117). In fact, she, who had managed to obtain authorization from the Public Records Court to change her first name after the complaint against the doctor, was later revoked (Chaves, 1977). This failure in lawsuits to change the name in the civil registry is an occurrence that has been repeated many times over the years in Brazil (figure 15).

Figura 15. Jornal do Brasil: Transsexual cannot change her name



Source: Jornal do Brasil, Year 1990, Edition 00068 (2)

In figure 16, it is possible to see an excerpt of an article in which Roberta Close, a widely known model in the country, claims that she has *already been through hell* for having assumed her sexuality under the military regime and that Brazil only gave her a headache, so she left for Europe because in her country she was not accepted as a woman (Campbell U., 2005, p. 17). The text, published in 2005, also states that: since she has not yet managed to change her name, the model is still legally a man in the country (Campbell U., 2005).

Figure 16. Correio Braziliense: Roberta Close still hasn't managed to change her name

Roberta x Rogéria

ULLISES CAMPBELL
DA EQUIPE DO CORREIO

Quando se fala em transexualismo, dois nomes vêm à cabeça do brasileiro. O primeiro é o da modelo Roberta Close, 41 anos. O outro é o da atriz Rogéria, 61. No entanto, nenhum dos dois é transexual. Roberta Close contou, em entrevista ao Correio, que sofria de hermafroditismo. Rogéria disse que é homossexual e que nunca fará a cirurgia de mudança de sexo.

Carioca, Roberta Close afirma que comeu "o pão que o diabo amassou" por ter assumido a sexualidade em pleno regime militar. Em 1990, fez a cirurgia de adequação de sexo em Londres. Hoje, casa-

da, mora na Suíça. Como ainda não conseguiu mudar de nome, a modelo continua legalmente homem. "O Brasil só me dá dor de cabeça.", queixa-se. "Aqui não sou aceita como mulher. Por isso fui embora para a Europa."

O ator Astolfo Barroso Pinheiro é conhecido nacionalmente como Rogéria. Ainda menino, descobriu que havia uma mulher dentro de si. Aos 30 anos, em Paris, passou a se vestir como tal e garante nunca ter cogitado fazer a cirurgia de mudança de sexo. "Tentaram me convencer a fazer a operação na Espanha, mas nunca senti necessidade. Estou satisfeita com o órgão sexual masculino", diz. Veja os principais trechos das duas entrevistas abaixo:

Source: (Campbell U., 2005)

Now, "closing this parenthesis" and resuming movement in the health area, four years after the 12th National Health Conference, the National Health Council and the

Executive Branch convened the 13th National Health Conference (CNS, 2007). The Conference took place in stages (district, state and national) from April to November 2007, with the theme *Health and Quality of Life: State Policy and Development* (CNS, 2007). In this 13th Conference, sexual orientation and gender identity were included in the analysis of the social determinants of health, and "the improvement of the Transsexualizing Process" was placed as one of the recommendations arising from the event (Ministério da Saúde, 2013a).

In August of that same year of 2007 (at the same time as the state stage of the 13th CSN), Public Civil Action No. 2001.71.00.026279-9/RS (previously mentioned in this work) was judged by the Regional Federal Court (TRF) of the 4th Region, by unanimous decision. This decision covered the entire national territory and established 30 days for the SUS to: *include in its list of surgical procedures transgenitalization or sex-change surgery* (TRF4, 2007). The role of the magistrate (rapporteur and judge) proved to be relevant in the mobilization that took place in this case, having declared in his vote (according to his own words) questions such as intense suffering; a possibility of self-mutilation and suicide; fundamental rights; rights of freedom and equality (in its prohibitive dimension of discrimination); fundamental right to health; guarantee of survival and minimum standards of the well-being of individuals; human dignity and; express or tacit consent of the patient (TRF4, 2007).

The following year, in 2008, the *Secretaria Especial de Direitos Humanos* [Special Department for Human Rights], which was linked to the Republic Presidency, organized the 1st *Conferência Nacional de Lésbicas, Gays, Bissexuais, Travestis e Transsexuais* [National Conference of Lesbians, Gays, Bisexuals, Transvestites, and Transsexuals], which took place between June 6th and 8th. This event mobilized

government and civil society actors, including representatives from 16 Ministries, Federal Deputies and Senators (members of the Parliamentary Front for GLBT Citizenship), and from some of the LGBTQIA+ organizations and associations active at the time (e.g., ANTRA, Rede Afro GLBT and ABGLT) (CLAM, 2007).

Months after this Conference, the Ministry of Health instituted the so-called Transsexualizing Process in the SUS [Unified Health System] through Ordinance No. 1.707/GM/MS (published on August 18, 2008), as well as regulated such process through Ordinance No. 457/SAS/MS, on August 19, 2008 ((Ministério da Saúde, 2018). Through the publication of these internal normative acts, the Ministry of Health made it possible to meet the specific demands of transgender people and authorized, for such care, four units in Brazil to provide specialized services in the Transsexualizing Process, which at that time were located in São Paulo (*Instituto de Psiquiatria da Fundação Faculdade de Medicina* [Institute of Psychiatry of the Faculty-Foundation of Medicine] - MECMPAS); Porto Alegre (Hospital de Clínicas [Clinical Hospital] of Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul); Rio de Janeiro (Hospital Universitário Pedro Ernesto - HUPE [Pedro Ernesto University Hospital] of the State University of Rio de Janeiro) and; Goiânia (Hospital das Clínicas [Clinical Hospital] of Goiás Federal University) (Larrat, 2015).

In 2009, the Ministry of Health revoked the SUS Users' Rights Charter of 2006, with Ordinance No. 1820/2009. In this new document, the Ministry provided for the rights and duties of health users and adopted the expression "social name" (Ministério da Saúde, 2009). Later that year, the Federal District Public Prosecutor's Office (linked to a kind of internal department called Pró-Vida [Pro Life]) sent the president of the CFM a document signed by 17 different representations (involving doctors, health

professionals, social leaders, and institutional), questioning the possibility of changing the CFM Resolution No. 1.652/02 and requesting that the CFM remove from the experimental character the *surgical interventions on gonads and secondary sexual characters in cases of FtM*²¹ text in which the situation of transsexual men is particularly addressed (CFM, 2010). Such consultation carried out by the MPDFT/Pró-Vida only received an opinion from the CFM in the following year, which suggested that the resolution be re-evaluated at the time. It should be noted that, in this opinion, the reporting counselor highlighted some of the actors who were part of that mobilization, which were: an opinion on the legality and ethics of transsexual surgery, approved in 1994 by the CRM-DF; the formation of a commission by CFM in 1995; the I ENCM in 1997; PC/CFM No. 39/97; CFM Resolution No. 1.482/97 and; CFM Resolution 1652/02.

Despite this, even today, the constant silencing of transgenderism and the contempt for the use of the social name in health organizations results in serious consequences and social problems, as seen in the following ANTRA report:

We do not know exactly how many trans people died as victims of COVID-19 because there is no guarantee of respect for the social name or gender identity of trans people in medical records or death certificates, which makes it difficult to identify these people [free translation from original] (ANTRA, 2021a).

Also, in 2010, the CFM published Resolution No. 1,955, in which it provided for *transgenitalism surgery* [sic] and revoked CFM Resolution No. 1,652 of 2002

²¹ FtM is an expression commonly used in the medical field and refers to a female-to-male transition (Swann et al., 2015).

(CREMESP, 2010). It resulted in the legal authorization of body modification from the female to the male phenotype, with the inclusion of mastectomy procedures²² and hysterectomy²³ – but, until then, neophalloplasty (construction of the phallus) remained experimental. It is noteworthy that this resolution still had problematic terms, such as *treatment of cases of transsexualism, permanent psychological deviation, therapeutic purpose*, and surgeries on an *experimental basis* (CREMESP, 2010).

In 2011, the Ministry of Health published Ordinance No. 2,836 and, through it instituted, within the scope of the SUS, the National Policy on Comprehensive Health for Lesbians, Gays, Bisexuals, Transvestites and Transsexuals (National Policy on Comprehensive Health LGBT) (Ministry of Health, 2011a).

That same year (in fact, five days after the publication of Ordinance No. 2,836), the MS also published Resolution No. 2 of the Tripartite Inter-manager Commission (CIT), establishing the strategies and actions that guided the Operational Plan of the National Health Policy Integral of Lesbians, Gays, Bisexuals, Transvestites and Transsexuals within the scope of the SUS (Ministry of Health, 2011b). On December 7, 2012, the members of the *Comissão Nacional de Incorporação de Tecnologias* [National Commission for the Incorporation of Technologies] (CONITEC) presented an analysis of the financial impact. As a result, they indicated in Recommendation Report No. 69 the incorporation of new procedures related to the transsexualization

²² The male mastectomy is a plastic surgery done to give a masculine appearance to the chest of a woman, in which you made the withdrawal of the breasts (Available at: < <https://www.tuasaude.com/mastectomy/> >. Accessed January 20, 2020).

²³ Surgery to remove the uterus and ovaries (Available at: < <https://g1.globo.com/ciencia-e-saude/noticia/2018/08/19/quase-300-transgeneros-esperam-cirurgia-na-rede-publica-10-anos-apos-portaria-do-sus.ghtml> >. Accessed on January 20, 2020).

process within the scope of the SUS (CONITEC, 2014). These two actions were used as the basis for the construction of the National Policy Document on Comprehensive Health for Lesbians, Gays, Bisexuals, Transvestites, and Transsexuals, prepared and distributed by the Ministry of Health, whose first edition was published in 2012 and the first reprint in the year 2013 (with 50,000 copies) (Ministry of Health, 2013a).

In February 2013, CFM issued Opinion No. 8/13, contained in CFM Consultation Process No. 32/12, in response to a consultation filed by the Specialized Nucleus for Combating Discrimination, Racism, and Prejudice, of the Public Defender of the State of São Paulo, where information was requested on hormonal therapy for transvestite and transsexual adolescents (CFM, 2013). In this opinion, the CFM pointed to CFM Resolution No. 1664/03 and CRM-SP Resolution No. 208/09, as well as several foreign academic pieces of research (coming from Amsterdam, Gent, Boston, Oslo, and Toronto), bringing issues such as "suppression of puberty of the gender of birth before the irreversible development of sexual characteristics" and "protocol for inducing puberty of the desired sex" from 16 years of age onwards (CFM, 2013).

In that same year of 2013, two ordinances were published in sequence by the Ministry of Health throughout July. On the 30th, Ordinance No. 859/SAS/MS was published to review, redefine, and expand the Transsexualizing Process in the SUS, in attention to a "line of care for transsexuals and transvestites" (Ministério da Saúde, 2013c). However, the following day (the 31st), the MS published Ordinance No. 1579 and suspended the effects of No. 859 until clinical and care protocols within the scope of the transsexualizing process were defined (Ministry of Health, 2013d). It only occurred months later, in November 2013, with the publication of Ordinance No. 2,803,

when (again) the Ministry of Health redefines and expands the Transsexualizing Process in the Unified Health System (SUS) (Ministério da Saúde, 2013b).

Ordinance No. 2,803/2013 increased the number of outpatient and hospital procedures, included the sexual reassignment of the female to male phenotype, included transvestites, and fixed the age of 18 years for hormonal therapy and clinical monitoring, maintaining, however, the minimum age of 21 years for the surgical procedure (Alves, 2017). In its text, the ordinance alludes to some of the Decrees previously mentioned in this thesis (e.g., Decree No. 7.508/2011, Ordinance No. 1.820/GM/MS/2009, Ordinance No. 1.600/GM/MS/2011) and above all the "judicial decision final and unappealable, rendered in the records of Public Civil Action No. 2001.71.00.026279-9/RS", which, according to the text of the ordinance in question, would have been *provided on September 13, 2013, at the place of execution* (Ministry of Health, 2013b).

One of the difficulties in accessing the transsexualizing process is the distribution of care in public health. It is possible to notice some demobilizations that are revealed through gaps left in relation to state and district powers and duties in the normative basis of this process (Ordinance No. 2.803/2013), which result in a service that is concentrated in the Midwest, South, and Southeast regions of Brazil (Prado & Freitas, 2016). In addition, access to the population is also affected due to the fact that "in the scope of management, financial and personnel resources are limited" to meet this demand (Prado & Freitas, 2016, p. 326).

Bento (2008) pointed out that the idea of transsexuality strictly linked to surgery was relativized by trans people who do not condition the procedure to gender change. Nevertheless, this idea – which is now outdated – was under discussion at that time and, in March 2015, the Setor Jurídico [Legal Sector] (SEJUR) of the CFM issued Order No.

100/15, approved at a board meeting, with a position on the legality of surgical procedures that promote the modification of phenotypic characteristics, but without the surgical alteration of their sex (CFM, 2015). This order was issued in response to the Vice-President of the Council, who requested a position on the legality of surgical procedures that promote the modification of a civil nature (CFM, 2015). In other words, the discussion was around the possibility of changing the civil registry (first name and sex designation) without *transgenitalization surgery* (the term used at the time).

In the document in question, the SEJUR/CFM, in the end, positioned itself in order to clarify the absence of legal obstacles in the procedures of phenotypic changes independent of transgenitalization – representing an important moment concerning identity constructions within some organizations. Since, even today, this is an issue that directly impacts exclusion from the labor market, being a reason for marginalization and constant constraints experienced by trans people. First name changes in the civil registry depend on a court decision and, in the absence of legislation regulating this issue, deferrals, as pointed out by Barboza (2012) and Pereira (2018), are often (and mistakenly) linked to surgery.

In 2015, sex reassignment surgery was a theme that motivated frequent mobilizations in health organizations. In that year, several consultations were carried out to the Regional Councils of Medicine across the country, such as: (a) in March, the CRM-SC was consulted about the possibility of a patient interested in having the surgery for *transgenitalism* to be evaluated by external professionals who were not linked to the clinic where the surgery would be performed, in order to compose the multidisciplinary team required by the norms in force at the time (CRM-SC, 2015) ; (b) in October, the CRM-MG was consulted about breast plastic surgery outside university

hospitals and whether it also required psychological assessment (CRM-MG, 2015) and; (c) the CRM-PR was consulted on the inclusion of the social name of transvestite and transsexual students in the internal school records, such matter having been raised by the *Centro de Apoio Operacional às Promotorias de Justiça da Criança e do Adolescente e da Educação* [Operational Support Center for the Prosecutors' Office of Children and Adolescents and Education] of the Ministry Public (CRM-PR, 2015).

The consultations mentioned above can be seen as traces that the information and normative changes about sex reassignment surgery were not disseminated among the professionals, with several doubts about the subject. However, on the other hand, they may also indicate that the mobilization of actors involved with the rights of children and adolescents was also beginning to assume greater proportions (although still timid in relation to the necessary reach).

In 2017, the Ministry of Health increased Access and Regulation information regarding the *Transsexualizing Process* on its official website (Ministério da Saúde, 2017). One of this information made available by the Ministry shows that the line of health care for transsexuals and transvestites with demands for the Transsexualization Process starts in *Primary Care* (known as the priority way for the user to enter the network) and *Specialized Care* (composed of outpatient and hospital units, which offer support services) (Ministry of Health, 2017). According to the MS, Specialized Care takes place in the outpatient setting (clinical evaluations and follow-ups) and in the hospital (performing surgeries and preoperative and postoperative follow-ups), whose services must be offered in a hierarchical and regionalized manner so that they serve as a reference for a set of Primary Care Units (Ministério da Saúde, 2017). Also, according to the Ministry, such specialized services are based on regulatory protocols managed by

State and Municipal Health Secretariats, which define the establishments to which patients should be referred (Ministério da Saúde, 2017).

However, the actors involved in the service network entangle a process that presents many other difficulties and those inherent to it (and that were mentioned above), such as the selection criteria and the steps established in the rules that regulate it. In the recent past, I noticed that the service has important access restrictions to the procedure in the service's distribution. A piece of news published in 2018 reveals that the teams and structures designed to serve the transgender public were insufficient and that, in that year, at least 288 transgender people were registered on waiting lists for sex reassignment surgery (Caesar, 2018).

By the time I write this thesis (taking into account the issue of reflexivity inherent in this work), the list of establishments qualified in the *Specialized Care Unit in the Transsexualizing Process* has reduced since the publication of Ordinance No. 2,803 in 2013. Furthermore, in April 2014, one of the units located in the city of São Paulo was excluded by Ordinance No. 629. So, currently, the country has only four units, as follows: UFG – *Hospital das Clínicas da Universidade Federal de Goiás* [Clinical Hospital of the Federal University of Goiás] (Goiânia, GO); UFRGS – *Hospital de Clínicas de Porto Alegre* [Clinical Hospital of Porto Alegre] (Porto Alegre, RS); UERJ – *Pedro Ernesto University Hospital* (Rio de Janeiro, RJ) and; FMUSP – *Clinical Hospital of Faculty of Medicine* (São Paulo, SP) (Ministério da Saúde, 2013b).

After a period of silence in terms of normative action at the national level regarding the subject in question - which also reveals many questions about the period - recently, on June 21, 2019, through the publication of Ordinance No. 1370, the Union included in a *Table of Procedures paid by SUS*, procedures related to the reassignment

of the female phenotype to the male phenotype: (1) vaginectomy and (2) metoidioplasty²⁴ (procedures already performed in hospitals authorized by the Ministry of Health). However, such procedures are still conditioned to be carried out on an experimental basis and authorized upon presentation of a research project in accordance with Resolution 466/2012 of the National Health Commission (which deals, among other issues, on ethical aspects of research involving human beings, including the CEP/CONEP System²⁵) as well as caring for people aged between 21 and 75 years (Ministry of Health, 2019).

Meanwhile, on the global stage, a significant shift is underway. In June 2018, the World Health Organization (WHO) published the 11th edition of the ICD (International Statistical Classification of Diseases and Related Health Problems), which removed the so-called "sexual identity disorder" or "gender identity disorder" (Governo Federal, 2018). In May 2019, ICD-11 was presented to the World Health Assembly and was therefore nominated for adoption – coming into force and replacing previous revisions from January 2022 – so that all WHO Member States should make the transition from using ICD-10 to ICD-11 (Almeida et al., 2020). The ICD-10 was

²⁴ Vaginectomy is a surgical procedure that removes all or part of the vagina, and metoidioplasty is a technique that involves hormonal treatment with testosterone and incisions around the clitoris to make it approximate the shape of a penis (Available from < <https://veja.abril.com.br/brasil/sus-e-autorizado-a-fazer-cirurgia-de-mudanca-de-sexo-em-homens-trans/> >. Accessed on January 20, 2020).

²⁵ The CEP/CONEP System is integrated by the National Commission of Ethics in Research (CONEP) - a collegiate body, of a consultative, deliberative, normative, educational and independent nature, linked to the National Health Council, of the Ministry of Health - and by the Research Ethics Committees (CEP) – interdisciplinary and independent collegiate bodies, of public relevance, of a consultative, deliberative and educational nature. Research involving human beings must be submitted to the CEP/CONEP System, which, when analyzing and deciding, becomes co-responsible for guaranteeing the protection of the participants.

endorsed in May 1900, and, in addition to the need for more detailed records and reports, as well as a series of clinical modifications or specialized adaptations that have proliferated over time (WHO, 2021), its updating was pressing for the LGBTQIA+ population. In the previous ICD, gender identity issues were still on the list of "mental, behavioral and neurodevelopmental disorders" and ICD-11 brings in chapter 17 that conditions related to sexual health present the condition of "gender incongruity" (Almeida et al., 2020).

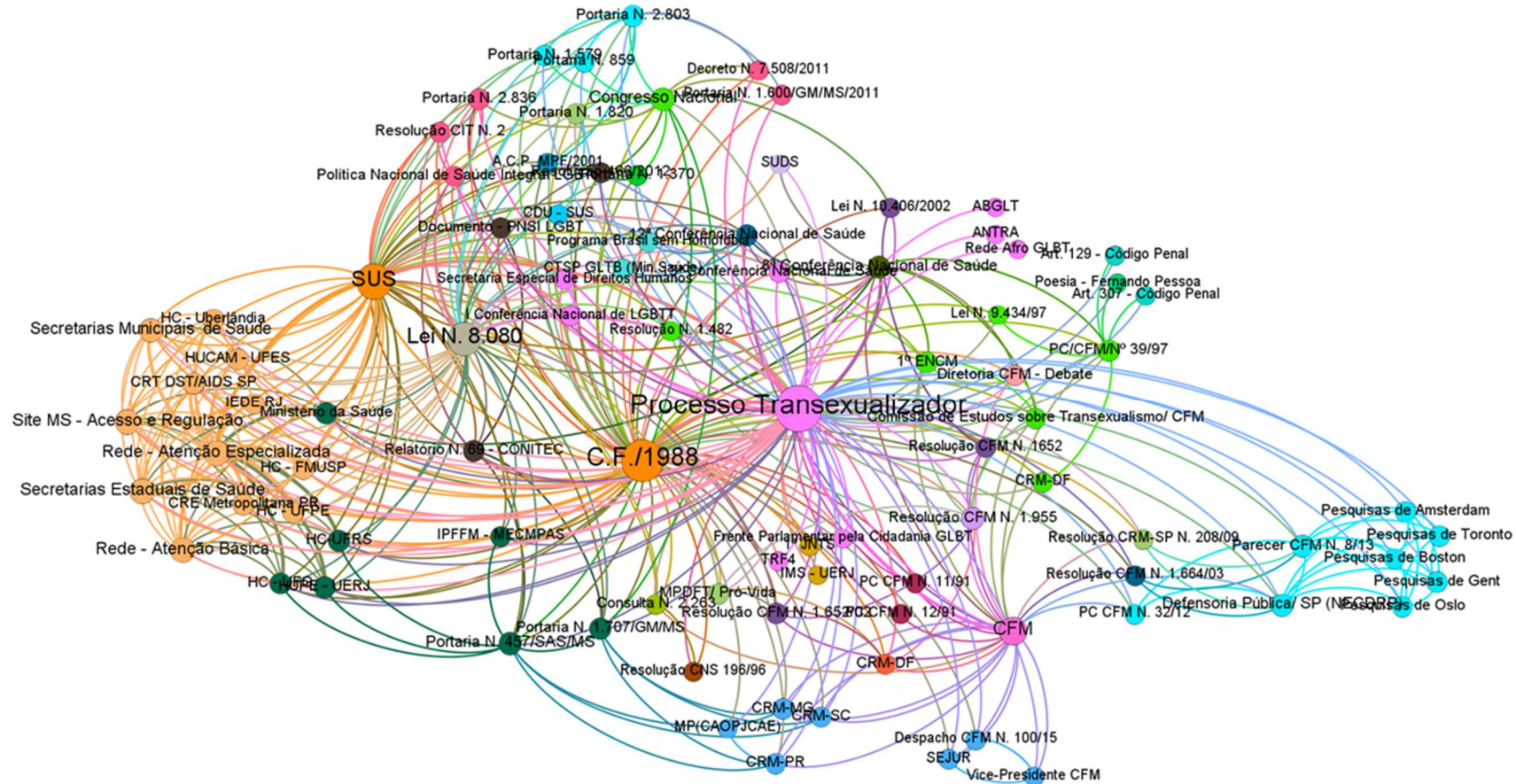
I understand this new ICD, given the theoretical lens assumed here, as a black box since the implementation of this complex and comprehensive coding system occurs through the Union of multiple actors around a common cause. Among the actors involved in the ICD-11 are the 194 WHO Member States (each with its trajectories and relationships). In addition, negotiations and disputes over the production of this document also involved relevant associations, such as the intensification of the surgical trend during the 1960s and 1970s; the assumption of the term *gender dysphoria* coined by John Money in 1973; the inclusion of transsexuality in the CID in 1980; the *Pare a Patologização!* [Stop Pathologization!] movement, among others (Bento & Pelúcio, 2012).

The performance of such a black box reaches the depathologization of transsexuality, representing an important turning point that affects the trajectory of employability of trans people. Depathologization has been claimed for a long time and, as stated by Bento and Pelúcio, even though some people feared for the loss of rights gained, such as the guarantee of free access to the transsexualization process by the SUS, pathologization did not guarantee de facto rights, and the process in question

authorizes the protection of the bodies and subjectivities of people who recognize themselves as transsexuals (Bento & Pelúcio, 2012, p. 574).

At this point, I can resume the discussion held in the first topic of this chapter and relate the issue about the guardianship of trans bodies, identifying as the path version reassembled here in one more layer (figure 17) of a network without beginning or end by hybrids actors that interconnect. As mentioned above, the movements around public health standards in Brazil are related to issues related to access and the guarantee of rights by transgender people - interfering, including access to work (network layer to be deepened from the next section).

Figure 17. Network-Rhizome Diagram (3rd layer)



Source: own elaboration.

4.4 MOBILIZATIONS AND DEMOBILIZATIONS OF TRANS EMPLOYABILITY IN MOTION

All knowledge of the past is situated and positioned (Durepos, 2009), and the issue of employability of transsexual men and women involves equally situated networks (ideologically, spatially, and temporally). As previously mentioned, the psychopathologization of transsexuality makes access to public policies difficult and takes away the dignity of the experience of this identity (Prado & Freitas, 2016). In such a way that, despite the recent movement towards depathologization, the stigma derived from the previous qualification (mental, behavioral, and neurodevelopmental disorders) is part of this scenario of institutional violence (Prado & Freitas, 2016) and institutionalized transphobia (Larrat, 2015), significantly affecting the issue of employability of trans people.

When revisiting the social past and retracing our version of history, I notice a strong relationship of fascination mixed with abjection that permeates the trajectory of trans employability in Brazil (De Jesus, 2018). It becomes more evident when I observed events that demonstrate such interest (due to curiosity or admiration) in society and a kind of distorted approval in front of trans people occupying professions in artistic spaces. However, such interest coexists with the marginalization, exclusion, and violence of trans people by that same society.

As an example, I can mention the great commotion caused by Coccinelle's visit to Rio de Janeiro in 1963, a famous French transsexual artist (Guimarães, 2005). In 1958, Coccinelle underwent sex reassignment surgery in Morocco, becoming the first

French person to undergo this procedure (Soliva, 2018). At the time of his visit to Brazil, Coccinelle's professional success as an artist was already notable in France, especially for his performance in famous cabarets in his country, such as Chez Madame Arthur and Le Carrousel de Paris, as well as having starred in renowned venues such as Chez Nous in Berlin and films such as the Italian *Europa Di Note* in 1959 (Evan, 2021). When performing a tour of South America, the artist “crowded football stadiums, theaters and nightclubs in which she performed” (Guimarães, 2005, p. 43). Coccinelle's presence in the city of Rio de Janeiro also generated, in addition to interest in newspapers that were prestigious at that time, a great commotion from the population, a crowd surrounding the artist in the streets, and episodes of turmoil (in one case, it was necessary to resort to the Fire Department to remove Coccinelle from a store where she used to shop) (De Jesus, 2018).

Connected with the growing interest of the Brazilian and international public, the "transvestite shows" (as the shows starring transgender artists were called) would constitute a "common place" in society, and the events became famous over the decades from 1960 to 1980 – mainly in the late 1970s, when the formation of a market for transvestites was consolidated (Soliva, 2018). On the other hand, still in the 1970s, there was a change in the meaning of the word transvestite, a period in which it became linked to prostitution (Green, 2000), in addition to the official and institutionalized sexual policy of the dictatorial period (Quinalha, 2017). From that moment on, the police took on the perspective of stigmatizing transvestites as a synonym for prostitution that could be fought as vagrancy (Ocanha, 2016).

Hormones and surgeries came simultaneously as the explicit police repression of the civil-military dictatorship, generating moral crusades against ruptures in social

paradigms (Ocanha, 2016). Amid strong repression and persecution of trans people, performances took place at Teatro Rival (an important theater, founded in 1934 and located in the city center of Rio de Janeiro), as well as there was talk in the media about trans artists whose names remained. popularly known, such as Rogéria, Jane Di Castro, Brigitte de Búzios, Cláudia Celeste, Camille K. and Roberta Close (De Jesus, 2018). Rogéria even reports that: *[at the time of the concerts] it was very chic to be a transvestite because it was a professional term* (Guimarães, 2005).

However, the admiration and, in the case of Roberta Close, an almost iconic cultural status in Brazil, did not reflect real life for the vast majority of trans people in the country, who at the time was one of the most marginalized, feared, and despised groups in Brazil. Brazilian society – in most cities, many of the transvestites avoided going out on the streets during the day (Kulick, 1998). Quinalha (2017) points out the difficulty of trans people to occupy themselves in professions other than sex work during the Brazilian dictatorship period (1964-1985), especially with the accentuated role of censorship in areas such as arts, communications, and entertainment (including works related to television, theatre, film, and music). The very construction of a national pride produced concomitantly with the hostile initiatives of the dictatorship towards trans people (Soliva, 2018) - and the influence of this on the work opportunities that were being increasingly limited – is a relevant moment in the social past of trans employability in Brazil.

Recalling the case of the first sex reassignment surgery in a trans woman in Brazil (presented in the first section of this chapter), it is possible see other example of this limitation of jobs for trans people. The patient in the surgery in question was a woman with a higher education degree (bachelor in accounting science) who found

herself unable to practice for reasons arising from the persecution against the LGBTQIA+ population (including the lack of formal recognition of her identity as gender in her documentation) and then provided manicure services in her hometown (Rossi, 2018).

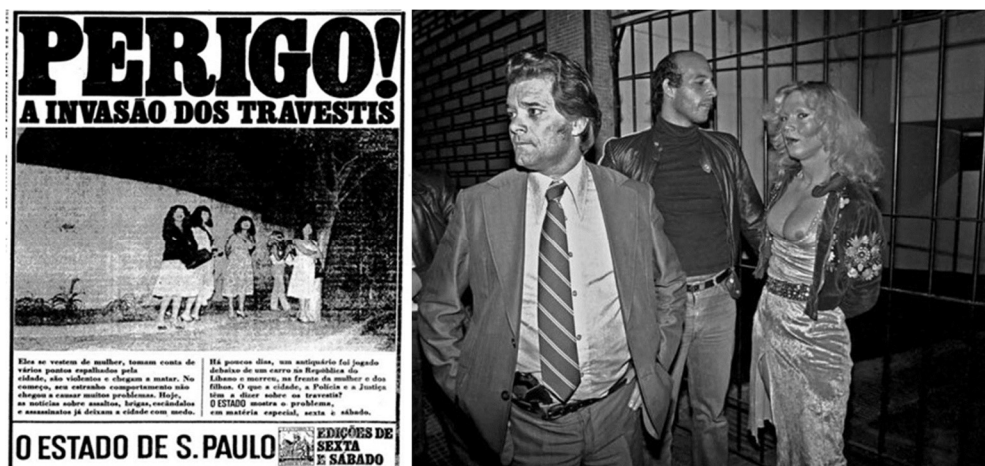
Despite the doctor's acquittal, the manicurist lost the process in which she struggled to change the documents and had to deal with all the consequences of the violence she suffered during this period and the performance of the most influential actors at that time. The social past allows us to understand aspects of the relationships that currently occur, which becomes very evident when looking at this case. Recently, in an interview with BBC Brazil, this woman reports that she continues to work as a manicurist to supplement her minimum wage pension, that her clientele is sporadic (on the day of the reporting team's visit, she only saw one person), and charges a modest value, equivalent to almost \$5, per manicure and pedicure service at the salon where she works (a space improvised in the anteroom of her house). According to the reporter's description – the furniture, objects, and part of the household appliances seem to sprout from the 1980s, untouchable (Rossi, 2018).

There is a lack of information regarding jobs held by trans people during the 1980s and 1990s. This silencing does not occur without foundation, revealing, in fact, a very critical moment for LGBTQIA+ people in Brazil. During the dictatorship in Brazil, with the accentuated discrimination and frequent persecution of LGBTQIA+ people, many people could not live their sexualities freely and develop sociability or a professional career (Quinalha, 2014, p. 261). In the May 1980 edition of the newspaper *Lampião da Esquina* [Corner Lamp], Darcy Penteado reports in the column Opinion that *prostitution through transvestism is a relatively new phenomenon, and in Brazil, it*

is reaching unimaginable proportions. The journalist also says that: while in England it is an option because they generally have other jobs, transvestite prostitution appears in Brazil due to our hunger (Penteado, 1980).

In newspapers and magazines with the greatest circulation, I could find evidence of social construction that restricts transsexuality's performativity to prostitution and criminal misdemeanor environments – being constantly linked to police pages (as seen in figures 18 and 19).

Figure 18. O Estado de S. Paulo: Danger! The transvestite invasion



Fonte: O Estado de S. Paulo, March 25, 1980

Figure 19. Section Crime: The dangerous easy life of transvestites



Source: Manchete Magazine (1982)

These decades constituted a period of transition between regimes (with the end of the dictatorial regime in 1985 and the promulgation of the Federal Constitution in 1988) and, as illustrated by several historical examples, democratic coexistence is considerably affected and cannot be resumed from the beginning of moment when it was interrupted (Quinalha, 2014). These were years in which a strong wave of violence and murders was installed, which mainly affected transgender people (mostly transvestites), whose occurrence is present in reports, testimonies, activist media. In 1980, the *Lampião da Esquina* – a periodical that sought to circumvent censorship and defend the rights of lesbians, gays, bisexuals, transvestites, and transsexuals, denounced violence against such people and demanded the freedom of expression of multiple gender identities (Silva & Brito, 2017) – even published a complaint about what was happening on the streets of São Paulo (see figure 20) bringing photos with scenes of the *hunting of transvestites, a sport that the police in São Paulo has been devoting*

themselves to with all their efforts [free translation from original] (Lampião da Esquina, 1980).

Figure 20. Complaint in Lampião da Esquina



Source: (Lampião da Esquina, 1980).

A documentary film called *Hunting Season*, produced by Rita Moreira, portrays this violence, especially in the capitals of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo in the 1980s,

which continued in the following years. Through the film, it is possible to perceive the movement of a network of actors (political agents, media vehicles, police, and other organizations) that were strongly mobilized around an idea of elimination/abatement of trans people (Moreira, 1988). In figure 21, some scenes from the film are highlighted, in which they are portrayed as these actors achieved great support from the population that corroborated the *hunt* and the idea of building a *good society* through the discourse of “let’s kill them” (Moreira, 1988). Furthermore, newspaper articles are publicized with headlines showing violence, such as *Another transvestite is shot. Moreover, the police with no trace of the attacks* and *Civil Police 'fights' AIDS by arresting transvestites*. On the other hand, at the same time, I also observed some actors who stand out in the attempt to demobilize this hate speech and violence, for example, Rita Moreira herself, political movements supported by artists, academics, a former police officer, and the *Federação dos Trabalhadores em Empresas de Difusão Cultural e Artística do Estado de São Paulo* [Federation of Workers in Cultural and Artistic Diffusion Companies of the State of São Paulo].

Figure 21. Hunting Season Movie



Source: Scenes from the Hunting Season Documentary directed by Rita Moreira

In this same period, the HIV/AIDS epidemic first hit the homosexual population, which had a fundamental impact on the movement and the discourse of rights (Lopes, 2014). Then, in the early 1980s, the AIDS epidemic decimated Brazil's transvestite population – the disease was first diagnosed in Brazil in 1982, and until the late 1990s, the country consistently ranked among the leaders in the number of cases reported together to the World Health Organization (Kulick, 1998).

Also, as reported in an ethnographic study carried out in the city of Salvador by Kulick in 1997 (which focuses on prostitution), violence against transvestites received occasional attention from the Brazilian press - usually when a transvestite corpse was discovered or when there was a wave of murders (e.g., when *Folha de São Paulo* published a series of reports after sixteen São Paulo transvestites were shot in the head during the first three months of 1993) – and the most common reports in newspapers were about crimes committed by transvestites (figure 22), with reports portraying them as ruthless, armed, drug-addicted, and AIDS-spreading criminals who lured innocent men into dangerous situations and then assaulted them (Kulick, 1998).

Figure 22. *Correio do Povo*: Transvestites are arrested in the act



Source: *Correio do Povo* – SC, Year 1994, Edition 03882

After that, it was only around the 2000s that some change in this scenario was noticed. Even though it is far from a mobilization in support of the employability of trans people, some news is starting to appear in the mass media that bring trans people in ways that are not exclusively associated with criminality. Ruddy Pinho was one of the examples of this change when he appeared in newspaper articles in 1999 (figure 23) for having applied for a position at the Brazilian Academy of Letters, being a trans woman.

Figure 23. Ruddy Pinho: Jornal O Fluminense and Jornal do Brasil



Source: From left to right: O Fluminense (RJ), Year 1999, Edition 35553 (1) and; Jornal do Brasil, Year 1999, Edition 00350 (2)

In this news (without going into questions about the discourse used and the presence of possible traces of irony in some parts of the texts), I notice a change taking

place when Ruddy is qualified by her profession as a hairdresser and, more specifically, as a *renowned hairdresser of artists and socialites* (Montenegro, 1999). It is evident that, besides being a hairdresser, Ruddy was also a professional writer at the time, since she wrote her first book entitled *I Ruddy* in 1980. Then there were eight more books of poetry and short stories as well as she was when the news came out writing her first novel (Montenegro, 1999). Despite this, she is never mentioned by the writing profession. This silencing also reveals important traits about how that movement was happening – resuming the association and limitation of trans people to certain professions whose social constructions would “allow” being framed as belonging to a *commonplace*.

This question of commonplace is constructed in such a way among the most visible actors in this network that it is repeated in the following years. The relationship of the trans person with work appears again in newspapers when linked to the artistic area (such as cinema, television, and theater). For example, in 2004, there is an announcement about the return of artists who became famous in the 1970s and were premiering the show *Divinas Divas* (figure 24) – even in the same theater (Teatro Rival in Rio de Janeiro) where they used to perform for decades with shows known as “Transvestite Shows”.

Figure 24. Jornal Correio do Povo: The three most famous transvestites in Brazil

return to the stage

Pioneiras no teatro

As três travestis mais famosas do Brasil voltam ao palco. É isto mesmo! Rogéria, Valéria e Jane di Castro, estrearam no palco do Teatro Rival, no Rio de Janeiro o show "As Divinas Divas", no qual cantam clássicos como "New York, New York" e "La Vie en Rose".

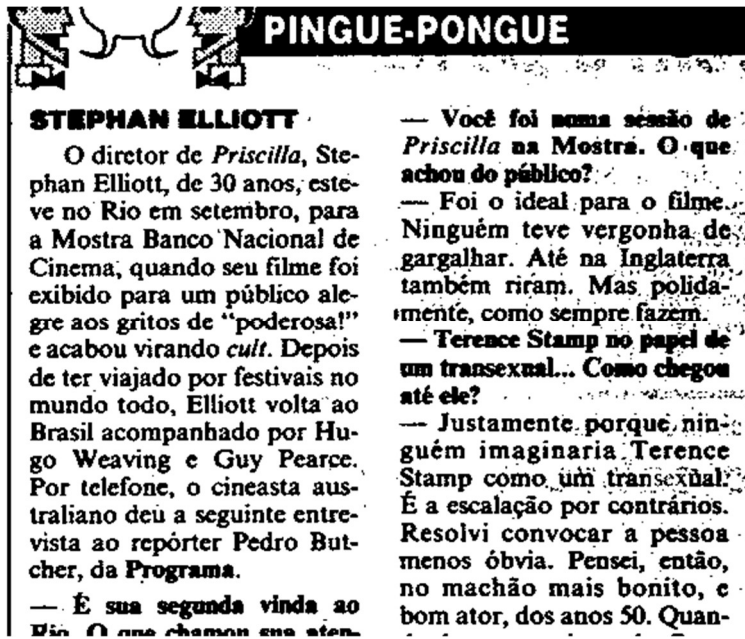
Source: Correio do Povo (SC), Year 2004, Edition 04928 (1)

At that time, not only in Brazil but in several countries around the world, growth in the presence of transgender people in advertising campaigns contracted by large companies began. Especially from 2010 to 2014, some Brazilian trans professionals started to gain extensive notoriety in the artistic field (e.g., top model Valentina Sampaio, actor Thammy Miranda, and volleyball player Tiffany Abreu). She starred in an ad campaign for Givenchy in 2010 (Noronha, 2018). Also, She participated in ad campaigns for transnational companies such as Benetton and editorials for widely known magazines such as Vanity Fair and Vogue. She received an invitation to participate in the opening of the 2016 Olympic Games in the city of Rio de Janeiro (Puff, 2016). The model Lea T was one of the names to assume strong prominence at that time, having been titled as a pioneer in the role of “transsexual top model” (Puff, 2016) and, among the qualifications attributed to her, the model was portrayed as a *transsexual symbol* (Parrilla, 2015), *muse*, *wonderful* and *goddess* [free translations from original] (Caras, 2016). At this moment, I could see more clearly the aspect of fascination retaking space and how it seems to regain strength in Brazilian society.

In 2015 there were several campaigns for international brands that were carried out by trans professionals, such as Clean & Clear – from the Johnson & Johnson corporation – which used in one of its commercials the testimony of teenager Jazz Jennings (Exame, 2015); & Other Stories (Ferrier, 2015); Google, as part of the Google My Business campaign (Dearo, 2015) and; Magnum ice cream, launched during the 2015 Cannes Film Festival (O Globo, 2017). In addition, in Brazil, the Rio de Janeiro brand Lola Cosmetics launched an advertisement featuring a trans woman – work for which she was recognized as the first trans poster girl in Brazil (Carta Capital, 2015).

In 2017, Rede Globo Television, an open channel broadcaster popularly known in Brazil, broadcast a soap opera (in the so-called prime time of TV) with transgender characters (Zorzi, 2020). One of these characters was a trans man in transition who was played by a cis actress – similarly to what happened in 1994 with the movie *Priscilla, Queen of the Desert*. Figure 25 brings an excerpt from an interview with Priscilla's director, in which he tells how he cast a “better looking macho” actor (in his own words) for the role of a trans.

Figure 25. Interview with the film director Priscilla



PINGUE-PONGUE

STEPHAN ELLIOTT

O diretor de *Priscilla*, Stephan Elliott, de 30 anos, esteve no Rio em setembro, para a Mostra Banco Nacional de Cinema, quando seu filme foi exibido para um público alegre aos gritos de "poderosa!" e acabou virando *cult*. Depois de ter viajado por festivais no mundo todo, Elliott volta ao Brasil acompanhado por Hugo Weaving e Guy Pearce. Por telefone, o cineasta australiano deu a seguinte entrevista ao repórter Pedro Butcher, da *Programa*.

— É sua segunda vinda ao Rio. O que chamam sua aten-

— Você foi numa sessão de *Priscilla* na Mostra. O que achou do público?

— Foi o ideal para o filme. Ninguém teve vergonha de gargalhar. Até na Inglaterra também riram. Mas polidamente, como sempre fazem.

— Terence Stamp no papel de um transexual... Como chegou até ele?

— Justamente, porque ninguém imaginaria Terence Stamp como um transexual. É a escalação por contrários. Resolvi convocar a pessoa menos óbvia. Pensei, então, no machão mais bonito, e bom ator, dos anos 50. Quan-

Source: Jornal do Brasil, Year 1994, Edition 00217 (2)

This practice of putting cis actors to represent trans characters, to the detriment of trans actresses/actors is contested by some LGBTQIA+ movements, as trans professionals fight for opportunities and against the restrictions of performance to which they are submitted (mainly due to the fact of cis actors manage to move through different narratives and aesthetics, while trans artists end up suffering limitations to representations of themselves) actresses/actors (Losada, 2018). Thus, I observe that even in areas where opportunities are being opened for transgender people, employability is still a problem.

The occurrences mentioned above allow us to understand that opportunities for insertion in the labor market are scarce even in these spaces where society traditionally tends to correlate with the professional performance of trans people. Currently, it is still a great challenge for trans people to occupy positions in the labor market that are beyond

the commonplaces, such as "vacancies in telemarketing, beauty salons or even in prostitution" (Folha Dirigida, 2020). No wonder the reports of transsexual people about their experiences in job interviews and the workplace are mostly loaded with allegations of embarrassing situations involving the difficulty of changing civil registration and the denial of the right to use a social name (Prado & Freitas, 2016). Also, considering the fact that, although transgender workers have the same human capital characteristics before the transition process, their wages may be affected after the transition (Schilt & Wiswall, 2008; Ciprikis et al., 2020).

As mentioned in the introduction of this thesis, some organizations in Brazil have started to carry out initiatives to promote growth in the employability of transgender people. In such a way that courses, lectures, and temporary or effective job openings are offered specifically directed to trans people. Examples of this are the Multicor Project initiated by the Cataratas Group, the events organized by the supermarket chain Carrefour and *Pão de Açúcar*, the vacancy announcements in quantity by the multinational Atento company, and others. In public institutions, certain measures have been presented in this regard, among which the publication of Decree No. 8,727 in 2016, which "provides for the use of the social name and the recognition of the gender identity of transvestites and transsexuals within the scope of the federal public administration direct, autarchic and foundational" (Brasil, 2016) and Resolution No. 1 of 2018 and Ordinance No. 33 in 2018, in which the Ministry of Education defines the use of the social name of transvestites and transsexuals in school records of Basic Education of the Country, for students over 18 (Ministry of Education, 2018a; 2018b). In addition to the examples mentioned above that apply at the federal level (covering the entire national territory), several other publications were carried out in different

states (through legislation that applies only regionally) and institutions (in their internal regulations). Jovanna Baby, in the film *Documentário Jovanna Baby: uma trajetória do Movimento de Travestis e Trans no Brasil* [Documentary Jovanna Baby: a trajectory of the Transvestites and Trans movement in Brazil] says that the social name is a victory that does not have to be celebrated now because since 1992 that they are in this fight for the social name (Nascimento & Caetano, 2020).

Despite these movements, the fulfillment of the rights guaranteed by such mechanisms regarding the social name still faces strong resistance, sometimes ending up dependent on the judiciary's performance (Benevides & Aguiar, 2019). This situation continues to occur despite the publication of Direct Unconstitutionality Action No. 4,275 by the Federal Supreme Court (STF) in 2018, which recognizes the *unenforceability of transgenitalization surgery or hormonal or pathological treatments* for the right to change of the first name and sex in the civil registry (Supremo Tribunal Federal, 2018).

Despite this, given the proportion of this social exclusion, such initiatives represent a *drop of a bucket*. Ciprikis et al. (2020) state that, as structural stigma is one of the main contributors to this situation, it can be mitigated by approving laws that provide transgender people with employment, housing, and education protection. According to a survey by The International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans and Intersex Association (ILGA WORLD), only 11 countries worldwide have constitutional protection, 57 have laws with broad protection against hate crimes motivated by sexual orientation (among which is Brazil), 81 countries adopt employment protection measures, but seven countries have limited/unequal protection, 43 countries do not have any kind of legal protection or criminalization in this sense and 70 still employ the

criminalization of consensual sexual acts between same-sex adults (ILGA World, 2020). US labor laws do not specifically consider transgender people, which means they may experience negative labor market outcomes as a consequence (Ciprikis et al., 2020). Similarly, I understand that such absence here in Brazil also acts on the issue of employability and the labor market for trans people. Also considered for this reason that, in recent years, the political scenario in Brazil - facing a nationalist, populist and ultra-conservative government agenda (Gortázar, 2019) - brings to light some discourses and acts considered discriminatory concerning the issue of gender identity. Among them, episodes such as the injunction of the Federal Court of Brasília that authorized psychologists from all over the country to perform *sexual reversal therapy* in homosexuals (Betim, 2017), a "treatment" that the Federal Council of Psychology had already prohibited since the year 1999 (Estadão, 2017). The traces of a history marked by discrimination against transsexuality and transphobia present in actions, the behavior of agents, procedures, and institutions (Larrat, 2015) influence the production (or rather, absence) of legislation, norms, and measures to protect employment aimed at for trans people.

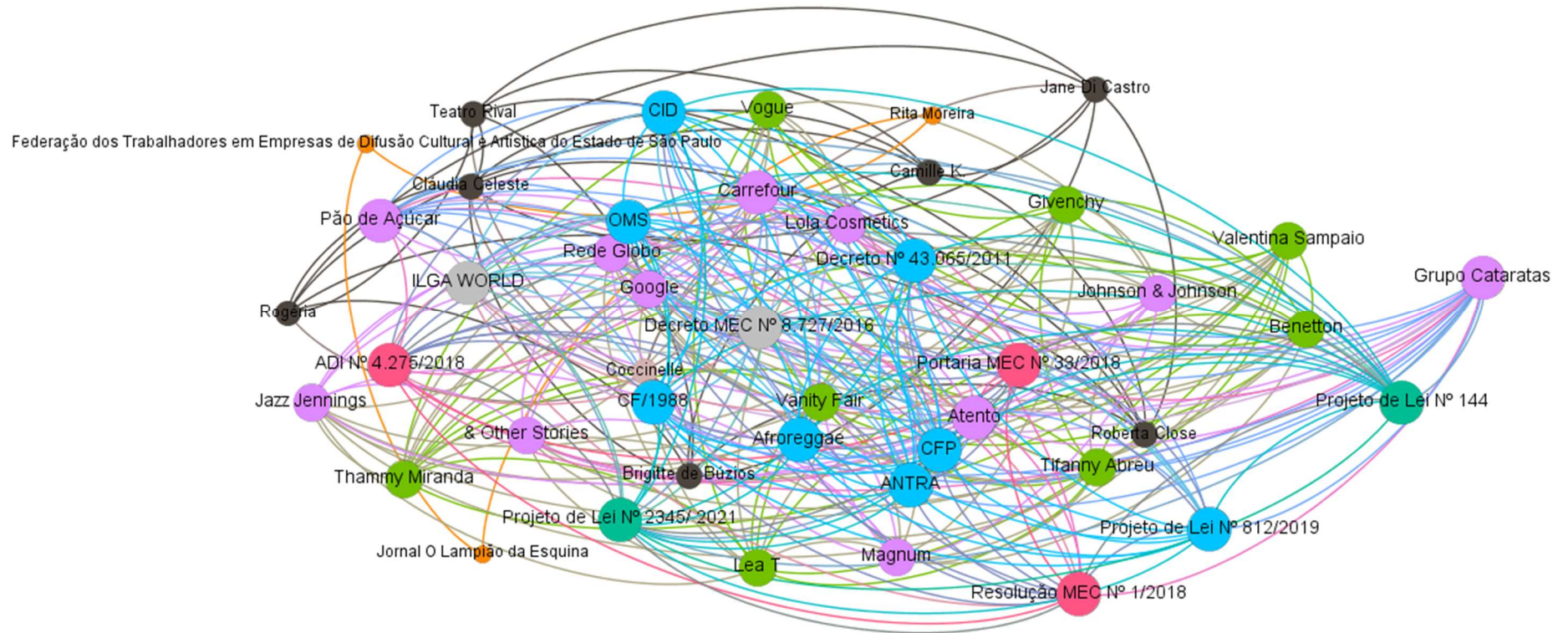
Despite this, other related movements have taken place over the last few years and have paved the way for changes in Brazil's social-political arena of trans employability. For example, in June 2019, a Deputy of the Legislative Assembly of the State of Rio de Janeiro filed Bill No. 812/2019, which proposes to ensure for transgender people up to 5% (five percent) of the vacancies offered by companies that receive tax incentives (Souza, 2019). Some of the actors that are part of the construction of this network are indicated in the Project's entry document, among the justifications for its creation, such as WHO, CID, Federal Council of Psychology, ANTRA,

Afroreggae, Federal Constitution, and Decree No. 43.065 of July 8, 2011 (providing for the right to use their social name by transvestites and transsexuals in the direct and indirect administration of the State of Rio de Janeiro and other measures).

Recently, other legislative actions have been established towards labor protections. For example, Bill No. 144 was submitted to the *Câmara dos Deputados* [House of Representatives] in 2021, which provides for a reservation of jobs or internships (minimum 3% of the total number of employees) to hire people who declared themselves transvestites and transsexuals in companies with more than 100 employees, which enjoy tax incentives, participate in public tenders or maintain a contract or agreement with the Federal Public Authority (Haje, 2021). Also, appended to PL 144/2021 is Bill No. 2345/ 2021, which aims to establish the National Policy on Employment and Income for the Trans Population (TransCidadania), aimed at promoting the citizenship of transvestites and transsexuals in situations of social vulnerability (Bonavides, 2021).

These actions do not solve the social problem but point to an important movement around the issue of employability and citizenship of trans people. These more recent relationships were not suddenly established. They did not arise from a specific person or organization that took the initiative to fight for a cause alone but were established through countless associations between different human, non-human, and hybrid actors that occurred over time. In this version of history, some of these actors, their relationships, and movements could be identified (Figure 26), visualizing a past (even if partially) around recent initiatives for the employability of trans people in Brazil (to be deepened in the next section).

Figure 26. Network-Rhizome Diagram (4th layer)



Source: own elaboration

4.5 BLACK BOX AND OPPORTUNITIES: RECENT EMPLOYABILITY INITIATIVES IN ORGANIZATIONS

The narrative I am building here takes a historical perspective through which, as pointed out by Durepos (2009), we are able to take a look at contemporary phenomena. Thus, such a narrative is not only informed by what happened in the immediate past but also manages to convey occurrences of our current condition.

As previously pointed out, transphobia in Brazilian society is one of the biggest problems for trans people, affecting life expectancy and thickening the process of family, social, and school exclusion. It is estimated that 13 years of age is the average in which transvestites and transsexual women are expelled from their homes by their parents (ANTRA, 2021b). Furthermore, according to data from the *Projeto Além do Arco-íris* [Beyond Rainbow Project] and AfroReggae, only about 0.02% are at university, while 72% do not have secondary education and 56% do not have primary education.

This social exclusion generates greater difficulty in entering the formal labor market and a deficiency in professional qualification (ANTRA, 2021b). In the Brazilian scenario, 90% of transvestites and transsexual women are in prostitution, 6% are in informal activities without a bond, and only 4% are in formal jobs (Benevides & Aguiar, 2019).

Recent movements of network actors have brought to light initiatives, policies, or actions to include transgender people in the labor market currently being carried out in Brazil by organizations of different natures and economic sectors. Some of these

initiatives and actions may appear, initially, to have been constructed in an apparently isolated way, especially in the versions of stories constructed and made available on the websites of corporations, companies, civil organizations, as well as in some mass media vehicles and social networks. However, according to the social past (re)assembled in this research, I understand that these initiatives are part of a complex network of actors.

Bearing in mind the reflexive character adopted in this research, it is worth pointing out that, throughout the investigation, I came across a relevant actor-network punctualized that concentrates several initiatives and job offers aimed at transgender people and, due to this characteristic, I continued to follow the network from that actor. The black box in question is an organization called Transempregos, which provides an online database for jobs and calls itself *the largest vacancy bank for Trans people in Brazil* (Transempregos, 2020).

As mentioned above, in this research, the Transempregos portal is considered a punctualized actor-network since it presents a considerable centralization of connections between other diverse actors-network, representing something similar to a central node through which many edges pass. Transempregos follows the configuration of a black box by concentrating, as pointed out by Quelha de Sá and Costa (2018), the Union of multiple actors around a common cause. Still, for structuring a vacancy bank, several associations, negotiations, maneuvers, and configurations among the involved actors are necessary. Thus, Transempregos has partner companies, but also promotes several actions (e.g., lectures) with organizations to mobilize other initiatives, resulting in the extreme alignment characteristic of a black box, alluded to by Durepos (2009) and Durepos and Mills (2012), in which only its inputs and outputs remain observable.

Thus, through the tracks followed by Transempregos, which operates nationwide, it was possible to identify other actors, relationships, and movements, directly or indirectly involved in the issue of employability of transgender people, with the possibility of understanding more about, for example, the situation of job offers, positions offered and their locations.

The associations established within this black box were built from a trajectory, and the relationships between these network actors (some of which have already been identified in this version of the past) and their movements over time present their particularities.

The beginning of the TransEmpregos project took place in 2013 and involved the participation of organizations such as ABRAT (Brazilian Association of Transgender) – which was founded in 2012 (CidadaniaTrans, nd). This initial movement also included the performance of human actors as the first transvestite to guarantee their right to use their social name in the OAB (Ordem dos Advogados do Brasil) (Transempregos, 2020).

Among the first forms of mobilization, Transempregos sought to build bridges between transgender people and organizations in order to promote possible hiring and fill job vacancies that were being offered. To do this, they gathered résumés of trans people throughout the national territory to, later, present them to personnel recruitment sectors in companies (Transempregos, 2020).

Over time, the associations linked to the TransEmpregos project grew, and the organization began to incorporate other mobilizations and promote the bridge between trans people and companies. Currently, it works as an online database for resumes and job vacancies, offers courses aimed at preparing for the labor market (an initiative called

TRANS-formAção), gives lectures in companies of different natures and sizes, as well as performs consulting services that are part of a project called *Agora Vai* [Now It Goes].

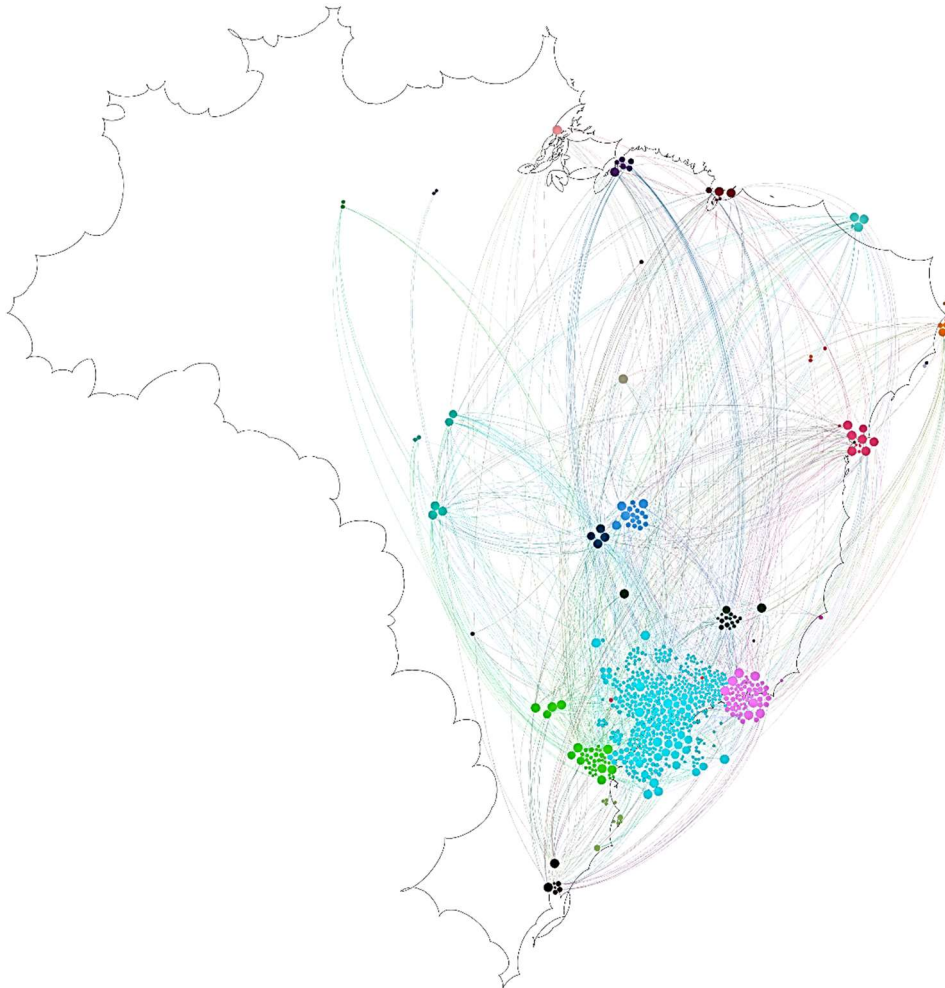
Since *Transempregos* is associated with a series of actors for each of these areas of action, establishing new connections that strengthen the network and, consequently, the movement of employability initiatives. For example, for the *Agora Vai* project, relationships were established with organizations such as Atento, Carrefour, LGBTI+ Business and Rights Forum, GPA, Integra Consulting in Diversity & Inclusion, IOS, JLL, Riachuelo, Sincovaga, Sodexo, Uber, and Uber Eats (*Transempregos*, nd). Another example can also be found in the *TRANS-formAção* project, which includes *Transempregos* and involves actors with broad influence and mobilization capacities, such as the NGO *Mães pela Diversidade* [Mothers for Diversity] and Google.org (a subsidiary of Google dedicated to philanthropy).

By following the network and observing such connections and the relationships established within that database, I began to map the job opportunities and courses made available in the online database. Thus, some associations that are part of this black box, network actors involved, were identified, and I also noticed some characteristics about the distribution of initiatives for the inclusion of trans people in the labor market.

So, during the data analysis, the geographic location became a relevant aspect, and that started to be considered in this study, considering that it was already possible to notice some disproportions in the mapping. During the stage of organizing the data collected, it was noticeable that the opportunities for trans-employment – which were in the *Transempregos* database (vacancies and courses) at the time – showed certain trends.

As explained in the methodological section, the collection in the vacancy bank resulted in 707 advertisements published at the time. This quantity of advertisements, at first, appears to be large, but from the moment I situated the network actors geographically, the distribution of mobilizations in the national territory becomes visibly unequal (figure 27). Thus, the vacancy offers to allow observation of a scenario that reflects the pattern of connections of the actors in this network and locates where the mobilizations have been managing to achieve greater strength.

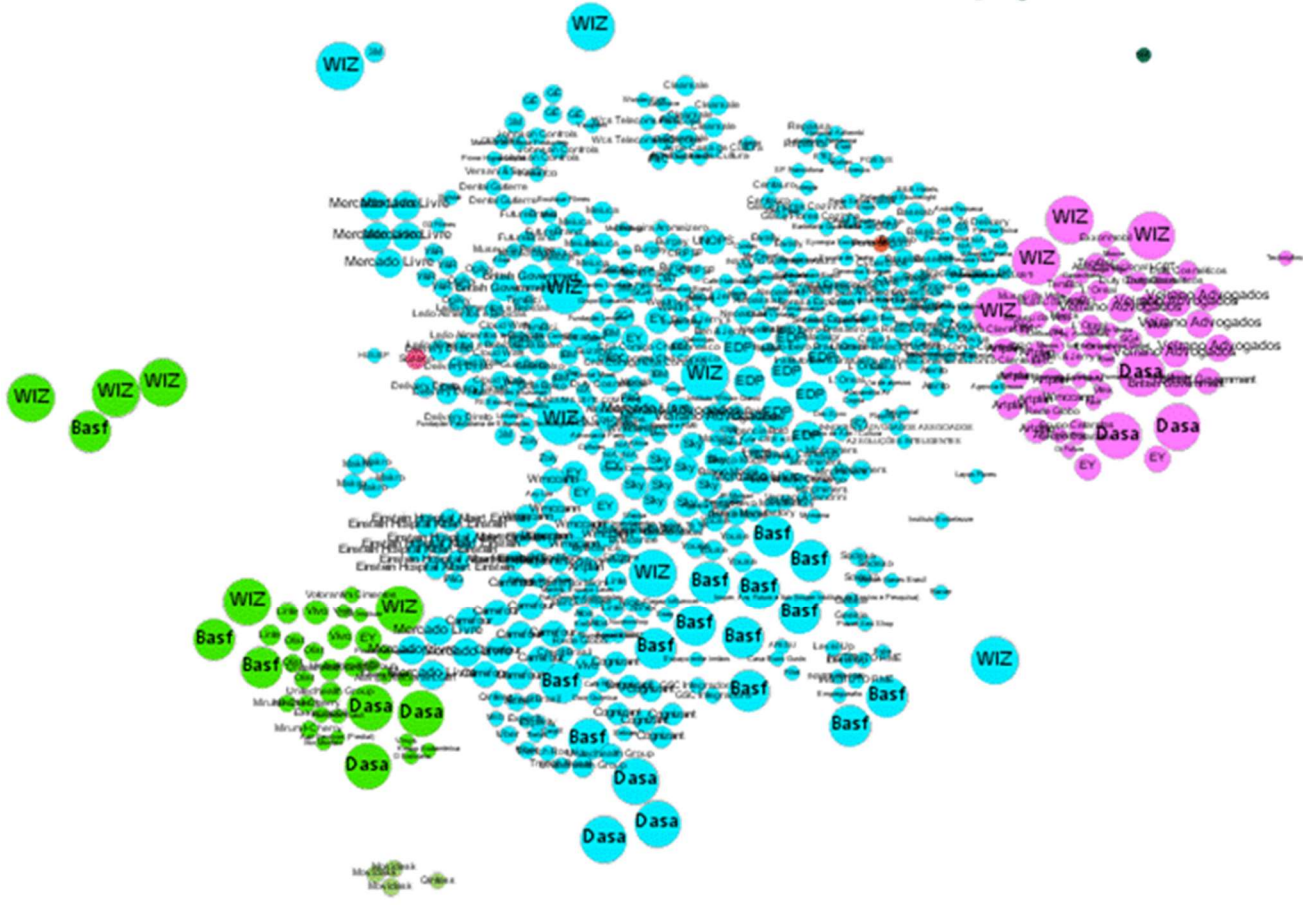
Figure 27. Trans employability map in Brazil



Source: own elaboration

The mapping of Transempregos advertisements allowed us to see that the identified network actors are mostly concentrated in the southeast region of Brazil (figure 28). This inequality in the distribution of job advertisements that I see symbolized on the map corroborates Paniza's position in recent research about the transsexuality and work subject, in which he states that many of the practices formally organized to strengthen the trans transvestite community in education, health, and work, are even more limited to the context of capitals and larger cities (Paniza, 2021, p. 183).

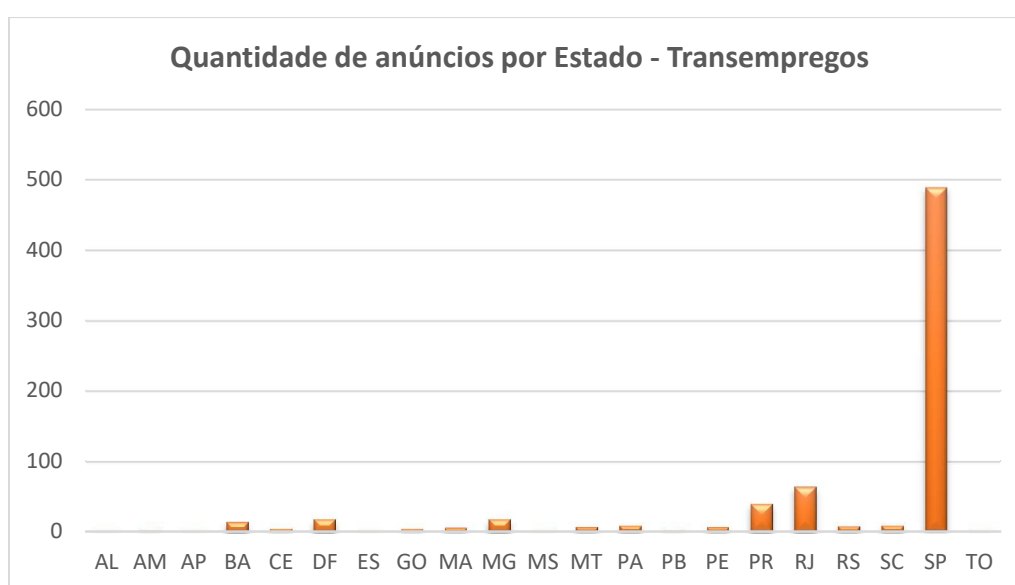
Figure 28. Trans employability map (concentrated distribution – expanded and partial view of the Southeast Region)



Source: own elaboration

Only the state of São Paulo centralized 69.17% of the advertisements published by Transempregos (considering the period in which the collection was made), as represented in the graph that shows the number of advertisements for jobs offers distributed by state (see figure 29). In the states of Acre (AC), Piauí (PI), Rio Grande do Norte (RN), Rondônia (RO), Roraima (RR) and Sergipe (SE), there were no vacancies available for job offers.

Figure 29. Distribution graph of job offers by state



Source: own elaboration with data collected from the Transempregos vacancy bank in the period between 09/11/2020 and 09/30/2020.

This inequality in the regional distribution of places establishes certain relationships with aspects of transphobia related to violence against trans people in the country that deserve attention. The six states listed above that did not present job vacancies are located in the North and Northeast regions. Parallel to this, data released by ANTRA show that the highest concentration of murders in 2020 (43% of cases in the country) occurred in the Northeast Region, showing an increase of 6% compared to the previous year - appearing, since 2017, in the reports as the region that most murders

transgender people in the country (ANTRA, 2021b). From this, I could deduce at an early stage that these data would be inversely proportional, such that the higher the violence rates, the lower the initiatives to include trans people in the labor market.

However, this logic does not apply. As seen, the Southeast region concentrates the greatest amount of employment opportunities, but together with the Northeast region, the year 2020 continued to increase the cases of murders of trans people, increasing 4% compared to 2019 and recording 34% of cases that occurred in the country (ANTRA, 2021b). In fact, among the states that registered the highest amount of news of attempted murder, the state of São Paulo stood out in first place and Minas Gerais in third place (ANTRA, 2021b), both located in the Southeast region of Brazil – remembering that São Paulo also stood out as the state with the highest volume of offers and initiatives.

These points discussed here reinforce the importance of analyzing the past and understanding how social constructions and socio-political relations between different actors reflected the mobilizations and demobilizations that affect currency movements. The employability of trans people in the country and the inclusion initiatives are not ahistorical. So, comparing data, numbers, records, and documents that relate only to the current moment does not allow us to understand the scenario.

It is noteworthy that the graphic representation of the location of the actors is not a photograph referring to a certain day, week, or month, as, as explained in the methodological procedures, the opportunities available in the Transempregos database at the time of collection had issues related to parameters duration of offers and vacancies. However, for this study, when results from the database containing vacancies with lagged validity emerged, this represented a gain for the analysis. It was possible to

have access to more results, adding existing vacancies to those that had not yet been withdrawn from the bank. It shows us that the distribution/concentration relationships of actors-network and their associations identified and mapped in this research were maintained for a time interval that extended longer than the collection period.

Another aspect that reveals the mapping refers to the distribution of positions for which employment opportunities appear. Most of the positions available to trans people (identified in this study) seem to promote the removal of traces of a network whose ideology was based on discrimination. The roots of prejudice were established by various actors for many decades now and still leave their trail in our society.

As previously stated, the problem surrounding trans employability is profound, and initiatives for including transgender people in the labor market are still not approaching the ideal to solve it. However, apparently, strengthening the mobilization of networks that work on this issue reflects important changes. Especially when organizations announcing positions that do not fit into a "commonplace" (in the sense of an expression vestige of transphobia and refers to limited spaces conditioned to the tolerance of a prejudiced society). The opportunities listed in the vacancy bank are varied; they include positions that were already considered commonly occupied by trans people (e.g., manicures and theater artists), positions in which customer contact is carried out exclusively by voice (e.g., telemarketing operators), but also positions for which, until recently, spaces were not provided (e.g., receptionists, store attendants, salespeople, marketing assistant, project managers, senior lawyers, team managers, speech therapists, psychologists (as), nannies, janitors, English teacher, and data analysts).

It is important to point out that the registration of these opportunities in the vacancy bank does not guarantee the occupation by trans people and, therefore, the emphasis on the word *apparently* in the previous paragraph. The feeling of moving away from the commonplace and progress in relation to the social inclusion and employability of trans people that the advertisements can convey does not necessarily translate into reality. It is essential to highlight two points: (a) although the ads were directed to trans people, organizations may not have been occupied by such audiences, and; (b) I understand certain aspects of a context of inclusion in the labor market built from the choice to follow the actor-network Transempregos, making it essential – in a pro-stories position – to recognize other versions.

The results of a survey carried out by ANTRA in December 2020, through its social networks, reveal to the organization that “the formal labor market still faces great challenges for hiring or hiring trans people in companies, as well as the difficulty of maintenance of people hired in their staff, due to institutional transphobia” (ANTRA, 2021b). The association also refers to the recurring practice called Pink Money, in which companies convey the idea of a commitment to diversity. However, their actions are limited to commemorative dates in such a way that “companies with large campaigns for diversity still maintain a low profile. diverse and representative” (ANTRA, 2021b).

In the Dossier of murders and violence against Brazilian transvestites and transsexuals in 2020 (ANTRA, 2021b), Bruna Benevides, who is one of the authors and organizers, demonstrates the result of the survey, which points out that:

96% believe that white trans people and those with cisgender social reading (passability) have more chances/opportunities to be hired for the formal market.

94% believe that the formal job market is not open and committed to hiring trans

people. 90% believe that the estimate that 90% of transvestites and trans women use prostitution as a primary or complementary source of income remains current. 88% believe that companies are not ready to hire or guarantee the permanence of trans people on their staff. 85% believe trans/transmale men are more likely to be admitted to the formal labor market than transvestites and trans women [free translation from original] (ANTRA, 2021b).

With everything presented in this research, I could realize how transphobia in institutions is a problem that permeates different areas of activity, company sizes, nature of organizations, and that has assumed devastating proportions over time. Therefore, recent initiatives for the inclusion of transgender people in the labor market are of great relevance, but they still bring few opportunities and changes given the depth of exclusion in the Brazilian scenario.

As previously placed in the network, the rhizomatic composition does not have a beginning or an end. When reassembling the social background of trans employability in Brazil, there were several choices throughout this narrative and even to end the current version at the time of the trajectory. Nevertheless, this does not mean an ending of this history. On the contrary, the network around the theme is built from constant movements between actors-network their associations that cause mobilization and demobilization. For example, currently, in addition to Transempregos, there are already other organizations led by independent consultants of diversity that help companies build practices for the trans transvestite population (Paniza, 2021). Reinforcing that it is only this version of history that stops there.

5 THE END OF THIS VERSION: LAYERS OF A RHIZOME NETWORK

In a brief retrospective of the version of the past reassembled here, I can highlight some socio-political relationships established between network actors that resulted in mobilizations and demobilizations with relevant consequences for the trajectory of trans employability in Brazil. The social past(re)assembly was presented in layers of a rhizome network, in which these relationships were identified. Moreover, the structuring in layers helped to "perform the past by cutting across conventional academic categories, thus assuming history as an effect of heterogeneous actor-networks" (Durepos, 2009, pp. 316-317).

In the first layer, I identify moments that deal with the objectification of the trans body and its relationship with the State: (a) the moment when the first sex reassignment surgery is performed by a trans woman in Brazil in 1971; (b) when surgery, a public health issue, becomes a judicial issue, with the indictment of the surgeon for the crime of very serious bodily injury and the opening of a judicial proceeding by the Public Ministry of São Paulo against him, in 1976 ; (c) the conviction in 1978 whose sentence considered that the male organs removed in operation constituted a "physical asset" protected by the State; (d) the acquittal at the second court level, in 1979; (e) the transformation of the process into a legal precedent, an instrument of consultation and other mobilizations.

In the second layer, I point to turning points in the political movement of transvestites and transgender people: (a) *Associação das Damas da Noite* in 1981 in the State of Espírito Santo; (b) political associations that gained strength in the 1990s, such

as ASTRAL in Rio de Janeiro, ATRAS in Salvador, Grupo Filadélfia de Transvestis e Liberados in Santos, Grupo Igualdade in Porto Alegre, UNIDAS in Aracaju; (c) political associations starting to act at the national level and increasing inclusion within groups, such as RENATA, RENTRAL ANTRA, and IBRAT; (d) the National Meeting of Transvestites and Liberals who Work in the Prevention of AIDS (ENTLAIDS) in 1993, which indicated the mobilization in obtaining rights related to health.

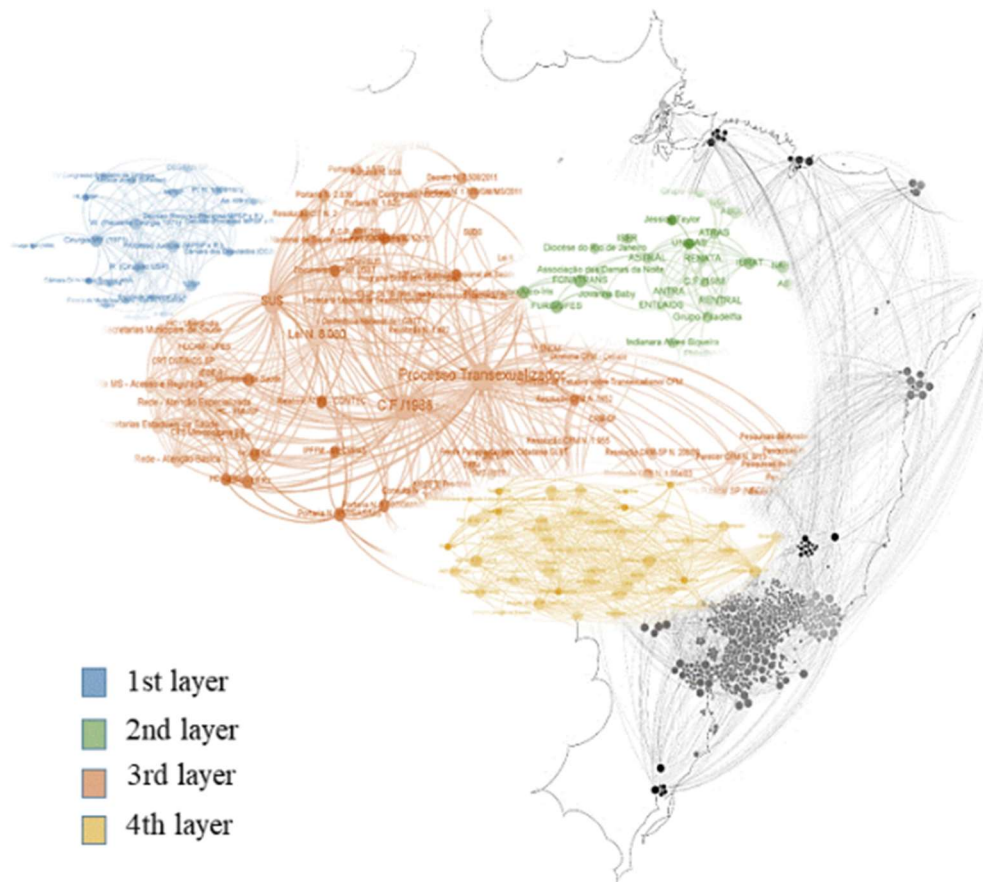
The third layer, I treat about important mobilizations in health affecting aspects of citizenship: (a) the 8th National Health Conference (CNS) in 1970; (b) the Systems Development Program Unified and Decentralized Health in the (SUDS) in 1987 and the SUS origin with the publication of Law No. 8.080 / 1990; (c) the "debate on the subject of transsexualism" [sic] in CFM's plenary session in 1995 and the creation of the Study Commission on Transsexualism in 1997 and Resolution No. 1482 of 1997 authorized the reassignment surgery in Brazil (still experimentally); (d) the favorable opinion of the CFM (Query No. 2263) to the performance of mastectomy in 1999; (e) the Public Civil Action (No. 2001.71.00.026279-9 / RS) of the Public Prosecutor against the Union in order to claim the realization of sex reassignment surgery by SUS and the 12th National Health Conference in 2003, where the theme of LGBTQI rights and + SUS was marked; (f) the establishment of the Brazil without Homophobia program in 2004; (g) the recognition of the social name by the Ministry of Health in 2006 and + LGBTQIA representation in the National Health Council (CNS); (h) the process for transsexuals in the Unified Health System (SUS) through Ordinance No. 1707 / GM / MS in 2008; (i) the National Comprehensive Health Policy Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender in the SUS in 2011; (j) Ordinance No. 2803/2013 increased the number of outpatient and hospital procedures; (k) Ordinance No. 1370 in 2019, in which the Union

included the procedures for the reassignment of female phenotype for male phenotype among paid by the SUS and in the same year the presentation of ICD-11 to the World Health Assembly with depathologization of transsexuality.

In the fourth layer, I observe movements around the marginalization, exclusion, and occupation of trans people in professions: (a) the visit of Coccinelle to the city of Rio de Janeiro in 1963; (B) the events that became famous between the decades from 1960 to 1980, including the "transvestite shows"; (C) the official and institutionalized sexual politics, with the explicit police repression of civil-military dictatorship and censorship in the arts, communications, and entertainment; (D) Performativity transsexuality concerning prostitution and criminal contravention; (E) trans pursuit of population along with the HIV / AIDS epidemic; (F) public figures and occupation in the media; (G) ADI No. 4275 by the Supreme Court in 2018, which deals with the name change in the civil registry without requiring reassignment surgery or hormone treatments; (H) the Draft Law No. 812/2019 and the Bill No. 144/2021 which provide for a reserve job openings or internships for hiring transgender people.

This thesis understands that the layers are parts of the network-rhizome; they overlap and simultaneously interconnect (as symbolized in Figure 30), composing a still unknown totality. Thus, as they are unveiled, the layers bring a different perspective to the history and build the versions.

Figure 30. Network-Rhizome diagram with overlapping layers



Source: own elaboration

After the analysis stage, I arrive at a net-rhizome setting built from a process that included comings and goings, various choices and decisions, traces of discoveries along the way, and linkages between actors' relations. The process of following the network, identifying the actors, and translating that in this last version was gradually done. At a certain point, some actors-networks led me to different directions that required extra effort, more review, more research time more move to *dig*. When this happens, it is like entering a layer of this rhizome that is a little more to one side or the other, forward or backward, in a more shallow or deep surface. So, it is important to

emphasize again that this is only one possible past version and that there is (or ever was) the intention of running out network actors or their socio-political relations around the trajectory of employment of trans people in Brazil. Nevertheless, enter this network strengthening discussions that promote mobilization of inclusion actions within organizations.

5.1 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

This work is one of the multiple ways of creating knowledge about the past, and to understand the phenomenon, I use a retrospective lens in organizational studies. When trying to understand the trajectory of employability of transgender people in organizations in Brazil, traces left by the networks of agents who worked in the main mobilizations and demobilizations over the last decades were followed.

For this, resources were used, and strategies were drawn up that built a particular path. During the process of (re)assembling this version of the past, several choices were made, whether or not they were made explicit in the text. Thereby, I recognize that despite seeking to make these choices explicit throughout the work, they are often not clear even for those who make them. Some of these choices traced the methodological path and resulted in possible contributions for ANTi-historians. Other choices referred to the direction to follow, considering that not all existing relationships between the hybrid actors that constituted this reality are evident or identifiable in the current moment.

In this sense, it is important to recognize that documents can be lost for various reasons (such as a flood that hit a collection in São Paulo – as mentioned in a footnote to the introduction section), the sources of unofficial versions may no longer be found, and there is a reflexive action of ANTi-historians in the process of "following the net". Therefore, it is critical to understand the search results.

Depending on tracks being followed and the version of the history being (re)assembled, some relationships may go unnoticed, or even these associations may not be known to those involved. For example, when dealing with the beginning of the political movement of transvestites and transgender people, I point out the relationship between the Grupo Filadélfia de Travestis e Liberados and the network actors involved in the 1993 American film called Philadelphia, but this is an association that, possibly, it would not be identifiable through both parties involved.

The construction of an ANTi-History, as pointed out by Quelha de Sá (2018), requires researchers to be guided by traits in opposition to their preconceived understanding of the constitution of the socio past. In this version, this flow becomes perceptible in the network diagrams, which perform greater sophistication or complexity as the researcher lets herself be guided by the traces. Thus, the past is understood as something constituted by infinite discontinuities, which is not stable, fixed, or immutable but open to interpretation.

Following the thought of Hartt et al. (2017), this research sought to direct attention to the need to understand the various ways in which stories (written or incorporated into organizational practices) are constructed and the consequences for the production of gender realities (Hartt et al., 2017). Thus, having an object of study that is intertwined with important issues of gender identity and its construction in Brazilian

society, I consider the relationship of organizational actions and policies that have been carried out over time and how they influenced (and still influence today) social inclusion and access of trans people to their rights and guarantees.

This study dates back to a version of history in which it unveils actors and black boxes that influenced the social past and still act on the reality of transgenderism in the country's organizations. By analyzing the social past of trans employability and the identification of network actors, their relationships, and some turning points in this trajectory, I could notice how trans people are stigmatized in the organizational context – reinforcing here what has already been emphasized by Hendricks et al. (2020) on the value and importance of historicizing the study of discrimination in organizations throughout modern history.

In this thesis, I argue that it is only by going back to the past that it is possible to build public policies, social inclusion actions, and employability initiatives more directed towards solving problems that have been rooted in the social fabric for so long. Moreover, observing the past allows us to understand social, organizational, or political situations, which can contribute to the construction of actions for the insertion of trans people in the labor market whose impacts are more effective in the present time.

By analyzing the trajectory of socio trans employability in politics in Brazil, I realize the subjectivity building and set standards for inclusion initiatives currently being taken. Gender identity construction operates substantially on the construction of these initiatives and how, even if they are offered some vague, inclusion is still far from ideal. For transgender people, "the territory of the cities does not have the same opportunity structure," resulting in several weaknesses that put this community on social exclusion and, therefore, exposed to all kinds of violence (ANTRA, 2021b). So, this

scenario also includes the institutionalized transphobia that is made clear in institutions that exclude wholly or organizations who use the practice Pink Money or those that allow limited spaces, temporary jobs, or reduce occupations "platitudes".

Trans people face several barriers and problems in entering the labor market. For example, when there is an antagonism between the civil registry and the body, the trans person becomes exposed, unprotected by the "cloak of invisibility", suffering discrimination in hiring and professional performance (Carrieri et al., 2014, p. 90). Thus, through the version of history reassembled here, I seek to light the problems in the inclusion of trans people in the labor market.

The structuring of organizational policies aimed at trans people must be designed and articulated to cover the issue's complexity, since, as stated by Prado and Freitas (2016), access to higher education does not always guarantee the equity of access and permanence in the labor market. In this sense, it is still worth noting that superficial initiatives are not enough. It is also essential to consider factors that affect the LGBTQIA+ population in a profound way, such as the fact that, at times, they are subject, as well as any other socially marginalized group, to mimic prejudices imposed on them (Silva & Brito, 2017).

Finally, I argue that for the construction of new policies aimed at reducing discrimination and improving access to the labor market, it is essential that organizations turn their gaze to the social past. Employability initiatives should not be ahistorical, recognizing that there are serious failures in cases where this occurs in a way that is detached from a social past. Thus, this thesis seeks to reach managers so that they can rethink the theme, review practices, and propose policies of conduct and ethics aimed at the diversity of the workforce.

Remembering that by making this move, as highlighted at the beginning of this document, employers would not be promoting altruistic actions, but benefiting from an inclusive, welcoming, and fair work environment - which increases the happiness and productivity of workers as a whole and, therefore, represents a general gain for the company.

5.2 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the employability initiatives aimed at trans people, which are being recently observed in the Brazilian scenario, are part of a network without beginning or end, which is connectable and is open to change. The trajectory of trans employability in Brazil did not start in a specific organization or from an idea of a particular individual. It was built through a network-rhizome that includes various actors and the relationships established between them. It should be considered that recent initiatives are also the result of resistance to conditions of oppression and violence, political movements, legislative changes, struggle to guarantee fundamental rights, social movements, and other diverse mobilizations over time. In such a way that to reduce, for example, this phenomenon to a practice adopted by an organization (private, public, or civil) that has become a model to be followed is to silence an entire past and make it ahistorical.

5.3 EPILOGUE: ONGOING AND FUTURE RESEARCH

As previously reported, this work's information collection and analysis stage took place at a very specific and delicate moment during the COVID-19 pandemic. Thus, I can consider that the pandemic situation was a network actor in the construction of this research and interfered in the entire process in different ways, including the research methods and tools designed at the beginning of this work.

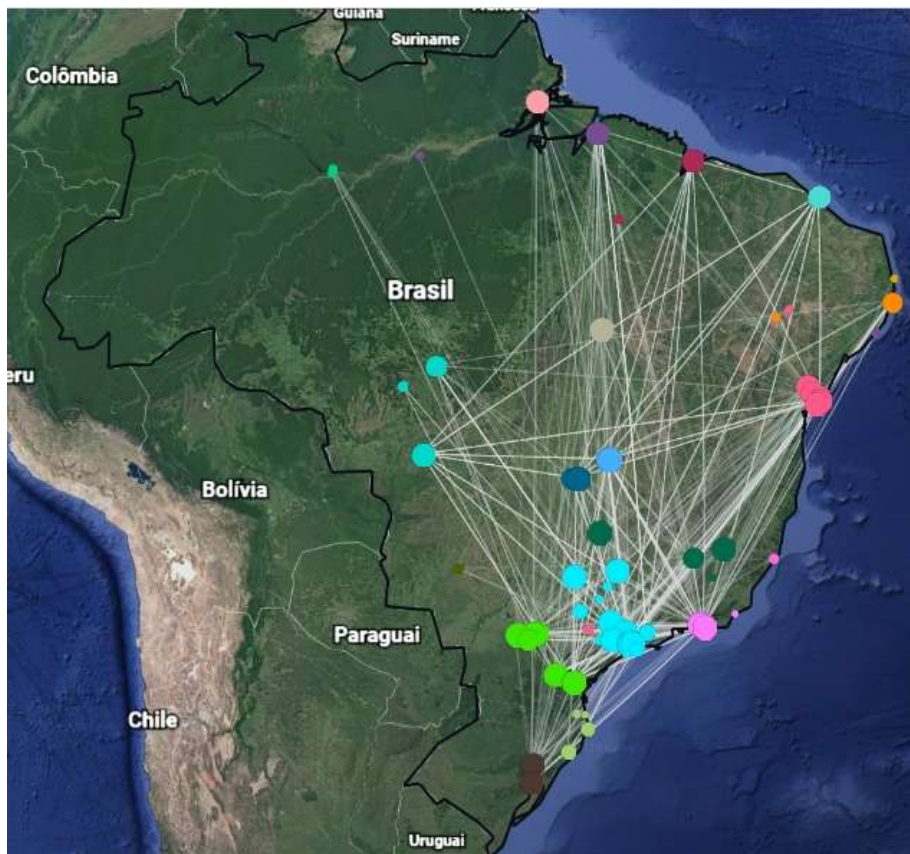
Generally speaking, over time, I learn to adapt. During this thesis elaboration, we (Professor Supervisor and I) became aware of some trans employability initiatives in the city of Rio de Janeiro where we live, which we chose not to proceed with the thesis, but which were initiated and will continue in the next moment. One of these examples is a company belonging to the chemical and pharmaceutical industry that adopted an initiative and with which I came to contact and conduct an interview. This experience served as an initial way of approaching the field for this research – since we had to determine a new strategy in the thesis – but it is part of a project to be developed in future research on trans employability in Brazil.

In addition, I also understand that by following some of the network-actors identified in this version of the past, developments would be obtained that would deserve to be studied in greater depth, including activities that, in time, did not become viable, but whose traces must be recovered to give follow-up to the understanding of social past.

An example is that, in addition to the diagrams included in this thesis, the mapping performed began to become a map project on the Google Earth platform

(figure 31), whose objective is to widely share with visualization the actors involved in this network and their relationships in a way individualized, dynamic and available online. Transempregos data has already been entered, containing location information (latitude and longitude), but this project includes feeding a greater amount of information about other initiatives and new sources.

Figure 31. Trans employability map in progress (Google Earth)



Source: own elaboration.

In addition, the historical turn points to ahistoricity in Organizational Studies, but I note that this extends to practice. As much as professionals and managers demonstrate that they are qualified on the topic, oriented towards the cause, and committed to actions and initiatives quality they promote, the lack of knowledge about

the past and the social construction around trans employability interferes with the result obtained. Understandably, it happens, but I believe that the effort to know the past can positively influence how the problem is treated, decisions are made, the valuation and importance that a certain aspect assumes when thinking about inclusion initiatives. Therefore, as part of the network, I will seek to promote some actions in this regard.

Finally, another aspect signaled in the process of (re)assembling the socio past, which should be observed in future research, is the intersectionality present in transphobia within organizational environments. Whereas, violence against transgender people often overlaps with other axes of oppression in society, such as racism, sexism (in the US, 85% of trans people reported murdered are black or Native American women), xenophobia (in France, Italy, Portugal, and Spain, 65% of victims were immigrants) and discrimination with sex workers (62% of the total reported victims) (Transrespect, 2018).

Moreover, with that, this version of the history continues to be performed.

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APPENDIX A: LIST OF DATA SOURCES

Source	Description	Type	Collection Location
Decree No. 8727 of April 28, 2016	Provides for the use of the social name and recognition of the gender identity of transvestites and transsexuals within the scope of direct federal, autarchic and foundational public administration.	Legislation	Site Planalto.gov
Ordinance No. 1370 of June 21, 2019	Includes procedure in the SUS Table of Procedures, Medicines, Orthotics, Protheses and Special Materials.	Legislation	Diário Oficial da União [Official Gazette of the Union] (online)
Resolution No. 1 of January 19, 2018	Defines the use of the social name of transvestites and transsexuals in school records.	Legislation	Diário Oficial da União (online)
Resolution No. 12 of January 16, 2015	It establishes parameters to guarantee the conditions of access and permanence of transvestites and transgender people - and all those whose gender identity is not recognized in different social spaces - in educational systems and institutions, formulating guidelines for the institutional recognition of gender identity and its operationalization.	Legislation	Diário Oficial da União (online)

Source	Description	Type	Collection Location
Ordinance No. 457, of August 19, 2008	Resolve to approve, in the form of the Annexes to this Ordinance described below, the regulation of the Transsexualizing Process within the scope of the Unified Health System - SUS.	Legislation	Ministry of Health Virtual Library
<i>Transsexualidade e Travestilidade na Saúde</i> [Transsexuality and Transvestility in Health]	Collection of articles that make up the book Transsexuality and Transvestility in Health presented by the Department of Support to Participatory Management, of the Secretariat for Strategic and Participatory Management of the Ministry of Health.	Document	Ministry of Health Virtual Library
<i>Dossiê: assassinatos e violência contra travestis e transexuais no Brasil em 2018</i> [Dossier: murders and violence against transvestites and transsexuals in Brazil in 2018]	Dossier prepared by the National Association of Transvestites and Transsexuals in Brazil (ANTRA) and the Brazilian Trans Educational Institute (IBTE).	Report	ANTRA Brasil website
<i>Dossiê dos assassinatos e da violência contra travestis e transexuais brasileiras em 2019</i> [Dossier of murders and violence against Brazilian transvestites and transsexuals in 2019]	Dossier prepared by the National Association of Transvestites and Transsexuals in Brazil (ANTRA) and the Brazilian Trans Educational Institute (IBTE).	Report	ANTRA Brasil website

Source	Description	Type	Collection Location
<i>Dossiê dos assassinatos e da violência contra travestis e transexuais brasileiras em 2020</i> [Dossier of murders and violence against Brazilian transvestites and transsexuals in 2020]	Dossier prepared by the National Association of Transvestites and Transsexuals in Brazil (ANTRA) and the Brazilian Trans Educational Institute (IBTE).	Report	ANTRA Brasil website
Article titled <i>Como mudar de sexo</i> [How to change sex]	Article published by Revista Piauí, in Edition No. 43 - April 2010 - Anais da Medicina. Contains an interview with a doctor and patients at the Urology Outpatient Clinic of Hospital Universitário Pedro Ernesto.	website page	Revista Piauí
<i>Relatório da Comissão Nacional da Verdade</i> [Report of the National Truth Commission]	Report containing an enumeration of the activities carried out by the Commission, a description of the facts examined, conclusions and recommendations of the CNV. Part III: Methods and practices in serious human rights violations and their victims - Chapter 10: Sexual violence, gender violence and violence against children and adolescents.	Report	Comissão Nacional da Verdade do Brasil website
<i>Relatório da Comissão da Verdade do Estado de São Paulo “Rubens Paiva”</i> [Report of the Truth Commission of the State of São Paulo “Rubens Paiva”]	Report that documents past serious human rights violations. BOOK I - Part II: Social groups and movements persecuted or affected by the dictatorship - Chapter Truth and Gender.	Report	Comissão da Verdade do Estado de São

Source	Description	Type	Collection Location
			Paulo “Rubens Paiva” website
Legislative Information Magazine - a.14, n. 55 - July / September 1977.	Quarterly publication by the Federal Senate's Subsecretariat for Technical Editions.	Document	Federal Senate Virtual Library
Dispensa de ponto [work release] for participation in XV Brazilian Congress of Urology	Publication of point for the XV Brazilian Congress of Urology, held in São Paulo, SP, from November 9th to 15th, 1975.	Document	Online access (Google)
<i>Do Papel à Era Digital</i> [From Paper to the Digital Age]	File with data collection from the Technical Reserve of processes in permanent custody of the TJSP.	Document	TJSP website
<i>Transexualismo – cirurgia. Lesão corporal</i> [Transsexualism - surgery. Bodily injury]	Consultation made by lawyer Heleno Claudio Fragoso referring to the criminal action filed against the surgeon responsible for reassignment surgery, at the 17th Criminal Court of São Paulo (case nº 799/76).	Document	Fragoso Advogados website collection - Articles and Interviews
São Paulo Civil Police Archives	São Paulo Civil Police Magazines/ Public Security Secretariat. Articles published from 1975 to 1977.	Document	Virtual Library Network

Source	Description	Type	Collection Location
Alexandre Saadeh interview	Interview between Estadão and the psychiatrist at the Transdisciplinary Outpatient Clinic of Gender Identity and Sexual Orientation at Hospital das Clínicas, published in 2018.	Interview	Jornal Estadão website
Judiciary Branch of São Paulo. Court of justice. DEPRO 3. 1st Office of the Family and Succession. Extraordinary Appeal No. 280086.	Regimental Appeal in Civil Appeal. Nature of action: Name rectification. Applicant: [REDACTED].	Document	Physical collection - TJSP
Judiciary Branch of São Paulo - 1st Regional Criminal Court IV - Lapa. Process No. 2358/92-1.	Judicial process. Class: Manslaughter. Author: Public Justice. Defendant (victim): [REDACTED]. Year 1992.	Document	Physical collection - TJSP
Judiciary Branch of São Paulo. 6th Family Court. 6th Office of the Family and Succession. Notice No. 116-74.	Civil Appeal for Rectification of Birth Registration. [REDACTED].	Document	Physical collection - TJSP
Judiciary Branch of São Paulo. 17th Criminal Court. 17th Criminal Office. Notice No. 799/76.	Legal proceedings in 5 volumes + Attachment. Criminal Action for Personal Injury. Author: Public Justice. Defendant: [REDACTED]. Penalty: 2 years in prison.	Document	Physical collection - TJSP
Hunting Season Documentary	Film by Rita Moreira, originally recorded and edited on VHS in 1988. It received 12 awards in Brazil.	Film	YouTube – Rita Moreira Videos channel

Source	Description	Type	Collection Location
<i>Documentário Jovanna Baby: uma trajetória do Movimento de Travestis e Trans no Brasil</i> [Documentary Jovanna Baby: a trajectory of the Transvestites and Trans movement in Brazil]	Film directed by Cláudio Nascimento and Marcio Caetano. Photography and editing by Fabio Rodrigues. Documentary is part of the project "When we dare to exist" and was released by the LGBTI Memory Center João Antônio Mascarenhas (FURG/UFES) and by the Memory and Training Center of the Arco-Iris Group for LGBTI Citizenship.	Film	YouTube – FONATRANS channel
Jornal do Brasil (RJ) - 1970 a 1979	Contains news about transsexuality at the time.	Newspaper	Hemeroteca Digital [virtual newspaper library]
Jornal do Brasil (RJ) - 2000 edition 00073	Contains news about transsexuality at the time.	Newspaper	Hemeroteca Digital
Jornal do Brasil (RJ) - 2000 edition 00106	Contains news about transsexuality at the time.	Newspaper	Hemeroteca Digital
Jornal do Brasil (RJ) - 2000 edition 00165	Contains news about transsexuality at the time.	Newspaper	Hemeroteca Digital
Jornal do Brasil (RJ) - 2000 edition 00166	Contains news about transsexuality at the time.	Newspaper	Hemeroteca Digital

Source	Description	Type	Collection Location
Jornal do Brasil (RJ) - 2000 edition 00293	Contains news about transsexuality at the time.	Newspaper	Hemeroteca Digital
Jornal do Brasil (RJ) - 2000 edition 00332	Contains news about transsexuality at the time.	Newspaper	Hemeroteca Digital
Jornal do Brasil (RJ) - 2000 edition 00336	Contains news about transsexuality at the time.	Newspaper	Hemeroteca Digital
Jornal do Brasil (RJ) - 2001 edition 00018.1	Contains news about transsexuality at the time.	Newspaper	Hemeroteca Digital
Jornal do Brasil (RJ) - 2001 edition 00018	Contains news about transsexuality at the time.	Newspaper	Hemeroteca Digital
Jornal do Brasil (RJ) - 2001 edition 00026	Contains news about transsexuality at the time.	Newspaper	Hemeroteca Digital
Jornal do Brasil (RJ) - 2001 edition 00054	Contains news about transsexuality at the time.	Newspaper	Hemeroteca Digital
Jornal do Brasil (RJ) - 2001 edition 00094	Contains news about transsexuality at the time.	Newspaper	Hemeroteca Digital

Source	Description	Type	Collection Location
<i>Revista realidade</i> [Reality Magazine] (SP) - 1972	Contains news about transsexuality at the time.	Newspaper	Hemeroteca Digital
<i>Suplemento Literário</i> [Literary Supplement] (SP) - 1978	Transsexualism	Newspaper	Hemeroteca Digital
Suplemento Literário (SP) - 1979	<i>A diferenciação psicosexual</i> [The psychosexual differentiation]	Newspaper	Hemeroteca Digital
Revista Chanacomchana. Ed. 02	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Revista	Acervo Bajubá [Bajubá Collection] (online)
Revista Chanacomchana. Ed. 03	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Revista	Acervo Bajubá (online)
Revista Chanacomchana. Ed. 04	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Revista	Acervo Bajubá (online)
Revista Chanacomchana. Ed. 05	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Revista	Acervo Bajubá (online)
Revista Chanacomchana. Ed. 07	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Revista	Acervo Bajubá (online)

Source	Description	Type	Collection Location
Revista Chanacomchana. Ed. 08	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Revista	Acervo Bajubá (online)
Revista Chanacomchana. Ed. 09	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Revista	Acervo Bajubá (online)
Revista Chanacomchana. Ed. 10	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Revista	Acervo Bajubá (online)
Revista Chanacomchana. Ed. 12	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Revista	Acervo Bajubá (online)
Jornal_EX_year1_n1_november_II 1973	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection
Jornal_EX_year1_n2_december 1973	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection
Jornal_EX_year1_n3_january_1974	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection
Jornal_EX_year1_n4_february_1974	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection
Jornal_EX_morte_do_jornalista_wladimir_herzog	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection
Jornal_EX_n5_june_1974	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection
Jornal_EX_n6_september_1974	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection

Source	Description	Type	Collection Location
Jornal_EX_n7_october_1974	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection
Jornal_EX_n8_december_1974	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection
Jornal_EX_n9_1975	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection
Jornal_EX_n10	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection
Jornal_EX_n11	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection
Jornal_EX_n12	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection
Jornal_EX_n13_august_1975	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection
Jornal_EX_n13_EXTRA_n1_september_1975	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection
Jornal_EX_n14_september_1975	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection
Jornal_EX_n15_october_1975	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection
Jornal_EX_n16_november_1975	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection
Jornal_EX_n17_n1_second_fortnight_december_1975	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection
Jornal_EX_the_best_of_EX	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection

Source	Description	Type	Collection Location
01-Lampiao-Edition-00-April-19781	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection
02-Lampiao-Da-Esquina- Edition-Extra-01-december-1979	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection
03-Lampiao- Edition-Extra-02	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection
04-Lampiao-Da-Esquina- Edition-Extra-03-1980	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection
05-Lampiao-Da-Esquina- Edition-01-may-june-1978	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection
06-Lampiao-Da-Esquina- Edition-02-june-july-1978	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection
07-Lampiao-Da-Esquina- Edition-03-july-august-1978	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection
08-Lampiao-Da-Esquina- Edition -04-august-september-1978	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection
09-Lampiao-Da-Esquina- Edition -05-october-1978	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection
10-Lampiao-Da-Esquina- Edition -06-november-1978	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection
11-Lampiao-Da-Esquina- Edition -07-december-1978	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection
12-Lampiao-Da-Esquina- Edition -08-january-1979	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection

Source	Description	Type	Collection Location
13-Lampiao-Da-Esquina- Edition -09-february-1979	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection
14-Lampiao-Da-Esquina- Edition -10-march-1979	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection
15-Lampiao-Da-Esquina- Edition -11-april-1979	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection
16-Lampiao-Da-Esquina- Edition -12-may-1979	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection
17-Lampiao-Da-Esquina- Edition -13-june-1979	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection
18-Lampiao-Da-Esquina- Edition -14-july-1979	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection
19-Lampiao-Da-Esquina- Edition -15-august-1979	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection
20-Lampiao-Da-Esquina- Edition -16-september-1979	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection
21-Lampiao-Da-Esquina- Edition -17-october-1979	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection
22-Lampiao-Da-Esquina- Edition -18-november-1979	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection
23-Lampiao-Da-Esquina- Edition -19-december-1979	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection
24-Lampiao-Da-Esquina- Edition -20-january-1980	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection
25-Lampiao-Da-Esquina- Edition -21-february-1980	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection

Source	Description	Type	Collection Location
26-Lampiao-Da-Esquina- Edition -22-march-1980	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection
27-Lampiao-Da-Esquina- Edition -23-april-1980	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection
28-Lampiao-Da-Esquina- Edition -24-may-1980	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection
29-Lampiao-Da-Esquina- Edition -25-june-1980	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection
30-Lampiao-Da-Esquina- Edition -26-july-1980	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection
31-Lampiao-Da-Esquina- Edition -27-august-1980	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection
32-Lampiao-Da-Esquina- Edition -28-september-1980	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection
33-Lampiao-Da-Esquina- Edition -29-october-1980	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection
34-Lampiao-Da-Esquina- Edition -30-november-1980	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection
35-Lampiao-Da-Esquina- Edition -31-december-1980	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection
36-Lampiao-Da-Esquina- Edition -32-january-1981	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection
37-Lampiao-Da-Esquina- Edition -33-february-1981	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection
38-Lampiao-Da-Esquina- Edition -34-march-1981	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection

Source	Description	Type	Collection Location
39-Lampiao-Da-Esquina- Edition -35-april-1981	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection
39-Lampiao-Da-Esquina- Edition -36-may-1981	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection
41-Lampiao-Da-Esquina- Edition -37-july-1981	Alternative Media - Dictatorial Period	Newspaper	Online collection

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW SCRIPT

Block 1 – Information about the respondent

1. Personal Information: Name; Age; Academic education.
2. Experience in the organization: Time working in the company; Position held; Name of the sector in which it operates.
3. Previous experience: Where he worked; Time; Position he occupied.

Block 2 – Information about the institution

1. COMPANY X is widely known, but could you tell me one about the company's performance from your perspective?
2. Talk about the people sector.
3. We are aware of an initiative by COMPANY X related to inclusion and diversity. What projects or actions, aimed at gender diversity, does it have?

Block 3 – Information on employability and diversity actions

1. Talk about the initiatives that seek to promote gender inclusion and diversity in COMPANY X.
2. Tell us about your participation in this(these) initiative(s): Did you participate from the beginning? Remains in it? Tell us more about your performance (team member, leader)
3. Emergence of the idea of this initiative: Before it were there transgender people among the collaborators? Has a need to employ transgender people been identified? If yes, at what point did this occur? Where (or from whom) did the

initiative come? Did this need arise from within the organization (employees, team leaders)?

4. Talk about the first moments, the initial phase of implementation: Main difficulties; main positive aspects; were there any surprises?
5. Main sources of information and/or inspiration for the initiative(s): Documents, books, files, reports, academic works used; Was there collaboration (consultants, transgender people, NGOs, other companies)?; Did other cases applied in other national or international companies serve as a model?
6. Is COMPANY X a global company, has the gender diversity initiative(s) been adopted as a whole, or are there different local projects? Tell us a little more about this process: Difference from country to country; Duration; openness or resistance
7. Tell us about the current status of the initiative: Is it going well? Is there a type of follow-up? Is there a team responsible for maintenance? How many are involved? Have the people on the team been selected? If so, how was this selection? Was there any kind of preparation for the team members? Currently, would you be able to say how many transgender people are part of COMPANY X?
8. Do you know of other initiatives that you admire and would like to have created or participated in?
9. Now, let's assume a scenario of total freedom to create (without any difficulties or hindrances), would you like to implement another diversity project in your organization?

APPENDIX C: DATA COLLECTED IN THE TRANSEMPREGOS VACANCIES BANK

ID	Organization	Ad Title	City	State	Industry Area of Expertise
1	3M	Estágio	Sumaré	SP	Diversificada
2	3M	Estágio	Itapetininga	SP	Diversificada
3	3M	Estágio	Ribeirão Preto	SP	Diversificada
4	3M	Estágio	São José do Rio Preto	SP	Diversificada
5	3M	Estágio	Manaus	AM	Diversificada
6	A2 SOLUÇÕES INTELIGENTES	Estágio em Direito	São Paulo	SP	Paralegal
7	Accesstage	Analista de Marketing Digital I	São Paulo	SP	Soluções Financeiras
8	Accor	Estágio de E-Commerce	São Paulo	SP	Hotelaria
9	Adagio	Auxiliar de Reservas	São Paulo	SP	Hotelaria
10	AFESU	Curso de Enfermagem	São Paulo	SP	ONG
11	Africa	Estratégia de Responding	São Paulo	SP	Publicidade e Propaganda
12	Agência Bold	Analista Plenx	São Paulo	SP	Marketing Digital
13	Agência Bold	Estagio em Midia Digital	São Paulo	SP	Marketing Digital
14	Agência Brocco	Estagiarixs para Atendimento e Criação	São Paulo	SP	Publicidade e Propaganda
15	Agência Digital Vor	CoordenadXr de Conteúdo	São Paulo	SP	Marketing Digital
16	Agência Digital Vor	Estágio em Design	São Paulo	SP	Marketing Digital
17	Agência Ginga	Estágio em Midia	São Paulo	SP	Publicidade e Propaganda
18	Agência The Art	Social Midia	Florianópolis	SC	Agência de design e comunicação
19	Ágil Serviços (Predial)	Técnicx Administrativo	Curitiba	PR	Serviços -Terceirização
20	Akqa	Estágio Operações	São Paulo	SP	Serviços e Produtos Digitais

ID	Organization	Ad Title	City	State	Industry_Area of Expertise
21	Alcoa	Talent Sourcing Senior	São Paulo	SP	Empresa de bauxita, alumina e alumínio
22	Alcoa	Engenheire Junior	Juriti	PA	Empresa de bauxita, alumina e alumínio
23	Alcoa	Coordenação de Projetos	Juriti	PA	Empresa de bauxita, alumina e alumínio
24	Alexandria.Ai	Assistente de Arte	São Paulo	SP	Serviços tecnológicos de people marketing
25	Aliança Nacional LGBT	Administração	Curitiba	PR	Organização Sociedade Civil
26	Aliança Nacional LGBT	Administração	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Organização Sociedade Civil
27	Alice	Business Ops	São Paulo	SP	N/A
28	Allonda	Recepcionista	Barueri	SP	Soluções Ambientais Sustentáveis
29	Allonda	Analista de B.I. Jr.	São Paulo	SP	Soluções Ambientais Sustentáveis
30	Alligator	Estágio Análise Risco	Belo Horizonte	MG	Aluguel e Assinatura de Eletrônicos
31	Alumar	Aquisição e Logística	São Luís	MA	Logística e Automação
32	Alumar	Sup. Eng. Manutenção	São Luís	MA	Logística e Automação
33	André Fonseca	Curso de gestão cultural	São Paulo	SP	N/A
34	Any Life	Assistente de Marketing	São Paulo	SP	Gestão Patrimonial
35	AppSimple (Outsmart)	Product Owner Jr	São Paulo	SP	Soluções Tecnológicas
36	bike gira Aromeizero	Comunicação Digital	São Paulo	SP	ONG
37	bike gira Aromeizero	Desenvolvimento Institucional	São Paulo	SP	ONG
38	Artplan	Supervisor de Business	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Publicidade e Propaganda
39	Artplan	Estágio em Faturamento	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Publicidade e Propaganda
40	Artplan	Estágio em Criação	São Paulo	SP	Publicidade e Propaganda
41	Artplan	Estágio em BI	Brasília	DF	Publicidade e Propaganda
42	Artplan	Gerente de Projetos	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Publicidade e Propaganda

ID	Organization	Ad Title	City	State	Industry_Area of Expertise
43	Artplan	Gerente de Projetos Jr.	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Publicidade e Propaganda
44	Artplan	Supervisão de Mídia Digital	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Publicidade e Propaganda
45	Artplan	Coordenação de Mídia Digital	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Publicidade e Propaganda
46	Artplan	Supervisor(X) de Contas	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Publicidade e Propaganda
47	Aspen Pharma	Jovem Aprendiz	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Farmacêutica
48	Atento	Estágio em Responsabilidade Social e Diversidade	São Paulo	SP	Serviços - Atendimento ao Cliente
49	Atento	Analista Mídias Sociais	São Paulo	SP	Serviços - Atendimento ao Cliente
50	Atos	Analista de Comunicação Interna	São Paulo	SP	Serviços - Tecnologia
51	Atos	Estágio em Marketing	São Paulo	SP	Serviços - Tecnologia
52	Ayla	Estágio em SAC/ e-commerce de moda	São Paulo	SP	Vestuário
53	Ayne Casa de Cultura	Workshop mídias sociais	São Paulo	SP	Assessoria Psicológica
54	Ayne Casa de Cultura	Teoria Junguiana	São Paulo	SP	Assessoria Psicológica
55	B&B Hotels	Contabilidade	São Paulo	SP	Hotelaria
56	Banana Filmes	Artista	Curitiba	PR	Produtora de cinema
57	Barbearia Quotidiana	Barbeiro Experiente	São Paulo	SP	Beleza
58	Baselab	Analista de estratégia política	São Paulo	SP	consultoria eleitoral e política
59	Baselab	Analista comercial - produtos eleitorais	São Paulo	SP	consultoria eleitoral e política
60	Baselab	Analista de projetos	São Paulo	SP	consultoria eleitoral e política
61	Baselab	Auxiliar Administrativo financeiro	São Paulo	SP	consultoria eleitoral e política
62	Baselab	Analista de Social media	São Paulo	SP	consultoria eleitoral e política
63	Basf	Mecânica de Manutenção	São Bernardo do Campo	SP	Química

ID	Organization	Ad Title	City	State	Industry_Area of Expertise
64	Basf	Téc. E&I e Automação	São Bernardo do Campo	SP	Química
65	Basf	Técnico de Vendas Pleno	Apucarama	PR	Química
66	Basf	Estágio	N/A	SP	Química
67	Basf	Estágio	N/A	BA	Química
68	Basf	Estágio	N/A	PE	Química
69	Basf	Estágio	N/A	MT	Química
70	Basf	Estágio	N/A	GO	Química
71	Basf	Representante Técnico de Vendas Sênior	Ponta Grossa	PR	Química
72	Basf	Técnico de Vendas Sênior	Ponta Grossa	PR	Química
73	Basf	Analista de Atendimento ao Cliente Sênior	Morumbi	SP	Química
74	Basf	Analista de Comunicação e Marketing Sênior	Morumbi	SP	Química
75	Basf	Representante Técnico de Vendas Pleno	Campo Novo do Parecis	MT	Química
76	Basf	Promotor de Merchandising	Belo Horizonte	MG	Química
77	Basf	Estágio em Produção	São Paulo	SP	Química
78	Basf	Consultor de Benefícios	São Paulo	SP	Química
79	Basf	Com. Corporativa	São Paulo	SP	Química
80	Basf	Analista de RH	São Paulo	SP	Química
81	Basf	Atendimento ao Cliente Sênior	São Paulo	SP	Química
82	Basf	Programa de estágio	São Paulo	SP	Química
83	Basf	Representante de Vendas Sênior	São Paulo	SP	Química
84	Basf	Representante de Vendas Sênior	São Paulo	SP	Química

ID	Organization	Ad_Title	City	State	Industry_Area of Expertise
85	Ben & Jerry's	Atendentes	São Paulo	SP	Alimentos
86	Ben & Jerry's	Atendentes	São Paulo	SP	Alimentos
87	Ben & Jerry's	Gerentes	São Paulo	SP	Alimentos
88	Ben & Jerry's	Atendimento	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Alimentos
89	Bike Arte Gira	Bike Arte Gira	São Paulo	SP	Projeto
90	Boutique Filmes	Estágio Financeiro	São Paulo	SP	Produtora de TV
91	British Government	Diversas Vagas	São Paulo	SP	Governamental
92	British Government	Diversas Vagas	Brasília	DF	Governamental
93	British Government	Diversas Vagas	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Governamental
94	British Government	Diversas Vagas	Recife	PE	Governamental
95	British Government	Diversas Vagas	Belo Horizonte	MG	Governamental
96	British Government	Várias vagas	São Paulo	SP	Órgão Governamental
97	British Government	Várias vagas	Brasília	DF	Órgão Governamental
98	British Government	Várias vagas	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Órgão Governamental
99	British Government	Várias vagas	Recife	PE	Órgão Governamental
100	British Government	Várias vagas	Belo Horizonte	MG	Órgão Governamental
101	Burgay	Atendimento caixa	São Paulo	SP	Restaurante
102	Burgay	Freelancer chapeiro	São Paulo	SP	Restaurante
103	Burgay	Freelancer Atendimento caixa	São Paulo	SP	Restaurante
104	Burger King	Trainee	São Paulo	SP	Restaurante
105	Bytedance	Assistente de Criação	São Paulo	SP	Empresa de Tecnologia
106	Bytedance	Operação de Conteúdo	São Paulo	SP	Empresa de Tecnologia
107	C2C	Assistente Administrative	São Paulo	SP	Cosméticos
108	Café Habitual	Diversas Vagas	São Paulo	SP	Cafeteria

ID	Organization	Ad Title	City	State	Industry_Area of Expertise
109	Café Royal	Auxiliar AdministrativX	São Paulo	SP	Produtora de publicidade e entretenimento
110	Capacitrans	Estruture seu negócios	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	N/A
111	Cargill	Jovens Aprendizes	São Paulo	SP	Alimentos
112	Carrefour	Assistente	São Paulo	SP	Rede de Hipermercados
113	Carrefour	Analista Sr. de Comunicação Interna	São Paulo	SP	Rede de Hipermercados
114	Carrefour	Analista de Planejamento Financeiro	São Paulo	SP	Rede de Hipermercados
115	Carrefour	Assistente Administrativo - Suporte ao Seller (Marketplace)	São Paulo	SP	Rede de Hipermercados
116	Carrefour	Processo Seletivo	São Paulo	SP	Rede de Hipermercados
117	Carrefour	Comprador Pleno	São Paulo	SP	Rede de Hipermercados
118	Carrefour	Analista Comercial MarketPlace Pleno	São Paulo	SP	Rede de Hipermercados
119	Carrefour	Estágio	São Paulo	SP	Rede de Hipermercados
120	Carrefour	OperadorXs de Lojas	São Paulo	SP	Rede de Hipermercados
121	Carrefour	Diversas Vagas	São Paulo	SP	Rede de Hipermercados
122	Casa 1	Aula expressão corporal	São Paulo	SP	Organização Sociedade Civil
123	Casa 1	Aulas de informática	São Paulo	SP	Organização Sociedade Civil
124	Casa 1	Curso de Maquiagem	São Paulo	SP	Organização Sociedade Civil
125	Casa 1	Cursos Grátis	São Paulo	SP	Organização Sociedade Civil
126	Casa Buon Gusto	Auxiliar Coz. Expedição e Gerente	São Paulo	SP	Restaurante
127	CEFTEM - Centro de Estudos e Formação em Teatro Musical	Artista Teatro	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Cultura

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128	CENAREA	Auxiliar Administrativx/Recepcionista	São Paulo	SP	Empresa de cenografia
129	Centauro	Atendente de Loja	São Paulo	SP	Varejo
130	Centauro	Consultor(a/e) de Calçados	São Paulo	SP	Varejo
131	Central Saúde	Relacionamento	São Paulo	SP	Serviços tecnológicos de Saúde
132	Chá Comigo Chá Conosco	EstágiariX Administração	Louveira	SP	Organização Sociedade Civil
133	Chá Comigo Chá Conosco	EstágiariX Administração	Vinhedo	SP	Organização Sociedade Civil
134	Chá Comigo Chá Conosco	EstágiariX Administração	Jundiaí	SP	Organização Sociedade Civil
135	CI&T	Estágio	Campinas	SP	Soluções Digitais
136	CI&T	Estágio	Belo Horizonte	MG	Soluções Digitais
137	Cia Hering	Estágio de Merchandising	São Paulo	SP	Vestuário
138	CIEE	Analista de Compliance	São Paulo	SP	Associação Civil
139	CIEE e SP	Estágio	São Paulo	SP	Parceria
140	Civic Institute	Professor(a) de inglês	Curitiba	PR	Curso de Idiomas
141	Clearsale	Assistente Administrativo	São Paulo	SP	Segurança da Informação
142	Clearsale	Analista de Service Desk Jr	São Paulo	SP	Segurança da Informação
143	Clearsale	Supervisor de Operações	São Paulo	SP	Segurança da Informação
144	Clearsale	Operação de Autenticação Bilingue	São Paulo	SP	Segurança da Informação
145	Clearsale	Operadorx de Autenticação	São Paulo	SP	Segurança da Informação
146	Cloud Walk	Ruby Developer	São Paulo	SP	Mercado de pagamentos
147	Cloud Walk	QA Engineering Mobile	São Paulo	SP	Mercado de pagamentos
148	Cloud Walk	Especialista em Desempenho e Crescimento	São Paulo	SP	Mercado de pagamentos

ID	Organization	Ad Title	City	State	Industry_Area of Expertise
149	Cloud Walk	Mobile Software Engineer	São Paulo	SP	Mercado de pagamentos
150	Clube Vintage	Vendedorxs	São Paulo	SP	Varejo
151	Cogna	Assistente Administrativx	São Paulo	SP	Educação
152	Cognizant	Agente de Atendimento	São Paulo	SP	Soluções Tecnológicas
153	Cognizant	Desenvolvedor Java – Backend & FullStack	São Paulo	SP	Soluções Tecnológicas
154	Cognizant	Analista ou Assistente de Suporte de TI	São Paulo	SP	Soluções Tecnológicas
155	Cognizant	Analista de Testes de Automação Junior	São Paulo	SP	Soluções Tecnológicas
156	Cognizant	Analista de Testes de Performance Senior	São Paulo	SP	Soluções Tecnológicas
157	Cognizant	Programa Aprendiz de Mulheres na Tecnologia	São Paulo	SP	Soluções Tecnológicas
158	Cognizant	Agente de Atendimento	São Paulo	SP	Soluções Tecnológicas
159	Cpflores	Atendente Geral	Itapecerica da Serra	SP	Cosméticos
160	Credit Brasil	Sales Development	São Paulo	SP	Operações Financeiras de Crédito
161	Credit Brasil	Analista de Marketing	São Paulo	SP	Operações Financeiras de Crédito
162	CRP SP	Estágio em Biblioteconomia	São Paulo	SP	Conselho Profissional
163	CRP SP	Assistente Administrativo	São Paulo	SP	Conselho Profissional
164	Cuidas	Coordenação Administrativa	São Paulo	SP	Serviços tecnológicos de Saúde
165	Cybercook	Assistente de Arte	São Paulo	SP	Aplicativo de receitas
166	Cybercook	UX Designer	São Paulo	SP	Aplicativo de receitas
167	Cybercook	Social Media	São Paulo	SP	Aplicativo de receitas
168	Cyrela Commercial P.	Analista Contábil Pleno	São Paulo	SP	Adm. de propriedades comerciais

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169	Dagaz Influencer	Estágio	São Paulo	SP	Agenciamento comercial e publicitário de Influenciadores Digitais
170	Dasa	Banco de Talentos	N/A	PR	Medicina Diagnóstica
171	Dasa	Recepcionistas	N/A	PR	Medicina Diagnóstica
172	Dasa	Banco de Talentos	N/A	SP	Medicina Diagnóstica
173	Dasa	Banco de Talentos	N/A	RJ	Medicina Diagnóstica
174	Dasa	Banco de Talentos	N/A	GO	Medicina Diagnóstica
175	Dasa	Banco de Talentos	N/A	DF	Medicina Diagnóstica
176	Dasa	Banco de Talentos	N/A	MT	Medicina Diagnóstica
177	Dasa	Banco de Talentos	N/A	CE	Medicina Diagnóstica
178	Dasa	Banco de Talentos	N/A	MA	Medicina Diagnóstica
179	Dasa	Banco de Talentos	N/A	BA	Medicina Diagnóstica
180	Dasa	Recepcionistas	Paraná	PR	Laboratório de Medicina Diagnóstica
181	Dasa	Recepcionistas	N/A	SP	Medicina Diagnóstica
182	Dasa	Recepcionistas	N/A	RJ	Medicina Diagnóstica
183	Dasa	Recepcionistas	N/A	GO	Medicina Diagnóstica
184	Dasa	Recepcionistas	N/A	DF	Medicina Diagnóstica
185	Dasa	Recepcionistas	N/A	MT	Medicina Diagnóstica
186	Dasa	Recepcionistas	N/A	CE	Medicina Diagnóstica
187	Dasa	Recepcionistas	N/A	BA	Medicina Diagnóstica
188	Dasa	Recepcionistas	São Paulo	SP	Laboratório de Medicina Diagnóstica
189	Dasa	Recepcionistas	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Laboratório de Medicina Diagnóstica
190	Dasa	Recepcionistas	Brasília	DF	Laboratório de Medicina Diagnóstica
191	Dasa	Recepcionistas	Goias	GO	Laboratório de Medicina Diagnóstica
192	Dasa	Recepcionistas	Mato Grosso	MT	Laboratório de Medicina Diagnóstica

ID	Organization	Ad Title	City	State	Industry_Area of Expertise
193	Dasa	Recepcionistas	Ceará	CE	Laboratório de Medicina Diagnóstica
194	Dasa	Recepcionistas	Maranhão	MA	Laboratório de Medicina Diagnóstica
195	Dasa	Recepcionistas	Bahia	BA	Laboratório de Medicina Diagnóstica
196	Defensoria Pública MG	Estágio Direito	Belo Horizonte	MG	Órgão Governamental
197	Delivery Direto	Supervisão de Treinamento	São Paulo	SP	Plataforma de serviço de entrega
198	Delivery Direto	Administrativo	São Paulo	SP	Serviços - Entrega
199	Delivery Direto	Designer de Produtos	São Paulo	SP	Plataforma de serviço de entrega
200	Delivery Direto	Customer Success Manager	São Paulo	SP	Plataforma de serviço de entrega
201	Delivery Direto	Lider de Marketing	São Paulo	SP	Plataforma de serviço de entrega
202	Delivery Direto	Supervisor(a/e) de Atendimento	São Paulo	SP	Plataforma de serviço de entrega
203	Dental Gutierre	Atendimento em Chats	São Paulo	SP	Saúde odontológica
204	Dental Gutierre	Analista de Marketing	São Paulo	SP	Saúde odontológica
205	Diageo	Diversas Vagas	Fortaleza	CE	Bebidas
206	DLL (De Lage Landen)	Estágio	Porto Alegre	RS	Soluções Financeiras
207	Doc.Sync	Coodernado(a) Financeiro	São Paulo	SP	Comunicação
208	Dow Quimica	Customer servisse Specialist	São Paulo	SP	Química
209	Dr. Consulta	Analista de Processos Médicos	São Paulo	SP	Gestão de riscos (saúde)
210	Duty Cosméticos	Estágio em Logística	Barueri	SP	Beleza
211	Duty Cosméticos	Estágio em Trade Marketing	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Beleza
212	Duty Cosméticos	Administração de Vendas	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Beleza
213	Duty Cosméticos	Assistente de Gente&Gestão	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Beleza
214	Duty Cosméticos	Estágio em Customer Care	Barueri	SP	Beleza
215	Editora C33	Sócia LBT	São Paulo	SP	Editora

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216	EDP	Tec. Eletromecânica	Benevides	PA	Setor Elétrico
217	EDP	Gestão de Equipamentos	Benevides	PA	Setor Elétrico
218	EDP	Tec. Operação e Man.	São Luís	MA	Setor Elétrico
219	EDP	Analista de operação e mobilidade elétrica pleno	São Paulo	SP	Setor Elétrico
220	EDP	Especialista de Gestão de Ativos	São Paulo	SP	Setor Elétrico
221	EDP	Gestão operacional de assessoria societária	São Paulo	SP	Setor Elétrico
222	EDP	Advogado(a) Sênior	São Paulo	SP	Setor Elétrico
223	EDP	Especialista de Cibersegurança e Privacidade de dados	São Paulo	SP	Setor Elétrico
224	EDP	Engenheiro Civil Sênior	São Paulo	SP	Setor Elétrico
225	EDP	Analista Administrativo Financeiro Sênior	São Paulo	SP	Setor Elétrico
226	EDP	Técnico em eletromecânica	Benevides	PA	Setor Elétrico
227	EDP	Gestor de Equipes	Benevides	PA	Setor Elétrico
228	EDP	Especialista de desenvolvimento de negócios (M&A)	São Paulo	SP	Setor Elétrico
229	EDP	Engenheiro de operação e manutenção (foco em transmissão)	Siderópolis	SC	Energia
230	Embraer	Assistente Executiva	São Paulo	SP	Aeronáutica
231	Empregueafro	Estágio	São Paulo	SP	Consultoria em RH
232	Endemol	Assistente de Criação / Designer	São Paulo	SP	Produtora de TV
233	Escola de Teatro	Cursos técnicos	São Paulo	SP	Órgão Governamental
234	Escola Educação	Cursos Grátis	São Paulo	SP	Sítio de internet
235	Eset	Pre Sales Engineer	São Paulo	SP	Segurança da Informação

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236	Esko	Assistente de Marketing	São Paulo	SP	Soluções de hardware e software
237	Esmalteria Turquesa	Manicure	Porto Alegre	RS	Beleza
238	Espaço de Arte / Cultura	Mediação e Atendimento	São Paulo	SP	Cultura
239	Espaço entre irmãos	Recepcionista	São Paulo	SP	Saúde
240	Espaço Laser	Consultora de Atendimento	São Paulo	SP	Estética
241	Espro	Jovem Aprendiz	São Paulo	SP	Ensino profissionalizante
242	ETEC	Ensino técnico e médio	São Paulo	SP	Educação
243	Ewally	Frontend	São Paulo	SP	Soluções Financeiras
244	Ewally	Backend	São Paulo	SP	Soluções Financeiras
245	Experity	Consultor Trainee	São Paulo	SP	soluções de CRM
246	Experity	Estagiário de TI	São Paulo	SP	soluções de CRM
247	Exxonmobil	Estágio	Curitiba	PR	Petróleo e Gás
248	Exxonmobil	Estágio	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Petróleo e Gás
249	EY	Consultor/a Contabil Sênior	Campinas	SP	Auditoria, Impostos, Transações Corporativas e Consultoria
250	EY	Sênior de Auditoria Externa	Campinas	SP	Auditoria, Impostos, Transações Corporativas e Consultoria
251	EY	Consultor/a de Auditoria de TI	Curitiba	PR	Auditoria e Consultoria
252	EY	Analista de Dados	São Paulo	SP	Auditoria e Consultoria
253	EY	Assessor/a Tributário Sênior	São Paulo	SP	Auditoria e Consultoria
254	EY	Analista de Folha de pagamento	São Paulo	SP	Auditoria e Consultoria
255	EY	Consultor/a de Auditoria de TI	São Paulo	SP	Auditoria e Consultoria
256	EY	Consultor/a de Auditoria de TI	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Auditoria e Consultoria
257	EY	Consultor/a de Auditoria de TI	Campinas	SP	Auditoria e Consultoria

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258	EY	Consultor de Certificação Digital	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Auditoria e Consultoria
259	Fábricas de Cultura	7.000 Vagas em Oficinas	São Paulo	SP	Organização Governamental
260	Facialteam Brasil	Instrumentadora Cirúrgica	São Paulo	SP	Clínica de cirurgia plástica e feminização facial
261	Farm	Atendimento	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Vestuário
262	Fiat Chrysler Automobiles	Analista Mídia Digital	São Paulo	SP	Indústria Automobilística
263	Fillet	Assistente de Produção	São Paulo	SP	Marketing Digital
264	Flipping It	Professorxs de Inglês	São Paulo	SP	Curso de Idiomas
265	FS Educa	Auxiliar Operacional	São Paulo	SP	Treinamento
266	Fundação Lemann	Analista de projetos	São Paulo	SP	ONG
267	Fundação Paulistana de Educação, Tecnologia e Cultura + Carrefour	Curso de Varejo	São Paulo	SP	Parceria
268	FutureBrand	Estágio em Design	São Paulo	SP	Serviços - Transformação de marca
269	FutureBrand	Design Jr	São Paulo	SP	Serviços - Transformação de marca
270	FutureBrand	Design Pleno	São Paulo	SP	Serviços - Transformação de marca
271	Gauge	UX Researcher Jr	São Paulo	SP	Consultoria digital
272	GE	Especialista Juridicx	São Paulo	SP	Diversificada (Energia e Tecnologia)
273	GE	Estágio em Compras	São Paulo	SP	Diversificada (Energia e Tecnologia)
274	GE	Estágio em Finanças e Projetos	São Paulo	SP	Diversificada (Energia e Tecnologia)
275	GE	EngenheirX de Controle Pleno	São Paulo	SP	Diversificada (Energia e Tecnologia)
276	Geekie	Editor(a) de Conteúdo Digital	São Paulo	SP	Serviços tecnológicos de educação
277	Geekie	Desenvolvedor(a) Full-Stack	São Paulo	SP	Serviços tecnológicos de educação
278	Generation Brasil	Curso de Java	São Paulo	SP	Organização McKinsey & Company

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279	Generoso Burguer	Atendente de Loja	São Paulo	SP	Restaurante
280	Getninjas	Atendimento ao Cliente	São Paulo	SP	Serviços eletrônicos - contratação de serviços
281	Glacê Flores Cozinha	Atendente de Salão (freelancer)	São Paulo	SP	Restaurante
282	Glacê Flores Cozinha	Auxiliar de Cozinha (fixo)	São Paulo	SP	Restaurante
283	Rede Globo	Técnico - estágio	São Paulo	SP	Rede de televisão
284	Rede Globo	Técnico - estágio	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Rede de televisão
285	Google	Recepcionista Bilingue	São Paulo	SP	Serviços - Tecnologia
286	Google e RME	Women Will	São Paulo	SP	Parceria
287	Governo da Bahia	Cursos náuticos	N/A	BA	Órgão Governamental
288	GPA	Jovem Aprendiz	São Paulo	SP	Comércio varejista
289	Grupo Brasanitas	Recepcionista Bilingue	São Paulo	SP	Higiene Hospitalar
290	Grupo Cataratas	Analista de Suporte	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Ecoturismo
291	Grupo Cataratas	Atendentes	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Ecoturismo
292	Grupo Trigo	Estagiárix de Atendimento ao Cliente	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Holding
293	GSC Integradora	Telemarketing	São Paulo	SP	Gestão de saúde
294	GSC Integradora	Enfermeire	São Paulo	SP	Gestão de saúde
295	Guia Bolso	Estágio em Marketing	São Paulo	SP	Aplicativo de Soluções Financeiras
296	Guia Bolso	Jovem Aprendiz	São Paulo	SP	Aplicativo de Soluções Financeiras
297	Guia Bolso	Analista de Folha e Benefícios Jr.	São Paulo	SP	Aplicativo de Soluções Financeiras
298	Guia Bolso	Financeirx	São Paulo	SP	Aplicativo de Soluções Financeiras
299	Gympass	Estágio Trade Marketing	São Paulo	SP	Aplicativo
300	Einstein Hospital Albert Einstein	Auxiliares e Técnicos de Enfermagem	São Paulo	SP	Hospitalar

ID	Organization	Ad_Title	City	State	Industry_Area of Expertise
301	Einstein Hospital Albert Einstein	Enfermeiros	São Paulo	SP	Hospitalar
302	Einstein Hospital Albert Einstein	Fisioterapeutas	São Paulo	SP	Hospitalar
303	Einstein Hospital Albert Einstein	Farmacêuticos	São Paulo	SP	Hospitalar
304	Einstein Hospital Albert Einstein	Fonoaudiólogos	São Paulo	SP	Hospitalar
305	Einstein Hospital Albert Einstein	Psicológicos	São Paulo	SP	Hospitalar
306	Einstein Hospital Albert Einstein	Assistentes Sociais	São Paulo	SP	Hospitalar
307	Hospital Anhembi	Enfermagem	São Paulo	SP	Hospital de Campanha
308	Hospital da Baleia	Auxiliar de Cozinha	Belo Horizonte	MG	Órgão Governamental
309	Hospital da Baleia	Tec. em Enfermagem	Belo Horizonte	MG	Órgão Governamental
310	Hospital da Baleia	Segurança	Belo Horizonte	MG	Órgão Governamental
311	Hospital da Baleia	Auxiliar Administrativo	Belo Horizonte	MG	Órgão Governamental
312	Hospital da Baleia	Servente de Limpeza	Belo Horizonte	MG	Órgão Governamental
313	Hospital M'Boi Mirim	Auxiliar de Enfermagem UTI	São Paulo	SP	Órgão Governamental
314	Hospital M'Boi Mirim	Técnico de Enfermagem UTI	São Paulo	SP	Órgão Governamental
315	Hospital M'Boi Mirim	Enfermeiro I - UTI	São Paulo	SP	Órgão Governamental
316	Hospital M'Boi Mirim	Fisioterapeuta JR - setor UTI	São Paulo	SP	Órgão Governamental
317	Hotel Renaissance	Recepcionista Jr.	São Paulo	SP	Hotelaria
318	Housi	Analista de Parcerias Jr.	São Paulo	SP	Mercado Imobiliário

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319	HU/USP	Enfermeiros e técnicos	São Paulo	SP	Órgão Governamental
320	IBM	Analista de Suporte de Servidores	Jundiaí	SP	Tecnologia da Informação
321	IBM	Analista de Suporte de Servidores	Barueri	SP	Tecnologia da Informação
322	IBM	Analista de Suporte a Sistemas Z	Jundiaí	SP	Tecnologia da Informação
323	IBM	Analista de Suporte a Sistemas Z	Barueri	SP	Tecnologia da Informação
324	IBM	Analista de Suporte a Sistemas Z	Hortolândia	SP	Tecnologia da Informação
325	Instituto Ibero Brasileiro de Relacionamento com o Cliente IBRC	OperadorXs de Telepesquisa	São Paulo	SP	Serviços - Atendimento ao Cliente
326	Instituto Ibero Brasileiro de Relacionamento com o Cliente IBRC	Operador(a) Temporári@	São Paulo	SP	Serviços - Atendimento ao Cliente
327	Instituto Ibero Brasileiro de Relacionamento com o Cliente IBRC	Relacionamento com Cliente	São Paulo	SP	Serviços - Atendimento ao Cliente
328	INNOCENTI ADVOGADOS ASSOCIADOS	Estágio em Direito	São Paulo	SP	Escritórios de Advocacia
329	Insper, Arq. Futuro e Itaú (Insper Instituto de Ensino e Pesquisa)	Bolsa Pós Urb. Social	São Paulo	SP	Parceria
330	Instituto Embelezze	Especialista de Marketing Performance	São Paulo	SP	Beleza
331	INSTITUTO MOREIRA SALLES	OrientadXr de Público	São Paulo	SP	ONG

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332	INSTITUTO RME	Administrativa/Operacional	São Paulo	SP	Organização Sociedade Civil
333	INSTITUTO RME	Analista de projetos	São Paulo	SP	ONG
334	INSTITUTO RME	Analista de Parcerias	São Paulo	SP	ONG
335	Instituto Wilson Grassi	100 Bolsas Gratuitas	São Paulo	SP	ONG
336	Integra	Consultorx	São Paulo	SP	Consultoria em Inclusão & Diversidade
337	Interbrand	Auxiliar Adm Bilingue	São Paulo	SP	Consultoria de marcas
338	Agência ÍONZ	Assistentes de Arte	São Paulo	SP	Marketing Digital
339	Iron Montain	Analista de Gente e Gestão	Curitiba	PR	Armazenagem e Proteção de Informação
340	Itaú social	Estágio de Eventos	São Paulo	SP	Fundação
341	Johnson Controls	Líder de Projetos de Treinamento e Desenvolvimento Organizacional	São Paulo	SP	Soluções de Infraestrutura
342	Johnson Controls	Gerente Regional	São Paulo	SP	Soluções de Infraestrutura
343	Johnson Controls	Analista de Treinamento	São Paulo	SP	Soluções de Infraestrutura
344	Join	Recepcionista/Promoter	São Paulo	SP	Audiovisual
345	JP Morgan	ReceptionistX	São Paulo	SP	Serviços financeiros
346	KFC	Atendentes	Curitiba	PR	Restaurante
347	Knapp Sudamérica	Assistente Fiscal/Contábil Jr	São José dos Pinhais	PR	Logística e Automação
348	Korui	Analista Comercial	Florianópolis	SC	Soluções menstruais
349	Korui	Auxiliar de Estoque	Florianópolis	SC	Soluções menstruais
350	Kroll	Estágio	São Paulo	SP	Gestão de riscos, investigações corporativas e segurança cibernética
351	L' Oreal	Várias Vagas - Estágio	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Cosméticos

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352	L' Oreal	Assistente de Relacionamento Digital	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Cosméticos
353	L' Oreal	Auxiliar de Produção	São Paulo	SP	Cosméticos
354	L' Oreal	Jovem Aprendiz	São Paulo	SP	Cosméticos
355	L' Oreal	Estagiária	São Paulo	SP	Cosméticos
356	L' Oreal	Jovem Aprendiz	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Cosméticos
357	Laboratório Fantasma	Assistente de Produção	São Paulo	SP	Entretenimento
358	Laços Flores	Analista de Marketing	São Paulo	SP	Floricultura
359	Lalamove	Assistente de Finanças	São Paulo	SP	Serviços - Entrega
360	Leão Alimentos e Bebidas	Estágio	São Paulo	SP	Alimentos e bebidas
361	Leão Alimentos e Bebidas	Analista Fiscal Sênior	São Paulo	SP	Alimentos e bebidas
362	Leão Alimentos e Bebidas	Analista de Comunicação PlenX	São Paulo	SP	Alimentos e bebidas
363	Leão Alimentos e Bebidas	Analista de RH	São Paulo	SP	Alimentos e bebidas
364	Lee, Brock, Camargo	Assistente Administrativo	São Paulo	SP	Escritórios de Advocacia
365	Lee, Brock, Camargo	Advogado sócio	São Paulo	SP	Escritórios de Advocacia
366	Lee, Brock, Camargo	Analista (bacharel em direito)	São Paulo	SP	Escritórios de Advocacia
367	Let's Poke	Auxiliar de Limpeza	São Paulo	SP	Restaurante
368	Level Up	Estágio em TI	São Paulo	SP	Distribuidora de Jogos Online
369	Level Up	Analista de Relacionamento	São Paulo	SP	Distribuidora de Jogos Online
370	LGBT+inTech	Workshop de UX	São Paulo	SP	ONG
371	Linkedin	Curso de LinkedIn	São Paulo	SP	Rede Social
372	Linte	Engenheiro de Software Front- End	Ponta Grossa	PR	Startup de Software

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373	Linte	Engenheiro de Software Back- End	Ponta Grossa	PR	Startup de Software
374	Linte	Engenheiro de Software Front- End	São Paulo	SP	Startup de Software
375	Linte	Engenheiro de Software Front- End	Mato Grosso	MT	Startup de Software
376	Linte	Engenheiro de Software Back- End	São Paulo	SP	Startup de Software
377	Linte	Engenheiro de Software Back- End	Mato Grosso	MT	Startup de Software
378	Litto	Departamento Comercial	São Paulo	SP	Varejo
379	Live Work	Estágio Design Visual	São Paulo	SP	Consultoria de Design
380	Loja Nó	Vendedor Digital	São Paulo	SP	Comércio Eletrônico
381	Makro	Assistente em Sustentabilidade	São Paulo	SP	Rede Atacadista
382	Makro	Estágio 2020	São Paulo	SP	Rede Atacadista
383	Makro	Analista de Negócios	São Paulo	SP	Rede Atacadista
384	Makro	Gerente RHS Latam	São Paulo	SP	Rede Atacadista
385	Makro	Especialista de Integrações de Sistemas	São Paulo	SP	Rede Atacadista
386	Mantris	Auxiliares Administrativos	São Paulo	SP	Saúde
387	Masser Gases Brasil	Jovem Aprendiz	São Paulo	SP	Gases Industriais e Medicinais
388	Mauricio de Sousa Produções	Auxiliar de Produção	São Paulo	SP	Entretenimento
389	Me Poupe!	Reality na TV	São Paulo	SP	Plataforma - Entretenimento financeiro
390	Meiuca	Project Lead	São Paulo	SP	Empresa de Design
391	Meiuca	Visual Designer Senior	São Paulo	SP	Empresa de Design
392	Meiuca	Full Stack Developer	São Paulo	SP	Empresa de Design
393	Meiuca	Tech Lead	São Paulo	SP	Empresa de Design
394	Meiuca	Sales and Customer Success	São Paulo	SP	Empresa de Design
395	Meiuca	Product Designer	São Paulo	SP	Empresa de Design

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396	Menos 1 lixo	Estágio	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Plataforma - Educação Ambiental
397	Menu	Assistente de Produção e Atendimento	São Paulo	SP	Plataforma - Food Service
398	Mercado Livre	Analista Outbound	Cajamar	SP	Comércio Eletrônico
399	Mercado Livre	Executivo de Contas	Bauru	SP	Comércio
400	Mercado Livre	Analista de Melhoria	São Paulo	SP	Comércio Eletrônico
401	Mercado Livre	Lider Customer Experience	São Paulo	SP	Comércio Eletrônico
402	Mercado Livre	Analista de Parcerias Pleno	São Paulo	SP	Comércio Eletrônico
403	Mercado Livre	Representante de Recuperação de Crédito	Osasco	SP	Comércio Eletrônico
404	Mercado Livre	Analista Desenvolvedora / Desenvolvedor Back End	Osasco	SP	Comércio Eletrônico
405	Mercado Livre	Analista Desenvolvedora / Desenvolvedor Front End	Osasco	SP	Comércio Eletrônico
406	Mercado Livre	Analista de Internal System	Osasco	SP	Comércio Eletrônico
407	Mercado Livre	Analista Desenvolvedora/Desenvolvedor FullStack	Florianópolis	SC	Comércio Eletrônico
408	Mercado Livre	Líder de logística	Santos	SP	Comércio Eletrônico
409	Mercado Livre	Supervisor de Digital Marketing & E-Commerce	N/A	SP	Comércio Eletrônico
410	Merck	Estágio	São Paulo	SP	Serviços tecnológicos de Saúde
411	Merck	Estágio	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Serviços tecnológicos de Saúde
412	Metrô SP	Estágio	São Paulo	SP	Transporte urbano
413	Mindminers	Gerente Contas Sênior	São Paulo	SP	Empresa de Tecnologia - Pesquisa digital
414	Mindminers	Coordenador(a) de Mobile Marketing	São Paulo	SP	Empresa de Tecnologia - Pesquisa digital

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415	Mindminers	Analista de Aquisição de Talentos	São Paulo	SP	Empresa de Tecnologia - Pesquisa digital
416	Mindminers	Executivo(a) de Contas Enterprise	São Paulo	SP	Empresa de Tecnologia - Pesquisa digital
417	Mindminers	Executivo(a) de Contas Mid-Market	São Paulo	SP	Empresa de Tecnologia - Pesquisa digital
418	Miração Filmes	Longa-metragem	São Paulo	SP	Audiovisual
419	Miração Filmes	Longa-metragem	Curaçá	BA	Audiovisual
420	Miração Filmes	Longa-metragem	Juazeiro	BA	Audiovisual
421	Miração Filmes	Longa-metragem	Petrolina	PE	Audiovisual
422	Mirum I-Cherry	Analista Back-End Jr	Curitiba	PR	Publicidade e Propaganda
423	Mirum I-Cherry	Data Analytics Sênior	Curitiba	PR	Publicidade e Propaganda
424	Mirum I-Cherry	Analista Midia Sênior	Curitiba	PR	Publicidade e Propaganda
425	Banco Modal	DEV ASP.net	São Paulo	SP	Banco de Investimentos
426	Banco Modal	DEV BackEnd (Azure)	Santos	SP	Banco de Investimentos
427	Banco Modal	DEV FrontEnd (REACT)	Santos	SP	Banco de Investimentos
428	Banco Modal	Banco de Talentos	Santos	SP	Banco de Investimentos
429	Modalgr	Sharepoint	São Paulo	SP	Consultoria em Tecnologia da Informação
430	Modalgr	Estagiário(a) DEV - Ensino Técnico	Santos	SP	Consultoria em Tecnologia da Informação
431	Mol Editora	Analista de Comunicação - Engajamento	São Paulo	SP	Editora
432	Mola	Assistente Administrativo Financeiro	São Paulo	SP	Fabricação e Venda de Peças Estruturais
433	Moove	Recepcionista	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Lubrificantes
434	Movidesk	Assistente Executix	Blumenau	SC	Serviços - Atendimento ao Cliente
435	Movidesk	Email Marketing	Blumenau	SC	Serviços - Atendimento ao Cliente
436	Movidesk	Implementation Success Manager	Blumenau	SC	Serviços - Atendimento ao Cliente

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437	Movimento Agora!	Assistente Administrativo	São Paulo	SP	Organização Sociedade Civil
438	MSD	Executive Assistant Bilingue	São Paulo	SP	Farmacêutica e Química
439	Museu da Pessoa	Coordenação de Comunicação	São Paulo	SP	ONG
440	Museu da Pessoa	Coordenação de Social Media	São Paulo	SP	ONG
441	Museu da Vida	Bolsista Jornalismo	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Cultura
442	Museu da Vida	Designer gráfico	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Cultura
443	Museu da Vida	Assistente administrativa	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Cultura
444	Mymama	Assistência de Produção executiva	São Paulo	SP	Produtora de vídeos
445	N/A	Vendedora	Carapicuíba	SP	Varejo
446	N/A	Analista Financeiro	Barueri	SP	Química
447	N/A	Curso de Operação de Maquinas	Viçosa	MG	Escola de cursos
448	N/A	Atores e atrizes	São Paulo	SP	Casting
449	N/A	Retista e overloquista	São Paulo	SP	N/A
450	N/A	Repórter Freelancer	São Paulo	SP	N/A
451	N/A	Analista tributário	São Paulo	SP	N/A
452	N/A	Recepcionista	São Paulo	SP	PetShop
453	N/A	Estagiárias	São Paulo	SP	N/A
454	N/A	Assistente de Produção	São Paulo	SP	N/A
455	N/A	Auxiliar Administrativo	São Paulo	SP	Marketing Digital
456	N/A	Rede varejista	São Paulo	SP	Varejo
457	N/A	Chefe	Cotia	SP	Restaurante
458	N/A	Sub Chef	Cotia	SP	Restaurante
459	N/A	Serviços de Salão	Cotia	SP	Restaurante
460	Negro Makota Valdina	Preparatório de Mestrado e Doutorado	São Paulo	SP	Coletivo Negro

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461	Neoassist	Estágio Marketing em Conteúdo	São Paulo	SP	Tecnologia omnichannel de atendimento ao cliente
462	Neoassist	Estágio de Design	São Paulo	SP	Tecnologia omnichannel de atendimento ao cliente
463	Neoassist	Analista de Suporte JR.	São Paulo	SP	Tecnologia omnichannel de atendimento ao cliente
464	Neoassist	Analista de Recrutamento e Seleção	São Paulo	SP	Tecnologia omnichannel de atendimento ao cliente
465	Nestlé	Repositor(a)	São Paulo	SP	Alimentos e bebidas
466	Netflix	Concurso	N/A	SP	Entretenimento
467	Nimbi	Product Designer	São Paulo	SP	Serviços - Cadeia de Suprimentos
468	Nimbi	Assistente de Operações	São Paulo	SP	Serviços - Cadeia de Suprimentos
469	Nuvemshop	Experiência do Cliente	São Paulo	SP	Serviços - Tecnologia Digital
470	O Boticário	Vagas Temporárias	Curitiba	PR	Cosméticos
471	O2 Filmes	Estágio em Conteúdo	São Paulo	SP	Produtora de cinema
472	Obvius	Executiva de contas	São Paulo	SP	Marketing Digital
473	Obvius	Assistente	São Paulo	SP	Marketing Digital
474	Oca Brasil	Comercial e Eventos	N/A	RS	Revestimentos
475	Ogilvy	Liquid Designer	São Paulo	SP	Publicidade, Marketing e RP
476	Ogilvy	Analista de Redes Sociais	São Paulo	SP	Publicidade e Propaganda
477	Ogilvy	Estágio de Atendimento	São Paulo	SP	Publicidade e Propaganda
478	Oi Futuro	Monitoria Cultural	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Cultura
479	Olist	Assistente Sucesso	Curitiba	PR	Marketplace
480	Olist	Assistente Produção Catálogo	Curitiba	PR	Marketplace
481	Olist	Analista de Vendas	Curitiba	PR	Marketplace
482	Olist	Analista de Implementação	Curitiba	PR	Marketplace

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483	Oxfam	Assistente Administrative	São Paulo	SP	Organização Sociedade Civil
484	P&G	Programa de estágio	São Paulo	SP	Bens de consumo
485	P&G	Programa de estágio	Louveira	SP	Bens de consumo
486	P&G	Programa de estágio	Seropédica	RJ	Bens de consumo
487	Advocacia Paes	Estágio em Direito	Itapevi	SP	Escritórios de Advocacia
488	Pessoa física	Babá	São Paulo	SP	N/A
489	Pessoa física	Babá	São Paulo	SP	N/A
490	Pessoa física	Diaristx freelance	São Paulo	SP	N/A
491	Pironti Advogados	Advogades e Estudantes	Curitiba	PR	Escritórios de Advocacia
492	POIESIS	Auxiliar de Leitura e Pesquisa	São Paulo	SP	ONG
493	Porto Seguro	10 mil vagas	N/A	N/A	Seguros
494	Porto Seguro	10 mil vagas	São Paulo	SP	Seguros
495	Prazer Sex Shop	Vendedoras freelancer	São Paulo	SP	Varejo
496	Prime Higienização	Assistente Administrative Bilíngue	São Paulo	SP	Serviços - Limpeza
497	Primeservicenet	Assist. Adm. Bilíngue	São Paulo	SP	Serviços - Limpeza
498	Prumo Logística Global	Aprendiz Administrativo	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Mineração, Logística Portuária e O&G
499	PVH Corp. Brasil	Analista de Planejamento Comercial	São Paulo	SP	Vestuário
500	PwC	Assistente de Andar	São Paulo	SP	Consultoria, auditoria e asseguaração
501	PwC	Telefonista	São Paulo	SP	Consultoria, auditoria e asseguaração
502	PwC	Recepcionista	São Paulo	SP	Consultoria, auditoria e asseguaração
503	Qintess	Coordenação de Planejamento de Comunicação – Tráfego e Governança	São Paulo	SP	Serviços - Transformação digital e de negócios

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504	Qintess	Visual Designer / Direção de Arte	Itajaí	SC	Soluções Tecnológicas
505	Qualicorp	Especialista de Customer Experience	São Paulo	SP	Administração de Benefícios
506	Quero Educação	Recepcionista	São Paulo	SP	Serviços tecnológicos de educação
507	Ravan	Assistente Administrativx	São Paulo	SP	Alimentos
508	Recargapay	Especialista em Relacionamento com o Cliente	São Paulo	SP	Mercado de pagamentos
509	Rede Selina	30 vagas	São Paulo	SP	Hotelaria
510	Relandstad Sourceright	Vendas, Atendimento e Administrativo	São Paulo	SP	Soluções em Recrutamento
511	Repassa	Auxiliar de Fotografia	São Paulo	SP	Brechó Online
512	Repassa	Auxiliar de Cadastro de Produtos	São Paulo	SP	Brechó Online
513	Revo Manufactory	Assistente de Confeitaria	Santos	SP	Alimentos
514	Revo Manufactory	Atendente de público	Santos	SP	Alimentos
515	Riachuelo	Assistente de Estilo	São Paulo	SP	Varejo
516	Rockfeler Brasil	Vendas	Curitiba	PR	Curso de Idiomas
517	Santo Caos	Estágio em Marketing Digital	São Paulo	SP	Consultoria de engajamento
518	Santo Caos	Analista de Dados	São Paulo	SP	Consultoria de engajamento
519	SARESP	Fiscal	N/A	SP	Órgão Governamental
520	Scania	Estágio	São Bernardo do Campo	SP	Fabricante de Caminhões, Ônibus e Motores a Diesel
521	Sebrae	Feira do Empreendedor	São Paulo	SP	Entidade de fomento às Micro e Pequenas Empresas
522	Sem Parar	Analista de Trade Marketing Sênior	São Paulo	SP	Soluções automáticas de pagamento - veículos
523	Serasa Experian	UX Designer	São Paulo	SP	Serviços financeiros

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524	Serasa Experian	UX Designer	São Paulo	SP	Serviços financeiros
525	Serasa Experian	Desnv. Plataforma	São Paulo	SP	Serviços financeiros
526	Serur	Auxiliar Jurídico	Recife	PE	Escritórios de Advocacia
527	SG4	Técnico de Segurança do Trabalho	São Paulo	SP	Auditoria e Consultoria
528	SG4	Técnico de Segurança do Trabalho	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Auditoria e Consultoria
529	SG4	Técnico de Segurança do Trabalho	Belo Horizonte	MG	Auditoria e Consultoria
530	SG4	Tec. em Enfermagem	São Paulo	SP	Auditoria e Consultoria
531	SG4	Tec. em Enfermagem	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Auditoria e Consultoria
532	SG4	Tec. em Enfermagem	Belo Horizonte	MG	Auditoria e Consultoria
533	Shell	Administrativo	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Petróleo e Gás
534	Shopee	Designer Gráfico Júnior	São Paulo	SP	Comércio Eletrônico
535	Shopee	Executive de Contas	São Paulo	SP	Comércio Eletrônico
536	Shopee	Analista de Marketing Júnior	São Paulo	SP	Comércio Eletrônico
537	Silveira Pereira	Oficina de Teatro	São Paulo	SP	N/A
538	hospital Sírio Libanês	Curso Copeirx Hospitalar	São Paulo	SP	Hospitalar
539	Sky	Jovem Aprendiz RH	São Paulo	SP	Operadora de TV
540	Sky	Estágio RH	São Paulo	SP	Operadora de TV
541	Sky	Estágio Jurídico	São Paulo	SP	Operadora de TV
542	Sky	Estágio em Digital	São Paulo	SP	Operadora de TV
543	Sky	Analista Inteligência Jr	São Paulo	SP	Operadora de TV
544	Sky	Analista de Web Analytics	São Paulo	SP	Operadora de TV
545	Sky	Técnico de Enfermagem do Trabalho	São Paulo	SP	Operadora de TV
546	Sky	Supervisor de Segurança do Trabalho	São Paulo	SP	Operadora de TV

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547	Sky	Médico do Trabalho (CLT)	São Paulo	SP	Operadora de TV
548	Soap	Designer gráfico	São Paulo	SP	Consultoria em apresentações e treinamento
549	Social Miner	EstagiáriX Análise Dados	São Paulo	SP	Serviços tecnológicos de people marketing
550	Sodexo	Recepcionista Bilíngue	São Paulo	SP	Serviços - Alimentação
551	Sodexo	Analista de Marketing	São Paulo	SP	Serviços - Alimentação
552	Sodexo	Auxiliar Administrativo	São Paulo	SP	Serviços - Alimentação
553	Solstar	Assistente de Marketing	São Paulo	SP	Soluções em Energia Solar
554	SP Francófona	Curso de Francês	São Paulo	SP	Curso de Idiomas
555	Spceine	Estágio Atendimento	São Paulo	SP	Empresa Pública de Cinema e Audiovisual
556	Sputibik	Gestor(X) de Projetos	São Paulo	SP	Agência de notícias
557	Sustenidos	Coordenador (a) Técnico (a)	São Paulo	SP	ONG
558	Suzano	Estágio e Trainee	São Paulo	SP	Papéis e Celulose
559	Suzano	Estágio e Trainee	N/A	SP	Papéis e Celulose
560	Suzano	Estágio e Trainee	N/A	BA	Papéis e Celulose
561	Suzano	Estágio e Trainee	N/A	ES	Papéis e Celulose
562	Suzano	Estágio e Trainee	N/A	MA	Papéis e Celulose
563	Suzano	Estágio e Trainee	N/A	MS	Papéis e Celulose
564	Synergia Socioambiental	Redator/a/e Sênior	São Paulo	SP	Consultoria Socioambiental
565	Techint	Assistente de Admistração	São Paulo	SP	Engenharia e Construção
566	Technipfmc	Estágio em RH	Macaé	RJ	Óleo e Gás
567	Tejofran	Porteiro	São Paulo	SP	Serviços - Segurança Patrimonial
568	TemBici	Analista de Comunicação e Cultura	São Paulo	SP	Mobilidade urbana
569	TemBici	Analista de Remuneração Jr.	São Paulo	SP	Mobilidade urbana

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570	TemBici	Repositor / Motorista	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Mobilidade urbana
571	TemBici	Mecânico de bike	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Mobilidade urbana
572	TemBici	Diversas Vagas	N/A	SP	Bicicletas compartilhadas
573	TemBici	Diversas Vagas	N/A	RJ	Bicicletas compartilhadas
574	Thelos	Consultor Tributário Júnior	São Paulo	SP	Consultoria Tributária
575	Thinkseg	Estágio em Conteúdo	São Paulo	SP	Seguros
576	Thoughtworks	Estágio	São Paulo	SP	Consultoria de TI
577	Tik Tok	Analista de Qualidade	São Paulo	SP	Aplicativo de Vídeos
578	TIM	Analista de Portal Digital	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Operadora de Telecomunicações
579	TransEmpregos	Workshop mídias sociais	São Paulo	SP	Organização Sociedade Civil
580	TransEmpregos + Parcerias	Agora Vai!	São Paulo	SP	Projeto
581	TransformaEventos	Freelancer em Eventos	São Paulo	SP	Eventos
582	Trench Rossi	Jovem Aprendiz	São Paulo	SP	Escritórios de Advocacia
583	Trench Rossi	Gerente Contábil	São Paulo	SP	Escritórios de Advocacia
584	TUNDUM E LEITE COM CAFÉ	Baristas	São Paulo	SP	Cafeteria
585	Turbo Casting	Trans para Filme	São Paulo	SP	Agência de Elenco
586	Uber	Curso para LGBTQIA+	N/A	BA	Serviços eletrônicos - mobilidade urbana
587	Uber	Projeto Oportunidades	São Paulo	SP	Serviços eletrônicos - mobilidade urbana
588	Uber	Jovem Aprendiz	São Paulo	SP	Serviços eletrônicos - mobilidade urbana
589	Uber e Casa Aurora	Empoderamento pessoal	Salvador	BA	Parceria
590	UFMG	Auxiliar Administrativo	Belo Horizonte	MG	Órgão Governamental
591	Umwelt Proj. Ambientais	Assistente Administrativo	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Gestão ambiental e sustentabilidade

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592	UNB	Licenciatura	Brasília	DF	Cursos Diversificados
593	Unesco	Consultores	São Paulo	SP	ONU
594	Uniaraguaia e A.N.LGBTI	100 bolsas de graduação	São Paulo	SP	Parceria
595	Unicef	Estágio Comunicação	Salvador	BA	Fundação
596	Unitedhealth Group	Enfermeire Auditore Jr	São Paulo	SP	Diversificada (Saúde)
597	Unitedhealth Group	Enfermeire Auditore Jr	Manaus	AM	Diversificada (Saúde)
598	Unitedhealth Group	Enfermeire Auditore Jr	Curitiba	PR	Diversificada (Saúde)
599	Unitedhealth Group	Analista Adm. Pleno	Curitiba	PR	Diversificada (Saúde)
600	Unitedhealth Group	Call Center	Curitiba	PR	Diversificada (Saúde)
601	Unitedhealth Group	Analista de Negociação Pleno	São Paulo	SP	Diversificada (Saúde)
602	UNOPS	Desenvolvimento de Treinamentos	São Paulo	SP	ONU
603	UNOPS	Gestão de Projetos	Brasília	DF	Diversificada
604	UNOPS	Oficial de Parcerias	Brasília	DF	Diversificada
605	UNOPS	Consultor(a) Saúde	Brasília	DF	Diversificada
606	UNOPS	Diversas Vagas	Brasília	DF	Diversificada
607	UNOPS	Obras e Projetos	Brasília	DF	Diversificada
608	UNOPS	Estágio Profissional Afirmativo	Brasília	DF	Diversificada
609	UNOPS	Limpeza	Brasília	DF	Diversificada
610	UNOPS	Sênior em Gestão Orçamentária	Brasília	DF	Diversificada
611	Veirano Advogados	Estágio em Direito	São Paulo	SP	Escritórios de Advocacia
612	Veirano Advogados	Analista de Planejamento Financeiro	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Escritórios de Advocacia
613	Veirano Advogados	Analista de cadastro	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Escritórios de Advocacia
614	Veirano Advogados	Analista de Cobrança Junior/Pleno	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Escritórios de Advocacia

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615	Veirano Advogados	Analista de Compras Pleno	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Escritórios de Advocacia
616	Veirano Advogados	Analista de Marketing Junior/Pleno	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Escritórios de Advocacia
617	Veirano Advogados	Estágio em Direito	Porto Alegre	RS	Escritórios de Advocacia
618	Veirano Advogados	Estágio em Direito	São Paulo	SP	Escritórios de Advocacia
619	Veirano Advogados	Estágio em Direito	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Escritórios de Advocacia
620	Veirano Advogados	Estágio em Direito	Porto Alegre	RS	Escritórios de Advocacia
621	Veirano Advogados	Estágio em Direito	Brasília	DF	Escritórios de Advocacia
622	Versani & Sandrini	Auxiliar de Limpeza	São Paulo	SP	Diversificada (Serviços)
623	Versani & Sandrini	Analista de comunicação e Marketing Junior	Santo André	SP	Diversificada (Serviços)
624	Vhsys	Diversas Vagas	São José dos Pinhais	PR	Tecnologia de gestão
625	Via de acesso	Jovem Aprendiz	São Paulo	SP	Organização Sociedade Civil
626	Vice	Sales	São Paulo	SP	Revista
627	Vivas	Estágio em Atendimento	Curitiba	PR	Publicidade e Propaganda
628	Vivo	Estágio	São Paulo	SP	Operadora de Telecomunicações
629	Vivo	Estágio	Porto Alegre	RS	Operadora de Telecomunicações
630	Vivo	Estágio	Brasília	DF	Operadora de Telecomunicações
631	Vivo	Estágio	Recife	PE	Operadora de Telecomunicações
632	Vivo	Estágio	Bélem	PA	Operadora de Telecomunicações
633	Vivo	Estágio	Belo Horizonte	MG	Operadora de Telecomunicações
634	Vivo	Estágio	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Operadora de Telecomunicações
635	Vivo	Estágio	Curitiba	PR	Operadora de Telecomunicações
636	Vivo	Atendente de call center receptivo	Curitiba	PR	Operadora de Telecomunicações
637	Votorantim Cimentos	Assistente Administrativo	Curitiba	PR	Diversificada (cimento, energia, etc)

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638	Votorantim Cimentos	Consultorx Inovação	São Paulo	SP	Materiais de construção
639	Vtex	Engenharia Software	João Pessoa	PB	Soluções Digitais
640	Vtex	Engenharia Software	João Pessoa	PB	Soluções Digitais
641	Vtex	People Partner	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Soluções Digitais
642	Wappa	Recepcionista	São Paulo	SP	Serviços eletrônicos - mobilidade urbana
643	Warner Media	Aprendiz de Design	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Entretenimento
644	Wcs Telecomunicações	Analista de Suporte de Redes	São Paulo	SP	Telecomunicações
645	Wcs Telecomunicações	Analista de Suporte NOC	São Paulo	SP	Telecomunicações
646	Westrock	Analista de Comunicação PlenX	Campinas	SP	Embalagens de papelão ondulado
647	Westrock	Coodenação de Atração de Talentos	Campinas	SP	Embalagens de papelão ondulado
648	Wirecard	Jovens Aprendizes	São Paulo	SP	Soluções Financeiras
649	Wirecard	EstágiáriX Compliance	São Paulo	SP	Soluções Financeiras
650	WIZ	Promotorx Vendas	São Paulo	SP	Produtos financeiros e seguros
651	WIZ	Promotorx Vendas	Brasília	DF	Produtos financeiros e seguros
652	WIZ	Promotorx Vendas	Curitiba	PR	Produtos financeiros e seguros
653	WIZ	Promotorx Vendas	Belém	PA	Produtos financeiros e seguros
654	WIZ	Promotorx Vendas	Caxias do Sul	RS	Produtos financeiros e seguros
655	WIZ	Promotorx Vendas	Duque de Caxias	RJ	Produtos financeiros e seguros
656	WIZ	Promotorx Vendas	Franca	SP	Produtos financeiros e seguros
657	WIZ	Promotorx Vendas	Ibiporã	PR	Produtos financeiros e seguros
658	WIZ	Promotorx Vendas	Jundiaí	SP	Produtos financeiros e seguros
659	WIZ	Promotorx Vendas	Ipatinga	MG	Produtos financeiros e seguros

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660	WIZ	Promotorx Vendas	Londrina	PR	Produtos financeiros e seguros
661	WIZ	Promotorx Vendas	Macapá	AP	Produtos financeiros e seguros
662	WIZ	Promotorx Vendas	Maringá	PR	Produtos financeiros e seguros
663	WIZ	Promotorx Vendas	Nilópolis	RJ	Produtos financeiros e seguros
664	WIZ	Promotorx Vendas	Nova Iguaçu	RJ	Produtos financeiros e seguros
665	WIZ	Promotorx Vendas	Palmas	TO	Produtos financeiros e seguros
666	WIZ	Promotorx Vendas	Piracicaba	SP	Produtos financeiros e seguros
667	WIZ	Promotorx Vendas	Ponta Grossa	PR	Produtos financeiros e seguros
668	WIZ	Promotorx Vendas	Porto Alegre	RS	Produtos financeiros e seguros
669	WIZ	Promotorx Vendas	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Produtos financeiros e seguros
670	WIZ	Promotorx Vendas	Salvador	BA	Produtos financeiros e seguros
671	WIZ	Promotorx Vendas	Santo André	SP	Produtos financeiros e seguros
672	WIZ	Promotorx Vendas	Sorocaba	SP	Produtos financeiros e seguros
673	WIZ	Promotorx Vendas	São José do Rio Preto	SP	Produtos financeiros e seguros
674	WIZ	Promotorx Vendas	Uberlândia	MG	Produtos financeiros e seguros
675	WIZ	Promotorx Vendas	Feira de Santana	BA	Produtos financeiros e seguros
676	WIZ	Promotorx Vendas	Santo Amaro	BA	Produtos financeiros e seguros
677	Wmccann	Redator (a/e) Jr.	São Paulo	SP	Publicidade e Propaganda
678	Wmccann	Estágio de Criação	São Paulo	SP	Publicidade e Propaganda
679	Wmccann	Jovem Aprendiz	São Paulo	SP	Publicidade e Propaganda
680	Wmccann	Estágio em Publicidade	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Publicidade e Propaganda
681	Wmccann	Estagiário de Midia	São Paulo	SP	Publicidade e Propaganda
682	Wmccann	Supervisore de Midia	São Paulo	SP	Publicidade e Propaganda

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683	Wmccann	Coordenadore de Mídia	São Paulo	SP	Publicidade e Propaganda
684	Wmccann	Assistente de Mídia	São Paulo	SP	Publicidade e Propaganda
685	WoMakers Code	Bolsas Hacking Carreira	N/A	PE	Comunidade de Tecnologia
686	WoMakers Code	Bolsas Hacking Carreira	N/A	AL	Comunidade de Tecnologia
687	WoMakers Code	Bolsas Hacking Carreira	N/A	PA	Comunidade de Tecnologia
688	Wonder Size	Expedição/Logística	São Paulo	SP	Vestuário
689	Wunderman Brasil	Estágio	São Paulo	SP	Agência de Comunicação
690	XP Investimentos	Assistente/júnior	São Paulo	SP	Corretora de valores
691	Y&R	Menor aprendiz almoxarifado	São Paulo	SP	Publicidade e Propaganda
692	Y&R	Menor aprendiz copa	São Paulo	SP	Publicidade e Propaganda
693	Y&R	Menor aprendiz mídia/atendimento	São Paulo	SP	Publicidade e Propaganda
694	Y&R	Menor aprendiz tesouraria	São Paulo	SP	Publicidade e Propaganda
695	YARA fertilizantes Unidade Paulínia	Técnicx Enfermagem do Trabalho	Paulínea	SP	Química
696	Yougreen	Vendedor(a)	São Paulo	SP	Cooperativa - Gestão de Resíduos
697	Youse	Estágio e RH	São Paulo	SP	Seguros
698	Youse	Desenvolvedor(a) Mobile (IOS)	São Paulo	SP	Seguros
699	Youse	Estágio em Produtos	São Paulo	SP	Seguros
700	Youse	Estágio Administrativx	São Paulo	SP	Seguros
701	Youse	Estágio de Produtos	São Paulo	SP	Seguros
702	Zaz	Promotor de negócios	São Paulo	SP	Terceirização de vendas
703	Zé Delivery	Facilitadorx Anti-Fraude	São Paulo	SP	Serviços - Entrega
704	Zé Delivery	Hunters	Rio de Janeiro	RJ	Serviços - Entrega
705	Zenkclub	Assistente de Relações Públicas	São Paulo	SP	Plataforma - Saúde Mental
706	Zoly	Gerente de Pesquisa	São Paulo	SP	Marketing Digital

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707	Zoly	UX Designer Senior	São Paulo	SP	Marketing Digital