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DISCURSIVE WALLS MAPPING TRANS COVERAGE THROUGH FOLHA DE S. PAULO BETWEEN 1960 AND 2017

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# Discursive Walls: Mapping *Trans* Coverage through *Folha de S. Paulo* between 1960 and 2017

Daniela Picchiali<sup>α</sup> & Diogo Azoubel<sup>ο</sup>

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## I. INTRODUCTION

The subject of this research is the coverage of the trans community done by the Brazilian newspaper *Folha de S. Paulo*. However, this is just a cut given to broader research in which different means of communication, from independent to mainstream. The research material was extracted from the thesis of author Daniela Picchiali entitled: Said about and said by: the affective rend of trans women in the media discourses. In this sense, the analyzes made are not far from community media (COVER, 2002). In this first stage, we invested in an inductive analysis based on the coverage of articles that referred to transvestites and transsexuals between the years 1960 and 2017.

Regarding the extensive period analyzed, we are propose to share this initial panoramic mapping with Bardin (2016), to subsidize more in-depth research on the configuration of national journalism in this issue. To understand the role of journalism in the construction of subjectivities, we use the method of the monographic procedure through review of authors such as Guattari (1986), Hardt (2000), Lazzarato (2006), Negri (2205) and Lago & Benetti (2010).

Specifically, about the collection of the data, is due over the 2016/2017 biennium, having been concluded in December 2017, in the digital collection (<https://acervo.folha.com.br/index.do>) of *Folha de S. Paulo* from the search for the terms transvestite and transsexual from March 1960 to December 2017.

After identifying the news in which such terms occur, during the pre-analysis of the data, materials to which they are referred no more than once or twice were

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discarded. The established corpus is referred to in *Data table I*, where it is possible to discuss its distribution and predominance by editor and year. There are more than 6 thousand texts in which transvestites and transsexuals appear in the headlines, leads and/or are repeated in the journalistic text.

It should be noted that, while understanding the differences between transvestites and transsexuals based on the person's own recognition and how they identify and present themselves socially, regarding journalistic coverage, both words remain linked in the journalistic narratives analyzed here and, therefore, in this text.

For this reason, and to respond to the constructed research problem: how the approach to transsexuals and transvestites in Brazil is historically configured from the printed editions of the newspaper *Folha de S. Paulo* circulated between March 1960 and December 2017, the sections that follow were organized hierarchically from two perspectives, the temporal and the editorial, followed by the interpretation of the data, which follows temporally organize.

The objectives concern: a) investigation of the focus given to this universe in what is one of the most traditional national printed journalistic vehicles; b) enumeration of the main characteristics of its coverage within the established time frame and; c) discursive problematizing of the theme through the longitudinal analysis of the articles.

In this direction, the hypothesis refers to the fact that: a) Over the last few decades, what discourse has been established by the mainstream media directed at transvestite and transsexual women. B) it would be possible to affirm that the media reinforces the current sociopolitical logic for a period to reinforce its own interests or it will be possible to identify, even in some news, that journalists try to break with conservative discourses of a time.

As justification for this preliminary investigation, among other points, we allude to the need to discuss the paths of national printed journalism from its practical position, through the texts it produces.

Finally, about the expected results, we believe that the journalistic coverage that addresses transvestites and transsexuals positions these lives as synonymous with marginality and criminality. As limitations of the study, it should be noted that the investigation does not cover the period of the Jair

Bolsonaro government, which formally began in January 2019, when the issue was extremely tense.

That said, the next section provides a brief approach to how the media field is configured in Brazil, with emphasis on the vehicle that is the focus of this investigation to support the analysis and discussion of the data.

## II. THE MEDIA FIELD IN BRAZIL

The media emerge as important agents in the field of representations, directly influencing the dynamics of society's functioning. The means of communication are powerful producers and mediators of discourse, they maintain and reproduce social conventions about masculinity, femininity, sexual desire, ethnicity, class, generation, etc. The media acts, therefore, as a co-author of the discourse that produces ways of life that, in turn, reproduce the hegemonic normative logic. Alzira Alves de Abreu recalls numerous studies use the press as a source of information, but that "there is a lack of analyzes on the influence it exerted on the course of events" (ABREU, 2017, p. 220).

In Brazil, the media is commanded by large communication groups that concentrate the production of the maximum part of the information consumed by Brazilians, which in concrete terms is equivalent to saying that five families control half of the 50 vehicles with the highest audience. To get an idea of the impact of this, a survey carried out by the Media Ownership Monitor (MOM)<sup>1</sup>, Brazil is in 102nd place on a list of 180 countries in the 2018 Global Press Freedom Index. According to this research, in addition to the high concentration of audience, the Brazilian media reality is excessively dependent on sponsors, whether public institutions, private companies, or even religious institutions; as well as high geographic concentration, that is, most of the command of information and media networks is in the Southeast region and Brasília.

Thus, we can conclude that editorial decisions, agenda priorities, and representations of images and everyday life present in the media, in short, all the discourse produced, is mostly marked by the interests of its maintainers, a fact that culminates in the construction and reproduction of a specific discursive logic, compatible with the socio-political context in which it operates. Such logic and discourses produced do not escape standardization when applied to gender issues. Everything that does not fit the established pattern parameterized by market logic and capital tends to be marginalized.

It is important to note that in 2016, the pornography site RedTube carried out research without

revealing specific numbers but stating that Brazilians look for 89% more pornographic content from transsexuals when compared to other countries in the world that access the site. In this same survey, the pornography website says that the term "Shemale", used to search for videos with trans people, is the fourth most searched topic by Brazilians, the search for trans pornographic content increases when the search adds up regional vocabularies such: transvestite and Brazilian shemale. It is worth noting that in the world ranking, the same search term occupies the ninth place.

Currently, Brazil is one of the most intolerant countries with transvestites and transsexuals in the world, being the first in the list of deaths and murders of these people, according to the survey carried out by Transgender Europe (TGEu), between October 1, 2017, and September 30, 2018.

According to the same data, between 2017 and 2018, 369 homicides of transsexuals, transvestites, and non-binary individuals were recorded. These numbers grow every year, the life expectancy of these people drops to 35 years old while the national average is 75 years old. We believe that the normative logic produced in the media discourse strengthens these data and solidifies the configuration of harsh reality by creating statements that undermine these subjects, as detailed below.

## III. THE FOLHA DE SÃO PAULO

The Folha de S. Paulo was founded in 1921 and belongs to the Frias's family – one of those who control more than half of the vehicles with the highest audience in the country –, which also owns the newspaper Agora São Paulo, the classifieds Alô Negócios and the advertising agency Folha Press news, in addition to UOL, one of the most accessed portals in Brazil, and the Data Folha research institute.

The Folha de S. Paulo was chosen for being the largest in digital circulation and the third in printed format in Brazil, according to data audited by the Instituto Verificador de Circulação (IVC). Its audience in the first decades of circulation was concentrated in the State of São Paulo. With the digitization of content, readers spread throughout the national territory and even outside the country. Even so, more than 70% of Folha de S. Paulo consumers belong to the upper class and upper middle class according to the newspaper's survey.

## IV. DATA AND ANALYSIS

To facilitate the perception of how journalistic texts about transvestites and transsexuals are distributed in Folha de S. Paulo, we created *Data table I*. In it, we display horizontally the number of texts found by time-lapse (the distribution of years does not follow a regularity, as seen ahead) and, vertically, the editorship.

<sup>1</sup> MOM was created and implemented by Reporters Without Borders (RSF), an international organization whose aim is to defend human rights, in particular freedom of the press and the right to inform and be informed anywhere in the world.

As follows, there is a prevalence of journalistic texts in the Cities, Classifieds, and Culture sections, with 452, 295, and 283 occurrences, which add up, respectively, 36.88%, 24.18%, and 23.19% of the total. The remaining 15.57% include the occurrences of other sections, which shows an imbalance in the guidelines arranged in Interior, North and Northeast, Health and Sports, and leads to the partial confirmation of the established hypothesis.

In addition to the variation in discursive approaches to the words transvestite and transsexual seen over the years, the summit of articles that address these words takes place between 1985, and 1987, totaling 100 texts (about 8% of the total); followed by the intervals 1960-1965, 1974-1975, and 1998-1999, with 90 texts each (about 7% of the total each).

Another important point concerns the silencing of these terms in the newspaper in the years 1966, 1974, 1975, 1981, and 1982, reflections of the Military Dictatorship. In the years 1988, 1989, and 1990, references to transvestites and transsexuals appear without relevance, that is, they do not appear in the headlines and news or do not have the force of meaning.

In this way, we believe that such periods can be referred to as a kind of opportune space to re-signify the terms, which justifies the gaps in *Data table I* and leads us to the need to investigate this theme in a future opportunity.

**Data table I** – Distribution of texts by editorial and years

| Editorial<br>Year | City       | Culture    | Interior  | North and<br>Northeast | Health    | Classified | Sports    | Fashion   | TOTAL       |
|-------------------|------------|------------|-----------|------------------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-----------|-------------|
| 1960 - 1965       | 10         | 80         | 0         | 0                      | 0         | 0          | 0         | 0         | 90          |
| 1966              | 0          | 0          | 0         | 0                      | 0         | 0          | 0         | 0         | 0           |
| 1967 - 1973       | 40         | 30         | 0         | 0                      | 0         | 0          | 0         | 0         | 70          |
| 1974 - 1975       | 0          | 0          | 0         | 0                      | 0         | 0          | 0         | 0         | 0           |
| 1976 - 1980       | 55         | 35         | 0         | 0                      | 0         | 0          | 0         | 0         | 90          |
| 1981 - 1982       | 0          | 0          | 0         | 0                      | 0         | 0          | 0         | 0         | 0           |
| 1983 - 1984       | 10         | 70         | 0         | 0                      | 0         | 0          | 0         | 0         | 80          |
| 1985 - 1987       | 95         | 5          | 0         | 0                      | 0         | 0          | 0         | 0         | 100         |
| 1988 - 1990       | 0          | 0          | 0         | 0                      | 0         | 0          | 0         | 0         | 0           |
| 1991 - 1992       | 0          | 10         | 70        | 0                      | 0         | 0          | 0         | 0         | 80          |
| 1993 - 1995       | 0          | 10         | 0         | 70                     | 0         | 0          | 0         | 0         | 80          |
| 1996 - 1997       | 52         | 3          | 0         | 0                      | 10        | 15         | 0         | 0         | 80          |
| 1998 - 1999       | 35         | 0          | 0         | 0                      | 0         | 55         | 0         | 0         | 90          |
| 2000 - 2004       | 40         | 0          | 0         | 0                      | 0         | 40         | 0         | 0         | 80          |
| 2005 - 2007       | 35         | 0          | 0         | 0                      | 0         | 45         | 0         | 0         | 80          |
| 2008 - 2009       | 20         | 0          | 0         | 0                      | 0         | 40         | 20        | 0         | 80          |
| 2010 - 2011       | 10         | 10         | 0         | 0                      | 0         | 40         | 0         | 0         | 60          |
| 2012 - 2014       | 30         | 15         | 0         | 0                      | 10        | 30         | 0         | 0         | 85          |
| 2015 - 2017       | 20         | 15         | 0         | 0                      | 0         | 30         | 0         | 10        | 75          |
| <b>TOTAL</b>      | <b>452</b> | <b>283</b> | <b>70</b> | <b>70</b>              | <b>20</b> | <b>295</b> | <b>20</b> | <b>10</b> | <b>1220</b> |

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## V. TEMPORAL PERSPECTIVE – POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CHANGES

Over the decades, we noticed, by the position of these individuals, a change in their regime of visibility. From the 1960s onwards, the word transvestite appears in the newspaper, more specifically in the culture editorial, and, in that period (1960-1965), it represented 88% of occurrences.

It is important to note that the culture editor was created in 1958, a period marked by the end of the post-war general scarcity, the arrival of television in Brazil, and the expansion of the Brazilian press. At that time, significant changes took place in several newspapers, such as the inclusion of photos on the front pages and a considerable increase in content organized in various sections. In this sense, the newspaper underwent an expansion of formats and content produced and the

culture section was an important department that disseminated the cultural and counter-cultural movements that were significant at the time.

That said, we believe that its origin is based on the idea that the first section, Cities, would remain with the husband and the second, Culture, with the woman, which reinforces a binary way of thinking, that is, it divides and normalizes the production of discourses, a fact that naturalizes so-called “feminine” and “masculine” contents and which, once again, confirms the hypotheses we have established.

If before the dictatorial period, in the early 1960s, transvestites gained existence in the art, and culture section – associated with performance, dance, and theater shows -, during the Dictatorship the discourse was modified, and these individuals were relegated to the police pages.

Between 1965 and 1967 these words, transvestite, and transsexual, disappeared from the media and, when they reappeared, in the late 1960s and early 1970s, they were aligned (and mostly remain) with the discourse of the Cities editorials, which made the coverage of cases of violence, urbanism, environment, public administration, and behavior.

During this period, the discourse changed, transvestites and transsexuals began to be associated with some type of violence, public hygiene policies, precarious lives, and being positioned on the margins of collective life, a phenomenon that intensified from the middle to the end of the 1970s. This fact helps to partially confirm the hypothesis established in this study, according to which the discourses produced about these lives significantly impact the process of segregation of the trans universe in the face of the advance of conservative discourses.

Already in the early 1980s, a decade marked by the so-called democratic transition, there is a change in editorial due to the visibility of the Roberta Close<sup>2</sup>. Even so, the discourse of marginalization and precariousness reveals even greater strength when it expands, in subsequent years, to newspapers in the interior of the State and to those in the North and Northeast regions. Associated with marginality, transvestites, and transsexuals are present in Folha de S. Paulo to this day. This is, by the way, the highest occurrence found: 37% of the total specified in *Data table 1*, that is, 452 texts identified between 1960 and 2017 are in Cities Editorials.

Effect of social polarization, in which what is different belongs to the other, we believe we can confirm the established hypothesis from the fact that the produced speeches follow the sociopolitical logic in force in the period of its transmission, with effect in the creative expression of these subjects that lose space for its criminalization. This issue, by the way, needs to be deepened at a future opportunity, especially to better support the understanding of such a transition.

## VI. EDITORIAL PERSPECTIVE – TRANS GENDER AND TRANSVESTITE BY EDITORIAL SECTION

From the survey of the sections in which they are inserted – Classifieds, Cities, Sports, Culture, Interior, Fashion, North and Northeast, and Health –, it is possible to perceive the transition movements and media significance of both words. Thus, we found that in the established time-lapse, transvestites and transsexuals, somehow, are inserted in the pages of the journal in dichotomous logics from those linked to the predominant themes in each of the editorials.

In the Cities section, for example, unlike the police stories that take up several pages, the journalistic texts are smaller and refer to Roberta Close as a transvestite. Although the news belonged to the Culture section, in the early 1980s, criticism was present in the reference to the model and actress, always as an ambiguous, carnival-like person, never as a woman.

In other words, by publishing most of the news in this section, as well as in the classifieds, Folha de S. Paulo becomes responsible for the social marginalization of these people, as well as for the rapid association that transvestites and transsexuals are linked to violence and social disorder.

About the Classifieds and following the macro analysis of Folha de S. Paulo's discourse, transvestites and transsexuals are inserted with prostitution advertisements from the second half of the 1990s, more specifically from 1996 onwards, with a summit between 1998 and 1999 (more than 18% of the 295 texts identified). Until then, prostitution was only associated with marginality and violence. This logic is modified by the configuration and advancement of the Internet, which impacts the remodeling of the business model, even today.

During this period, transvestites and transsexuals appear, for the first time, talking about themselves and by themselves, although, initially, the advertisements were placed in the middle of advertisements for houses, vehicles, careers, and businesses, among others.

Returning to *Data table 1*, the logic of prostitution advertisements in classifieds remains the same from 1990 to 2017, with variation only in the number of occurrences, which oscillates between 30 and 40 texts per designated period from the year 2000 onwards. In the spotlight, prostitution in the classifieds shares space with news about transvestites and transsexuals in sport based on the repercussions of the Ronaldinho case (Ronaldo Nazário), in which the soccer player would not have paid for a night with the transvestite Andréa Albertini in 2008.

Complementarily, it is relevant to realize that after a decade (1998-2008) without transvestites and transsexuals being mentioned in the editorials related to art and culture, in 2010, from the approach of the work and debates produced by the Brazilian cartoonist Laerte Coutinho.

Although Laerte is not a journalist, she uses her art to break with conservative discourses, according to the hypothesis established in this research. Laerte's critical presence, as a representative not only of the readership but also of the publication's producer, creates a microbalance in the discourse between the marginalized, the stereotyped, and the subjects who intend to live a life that breaks with these patterns. Likewise, a few years later, more specifically between 2016 and 2017, transvestites began to be related to

<sup>2</sup> Brazilian model and actress who was born intersexual (by genetic tests it was proved that Roberta has mixed biological characteristics).

fashion, with the production of fashion shows in which they were highlighted.

It is important to emphasize that this mapping considers the content addressed in the articles, that is, the meanings indicated by the journalistic texts. As the journal does not have a specific section for fashion, this necessary displacement of the occurrences identified in the Cities and Culture sections culminates in the opening of a new block that does not strictly follow the sections presented by Folha de S. Paulo and, therefore, is highlighted with an asterisk in *Data table I*.

Such content, in general, juxtaposes coverage based on publicizing the fashion shows, with São Paulo Fashion Week (SPFW) being the most prominent set. Notably, these articles bring little verbal text, many visual texts with an emphasis on photos, in addition to headlines that translate an idea of representativeness and rupture with figures, images, and performances that are considered hegemonic.

Finally, regarding the health guidelines, from the mid-1990s onwards, HIV is directly associated with transvestites and transsexuals in the journal. If, on the one hand, the articles address guidelines and prevention with educational booklets and AIDS support and prevention groups, such as GAPA; on the other hand, they indicate the interest of the College of Medicine of the University of São Paulo (FMUSP) and public health researchers in measuring the number of seropositive people and in the sexual behavior of these individuals, despite the difficulty of finding subjects who agree to participate in such surveys in the period.

In addition to sexual behavior and the use of condoms, drug use, and exchange of syringes and needles are also themes associated with LGBTQIA+ as factors for the spread of HIV. Other topics covered are queues at hospitals and gender reassignment surgeries. It is important to emphasize that this term is present in all ten texts identified in the editorial in this period (50% of the total) and, although imprecise, is commonly referred to by people today.

When observing the articles, we noticed that, as is the norm in most of those related to medicine and health, what is disclosed is the medical discourse establishing standards of normality when defining diagnoses based on classification systems. This transition process, which is primarily linked to the health of transvestites and transsexuals, is generally included in the Cities section.

In the subsequent decade, the health of transvestites and transsexuals curiously does not appear in Folha de S. Paulo. It is from 2012, and on the debates on hormones, that it returns to its printed pages. One text in particular draws attention for addressing the hormonal balance of people who biologically and identitarily recognize themselves as women. In it, transvestites are cited as representing the

negative effects of hormone use, as undesirable, an example of what it means to be an "artificial" woman.

Although present in the ten other texts in that section and relevant in the process of transitioning the bodies of transvestites and transsexuals, this research did not identify any narrative that addresses specifically hormonal issues in such lives. The discourse that prevails is that of their association with marginality, prostitution, and violence – which suggests that this group is not perceived by the publication as a significant part of its audience.

## VII. UNDERSTANDING THE OUTPUTS

In the 1980s, the place of transvestites and transsexuals is stressed in Health with the creation of the concept of "high-risk group" which, although belatedly, is immediately linked to these subjects via media discourses produced on the issue. The rationale for its creation is to track people living with the virus and prevent new infections, being socially directly associated with LGBTQ+ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transvestite, and transgender people and more), especially gay men, and popularly referred to as the "gay punishment", which expresses a social degradation of the subjects in question.

This discursive context makes society avoid not only those infected by the virus, but also "high-risk groups", in which gays were primarily protagonists and, subsequently, transvestites and transsexuals also occupied this place of social exclusion. That these people were made invisible during the long years of the dictatorship, and as a result, HIV and transvestites, and transsexuals were the subjects of newspapers from the 1990s onwards, ten years after the disease boom.

Despite this time-lapse, the result is the engendering of a growing process of discrimination and violence against these subjects. This fact reinforces the importance of realizing that journalistically constructed discourses do not associate cases of violence with prejudice against HIV, but with fights, robberies, prostitution, etc.

It was in the 90s that advertisements for prostitution of transvestites and transsexuals in the classifieds appeared more intensely. As we know, advertisements are a source of income for the newspaper. In this way, its editors create increasingly elaborate strategies so that readers are reached and influenced by ads and for advertisers to be attracted and invest, whether in their printed or digital editions. This strategic elaboration is not limited to the purchase and sale of a product or service but encompasses the intentional appropriation of universes and modes of expression previously given in the social sphere.

As much as the advertisements analyzed the transvestites and transsexuals are produced by them, advertising, in this case, has a modulation action

between the parties. Therefore, prostitution is not just a job, a source of livelihood, but a mode of production of femininity, of a feminine ideal, based on socially established principles. We note that becoming feminine is marked by the production of subjectivity, whether by using clothing and markers said to be feminine, by using hormones, or even by performing plastic surgery and/or applying silicone.

Specifically, in the case of Ronaldinho x Andréa Albertini, in 2008, although famous for the visibility of the soccer player, the approach to the issue in the news follows the logic of marginalization of these lives. In the discourse produced by the journal, the expression of inequality is reinforced by highlighting Andréa's vocabulary semantics, by the angles of the published photos, and even by the strength of the figure of the player in question in Brazil in the face of his opposing narrative.

Dichotomously, when transvestites and transsexuals take to the catwalk, between 2014 and 2017, the spotlight of much of the media is focused on SPFW which, being one of the biggest fashion events in the world, was the stage for stylists such as Vitorino Campos and Ronaldo Fraga to present their collections giving visibility to these subjects. In a way, such stylists help to reframe the political and social importance of that space. Ronaldo Fraga, for example, took advantage of the Week's visibility to break with the prevailing norms and with the hegemony of biological, white, and thin women.

The theme of fashion is complex and involves several dimensions – economic, social, political, historical, etc. –, being common to any of them the fact that fashion adapts to society and, at the same time, produces cultural content that also promote changes in perspectives. Thus, the parades led by transvestites and transsexuals displace these people from a place directly associated with marginality. We think, therefore, that making marginalized bodies visible enables new social flows and the manifestation of life power, as well as organizing them according to their productivity. After all, as Guattari explains in *Molecular Revolutions*:

Marginality is the place where one can read the breaking points in social structures and the efforts of a new problem in the field of the collective desiring economy. It is about analyzing marginality, not as a psychopathological manifestation, but as the liveliest part, the most mobile of human collectivities in their attempts to find answers to changes in social and material structures (GUATTARI, 1986, p. 46).

In this sense, fashion, when trying to break with the discursive logic built around transvestites and transsexuals, on the one hand always represents a possibility of opening up the society to new assemblages, which were previously crystallized in a hegemonic thought. On the other hand, the tone of manifestation presented in the fashion shows, in an

event organized by notable brands, refers to the inclusion of transvestites and transsexuals in the logic of capital. It is no wonder that the bodies chosen by Ronaldo Fraga are in line with the fashion standard, that is, tall, thin, and mostly white. Recalling Hardt's words in *The World Society of Control*:

El império acepta siempre las diferencias raciales y étnicas que encuentra, y sabe utilizarlas; permanece a la sombra, observa esos conflictos e interviene cuando es necesario un ajuste. Cualquier tentativa de seguir siendo outro en el cara-a-cara del Imperio es vana. El império se nutre de la alteridade, relativizándola y gestionándola (HARDT, 2000, p. 157)<sup>3</sup>.

In this way, with otherness nourishing the order of capital, the lives of transvestites and transsexuals, marked by a series of crossings, are gradually inserted into this logic. It is in this guise that current flows of capital explore subjectivities, creativity, knowledge, and relationships, and everything becomes marketable. For, "the Empire can only be conceived as a universal republic, a network of powers and counter-powers structured in an unlimited and inclusive architecture" (HARDT; NEGRI, 2005, p. 185).

Finally, thinking that the current logic works broadly and captures the ruptures, from the simplest to the most complex, we realize that the use of the bodies of transvestites and transsexuals in fashion shows takes the discourses of inclusion and representativeness, freezes and segments these people; captures several and different processes and flows, reorganizes them and presents them in an already existing functioning and according to a single possible logic.

## VIII. FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

In this initial reflection, we begin to unravel the implications of transvestite and transsexual lives in the media field by approaching journalistic narratives published in *Folha de S. Paulo* between the years 1960 and 2017, in which they gradually migrated from associations linked to the arts and spectacles, passing to be associated with marginality and criminality as a series of sociocultural changes occur, as in the case of the change from the periphery as a living space for workers to strongholds dominated by drug traffickers, noted with the expansion of the world of crime in these spaces from the 1990s onwards. In the production referring to people who recognize themselves as transvestites and transsexuals, in which 37% of the articles are published in the Cities section (*Data table I*).

<sup>3</sup> In our free translation: "The Empire always accepts the racial and ethnic differences it encounters and knows how to use them; stays in the shadows, watches for these conflicts, and intervenes when an adjustment is needed. Any attempt to remain face-to-face with the Empire is futile. The empire is nourished by otherness, relativizing and managing it".

Added to this, almost 25% of the newspaper's citations refer to advertisements for prostitution, a profession doubly marginalized in the country, since it has no State supervision and, at the same time, is more deeply discriminated against in the trans universe. The phenomenon is specifically noticed from 1996 onwards, with a peak between 1998 and 1999 (more than 18% of the 295 texts identified), registering the following development of the Internet, which would alter the journalism market as a whole and cause a change in the model of an ongoing business to the present day. Even so, in 2016 and 2017, 30% of references to terms are associated with classifieds, which is an impact that deserves further investigation. In the same direction, almost 62% of the articles locate these people in an established place, but outside the social body.

Although during the Military Dictatorship, its silencing is perceptible, the culture section, linked to the field of arts, expresses an attempt by the newspaper to break with this order through the dissemination of plays and theatrical shows, performances, and cartoons, among others, created, produced, and performed by these people. Transsexuals such as the cartoonist Laerte, in 2010, who represents not only the universe of the readership but also that of the newspaper producer, exert influence on the discourse between the marginalized, the stereotyped, and the subjects who intend to live a life that breaks with these standards. Likewise, a few years later, more specifically between 2016 and 2017, transvestites began to be related to fashion, with the production of fashion shows in which they were highlighted.

These findings linked to the history of representation of journalistic narratives in *Folha de S. Paulo* suggest an advance towards human rights and freedom of security and expression of the LGBTQ+ groups observed in this study. Paradoxically, they are contextualized in a nation that kills the most trans people in the world. We also remind you that this initial analysis of the data, even though it covers almost 6,000 texts spread over almost 60 years, does not include an attempt to understand the impact of the current federal government, which began in January 2019, in which these and other related terms are highly stressed. and whose analysis will demand future investigations to investigate its impact.

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