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Discursive walls: mapping of trans coverage by Folha de S. Paulo between 1960 and 2017

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Abstract

This mapping addresses almost 6 thousand texts of the trans coverage published in *Folha de S. Paulo* between 1960 and 2017 and part of the understanding of the media as a fundamental agent in the sphere of representations, directly influencing the dynamics of contemporary societies. The reflection on the discourses and narratives published in this periodical, in which transvestites and transsexuals gradually migrate from associations to arts and shows (23.19% of the occurrences), published in the Illustrated notebook, becoming associated with marginality and criminality (36.88% of the total), in the Daily, reveals a discursive flow of quotations towards the ads of prostitution, a fact that invites us to go through this historical narrative in order to problematize how such contents are configured today.

Keywords

Content analysis; *Folha de S. Paulo*; Transvestites; Transsexuals.

Introduction

The theme of this research is the printed journalistic coverage of the trans universe by *Folha de S. Paulo* newspaper. However, this is only a cut-off given to a broader research in which different media, from independent to mainstream - as is the case of *Folha de S. Paulo* - are approached. In this sense, the analyses made are not far from community media (Cover, 2002). In this first stage, we invested in an inductive analysis based on the coverage of the subjects that referred to transvestites and transsexuals between the years 1960 and 2017.

As for the extensive time span, our proposal is to share this initial panoramic mapping with both Bardin (2016) and Martinez and Azoubel (2018), in order to subsidize deeper and more detailed investigations on the configuration of national journalism in this area, especially its role in the construction of subjectivities. To this end, we used the monographic procedure method via authors such as Guattari (1986), Hardt (2000), Lazzarato (2006), Hardt and Negri (2005) and also Lago and Benetti (2010).

Specifically, on data collection, this took place over the biennium 2016-2017, and was completed in December 2017, in the digital collection¹ of *Folha de S. Paulo* from searches for the words transvestite and transsexual from March 1960 to December 2017.

Once the news in which such terms occur were identified, during the pre-analysis of the data the materials in which they are referred to were discarded no more than once or twice. The established corpus is referred to in table 1, where it is possible to discuss its distribution and predominance by publishing house and year. There are more than six thousand texts in which, from the operationalization of longitudinal analysis, the words transvestite and transsexual appear in the headlines, news leads and/or are repeated in the journalistic body.

It should be noted that, while understanding the differences between transvestites and transsexuals from the very recognition of the person and how he/she identifies and presents him/herself socially, as far as journalistic coverage is concerned, both terms remain linked in the journalistic narratives analyzed here and, therefore, in this text.

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

With regard to the established objectives, these relate to: a) investigation of the focus given to this universe in what is one of the most traditional national print media; b) listing the main characteristics of its coverage within the established time span and; c) discursive problematization of the subject by longitudinal analysis of the articles.

The hypothesis refers to the fact that over the last decades it is possible to state that the media reinforces the sociopolitical logic in force in that historical period in order to advance its own interests at the same time that it is possible to identify, even in some news, that journalists try to break with conservative discourses of a time. Therefore, the discourses produced about these trans lives follow the logic in force during the period in which they were published, resulting in a sensible imbalance in the number of stories distributed per publishing house over the years and having an effect on the process of segregation of the lives that are part of such a universe in the face of the advance of conservative discourses.

Complementarily, and as a justification for this preliminary onslaught, among other points, we alluded to the need to discuss the paths of national print journalism based on what are understood as marginal issues.

¹ Retrieved October 30, 2018 from: <https://acervo.folha.com.br/index.do>.

The very title of this reflection presents itself as a provocation to (dis)build walls that separate us (the self) from those subjects (the other) via newspaper pages. But what are these walls and how do they impact the perception of people's subjectivities? To try to answer such a question we believe it is necessary to give form to a broader discussion about the role of journalistic praxis in the face of the construction of individual subjectivities and even pseudo-objectivities that tear up and polarize the world. More than that, about how journalism contributes to define what is on the fringes of what is considered good, beautiful, just and/or true.

As far as the expected results are concerned, we believe that the journalistic coverage that addresses transvestites and transsexuals positions these lives as synonymous with marginality and crime. Finally, as limits of the study, it should be noted that the investigation does not cover the period of the Jair Bolsonaro government (still of the PSL when the manuscript was submitted and formally initiated in January 2019, in which this issue was greatly stressed).

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

Configuration of the national media field

It is founding to realize that in establishing communication we use patterns that strengthen stereotypes that are fixed in relationships and daily life. It is possible that in the unfolding of social relationships, words gain new meanings from the opening of the field in which the relationship is given to the new, which allows for ruptures and strengthening of the patterns that are being established.

From this idea, the media emerge as important agents in the sphere of representations, directly influencing the dynamics of functioning of society. The media are powerful producers and mediators of discourse, maintaining and reproducing social conventions on masculinities, femininities, sexual desire, as well as ethnicity, class and generation, etc. The media therefore act as co-authors of the discourse that produces ways of life that, in turn, reproduce the hegemonic normative logic. Alzira Alves de Abreu recalls that there are numerous studies that use the press as a source of information, but that "there is a lack of analysis on the influence it has had on the course of events" (Abreu, 2017, p. 220).

In Brazil, the media is commanded by large communication groups that concentrate the production of a large portion 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 largest audience. To get an idea of the impact of this, in a survey conducted by the Media Ownership Monitor (MOM)², Brazil ranks 102nd out of 180 countries in the Global Press Freedom Index 2018. According to this survey, besides the high concentration of audience, in the Brazilian media reality there is excessive dependence on sponsors, being they public agencies, 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 the editorial decisions, the priorities of the agenda and the representations of images and daily life present in the media, that 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 historical socio-political context in which it is inserted. Such logic and such discourses produced do not flee from normalization when applied to gender themes. Everything that does not fit the established pattern parameterized by the market and capital logics tends to be marginalized.

² MOM was created and implemented by Reporters Without Borders (RSF), an international organization whose goal is to defend human rights, in particular the freedom of the press and the right to inform and be informed anywhere in the world.

It is important to point out that in 2016, the pornography site RedTube conducted a survey in which it was identified that Brazilians seek 89% more pornographic content from transsexuals when compared to other countries in the world that access the site. According to Germano (2020), in the same survey, the pornography site states that the term shemale, used to search videos with trans people, is the fourth most searched topic by Brazilians. Although without revealing the specific numbers, the search for trans pornographic content increases when the search adds regional vocabularies such as: travesty and Brazilian shemale. An interesting finding if considered that in the world ranking the same search term occupies the ninth place.

In the same direction, it is imperative to emphasize that Brazil is currently one of the most intolerant countries with transvestites and transsexuals in the world, being the first in the list of death and murder of these people, according to the research conducted by Transgender Europe³ (TGEu), between October 1, 2017 and September 30, 2018⁴.

According to the same data, between 2017 and 2018 369 homicides of transsexuals, transvestites and non-binary individuals were recorded. As a result of the fact that these numbers grow each year, the life expectancy of these people falls to 35 years of age while the national average is 75 years of age. We believe, therefore, that the normative logic produced in the media discourse strengthens these data and solidifies the configuration of hard reality by creating statements that depower these subjects, as detailed below.

Folha de S. Paulo

Folha de S. Paulo was founded in 1921 and belongs to the Frias family - one of those that control more than half of the vehicles with the largest audience in the country -, which also owns the newspaper *Agora São Paulo*, the classifieds *Alô Negócios* and the news agency *Folha Press*, besides *UOL*, one of the most accessed portals on the internet, and the research institute *Data Folha*.

This vehicle was chosen because it is the largest in digital circulation and the third in printed format in Brazil, according to data audited⁵ by the *Instituto Verificador de Circulação* (IVC)⁶. Its audience in the first decades of circulation was concentrated in the State of São Paulo. With the advent of content digitalization, however, readers sprayed all over Brazil and even outside the country. Even so, more than 70% of *Folha de S. Paulo*'s consumers belong to classes A and B (42% and 31%, respectively), according to their own survey⁷.

Analysis and discussion of the data

To facilitate the perception of how journalistic texts about transvestites and transsexuals are distributed in the *Folha de S. Paulo*, we have prepared table I. In it we have horizontally the amount of texts found by time lapse (the distribution of the years does not follow a regularity, as we can see below) and, vertically, that one by editorship in that vehicle.

As follows, there is the prevalence of journalistic texts in the daily newspapers | First Notebook, Classifieds and Culture | Illustrated, with 452, 295 and 283 occurrences, which add, respectively, 36.88%,

³ Established at the Vienna Council in 2005, this non-governmental organization works for of the life autonomy of trans people.

⁴ Retrieved October 30, 2018 from: <https://transrespect.org/en/map/trans-murder-monitoring/>

⁵ Retrieved October 30, 2018 from: <https://ivcbrasil.org.br/#/home>

⁶ The IVC is a national non-profit entity responsible for auditing the media.

⁷ Retrieved October 30, 2018 from: http://www.publicidade.folha.com.br/folha/perfil_do_leitor_nacional.shtml

24.18% and 23.19% of the total. In the remaining 15.57%, the occurrences of the other editorials fit, which shows an imbalance in the staves arranged in Interior, North and Northeast, Health and Sports and leads to partial confirmation of the established hypothesis.

In addition to the variation of discursive approaches of the words transvestite and transsexual seen over the years, the peak⁸ of subjects that approach these words occurs between 1985 and 1987, totaling 100 texts (about 8% of the total); followed by the intervals of 1960-1965, 1976-1980 and 1998-1999, with 90 texts each⁹ (about 7% of the total each). Another important point concerns the silencing of these terms in the aforementioned newspaper in the years of 1966, 1974, 1975, 1981 and 1982, reflexes 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 in the body of the text, they do not have the force of meaning, which suggests that other themes had a content more linked to the new value of those historical moments, this being a hypothesis to be investigated in due course.

Thus, we believe that such periods can be referred to as a kind of opportune space to resignify the terms, which justifies the voids in table 1 and leads us to the need to investigate this theme at a future opportunity.

Table 1 - Distribution of texts by publishing houses and years

YEAR BOOK	Cotidiano 1º Caderno	Cultura Ilustrada	Interior	Norte e Nordeste	Saúde	Classificados	Esportes	Moda*	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
TOTAL	452	283	70	70	20	295	20	10	1220

Source: Produced by the authors

Time perspective - political, behavioral and social changes

Over the decades, we have noticed, from the position of these subjects, a change in their visibility regime. From the 1960s on, the word transvestite appears in the newspaper, more specifically in the Illustrated notebook and, in that period (1960-1965), it represents 88% of the occurrences.

It is important to note that the *Ilustrada* publishing house was created in 1958, a period marked by the end of the generalized post-war 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 several editorials. In this sense, the newspaper underwent an expansion of formats and contents produced and the Illustrated notebook was an important publishing house that disseminated the cultural and counter-cultural movements expressive for the time.

If before the dictatorial period, beginning of the 1960s, transvestites gained existence in the art

⁸ An indicator for this high, we believe, is the end of the dictatorial period in the country.

⁹ One hypothesis to be investigated concerns the effects of the democratic regime in the country and its implications translated and embodied in the pages of the journal.

and culture notebook - associated with performance, dance and theatre shows - during the Dictatorship the discourse is modified, and these subjects are relegated to the police pages.

Between 1965 and 1967 these words, transvestite and transsexual, disappeared from the media and, as they reappeared in the late 1960s and early 1970s, they aligned (and remained there for the most part) with the discourse of the editors of *Cotidiano | Primeiro Caderno*, who cover cases of violence, urbanism, the environment, public administration and behavior.

In this period, the discourse changes, transvestites and transsexuals become associated with some type of violence, public policies of hygiene, precarious life styles, being positioned at the margin of collective life, a phenomenon that intensifies from half to the end of the 1970s¹⁰. This fact helps to partially confirm the hypothesis established in this study, according to which the discourses produced about these trans lives follow the historical sociopolitical logic in force during the period of their propagation

Already in the early 1980s, a decade marked by the so-called democratic transition, there was a change of publishing house due to the visibility gained by Roberta Close. Even so, the discourse of marginalization and precariousness reveals even greater strength as it expanded, in subsequent years, to newspapers in the interior of the State and to those in the North and Northeast regions. Associated with marginalization, transvestites and transsexuals are present in *Folha de S. Paulo* to this day. This is, by the way, the largest occurrence found: 37% of the total specified in table 1, that is, 452 texts identified between 1960 and 2017 are in the *Cotidiano | Primeiro Caderno* publishing house.

The effect of a social polarization, in which the different belongs to the other, we believe we can confirm the hypothesis established from the fact that the discourses produced follow the socio political logic in force in the historical period of its propagation, with effect on the creative expression of these subjects that loses space for their criminalization. This question, by the way, needs to be deepened in future opportunities, especially to better sustain the understanding of such transition.

Editorial perspective - configuration of the coverage of the trans universe by notebook

From the survey of the editorials in which they are inserted - Classified, Daily | First Notebook, Sports, Culture | Illustrated, Interior, Fashion, North and Northeast and Health - it is possible to perceive the movements of transition and media significance of both words. Thus, we find that in the established time-lapse, transvestites and transsexuals are somehow inserted in the pages of the journal in dichotomous logics of those linked to the predominant themes in each publishing house.

In the daily newspaper *Cotidiano | Primeiro Caderno*, for example, different from police articles that take several pages, the journalistic texts are smaller and refer to Roberta Close¹¹ as a transvestite. Although the news belonged to *Ilustrada*, at the beginning of 1980, the criticism is present in the reference to the model and actress, always as an ambiguous person, carnival, never as a woman.

In other words, by spreading most of the news in this notebook, 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 the *Folha de S. Paulo* discourse, transvestites and transsexuals are inserted with prostitution ads from the second half of the 1990s onwards, more specifically from 1996 onwards, with a peak between 1998 and 1999 (more than 18% of the 295 identified texts). Until then, prostitution is only associated with marginality and violence. This

¹⁰ It is worth noting that in 1977 the editorial director of the newspaper Claudio Abramo was removed from the newspaper and the journalist Boris Casoy took over as editor in chief of *Folha de S. Paulo*.

¹¹ Brazilian model and actress who was born intersexual (genetic tests proved that Roberta has mixed biological characteristics).

logic is modified by the configuration and advance of the Internet, which impacts on the remodeling of the business model, including today.

During this period, transvestites and transsexuals appear, for the first time, talking about themselves and for themselves, although, initially, ads are placed in the midst of those of real estate, vehicles, careers, businesses, among others.

Back to table 1, the logic of the prostitution ads in the 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 the sport from the repercussion of the case of Ronaldinho (Ronaldo Nazário), in which the football player called Phenomenon would not have paid for a program with transvestite Andréa Albertini in 2008.

In addition, it is relevant to realize that after a decade (1998-2008) without transvestites and transsexuals being cited in publishing linked to art and culture, in 2010, these terms reappear in the Illustrated from the approach of work and debates produced and provoked by the charismatic Brazilian cartoonist Laerte Coutinho.

Although Laerte is not a journalist, she uses her art to break with conservative discourses, which is in line with the hypothesis established in this research. Laerte's critical presence, as a representative not only of the reading public, but also as the producer of the publication, causes a microbalance in the discourse between the marginalized, the stereotyped and the subjects who propose to live a life that breaks with these patterns. Also, a few years later, more specifically between 2016 and 2017, transvestites become related to fashion, with the production of shows in which they are highlighted.

It is worth ratifying that this mapping takes into consideration the content addressed in the articles, i.e., the attempts to fix or establish meaning by journalistic texts. As the journal does not have a specific publishing house for fashion, this necessary displacement of the occurrences identified in the Daily and Illustrated editors culminates in the opening of a new block that does not follow to the letter the editorials presented by *Folha de S. Paulo* and, therefore, highlighted with an asterisk in table 1.

This content, in general, juxtaposes coverage based on the dissemination of the parades, with São Paulo Fashion Week (SPFW) being the most prominent set. Notably, these subjects bring little verbal text, many visual texts with 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, about the Health guidelines, since the mid-1990s, HIV is directly associated with transvestites and transsexuals in the journal. On the one hand, the subjects approach orientations and preventions with educational primers and AIDS support and prevention groups, such as GAPA; on the other hand, they indicate the interest of the Medical School of São Paulo of the University of São Paulo (FMUSP) and of public health researchers in the measurement of the amount of seropositive individuals and in the sexual behavior of these individuals despite the difficulty of finding subjects who accept to participate in such researches in the period.

In addition to sexual behavior and condom use, drug use, needle and syringe exchanges (in the case of injectable drugs) are also issues associated with LGBTQ+ (lesbians, gays, bisexuals, transvestites and transsexuals and more) as factors in the spread of HIV. Other topics covered are lines in hospitals and so-called sex change surgeries (gender reassignment). It should be noted that these terms are present in all ten texts identified in the editorship in this period (50% of the total) and, although imprecise¹², are commonly referred to by people today.

When observing the articles, we notice that, as is standard in most of those related to medicine

¹² This is because it is a long process because of the various demands made by public authorities. It can take up to three years and involves the participation of various professionals, such as psychologists, social workers, doctors and psychiatrists to be effective.

and health, what is disclosed is the medical discourse establishing standards of normality when defining diagnoses based on classification systems. This process of transition, which is primarily linked to the health of transvestites and transsexuals in general, is inserted in the *Cotidiano | Primeiro Caderno*.

In the following decade, the health of transvestites and transsexuals curiously does not appear in *Folha de S. Paulo*. It is from 2012, and on the occasion of the debates about hormones, that they return to their printed pages. One text in particular draws attention for addressing the hormonal balance of people who biologically and identitary recognize themselves as women. In it, transvestites are cited as representing the negative effects of the use of hormones, such as the undesirable, an example of what it is to be a woman perceived as artificial.

Although present in the ten other texts in the editorial and relevant in the transition process of the bodies of transvestites and transsexuals, in this research no narrative was identified that addresses specifically hormonal issues in these lives. The prevailing discourse is that of their association with marginality, prostitution and violence - suggesting that this group is not perceived by the publication as a significant part of its audience.

Interpretation of results

It is symptomatic that from 1996 onwards, the presence of transvestites and transsexuals in the Classifieds is also reflected in academic practices, with the expansion of oral history studies and their relationship with journalism, as well as dialogic interview techniques (Martinez, 2016; Medina, 1990; Meihy & Ribeiro, 2011). Over the years, however, these texts are intertwined with those of the other editorials in the journal.

Let us consider, therefore, that the Classifieds, just like the advertisements, are a source of income for the newspaper. In this way, its publishers create increasingly elaborate strategies for readers to be reached and influenced by the ads and for advertisers to be attracted and invest in the vehicle, whether in their printed or digital editions. This strategic elaboration is not only about buying and selling a product or service, it also encompasses the intentional appropriation of universes and modes of expression already given in the social sphere.

As much as in the advertisements analyzed transvestites and transsexuals use the first person of the verbal singular, advertising, in this case, has an action of modulation between the parties. Therefore, the referred prostitution is not only a work or a source of sustenance, but a mode of production of femininities, of a feminine ideal, and has as foundations socially established principles.

We note that becoming feminine is marked by the production of subjectivity, either by the use of clothing and markers said to be feminine, by the use of hormones, or even by performing plastic surgery and/or silicone application.

Complementarily, during the 1980s, the place of transvestites and transsexuals is tensioned in Health Care with the creation of the concept of the so-called 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 down people living with the virus and prevent new infections, being socially associated directly with LGBTQ+, especially gay men¹³, and popularly referred to as the gay plague, which expresses a social downgrading of the subjects in question.

What can be noted, therefore, is the press release of new cases of contamination added to the lack of concrete information on the mechanisms of viral transmission and treatment of the pathology that results from it, as well as the lack of treatment - the first antiviral drug (azidotimidine or AZT) was approved by the Food and Drug Administration (FDA) in 1986. This leads to a moral judgment of the disease. This

¹³ This logic remains to this day, being directly referred to in the materials managed by the Ministry of Health, whether for campaigns to prevent or contain sexually transmitted diseases (STDs).

discursive context helps society to avoid not only those infected with the virus, but also the groups at risk, in which gays were the primary protagonists and, in the sequence, transvestites and transsexuals, with whom they share this place of social exclusion.

Invisible during the long years of dictatorship, transvestites and transsexuals and HIV were the subject of the newspapers from the 1990s onwards, that is, ten years after the boom of the disease. As a result, a growing process of discrimination and violence against these subjects was engendered. 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.

Discourses that frame risk groups reflect, at that particular historical moment, another important tension factor for the perception of the newspaper's reading public: the changes in the contours of its physical boundaries, that is, the spaces of housing for the middle/high class and the peripheries of the city. In them, with the consolidation of drug trafficking, the communities cease to be the place of residence of workers, with the respective resignification of discursive matrices linked to family, work, religion - that is, to the project of social ascension - becoming a space for the expansion of the world of crime, with its discursive framework linked to the risk of sociability and criminalization molded in the "imaginary multiplication of the criminal" (Feltran, 2008, p. 187).

Specifically, about the Ronaldinho vs. Andrea Albertini case, in 2008, although famous for the visibility of that football player, the approach to the issue in the news follows the logic of marginalization of those lives. In the discourse produced by the periodical, the expression of inequality is invigorated by the highlighting of Andréa's vocabulary semantics, by the angles of the photos conveyed and even by the strength of the figure of the player in question in Brazil in the face of his narrative opponent.

Dichotomously, when transvestites and transsexuals climb the catwalk, between 2014 and 2017, the spotlights of much of the media are focused on the SPFW, which, being one of the largest fashion events in the world, was the stage for designers such as Vitorino Campos and Ronaldo Fraga to present their collections giving visibility to these subjects. In a way, such designers help to resign the political and social importance of that space. Ronaldo Fraga, for example, used the visibility of the Week to break with the current rules and the hegemony of biological women, white and thin.

The fashion theme 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 contents that also promote changes in socio-political perspectives (and why not also historical?). Thus, the parades led by transvestites and transsexuals move these people from a place directly associated with marginality.

We thus think that making visible marginalized bodies enables new social flows and the manifestation of the power of life, as well as organizes 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 new problems in the field of the collective wishing economy. It is a question of analyzing marginality, not as a psychopathological manifestation, but as the most living 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, in trying to break with the discursive logic built around transvestites and transsexuals, always represents, on one hand, a possibility of opening the social to new agencies, which before were crystallized in a hegemonic thought; on the other hand, the tone of manifestation presented in the aforementioned parades, in an event that, organized by notable marks, refers to the inclusion of transvestites and transsexuals in the logic of the capital. It is no wonder that the bodies chosen by Ronaldo Fraga are in line with the fashionable pattern, that is, tall, thin and, in their majority, white.

To think of such pattern, we look for Hardt's words, in the world society of control:

The empire always accepts the racial and ethnic differences it encounters and knows how to use them; it remains in the shadows, observes these conflicts and intervenes when an adjustment is needed. Any attempt to remain an outsider before the Empire is useless. The empire feeds on otherness, relativizing it and managing it (Hardt, 2000, p. 157).¹⁴

Thus, with the alterity nourishing the order of the capital, the life of transvestites and transsexuals, marked by a series of crossings, is gradually inserted into this logic. It is with this clothing that the current flows of the capital explore subjectivities, creativities, knowledge, 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 and Negri, 2005, p. 185).

Finally, thinking that the current logic works widely 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 segregates these people; it captures various and different processes and flows, reorganizes them and presents them in an already existing functioning and according to a single possible logic.

Other considerations and referrals

In this initial reflection we begin to unveil the implications of transvestite and transsexual lives in the field of media through the approach of journalistic narratives published in *Folha de S. Paulo* between the years 1960 and 2017, when they gradually migrated from associations linked to the arts and shows, from notebooks such as *Ilustrada*, becoming associated with marginality and criminality as a series of socio-cultural changes occur, in the case of the change of the peripheries as a space for the housing of workers to redoubts dominated by drug traffickers, noted with the expansion of the world of crime in these spaces since the 1990s. This transfer in production refers to people who recognize themselves as transvestites and transsexuals, in which 37% of the articles are published in the *Cotidiano* (see table 1).

Added to this, almost 25% of the newspaper's quotes refer to prostitution advertisements, a profession doubly marginalized in the country, since it has no state supervision and is, at the same time, more deeply discriminated against in the trans universe. The phenomenon is noted specifically from 1996 onwards, with a peak between 1998 and 1999 (more than 18% of the 295 texts identified), registering the development to follow of the Internet, which changes the journalism market as a whole and causes a change in the business model in course until the present days. Even so, in the years 2016 and 2017 30% of the references to the terms refer to the Classifieds, which is an impact that in itself would deserve further investigation. In the same direction, almost 62% of the subjects locate these people in an established place, but at the margin of the social body.

Although over the years invisibility and marginality have been discursively associated with these bodies, the Illustrated notebook, linked to the field of arts, expresses an attempt by the newspaper to break with this order by divulging plays and shows, performances and cartoons, among others, created, produced and performed by these people. Transsexuals like the cartoonist Laerte, in the year 2010 - which represents not only the universe of the reading public, but also that of the newspaper's producer - influence the discourse between the marginalized, the stereotyped and the subjects who propose to live a life that breaks with these patterns. Also, a few years later, more specifically between 2016 and 2017, transvestites become related to fashion, with the production of shows in which they are highlighted.

These findings linked to the history of the representation of the journalistic narratives of *Folha*

¹⁴ As the original: "*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*".

de S. Paulo, added to its reach as a media and its relevance in the formation of public opinion, make the newspaper's contribution to the present violence against the bodies of transvestites and transsexuals visible, since the feasible predominance of stories that marginalize and present such bodies as a social threat reflects such violence. We understand the work of communicators and journalists as co-producers of social life. As such, they are co-responsible for the practice experienced not only by a group, but also for the way we see the world and relate to it.

Even when they escape from the police magnifying glass, these people are put up as maintainers of this journalistic institution via advertisements. Therefore, and even if the arts try to break through the conservative discourses of their time, what is noticed over the years is the asymmetry in the distribution of texts by publishing house. It becomes visible, therefore, the discursive wall built to protect the conservative narrative. This structure is the same highlighted by the media for the ratification of the socio-political logic proper to each historical period in which it is broadcast with the purpose of reinforcing its own interests.

This being said, the timely provocation in the title of this reflection to recognize the urgent and continuous problematization of the impacts of journalistic praxis in the construction of pseudo-objectivities that tend to discredit and marginalize individual subjectivities that, although inalienable, are placed on the margins of society is evident.

Paradoxically, they are contextualized in a nation that kills trans people the most in the world. We also remember that this initial analysis of the data, even though it covers almost 6,000 texts distributed over almost 60 years, does not include the attempt to understand the impact of the current government, which began in January 2019, in which these and other related terms are overly stressed and whose analysis will require future investigations to ascertain its impact.

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