

From The Corner To The Office: An Analysis Of The Absence Of Transgender Women In The Formal Labor Market In Goiás

Esquina Ao Escritório: Uma Análise Sobre A Ausência De Mulheres Transexuais No Mercado De Trabalho Formal Em Goiás

De la esquina a la oficina: un análisis sobre la ausencia de mujeres transgénero en el mercado laboral formal en goiás

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Resumo

O objetivo deste estudo é analisar a ausência de mulheres transexuais nas organizações, pautando-se em depoimentos que buscam sintetizar a relação existente entre as transexuais e o mundo do trabalho em Goiás. Pretendeu-se dar visibilidade as principais dificuldades encontradas pelas transexuais ao tentar se inserir no mercado, de modo a contribuir na discussão sobre alternativas que possam promover sua inserção. Os resultados apontam que a escassez de políticas públicas e o despreparo das empresas são considerados os fatores determinantes que reafirmam sua exclusão nos espaços laborais. A abordagem metodológica concentra-se na revisão bibliográfica e na análise documental. Em decorrência da COVID-19, os depoimentos foram construídos de forma virtual, utilizando-se das tecnologias ativas. Em suma, é preciso propor ações que assegurem a participação das transexuais desde a elaboração até a implementação das estratégias empresariais e das políticas públicas que, de fato, proponham à inserção de mulheres transexuais no mercado.

Keywords: *Identidade de gênero, Mercado, Mulheres transexuais, Trabalho, Organizações.*

Resumen

El objetivo de este estudio es analizar la ausencia de mujeres transexuales en las organizaciones, a partir de testimonios que buscan aunar la relación existente entre los transexuales y el mundo del trabajo en Goiás. Se pretendía dar visibilidad a las principales dificultades que encuentran los transexuales al intentar entrar en el mercado, para contribuir con el debate sobre las alternativas que pueden favorecer su inserción. Los resultados apuntan a que la escasez de políticas públicas y la despreocupación de las empresas se consideran los factores determinantes que reafirman su exclusión en los espacios laborales. El enfoque metodológico se centra en la revisión bibliográfica y en el análisis documental. Como resultado de COVID-19, los testimonios se obtuvieron de forma virtual, utilizando tecnologías activas. En resumen, es necesario proporcionar acciones que aseguren la participación de los transexuales desde la elaboración hasta la implementación de las estrategias empresariales y las

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políticas públicas que, de hecho, proponen la inserción de las mujeres transexuales en el mercado.

Palabras Clave: *Identidad de género, Mercado, Mujeres transexuales, Trabajo, Organizaciones.*

Abstract

The aim of this study is to analyze the absence of transsexual women in organizations, based on testimonials that seek to combine the existing relationship between transsexuals and the working world in Goiás. The intention was to give visibility to the main difficulties encountered by transsexuals when trying to enter into the market, in order to contribute to the discussion about alternatives that may promote their insertion. The results indicate that the lack of public policies and the unpreparedness of companies are considered the determining factors that reaffirm their exclusion in the labor market. The methodological approach focuses on literature review and document analysis. As a result of COVID-19, the testimonials were built in a virtual way, using active technologies. In summary, it is necessary to propose actions that ensure the participation of transsexuals from the elaboration to the implementation of business strategies and public policies that could help and guarantee the insertion of transsexual women in the market.

Keywords: *Gender identity, Market, transsexual women, Labor, organizations.*

Perfiles

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Introduction

This study is part of the results of a research project which sought to understand the absence of transgender women in the formal labor market in Goiás, identifying the main difficulties they face when trying to enter the market and, at the same time, the effects of prejudice on their daily lives. Although discussions about gender and sexuality have intensified in recent years in various social spaces, especially in the corporate environment, the majority of trans people still live on the margins of society because of their gender identity and, in rare exceptions, work in formal jobs.

"This study was motivated by the unprecedented finding of a study carried out by the NGO OUT NOW, which reported in its results that trans people have limited access to work, identifying only three transgender workers among the 968 LGBTQIAP+ workers (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transvestite, transsexual, queer, intersex, asexual/agender, pansexual, among others) interviewed" (Barcellos, 2017, p.24). It is known that the number transgender women in the formal market is negligible, while their predominance is concentrated in informal activities that are discriminatorily attributed to their gender identities (nightlife, beauty services and domestic activities). Although the transformations in the world of work are evident, they still occur in a segregated and exclusionary way, so that it is not possible for there to be enough space for everyone (Moura & Lopes, 2017).

It is known that the scarcity of trans people in the job market is related, among many other factors, to a cultural process of compulsory social marginalization. In this process, individuals are forced to live and coexist on the margins of society because of their individuality, depriving themselves of the right to exercise their rights.

their civil rights and duties, including fundamental constitutional guarantees, such as access to education, health and work. In a way, this process favors the maintenance of a vicious cycle made up mainly of discrimination and prejudice, which reinforces the stereotypes associated with transsexuals, such as prostitution, crime and marginalization.

It was noted that although the inclusion of minorities in the labor market is a topic of common concern and interest to both the state and the second sector, little progress has been made in relation to the inclusion of trans women. In , both have not yet set out to develop practical actions that can enable the mass inclusion of these individuals in corporate environments. The timid initiatives that seek to integrate transgender people into the market mostly come from programmes and movements organized by the community itself, either through representative bodies or leaders of the segment.

The aim of this research is to contribute to the discussion on the subject, in order to foster the development of possible initiatives capable promoting the reintegration of transgender women into society through work, with aim of re-signifying their space in society. More specifically, the work seeks to dignify the existence of transgender women and, through this study, to break down the stigmas and prejudices historically attributed to this community. Finally, the research aims to "publicize" their daily dilemmas, through their accounts described throughout the work, in order to sensitize the reader to the countless difficulties encountered in the daily lives of these individuals.

Methodology

Social phenomena, in general, require the application of more detailed methods of analysis that are capable of encompassing all of their plurality and

which, at the same time, make it possible to explore the most diverse contexts in which it can be observed. In this sense, the qualitative approach is the most appropriate to be used in the research, since it defines, emphasizes and studies the processes involved in the research with greater prudence, paying attention to the quality of the information and the closeness of the social realities to the study proposal. This research focuses on the sample population of transsexual women.

For Souza and Bernardo (2014), the method to be used establishes a certain closeness of the research subjects to the reality in which they are inserted. According to Lüdke and André (1986), few topics can be subjected to quantitative analysis, such as problems of a social nature. According to the authors, this type of research contributes little to reflecting on socio-cultural problems. The study of the absence of transgender women in the market cannot be investigated as an immutable or limited field of study; it is necessary to consider it as a flexible topic, full of constant variations depending on the scenarios in which it is examined.

In order to do this, it is necessary to apply the field-theme method proposed by Spink (2003), which suggests bringing the researcher closer to the research and its characters, in order to generate a conflicting turmoil of arguments that contribute to the development of the research. According to the author, the field-theme should be understood as a product of social relations and, therefore, should not be associated with an absolute reality of the researcher, in order to build and expand relevant arguments for the construction of the research.

Due to the pandemic caused by COVID-19, which is currently present in almost country in the world, with a focus on the other countries that make up Latin America, the application of the method proposed by Spink becomes unfeasible through semi-presential relations with the people.

subjects of this investigation, in compliance with the health measures recommended by the World Health Organization (WHO), the Brazilian Ministry of Health and other health surveillance bodies.

This study is exploratory in nature and its main objective is to get closer to the problem in order to familiarize it and help formulate possible hypotheses (Gerhardt & Silveira, 2009). The vast majority of exploratory studies carry out a bibliographical survey, investigate the relationship between the subjects and the research problem and cautiously analyze similar published studies so that they can serve as a theoretical basis (Gil, 2007). Non-participant observation is used, with the process of communication between researcher and subjects mediated remotely, using active technologies to replace field research. To complement the composition of the methodological aspects of this research, a bibliographical review was carried out based on the various materials that contextualize themes related to the trans population and its developments, in general, with the aim of contributing to the elaboration of the theoretical field and to the analyses and discussions of the research. In short, this type of analysis aims to gather information on the problem to be investigated, in order to seek answers to it based on theoretical works that have already been published (Fonseca, 2002).

Documentary analysis is used during organization and discussion of data throughout the development of the research in conjunction with the literature review of articles, dissertations, theses, books and duly published materials. This type of analysis has the role of complementing the investigative foundation, to strategically elucidate the information contained in reference documents on the subject. In short, documentary research makes use of more diverse sources, exempting itself from analytical treatment, almost always based on government reports, official documents and the like (Fonseca, 2002).

Data collection

At this stage, virtual resources were used to establish communication between the researcher and the research subjects, by means of a questionnaire designed to obtain information that could be applied in the investigation. In its structure, specific sections were built to describe the objective of the research, its purpose and the methodology to be used, as well as requiring the express consent and confidentiality of the information provided by the subjects to the researcher.

The whole process took place virtually by exchanging e-mail addresses and messages on messaging apps. The names used to locate the research subjects are consistent with their social identification, thus preserving their real names. Nathália Espitaleta, Amanda Proença and Melyssa Agnes are the protagonists of this research. The document was divided into two parts to facilitate the analysis and interpretation of the information. In the first stage, the aim was to analyze data on schooling and socioeconomic and professional profile. In the second stage, the characters were able to talk freely about issues related to their professional experiences, their process of entering the market and the difficulties they encountered.

Particularities of the Sample

Due to the repercussions caused by COVID-19 and the effects of social isolation, many potential participants claimed that they were unwilling to contribute to the research due to their poor psychological health. For these individuals, who survive mainly on informal work or prostitution, the pandemic has drastically reconfigured their sources of livelihood, impacting to some extent on their psychosocial well-being. For others, the insecurity of talking about the subject and the fear of possible exposure, even if done confidentially, still make their participation uncertain.

To locate the research subjects, the personal reference technique was used which consists of indicating contacts of possible participants who are recommended by people who have a high degree of trust with the characters. Of the three transsexual women interviewed, one lives in Goiânia, followed by the cities of Jataí and Goianésia, geographically distributed in the northern, central and southern regions of the state of Goiás. Both are adults, aged between 24 and 40, and have a very peculiar sexual orientation, declaring themselves pansexual, heterosexual and bisexual respectively. Two of them have completed high school and one has finished her degree and is of Colombian nationality.

Currently, all the women interviewed live alone and, coincidentally, in the past they used prostitution as their main source of income. They as culture advisors, hypermarket cashiers and call center attendants and feel satisfied with their work. Unanimously, they report that they do not wish to return to sex work, but recognize that night work is more economically advantageous. They earn between one and three times the minimum wage, which often makes it impossible for them to occupy prominent positions that offer visibility and professional recognition.

They agree that organizations are not prepared to welcome transgender people, nor to integrate them as part of their workforce. One of them even reports that she took part a social selection process as a cisgender man and was not hired when she presented herself to the personnel department as a trans woman. The term "cisgender" is defined in relation to cisgender standards, which can be understood as a set of habits, customs and behaviors of people whose gender identity coincides with their anatomically constituted biological sex. In other words, this term expresses the condition of people who maintain the gender identity assigned to them

at birth (Almeida & Vasconcellos, 2018). For the most part, they can also be popularly known as heteronormative standards, i.e. a set of behaviors, habits, behaviors and sociocultural values exclusive to heterosexual individuals.

Finally, the characters, also together, believe that the state should intervene in the social problem and propose solutions capable of bringing them into the market, either through public policies or business strategies led by the second sector.

Theoretical Framework

Brief Discussions On Gender And Transsexuality

Gender identity translates into the intimate perception that each individual has in relation to the gender they identify with, regardless their biological sex (Barcellos, 2017) and refers, above all, to someone's understanding of themselves in relation to their biopsychic characteristics and sociocultural constructions, and can be classified as masculine, feminine or ambivalent (Rondas & Machado, 2015). Occasionally, the subject's gender identity may not be aligned with their assigned sex, giving rise to questions about transsexuality (United Nations Organization in Brazil [ONUBR], 2018). To understand this phenomenon, it is necessary to consider that the construction of gender overlaps with biological factors, and establishes a more coherent link with the individual's social practices and representations than with their sexual organs.

According to Santana (2016), gender issues are not restricted solely to biological characteristics, making the debate on the subject an important political tool, in order to raise questions about the different ways of constituting an individual's identity. Gender is not necessarily

This is why conceptualizing it can be a chaotic task, since its construction is understood as a process, endowed with variants that interfere in its development, not as a biologically anticipated result (Moura & Lopes, 2017). It is known that, when addressing issues related to this topic, it is necessary to adopt a subjective interpretation, in order to consider it as a topic full of contrasts and complexities that change regularly, just like sexuality, which has no constancy and manifests itself according to the desire of each individual.

Therefore, when thinking about gender, it should be analyzed as a change agent that seeks to reframe the attribution of social roles between the sexes in society (Oliveira, 2011), knowing, therefore, that it is social practices and representations that position the subject in a relationship between masculinity and femininity (Barcellos, 2017). The relationship between masculinity and femininity is constructed from the way our identity characteristics are externalized in the world, in other words, the expression of our discursive and cultural models constitutes the expression genders (Butler, 2003). For the author, gender is culturally constructed and is therefore not the result of the sex assigned at birth, nor is it as apparently immutable as sex itself.

However, society has come to establish that gender definitions should be used solely to sentence anatomical differences between individuals, which is why it is customary to relate sexual orientation, biological sex and gender (Santos, Ramos, Silva & Magrini, 2018). For example, the birth of a female child generates a social expectation regarding its female gender and heterosexuality, based on the assumption that this scenario is considered ideal by society

(Butler, 2003). However, there are individuals who do not fit into the heteronormative patterns culturally established by society and do not recognize themselves in any of the current gender structures created by society. What these people want, above all, is to be recognized as members of the gender with which they identify (Pedra, Sousa, Rodrigues & Silva, 2018).

In an attempt to integrate into society, individuals are forced to conform to the hegemonic cisgender gender standard, almost always resulting in significant renunciations of social deprivation and indispensable rights (Rondas & Machado, 2015). When these individuals do not fit into the cisgender standards imposed by society, they are automatically inferiorized, and the illusory authority of the subject considered "normal" towards the subject considered different arises (Pedra et al., 2018). In this way, a cultural process of compulsory marginalization is established, where the individual who does not fit the heteronormative gender standard is forced to live and coexist on the margins of society, due to their individuality. These individuals are known as transsexuals.

The term "trans" generally means change, transit or transformation of already established parameters (Almeida & Vasconcellos, 2018). A transsexual is an individual who has an incompatibility between their gender identity and their biological sex, and may or may not have surgery to readjust their sexual organ in order to physically approximate their gender expression. In short, transsexuality can be interpreted as a feeling that does not meet the socially defined expectations of the individual's anatomical sex, and they may undergo surgical treatments to adapt their body to their identity condition (Souza & Bernardo, 2014).

Bento (2017) states that transsexuals generally don't have any biological problems, but in some cases surgery may prove to be the only way to find meaning in their lives.

their existence. The process of sexual resignation varies according to the individual's particular needs. For part of the community, making changes to their physical body can make them more in tune with their gender identity, enabling a certain balance between physical and mental health, although this procedure is not considered a determining factor in affirming their identity.

It is known that the affirmation of an individual's gender identity is linked to their own self-determination, i.e. it is up to the individual to define themselves and consequently affirm their own identity (Bento, 2017). In general, transsexual people yearn to be accepted and socially integrated into the gender with which they identify, knowing that the criterion that defines whether a person is transsexual or not is conditioned solely by their identity (Ministry of Human Rights [MDH], 2018). As , trans individuals begin to adopt habits, mannerisms and behaviours characteristic of the gender to which they feel they belong, performing their social roles according to the way in which they recognize themselves (Barcellos, 2017).

However, these individuals are under enormous social pressure to meet the expectations defined for their gender and often experience situations of exclusion, causing great psychological suffering and significant social deprivation (Souza, 2012). For the author, spaces such as work and school are not prepared to deal with diversity, even though they are decisive for the emergence and perpetuation of stigmas and prejudices. It is known that social exclusion is a reality experienced by this group who, in some way, restricted from access to work, with only informal underemployment and, in isolated cases, rare employment records (Carvalho, 2006).

The Transsexual Woman and Her Everyday Dilemmas

Work, in addition to satisfying

It represents kind of social identity that contributes significantly to determining the subject's position in society (Souza & Bernardo, 2014). It is through it that human identity is formed, transforming ourselves, the people around us and our world (Jesus, 2018). It aims to help individuals develop their skills and find meaning for their existence in society (Souza, 2012). However, although it is considered a constitutional prerogative and one of the main fundamental guarantees of universal rights, not all individuals are able to access work equally, especially marginalized groups, whether due to issues related to qualifications or prejudice.

As a result of their individualities, many transgender women face difficulties in finding formal employment, either due to their low level of education, the result of exclusion, or their gender status (Licciardi, Waitmann & Oliveira, 2015). Transgender women are usually understood as a specific subgroup of the female population, linked to the LGBTQIAP+ community, and as such deserve to be understood based on their differences, in order to prevent them from becoming invisible (Pedra et al., 2018). A transsexual woman is considered to be an individual who still has male traits and physiognomy, which can be identified in their voice, body and mannerisms, but who does not recognize themselves and/or fit into the concepts socially attributed to their birth gender (Gonçalves, 2019). According to the author, transsexual women distort the characteristics associated with their biological gender with the intention of involuntarily formulating a new concept of what is considered to be a woman.

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These individuals can also be understood as characters who do not adapt to their anatomically assigned sex, and in some cases may go so far as to adapt their bodies to resemble femininity (Conselho Nacional de Combate

à Discriminação [Council], 2004). In a way, the alteration of their physical characteristics, in most cases, is related to sexual reassignment surgery, which provides not only intimate recognition of their identity, but also possible social acceptance (Barcellos, 2017). When referring to transsexuals, a kind of "extra burden" attributed to them, which intensifies as a result of the social construction of the feminine ideal, which contradicts itself in the masculine traits that still exist, escaping the standards set by society (Carvalho, 2006).

According to the author, society is often so unforgiving of those who deviate from hegemonic norms that it ends up interfering in their daily lives, limiting their freedoms, choices and opportunities. This heteronormative culture, which denies the gender identity of transsexuals, triggers early social distancing, indirectly delimiting the spaces that should or should not be occupied, including access to the job market (Gonçalves, 2018). Frightened, most transsexuals are forced to live with the contempt of people who neither recognize them nor accept their gender identities, making their inclusion in society an increasingly difficult and complex process (Licciardi, et al., 2015).

This is because transsexuals are not considered to be "women", as well as being discriminated against and associated with socially "reprehensible" attitudes, which is why they encounter a great deal of resistance when it comes to accessing the formal labor market (Almeida & Vasconcellos, 2018). Rejected because of their gender individuality, these people seek their livelihood in the informal sector, making prostitution and petty crime a habit, which also puts them under the yoke of society (PEDRA et al., 2018). They are often associated with violence, drug trafficking and other unusual situations, thanks to the efforts of the news media, which are responsible for highlighting arrests, murders and any scandal in which they are involved (Rondas & Machado, 2015).

Consequently, some transsexuals associate themselves with marginalization as a method of protection and economic survival, and establish, against their will, a direct dependence on criminal organizations and illegal trafficking and prostitution networks, which can often result in imprisonment or death. The study by the National Association of Transvestites and Transsexuals of Brazil (ANTRA, 2018) reports that in 2018 there were a total of 163 murders of trans people in Brazil, 158 of whom were transvestites and transsexual women.

"According to the report published by Trans Murder Monitoring (TMM, 2018, Press Release), known as an international organization that monitors cases of transphobia around the world, from January 2008 to June 2016 around 2,190 transsexuals were killed, with 39.6% of the cases recorded in Brazil alone." In general, transphobia is the specific type of prejudice, discrimination and/or violence practiced against transgender people because of their gender identity, but it also functions as an umbrella foundation that encompasses all the other prejudices experienced by these individuals (Almeida & Vasconcellos, 2018). In general, it manifests itself in the form of exclusion, aggression (physical, emotional and psychological) or even murder, as well as an excessive concern on the part of others to ensure that transgender people follow the social roles culturally associated with their biological sex (MDH, 2018).

According to more recent research, also produced by TMM in 2018, the country leads the ranking of murders, accounting for 45.2% of deaths (TMM, 2018, Press Release). In addition to the high mortality rate, the trans population still lives with other indices considered alarming, such as the low rate of occupation of vacancies in the market and the school dropout rate for the years of basic education (Pedra et al. 2018).

ANTRA (2018) reports that around 90% transvestites and transsexual women still use prostitution as their main source of income, due to their low level of education and prejudice, which makes it difficult for them to enter the formal job market. Sex work itself is not to blame for the precarious situation of trans people; it is just a symptom of the structural transphobia that is systematically present in society (Jesus, 2018). In exceptional cases, formal work opportunities outside of prostitution are concentrated in general services, cleaning, food and, to a greater extent, beauty salons (Carvalho, 2006). "On average, 50.8% of trans women supplement their income by working as hairdressers, but 49.2% still occupy positions that hardly allow for professional development or growth, working as cooks, maids and other jobs, according to the results of the Trans Project of the Center for Human Rights and LGBT Citizenship of the Federal University of Minas Gerais" (NUH/UFGM, 2015).

Although discussions about gender and sexuality have intensified in recent years in various social spaces, especially in the academic sphere, the majority of trans individuals still live at the extreme end of society due to their individuality, and in rare exceptions occupy spaces in the formal labor market that guarantee them a leading role and visibility. The lack of professional qualifications coupled with a low level of schooling, the result of school dropout due to discrimination, are considered predominant factors that reaffirm the scenario of social segregation among transsexuals, directly impacting their professional trajectory.

According to NUH/UFGM (2015), only 2.2% of a small sample of transsexuals have a university degree and 59.4% have not yet finished high school. According to the Brazilian Association of Lesbians, Gays, Bisexuals, Transvestites and Transsexuals (ABGLT, 2016, p.28), just over 60% of LGBTQIAP+ students feel unsafe in educational institutions because of their gender.

gender identity or sexual orientation. Although it is also considered a constitutional right guaranteed by the state, access and permanence in educational environments become a daily obstacle for social minorities, especially for the trans community, which deals with harmful prejudice in the school context on a daily basis. It is assumed that the problem is not one of access to education, but of difficulties in guaranteeing permanence at school, especially when the trans individual begins to perform their gender identity (Almeida & Vasconcellos, 2018).

When rejection is present in the family, the transsexual is left on the street and associated with unconventional ways of making a living, being subject to situations that can lead to illness and social and physical death (Rondas & Machado, 2015). The participation of the family can be decisive in helping to overcome the difficulties encountered at school, but unfortunately this happens in the minority of cases (Souza & Bernardo, 2014). The speech of Amanda, 32, a call center attendant, illustrates the dilemma that exists between the relationship between the family and the school:

I was bullied a lot as a child and teenager. I had no family support. Family is the basis for many people, if there wasn't so much prejudice, surely the lives of many transvestites and transsexual women would be different. In my case, it got in the way a lot because I dropped out of a degree course due to a lack of financial support, which could have been solved with the help of my parents, so I ended up getting to know the world of prostitution.

The school, as a training ground, reproduces dominant ideologies and knowledge, thus excluding other knowledge and forms of knowledge, as well as perpetuating current practices in society (Campos & Pereira, 2018), so that discrimination and prejudice are considered part of this hegemonic process. According to ABGLT (2016, p.30), almost a third (31.7%) of LGBTQIAP+ students are LGBTQIAP+.

said they missed at least one day a month because they felt insecure or embarrassed. the main causes of transsexuals dropping out of school, according to the study, were early work (25%), prejudice at school (18.2%) and homophobic violence (9.9%), in addition to physical aggression, their daily lives are permeated by disrespect for the use of their social name, difficulties in accessing female , hostile relations with teachers, colleagues and other school staff, which end up demotivating them on a daily basis" (NUH/UFGM, 2015).

In the case of Melyssa, 40, a hypermarket cashier, it is clear that the factors that almost defined her dropping out of school were associated with the prejudice she experienced within the educational environment, which, in turn, are understood as reflections of dominant behaviors in society:

I suffered a lot of prejudice and had to exclude myself from school games and experiences so that I wouldn't have too many problems. I was always with girls who understood me, but there were always "bad" jokes and even insults. I always carried on because I always liked studying and I suffered a few "bules", like in the bathroom where I had to go without going to the bathroom for a while for fear of being harassed or something worse. In my day there was no social name, so it was always very difficult to be called by your ID.

This panorama extends across all school grades, especially in the early years of secondary school, where episodes of bullying are accentuated and materialize due to bodily changes and the formation of personality traits, becoming a vicious process of exclusion. "According to the report on LGBTQIAP+ violence in Brazil, organized by

by the Diversity Policy Clinic at the Law School of the Getúlio Vargas Foundation in São Paulo (FGV/SP), school prejudice, if not combated in the right way and at the right age, causes perverse effects that forever impact the trajectory of these people" (FGV/SP, 2020, p. 20). For Nathália, 24, a psychologist and civil servant, the struggle to stay in school was related to building her identity, even if she hadn't yet formed one. The culture advisor says:

I suffered a lot of discrimination. I came to understand what it was like to be trans when I finished school. I continued my studies because I lived near the school and ended up learning to fend for myself. Prejudice at school level was always present, but I ignored it because at the time, no matter sure I was of my "difference", I still didn't know who I was and I needed to find out. Only education would give me that.

The majority of transgender individuals feel pressured to abandon their studies in order to avoid further suffering caused by the prejudice present in educational environments (Souza & Bernardo, 2014). According to the authors, there is supposed to be a vicious circle: prejudice in childhood hampers their academic career and the lack of training, along with the exclusion caused by social prejudice, leaves them with few job options. Therefore, the absolute majority of transsexuals face difficulties when trying to enter the market, even in the most precarious forms of work (Kaffer, Ramos, Alves & Tonon, 2016). The body, in turn, can also be considered an element that makes it difficult for transgender women to enter the job market due to their own peculiarities, present in the voice and in some physical traits (Almeida & Vasconcellos, 2018).

According to the authors, being transsexual "is stamped on your face" and is something that, in general, cannot be hidden, since your gender identity is experienced in a more ostentatious way and is, of

in some way, marked on their body, in their mannerisms and/or social behavior. Prejudice already materializes at the pre-contractual moment, knowing that gender identities are not "hidden" or "omitted" directly, but are presented in the lives of these individuals, whether in their performances or physiognomy (Menezes, Oliveira & Nascimento, 2018). According to the authors, organizations can use issues related to their sexual characteristics to prevent, exclude, limit or hinder the access and permanence of these individuals in the job market due to their gender identity.

In practice, transsexual women who seek to integrate into the market can generate conflicts, even if unintentionally, either through their physiognomy or behavior, because they "challenge normativity" by trying to occupy spaces that are not linked to marginality (Gonçalves, 2019). According to the author, just by making attempts like this, trans women break with the stigmas associated with delinquency and, at the same time, provoke possible discussions in society about inclusion strategies aimed at the community itself. For this population, entering the market is not just about access to employment, but about being able to develop their professional potential, without hindering their career, with dignified treatment and the freedom to express themselves without embarrassment or superior repression (International Labor Organization [ILO], 2015).

It is known that discussions seeking the inclusion of transgender people in various social environments, especially the job market, are increasingly common internationally, but are still considered emerging in Brazil (Santos et al., 2018). According to Jesus (2018), there are very few existing initiatives that seek to include trans people in the market. Among the few initiatives dedicated to promoting the inclusion of transsexuals in the job market, we highlight the Transcidadania program, developed and maintained by the São Paulo City Hall, through the Human Rights and Citizenship Secretariat and the Transcidadania program.

o Transempregos website, exclusively for advertising job vacancies for transsexuals and transvestites. In short, the Transcidadania program provides for the reintegration of the individual into society, in order to facilitate access to essential public services and the fulfillment of fundamental rights and guarantees, offering professional technical training, specialized health monitoring, combating school dropouts, among other objectives that together seek to promote the full exercise of citizenship for these individuals.

TransEmpregos, on the other hand, can be considered an accessible and free virtual tool that brings together recruiters from partner companies and potential candidates for the vacancies on offer. In general, the virtual initiative, conceived by leaders of the trans movement itself, seeks to promote access to the formal job market for transvestites and transsexuals in an innovative, practical and inclusive way. However, although there are a few initiatives proposing the inclusion of trans people in the market, it is still too early to say that organizations, in general, are even remotely prepared to do so. o sufficient to deal adequately with the individualities of these subjects.

This is due to the fact that most companies still adopt heteronormative practices and customs in their daily internal policies, which consequently tend to suppress timid attempts to value diversity in the workplace, with the intention, even if unintentional, of preserving a supposedly fragile hegemonic superiority over differences. In short, society, most of which is made up of heterosexual individuals, tends to shy away from minorities such as transsexuals for fear of stigma, contributing to this part of society itself being subjected to a condition of invisibility (Kaffer et al., 2016).

Results and Discussions

From the interviewees' perspective, the absence of transgender women in the formal job market is mainly down to two main points: the negligence of the state and the unpreparedness of organizations. In recent years, although some progress has been made by the second sector in dealing with the issue, through campaigns to value diversity and inclusion strategies in the corporate environment, few public policies have been created with the aim of working employability and providing access to the job market for trans people. For Jesus (2018), the Brazilian state needs to take responsibility for the absence of these public policies that guarantee formal work for the trans population, since the few existing initiatives come from trans people themselves.

In order to create a public policy with this focus, it is necessary to recognize gender identities and propose specific actions aimed at trans women, so that the state can adapt public policies to their realities (Pedra et al., 2018). However, according to the authors, the actions of the state and its institutions are superficial, because they do not guarantee the full exercise of citizenship, nor respect for the dignity of the human person, since they are based on retrograde understandings of the subject. Although the state has made considerable progress on the issue, such as the use of the social name and recognition of the identity of transgender people, it is still unable to guarantee its effectiveness or even its correct application, due to the lack of control and/or inspection instruments to ensure its effectiveness.

To resolve this impasse, we need to build a trans employability policy that is nationwide in scope and with the effective participation of the community itself, through social movements and representative bodies. These, in turn, must be actively involved from the creation process to the monitoring of these policies.



They try to convey to the state, through the stories of their daily experiences, the main difficulties faced by the community on a daily basis when trying to enter the formal market, outlining public policies that actually contribute to social transformation. In order to be successful at some point, it is necessary to adopt a more emphatic stance towards the state, demanding that it fulfill its goals and commitments towards the community and its entities. It is necessary to have an interventionist state in the face of various social problems (Menezes et al., 2018).

These goals must include deadlines and the necessary investments that need to be established within the policies themselves, formulated together with the community, classifying them by priority, according to the most emerging needs of the trans population. However, between the law and everyday practices there is a significant gap of contradictions, knowing that the same state that recognizes trans people's right to gender identity is the same one that neglects them when they need it most (Bento, 2014). For Nathália, "the biggest barrier is the lack of public policies that guarantee formal work for trans women. When companies hire us, they pay attention paradigms and don't allow us access to decent work."

When asked about the absence of transgender women in the job market, Melyssa positions the state and its inertia as determining factors in perpetuating the stigmas associated with marginalization. According to her, the public authorities could play a leading role in the integration process, but for reasons as yet unknown, they do not. Melyssa says:

I believe that the greatest difficulty faced by transvestites and transsexuals is preparing for the competition, that is, professional training. Perhaps because they didn't "have" the conditions for it at another time, or because they didn't have

got jobs because of their gender identity. But in any case, the public authorities needed to understand that these people should be included in these spaces. Perhaps "have" quotas for public tenders and thus give these people, who were also unable to attend school, the opportunity to be involved in some kind of activity, be it as a civil servant. Offer projects, like the Public Prosecutor's Office in Goiás, which "gives" professional training to people in vulnerable situations. I believe that many trans people would like to have opportunities in the job market, being respected as a working person and not being seen as a trans person. That would be the first step, by the public authorities.

In a complementary way, Amanda's account attributes prejudice as one of the main causes for the lack of trans women in corporate environments. In her speech, Amanda also reiterates that the state should intervene in this issue and, above all, offer mechanisms that can preserve the human dignity of its own community. Amanda says:

It's a delicate issue that encompasses everything, not just the educational or professional field. Prejudice must be abolished, people are people, they must be respected and there must be equity, equal rights and opportunities. Inclusion without gender and/or sexual orientation (condition) labels. Public authorities must intervene, as this is a human rights issue. The most affected part of transvestites and transsexuals is their human dignity. If there were equality and respect, then many transvestites and transsexuals would like to have a formal job.

However, the state's inertia in relation to public policies is not the only factor directly influencing the scarcity of trans women on the market. Sexist culture, present in abundance

in the labor market often makes access to employment unattainable for transgender women (Pedra et al., 2018). Hostility, teasing, harassment, prejudice disguised as abuse of authority and pay can be considered factors that directly contribute to the low rate of transgender women in the job market (Rondas & Machado, 2015). In addition, heterosexual people in the workplace tend to shy away from minorities for fear of stigma, contributing to this section of society being subjected to a condition of constant invisibility (Kaffer et al., 2016). Melyssa, although she is employed by a hypermarket chain that is spearheading inclusion initiatives for social minorities in the country, has already suffered the effects of prejudice in the form of harassment and embarrassment in the professional environment. In her speech, she says:

I've always suffered sexual harassment colleagues. Perhaps not because of my gender identity, but perhaps because of the body I have... a certain "beauty". It attracted people, and it still does today. What I also always suffered from were jokes like: "How dare you?" But it never happened in front of me, I always knew about it. It was kind of veiled discrimination and prejudice.

Amanda recounts an even more delicate situation that sums up the unpreparedness of organizations and their employees when dealing with transgender women. After this event, in her own words, her privacy was violated in such a way that the consequences have not been remedied to this day. She says:

I've suffered harassment, humiliation, embarrassment and violence (verbal, moral and psychological). I worked at Atento in 2012 and those were the worst months of my life. To it off, I was unfairly dismissed. That wound has healed, but the marks of what I went through will unfortunately always exist. In 2015 I worked for another call center company. I was respected

by the company and my superiors, but my genitalia was questioned a lot by my coworkers. No place is really prepared.

For most transsexuals, the prejudice and discrimination they suffer in the job market is directly linked to a lack of information and unpreparedness on part of organizations to deal with aspects related to transsexuality (Licciardi, et al., 2015). For the authors, issues such as understanding gender identity, respect for sexual diversity and inclusion strategies must be problematized so that we can achieve a society that is as close as possible to what is required by law. In short, the challenges of including transsexuals in the market range from the recruitment and selection process to everyday life, which can be influenced by factors such as transphobia and the difficulties of effectively accepting the social name (Teixeira, 2019).

In her last speech, Melyssa exemplifies the relationship between transsexuals and the job market. As soon as she tries to establish her first contact in search of a job, after completing her transition, she is faced with an undesirable scenario, where the market and employers deny job opportunities based on the social stigmas culturally associated with the community. She concludes that

I looked for work and couldn't find it because I didn't have a name that matched my gender identity, or even because my employers didn't recognize that my identity would have anything to do with my ability. I believe that what keeps trans people out of the job market the most is the employer "feeling" that this person is not capable of doing any job and always stigmatizing that trans people are always involved in prostitution, always "barraqueiras" or something necessarily linked to sex. That's why I had no other choice, I decided to live off prostitution until I had my registration rectified and my sex reassignment surgery so that I could feel complete with myself and be able to

face the job market. After that, I've always been seen and respected as a cisgender woman. In the company where I work, I'm just another employee and everyone, including my supervisor, treats me as such.

Quota programs, employee training and awareness-raising, through respect for the social name and the use of common spaces according to the gender with which the person identifies, would represent a huge step forward for the issue in organizations (Almeida & Vasconcellos, 2018). However, it is important to emphasize that combating the various forms of prejudice in the workplace is a role that falls not only to the state, but to joint action by employment institutions (Menezes et al., 2018).

In this sense, in order to find practical solutions that make it increasingly possible for trans women to enter the market, broad discussions on the subject should be proposed, in order to emphasize their daily dilemmas and consider them as the driving force behind public policies and strategies for inclusion and combating prejudice in the . The impacts and social transformations sought through the product of these discussions will only be achieved with the protagonist participation of these individuals, so as to consider their speeches as the central axis of the whole process.

Final considerations

Transsexuality in general, although it is conceptualized as a unique identity behavior of certain individuals, is still understood by a considerable part of society as a subversive issue associated with marginality. The need to address the issue as a matter of social order is still seen as a recent problem. In the case of transgender women, a process of social exclusion based on a vicious cycle that originates in family rejection, causing school drop-outs, making it difficult for them to come out, is prevalent.

informality and prostitution as methods of survival. This involuntary process is what sustains social stigmas.

Before discussing the conclusive aspects of the research, it can be deduced that social marginalization is an exclusive product of hetero-normative society, which, among other functions, makes it impossible for trans people to occupy social spaces, including the corporate environment. The aim of this study was to analyze the absence of transgender women in the formal job market in Goiás, based on their brief accounts of life and professional experiences and the relevant literature on the subject. The results pointed to the negligence of the state and the incompetence of second sector organizations.

Above all, it is a question of seriously discussing the daily problems that transsexuals face in relation to the job market and highlighting, through their stories, the structural deficiencies present in the market and in public authorities when dealing with the problem. Practical answers must be sought to create conditions for trans people, especially transvestites and transsexual women, to access work in an equitable way, in the knowledge that these individuals do not fit into the hegemonic model conditioned by society.

It is necessary to build more than just a harmonious relationship between the state and the second sector on this issue. It is assumed that both must do their utmost to develop joint actions capable of creating, regulating, promoting, executing and supervising initiatives that propose the restoration of human dignity through work for transgender women.

Therefore, it is essential to keep it and, at the same time, to involve the subjects of this research in the construction of these paths, in order to ostensibly combat the transphobic practices, behaviors and behaviors that make it impossible for transsexuals, in proportions,

to access the formal labor market without prejudice, attacks or hostility to their gender identity.

In short, it is hoped that this study will contribute to disseminating, even if superficially, the daily problems of transgender women, so as to make their life experiences and daily battles increasingly discussed and understood by academia and society.

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