"I MADE TIETA'S RETURN": A MAPPING OF A TRANS WOMAN'S DESIRES AND AFFECTIONS

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ABSTRACT

This article is an excerpt from my PhD research. Here I tried to think from the speech of a trans woman, Maria Eduarda, the processes of subjectivation that she faces until her sex reassignment surgery and her return to her hometown. In an interview of just over an hour in length, she tells me about her problems with her social name at the University where she studied, as well as what she called psychological difficulties, which I problematize here from the perspective of theorists of transfeminist, cuir and decolonial theory. Arriving at the University is accompanied by the creation of a series of state and government policies that enabled new routes that could be taken by other segments of society, such as trans women. Therefore, here I narrate these micro cuts in the hard order and other possibilities of subjectivation invented by these subjects.

Keywords: Trans Women. Cartography. Public Policies. University.

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INTRODUCTION

THE FIRST STEPS...

 This text arises as part of my doctoral research at the São Paulo State University. In this one, I mapped the trajectories of trans women who reached the Brazilian Public University. Here, I use the term trans women, which is coined by transsexual activism itself to designate transvestites and female transsexuals, as narrated in his thesis, Mario Carvalho (2015). Here in this weave, I will problematize the narrative of one of these trans women I interviewed, Maria Eduarda[2]. During her account, she says a sentence: "*I did Tieta's return*"[3], referring to Jorge Amado's character (2009), Tieta, which the writer brings in his book of the same name *Tieta do Agreste,* released in 1977. In this one, Amado (2009) brings the young Tieta who for her free sexuality is denounced to her father, by her sister Perpetua. Battered, she is still expelled from the city where she lived, Santana do Agreste. Years later he returns to his Santana, rich and owner of political power, where he ends up helping many of those who were responsible for his expulsion. It is precisely this return that Maria Eduarda refers to, right after having her sex reassignment surgery, or as she calls it"*Vaginoplasty*". In this way, her speeches are brought to think about the deterritorializations of this trans woman. We understand deterritorialization as the "abandonment of a territory" is what Rogério Haesbaert (2002, p. 8) says, to build another territory, now as a trans woman "*vagina*". So I try to bring your narrative to think *"This security that vaginoplasty gave me"* (Maria Eduarda) so that she can finally return to the college she attended and to her hometown.

 Maria Eduarda is a trans woman and resident of the northeast region of Brazil. With a degree in psychology, she told me about her time at university, which coincides with her sex reassignment surgery. When asked by me about this period, about her daily life in this environment, she replies that she did not suffer directly from other people difficulties, violence, *"transphobia",* (Maria Eduarda) but that her difficulties were "*Psychological* [...] *It wasn't easy, it's not easy, even more so for me than it was twelve years ago"* (Maria Eduarda). Therefore, I will problematize his account in order to think about the tricks of biopower, according to Michel Foucault (1988), which will produce bodies that are adequate to the norms, far from contestations. Bodies that are historically constructed, colonized

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[2] Fictitious name, modified at the request of the interlocutor.
[3] I choose to highlight the lines of the narrator Maria Eduarda. So these will appear in italics and in quotation marks.

under the aegis of a discourse that inaugurates who speaks and where they speak. I will think about your narrative emphasizing the difficulties"*psychological"* of Maria Eduarda in dealing with her transsexuality in the University environment, her fears of being called by her registered name, to her "*Tieta's return*", "*operated and more mature*" (Maria Eduarda).

THE RESEARCH

This research began when I came across a newspaper article that spoke of the defense of a thesis by a transvestite. This was Luma Andrade, whom she had defended in the Graduate Program in Education at the Federal University of Ceará. By giving this news in a tone of great news, the newspaper meant a space, a place that they, trans women, did not yet occupy and that they were now about to be part of. The unusualness of the fact reveals more about the social refusals to trans women than about Luma's intellectual capacities. I wondered why a transvestite earning a doctorate generated such a frenzy? Why are they so little represented in this space of the university, as suggested by the astonishment of the news? So I went to problematize this issue and realized that trans women in the university is still a subject little debated by researchers in the area.

Much research on transvestites and transsexuals in Brazil has already been produced. Larissa Pelúcio (2009) lists, up to the date of publication of her thesis, which is an ethnography on transvestites, a vast bibliography on this theme: "Silva. 1993, Kulick. 1998, Oliveira. 1994, Oliveira. 1997, Denizart. 1997, Jayme. 2001, Patrício. 2002, Peres. 2005, Benedetti. 2005, Vale. 2005, Cardozo. 2006" (PELÚCIO, 2009, p. 33). And in addition to these we have, Berenice Bento, (2006), Tiago Duque (2009), Thiago Sabatine, (2012, 2017), Jader Nogueira (2013), Mario Carvalho (2015), Kesia Melo (2016), Thiago Oliveira (2016), Tamires Barbosa (2017), Rubens Modesto (2018). An expressive bibliography being produced on transvestites and transsexuals. Much of this research was done based on the phenomenon of prostitution involving transvestites and transsexuals. The ethnographies of Silva, (1993), Kulick, (1998), Denizart, (1997), Benedetti, (2005), Pelúcio, (2007), show that prostitution was largely part of the daily life of transvestites and this was taken as a constituent element of identity. And only more recently, in the research of Luma Andrade (2012), Adriana Sales (2012, 2018), Marina Reidel (2013), the school becomes the focus of analysis. It is important to emphasize in these researches, which have the school as a field, that they were carried out by people who identify themselves as transvestites. Added to these are the research of Melo (2016), Oliveira (2016), Barbosa (2017), Modesto (2018),

which problematize other spaces, such as preparatory courses for transvestites and transsexuals, which Tamires Barbosa (2017) did. Modesto's (2018) research problematizes the daily life of a transsexual teacher in the Congonhas school system - MG[4]. These reveal other possible spaces, which now become the focus of analysis. There seems to be a shift in the gaze that sees the school as a problematization.

However, what the first surveys reveal to us and that we can still notice today is that the most visible phenomenon in relation to transvestites is prostitution. In view of the large number of works by these social scientists addressing this fact. However, as already mentioned, social and cultural changes have promoted other places in which these people circulate. Other spaces, other landscapes they inhabit. Other physical and psychosocial terrains.

The entry of these trans women into the University is now showing itself as a phenomenon that draws our attention. What seems to be new in this fact is that many of these people enter and do so already identifying themselves as transvestites and transsexuals. For example, in her autoethnographic dissertation, Viviane Vergueiro (2015) says that only after finishing her degree and "working as an internal controls analyst in a multinational mining industry" (p. 24) did she decide, after much reflection on her "coming out of the closet" (p. 24), to live in Viviane. I cite other examples such as Márcia Rocha, a lawyer and the first transvestite to use her social name in the OAB registry, also living in Márcia Rocha some time after graduating, having had a daughter and being successful in the job market (MOIRA, NERY, ROCHA, BRANT, 2017, p. 114). What seems to me to exist is the construction of another territory. It seems like a change that is underway. It is the process that I propose to think about. To bring this process, I went after trans women who went through the university.

To be able to reach them, I try to create what I call a network of affections. I sought to compose, with those trans women who achieved visibility in the university scenario, these affections that I speak of. Ask them to indicate others who are also building the same path. That they could bring their life experiences, with a focus on basic education, their arrival at the university and their stay in this space. So that we can see in the speeches of these women, their perceptions. I didn't analyze these lines looking to find something they already had beforehand. I wanted to let them show themselves. My attention should work openly,

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[4] Available at: http://www.ufop.br/noticias/pos-graduacao/dissertacao-de-mestrado-aborda-resistencia-de-professora-trans.

without a specific focus, but always attentive to the process. Well, it is together with the process that I proposed to compose this cartography of desires and affections.

I problematized their trajectories and thought about this construction of escape routes in the composition of other habitable territories. This movement of production of universes triggered by desire. This is how this cartography was made, "valuing what happens in the intervals and interstices, understanding them as potentially formed and creators of reality" (COSTA, 2014, p. 70). Much more than worrying about essences, with questions that already have answers, it is the movement of making oneself that the cartographer deals with. Cartography is the one that traces the lines of the terrain, "an investigative practice that, instead of seeking a result or conclusion, seeks to follow processes" (COSTA, 2014, p. 70). It is the process of constituting another territory that I propose to do here. For this I sought its manifestations in composing these lines, through cartography.

Virgínia Kastrup, Eduardo Passsos and Liliana da Escóssia (2015) in *Clues from the cartographic method*, propose to think about the word methodology – "*Metaphor*, it is a path (*Lots*) determined by goals (*meter*) that are established so that one's own walk is done" (p. 10). "Cartography proposes a methodological reversal: transforming the *meta-hodes* in *Goal Modes*" (p. 10). This is done so that experimentation is used instead of application. Much more than arriving, the important thing is to walk. "With this, rigor is not given up, but this is resignified. The rigor of the path, its precision, is closer to the movements of life or to the normativity of the living" (p. 11). It proposes to open affections, that is, to encounters. In cartography, one does not want to go to the object of study to analyze it and thereby reveal what it is. But cartography wants to trace the lines of flight of desire. He wants to think about the places in which he finds himself. As this is always production, becoming, cartography traces the accidents of the terrain. The unevenness. Cartography accompanies processes. The cartographer is the one who will trace this movement of the real. What "matters to the cartographer is that theory is always cartography – and so it is made together with the landscapes whose formation he accompanies" (ROLNIK, 2011, p. 65). Therefore, it is this process, which is never rectilinear, which is done in the multiplicity of the real that the cartographer deals with.

> Cartography has a special language, like carpenters, it just wants to know what tools to use, how they work, what they can create, never why to build. It borrows from objects only their forces, not the forms, but the material for making forms; not its

history and scenarios, but the elements of its matter (OLIVEIRA; PARAÍSO, 2012, p. 165).

Thus, a cartographer is a builder, a composer of this landscape that is formed in many directions and in many ways. Cartography can also be used to weigh as a challenge to this only way of producing knowledge. From a single place in the world, with a single sex, with a single sexuality, a single color/ethnicity, with a single gender and a single identity. To do so, we will look for the between places, the escape routes, which here manifested itself in *Tieta's turns"* (Maria Eduarda).

MARIA EDUARDA, OR THE TIETA WHO RETURNS

I came to Maria Eduarda through a psychologist friend who in his doctorate researched beauty contests for trans women. When we talk about our research, he tells me that he knew Maria Eduarda. He gives me his phone number and I start making the first contacts. She was very receptive, I explained about the research project and about my other experiences in conversations with trans women, in the master's thesis. It was a winter afternoon when we talked. She had a precise, strong speech that gave me lightness. And so she narrates part of her story:

And it started in the psychology course when I was like this, in fact even though I went with long hair it was when I think in the fourth period, around, no, in the third period, because then I did the first and second androgynous, then in the third I couldn't stand having to tie my chest, having to put my hair back, Then I took it and said at my house, look, I don't want to take the course anymore, I'm leaving[...] Then when I returned, my family decided to support me, you know, I mean, to support me more, because they always supported me, but they decided to support me more, that's when my mother intervened, paid for my surgical procedures, today I'm a woman who has undergone surgery, you know, today I have a vagina. Then at that time she paid, it was 2010, then when she paid, I came back, I had to go back to university, right, then when I came back, wow, it was so hard you can't even imagine, it was harder to face my own ghosts than transphobia itself, inside college. The biggest challenge was myself, I didn't have difficulty in college, so from jokes to comments, I didn't have ... I didn't have it so clearly, if I had it it was so subtle that I didn't even realize it, I should have, but I didn't realize it. Then my difficulty was because my name was not rectified, the name on the call, it was difficult... Then there was a teacher of mine who had been my teacher at the time that my name, that people called me by my previous name, then this teacher asked me to speak out loud, she said my previous name, for me that was terrible there, it was like a very difficult psychological issue... the difficulty I had was psychological, I didn't have difficulty with violence, the difficulty was psychological even having to return to that place in a totally different way, it's like a Tieta turn (laughs) and I had Tieta twice. Because it's like this, my life story is like this: I come from a small town and went to the big city to study and in this big city I went to discover myself as I am currently, right, as a woman and then I returned to the small town, in this small town I also had this return of Tieta, It was in two moments, but speaking of academia my difficulty

was psychological, I can assure you that merely my difficulty was psychological. (UNESP, 2018)

This part of his narrative is just a few moments portrayed from an interview that lasted around fifty-eight minutes. In this excerpt, Maria Eduarda says that her "difficulties were psychological", that she had not suffered transphobia. I think of this statement from a term coined by Viviane Vergueiro (2015) that she will call "schistems" (p. 15). Vergueiro (2015) draws inspiration from Ramon Grosfoguel (2008) to create this term. Grosfoguel (2008) analyzes that "no one escapes the class, sexual, gender, spiritual, linguistic, geographical, and racial hierarchies of the 'patriarchal/capitalist/colonial/modern world-system'" (p. 118). Vergueiro (2015) proposes to rethink this "world-system" based on the analysis of cisnormativity, that is, to analyze the normalization to which these trans bodies are subjected (Vergueiro, 2015). Therefore, it is to think of a norm established from cisgenderism.

Jaqueline de Jesus (2012) says that the term "cisgender is a concept that encompasses people who identify with the gender that was assigned to them at birth, that is, non-transgender people" (*s.p.*). This term is coined from the late 1990s, according to Brune Bonazzi (2017). The first appearances of the term cis "are attributed to biology professor Dana Leland Defosse, at a forum at the University of Minnesota, in 1994" (BONAZZI, 2017, p. 23). This professor wanted a term that could oppose trans people in her studies on transsexuality, the university and violence (BONAZZI, 2017, p. 23).

In this way, I thought of the term cisgender, based on the creative potentiation of this concept. According to Jaqueline Gome de Jesus (2015, p. 22):

> The issue of gender can be used (quoting Simone de Beauvoir) to introduce us to the discussion about the trans (gender) population, which, like the so-called cis (gender) men and women, live the construction of their gender identities on a daily basis (even if they do not realize it).

The political potential of the term cisgender is to denounce the normative character of the biological imposition on gender: man - penis, woman - vagina and, thus, make it seem that all other forms, other than these, are outside the norm. This veils the imposing character of being on the same side, that is, having one's gender in conformity with one's genitalia. By revealing this imposition, transfeminism argues that cis (gender) people also have a gender, provoking a huge discussion. Colling (2015, p. 60) quotes Stuart Hall and

states that they, the transfeminists, "broke down the door", in a reference to this author, when he highlights the women who enter the debate of cultural studies in England.

Furthermore, Jesus (2015, p. 22) continues, "it is common to say or write that trans people were born men/women and became women/men. Fallacious reasoning". It draws our attention to the normative creation of gender. If we understand that people may or may not be in line with sex, we begin to apprehend "women with penises and men with vaginas" (JESUS, 2015, p. 22). In other words, in the recognition that gender is a social construct, an imposition on biological sex, we understand that this norm is binary and would be "unable to explain the plurality of genders identified throughout the history of humanity" (JESUS, 2015, p. 23). So there are as many transsexuals as people can create and the same can be said of cisgenderism. Therefore, we cannot reduce it to the trans essentializer *Versus* Cis.

Helena Vieira (2015), transfeminist activist, writing the text 'Is All Cisgenderism the Same? Subalternities in normative experiences', in the journal Fórum, questions the concept of cisgenderism as an organic whole and wonders if experiences that do not fit into the normative, such as feminine men and masculine women, even if their genders are in accordance with their biological sexes, if these people will be placed as below the norm, thus accessing "precariously this cis-normativity" (VIEIRA, 2015). She proposes that we think of cisgender not as one that keeps the sexes and genders on the same side, seeking the meaning of the word *Cis*. According to her, this would only generate the impractical cis binarism *Versus* trans, but thinking about this concept in itself, "as a possibility of interpreting the real" (VIEIRA, 2015), retains its analytical powers. Thinking within cisgenderism, its hierarchies, as she writes, "of feminine men and masculinized women" (VIEIRA, 2015) and its models of perfections of masculine and feminine bodies and their many nuances, so those who do not access, very close to the perfection of the established norm, that is, in a precarious way, will have their sentences of inferiority, of "less man and less woman" (VIEIRA, 2015) declared, which will place them in a subordinate place on the cisgender spectrum. But, if they call our attention, declaring that gender identity is not related to sexual orientation, the intentions of normalizing effeminate men and "little" feminine women are of a character of the sexual orientation of these people. We need to think about the many crossings, the many possible experiences with which we build ourselves. A concépt is an attempt to interpret the real (VIEIRA, 2015), but experiences are always more plural and faceted than concepts. Thus, "feminine" men, or "masculine" women, will not necessarily be gay and lesbian men and women, they can be heterosexual

people, who do not fit into the utopian spectrum of the norm and their experiences must be thought of intersectionally, "through other social markers of difference, which cross the cisgender subject" (VIEIRA, 2015) and other subjects.

Vergueiro (2015, p. 45), when debating in his master's thesis on cisgender, proposes that putting this concept in evidence is to seek to deconstruct the character of "a gender identity [...] idealized by concepts such as 'biological' and 'natural' - to produce a critical reading of the normative construction of gender identities". Thus, by quoting Foucault, when the philosopher writes about "the effects of power of a scientific discourse", she proposes (together with the transfeminist theory), a clash around the construction of this colonialist discourse that diminishes the possibilities that exist in bodies, making them exist only, or necessarily under the yoke of normalization. For the author, to highlight this concept is "to propose that it is in the construction of modern Western science" (VERGUEIRO, 2015, p. 45) and "in its ontological construction of sex/gender" (VERGUEIRO, 2015, p. 46). The term "coloniality" refers to a way of power operating "through the naturalization of territorial, racial, cultural and epistemic hierarchies, enabling the re-production of relations of domination", according to Restrepo and Rojas (2010, p. 17). These relations of domination, in addition to the economic field, through the exploitation of the colonies, in their material wealth and in their traditional peoples, also operate an exploitation in the epistemic domain. Thus, coloniality will also dominate knowledge, imposing a way of thinking that is not restricted to the world of the metropolises. This is the struggle that Vergueiro (2015) brings against the colonizing domination that subverts any other forms of expression than the one constructed from modern Western science, through this binary coloniality of genders. There is a need to highlight this pre-discursivity (VERGUEIRO, 2015), thinking from Butler that bodies only gain meaning in "discourse, in the context of power relations" (BUTLER, 2003, p. 137).

Therefore, cisgenderism is a powerful concept for us to problematize around the normality established by discourse. A discourse that creates room to say the center. Which first installs the error, the deviation and the opposite, "the normal". Therefore, the norm that, through medical knowledge, builds a mastery over the body. A colonial domination of the imposition of a form, of a way of thinking and acting. Always hierarchically, disregarding, destroying other ways of being in the world. From bodies that "strutted" (FOUCAULT, 1988, p. 10) to the prudishness of disciplinary regulation, inventing a subject with characteristics and anatomies outside the center. The body is allocated over a regulation location. From

knowledge to truth, power is concerned with maintaining, through various techniques, provoking creations and not only interdictions. To regulate himself, he would no longer need to punish himself, because we would create an infinity of other ways of governing bodies, always reminding them of their exotic inventions. Of their other sexualities, of their nonconforming genders, of their unregulated physical forms, of their nonsensical desires. Its abnormality would be replicated within the discourses, keeping the center at the margin, according to Butler (2003). Thus, in order to question this margin, we would need to contest the center, and this is the proposal of transfeminist theory in the creation of the concept of cisgenderism. The center is also a creation, an invention of modernity/coloniality (BUTLER, 2003).

When Maria Eduarda says that all the problems she had were internal, that she had never suffered transphobia, I question whether all the conflicts she went through due to her transsexuality, her acceptance as a transsexual woman, her fears of going to university, of not talking about herself, are not related to this norm that becomes cisgender. In a single way, in a single way, repeating until it becomes true, the gender binary is built.

However, this perspective of the norm is remembered to resume Maria Eduarda's speech and the objective we propose here. Which is to think about the constructions of other territorialities operated by this Tieta. Her return, operated and more mature, now seeking to face other battles in the hinterlands of cisnorma.

THE RETURN...

Maria Eduarda says that she can only return and actually finish the University and the psychology course after having the sex reassignment operation, the "*Vaginoplasty*" (Maria Eduarada). She reports that she couldn't stand having to hide anymore, "*I couldn't stand having to tie my chest anymore, having to put my hair back, so I took it and said at my house, look, I don't want to take the course anymore, I'm leaving*". Here she says she would take the same path as many, go to Fortaleza, in Ceará, and then to Europe. She says that she even tried to prostitute herself, but that she couldn't, she didn't like it. That's when she looks for her mother, tells her her difficulties and she decides to help her. *Then at that time she paid it was 2010*, (referring to the mother who pays for her surgery) *then when she paid, I came back, I had to go back to university, right?*. She says your back,

It was so difficult you can't even imagine [...] Then my difficulty was because my name was not rectified, the name on the call, it was difficult. Then there was a

teacher of mine who had been my teacher at the time I had my name, that people called me by my previous name, then this teacher asked me to speak out loud, she said my previous name, for me it was terrible there.

From Maria Eduarda's report, I build a debate around the social name, which brings some citizenship to these people, even with the criticism that is made that this is a legal arrangement, a palliative, without much effectiveness. In 2008, the First National GLBT Conference took place[5], in 2008, which was held in partnership with the Special Secretariat for Human Rights, being one of the offshoots of BSH.[6] Some discussions that, historically, made up the framework of demands of the "T" segment, of transvestites and transsexuals, had the social name as an important question. Analyzing the document that emerged from the Conference, in detail in the field of education, it is observed that the GLBT Movement brought the need for a dialogue that sought to "value the other, through a peaceful and respectful coexistence of all differences" (BRASIL, 2008a, p. 20) for quality education. The document lists the statistics of violence that affects the GLBT population (at the time), justifying the need to insert the debate on gender, sexuality and sexual identity in school. Homophobia and sexism appear as obstacles to this education for respect for difference. On the other hand, the document positions the school as a privileged place to debate these issues, as "stigmatization and prejudice affect social and pedagogical relations and are factors of marginalization and exclusion of individuals and groups" (BRASIL, 2008a, p. 21). The violence, often physical, suffered by GLBTs, causes great problems, producing effects on their academic and school trajectories, recognizes the text in question, which associates dropout with these factors. In the medium and long term, what we have are difficulties in entering the labor market and, consequently, more social vulnerability. The document brings among its examples the situation of transvestites and transsexuals who face "obstacles to be able to enroll in the public school system [...], to have their identities respected, to have their names on the calls, to make use of the school's structures - such as the bathrooms, for example" (BRASIL, 2008a, p. 21). Here, mention is made of the social name, as a factor of inclusion of these people (transvestites and transsexuals) in school. Education plays an

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[5] Still in 2008, the acronym GLBT (Gays, lesbians, bisexuals and transsexuals) was used, only after it is changed and the L comes ahead of the G becoming LGBT.

[6] Brazil without Homophobia Program, created in 2003, aimed to build several actions to combat discrimination against LGBTphobia, as well as to encourage more positive and less defensive policies in relation to this segment. To this end, the articulation between several ministries and secretariats, at the time, was made to promote the debate on education: "The axis that structures the document is the need for State action and intervention and, therefore, the central focus 'is education and the change in the behavior of public managers' (BRASIL, 2004b, p. 7) in the implementation of public policy proposals" (PEREIRA, 2020, p. 70).

important role in this conference, but it is worth considering that this was a debate that has been present in the Transvestite and Transsexual Movement since the first campaigns, in 2004 (CARVALHO, 2015). Carvalho (2015) analyzes the pamphlets produced by the first Campaign, "Transvestite and Respect", in which there were several parts aimed at school managers, health professionals, in a clear pedagogical effort for the insertion of transvestites and transsexuals in the school environment. There the importance of the social name as an element of inclusion and student permanence is highlighted. Neil Franco and Graça Aparecida Cicillini (2015, p. 326) pointed out that, at the end of the first decade of this century, "demands arose from trans people in the school context that began to identify the school as a place of belonging". This corroborates what I perceive in the document produced by the First National GLBT Conference, so the concern with education, which had been gaining strong contours, became fundamental. It is in this context that the first state and municipal legislation around the social name in the educational sphere will emerge. According to research by Cláudio Alves, Guilherme Silva and Maria Ignez Moreira (2016, p. 326), "the choice of the social name reveals the process of subjectivation experienced by the subjects, in their historical contexts of life, as well as adds identity values arising from social, family, cultural and political experience". By seeking to implement these legislations, we want to make these processes of subjectivation, these identity values of belonging respected. Therefore, the non-respect for these demands presupposes the opposite: segregation, exclusion and greater vulnerability of these bodies, of these people. Thus, in 2008, the first state resolution was enacted, for the use of the social name, in a Department of Education in the country. This fact happened, in the state of Pará, by Ordinance No. 016/08 of April 10, 2008 (ALVES; SILVA; MOREIRA, 2016). The first municipality to have a resolution, for the use of the social name, in the Municipal Department of Education, was the city of Belo Horizonte (ALVES; SILVA; MOREIRA, 2016), also in 2008. These resolutions followed:

> The states of Goiás, Mato Grosso, Maranhão, Paraná, Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, Tocantins, Alagoas, Espírito Santo, Ceará, Bahia, Mato Grosso do Sul and the Federal District also have regulations regarding the use of the social name in educational institutions. The states of São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais and Paraíba have different regulations, as they guarantee the use of the social name in all bodies of direct and indirect administration, without specifying the use of the social name in the educational sphere (ALVES; SILVA; MOREIRA, 2016, p. 329).

Since 2009, there has been Ordinance MS No. 1,820, of August 13, 2009, which authorizes transvestites and transsexuals to use their social names in the SUS. With this, I demonstrate that these debates, around citizenship for transvestites and transsexuals, were growing. However, until the decision of the Federal Superior Court - STF - in 2018, which regulates the change of name, with a change of first name and gender in the civil registry, there were some decisions that preceded it, such as problematizo. Sociologist Berenice Bento (2014a, p. 167) discusses what she called "precarious citizenship, or legal workaround", the social name for trans people. It calls it "precarious citizenship" (BENTO, 2014a, p. 167), which represents a double negation, in which the "human condition and citizen condition of subjects who carry certain marks on their bodies" is denied (BENTO, 2014a, p. 167). In this way, the conquest of rights of the populations, historically marginalized in this country, including transvestites and transsexuals, is being built little by little, in a "trickle" (BENTO, 2014a, p. 167). Bento (2014a), in his article, "Social name for trans people: precarious citizenship and legal workaround", began by citing several laws, which were created before the Golden Law was instituted, in 1888, which, theoretically, freed slaves in the Brazilian State. Also, in the article, when discussing the right to vote requested by women, she highlights 'the various restrictions' (BENTO, 2014a) that they had to go through until they got the right to vote. Thus, Bento (2014a) reminds us that citizenship, for some people, is being built little by little. Sociologist Bento (2014a, p. 171), when continuing on the rights for some populations in Brazil, considers that "this is done in drips" and emphasizes that "decisions on the right to stable union, for example, are happening gradually, via state legislation". Until reaching a precedent that, in 2011, regulates "in a unanimous decision, the equivalence of homosexual to heterosexual union" (BENTO, 2014a, p. 171), a long way was traveled. Since the first decisions emerged, there have been requests for stable unions between same-sex partners. In 2000, in Porto Alegre, a judge granted "that the INSS recognize the social security right of the homosexual partner" (BENTO, 2014a, p. 171), but until the decision of the STF, there is an extensive path of legal battles. We must remember that this precedent is not yet a law, but a decision via the judiciary, STF, which regulates requests in smaller courts. Resuming the social name for trans people, in 2016, a decision signed by President Dilma Rousseff was enacted, establishing Decree No. 8,727, of April 28, 2016, which provides "for the use of the social name and the recognition of the gender identity of transvestites and transsexuals within the scope of the direct federal public administration, autarchic and foundational"

(BRASIL, 2016). The adoption of the social name for transvestites and transsexuals is installed in the federal administration, which includes the federal Public Universities. More recently, transvestites and transsexuals were able to have their names included in the Individual Taxpayer Registry (CPF), in compliance with decree 8.727/16 that allows the social name to be immediately included in the CPF along with the civil name. Also, the CNE/CP Opinion No. 14/2017, approved on September 12, 2017 by the National Council of Education, which regulated the social name, in all basic education schools in the country, even though in many states, as described above, they already had ordinances in their State Secretariats of Education. However, a decision, on March 1, 2018, ADI No. 4275 was enacted, which regularized the change of name and sex in the civil registry, without the need for surgery, medical or psychological reports. The entire process must take place via notary offices, without the need to go through a judge first. A great advance, but one that still has to face the feasibility in these notary offices, since some are refusing to make this registration[7].

I return to Maria Eduarda's statement, when she reports that she had difficulties when a teacher, during a class at the college, called her by her registered name, "*by my previous name*" (UNESP, 2018c). She told me that it was something very difficult. Therefore, I reopen the debate that I establish here, around the social name, but now in the Public Universities. The first National GLBT Conference, in 2008, decided that schools should use social names, according to Crishna Mirella de Andrade Correa (2017). From this conference, the Ordinances emerged, at the state level, via the Secretariats of Education, of the social name, which soon after passed to the Universities. We have as an example the State of São Paulo, which instituted Decree No. 51,180, of January 14, 2010, authorizing the use of the social name to transvestites and transsexuals, within the scope of the public, direct, autarchic administration, a fact that reverberated in its state universities, such as USP, Unesp, Unicamp. The first University to have a normative for the social name is the Federal University of Amapá, with Resolution No. 013/2009-CONSU, of October 19, 2009, according to Correa (2017). The aforementioned Universities of the State of São Paulo have regulations from 2010. The Universidade Estadual Paulista - UNESP - dates from March 2010.

However, I return temporally to the Lula governments, since the creation of the Brazil Without Homophobia Program - BSH. It is true that Lula established a debate with the

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[7] National Council of Justice (2018)

social movement on the creation of some public policies, such as the BSH. This had not happened since the 1980s, when "the actions of activist groups were more focused on supporting HIV/AIDS victims" (CORREA, 2017, p. 167). However, even with all the channel of debates established by the Executive Branch, in the creation of public policies for the LGBT population, according to Mello (2012) research, they did not have such effectiveness as expected. However, even with this small implementation, the Movement provided space for the construction of important dialogues.

As one of the developments of BSH, in 2005 and 2006:

> 45 Reference Centers for Human Rights and Homosexual Citizenship (CRDHCH) were implemented, with the objective of providing legal, psychological and social assistance to the LGBT population. Also in 2006, this action was extended to eight Universities, with the aim of creating Reference Centers for Human Rights and Homosexual Citizenship (NRDHCH) (CORREA, 2017, p. 168).

Also, according to Correa (2017, p. 168), "it was a characteristic of the Movement to work from a homocentric perspective, even though the policies were aimed at transvestites and transsexuals". The researcher warns of the change, at the First GLBT Conference, "because of the effective action of the Transvestite and Transsexual Movement at this time" (CORREA, 2017, p. 168). This moment was important for the Movement of Transvestites and Transsexuals, as it seeks to put into effect the deliberations that emerged from the Conference. Correa (2017) argues that, although the Plan was put together, little was effective in practice. As I am describing fissures in the hard, molar order, I build the argument that with the possibility of using the social name, first in some State Secretariats of Education and, with that, a reverberation in the State Universities, I problematize that here there is the construction of a citizenship, even if Bento (2014, p. 167) describes it as a "precarious citizenship", in which the subject will be recognized, based on the name he chooses, as it is only valid in some spaces. Why do I have this discussion, when we already have an ADI that regulates the change of the first name, as well as the gender in civil registries, a resolution that has been in force in the country since 2018? By recognizing that the establishment of their names, that is, of their feminine identities, is to make them visible, speakable in places that historically they did not exist, such as the school, then the Universities, in particular, the Public Ones. Thus, the act of naming and "recognizing the other, based on a name, reveal discursive practices that can both make subjects and their bodies politically visible, as well as silence them" (ALVES; MOREIRA, 2015, p. 60). It is to recognize them politically, it is to legitimately insert them into the identity in which they see

themselves. This produces belonging. It is the recognition of their way of being in the world. Therefore, the social name, as a first debate, whether transsexual people could belong to certain environments, such as the School and the University.

Here it is necessary to think about an important resolution, which was the establishment of the social name in the National High School Exam - ENEM. Since 2014, the Ministry of Education - MEC - has been enabling transvestites and transsexuals to use their social name in ENEM. Data from the National Institute of Educational Studies and Research Anísio Teixeira - INEP - which are released year by year show an important statistic about this policy. In 2014, there were 102 people who asked for the use of their social name to take the test. In 2015, this number increased to 278 people. In 2016, 407. In 2017, this number has been reduced and 303 people requested the use of their social name due to the fact that many applicants did not send the documentation in time, thus having their applications rejected. In 2018, 502 people made the request, and 2019 was a number of 394 people requesting the use of the name. This decrease, in 2019, may be due to the ADI that in March 2018, establishes, via a notary's office, the rectification of the civil name, which many people may have chosen to do, without the need to use the social name. But it is still a very important growth, as it is a percentage increase over the years (2014 to 2019) of more than 386%.

França, Nogueira and Araújo (2016, p. 23), in an article, write about the importance of the social name for transvestites and transsexuals:

> As a success of this policy, it is worth noting that since the right to use the social name was adopted, there has been a growing number of black people entering the doors of universities, the social name not only invited this population to take the exam, but also opened the doors of higher education for this segment.

I think here, when the social name comes into force in state and municipal education ordinances, as the authors say, it was as if there was an invitation to transsexual people and transvestites to participate in these spaces such as Schools and Universities. There is a possibility, a fissure, provoking displacements that are built, over time, increasing their participation and claiming even more belonging in the space of the University. A space that becomes part of the lives of many trans women, from then on.

A FINISHING OF THE STEPS: A CONCLUSION

In this weave, I sought to think about some of the processes of subjectivation that Maria Eduarda, the trans woman who was the focus of my analyses in this excerpt, went through. To this end, I narrated a little of my research in my doctorate and all the progress built on this path. The arrival to my interlocutor and her narratives, in a mapping of the processes that were and are being carried out. From her speech, which triggers problematizations, I sought to think about the emergence of microcuts in the hard, molar order, produced by the social movement, by researchers from the public University and by trans women themselves, in their actions within the University. Since, these actions aimed to build a theoretical apparatus that could problematize the abject impositions to which their bodies were subjected, in which these dialogue with the classics of the social sciences, transfeminist theory, decolonial epistemology and cuir.

Maria Eduarda tells me about her "psychological difficulties" in seeing herself as a trans woman, in which I think about the whole violent and silencing context in which her body is subjectified. That ranges from an education that did not take into account difference in favor of a single model that places its subjectivations on the abject margins of this society that constructs it as it had been.

But I thought about the return of Tieta, this "surgery", as she calls herself, more mature and with more strength to resist the excesses of the norm. Maria Eduarda, bursts out deciding to be who she is. In this cartography I thought of power, the norm, the hard and molar order. However, it mainly brought the microcuts, the microcracks, the cracks that produce other narratives, other possibilities, other possibles.

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