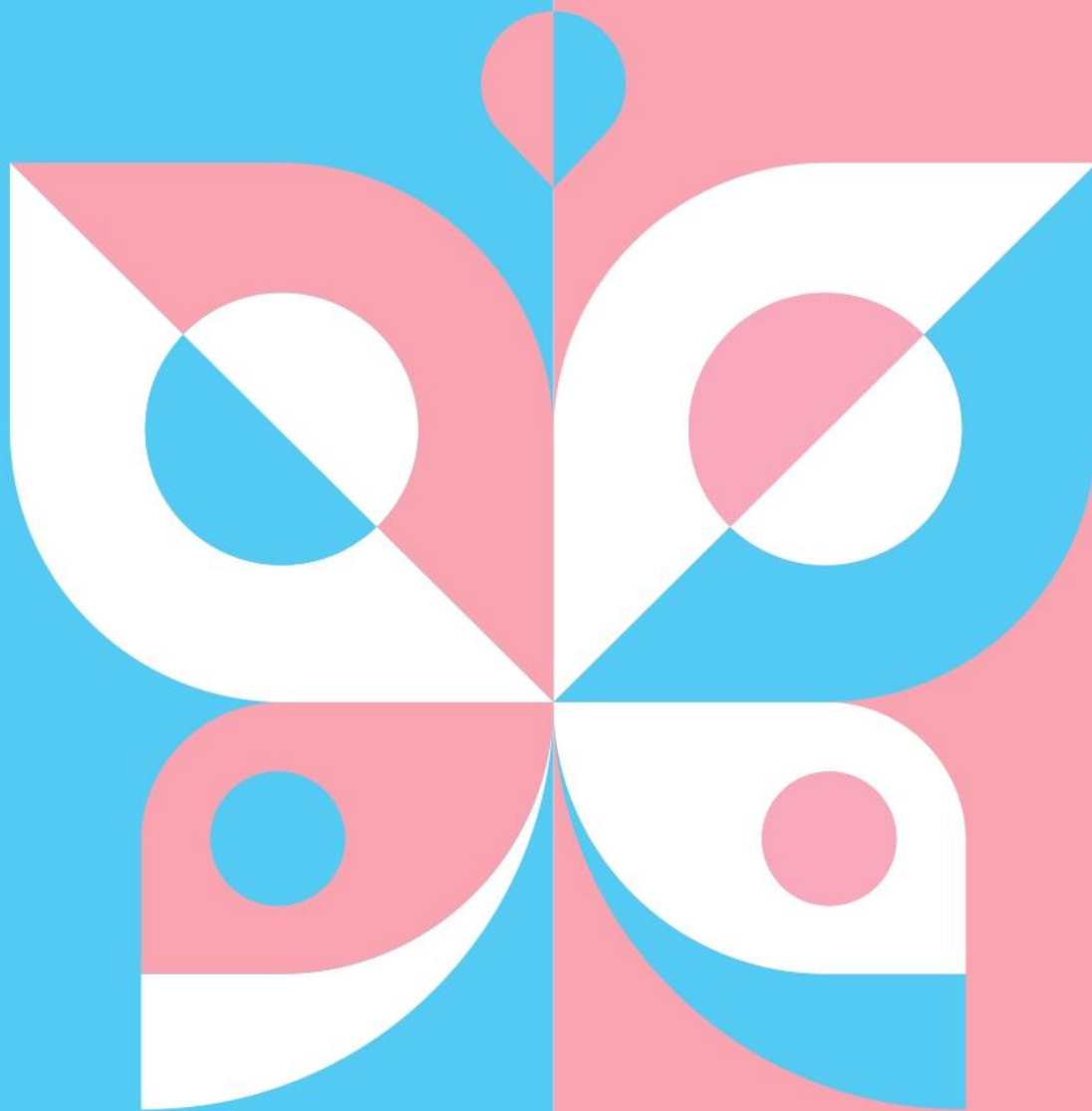




DOSSIER

murders and violence
against brazilian travestis and trans
people in brazil 2019

Bruna G. Benevides
Sayonara Naider Bonfim Nogueira

Dandara Kettlyn de Velasques. This is the chosen name [“nome social”] of the person who the press named “Dandara dos Santos” when she was killed in Fortaleza, Ceará State, in 2017. Although neither is her legal name, Dandara had her legal name exposed many times, highlighting one of the greatest forms of violence that trans people suffer. The negation of their name, their identity, an appropriation by a society which often prefers to expose than to welcome. Her torture in broad daylight was filmed and shared on social media, which at first was a reward for those attackers, who expressed their hatred through this murder which harked back to ancient Abrahamic laws. In the end, though, following mobilization by organizations and activists, the images served as evidence for the criminals' conviction..

Dandara's murder recalls another extremely violent killing, which took place in Valinhos, São Paulo, one night in January 2019. Quelly da Silva had her heart removed in an attack with a broken bottle, and replaced by the image of a saint. The young

murderer, smiling, claimed to the press that she was the devil.

The killings of travestis and transsexuals remain underreported. In Brazil, 90% of travestis and transsexual women still depend on prostitution to survive, which mostly takes place on the streets, an exposure which makes them even more vulnerable to the countless physical and psychological acts of violence which they suffer, often resulting in their deaths.

These two cases took place in peripheral areas. They were far from being reported, and we do not know the real number of such murders in Brazil. As such, ANTRA's work on this report, with data collected from monitoring and mapping these deaths, is of great importance because it paves a way towards building public policies that guarantee the right to grow old and have good health and safety, where all lives matter, thus working towards equality between people which guarantees a full and dignified life.

Neon Cunha

Black, Amerindian, Trans woman.
Advertiser and independent activist working with the Black Women's March of São Paulo.

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**THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TRAVESTIS AND TRANSSEXUALS OF BRAZIL
(ANTRA)**

**THE BRAZILIAN TRANS INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
(IBTE)**

DOSSIER:

**MURDERS AND VIOLENCE AGAINST
BRAZILIAN TRAVESTIS AND TRANS
PEOPLE IN BRASIL 2019.**

Bruna G. Benevides

Sayonara Naider Bonfim Nogueira

Translated by

Liam Anderson

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Her heart was torn out!
She had her body broken.
The murderer defaced her body.
He must have enjoyed it.
They never saw each other.
They didn't know each other.
A monster.
Brutality and degradation
hand in hand with the sacred.
In His name.
He put a saint
in the place of her heart.
In His name.
He opened her chest
with shards of glass.
But who was she?
Who was this demon
that he wanted to exorcise
with his zeal
fuelled by religious speech
that demonizes us.
He appears in the media
While about her we know nothing.
She is dead.
She was born dead
And died dead.
Invisible.
Her story was erased.
Didn't she have a name?
Family?
Nobody knew her?
Erasing her is unacceptable
and this is not a good sign.
Who will be next?
We need to humanize the victim,
Give her a face,
because they demonize her.
The world needs to know who she is.
I want to know!
We need to cleanse her.
No more normalizing
the violence against us.
The demon is he!
And he is free, alive.
She is not.
We too
are not!

The Travesti's Heart - Bruna Benevides

INTRODUCTION

This survey, like previous editions in 2018 and 2019, has as its main feature the production of data through surveys, monitoring and analysis, as well as the publication of results regarding the violence faced by trans people, since the government has been neglecting to gather these statistics. We intend, based on the details and patterns found in the *modus operandi* of these murders, to show paths to be taken to enable effective action against *structural LGBTIphobia*¹ embedded in our country's culture - and which is perpetuated by the lack of effective action by authorities to combat violence and human rights violations against Lesbians, Gays, Bisexuals, Travestis, Transsexuals and Intersexuals (LGBTI), especially against travestis, transgender women, trans men, transmasculines and other trans people, binary or not.

Examples of paths that can be taken are: campaigns for violence prevention; reporting which challenge impunity and omission; the struggle to enforce the decision of the Supreme Federal Court (STF), which, in its judgement on the Direct Action of Unconstitutionality by Omission (ADO) 26 and the Injunction Warrant (MI) 4733, recognized discrimination against the LGBTI population as a form of racism; or through reporting to international bodies. This is in the face of the alarming situation where Transfemicide continues to be normalized and unpunished in Brazil.

As the sociologist Berenice Bento², explains, transfemicide is defined as the systematic murder of travestis and transgender women, and is characterized as a widespread, intentional and systematic effort to eliminate the trans population, motivated by hatred, rejection and repulsion.

Transfemicide/Travesticide is the most visible and ultimate expression of a chain of structural violence that corresponds to a cultural, social, political and economic system structured by an exclusionary binary gender division (Radi, Blas y Sardá-Chandiramani, Alejandra, (2016). Travesticide/transfemicide: Coordinates to think crimes against trasvestis and trans women in Argentina).

The data presented reveal several insights which lead us to believe that the violence directed at the Trans population is undergoing a process of structural change, influenced by the advance of the (re)organization of social movements and the attentive gaze of international bodies on the movement that we have been developing with partners outside Brazil. Like capitalism, racism, and machismo, this violence has reinforced its ways of perpetuating the power of those who wield these tools of oppression and violence over those bodies which are seen as “killable”. We believe that LGBTIphobia, especially Transphobia, has also been spreading from its epicentre of hatred to take on

¹ Article originally published in ISP/RJ's LGBT+ Report. Available at: <http://www.rio.rj.gov.br/dlstatic/10112/8528204/4225954/DossieLGBT1.pdf>

² Part of an interview given to Revista Fórum. Available at: <https://revistaforum.com.br/noticias/brasil-o-pais-transfeminicidio/>

other forms; killing is the most extreme manifestation, while violence has also increased in other ways: symbolic, psychological, structural and institutional.

We will see that, even with the apparent fall in numbers in the last two years, we have not noticed any significant difference in the daily lives of trans people. The numbers remain above average internationally, putting Brazil in first place in the ranking for murders over the past 10 years. This year, we found reports of 127 cases, which were put on the 2019 map of murders. And after careful analysis, we have arrived at 124 murders which will be covered in this study; meanwhile Mexico, in second place, recorded half of this - a very large difference. It is important to note widespread underreporting and the absence of government data.

Since 2008, Brazil has had an average of 118.5 murders of transgender people per year. The recent fall in the numbers recorded by civil society organizations, which have always been the subject of dispute, and are on a par with the general population average, shows the importance for us to continue to put pressure on this murderous state. We still have strikingly disproportionate figures, with the highest peak in 2017, when the country had record murders in general, reaching its highest point in history.

As such, the numbers should not be analyzed in isolation, because there would be a risk of attributing a false narrative to such research work, even its classification. The data are compiled in annual series and situated in various contexts - including from the perspective of significant advances for LGBTI people, which impact on these data. To compare the data only based on the year with the most deaths (2017) is irresponsible and compromises their relevance.

Furthermore, during the electoral period, there were several surveys, reports and denunciations of the increase in violence against LGBTI people. We saw cases of people being attacked and even murdered for political reasons. This terror took hold in Brazil after the election of the current president, known for publicly inciting hatred against our population. The results of the elections left ordinary Brazilian citizens lost, hurt, reactionary, hopeless, and easily attracted by fantasy solutions. There is a coordinated effort to bombard the public with fictions, created with the intention of manipulating reality, which has taken hold in ordinary spaces, in family groups, and, especially, on social media. This is not a specifically Brazilian phenomenon, but here it has taken the malign, perverse spectre of outdated ideas out of the closet. Under the current government, we are witnessing the normalization of barbarity.

We have seen cases of Travestis being attacked or murdered to cries of "Bolsonaro". His name has become a common curse/threat against those people who dare to challenge the *CiStem*.

LGBTI+ people continue being beaten in broad daylight and there are hate groups emerging across the country, proclaiming in the name of God what the "new Brazil" would be, under the cover of a government accused of chauvinism, denounced for racism and condemned for homophobia³.

Necropolis Braslis: The Brazil that killed Marielles, Dandaras, Joaquins and Marias. That rejects the title of gay-friendly and invites tourists to have sex with our women. That attacks state leaders. That voted at the UN Human Rights Council against issues of gender, women's rights, and the rights of LGBTI people, alongside countries known to be rights violators. That manipulates its reports of actions to the UN. That carries kilos of cocaine in the president's official entourage. That has ignored the fires in the Amazon and oil spills that hit much of our coast. That protects judges and prosecutors who have manipulated the largest anti-corruption investigation in the country's history. That expelled its only admittedly gay parliamentarian under death threats. That shuts itself off from dialogue and cuts links with the population. That closed organizations for the collective construction of civil society, gender committees and has been attacking public education, welfare and backing the denial of rights to LGBTI people through censorship, persecution and coercion. The Brazil that poor, black, macumbeiro-believer, prostitute, gay, travesti and lesbian people already knew well, came out of the closet and is affecting those who believed that, by joining with neoliberal, pentecostal, hetero-cis-patricarchal and racist thinking, they would be unharmed - and they were wrong. The worst country to be LGBTI in the world has always existed, but it has become much worse. Now, the world is seeing the true face of the "upstanding" Brazilian citizen (sic) and their innermost thoughts (BENEVIDES, Bruna, 2019. Text "Welcome to the New Brazil", published on M dium).

Several times this year, the federal government, with its newly appointed leadership headed by and aligned with religious fundamentalists, has been opposed to the Supreme Federal Court's decision which, although it has not legislated⁴, recognized the state's failure to guarantee specific protection in the form of law to a population which is victim to various types of violence. Similarly, the government has violated rights, gone backwards on issues where we had advanced and has increasingly shown itself to be anti-LGBTI, pursuing an agenda that is anti-gender and against the social and political rights of transgender people.

Faced with this paradoxical scenario of increases in gains but also increases in violence - and to the displeasure of many people who believe that we should not focus on this violence - we have strengthened our involvement and participation in various demonstrations, actions, debates and discussions within and outside academia, including on public security. Additionally, various tools, reports, papers, courses and booklets are being developed to help us put together effective

³ Mantida a decis o por declara  es homof bicas de Bolsonaro [Court ruling maintained on homophobic statements by Bolsonaro]. Available at: <https://www.poder360.com.br/justica/bolsonaro-e-condenado-a-pagar-r-150-mil-por-declaracao-homofobica/>

⁴ STF n o legislou nem fez analogia ao considerar crime de homotransfobia como racismo [STF has neither legislated nor made any analogy when considering the crime of homophobia as racism]. Available at: <https://www.conjur.com.br/2019-ago-19/paulo-iotti-stf-nao-legislou-equipararhomofobia-racismo>

measures to prevent and combat violence. We cite some of them, such as the public safety booklet for LGBTI people, launched through the National Network of LGBTI Public Security Agents (RENOSP-LGBTI) and a handbook for security agents on how to assist and engage LGBTI people.

There was also the launch of the Rainbow Resistance project, which led to the release of the Dandarah App⁵, in a partnership between ANTRA, ABGLT and FIOCRUZ. Tools like these are important to ensure that LGBTI people are not coerced into hiding or retreating in the face of increased violence and the new political climate. A network for ongoing support and mutual help was thus formed, given that the current situation was calling for an urgent alliance between these movements, in an intersectional and organized way, to protect us and our friends and allies - especially those victims most vulnerable to gender-based violence, transphobia, racism, and discrimination of sex-work.

Moreover, fulfilling one of our main objectives of international reporting and integration, we have had meetings and participated in various events at universities, networks, governmental and non-governmental institutions, and other institutions outside the country which work to defend human rights and combat violence against LGBTI people in Latin America and the Caribbean.

We will also present new data on research carried out for the month of the fight against LGBTIphobia worldwide, in which **99% of the participating LGBTI people said they did not feel safe in their country.**

We concluded that over the course of **2019 there was an increase in direct violence in trans people's daily lives.** In a recent survey, *Gênero e Número* magazine revealed an 800% increase in reported attacks against trans people, reaching the tragic number of **11 people assaulted daily in Brazil**⁶. In a recent case, a travesti had to pretend to be dead in order to survive⁷.

Furthermore, this report provides a reflection on the challenges experienced by the people in this social group, in a society which abandons and marginalizes those who break with the hetero-cis-normative model. Brazil has normalized efforts to marginalize travestis. The majority of Trans people in the country live in poverty and social exclusion, without access to education, healthcare, professional qualifications, opportunities for formal employment, or public policies that account for their specific demands. But not only that: what was bad got even worse in 2019, with the election of a government that is explicitly ideologically transphobic.

⁵ Dandarah App. Available at: <https://portal.fiocruz.br/noticia/aplicativo-dandarah-vai-mapear-zonas-de-risco-parapopulacao-lgbt>

⁶ Report by *Gênero e Número* magazine. Available at: <http://www.generonumero.media/transfobia-11-pessoas-trans-sao-agredidas-a-cada-dia-no-brasil-2/>

⁷ Travesti finge de morta para sobreviver [Travesti pretends to be dead to survive]. Available at: <https://g1.globo.com/ro/rondonia/noticia/2019/10/18/travesti-se-finge-de-morta-para-escapar-de-enforcamento-em-porto-velho.ghtml>

POLITICAL IDENTITY

For the purposes of this study and public policy, we have adopted the use of political identities that have been constructed by the people concerned themselves, through participation, making demands based on their specific characteristics and organizing themselves organically in non-governmental institutions of civil society - which are not necessarily the only available forms of organization.

We support the recognition of each person's self-perceived personal identity, and this is a very important point which should be respected in its entirety.

We also believe, though, that it is extremely important to bring together actors which share identities for the proposal of public policies, data collection, and guaranteeing access to rights. In fact, it has been through political identities which have been constructed collectively that we have made considerable advances for our population.

We will therefore use the identities discussed in National LGBTI Conferences. These identities have been broadened by the need to include others asserted within the Brazilian political landscape, based on a spectrum of transgender identity, which applies to those people who do not identify with the gender assigned to them at birth: Travestis, Transsexual Women, Trans Men, Transmasculines and other Trans people.

Travestis: People who were assigned at birth to the masculine gender, but who perceive themselves as belonging to the feminine gender and have a feminine expression of gender, but do not describe themselves as women in the way that being a woman is typically constructed in our society.

Transsexual Women: People who were assigned at birth to the masculine gender, but who perceive themselves as belonging to the feminine gender and describe themselves as women.

Trans Men: People who were identified at birth as belonging to the feminine gender, but who perceive themselves as belonging to the masculine gender and describe themselves as men.

Transmasculine: Those who were identified at birth as belonging to the feminine gender, but who recognize themselves as belonging to the spectrum of the masculine gender, have a masculine expression of gender, but do not describe themselves as men in the way that being a man is typically constructed in our society.

TRAVESTI: A BRIEF HISTORY

Travesti is a feminine transgender identity, politically asserted by people who were assigned male at birth (*AMAB*), but who do not consider themselves to belong to binary identities (man and woman). Their existence is recognized in part of Latin America, and Brazil has seen the first wave of its non-cisgender movement fighting for their rights. They express themselves as belonging to the female gender, but do not assert the identity of “woman” in the way that being a woman is normatized. Feminine pronouns like her/hers should be used to refer to Travestis.

This political identity produces a culture of its own that breaks with the binary labels of male and female, man and woman, to express themselves as a Travesti, which does not translate directly into other languages. The Latina/ Brazilian travesti does not have the same identity as that represented by the term transvestite in English, transvestit in German or travesti in French. Attempts to translate the term in this way would modify its etymology and would have consequences for its historical construction, while having political connotations; in other languages it could allow the interpretation of meanings inappropriate to represent them, which risks attributing even greater stigma. Contrary to how it is commonly imagined, being a travesti is not simply wearing clothes associated with the gender opposite to that assigned at birth, or body modifications, or merely the expression of feminine gender. It is the recognition of another possible, legitimate body, beyond what is normatized; is the formation of a social and political identity. It is a particular construction that goes beyond the idea of performance or disguise, to become real, a citizen, a demander of rights.

Such disruptions to social norms traditionally push travestis to the social margins, exposing them to or normalizing practices of structural, symbolic, psychological and even physical violence (Travesticide); in addition to the exclusion they commonly face. There are still many particular stigmas and forms of transphobia directed at Travestis.

For some time, the Psy, human and legal sciences distinguished travestis and transsexual women according to the analysts’ perceptions of their bodies and what they desired. Today, though, this outlook is no longer viable or accepted, as only autonomy for travestis to self-determine their identities, and who they are, is appropriate.

It is not possible to distinguish between a transsexual woman or a travesti just by looking at her gender expressions. They are like synonyms without meaning exactly the same thing. There is no hierarchy or physical difference between them. It is an intimate and personal way of perceiving oneself in society.

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1. OBJECTIVES

The main objective of this report is to denounce the cases of violence and human rights violations against the population of Travestis, Transsexual Women, Trans Men, Transmasculines and other Trans people. Brazil has again become the country that kills the most travestis and transsexuals in the world, and the report also exposes the state's failure to face up to these data, ignoring the research and reports made by institutions that fight for human rights and the LGBTI population.

Several factors become clear, faced with this politics of death, which act to perpetuate violence in a scenario that we see every year, and which need to be tackled. We highlight here:

- Prohibition of discussions on gender, sexuality and diversity in schools;
- Lack of campaigns for education/prevention of transphobic violence;
- Lack of projects, actions and campaigns on education and employability for the trans population;
- Difficulty in access to, or denial of, assistance for travestis and transsexual women in Women's Police Stations and other structures for protecting victims of domestic violence;
- Lack of demographic and statistical data on the LGBTI population;
- Difficulty in access to healthcare, especially access to the procedures involved in the transsexualisation process, and mental health care;
- Lack of shelters for LGBTI people who are expelled from their homes, returning from forced migration or trafficking, politically persecuted, homeless or who, for some other reason, do not have access to housing/ a place to live.
- Neglect regarding human rights violations and the need for mapping, monitoring and quantitative checks on the trans population deprived of their liberty;
- Lack of data fields for or information on the victims' social names and gender identity in records of incidents;
- Difficulty in understanding and correctly applying the Supreme Federal Court's decision recognizing LGBTIphobia as a crime of racism under law nº 7716/89;
- Failures in recognition and guarantees of protection through the Maria da Penha Law or the classification of deaths as Femicide.

The second paragraph of the [Maria da Penha] law also states that when there is contempt or discrimination towards the condition of women, it is Femicide. That is, if the victim is killed with stabbings to the face, chest, genital region, it counts as rape. When there are even greater signs of hatred towards victims. The killing of a travesti, of a transsexual woman, of someone who said no to sex, no to dating, all

this is Femicide. Always. (Márcia Teixeira - Prosecutor and Coordinator of the Centre for Operational Support for Human Rights - CAODH)⁸

There is also a clear correlation between the rise in cases of violence at the same time as attacks on rights and advances for LGBTI people. This is an unquestionable example of the influence of this explicit anti-rights politics during the first year of this government, during which cases of violence and human rights violations against the LGBTI population have increased, as well as cases of suicide and denials of access to basic rights.

We also aim to encourage discussion on the urgency and necessity of a correct and systematic use of tools for the criminalization of LGBTIphobia, as well as to think about public policies, within and outside the scope of public security, in order to try to heal this wound which has been open for so long. **Without access to healthcare in a broad sense, to education, employment and income, security, dignity, and citizenship, the fight against violence becomes ineffective.**

This ongoing series of studies, which we launch annually on 29 January - National Trans Visibility Day, since 2018 - is also conceived of as a means of denouncing Brazil in international systems for the protection of human rights, such as the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights and the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, before international courts, and the Organization of American States (OAS) and the United Nations (UN).

The aim is to ensure that the information which has been compiled is updated and used to think about ways of eradicating transphobia, travestiphobia, "gendercide" and other direct and indirect violence against the Trans population, not only in Brazil, but, with the possibilities that the exchanging of information allows, to build an effective opposition across the entire cycle of transphobic violence, which is structural and structuring in our society.

⁸ Statement made in an interview with outlet Correio 24h. Available at: <https://www.correio24horas.com.br/noticia/nid/a-justica-falhou-com-elitania-diz-promotora-sobre-estudante-morta-pelo-ex-em-cachoeira/>

2. METHODOLOGY

This report's methodology follows the international standard of the NGO Transgender Europe - TGEU. Again, we stress that there are no government data on the murders of transgender people in Brazil. This research is done on a quantitative basis, since there are no demographic data about the Brazilian trans population, and based on case studies in newspapers and online media, on a manual, individual and daily basis. There are also murder cases which no media report, and we thus rely on reports from local people, acquaintances, and LGBTI institutions which publish information about murdered people and/or are sent information through the network of ANTRA affiliates and partners, in addition to numerous media and communication channels (email, Facebook, Whatsapp, etc.).

Underreporting or non-publication of some cases compromises the official numbers and makes it seem that there was a fall in murders, when in fact there was an increase in the invisibility of these deaths.

The information is not reported in a regular format and there are many cases where there is no respect for the gender identity, or even the chosen name of the victims, when reported in the media. This makes it even more difficult to search for this information, as well as making the motivation for the case invisible and increasing underreporting. It is common for various outlets to report murders of travestis referring to them as "men dressed as women" or even as "homosexual murdered in women's clothing". The same happens for trans men, when they are labelled as 'lesbians' by newspapers and media.

We estimate that 95% of the cases in which news reports say "a man dressed as a woman is found dead", it concerns the murder of a travesti or transsexual woman, which is reported in a transphobic manner.

We did not have any support to conduct this survey, institutional or other, digitally or even *in loco*, throughout Brazil's towns, states, police stations, hospitals, or medical institutions, etc., which would allow more effective data cross-checking. This means that we do not have relevant resources (financial or material), which makes it difficult to have proper access to information, which is often denied, confidential and/or non-existent. As such, we undertake this research and investigation in order to publish this information on the *Map of Murders*⁹, which becomes our database at the end of each year.

⁹ Map of murders of trans Brazilians. Available at: <https://antrabrasil.org/mapadosassassinatos/>

3. SCOPE

During 2019, we were working on and discussing the issue of violence exhaustively, releasing and distributing the information collected by our work as much as possible, in order to denounce not only the figures, but also the link between the lack of action by the state and the increase in violence, as well as impunity and the difficulty in identifying the attackers/killers. It is very important to stress, though, that these data have been consistently produced by grassroots movements, precisely because of the urgency of the problem and the long-running struggle we have had against LGBTI-phobic violence.

We participate in themed hearings, workshops, interviews, articles and documentaries, in view of our commitment to and responsibility for the periodic publication of data, their quality, and the information they reveal. We also participate directly in advocacy work with state departments, networks and institutions that work on human rights and the defense of LGBTI people inside and outside the country.

For the first time, to strengthen our initial objectives - with the support of Justiça Global and Terra de Direitos - we printed physical copies of our 2018 Report which were then distributed in different social and political circles. This also allowed for direct distribution in various states and towns, including in rural areas, in addition to exhibitions, seminars, LGBTI meetings and other movements, ensuring that it is widely circulated and easily accessible to the general public.

Internationally, we distribute the information in countries including the United States, El Salvador, Argentina, Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia, Cuba, Paraguay, Mexico, Uruguay, Guatemala, Honduras, Peru, and Dominican Republic, through the Observatory for Violence against Trans People in Latin America and the Caribbean (ObservatorioLAC)¹⁰, or the System for Information on Violence against LGBTI People in Latin America and the Caribbean (SinViolenciaLGBTI)¹¹, as well as in Europe, such as Portugal, Spain, France, Germany, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom.

During the 174th session of hearings at the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (ICHR), in Ecuador, we denounced the plight of Brazil's LGBTI population of African descent and delivered the 2018 Report to the Rapporteur on Women's Rights and on the Rights of People of African Descent at the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, an independent body of the Organization of American States (OAS)¹², which is part of the Inter-American System for the Protection of Human Rights. This was only possible because of support for translation into two

¹⁰ ObservatorioLAC website. Available at: ObservatorioLac

¹¹ SinViolencia website. Available at: <https://sinviolencia.lgbt/sem-violencia-lgbti/>

¹² Hearing on the situation of the Afro-LGBTI population at the ICHR. Available at: <https://antrabrasil.org/2019/11/21/antrarepresenta-o-brasil-em-audiencia-na-cidh/>

languages - English and Spanish¹³ - providing easier access to understanding the situation of transphobic violence in the country.

We are continuing to work so that this report can reach an even larger audience in its third edition.

¹³ Translated versions available at: <https://antrabrazil.org/international/>

4. PRODUCTION OF DATA BY SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Bruna Benevides

Sara Wagner Pimenta Gonçalves Junior

Given the invisibility of the trans community in statistics, this study has a valuable role, for its independent processing of original data, based on a vast network of data produced by different social movements. This report presents real data while denouncing the state's negligence in matters of primary importance and support for certain groups, and as such there should be no doubts over its criteria or methodology. Personal experiences were not minimized but, in analyzing experiences that were once considered individual, it could be observed that travestis and transsexuals recounted their experiences in similar ways.

As it is updated periodically with each new edition, this report is used as an ongoing source of data, as a cross-section of social movements, but also in teaching, research and at universities; that is, at all academic levels. This study has thus been cited and referenced in proposals for legislation, and legal interpretations and decisions of the highest court of justice in this country, the Supreme Court¹⁴. This report assists in the development, implementation and broadening of public policies, by reporting and informing in (inter/trans)national initiatives, while at the same time it helps us to cast a clear eye on cases that were misunderstood in the past

This research, all through its organization, has been committed to advancing the production of knowledge on the issues addressed here: creating public data; deepening knowledge; reviewing methods and practices; enabling new perspectives on the subject and other discoveries; setting standards in managing information; and forming positions on possible solutions to be discussed, without closing the discussion in on itself.

In this sense, ANTRA positions itself as an actor in the production of data, fulfilling its statutory role in the defence of the trans population, especially because this initiative is taking place due to the lack of any data collected by regulatory and governmental agencies which would be able to portray the real plight of Brazil's trans people. ANTRA, through its history of action and representativity, brings a powerful element to the presentation of its data and thereby generating knowledge, because it understands that public policies are built on the demands we present not only when they are informative, but also, if possible, when they propose solutions to these problems.

¹⁴ The data in ANTRA's report were cited and referenced during the court proceedings for the decisions on rectifying registration of trans and travesti persons' official information, regarding the criminalisation of LGBTIphobia by the Supreme Federal Court, during the oral arguments and votes of several ministers.

We use scientific methods to produce this information and, with the same rigour, we work to create a report which is prepared with ethical and political commitments and the endeavours of its researchers/authors. This works to establish the travesti and transgender movement's positions on key issues and defining how we would like to be researched and described in matters relating to our population.

Based on this perspective, and given the importance of this work, we recognize that the methodology used, combined with the role of social observation that we now play, has proven to be effective and legitimate. It shows the need to understand the differences in the creation of data by different sources - whether this data is governmental, non-governmental, academic, or from social movements, etc. - and no longer categorize it simplistically only as official or unofficial, which delegitimizes our knowledge, research, and work.

It is important to emphasize that both underreporting - difficulties accessing existing data through the law on access to information - and the lack of data from state regulatory bodies and other government institutions can be construed as intentional, because by omitting to map or inform on transfemicide, the government shirks its responsibility and presents information - often insufficient or lacking - which leads us to believe that there has been a fall in the level of violence, when in reality we see exactly the opposite. It should be highlighted that the state dodges having to think about policy measures, to address the problems it itself caused, when it fails to assume its responsibilities to these lives left in precarity. Trans people are still regarded as outcasts, and thus left unassisted, and by extension not included in policies on health care, employment, access to education, housing, income, or other social and political rights.

Not providing access to information in order to generate relevant data, nor being concerned about collecting it, is the greatest display of disregard for our population, especially when various agencies fail to include trans people in their surveys, such as the monitoring body System of Information on Motives for Reporting Incidents (SINAN), where there is no information on the gender identity of those consulted. Similarly, the Women's Report and the Brazilian Yearly Report on Public Security are examples of publications that publish data annually, and yet do not include or make visible the violence against our population, despite the striking data from our own surveys which this organization and various others repeatedly denounce.

In the Census/2020, scheduled to be conducted this year by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), there is no existing guidance regarding the LGBTI population, even in the face of a lawsuit filed by the Federal Public Defender's Office (FPDO)¹⁵, based on a protocol petition from ANTRA itself.

¹⁵ FPDO requests the inclusion of transsexuals in the 2020 Census. Available at: <https://dpu.jusbrasil.com.br/noticias/615418800/dpu-pede-inclusao-de-transexuais-no-censo-2020>

It is clear, then, the difficulty faced by organized social movements in dialogue or participation in the state structure on its three levels, due to its authoritarian bias, where bodies for social participation and discussion committees have disappeared, including in relation to the Ministry for Women, Family and Human Rights.

The data produced here represent ANTRA's independence, commitment and authorial responsibility, as the largest institution representing trans and travesti people at the national level. This is demonstrated in its research and production of knowledge and statistics, ensuring its legitimacy in developing and searching for emergency measures against the violence suffered by trans people.

5. 2019 MURDERS

In 2019, reports of 124 murders of Trans people were confirmed, of which 121 were Travestis and Trans Women and 3 were Trans Men. Of these, we found reports that **only 11 cases had the suspects identified**, representing 8% of the total, and that **only 7% were arrested**.

Brazil has around 209 million residents and a homicide rate of 30.5 homicides per 100,000 inhabitants, the second highest in South America, second only to Venezuela with 56.8. While the United States, with an estimated population of 327 million and ranked third in the world for deaths of Trans people, has a rate of 4.88 for every 100,000 inhabitants. This explains the violent situation we find ourselves in, where Brazil has around 6 times more deaths of transgender people than in the United States, which has a population 50% larger than ours.

Although there was an apparent decrease in the number of murders in the last two years, this does not exactly represent a reduction in the rates of violence against our population, as well as a possible increase in the underreporting of incidents. This problem can arise from: the difficulty of registering incidents, given that public security bodies are often hostile when dealing with and receiving complaints from the LGBTI population; from the continued failure to follow the spirit of the Supreme Federal Court's decision¹⁶; from the lack of respect for and refusal to use the victims' social names; or even from the erasing of gender identity, which is structurally delegitimized, especially bearing in mind that, in 2019, Brazil continues to “lead” in murders of transgender people.

The work we have been doing on building and publishing the data produced in this report allows us to make an in-depth analysis of the cases, which strengthens our strategy of reporting and greater distribution of this information, and it has come to be recognized as the main source of this type of information due to the lack of government data. This has led to greater media coverage and to a number of advocacy activities based on our work, as well as other activities such as public hearings, debates and academic research.

ANTRA's engagement at the international level, with reports and contributions to human rights forums, and meetings and hearings at the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR), has enabled the general use of valuable data, recognized by various international bodies and other partners, and thereby facilitated the development of measures and studies in the field of public security. All of this has impacted the way these statistics have been managed which, consequently, has produced an effective tool for confronting and reducing transphobic violence.

There are also other factors which make us reflect on the apparent fall in these statistics, among which we highlight: the Supreme Federal Court decision; Provision No. 73/2018 of the

¹⁶ Supreme Federal Court recognizes LGBTIphobia as Racismo. Available at: <https://www.conjur.com.br/2019-ago-19/paulo-iotti-stf-naolegislou-equipararhomofobia-racismo>

National Council of Justice (CNJ) on the rectification of Trans people's records without the need for surgeries, evidence or medical reports¹⁷; and the revision of the World Health Organization's understanding of pathological medical criteria relating to transgender people¹⁸ - even if a diagnosis is still required under the International Classification of Diseases (ICD). These constitute important changes that help in the process of humanizing trans lives and signal the breaking of taboos and stigmas inflicted on travesti and transsexual people.

With the Trans Artists' movement for trans representation in the arts, we have seen an increase in the number of trans artists occupying spaces previously inaccessible to them or usurped by *trans fakes*, as well as an increase in the number of productions that include the presence, advice and effective participation of trans people, normalizing our lives and promoting a possible conviviality through representation in plays, soap operas, music, films and a large production of trans-focused authorship. This is a highly necessary visibility, where a range of trans people are transforming social relations through their commitment to the collective, to representation, and which has had a direct impact on the way the public have received these works.

There was also a greater focus of public security activities on the fallacious war on organized crime and the fight against trafficking, on conflicts over control of territories and on confronting criminal factions, with arrests of their leaders. The increase in violence has been concentrated in city outskirts, favelas, areas of interest to large farming estates, indigenous territories, armed conflicts in the settlements of the agrarian reform movement, and areas controlled by drug traffickers. One in three killings in Rio de Janeiro was committed by police officers¹⁹. Similarly, the deaths of police agents, directly or indirectly, and police officers working in these areas have increased - this is the country where the military police kill the most and die the most.

It should be noted that there has been an increase in murders targeting police and the people living in these areas of conflict. And that, for the most part, travestis and transsexuals are murdered in urban centres, areas of prostitution, and in streets which are almost always dark. This reinforces the "Travesti exodus" inside and outside the country, taken as an emergency survival measure, usually to keep away from these areas of conflict so that their professional activity is not jeopardised.

¹⁷ Provision nº 73/2018 of the CNJ. Available at: <https://www.conjur.com.br/2018-jun-29/cnj-regulamenta-alteracoesnome-sexo-registro-transexuais>

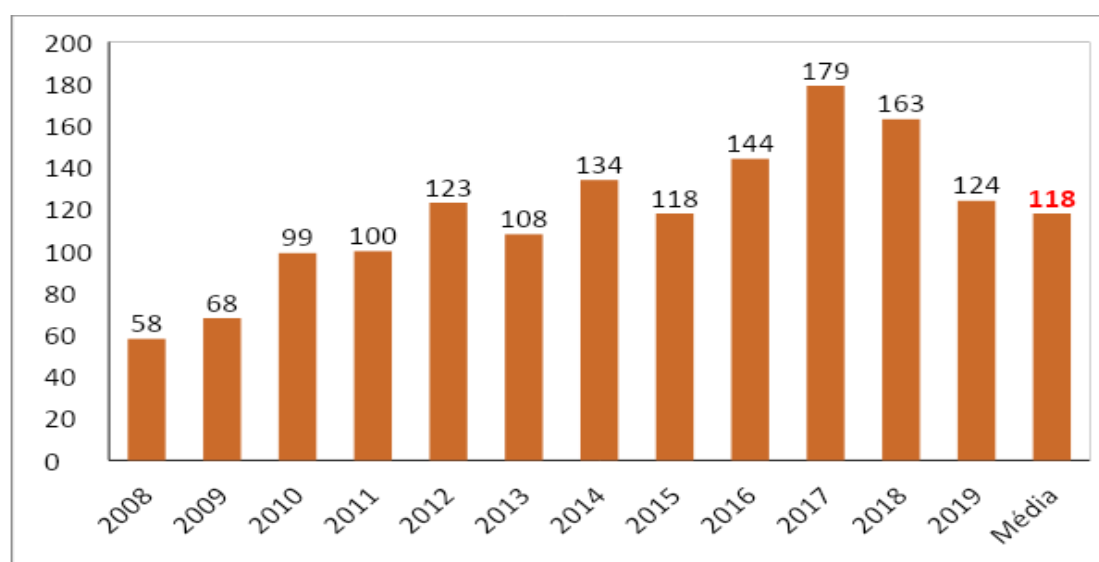
¹⁸ 19 OMS retira transexualidade da lista de transtornos mentais [WHO removes transsexuality from its list of mental disorders]. Available at: <https://nacoesunidas.org/oms-retira-atransexualidade-da-lista-de-doencas-mentais/>

¹⁹ Um em cada três assassinatos no RJ foi morta pela polícia [One in three murders in Rio de Janeiro was committed by police]. Available at: <https://g1.globo.com/fantastico/noticia/2020/01/19/em-2019-uma-em-cada-tres-pessoas-assassinadas-no-rio-de-janeiro-foi-morta-por-policiais.ghtml>

The Travesti Exodus is the migratory process undertaken, mostly, by those Trans people who declare their identity as of the feminine gender, usually to large centres, and which is often unwanted, in search of self-knowledge, freedom, construction of their identities and opportunities, whether in the sex market or not. There are also those people who move abroad in search of their independence, dignity and survival. This exodus is due to the perception that trans people suffer violent processes of social exclusion at all levels, that the only option left to them is to leave where they live/lived, to try to survive far from their places of origin - usually where the most violent processes begin, often very early in their homes or in the school environment, and where they would be most exposed to human rights violations (BENEVIDES, Bruna, 2019).

An important observation should be made here: **No action has been taken by the Brazilian government regarding LGBTIphobia.** On the contrary, in 2011 conservative movements against LGBTI rights and ideologically aligned with religious fundamentalism gained strength on the political scene, which, as a result, began to have an impact on the increase in cases of violence against LGBTI people. Since 2016 - after the coup - we have seen the violence increase even more, and in 2017 Brazil reached the highest number of homicides in its history²⁰. Around 464,000 people were victims of homicide in 2017 worldwide, more than five times the number recorded in armed conflicts in the same period, according to United Nations²¹ researchers. Young black people, women, or LGBTI people - the undesirables - felt the fury of the rise of neoliberal authoritarianism that was taking hold, which decides who lives and who dies, with no mediation possible. In 2018, there was a slight fall, and in 2019, following the trend of previous years, it still remained within an extremely high average of murders.

Graph: Data on murders of trans people in Brazil between 2008 and 2019



Author: BENEVIDES, Bruna, 2020.

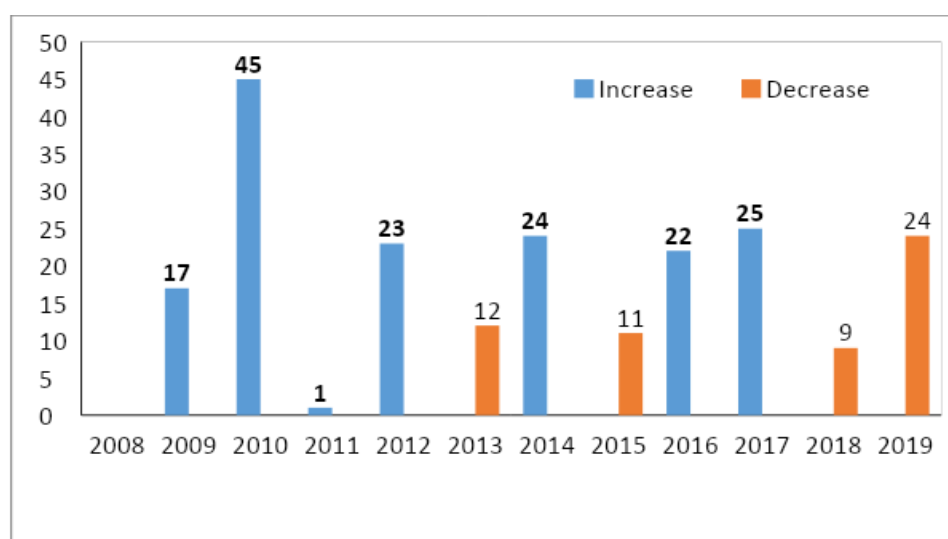
²⁰ Published in the National Public Security Yearly Report. Available at: <http://www.forumseguranca.org.br/publicacoes/anuario-brasileiro-de-seguranca-publica-2018/>

²¹ Published originally on UN News. Available at: <https://news.un.org/en/story/2019/07/1041981?>

In order to provide a more in-depth profile of the numbers of murders, it is important to note that in 2019, Brazil continued leading in murders of trans people, since 2008, according to international data from the NGO Transgender Europe (TGEU), included in this report. It is important to highlight that the average for the years in question (2008 to 2019) is 118.2 murders per year. Looking at the year 2019, we see that it is 5% above this average, even with the apparent drop in absolute numbers.

Comparing the percentage rates of increase and decrease in the data, the year 2019 showed an increase of 114% relative to 2008, the year with the lowest number of reported cases. Over the years in this period, we have seen 7 increases in the number of cases with an average of 22.5%, compared to 14% for the 4 decreases in the numbers.

Graph: Percentage of increases and decreases in murders



Author: BENEVIDES, Bruna, 2020.

With this, we want to preclude any attempt to appropriate and misuse our work, or to manipulate this data for any fallacious narrative about the decrease in these figures being the result of any action by the federal government. We also want to state that, even in the face of a contentious and violent environment, the gains we have achieved have been the fruit of the struggle of organized civil society movements.

In the 2019 report²², the violence with which various murder attempts and violations of basic human rights were committed was made clear, while at the same time there was a large-scale nationwide mobilization for the ruling on the criminalization of LGBTIphobia at the Supreme Federal Court. Even in the face of exhaustive lobbying against this, we saw international coverage of the trial.

This movement, which lasted about seven months, up to the end of the trial, had an immediate effect on society as a whole, showing the urgency of the debate on anti-LGBTIphobic measures. For the first time, we are seeing general, non-political-academic society discussing why

²² On ANTRA's website. Available at: <https://antrabrazil.org/mapadosassassinatos/>

discrimination and violence against the LGBTI population should no longer be tolerated and whether it should become a punishable crime. This debate had a direct impact on how wider society perceives us, with a highly educational and immediate effect. It was an important act by the judiciary, prompted by social movements working against the historical violence that we face. It was also during this same period that we saw the largest drop in the numbers of murders against our population..

Despite all these efforts and the impact of the criminalization ruling, we have seen increased impunity in cases where suspects have been identified. The sense of impunity is very strong, and this clearly encourages new crimes to be committed. It is common for us to seek news of cases of murders of trans people, and find information that they have been released or even acquitted. **The impunity ends up reinforcing cycles of violence and undermining people's trust in the law.**

The Court of Justice of the State of Piauí upheld its decision and acquitted Professor Luis Augusto Nunes, who was accused by Piauí's Public Prosecution of the killing of the travesti Makelly Castro. At the time, the Public Prosecution appealed against the court's decision of October 2017, considering it strange that the sentencing council, responsible for deciding whether the accused was guilty or innocent, had recognized the responsibility for the crime, but still opted for acquittal. The travesti Makelly Castro was murdered on 18 July 2014. The teacher was accused of murder in a cruel manner. The victim's body was found with many bruises in the neighbourhood of the Industrial District, Southern Area of Teresina, wearing only underwear (G1, Piauí - March/2019²³).

5.1. MURDERS BY STATE

A) FULL DATA:

In absolute numbers, São Paulo was the state with the highest number of trans people killed in 2019, with 21 murders, an increase of 66.7% on 2018; followed by Ceará; with 11 cases; Bahia and Pernambuco, with 8; Paraná, Rio de Janeiro and Rio Grande do Sul, with 7 cases each; and Goiás with 6 cases; Amazonas, Maranhão, Minas Gerais, Mato Grosso and Paraíba with 5 cases each; Espírito Santo, Pará and Rio Grande do Norte with 4; Alagoas, Rondônia and Tocantins with 2; and 1 case in Mato Grosso do Sul, Roraima, Sergipe and Piauí. No media reports were found for Acre, Amapá, Santa Catarina, and the Federal District. **In 2019, the following states showed an increase in murders: São Paulo, Pernambuco, Rondônia and Tocantins.**

²³ Acusado é absolvido em julgamento sobre o assassinato de travesti no Piauí. [The accused is acquitted in a trial on the murder of a travesti in Piauí.] Available at: <https://g1.globo.com/pi/piaui/noticia/2019/03/13/tribunal-mantem-absolvicao-de-professor-acusado-matar-travesti-makelly-castro.ghtml>

Table: Ranking by state

Ranking	State	2019	State	2018	State	2017
1	SP	21	RJ	16	MG	20
2	CE	11	BA	15	BA	17
3	BA	8	SP	14	CE	16
4	PE	8	CE	13	SP	16
5	RJ	7	PA	10	RJ	14
6	PR	7	MG	9	PE	13
7	RS	7	MT	8	PB	10
8	GO	6	PR	8	PR	9
9	AM	5	RS	8	AL	7
10	MA	5	PE	7	ES	7
11	MG	5	AM	6	PA	7
12	MT	5	ES	6	MT	6
13	PB	5	GO	6	AM	5
14	ES	4	RN	6	GO	5
15	PA	4	PB	5	RO	5
16	RN	4	SE	5	SC	5
17	AL	2	SC	4	TO	3
18	RO	2	AL	3	DF	2
19	TO	2	MA	3	MA	2
20	MS	1	DF	2	MS	2
21	PI	1	MS	2	SE	2
22	RR	1	PI	2	AC	1
23	SE	1	RO	1	AP	1
24	AC	0	RR	1	PI	1
25	AP	0	TO	1	RN	1
26	SC	0	AC	0	RR	1
27	DF	0	AP	0	RS	1

Author: BENEVIDES, Bruna, 2020.

Over 2017, 2018, and 2019, we had 466 murders of trans people in Brazil. In the ranking by state, based on absolute numbers: São Paulo ranks first with 51 cases; second are Bahia and Ceará, with 40 cases; Rio de Janeiro, with 37, is third; Minas Gerais is fourth, with 34; and the state of Pernambuco is in fifth, with 28 murders. These states have seen the most transgender people murdered in Brazil over these three years, together accounting for 49.5% of the cases.

Ranking of the 10 states with most murders of Trans people, 2017 - 2019:

RANKING	State	Data
1	SP	51
2	BA	40
	CE	40
3	RJ	37
4	MG	34
5	PE	28
6	PR	24
7	PA	21
8	PB	20
9	MT	19
10	ES	17
	GO	17



Note: São Paulo, Ceará, Bahia and Rio de Janeiro appear among the 5 states with the most murders of trans people in all three years of 2017, 2018, and 2019.

B) DATA PROPORTIONAL TO TRANS POPULATION:

It is worth noting that, despite the lack of government data on the population of travestis and transsexuals, we work with the estimate that 1.9% of the population is non-cisgender, with 1.1% belonging to the feminine gender (travestis and transsexual women); and 0.8% belonging to the masculine gender (trans and transmasculine men)²⁴.

The table below shows the states ranked by the murder rate of Trans people/100,000 residents, proportionally:

Table: Ranking by state

Ranking	State	Rate	Ranking	State	Rate	Ranking	State	Rate
1	RR	8,69	10	GO	4,50	19	SE	2,29
2	MT	7,52	11	PE	4,39	20	RJ	2,13
3	TO	6,66	12	MA	3,72	21	MS	1,89
4	PB	6,55	13	RS	3,23	22	PI	1,60
5	AM	6,34	14	PR	3,20	23	MG	1,24
6	CE	6,33	15	AL	3,15	24	AC	0,00
7	RN	6,02	16	BA	2,81	25	AP	0,00
8	RO	5,91	17	PA	2,45	26	DF	0,00
9	ES	5,24	18	SP	2,40	27	SC	0,00

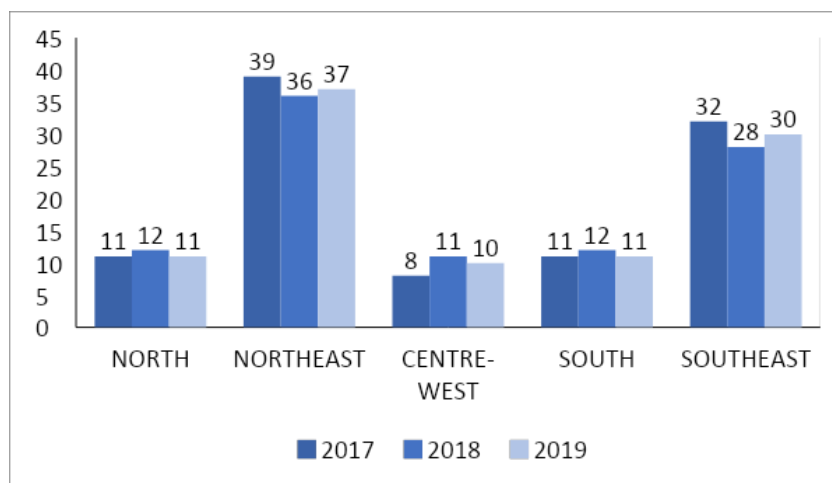
Author: BENEVIDES, Bruna, 2020.

5.2.MURDERS BY REGION

The highest concentration of murders was seen in the Northeast region with 45 murders (37% of cases), followed by the Southeast region with 37 (30%); the South with 14 (11%); the North with 14 (11%); and the Central West with 12 (10%). **In 2019, the southeast region showed an increase of 10.8% in the number of murders of trans people.** The other regions remain around the average of murders over the last three years - taking 2017 as the starting year of our survey, and taking into account the margin of error and the approximate percentages.

²⁴ Data relating to the study "Sport and Transgender People: A Systematic Review of the Literature Relating to Sport Participation and Competitive Sport Policies". Available at: <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/27699698>

Graph: Murders by region in percent (%)



Author: BENEVIDES, Bruna, 2020.

There were also 2 Brazilian travestis/ transsexual women murdered outside the country in 2019.

5.3. PROFILE OF THE VICTIMS

a) AGE

15 years old was the age at which the youngest trans teenager was murdered in 2019.

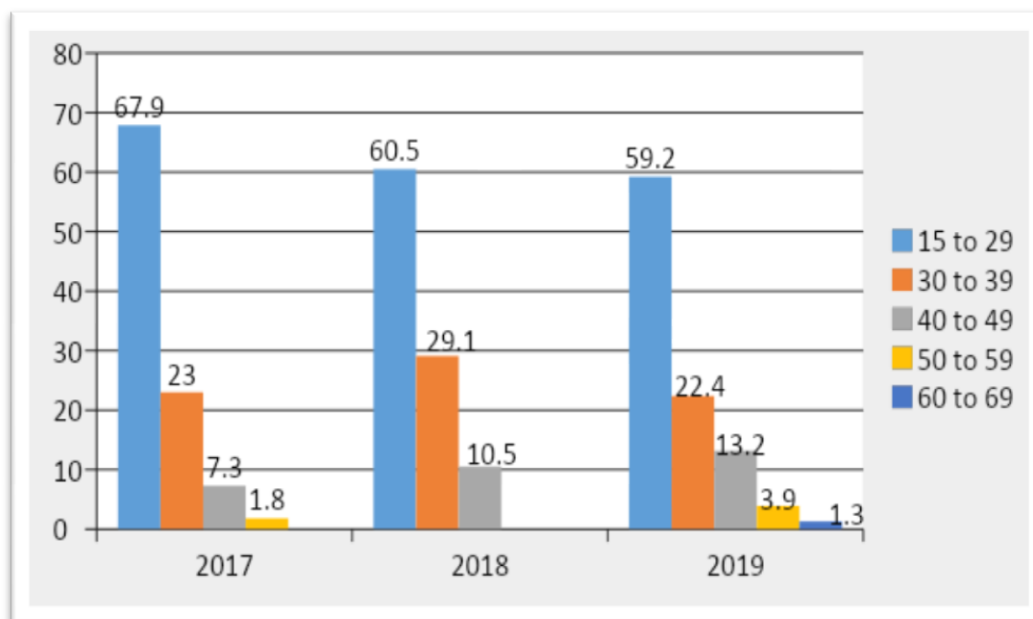
There were 3 victims aged 15 years old, two of them stoned to death. **The third, besides being beaten to death, had been hanged, and her body was found with signs of sexual violence.**

The violence is striking at all ages, but the highest risk for a trans person of being murdered is between the ages of 15 and 45. The Map of Murders 2019 shows that **59.2% of the victims were between 15 and 29 years of age**; 22.4% were between 30 and 39 years old; 13.2% were between 40 and 49 years old; 3.9% were between 50 and 59 years of age; and 1.3% were between 60 and 69 years of age. The youngest victim reported in 2018 was 17 years old, whereas in 2019, the youngest was 15 years old, representing a fall of 2 years of the moment when many trans people become vulnerable to murder. In the Atlas of Violence 2019, the rate of cis people murdered between 15 and 29 years old is 53.9%.²⁵

The death of a trans teenager aged only 15 reaffirms the fact that trans youth are highly vulnerable to the violence they face on a daily basis. The premature death of young people (15 to 29 years old) by homicide is a problem that has been increasing in Brazil since the 1980s, according to the Atlas of Violence 2019.

²⁵ Atlas da Violência 2019 [Atlas of Violence 2019]. Available at: http://www.ipea.gov.br/portal/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=34784&Itemid=432

Graph: Profile of victims by age



Author: BENEVIDES, Bruna, 2020.

Based on the data on age, we arrive at the estimate that **the average age of murder victims in 2019 was 29.7 years old**, and show that the younger trans people are, the more vulnerable to murder they are.

Particularly those who work in prostitution and are even more immediately exposed to various forms of violence, whether psychological, symbolic, physical abuse or even murder. It is to be noted that the highest murder rates of trans people are directly related to age. The younger the person, the more vulnerable to violence and murder. In contrast, those who go beyond these ages see their risk of being murdered reduce over the course of their lives (Report on murders and violence against TRAVESTIS and TRANSEXUALS in Brazil in 2018.)

There are still 47 cases where it was not possible to identify the age of the victims, which agains shows the problem of underreporting - and which were not covered in this study.

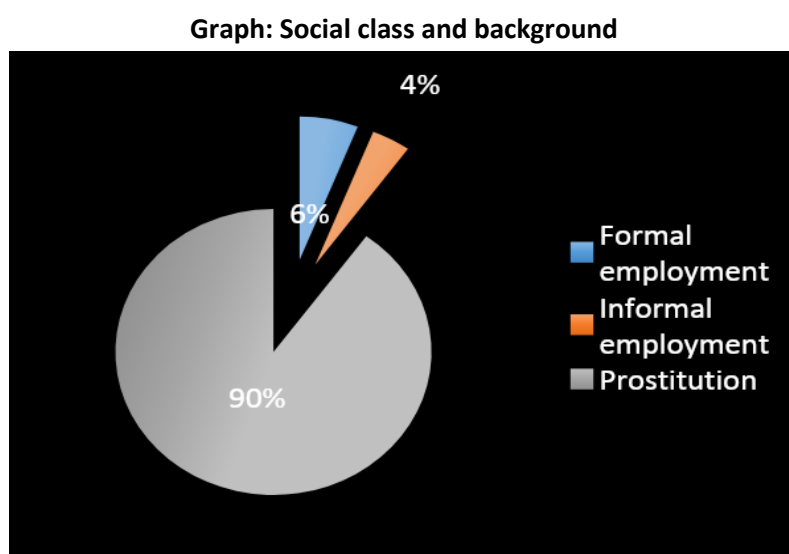
b) CLASS AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND

It seems to us that the struggle for the right to work and have income, by activists and initiatives with national and international companies, has achieved small advances in the inclusion of trans people in various occupational areas, where people were hired in formal jobs and activities with the possibility of career advancement, or given incentives to work as entrepreneurs. We learned of various partnerships and initiatives that not only trained trans people for, but also guided them to, an employment opportunity, which led us to believe that in five years or so we would see an increase

in the number of trans people in formal jobs or other activities outside of sex work, as well as possibly increasing our population's life expectancy.

However, several factors have frustrated these expectations. Examples are the freezing of spending in areas that directly impact on people's life expectancy; measures that limit access to healthcare and education for 20 years; labour and social security reforms, which increase the rates of unemployment, poverty and people in informal work; increased violence against LGBTI people, and the setbacks in human rights that we have seen over the past year. In this context, we see travestis and transgender women being pushed to again resort to often precarious sex work to ensure their livelihoods.

This leads us to believe that the estimate - that only 4% of the feminine Trans population is in formal employment, with possibilities of promotion and career progression, according to data collected by ANTRA - remains current. Similarly, we see that only 6% are in informal activities and underemployment. The most worrying statistic remains: 90% of the population of Travestis and Transsexual Women use prostitution as a source of income.



Author: BENEVIDES, Bruna, 2020.

Due to family exclusion, it is estimated that **13 years old is the average age at which Travestis and Transsexual Women are driven from home by their parents (ANTRA)- and that around 0.02% are in university, 72% did not graduate from high school and 56% did not graduate from primary school (data from the Beyond the Rainbow Project/ AfroReggae).** This situation is largely caused by exclusion from the school system, making it more difficult to enter formal employment and leading to a lack of professional qualifications caused by social exclusion.

Travestis and feminine transsexuals are a group that is highly vulnerable to violent and premature death in Brazil. Although there are no systematic studies on the life expectancy of travestis and feminine transsexuals, Antunes (2013) states that the life expectancy of this population is 35 years, while that of the Brazilian population in general is 74.9 years (IBGE 2013).

For trans men and transmasculine people, we have greater difficulty in collecting data because of their invisibility. In general, the educational level of this part of the population is inversely proportional to the low educational level of Travestis and Transsexual Women. **We estimate that at least 80% of this population has completed secondary education, and is the largest section of the trans population in formal employment, with rates above 70%.** There is no data on the percentage of trans men working in prostitution. In general, they choose to meet in private and in places that provide a greater sense of security..

We also see that 67% of the murders targeted travestis and transsexual women sex workers, who are the most exposed to direct violence, and suffer the stigma that processes of exclusion impose on them. It is precisely in this situation that the overwhelming majority of victims find themselves, having been pushed into prostitution by the lack of opportunities, and finding themselves highly vulnerable in society and exposed to all sorts of physical and psychological violence.. **In 2019, 64% of these murders happened on the streets.**

This reflects the hatred towards prostitutes in a country that still does not have a law regulating prostitution which, although it is not a crime, suffers from processes of criminalization in practice, and is systematically disparaged by social values based on religious dogma which want to maintain control of people's bodies and what we do with them. This societal attitude is constantly reinforced by the prejudiced portrayals that "common sense" holds in its image of a prostitute, and are associated with behaviour considered immoral by society. (Report on murders and violence against TRAVESTIS and TRANSEXUALS in Brazil in 2018).

Cases involving crimes against trans people, in general travestis and transsexual women, end up facing other difficulties that will impact on the processing of accusations, analysis of cases and elements, and trials - whether they are victims or not. At the end of the year, we learned that a confessed killer had been released and would respond to the trial in freedom²⁶. **He claims to have acted in self-defence. After having a sexual encounter, he claimed to have been the victim of attempted extortion. According to him, this would justify his disproportionate and violent reaction, permitting him to murder the poor being he had used in sexual encounters.** After being arrested, he was released. The case received widespread media attention..

²⁶ Assassino confesso, irá responder em liberdade [A confessed murderer will respond in freedom]. Available at: <https://www.pragmatismopolitico.com.br/2019/12/cidadao-de-bem-que-matou-trans-em-motel-ganha-liberdade.html>

From a very early age, society normalizes exclusion against trans people and teaches us to be afraid of travestis, that we should not pass through the streets where they work and should avoid places they visit. It is assumed that they pose a risk to "upstanding people". Their existence, outcast and marginalized, provokes hatred and desire in those who are fascinated by the subversiveness that their bodies represent. In a quick Google search, 9 out of 10 news items using the term travesti feature news about crimes, and their presentation always turns into sensationalist entertainment with the intention of maintaining the archetypal image created about trans people.

Could it be that crime is in travestis' DNA? Or is it that Brazilian media want at all costs to make us believe that being a travesti is the same as being a criminal, and therefore, should be pushed out of society? I remember that many years ago I said, at the events I participated in, that Brazilian media were one of the producers and instigators of transphobic crimes in Brazil, creating as a rule the narrative that trans identities are dangerous, that trans people are criminal, mentally ill, deviant, sinful, dirty, and delinquent. Let's finish the decade and you ask me what has improved (Dan iela Andrade, trans activist, in a Facebook post).

It is common to see a persistent attempt to associate travestis with illicit activities so as to justify the violence and/or murders of which they are victims - which puts Brazil at the top of the ranking of violence against trans people worldwide - reinforcing old stigmas about the "violent travesti" myth that we learn to fear from a very early age. The recurring themes are drug use, turf wars, attempted extortion, and theft..

In a recent article on the Folha de São Paulo website, Marilene Felinto wrote about the book "Pessoa Afeita ao Crime: criminalização de travestis e os discursos do Tribunal de Justiça de São Paulo" ("People Accustomed to Crime: criminalization of travestis and the speeches at São Paulo's Court of Justice"), by Victor Siqueira Serra:

"It is a text which denounces the way in which actors in the justice system allow themselves to be guided by their prejudices and ideologies when criminalizing parts of society that do not fit in with social expectations. The young author of the work shows how, besides the vulnerability and daily violence to which travesties in Brazil are exposed (police violence, discrimination and humiliation in health services, difficulty in accessing employment, education, etc.), they are discredited by the Justice system, which views these people based on a social image that stigmatizes them as "dangerous and often criminal". It explains that, less important than understanding each case in isolation, out of the around one hundred judgements it reviewed, it wanted to understand how the criminal justice system as a whole works, how it contributes to the production and reproduction of inequalities, and how it could operate in other ways. According to the author, they are central to the discursive analysis of the decisions of the TJSP: the discourse, the conditions under which the discourse is produced, the course of criminal procedure, the way in which the texts are constructed and the power relations that flow through them, as well as the people speaking on the topic, judges and their portrayals of travestis. (Text: Justice system criminalizes travestis on the basis of the stigmas of 'dangerous' and 'criminals'. Published in Folha de SP, on 28/12/2019.).

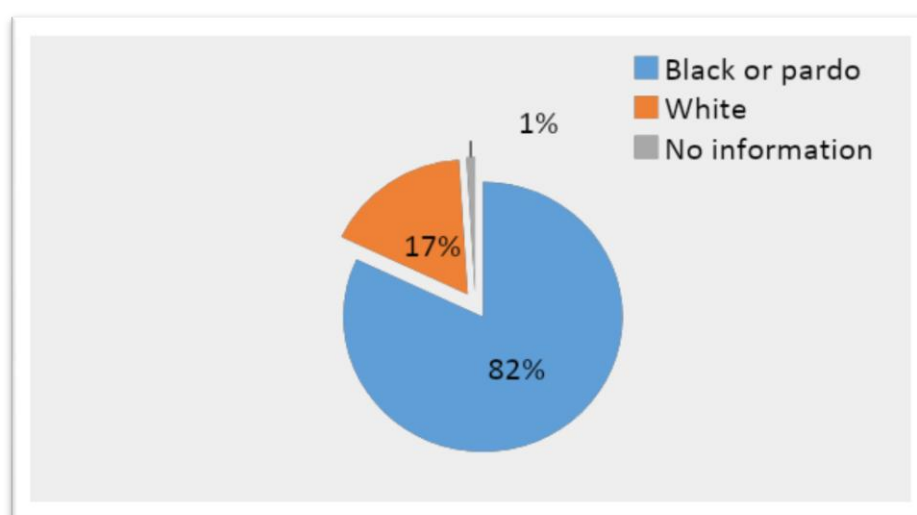
C) RACISM.

*"Transphobia is a White vice.
We need to take it out of our spaces."*

Erica Malunginho

In 2019, 82% of cases were identified as being of black and pardo people, clearly highlighting the factor of racial inequality in the data of murders against trans people, which was already reported in previous editions. While we recognize that the issue of racism manifests itself in different ways and contexts in each region/state, we note that it is black people who are most at risk of being murdered.

Graph: Ethnic profile of victims



Author: BENEVIDES, Bruna, 2020.

Transfemicide has been high among all age groups. A Trans person has a higher risk of being murdered than a Cisgender person. However, black travestis and transsexual women are affected at a higher rate, and likewise they have the lowest level of education, the lowest access to formal employment and to public services. Black travestis and transsexuals represent the majority of those in street prostitution. Proportionally, they also suffer the highest rates of violence and murder.

75.5% of the homicide victims were black (defined here as the total of black or pardo individuals, according to the IBGE classification, also used by the SIM), and the homicide rate per 100,000 black people was 43.1, while the rate for non-black people (white, Asian, and indigenous) was 16.0. That is, in proportion to their respective populations, for each non-black individual who was murdered in 2017, approximately 2.7 black people were killed. (Atlas of Violence 2019).

D) GENDER

The factor of gender plays a clear role, as demonstrated by the statistic that 97.7% of these murders were against trans people of the feminine gender (121 cases). By comparison, according to the Atlas of Violence 2019, for cisgender people 91.8% of intentional homicides were against people of masculine gender, and 8% against people of feminine gender. It should be noted that, for cisgender people, the majority of murders are masculine, while for trans people, the majority are feminine.

This points to the need to develop policies on gender that ensure protection from violence targeting the feminine gender, as well as to bring murders of Travestis and Transsexual Women under the cover of the Law on Femicide and the Maria da Penha Law. This is an issue that has attracted a lot of attention in recent years, regarding the increase in femicide cases in the country.

Data from the 2019 Woman Report show that every 5 days a woman is victim of Femicide, while every 48 hours a trans person is murdered in Brazil (ANTRA, 2017).

Gender, as constructed, in itself can be considered a form of violent colonial domination against indigenous peoples, and, subsequently, against women. Binary and hierarchical models of community, as we are living in and reproducing today, structured the new society - following the colonization of this land - through genocidal processes of extractivist domination. Therefore, especially in Brazil, gender cannot be understood separated from its relationship to violence and conflicts, nor can it be defined without a basis in its real and symbolic practices. Gender is law and, as such, can be defined by its punitive capacity. This should not result in blaming the victims, but in understanding how the creation of the victim is vital and formative for the functioning of cis-sexist, racial, and terribly colonial structures. (Caia Coelho, Transfeminist, Penal Abolitionist).

Following the Supreme Federal Court's decision on the rectification of trans people's official records, our attention is drawn to the lack of options for sexual orientation and/or gender identity on bureaucratic forms, or their correct completion by staff, particularly in police stations, hospitals and agencies which assist victims of violence.^a Those people who have had their names rectified are viewed by state institutions as *cisgender* people²⁷, which further contributes to the increase in underreporting of cases and hampers the search for information, motives, and other patterns found in the killings of trans people. **It is URGENT to include information on these identities in all systems, because the absence of these options hinders research and, consequently, the construction of public policies that take into account our population's citizenship.**

²⁷ In this study, we will use the term *cisgender persons* whenever referring to those persons who acknowledge and identify with the gender assigned at birth.

5.4 GENDER IDENTITY OF VICTIMS IN THE MEDIA

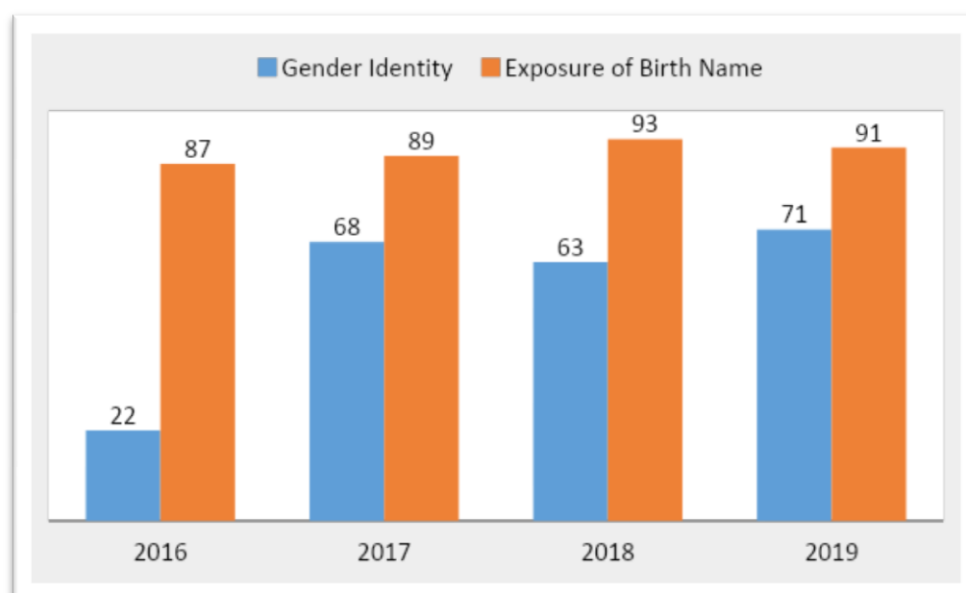
"A grave patriarchal and colonial act of violence is disrespecting and questioning a person's gender identity."

M. Cambrollé

With the increase in the reporting of these abuses, the monitoring by networks and institutions, and discussions on gender diversity, and despite the censorship pushed for by fundamentalist political voices against this debate, we have been able to see dialogue on this topic which stresses the importance of differences between sexual orientation and gender identity for data collection. We have seen things change slowly, and there has continued to be a significant number of reports in media and newspapers which respect the gender identities and appropriate pronouns of Trans people.

This year, **29% of reports on these cases did not respect the victims' gender identity, and 91% of the cases exposed their birth name, many of them without mentioning their self-chosen name.** While we saw an increase in respect for the victims' gender identity, reports still regularly expose the victims' birth names.

Graph: Respect for gender identity and exposure of victims' birth name (%)



Author: BENEVIDES, Bruna, 2020.

The difficulty of standardizing these data from the media poses an even greater challenge for this survey: whether due to ignorance or lack of interest, in many cases they report deaths of travestis and Transsexual women as if they were gay men, whose expression of gender is perceived as more feminine; and Trans men as if they were lesbians, whose expression of gender is perceived

as more “masculinized”. In the case of non-binary people, these identifying markers become even more challenging due to the invisibility of this population and the lack of knowledge of and interest in gender diversity.

We need to pay attention to another important fact: Trans people who have their name and gender rectified can then be subjected to another process of being made invisible, during reporting or making records of incidents. According to documentary records, they would be recognized by the state as if they were cisgender people. For this reason, the use of gender identity markers on forms, reports, incident statements, and records on these deaths has become ever more important, so that these data are not lost and the trans population does not have its gender identity again de-legitimized or underreported after the rectification of their records. It is important to know whether a murder victim is cisgender or transgender so that we can cross-check the data, and the state can take account of these murders. And this will only be possible with gender identity markers available, correctly completed and disclosed; as well as staff qualified to process it and aware of their importance. (Report on Murders and Violence against TRAVESTIS and TRANSSEXUALS in Brazil in 2018.)

It should be noted that the data show a prevalence - in 87% of cases - of news reports, on murders of people identified as Travestis, making direct links to other identity markers such as the area where the murder occurred, social class and context, race, and occupation. While these factors are certainly important to understand such cases, the media have a tendency to define victims’ identities mainly focusing on such elements, and often in a distorted, racist, classist and stereotyped way. It thereby contributes to intensifying the marginalization of Travestis in public perception. At the same time, the media choose to refer to the identity “Transsexual Woman” generally when talking of people who have a socially accepted profile, of not having worked in prostitution, who were white, and presented a high degree of *social cisgender reading* [*passability*]²⁸.

It must be understood that, after being killed, other people’s attempts to label the gender identity of trans people are generally based exclusively on their own perceptions, and so are highly likely to be shaped by stigmas or genitalistic views on trans lives. It is impossible to determine the identity of another person while being ignorant of his or her life history, constructions and experiences.

Instead of proposing or seeking distinctions of terms, perhaps it was time for us to analyze the meanings which society projects onto these two words [Travesti and Trans Woman], and try to identify the reasons for these projections and break with these narratives which smear us, abuse us. In any case, before attempting to differentiate them, before proposing normative distinctions between them, it is necessary to ask oneself about the intention of this attempt at differentiation, and if one is aware of the consequences that may arise from it. (Amara Moira, in the text Travesti or Trans Woman: There is a Difference, for Media Ninja²⁹).

²⁸ The expression *Cisgender Social Reading* (*Leitura Social Cisgênera*) is used in this study to refer to those people who, due to their gender expression, together with physical attributes and other elements, are perceived as if they were cisgender people. Expression popularly known as *passability*.

²⁹ Text: Travesti ou Mulher trans: Tem Diferença [Travesti or Trans Woman: There is a Difference]. Available at: <https://midianinja.org/amaramoira/travesti-ou-mulher-trans-tem-diferenca/>

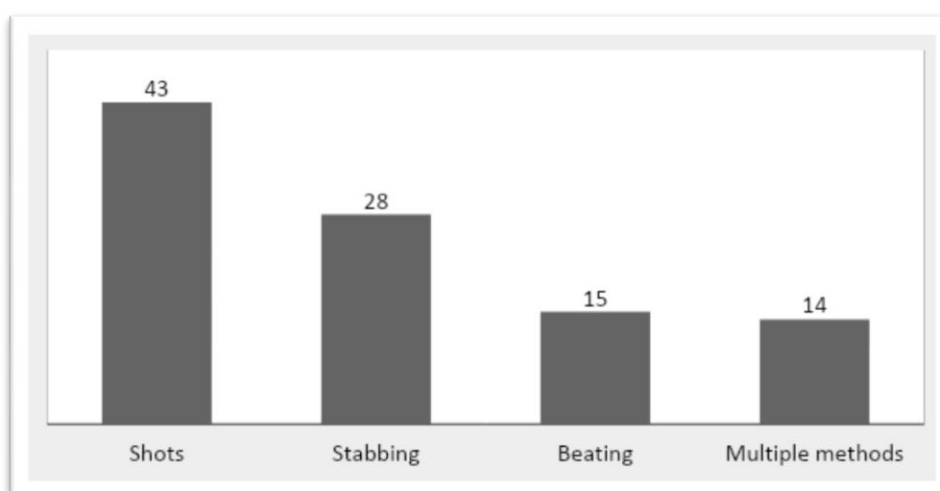
There is also a practice among police, commonly replicated by the media and journalists, where they, in many cases intentionally, report some incoherent and/or fictitious link to drug use or other illegal activities, such as theft or extortion. This is full of prejudice and ignorance that reinforces and perpetuates stigma against the trans population. There are also reports which expose explicit photos of mutilated corpses, which is a violation of that person's image of that person, already brutally murdered. This manner of exposure is also a violence against the families and their suffering.

We have reflected on the effects of the publication of demoralizing photos and brutal images and videos of the murders of Travestis and Transsexuals, and on how the sharing of this material on social media causes even more suffering to the memory of the victims, exposing their mutilated and often naked bodies in a completely irresponsible manner, and that do not assist investigations, as many think. It simply turns the murder of Trans people into a horror show, open to accusation, judgement and blaming of the victims for the brutal evil they suffered. They can also incite disturbing feelings if there is no information on the content, and also violate rights after death, such as honour, image, intimacy, privacy and inviolability of their mortal remains, guaranteed by the principle of human dignity. (BENEVIDES, Bruna. Report on the MAP OF MURDERS 2017 - ANTRA.)

5.5 TYPES OF MURDER

Of the 124 murders covered in 2019, 13 reports either did not report or did not contain data on the type of instrument/ means used to commit the murder. Of the other cases identified in this study, 43% were committed with firearms; 28% with non-firearm weapons; and 15% by beatings, asphyxiation and/or strangulation. In Brazil, Cerqueira (2014) presented evidence that for every 1% more firearms in circulation, there is a 2% increase in the homicide rate. There were also 9 cases of execution with a high number of shots fired.

Graph: Types of murder (%)



Author: BENEVIDES, Bruna, 2020.

It should be noted that in 80% of cases the murders showed particular cruelty, such as excessive violence or multiple forms of brutal violence. There was an increase in cases of stoning and use of bladed weapons as a murder instrument. **52% of the murders by beating also presented signs of other types of violence, such as shooting, drowning, torture, sexual violence, etc..**

This makes clear the hatred behind these crimes, and motivates us to denounce such blatant transphobia. We see reports of severely mutilated bodies, with objects inserted into anus of the victims, their bodies being burned and quartered, or repeatedly beaten.

Table showing the most common types of methods used in murders of trans people in Brazil:

Assault + Shooting	Beating + Clubbing
Stoning	Beating + Thrown from overpass
Stoning + Shooting + Drowning	Beating + Shooting
Bladed weapon	Beating + Insertion of objects in anus
Asphyxia	Strangling
Run over by vehicle	Strangling + Torture
Body burned	Stabbing
Decapitated	Stones
Strangling + Asphyxia	Clubbing
Strangling + Drowning	Shooting
Beating	Torture

The crimes usually follow a clear repetition of methods, blows, and items during the killings, and depend on the context in which the victim finds themselves at the time of the murder. Whether it is a public street or a difficult place to access and/or a private place, there are differences in the methods used by murderers. And the number of murderers also varies along these lines. If the victim is in a more deserted, darker setting with few people, in a motel or even inside the home, and there is a possibility of vandalizing the body, the killer will do so. Murders in busier areas generally occur more quickly. (Report on MURDERS and VIOLENCE against TRAVESTIS and TRANSSEXUALS in Brazil in 2018).

It has not been possible to make a profile of the murderers due to the lack of data on them in reports. While we see the victims' birth names frequently published, the suspected perpetrators' identities are protected by the media. **In the 2018 Report we estimated that about 80% of killers had no direct relationship with the victim**, as they were potential clients of those victims who worked as sex workers, or had other types of casual involvement which generally have no social or affectionate link or direct involvement with the victim. This makes even their identification, recognition and arrest difficult, except when in rare cases they are known clients and are easily identified.

5.6 COMMON ELEMENTS

The data shown here makes clear the need for public policies focused on reducing homicides of trans people, and profiling these individuals who are being murdered according to identity markers of age, social class and background, race, gender, the means used, as well as other factors that make this population the main group targeted by intentional violent killings in Brazil.

Among the most common elements in the cases covered by this study are:

- Most of the victims are young, between 15 and 29 years old;
- The majority are black, poor, and declare or express feminine gender;
- Among the victims, prostitution is a common source of income;
- Crimes occur mainly on the streets, mostly in deserted streets and at night;
- The incidents involve excessive use of violence and cruelty;
- The murderers do not usually have a direct, social, or emotional relationship with the victim;
- Police and judicial practices are characterized by a lack of rigour in the investigation, identification, and arrest of suspects;
- Data are repeatedly unreliable and lacking, often intentionally, in order to conceal, or to manipulate opinion with the idea of a decrease in cases in a particular region;
- In the few cases where charges are pressed, the crimes generally go unpunished or the killers are released, even when they have confessed, in several cases;
- The importance and seriousness of these crimes tend to be minimized and explained away by gender identity, attributing responsibility to them for their own murders;
- There are cases presented as "death by natural causes", which hampers adequate investigation into the true causes of death; in particular, the lack of investigation into the actions and involvement of police forces should be highlighted;
- The gender identity of victims is not respected during the handling of cases, and they are recorded as individuals of the masculine sex, which increases underreporting and makes it difficult to identify cases for research purposes;
- Criminal investigations are affected by stigmas and negative prejudices that are inflicted on travestis and trans women;
- The discrediting of their voices puts trans people in an weaker position as witnesses and victims and, in turn, favours their attackers.
- It is common for the killers' statements to be used to obstruct or weaken the indictment or trial, presenting themselves as "upstanding citizens";

- Travestis and trans women are often perceived more as suspects than as plaintiffs or witnesses. This discourages them from turning to the justice system or the police, especially for people involved in prostitution. In cases where perpetrators are part of the police force, this also puts the lives of those trying to solve the crime at risk (Gilardi, personal statement, April 2016);
- Impunity favours the murderers.

Within public security operations, there is an urgent need for periodic and ongoing training to ensure that LGBTI people are properly assisted in police stations and public security bodies, as well as for the fight against institutional LGBTIphobia, which makes it difficult to investigate murders against LGBTI people or the violence to which they are subjected.

The data presented here are intended to stimulate discussions on the need to organize Working Groups on LGBTI security at the state and municipality levels. It is also to encourage the standardization of how data on violence is collected in police stations, hospitals, and medical institutions, with respect for and appropriate use of their chosen name and gender identity, in order to correctly record data on assistance to Trans people.

6. ATTEMPTED MURDER

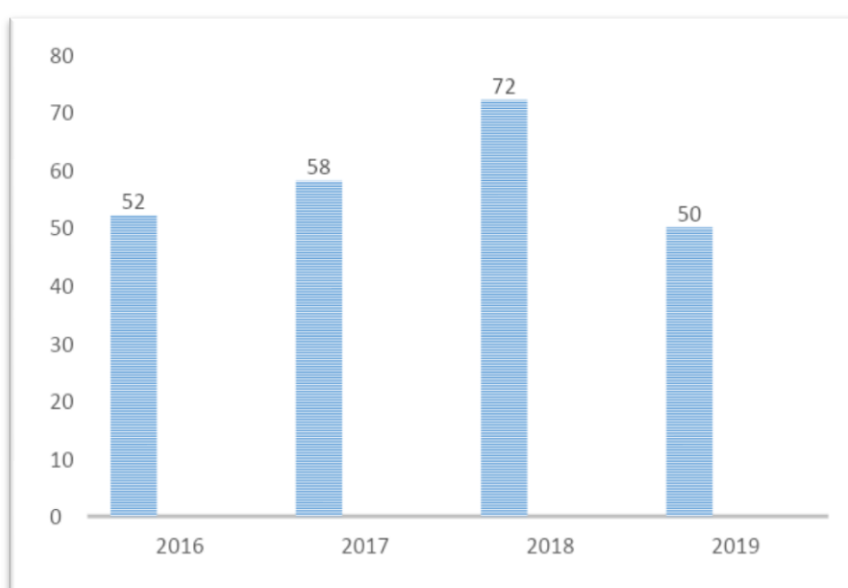
An attempted murder is characterized by the failure to complete the intended crime due to factors unrelated to the perpetrator, that is, there was an intention to commit the crime but it was not completed. For attempted crimes, Article 14 of the Penal Code states that an attempt comes under a given law by extension, meaning that an attempted homicide is, in essence, considered a homicide under Item II of Article 14 of the Penal Code.

A crime which is attempted is, generally, punished because the perpetrator showed their intention, but just failed in the act. Regarding committing crimes, intent is essential, since it represents the relationship between the act and the will to commit it, which generates a more direct punishability. In the case of an attempted crime, the same penalty is applied as for a completed crime, but reduced by one to two-thirds.

In an attempted murder, a prison sentence of between six and twenty years is stipulated, as in Article 121, but reduced by one to two thirds. In practice, the sentence for attempted ordinary murder can vary between one and a little over twelve years. When we were at the ILGALAC Regional Conference in Guatemala City, the activist Collette Spinetti Nuñez from Uruguay highlighted the importance of reporting on cases of attempted murder, since it is the survivors who will be able to provide information about the crimes they suffered, which can indicate intent, methods, and other factors that may be used to analyze these attempted murders.

In 2019, 50 murder attempts were recorded through social media and the press. The graph below shows a comparison of attempted murders between 2016 and 2019.

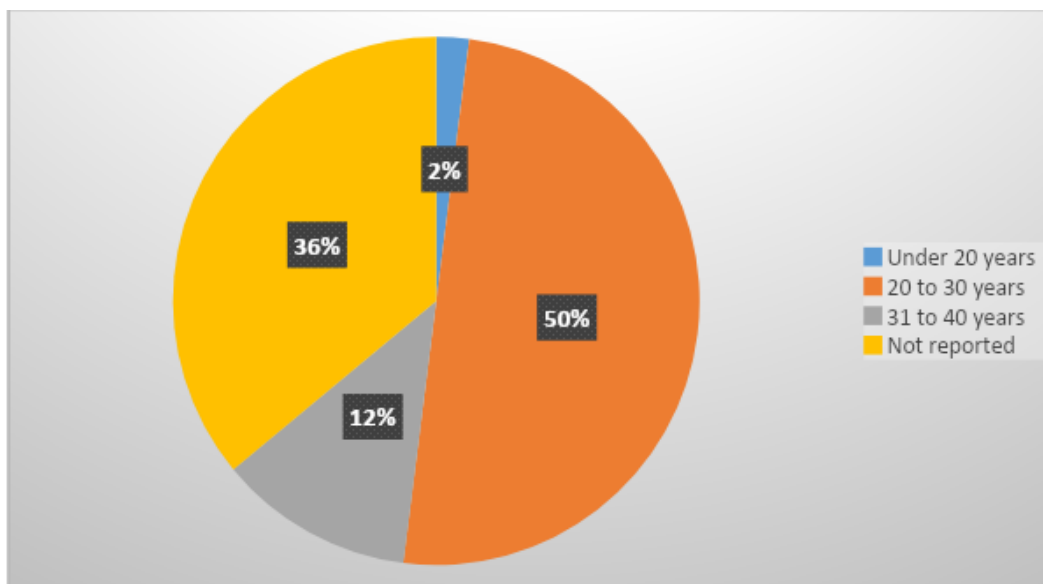
Graph: Attempted murders targeting the Trans population from 2016 to 2019



Author: NOGUEIRA, Sayonara, 2020.

Regarding the age of the victims, 36% of the reports in the press did not state their age. Most, around 50%, are between 20 and 30 years old; 12% are between 31 and 40 years old; and 2% were under 20 years old, the youngest being 17.

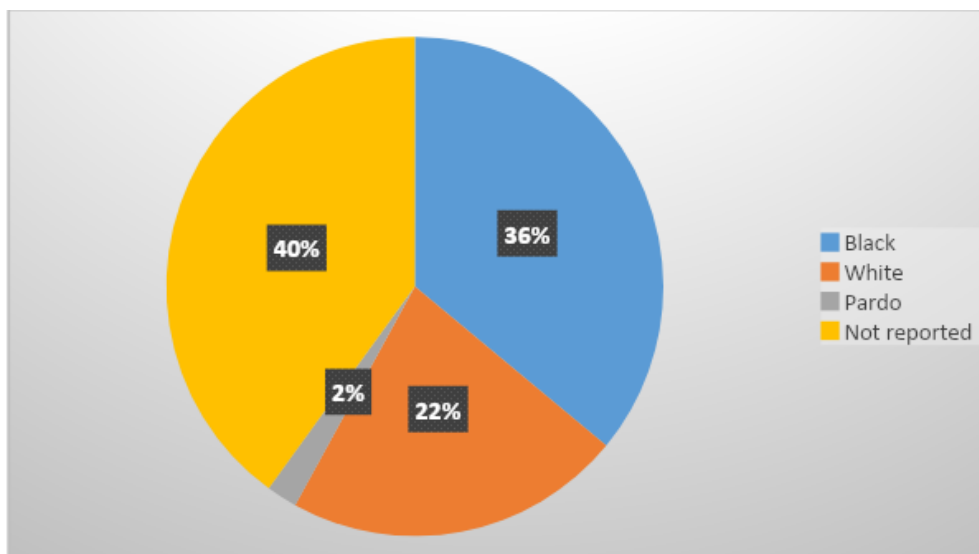
Graph: Age of victims



Author: NOGUEIRA, Sayonara, 2020.

Concerning skin colour, 40% of the reports did not state this, 36% were identified as black, 22% as white, and 2% as pardo.

Graph: Skin colour of victim

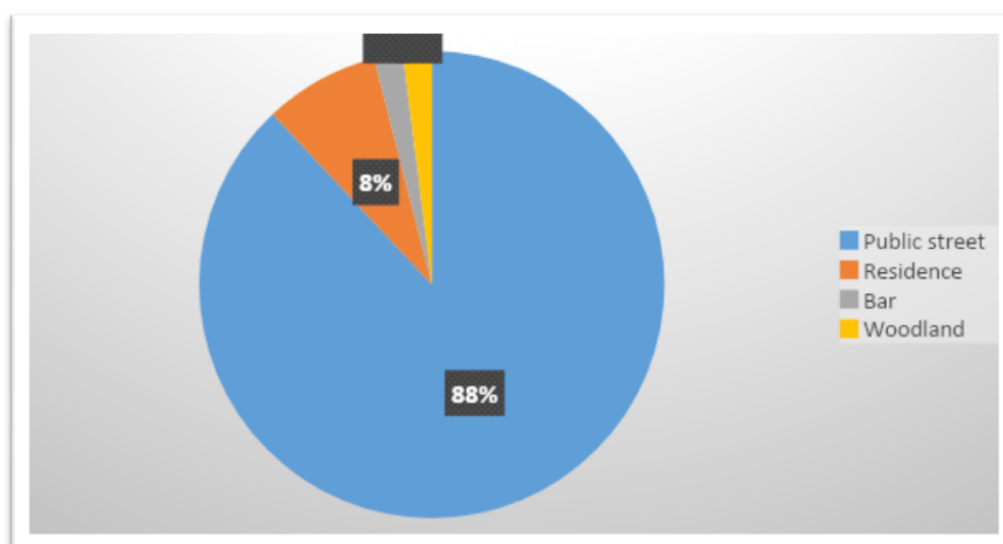


Author: NOGUEIRA, Sayonara, 2020.

Most trans people are socially marginalized from an early age and do not have access to basic rights. They struggle to access schooling or formal employment because of prejudice and discrimination. They face rejection very early on, suffering all kinds of violence throughout their lives.. It should be remembered that travestis and transsexual women who have suffered an attempted murder are not “only trans”: they are human beings. Many were sex workers, black, and from poor areas. **They tell us that we are living in a transphobic country - and we should remember that - but also a country characterized by transfemicide, the frequent killings of black youth, and racism.**

Regarding the location of the attempted murders, 88% of the cases took place on public streets; 8% inside their own homes; 2% in bars; and we found one case in which the victim was taken to a woodland, where she had to pretend to be dead in order to survive the violent and transphobic assault of her attackers.

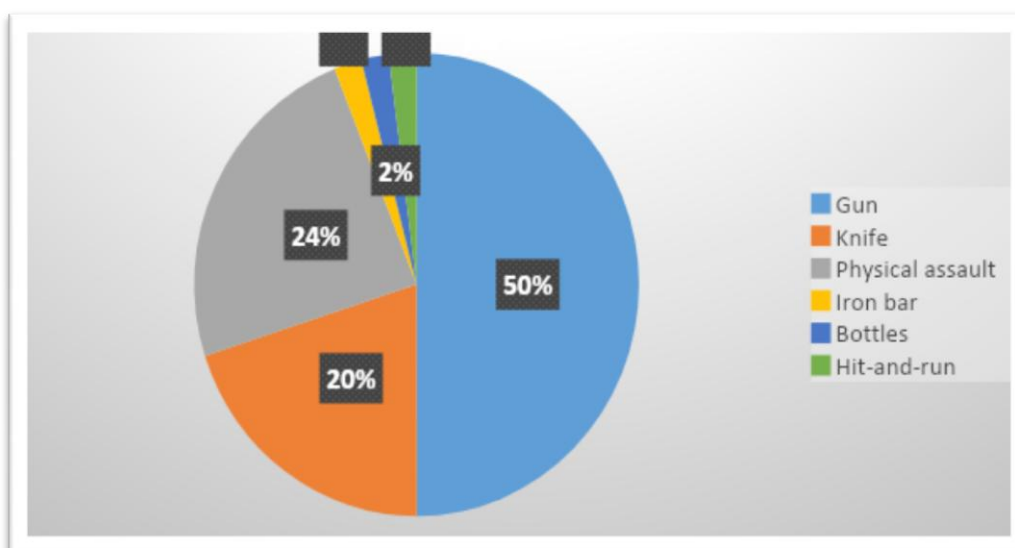
Graph: Location of attempted murders



Author: NOGUEIRA, Sayonara, 2020.

Regarding the weapons used in the crime, in 50% of the cases a gun was used; 24% were by physical assault; 20% used a knife; 2% used an iron bar; and there were also reports citing bottles, and one deliberate hit-and-run. For this reason, the public debate around making weapons widely available to the public is extremely complex, and raises concerns for our population, since it is very possible that these rates of murder and attempted murder would rise. The majority of trans people murdered are shot dead by firearms, in the street. As such, we can easily suffer serious death threats, because we still (don't) have only the bare minimum of citizenship; for example, it is frequent to see reports of trans people expelled from toilets because of their gender identity.

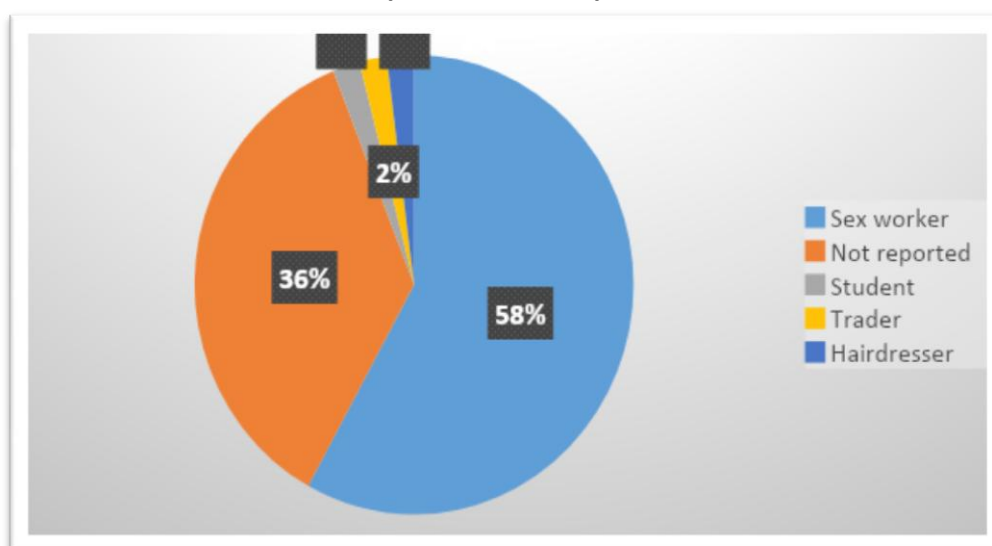
Graph: Type of weapon used



Author: NOGUEIRA, Sayonara, 2020.

As regards the victims' occupation, 58% were sex workers; 36% were not reported; 2% were students. We also found one trader and one hairdresser, but the overwhelming majority are left on the street as a result of social exclusion.

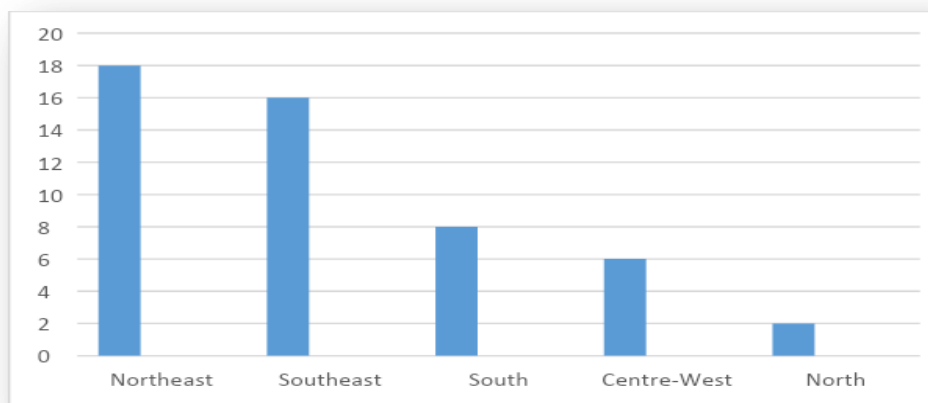
Graph: Victims' occupation



Author: NOGUEIRA, Sayonara, 2020.

Concerning the regions where the attacks occurred, 36% took place in the Northeast; 32% in the Southeast; 16% in the South; 12% in the Centre-West; and 4% in the North. Below, there is a graph of the regions and a table by state.

Graph: Incidents by region



Author: NOGUEIRA, Sayonara, 2020.

Table: States and number of murder attempts

STATE	CITIES	NUMBER
Bahia	Ilhéus and Salvador	3
Ceará	Fortaleza and Juazeiro do Norte	5
Federal District	Taguatinga	2
Goiás	Goiânia	2
Mato Grosso	Várzea Grande and Sinop	2
Mato Grosso do Sul	Três Lagoas	1
Minas Gerais	Belo Horizonte	2
Paraíba	João Pessoa	1
Paraná	Londrina, Cascavel and Maringá	3
Pernambuco	Recife and Caruaru	4
Piauí	Teresina	2
Rio de Janeiro	Niterói	1
Rio Grande do Norte	Natal and Mossoró	2
Rio Grande do Sul	Porto Alegre, Caxias do Sul and Cruz Alta	5
Rondônia	Porto Velho	1
Roraima	Boa Vista	1
São Paulo	Araraquara, Mogi das Cruzes, Jaú, São Paulo (capital), Guarulhos, Franca and São Carlos	12
Sergipe	Frei Paulo	1
TOTAL		50

Author: NOGUEIRA, Sayonara, 2020.

Unfortunately, trans people are vulnerable in most places, regardless of time and location. Every day this section of the population is killed, beaten, and abused, and Brazil is one of the countries with the highest numbers of murders and attacks against travestis, transsexuals, and trans men. The *cistem* claims numerous victims every year, and we also have to face this conservative political and religious wave that wants to banish our bodies to the corners, and ultimately to the cemetery.

7. SUICIDE AND TRANS PEOPLE

According to the World Health Organization (WHO, 2018), more than 800,000 people die from suicide each year around the world, and these alarming statistics have led the WHO to make the issue a priority on the global public health agenda by encouraging countries to pursue prevention strategies with a multisectoral approach, and to break with persistent stigmas and taboos. Over 70% of suicides occur in low and middle-income countries, showing that the reasons which lead to suicide are correlated to relationships of aggression and exploitation in work, social and family environments, economic oppression, lack of access to education, culture, and healthcare.

In 2019, we recorded 15 cases of suicide reported through social media and other means of communication. This recorded figure is certainly very low in comparison to our country's reality, given that this population practically does not exist, and is invisible, for the government, society, and social movements, with the exception of some rare and small initiatives. Suicide prevention is a matter of urgency, and indeed it is already a part of the national health policy objectives³⁰ (ANDRADE, 2013).



Author: NOGUEIRA, Sayonara, 2020.

³⁰ ANDRADE, D. Transexualidade e suicídio. Fora do armário: LGBT, secularista e humanista [Transsexuality and suicide. Out of the closet: LGBT, secularist and humanist]. May, 2013.

Giannini and Lisbôa (2018) cited the fact that suicide gradually increased in Brazil between 2000 and 2016, from 6,780 to 11,736, a rise of 73%. The highest rates of increase were recorded among youth and the elderly, according to the Ministry of Health (2017). Worldwide, suicide affects more than 800,000 people, according to the WHO. It is the second most common cause of death worldwide among young people between the ages of 15 and 29, the first being violence³¹.

For Werlang (2013), suicidal behavior is very complex and difficult to broach, especially as, in the Western world, death itself is a difficult subject to address in various social spaces, such as the school, the family, and the academic context. More and more people, though, are taking the path of suicide- and it is not always possible to understand why. This number is growing, especially among young people, which causes a social problem affecting not only those who take their own lives, but also their relatives³².

Schumann and Martini (2016) estimated that approximately half of the trans population attempts suicide at some point in their lives. Problems such as invisibility, social discrimination, lack of support from parents and relatives, stigma of people presuming them to be mentally ill, and difficult access to the transsexualisation process, are all risk factors that contribute to contemplating suicide, or even carrying it out³³.

The meaning of healthcare for trans identities is not only the transsexualizing process, whether or not accompanied by sexual reassignment surgery. Healthcare, for this population, is unconditional respect for their construction of identity, it is the use of their chosen name in all circumstances, it is having access to the National Health System (SUS), it is living without fear of attacks of all kinds and assuming their autonomy, with the certainty that their voices are being heard, understood, and respected³⁴.

In terms of health, the vulnerability of travestis and transsexuals is illustrated by alarming rates of violence and murder, mental health-related illnesses (e.g. depression, attempted suicide) and the high prevalence of HIV. In addition, stigma and gender discrimination are identified as important obstacles to this social group's access to prevention and care services. In view of these problems, the movement for citizenship rights for this social group also includes demands for comprehensive healthcare and access to services free of discrimination. These demands have been developed in parallel with efforts to strengthen the National Health System (SUS) and raise debates

³¹GIANNINI, D.; LISBÔA, G. Suicídio entre jovens ainda é quarta causa de morte no brasil [Suicide among young people is still the fourth most common cause of death in Brazil]. **Caderno Saúde**, R7, 09/05/2018.

³²WERLANG, B. Suicídio: uma questão de saúde pública e um desafio para a Psicologia Clínica [Suicide: a public health issue and a challenge for Clinical Psychology]. In: **FEDERAL COUNCIL OF PSYCHOLOGY**, O Suicídio e os Desafios para a Psicologia [Suicide and the Challenges for Psychology]. Brasília: CFP, 2013, p. 25-30

³³SHUMANN, di B. MARTINI, S, R. Atendimento suicida entre os transexuais. *Diritto Pubblico Europeo Rassegna online* [Suicide assistance among transsexuals. *European Public Law Review online*.] October, 2016.

³⁴Ibidem, 2016.

about the implications of social inequalities in healthcare³⁵ (MONTEIRO; BRIGEIRO; BARBOSA, 2019).

Suicide is a recurrent cause of death among Brazilian trans people, and it is essential to research the reasons and discuss prevention strategies, since there are no concrete data on the rates of suicide affecting our population. Campaigns to promote the value of life should run all year round and be aimed at working on the needs of LGBTI+ minority communities. It is known that the lack of family, social, and institutional support, as well as prejudice, humiliation, and other constraints are significant factors in this issue.

The processes of marginalisation, discrimination, and stigmatization which affect our daily lives, such as the high number of murders, attempted murders, suicides, and human rights violations, all show sexism, classism, LGBTphobia and racism. I close this essay with a phrase from the activist Janaina Dutra: "A travesti is an island, surrounded by violence on all sides". Janaina managed to summarize in this short quote the experiences of negative exposure that travestis face in Brazilian society.

³⁵MONTEIRO, S.; BRIGEIRO, M. BARBOSA, R. M. Saúde e direitos da população trans. ["Healthcare and right of the trans population"] **Cad. Saúde Pública** [online]. 2019, vol.35, n.4.

8. SOCIETAL MURDER AND HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS AGAINST TRANS PEOPLE

Violence in Brazil has a face, colour, and address, and our society has featured extreme violence since colonization began. First, violence was used against indigenous people. Then, during the 300 years of slavery in Brazil, when, for example, people were beaten in public places as a form of punishment³⁶.

Young trans women, black or pardo, sex workers, and dead citizens in the statistics presented here, were not criminals who fired shots at the police. In reality, we are victims and we live in a world of uncertainty: we will not work, we will not have families, and many of us will not grow old because we are murdered in society every day.

According to Almeida and Murta (2013), the lives of trans people must be analyzed from a perspective of historical totality, where lives of individuals and groups are determined by culture, economy, politics and subjectivity. Their lives experience challenges of social class, race/colour, sexual orientation, gender, school dropouts, and difficulties in access to healthcare, among others³⁷.

In 2016, when writing about the Geography of Trans Bodies, I noted that Brazil lives in a constant state of human rights violations of trans people. **Trans people suffer from human rights violations on a daily basis.** From the viewpoint of legal advances in promoting trans people's rights, progress can still be considered scarce. Regarding respect, dignity, and recognition for the trans community in everyday life, gender identity is consistently not respected in public spaces or in spaces of transit (NOGUEIRA, Sayonara, A Geografia dos Corpos Trans [The Geography of Trans Bodies], 2017).

We recall the decision of the Supreme Federal Court, when the rapporteur Luís Roberto Barroso voted in favour of trans women, regarding the use of female bathrooms in establishments such as shopping centers and restaurants. Despite this, the lack of awareness of Supreme Federal Court (STF) ministers was evident when ministers Luiz Fux and Ricardo Levandowski even discussed "risks to children", and others confused transsexuality with homosexuality. The decision was obstructed by a request from Justice Luiz Fux (NOGUEIRA, Sayonara, A Geografia dos Corpos Trans, 2017).

Recently, there was a case, widely reported on social media and news media, of a trans woman who was expelled from a shopping mall toilet in Maceió, Alagoas state, and dragged across the floor by security guards as if she were a highly dangerous criminal. The abuse of this body is

³⁶ <http://www.comciencia.br/a-violencia-no-brasil-tem-cara-cor-e-endereco/>

³⁷ ALMEIDA, G. & MURTA, D. Reflexões sobre a possibilidade da despatologização da transexualidade e a necessidade da assistência integral à saúde de transexuais no Brasil. [Reflections on the possibility of depathologizing transsexuality and the need for comprehensive health care for transsexuals in Brazil] *Sexsaludsoc* 2013; 14:380-407.

carried out by the state itself, by refusing rights and not legislating in defence of trans people, thereby acting as legitimization for the violence and killings suffered by travestis and transsexuals all over the country.



Image: Jorge Gauthier from the site Me Salte

Oliveira *et al.* (2018) show that Western thinking, strongly influenced by a dominant, colonial, white, heterosexual and cisgendered knowledge, insists on considering travesti experiences as pathological, disordered and/or aberrant. The common perception of these people, especially their bodies, remains binary, and is built on an essentialist ontological thinking. This body that is imagined is covered with stigma before it is even born. Daring to break with this predetermination is a task which comes with consequences, as the logic of femininity-masculinity is fixed to the vagina-penis cultural connection; to break with this established duality is to throw oneself into abjection, to give up spaces of privilege³⁸.

Brazil does not recognize its trans citizens. As a result, transgender people are often subjected to the worst forms of contempt and injustice. Because they are situated on the “lower” levels of social sexual stratification, that is, sometimes even more vulnerable than gays and lesbians, their rights are systematically denied and violated under general indifference (NOGUEIRA, Sayonara, *A Geografia dos Corpos Trans*, 2017).

For Oliveira *et al.* (2018), trans people are thus prevented from life experiences that are ordinary for most cisgender people, such as: access to education; family life; healthcare; or formal employment. Domestic spaces become violent, forcing many of them to leave their families; schools

³⁸ OLIVEIRA, J. W. *et al.* “Sabe a Minha Identidade? Nada a Ver com Genital”: Vivências Travestis no Cárcere [“Do You Know My Identity? Nothing to Do with Genitals”: Travestis in Prison]. *Psicol. cienc. prof.* [online]. 2018, vol.38, n.spe2, pp.159-174.

fail to accept their requests; and employment options are limited to aesthetics, art, or prostitution. Travesti and transsexual lives are thrown into abjection, monstrosity, marginalization and chaos; the social control which places demands on their bodies and dictates norms does not allow them to live in spaces other than those predetermined by the current system³⁹.

When I began monitoring violence against the trans population, I included cases of rape, as well as murders and attempted murders. In 2016, 54 cases were collected from the press; in 2017, 114 cases; and in 2018, 72 cases. In 2019, with the inclusion of OBSERVATORIO LAC in the monitoring, and by following cases reported in the media, in three years of monitoring, the cases were similar but with an increase in numbers under this new political context we are living through.

The cases most cited by the press are: death threats, physical assaults, sexual exploitation, robberies committed by clients, coercion and violence when using the toilets in line with their gender identity, and in all social spaces, such as schools, malls, etc. There are countless disappearances, deaths caused by the use of inappropriate types of silicone even in 2019, harassment in the workplace, psychological and domestic violence, discrimination in the healthcare services, transphobia in the press, and most perverse of all, exclusion from the family.

[With] the family environment violating travesti identities, they leave home very early, heading to spaces that accept them; these places are almost never schools, formal employment, or streets in broad daylight. They are left with the ghettos, the margins and at night the corners, where they get eggs and trash thrown at them while they work to support themselves.⁴⁰ (OLIVEIRA, et al. 2018).

All these data do not reflect the reality of violence against the trans population in Brazil, which leads to their social murder and even suicide. The struggle for the recognition and citizenship of trans people is an aim that each and every state must achieve. When particular social groups gain rights that were previously denied, the whole population benefits from this achievement, because it is not possible to speak of democracy if some people are still living in invisibility to society.

³⁹ OLIVEIRA, J. W. et al. "Sabe a Minha Identidade? Nada a Ver com Genital": Vivências Travestis no Cárcere. ["Do You Know My Identity? Nothing to Do with Genitals": Travestis in Prison] **Psicol. cienc. prof.** [online]. 2018, vol.38, n.spe2, pp.159-174

⁴⁰ Ibidem, 2018.

9. STUDY: 99% OF BRAZIL'S LGBTI POPULATION DO NOT FEEL SAFE

ANTRA's original study launched on 17 May - International Day for Combating LGBTIphobia - shows that 99% of the lesbian, gay, bisexual, travesti, transgender, and intersex ("LGBTI") population does not feel safe in Brazil.

"She looks like Maria Gadu of Pampa. I'm disgusted with these people, that's why I don't go to Cidade Baixa". I heard this in the queue at the bakery in the Santa Maria Goretti neighbourhood in Porto Alegre on a Monday, one day after the first round of the 2018 elections. The man who said these words to me was behind me, and I was so afraid that I didn't have the courage to turn my body and look the bully in the eye. I feared for my physical and psychological integrity in that moment: that person could humiliate me even more, right there, or he could follow me, beat me, kill me. The reason? My physical appearance "gives away" that I am a lesbian, and this is not acceptable to a large part of the population in Brazil, emboldened by the election of Jair Bolsonaro, with a politics that preaches "conservatism of customs", to the Presidency of the Republic. Fortunately for me, the abuse ended there, but it could have been different. I was the victim of prejudice, due to my sexual orientation. Many Brazilian LGBTs (lesbians, gays, bisexuals, transsexuals and travestis) go through similar situations. My experience was much less tragic than that of so many others, who are assaulted, abused and even killed for simply being and expressing who they are. (P. Cândido, in the piece *Comunidade LGBT vive tensão diante da ascensão do conservadorismo* [LGBT community experiences tension in the face of the rise of conservatism]⁴¹).

Only in October 2018, the current president, then a candidate, signed a document from Catholic Vote Brazil, in which he stated that he would defend the "inalienable values" of the religious group. Among these values are marriage being strictly between man and woman. and fighting against so-called "gender ideology". **Since his election, he has made various gratuitous public attacks on the LGBTI population and homophobic jokes in many of his statements.**

To belong to a socially excluded group, such as the LGBT population, is to be daily exposed to the hatred and intolerance of all those who think they have the right to "object" to sexual and gender identities which depart from the norm. It is the discourse of Christian fundamentalists that is killing gays, lesbians, bisexuals, travestis and transsexuals. It's calling others " little gay", "macho woman" or "traveco", it's making fun of what's not funny and it's the lack of reflection on one's own attitudes that lead towards the deaths of thousands and thousands of LGBT people all over the planet. (O mundo não é um lugar seguro para LGBTs [The world is not a safe place for LGBT people], by Vinícius de Vita, published in HuffPost Brasil).

According to the study "Violence against LGBT+ people in electoral and post-election

⁴¹Comunidade LGBT vive tensão diante da ascensão do conservadorismo. [LGBT community experiences tension in the face of the rise of conservatism] Available at: <https://www.ufrgs.br/humanista/2019/01/24/comunidade-lgbt-vive-tensao-diante-da-ascensao-do-conservadorismo/>

contexts"⁴², "the statements of the then presidential candidate Jair Bolsonaro regarding homosexuals and other vulnerable groups encouraged, to some extent, part of his electorate to openly express prejudice and discrimination". The data published indicates that "there was an escalation of hate speech in the electoral context. Activists and militants denounced physical or verbal attacks against LGBT+ people. The issue was widely covered in the press. As well as the accounts of LGBT+ people who suffered harassment and abuse on social media from voters and supporters of extreme right wing campaigns, there were also reports of death threats against LGBT+ people which had political and electoral motives"; 54.5% of travestis and trans men and women claimed to have suffered violence MORE THAN THREE TIMES due to their sexual orientation and/or gender identity during the 2018 elections. During the post-electoral period, the LGBTI population, especially those who do not follow cis-hetero-performative patterns, began living in constant fear due to the increase in violence, which motivated us to conduct this study.

During the period from 13 to 17 May 2009, a survey was carried out among our social media and partners in order to map how safe the LGBTI population in Brazil felt. The data was used to stimulate discussion and to make a more in-depth survey on the subject. According to the website *Spartacus*, which takes into account criteria such as policies for inclusion and violence towards the LGBTI population around the world, **Brazil went from 55th place in 2018 to 68th in 2019 in the ranking of safe countries for LGBT people**⁴³.

Today in the country there is a clear normalization of violence, hate speech, and provocation against LGBTI people, and we must remember that government data have been insufficient - even non-existent - faced with the scale of this violence, and so do not yet reflect the whole of this problem which has made Brazil a nation hostile to our population.

We chose the virtual environment as the place for this survey, particularly the social media Facebook and Instagram, because through them it is possible to inform and express ourselves. They also serve as channels for sharing knowledge and data that aim to contribute to the fight against LGBTIphobia in our society and to break once and for all the cycles of violence against LGBTI people, especially Trans people.

The results are alarming. They were based on spontaneous interactions with our work, where people answered YES or NO to the question: "DO YOU FEEL SAFE IN BRAZIL?"

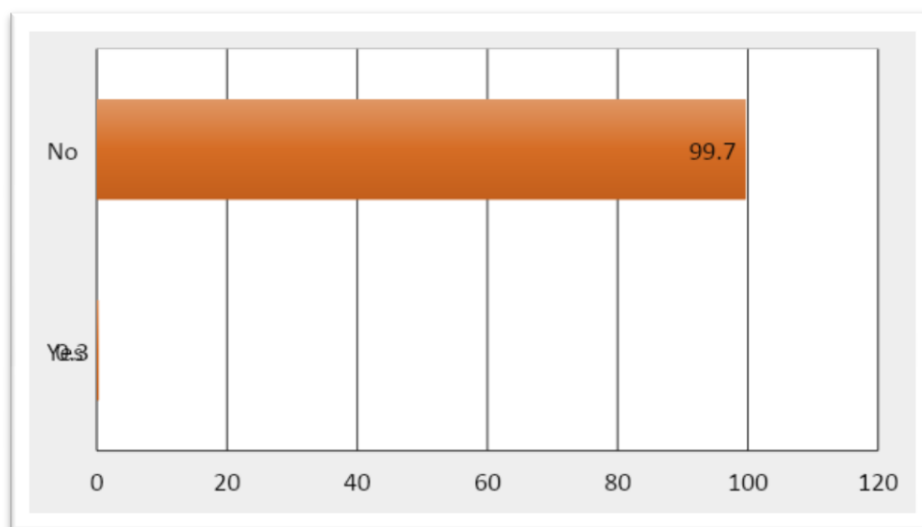
Of the main findings from the more than 10,000 interactions on Facebook and the 1350 people who interacted on both social media platforms, only 4 people responded that they felt safe,

⁴² Study "Violência contra LGBTs+ nos contextos eleitoral e pós-eleitoral" [Violence against LGBT+ people in electoral and post-election contexts]. Available at: <http://violencialgbt.com.br/>

⁴³ Brasil cai no Ranking de países seguros para LGBTI [Brazil falls in the ranking of safe countries for LGBTI]. Available at: <https://www.cartacapital.com.br/diversidade/brasil-cai-13-posicoes-no-ranking-de-paises-seguros-para-lgbts/>

representing 0.3% of participants. Among the participants, 40% identified themselves as belonging to the feminine gender and 2% as non-binary. Of the total number of persons of feminine gender, 30% were trans. It was not possible to elaborate on issues such as class and race/ethnicity.

Graph: Do you feel safe in Brazil? (%)



Author: BENEVIDES, Bruna, 2020.

This survey, simple as it may seem, surely reflects the way that the LGBTI population feels in Brazil, and links directly to other data, indicators, and studies which show violence as the greatest problem facing the LGBTI population.

We emphasize that this was a survey carried out on our own initiative, and that it is of the utmost importance to conduct a more in-depth, qualitative, broader survey that is capable of expanding the data needed for a more robust diagnosis, providing sufficient data to reflect on how to confront all forms of discrimination and prejudice against our population - especially now that Transphobia, as well as other discrimination against the LGBTI population, motivated by sexual orientation and/or gender identity, has been recognized as a crime of racism, in accordance with law 7.716/89.

10. INTERNATIONAL DATA

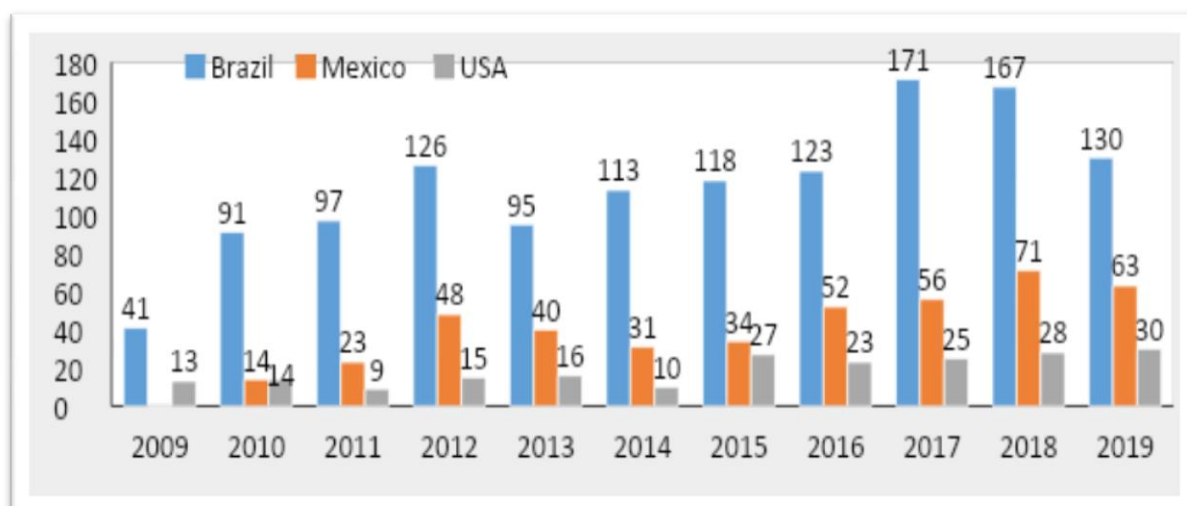
10.1 Brazil continues to lead in murders against Trans people around the world

Brazil remains sadly undefeated in leading the violence and murders against travestis and transsexuals globally, whether due to the factors previously mentioned or others that we have not been able to address. But the fact is that the state has been the greatest perpetrator of the denial of our existence as citizens, which, in a significant way, gives permission to people and other state agents to treat us in abject and violent ways.

The *Trans Murder Monitoring* (TMM) research project systematically monitors, collects, and analyzes reports of homicides of trans and gender-diverse people around the world⁴⁴. Between 1 January 2008 and 30 September 2019, 3314 trans people were murdered across the world, with 2608 cases in Latin America and 61% sex workers. Since the survey began, Brazil has been the country that reports the most murders of trans people in the world.

On the occasion of the international Trans Day of Remembrance, on 20 November 2019, the team of *TvT- Transrespect versus Transphobia Worldwide* published the results of the Observatory of Trans people murdered around the world. The 2019 update revealed a total of 331 cases between 1 October 2018 and 30 September 2019⁴⁵. **Brazil remained the country with the highest number of murders of trans people in the world** during this period, with 130 deaths, followed by Mexico (63) and the United States (31), totaling 331 reported murders of trans people in 74 countries around the world.

Graph: Survey of Murders TGEU



Author: BENEVIDES, Bruna, 2020.

⁴⁴ Updates of the results are published on TvT's website. Available at: <http://transrespect.org/en/trans-murder-monitoring/tmm-resources>

⁴⁵ TGEU data. Available at: <https://tgeu.org/tmm-update-trans-day-of-remembrance-2019/330/>

The figures in the graph above show data from Brazil, Mexico, and the United States from 1 January 2008 to 30 September 2019 - the three countries with the most reported cases in the world, in that order.

The stigma and discrimination against trans people are real and profound all over the world, and are part of a structural and continuous cycle of oppression that keeps us excluded from our basic rights. Trans people everywhere are victims of terrible hate-based violence, including humiliation, physical and sexual assault and murder. In most countries, data on violence against trans persons are not systematically produced by the state and it is impossible to estimate the exact number of cases.

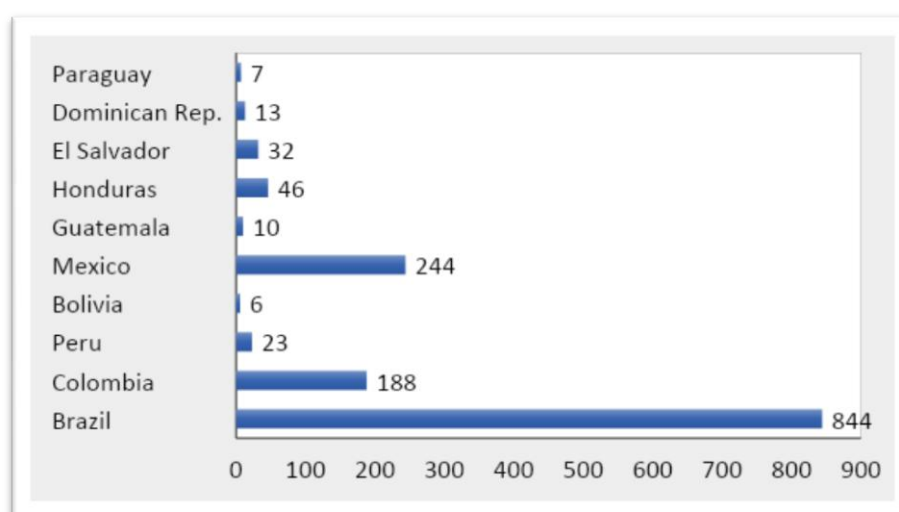
In Brazil, since 2017, ANTRA has been a reference in monitoring this data and continually updates on violence and murders against Brazilian trans people, publishing annual reports with in-depth analyses of this troubling situation. Since 1999, the Trans Day of Remembrance (TDoR) has been commemorated in November. It is the day to remember those people who were murdered

10.2 DATA: Latin America and the Caribbean

A) DATA FROM SINVIOLENCIA LGBTI

In 2018, ANTRA became the representative of Brazil in the System for Monitoring Violence against LGBTI People in Latin America and the Caribbean (SinViolenciaLGBT), and in the last survey conducted between 01/01/2014 and 20/11/2019, we arrived at the alarming figures of 1416 recorded murders against trans people in 10 of the countries that comprise the network. Brazil accounted for 60% of the cases with 844 murders in this period, followed by Mexico with 244, and Colombia with 188 deaths.

Graph: SinViolenciaLGBT (Colombia Diversa)



Author: BENEVIDES, Bruna, 2020.

B) OBSERVATÓRIO LAC

With the aim of expanding the network for combating violence, monitoring data, and raising awareness of human rights violations and murders against travestis, transsexual women, and trans men, among other transgender identities, the Observatory of Latin America and the Caribbean (OBSERVATORIO LAC) was founded in the city of Lima, Peru, in 2018. It is an observatory of violence in the region, made up of the following countries: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba and Uruguay.

The observatory's main objective is to unify the bloc of countries that make up Latin America and the Caribbean in order to gather and produce data, studies, and reports that aim to shed light on the failure of countries to address the violence to which the Trans population is exposed. As well as reports, we seek to discuss ways to identify and classify murders motivated by transphobia and other forms of discrimination against travestis and transsexuals as TRAVESTICIDE or TRANSFEMICIDE, in order to acknowledge the specific violence suffered by our population.

Latin America and the Caribbean is one of the main regions where travestis, transsexual women, and trans men are murdered and abused. The differences in Latin America are reflected in the data collected here. On the one hand, we have Uruguay and Argentina as countries which are advanced in LGBTI+ rights. Meanwhile, we have Brazil, which occupies an ambiguous position, due to a wave of conservatism.

The map below shows murders in this region, as a tool to monitor this violence.



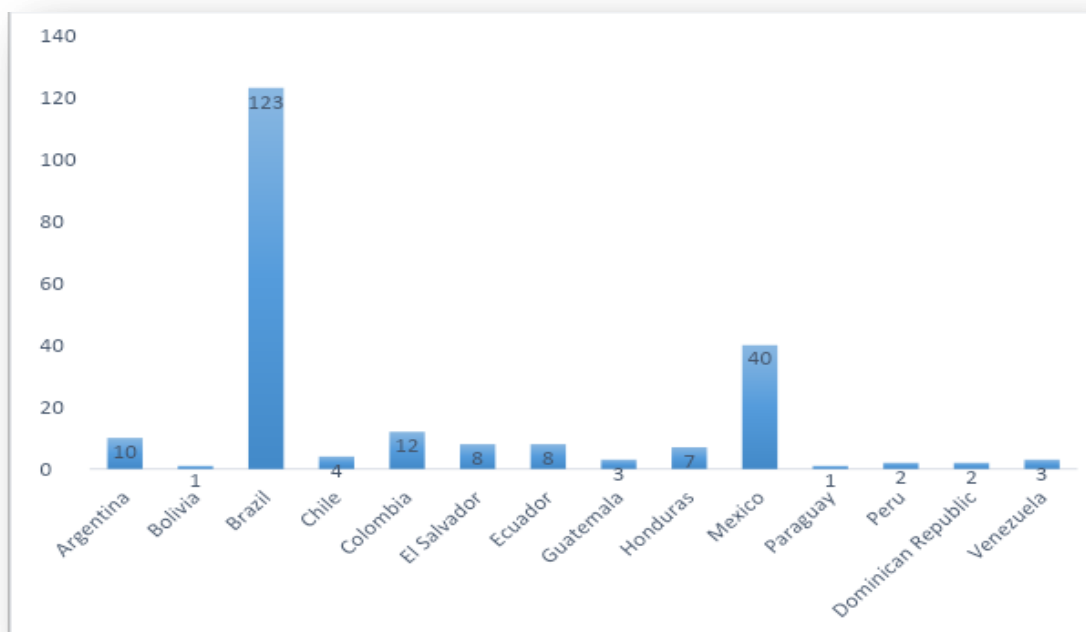
MAP by ObservatorioLAC

According to Lukas Berredo (2019), stigma and discrimination against trans and gender diverse people are real and profound around the world and are part of a structural and continuous cycle of oppression that keeps us deprived of our basic rights. Trans- and gender-diverse people are victims of horrific violence, including extortion, physical and sexual assault, and murder. In most countries, data on trans and gender-diverse people are not systematically produced and it is impossible to estimate the real number of cases⁴⁶.

The non-recognition of trans identities, family abandonment, school dropouts, job insecurity, and exclusion from employment lead to the marginalization of our population and, consequently, to extermination. Underreporting is one part of this problem, and so the following figures do not reflect the full reality of violence and exclusion suffered. It should be noted that, in the same period, Brazil murdered more than all the other Latin American and Caribbean countries combined.

The data collected refer to reports in the press and on social media. In the other countries we have collected a total of 101 cases reported in the press, as shown below:

Graph: Murders in Latin America and the Caribbean



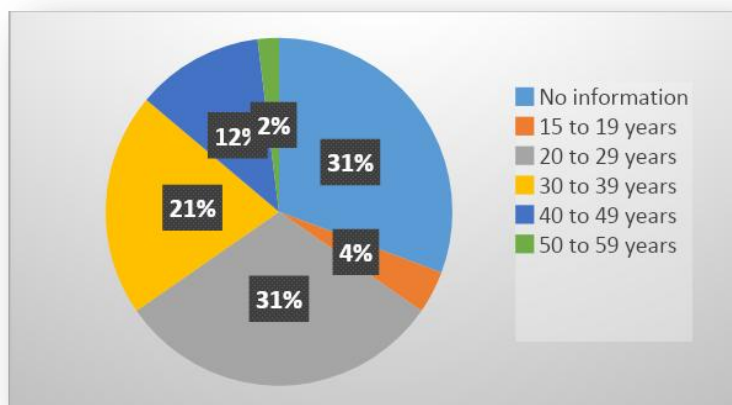
Author: NOGUEIRA, Sayonara, 2020.

Regarding the victims' age, 31% were between 20 and 29 years old. We identified two 15-year-old victims in Chile and Guatemala, reminding us of the fact that the average life of our

⁴⁶<https://transrespect.org/en/tmm-update-trans-day-of-remembrance-2019/>

population does not exceed 35 years of age. It can also be noted that 21% of the victims were between 30 and 39 years of age; 12% were between 40 and 49 years of age; and 2% were between 50 and 59 years of age. The oldest victim was 55 years old. There are still 32 cases without any age identified, leading to underreporting.

Graph: Victims' age



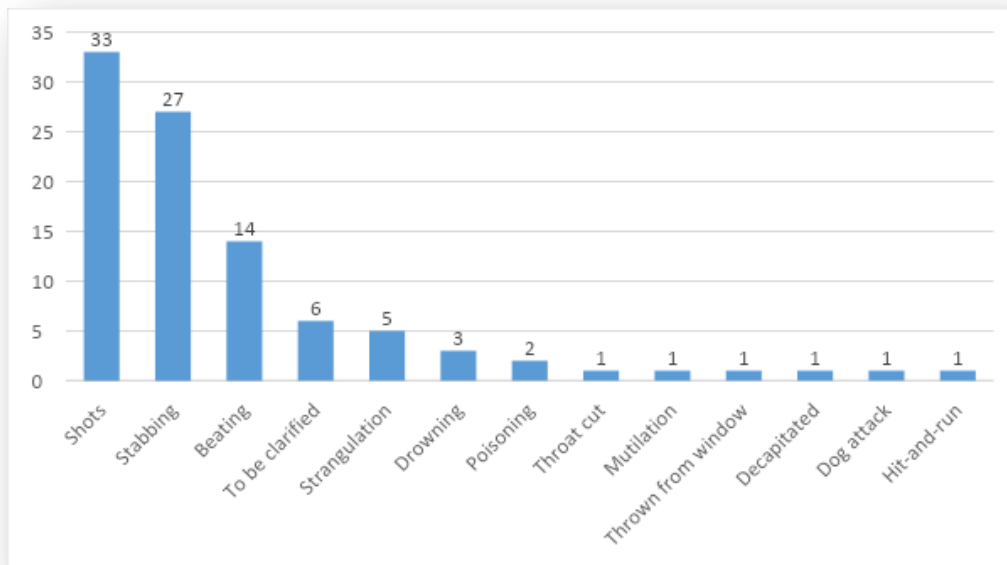
Author: NOGUEIRA, Sayonara, 2020.

In Latin America and the Caribbean, then, the average lifespan of a trans person is 35 years, as a result of these crimes against them. Mexico has the second highest number of transphobic hate crimes in the world. Trans people in these countries have no identity, their rights are limited, and they are constantly made vulnerable and abused, suffering murder and neglect. As if that were not enough, there are also parts of the population determined to attack them, hurt them, and even ensure that their rights are never secured.

The following chart deals with the *modus operandi*, that is, the method of action. In the legal world, it is a widely used expression to distinguish the symbolic manner in which a criminal acts. The police study the *modus operandi* to identify elements which are common to several apparently unconnected crimes and, through these common elements, deduce that the same person was behind the different criminal acts. It is thus an element which aids investigation. However, few cases concerning the murder of trans people are solved. **The cases in which the suspect has been arrested are rare - and when they are, they blame the victim for their own death.**

Regarding the *modus operandi*, the majority of victims were shot dead, with 33 cases in total; there were 27 cases of stabbing; and 14 cases of beatings. We found one case where a neighbour set their dogs on the victim, who died from the animal bites. There was another case where the victim was thrown from their apartment window. Of the total, six cases have not yet been clarified.

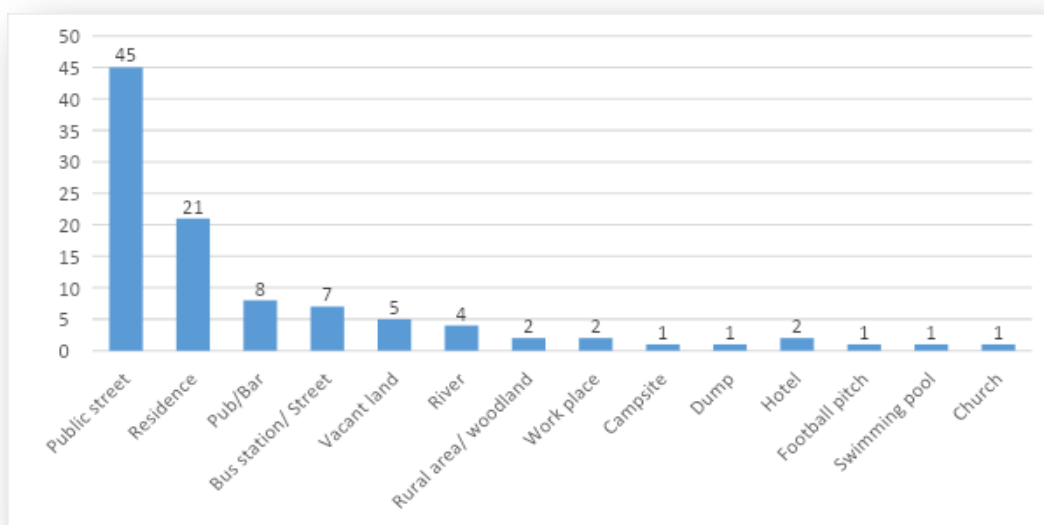
Graph: *Modus Operandi*



Author: NOGUEIRA, Sayonara, 2020.

In general, the victims' bodies show torture and interference. There is hatred and a desire to destroy the body, and besides gunshots and stabbings, the victim also suffers other types of violence. The bodies are then found in dumps, wastelands, rivers, and sewer channels. Transphobia is hatred in its purest form. The next graph shows the crimes' locations, where we see that 45 of the cases occurred on public roads and 21 in the victim's own home.

Graph: Site of the crime

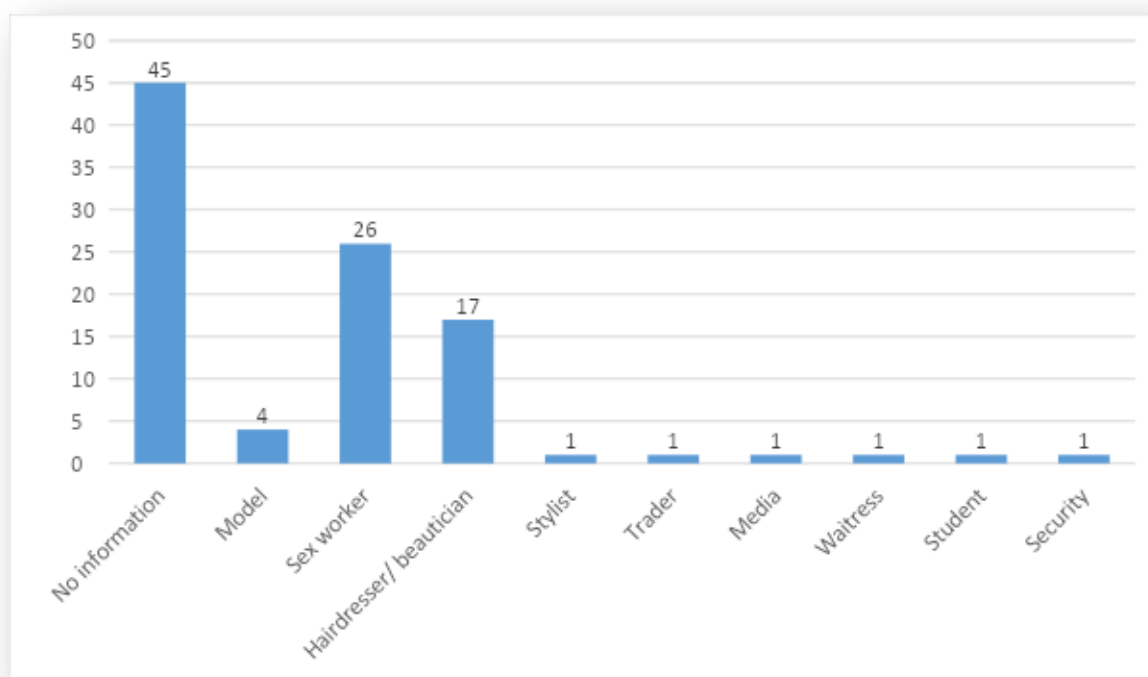


Author: NOGUEIRA, Sayonara, 2020.

Analyzing the graph above, we see that violence against this group takes place in a wide variety of places, in line with the data presented up to now, and we see that the street is the site where violence takes place most frequently, a space left to socially invisible people.

In 45 reports reviewed, the profession of the victims was not stated. There are, though, 26 cases where the victims were reported as sex workers; 17 worked in aesthetics and hairdressing; four worked as models; and there are also people employed in styling, media, business, security, and a student.

Graph: Profession of the victims



Author: NOGUEIRA, Sayonara, 2020.

According to Fedorko and Berredo (2017), sex work is a reality for many trans and gender-diverse people around the world, and their reasons for becoming involved in sex work are as diverse as they are among cisgender sex workers. For many trans sex workers, the choice of sex work is a result of their limited options for income and economic resources. Resorting to sex work can be a means to meet immediate needs so as to survive, because of poverty, lack of shelter and lack of food security. The high proportion of trans and gender-diverse people in sex work around the world undeniably results from the widespread structural, institutional and interpersonal violence that they have experienced since early in life, regarding receiving support from their families and immediate social circles, and access to education and employment options⁴⁷.

⁴⁷ <https://transrespect.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/TvT-PS-Vol19-2017.pdf>

It is essential that the state act in order to reduce this violent discrimination that our population suffers and which leads to the extermination of our bodies. It is necessary to provide dignified conditions of education, work, housing, and quality of life. The principle of the dignity of the person and human rights guarantee the protection of physical and moral integrity, privacy, and the body itself. State action is required in order for this population to be protected by these rights guaranteed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights..

11. TRAVESTIS: BETWEEN ATTRACTION AND AVERSION

Keila Simpson Sousa
President of ANTRA

The Federal Constitution guarantees: "Everyone is equal before the law, without distinction of any kind, guaranteeing Brazilians and foreigners residing in the country the inviolability of the right to life, freedom, equality, security and property". I emphasize equality, as it is this that we will discuss a little here.

I chose to start with the family to discuss identity and citizenship, because that is often where the process of exclusion begins. Sometimes even before birth, or after, babies are given a name chosen by the family, and this name will give them the social recognition which belongs to a binary rule of gender. With this binarized name, they will be labelled and obliged to live their whole life as hostages to this cistem.

There are people who recognize themselves, feel comfortable, and identify themselves within this normative system. There is no problem with this, insofar as they are guaranteed the right to freedom. On the other hand, in exercising the same right, there are many people who do not recognize themselves, do not feel comfortable and do not identify with what has been assigned to them by these norms. This is where various problems arise, since they will have to fight against an entire structure which has become accustomed to what continues being normatized, in order to exercise a right which is intended for all, but which is out of reach for many of us.

It is important to ensure that we are recognized and addressed by the name and gender with which we identify, in all spaces. It could seem easy now, with the Supreme Federal Court's decision, but it is not - and we still have a long way to go. There are a number of obstacles, which become even more acute when the staff of registry offices do not understand the diverse world beyond the cis-norm in which they are so comfortably settled.

So, how should we think about equality in relation to the travesti population? Of what and for whom is this equality equal? Let us take a look: even now, on a daily basis, we see news, reports and cases of travestis who, by exercising their freedom to be who they are, are being expelled from their homes, from family and social life, from schools and, as we have seen in recent cases, from women's toilets, to the applause of spectators relieved to see that person purged from the space they are prevented from accessing - just to cite a very clear example of exclusion.

The expulsion of travestis from women's toilets shows the urgency of a discussion about class, and can be seen as a violent message that could very possibly culminate in their murders. This

is because, as we could see, many accepted that she was removed, without reacting. "She deserved it for sure," many said, consenting to that act of extreme violence and abuse.

Would sending travestis to the men's toilets be the solution? No, never!

How many reports of travestis harassing women in women's toilets are there? How many videos or recordings are there on the internet showing women and travestis promiscuously fooling around in women's toilets? How many reports are there of men dressing up as women in order to attack and harass women in women's toilets? Does anybody really believe that a man, who has the whole patriarchal structure at his disposal, would need all these extra tools, such as dressing like a woman (it should be remembered that a travesti is not a man dressed like a woman), crossing a shopping mall while being pointed at and harassed, running the risk of being expelled and being in extreme vulnerability, so as to enter a toilet and harass or even rape cisgender women?

The macho idea that trans women and travestis are a danger to cis women in the toilets, using arguments like "I don't want my wife/daughter seeing a penis in the toilet" - as if the cubicles were not individual, unlike the masculine culture of urinals or urinating on any lamppost - just highlights the control over our bodies via the apparatus of machismo. Such men think of transfeminines as promiscuous, just as they think that women wildly like penises.. And, by this logic, as transfeminine people can have penises, there would be the risk of these women having relations with each other - or even being abused, as if the majority of rapists were not heterosexual and cisgender men. So by opposing the proper use of toilets by trans women and travestis, this type of heterosexual cis man cares less about the integrity of the cisgender woman and more about maintaining his power over them in the division of spaces, practices, and behaviours. And what do a lot of women who call themselves feminists do? Sing along with these men, thinking that they are thereby working against this scarecrow of "trans danger", which reverses the logic of oppression in these toilets. Cases of expulsion are symptomatic. They show us how cisnormativity acts by blatant coercion when socio-cultural pressure does not manage to repress transgressive behaviour. And, fatally, they reveal to us how this system of social control comes before any other, including the legal system, given that cases of inappropriate treatment of transgender persons have only risen during the period where supposedly access is guaranteed to making changes in personal official records. Do not delude yourselves with the tricks of the cis-tem. It was never just about where to go to the toilet. (Yuna Vitória. Law student/UFBA, gender researcher - NUCUS, member of the Collective De Transs Pra Frente, singer and poet)

Travestis have always used women's toilets - and in the same way as other women. Travestis are the victims of segregation, persecution, and violence. We are not dangerous: we are in constant danger of being expelled from these spaces.

As such, I argue that this discussion only taps into the already existing transphobia around this subject, and it ends up growing stronger. This is related to the toxic cis-hetero-sexism of such men, for whom the phallus as a central point of their existence; otherwise, the issue of sex that they fixate on would not be the main justification for their violence. They sell the idea that the travesti is only a sexed being, capable of doing what they do only because they supposedly have a penis - and nothing else. They ignore the rest of the body's physiological structure in its entirety.

This discussion, like so many others, is also linked to the higher visibility that travestis have today, because we do not want and will no longer accept to live invisibly, and in ghettos, or going out only at night as in the past. This conquest of new spaces that travestis are demanding (still in this violent environment they live in, with all its adversities) is also linked to the violence perpetrated by these men, who nevertheless see no problem in being their client in the quiet of the deserted, dark night, or safe in the secrecy of the internet, seeking to satisfy their forbidden sexual desires. They are the same men who refuse to meet, or pass through the same spaces, as travestis during daytime.

It is when travestis begin to live in the same spaces and with the same access to rights that were previously denied, that this really upsets them. This is the issue, because the embodiment of the repressed desire of such men is there in the open, speaking, existing and being seen by other people during the day, a time when they never imagined being face to face with travestis. Hence, the fear that at any moment their repressed desire will come to the surface. They forget that what they do with travesti prostitutes is only a job contract, in which their payment serves much more to maintain secrecy than to give pleasure. In this way, these men's desire is transformed into aversion, and those people who are so "desired" at night become despised during the day.

Travestis began to understand these issues, and are ever more aware of their social conditions, of gaining some citizenship - albeit precarious - and of the rights secured for them by social movements' struggles, as well as the possibility of building and having other forms of emotional/sexual relationships, and gaining access to other employment, etc.. They are convinced that client relationships are only business, and that personal relationships will not depend on clients; while there are a few such experiences, the large majority of travestis find their fixed relationships far from these spaces.

This autonomy, secured through hard-won civil rights, has made possible the idea that there is a prospect of new futures, and that they can think beyond prostitution, if that is their personal wish. It was our struggle that opened other work possibilities for trans people, even though the number who turn to sex work for a source of income is still very significant. We had been advancing

in people's autonomy, but in this context of labour and welfare reforms we have seen many return to sex work because of this government's intensified implementation of neo-liberal policies.

We know that our country is of a continental size, and policies are not balanced or evenly implemented across it. Having a legal apparatus to rectify one's name, though, something very important in the life of a Trans person, is very important alone, as it brings some relief across their life experiences, from their social life to the development of professional skills; there is still a huge gap regarding employment that needs to be remedied. Of course, initiatives by civil society organizations are welcome and important, but we need to develop mechanisms and policies for society which really focus on this issue; there are young Trans people who currently have more access to education and training, even if precariously, due to the violence they suffer in the education system. It will be necessary to prepare the world of employment, institutions, and society for these new professionals.

Another factor which I am raising for our consideration and which has driven some debates at the national level is the issue of Trans people in sports. Most of these debates often focus erroneously on the physiological condition of trans people, generally forgetting de facto these athletes' physical and emotional constructions of gender identity .

Here, in the absence of technical and scientific arguments, these people turn to transphobia, which is so peculiar in this subject. Claiming that a Trans person has advantages in these sports because of their structural and anatomical condition for having a "masculine biological body" goes against what medicine and studies show, and ignores the effects of hormonization, which should be discussed and debated by experts, researchers, and students of these issues, as well as the people who will take these medicines.

We need to shift and break this ideologically transphobic debate, because it always tends towards the religious, and we firmly maintain that medicine and religion are not in the same field. Another very important factor here is that many people spark these debates in order to obtain a political platform, as almost all those who oppose trans people's inclusion have political aspirations or political party links, and use this as a platform to win more and more votes.

In view of this situation, I would like to stress that the rights violations and violence which continue to be normalized against us should no longer be allowed to continue, unchecked, blighting the lives of Trans people. The murders, still frequently targeting us, do not discourage us from continuing this fight. The ceaseless struggle for faster and fuller social inclusion has become one of our most important priorities and, along with the active continuation of our institutional activities - establishing important partnerships for our struggles - will always be a part of our daily work, calling for spaces for the inclusion of Trans people. We must congratulate and honour those who deserve it,

never resting when a Trans person has their rights violated, their life taken away, or prevented from entering and leaving any public or private space.

We have been shaped by this struggle and we will not leave it until our rights are guaranteed. We want full rights, not half. We need federal legislation that punishes the criminals who murder our population on a daily basis and we will not hesitate to fight omission and impunity.

We do not prioritize individualism, nor do we encourage it. Our action is plural and, for us, only pluralism makes sense. We will always distance ourselves from violent and transphobic discourses, we will repudiate loud and clear the claims of religious fundamentalists, conservative anti-rights groups, racists, chauvinists, trans-excluding feminist groups and any attempt at persecution, silencing, or violence.

To this end, we call on all those who follow our work, support us on our social, personal and institutional networks and who have access to this information, to combat transphobia in their daily lives. Be defenders of Trans people's human rights - because we will need more people involved in this struggle. This fight is not of our making. It is cisgenderness that put us in a violent and subordinate position and, with us, it must be cisgenderness that confronts and deconstructs this violence. We believe in the re-establishment of democracy and we invite everybody to come with us at this time when it is trans people who are in the front line of this struggle!

12. NEITHER CRIME NOR PUNISHMENT: THE CRIMINALIZATION OF HOMOPHOBIA AND TRANSPHOBIA, AND THE NON-CRIMINALISATION OF IT IN PRACTICE IN BRAZIL.

Giowana Cambrone

In 2019, the Supreme Federal Court ruled on a Direct Action of Unconstitutionality by Omission (ADO 26). In this ruling, the delay by the National Congress in legislating on penal protection for LGBTI+ people was recognized as unconstitutional, interpreting the Federal Constitution to classify homophobia and transphobia, whatever the form it takes, as coming under the various penal offences defined in existing legislation, such as Federal Law 7.716/1989 (which defines crimes of racism), until the National Congress issues a specific law. The argument advanced in the ruling is that LGBTIphobic practices constitute a form of social racism, considering that such practices segregate and inferiorize LGBTI people.

This victory was celebrated by activists and social movements in one of the countries which kills the most LGBTI people in the world. It is certainly an important development, if we believe that acts of prejudice or discrimination based on sexual orientation or gender identity must not be tolerated. On the contrary, they must be opposed and stopped. With this ruling, Brazil took a significant step against discrimination and exclusionary treatment that has historically marginalized the LGBTI community in our country. Homophobia and transphobia constitute contemporary forms of racism and the importance of the ruling on this issue strengthens the consolidation of the fundamental rights of people, who are born free and equal in dignity of rights; the mere fact of having a heterodiscordant sexual orientation or gender identity should not be a motive for discrimination or abuse.

In theory, this is all very well, but to understand what effectively changes in the lives of LGBTI people in Brazil, it is necessary to look again at criminal law for tackling racism in the country. Established in 1989, Law no. 7.716 defines crimes of racial prejudice, stipulating that those who have committed acts of discrimination or prejudice based on race, colour, ethnicity, religion or national origin should be sentenced to imprisonment. Following the interpretation given by the Supreme Federal Court (STF), it covers acts of discrimination or prejudice motivated by sexual orientation or gender identity. However, imprisonment for racism is so rare that it is not even included in the last three reports produced by the national survey of penitentiary records by the National Department.

The reasons for which there are hardly any imprisonments for this is obviously not the absence of crimes. Cases of racism occur every day, in all spaces, as well as cases of homophobia and transphobia, although the only cases that attract attention are those involving public figures, or if the exaggerated nature of their action causes general shock. In a quick analysis of the law, it is possible to identify three reasons for which Law 7.716 does not function to combat and criminalize racism,

and I fear that for the same reasons it will not function to criminalize homophobic and transphobic crimes.

First of all, the reason why Law 7.716 does not work is because it is poor. That's it! The text of the law fighting racism is very poor because it refers to discrimination produced in particular places, such as discriminating against somebody in a restaurant, or in a hotel, refusing to admit a person to a public competition, or even denying a child registration in a school. Significantly, when these incidents occur they require evidence which often the victims cannot produce, leading to many acquittals. Furthermore, it also disappoints the hope created by the criminalization of LGBTIphobia, because other forms of violence, including psychological and physical violence committed because of homophobia and transphobia, are not included in the list of penal offences specified by this law..

The second reason that I fear that the decision of the Supreme Federal Court will not be effective is structural. Racism, like homophobia and transphobia, is structural in our society. That is, they constitute a system in which institutional practices and norms reinforce each other so as to perpetuate inequalities, be they on the grounds of race or heterocisdiscordant sexuality. This is done through the formalization of a set of institutional, historical and cultural practices within society that produces privileges for certain groups (whites, heterosexuals, and cisgenders), while excluding minorities (blacks, homosexuals, travestis and transsexuals) from participation in institutions. In this sense, one can see how it will be difficult to apply the ruling in practice, in police investigations and in the judicial system which refuse to deal with allegations. The resistance of those who disagree with it reduces its effectiveness, and imposes obstacles to the effectiveness of the judicial structures.

The third reason, which also relates to structural homotransphobia, concerns interpretative and normative issues. In the first year since the decision, it was clear that the ruling by the Supreme Federal Court was not followed in cases of racial insult. This is because there is a clear dichotomy between racism, which is understood to be an offence against the community, and racial insult, which is the offence against the individual in relation to his or her condition. According to the most common interpretations, the individual offence (insult) would not be covered by homotransphobia as a form of social racism. In other words, the framework does not extend the Supreme Federal Court's interpretation of racism to racial insult. However, **it is absurd to take this approach, as when somebody uses a racist or homophobic insult against another person, what they want is to impose superiority for some historical or cultural reason.**

Moreover, Law No. 12,033 of 2009 turned the criminal prosecution of racial or qualified insult into conditioned public prosecution, limiting the actions of victims of racism. In practice, this means that the victim's representation is always conditioned on the action of the Public Prosecutor (MP). In other words, in the event of a LGBTIphobic incident, if the party goes ahead with it and the police refer the matter to the courts within the time limit established by law, it still goes to the Public

Prosecution Service to choose whether or not to continue with it. Even if the Public Prosecution Service does this, it is up to the magistrate to accept it or not. In these cases, the victim can do nothing, because it is the Public Prosecution Service which has the initiative. This aspect of the law tends to discourage reports of homophobic or transphobic insults, because if the Public Prosecution Service decides not to pursue the case, to punish homophobia or transphobia, the victim would have to attempt a private criminal prosecution secondary to the public one.

The reader must now be wondering: faced with so many constraints, what on earth was the criminalization of LGBTIphobia by the Supreme Federal Court for? If the ruling has so many barriers and obstacles, how will it be implemented? While, on the one hand, this victory did not take place in the best of scenarios, no political analysis is made in absolute abstraction. The context is very important and, in the context that we have, if the Supreme Federal Court were to oppose the criminalization of homotransphobia, it would be extremely harmful. Reflect on this with me: if the highest court in the country had taken an opposing interpretation and ruled that LGBTIphobia was not a crime, it would be the same as handing the sharpened knife to our executioners, because it would ensure institutional legitimation for conservative groups to perpetrate violence of all sorts. If civility and a notion of democracy, even if shaken, allow us to claim our rights, a denial by the Supreme Federal Court would exacerbate exclusion and probably increase violence, protected by such a decision. It would be barbarity!

You should not throw the baby out with the bath water - it really was an achievement and a victory against obscurantism. At this time, it is especially important to look ahead and think about our next steps. The most effective strategy to combat prejudice and discrimination based on sexual orientation or gender identity is, without a shadow of a doubt, education. Brazil is widely known to be a homophobic country and has never had an effective response to this problem. On the contrary, currently, efforts for the normalization of heterocissexism are strengthening. People cheer for a gay kiss among popular soap opera characters, but they wonder what they would say to their children if they saw such a display of affection in real life. They film the violence perpetrated against a travesti being thrown out of a public toilet, or the beating of another, without questioning the reason for the violence, and they normalize the fact that most travestis and transsexuals find themselves in prostitution without a choice. We need to think beyond education in schools. We need to think about the education of society as a whole. This is the most effective mechanism for changing the prevailing homotransphobic culture. It is not a coincidence that religious fundamentalists and conservatives attack educational initiatives on sexual diversity..

Since homotransphobia was criminalized by the Supreme Federal Court, a new discussion has started: what kind of model of criminalization and crime policies do we want? The decision issued by the court guarantees judicial protection by the state until the National Congress issues a specific law.

Hence, our attention and watchful gaze must be turned to the legislature, to demand legislation that is broader and more protective, creating within its scope, and alongside it, a collection of public policies and measures for shelter, protection, and prevention of violence, aimed at raising awareness and education. There are examples in Brazil, such as the Maria da Penha Law, which is a very interesting example of legislation that includes measures for the protection and prevention of violence against women, and which already has judicial decisions on the possibility of protective measures for trans people who have been victims of aggression. Even though this is an interesting model that could be adapted, it is still possible to think of other models through legislative innovations.

Indeed, we should not entertain the idea that these problems are solved by a ruling which is not effectively implemented because of pre-existing limitations. As such, it would be important to train lawyers and law students, human rights defenders, and institutions working to defend the rights of LGBTI people, to understand the ruling and the various forms that LGBTIphobia can take, as well as to address the difficulty of its implementation, omission, or the law's limitations. To be satisfied with the Supreme Federal Court's ruling is to be satisfied with a consolation citizenship - and that is all that the conservative and obscurantist movements want in order to keep the National Congress inactive.

13. TRANSFEMICIDE: INSUBORDINATION TO THE GENDER CISTEM.

Caia Coelho

The continuing murders of travestis and transsexuals in Brazil are connected to its history of misogyny. It is no coincidence that the country which is the champion of murders against travestis and transsexual women also ranks among the top five killers of cisgender women.

Forging a feminist commitment to the lives of all women must, therefore, mean undertaking the challenge of articulating the notion of femicide while accounting for the transphobic specificities of a significant portion of these cases. If the function of Femicide is to dramatically assert feminine submission to masculinity, it is as though it were a capital punishment imposed against non-compliance with this subordination; and, at the same time, the function of transphobia is to guarantee to cisgenderness its characteristic coerciveness, that is, to uphold the production of two divergent genders, assigned at birth and ordered hierarchically; Transfeminicide can be defined as a violent tool capable of symbolizing and ritualizing - in barbarically morbid ways - the economies of misogyny and transphobia, which continually distribute and concentrate the value given to each life in patriarchal society.

Just as misogyny does, transphobia kills in all the spaces where it acts, from the domestic to the institutional. For Rita Segato, a decolonial feminist from Argentina, the concept of "femigenocide" should aid in the analysis of murders of women motivated by their gender and without personal connections; that is, femigenocide should be differentiated categorically from femicide because it does not occur in the domestic domain.

Inspired by her conceptual inventiveness, we can conceive of transfemigenocide just as we, as transfeminists, think of transfemicide. When a cisgender woman wants a divorce but is murdered, that is femicide. When a travesti prostitute is murdered by a client, that is transfemicide. When a woman dies as a result of the criminalization of abortion, and her body is then cremated, that is femigenocide. When a transsexual woman dies due to inflamed industrial-use silicone because few public hospitals are capable of treating the problem, that is transfemigenocide. When a woman dies during childbirth due to negligence or obstetric violence, that is femigenocide. When a girl dies as a result of thrombosis caused by unsupervised hormonization because few hospitals treat young transgender people under 18 in Brazil, it is transfemigenocide. Moreover, it is grossly reductionist to depoliticize and individualize the alarming suicide rates of trans people around the world, which can also be understood as an integral part of a certain social, systematic, bio/thanatological/necropolitical order.

Transfemicide or transfemigenocide originate from the same nucleus, the same deliberately misogynistic, transmisogynistic, transphobic, macho, patriarchal order, which combines sex work

done in precarious conditions, expulsion from home, social isolation, racialization, and the myths about romantic love. Everything in binary, heterosexist and cisnormative gender norms culminates in ceremonially violent killings against women and travestis.

We note the chilling desire to leave bodies dead and disfigured, and the effort taken to abandon the bodies in public, with the bodies at that point not even appearing to have previously belonged to living women, or even to a bipedal mammal with developed thumbs. We see the accounts of murderous rituality, beyond the cut nipples, penis, neck, and hair, and beyond the blood spilled, and we carefully discern the most scandalous part of the horror exposed for all to see: who controls the means capable of making a human body barely recognizable. In fact, for travestis and transsexual women, the death penalty has always existed - and their greatest crime is being themselves.

Historically, many men who murder women were classified in the media, socially, and even legally, as committing "crimes of passion", "crimes of love", or "crime of jealousy". What we know as a "crime of passion" serves more for the defense of such a man and to attribute blame to the victim, be they a cis or trans woman, as if it were possible to justify and legitimize any murder, particularly those motivated by submission or subjugation, common among gender-based crimes. Many were defended and acquitted because they murdered in the name of "legitimate defence of honour" after discovering that the victim had an extramarital affair, or in the name of legitimate defence against the supposed masculine strength(sic) of travestis. Particularly against black travestis and transsexual women, it is still common to see impunity, underreporting, and, discursively, the false justification of a "shameful relationship".

With the influence and pressure of feminist organizations on such cases, it finally became common to use the terms "femicide" and "hatred", even before the change in Brazilian law. In 2015, when sanctioning the law making femicide a serious crime, the former President of the Republic, Dilma Rousseff, after negotiations with the evangelical faction of the National Congress, replaced "gender" with "sex" in the text of the law. As such, travestis and transsexual women were excluded from the first instance, denying protection and helping to maintain that they would not be recognized as women or that the crimes against them recognized as motivated by the feminine gender they express.

At present, we have already seen some decisions and interpretations that include - limited by the various problems inherent in the criminal justice system, and considering the range of possible

definitions for the term "sex", from the biological sciences to feminist discussions - the recognition of crimes against transsexual women as femicide⁴⁸.

Certainly, we make progress by ceasing to call femicide a "crime of love", and rather "hatred". Similarly, we must move forward by removing the euphemism of "shame" from our feminist vocabulary - especially when considering transfemicide. It is also necessary to take another urgent step forward, to abandon merely subjective understandings of the causes of femicide, and to situate them politically, to interpret their intentions in relation to gender norms, and to challenge societies where this becomes possible and normalized on a large scale.

We should seek to understand such deaths as symbols of a demonstration of power, lessons on gender, mythologies, and, above all, we must overcome the common narrative on the feelings of aggressors being the main justifications given for (Trans)femicide. It is, ultimately, about recognizing that this overcoming is the only way to safely and objectively beat gender violence or, in itself, gender as violence.

Gender can in itself be considered a form of violent colonial domination against the original peoples and, subsequently, against women. Binary and hierarchical models of society, as we live in and reproduce today, have organized society since the colonization of these lands through genocidal processes of extractivist domination. Particularly in Brazil, then, gender cannot be thought of outside of its links to violence and conflict, nor can it be defined otherwise than from its real and symbolic practices.

Gender is law, and a law can be defined by its punitive power. This should not result in blaming the victims, but in understanding how the creation of the victim is vital and formative for the functioning of cissexist, racial, and terribly colonial structures.

Against this murder, our only tool will be history. We will understand the sophisticated mechanisms of each (Trans)misogynistic device, we will name the acts of violence to which we have been subjected, we will endure our battles for the last time, and we will at last resolve not to die. Then, with a ceremony held in Pajubá [code-dialect], shovel by shovel we will bury Transmisogyny in infertile soil.

On that day, we will inaugurate the community's transmystology. On that day, who will still be there watching to see us reborn radiantly in each other?

⁴⁸ São Paulo registra crime contra mulher trans como Femicídio pela justiça. [São Paulo records a crime against a trans woman as femicide in court]. Available at: <https://istoe.com.br/morte-de-mulher-trans-a-pauladas-e-tratada-como-feminicidio-pela-justica/>

14. XICA MANICONGO, RACISM, TRANSPHOBIA, AND THE RIGHT TO KILL.

*Megg Rayara Gomes de Oliveira*⁴⁹

The oldest record of the existence of a trans person in urban spaces in Brazil dates from 1591, and recounts some episodes of the life of the enslaved black African travesti, Xica Manicongo.

A story marred by violence, especially since, in the context of colonization, Xica's human condition was not even recognized. Xica's condition as a slave was the result of a triple loss: "loss of "home", loss of rights over the body and loss of political status. This triple loss is equivalent to absolute domination, alienation at birth and social murder (expulsion from humanity in general)". (Achille MBEMBE, 2019, p. 27).

Although I agree that the writer Mbembe's reflections are useful for understanding the dynamics of how the slaving regime functioned, it is necessary to highlight that the denial of the status of human, imposed by the white, heterosexual, cisgender colonizers, was not accepted by the enslaved people. Their strategies of resistance were varied, leading this criminal regime to constantly remake its mechanisms of control, always in a violent manner.

Xica, by challenging the heterosexual cisgenderness of the slaving regime, going out in feminine clothes on the streets and slopes of Salvador, was asserting more than a gender identity: Xica was asserting the humanity stolen by the colonizer.

Constantly watched, she was twice denounced to the courts of the Holy Office.

The surveillance imposed on Xica's body, and the power to decide on her life, are forms of the functioning of biopolitics, discussed by Michel Foucault.

Any historical account of the emergence of modern terror, the very same that pervades the lives of travestis and transsexual women, especially black women, must address enslavement, "which can be considered one of the first instances of biopolitical experimentation". (MBEMBE, 2019, p. 27).

Making people live and letting them die was, in Foucauldian analysis, the innovation introduced by scientific power, which began to employ a new technology for population control: biopower.

It is thus possible to argue that the precarity of the lives of black travestis and transsexual women is closely linked to the unequal power relations imposed by European colonization, in which racism, as a biopolitical device, decides whether or not to preserve a life.

⁴⁹She is a black travesti, with a Master's and Doctorate degree in Education from the Federal University of Paraná; an associate professor in the Education Sector at the Federal University of Paraná; an accredited professor in the Master's and Doctorate degree programs in Education at the Federal University of Paraná; Coordinator of the Centre for Afro-Brazilian Studies at the Federal University of Paraná. She researches and directs research on ethnic-racial relations, gender and sexual diversity.

Foucault's analysis proposes that:

racism is the condition of the acceptability of taking a life in a society based on normalization. When you have a society based on normalization, when you have a power that is, at least on its whole surface and in the first instance, primarily a biopower, then, racism is an essential condition to be able to take someone's life, to be able to take the life of others (Michel FOUCAULT, 1999, p. 306).

Racism, along with transphobia, strengthens the power of biopolitics, putting the humanity of trans people under suspicion in today's society.

As such, the "relations between life and death, the politics of cruelty and the symbols of abuse" (MBEMBE, 2019, p. 30), which are constitutive of a slaving regime, are modernized and a new form of terror is established. "Race is, once again, crucial to this chain". (MBEMBE, 2019, p. 31).

In the eyes of those who identify with the conqueror, the life of a black travesti and/or trans woman "is just another form of animal life, a frightening experience, something alien beyond imagination or understanding, (MBEMBE, 2019, p. 35), which can and must be eliminated.

Xica Manicongo is, then, projected into the bodies of black travestis and trans women, and their lives remade as something lesser. Worthless.

1. WHITENESS AS A NORM

The 1970s and 1980s, during the cruel military regime, witnessed a veritable witch-hunt for travestis: "supported by a Christian ideology of family and morality, the municipal and state governments carried out a veritable witch-hunt for [...] travestis in Brazil". (Fernanda Dantas VIEIRA, 2015, n.p.).

This witch-hunt is still ongoing. We are still being exterminated.

This is an extermination involving important social actors such as the family, the school, the church, the labour market, representatives of a sovereignty produced by white heterosexual cisgenderness.

This sovereignty, in the name of preserving various artificially constructed values, "can kill at any time and in any way". (MBEMBE, 2019, p. 36).

In the name of such a - biased - sovereignty, racism emerges.

It is present, for example, in the imposition of one single ethnic aesthetic that takes whiteness as the universal standard of body, beauty, and culture, erasing others and silencing dissenting voices.

Laverne Cox (2009) writes that finding oneself beautiful in a culture where white feminine standards of beauty are still the norm is challenging.

Many travestis and transsexual women, in affirming their feminine identities, disguise their black identities. (Camila Pina BRITO, 2016).

Hair is almost always at the centre of these debates, causing tensions, because "it is not a neutral part of the body" (Nilma Lino GOMES, 2012, p.07).

As such, "everyday life scenes show us that we will not be beautiful and attractive if we do not change ourselves, especially our hair". (bellhooks, 2005, p. 07).

Control over the trans-body is a reality that they all experience, but racialized control is only experienced by black people.

Upon winning the Miss Brazil T competition in 2014, Valeska Dominik was the target of racist attacks on social media, particularly from the trans community.

Her nose, her mouth and especially her black skin were used to question her victory, making it clear that whiteness would be an important element - maybe even necessary - in the construction and affirmation of trans identities.

In this way, the experiences of white people have been taken as a model for all others, and transphobia has been treated in a generic way, as the only enemy that trans people need to confront.

2. GENOCIDE OF BLACK YOUTH

Every 23 minutes a young black man is killed in Brazil. There are 63 deaths per day, which amount to 23,000 black lives lost to lethal violence each year, as highlighted by the campaign Vidas Negras (Black Lives), launched by the United Nations in the country in November 2017 (UN Women, 2018). Many of these young people are victims of LGBTophobia.

The 2011 report on LGBTphobic violence reveals that 52% of these victims - lesbians, gays, bisexuals, travestis, and transsexuals - were black people.

Every 48 hours, a trans person is killed in Brazil (ANTRA), and around 80% of these victims are black. This number, however, may be even higher, as many victims did not have their racial affiliation stated and others may have been heteroclassified as white.

The majority of the victims, around 70%, were between 16 and 29 years old, which helps to explain why the life expectancy of a trans person in Brazil is only 35 years, the lowest in the world (MARTINS, 2018, n.p.).

Another significant feature of these murders is that it is, in general, a ritualized act: "85% of the murder cases showed particular cruelty such as excessive use of violence, dismembering, drowning and other brutal forms of violence. This demonstrates the hatred involved in these cases" (MARTINS, 2018, n.p.).

Regarding the murders, the black Bahian trans activist Paulett Furacão points out that the public reaction is different when it is about white people. The hierarchies of race and gender identity act together to silence, to erase (Megg Rayara Gomes de OLIVEIRA, 2018).

Discussing racism, then, entails taking into account that it interacts with issues of gender, gender identity and sexual orientation, among others, in the same way that discussing policies for tackling transphobia requires addressing issues of racism.

For social movements in favour of travestis and transsexuals, it is necessary to take intersectional positions not only theoretically, but also in their activism, emphasizing the links between issues often considered as distinct - racism and transphobia - which affect a large part of the transgender community (OLIVEIRA, 2018).

I agree that the trans population is subject to the sovereignty imposed by heterosexual cisgenerity. Their lives, their bodies are surrounded, besieged and isolated from the world. Their daily lives are monitored, controlled, and abused. Cisheteronormatized society is accorded the freedom to use its own criteria on when and who to kill.

It is, though, the black bodies - the Xicas Manicongos of today - that are the preferred targets. It is on black bodies that biopower acts most often. It is black bodies that are most likely to be killed. It is thus black bodies that need the greatest care.

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15. AUTHORS



BRUNA BENEVIDES

- Serves in Brazilian Navy
 - Consultant on Sexual Diversity, Gender and Human Rights of the LGBTI+ population
 - Coordinator for PreparaNem Niterói on School Exams
 - Secretary of Political Coordination for the National Association of Travestis and Transsexuals (ANTRA)
 - Communication Secretary of the Brazilian Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transvesti, Transgender and Intersex Association (ABGLT)
 - Member of the National Network of LGBTI+ Public Security Agents (RENOSP LGBTI+)
 - Founding Member of the State Forum of Travestis and Transsexuals in Rio de Janeiro (TTRJ Forum)
- Contact: bruna-marx@hotmail.com



SAYONARA NOGUEIRA

- Holds a degree in Geography from the Federal University of Uberlândia.
 - Specialist in Specialized Educational Assistance from the Prominas Institute, and Educational Coordination from the Federal University of Uberlândia
 - Technician in Gender and Race Public Policies from the Federal University of Minas Gerais
 - Professor and Academic Consultant
 - Vice President of the Brazilian Trans Institute of Education - IBTE
 - Member of the Ibero-American Education Network LGBTI
- Contact: sayonarativ@hotmail.com

TRANSLATOR

LIAM ANDERSON

- Holds a degree in Social Anthropology from the London School of Economic and Political Science, and a Master's in International Affairs from Sciences Po, Paris Institute of Political Studies
- Published articles on security and human rights in outlets including openDemocracy, Think Africa Press, the Guardian, and Global Voices. Published a research article, on India's role in post-conflict Nepal, in Himalaya Journal.
- Translator, particularly for Global Voices, from Portuguese, French, and Spanish into English
- Twitter: @Liam_An1

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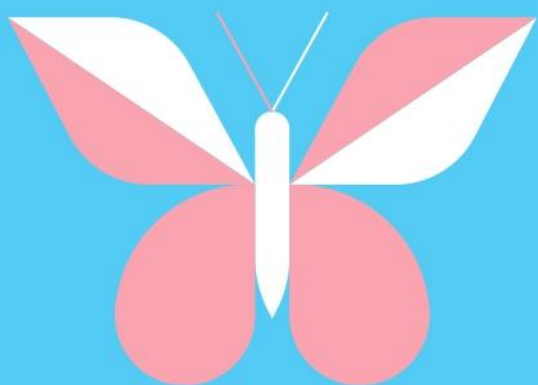
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