

A look at LGBTIphobic violence in Brazil

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Abstract

This article aims at analyzing data on lethal violence in Brazil against the sex-diverse population, within the last 5 years, based on reports by the Gay Group of Bahia (Grupo Gay da Bahia – GGB) and the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR). Elucidation and clarification on the concepts of homophobia, heterosexism, and heteronormativity are means that we have to grasp the LGBTIphobic violence observed in contemporary society. The results indicate that, in order to cope with violence, public policy must be made as a means to overcome such a reality.

Key words human rights; violence; homophobia; LGBT; LGBTIphobia.

Um olhar sobre a violência LGBTIfóbica no Brasil

Resumo

O objetivo deste artigo é analisar os dados de violência letal no Brasil contra a população sexodiversa, nos últimos 5 anos, a partir dos relatórios do Grupo Gay da Bahia (GGB) e da Comissão Interamericana de Direitos Humanos (CIDH). A elucidação e o esclarecimento acerca das concepções de homofobia, do heterossexismo e da heteronormatividade são meios de que dispomos para compreender a violência LGBTIfóbica presente na sociedade contemporânea. Os resultados obtidos indicam que, para o enfrentamento dessa violência, políticas públicas devem ser elaboradas como meios de superação dessa realidade.

Palavras-chave direitos humanos; violência; homofobia; LGBTI; LGBTIfobia.

Conhecer: debate entre o público e o privado

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Una mirada a la violencia LGBTIfóbica en Brasil

Resumen

El objetivo de este artículo es analizar los datos de violencia letal en Brasil contra la población sexodiversa, en los últimos 5 años, según los informes del Grupo Gay de Bahía (Grupo Gay da Bahia – GGB) y de la Comisión Interamericana de Derechos Humanos (CIDH). La elucidación y la aclaración de los conceptos de homofobia, heterosexismo y heteronormatividad son medios que tenemos para comprender la violencia LGBTIfóbica presente en la sociedad contemporánea. Los resultados indican que, para hacer frente a esta violencia, políticas públicas deben hacerse como medios para superar esta realidad.

Palabras clave derechos humanos; violencia; homofobia; LGBTI; LGBTIphobia.

Introduction

The population constituted by lesbian, gay, bisexual, transvestite, transsexual, trans and intersex persons (LGBTI) is a vulnerable group, which is a target of numerous human rights violations worldwide. In Brazil, over the last few years, situations of violence and discrimination against the LGBTI population have been occurring more frequently and in a frightening manner, even resulting in recommendations by the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR) (Organización de los Estados Americanos [OEA], 2012a, 2012b, 2012c) so that the Brazilian State adopts measures to prevent and respond to human rights abuses and ensure that LGBTI persons exercise their right to a life free from LGBTIphobic discrimination and violence, including the adoption of public policies and campaigns and the reforms needed to align domestic legislation to the inter-American human rights instruments.

Coping with problems related to public security represents one of the greatest challenges in Latin America and also in Brazilian society. This reality can be realized through several indicators available in the 2015 IACHR Report¹ and in the *Atlas da Violência 2018* (Cerqueira et al., 2018), produced by the Institute of Applied Economic Research (Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada – IPEA) and the Brazilian Forum of Public Security (Fórum Brasileiro de Segurança Pública – FBSP).

¹ The report on violence against lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans and intersex persons in the Americas (Comissão Interamericana de Direitos Humanos [CIDH], 2015) has identified general trends, such as lack of official denunciations and statistics, generalized violence, invisibility of daily violence, invisibility of violence against certain groups (trans men, bisexual persons, and intersex persons), as well as high levels of cruelty and violence in reprisal of public demonstrations of same-sex affection.

Regarding the LGBTI population, it is the Gay Group of Bahia (Grupo Gay da Bahia – GGB)² that surveys violence rates, producing annual reports on LGBTI persons killed in Brazil. The analysis of data for the last 5 years (Grupo Gay da Bahia [GGB], 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018) illustrates how violence has gradually increased in the country and points out the urgency of public policies to overcome this scenario.

The issue we tackle is the extent to which LGBTIphobia in the Brazilian society and State has contributed to exacerbate violence in the country. Seeking to grasp the ideas that surround homophobia, heterosexism, and heteronormativity is one of the means available to us in order to see the LGBTIphobic violence present in contemporary society, as well as to indicate means to overcome this challenge.

Lethal LGBTIphobic violence in Brazil

The *Atlas da Violência 2018* reveals that Brazil is one of the most violent countries in the world. Regarding the transgender population, the report by the non-governmental organization (NGO) Transgender Europe (TGEu) indicates that the country ranks first in the world ranking of countries with more murders related to transphobia (between 2008 and 2016).

Intolerance, prejudice, discrimination, and violence on grounds of sexual orientation and gender identity has drastically reduced the life expectancy for this population, for instance, the life expectancy of a transsexual person is 35 years, that is, less than half of the Brazilian average, which is 76 years, according to data provided by the Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE, 2018).

The survey of the GGB reports gathers rates of violence against the LGBTI population between 2014 and 2018 and the profile of victims. The analysis of these data demonstrates how we are and what can be done in terms of public policies to cope with this type of violence.

In 2014, the annual report of homosexual murders in Brazil showed 326 deaths, including 9 suicides (GGB, 2014). This already represented an increase of 4.1% over the year 2013.

Out of the total number of homicides, 163 victimized gays, 134 transvestites, 14 lesbians, 3 bisexuals, and 7 transvestite lovers. In addition to these deaths, 7 heterosexuals were also murdered because they were “confused with gays or because they were in homoerotic circumstances or spaces” (GGB, 2014).

Regarding the racial factor, 54% of the victims were white-, 41% brown-, and 5% black-skinned. This may be considered a disproportionate trend in the profile of lethal

² The GGB is a non-governmental organization (NGO) and its activities are focused on advocating the rights of homosexuals in Brazil. Founded in 1980 and headquartered in Salvador, it is the oldest Brazilian LGBTI advocacy association.

violence prevalent in Brazil, since, for instance, in 2014, the black homicide rate per 100,000 inhabitants was 38.5%, while that of non-blacks was 16.0% (Cerqueira et al., 2018).

Data for the year 2015 revealed that 318 LGBTI persons were murdered in the country (GGB, 2015). In this universe, 52% were gay, 37% transvestites, 16% lesbian, and 10% bisexual.

It is worth highlighting that homophobic violence reaches a plurality of identities, from the teenager to the elderly, whites and non-whites, in addition to all social classes.

The report showed that 55% of the victims were white and 45% black. This differs from the Brazilian profile of lethal violence, where the black homicide rate per 100,000 inhabitants in Brazil, in 2015, corresponded to 37.7%, while that of non-blacks accounted for 15.3% (Cerqueira et al., 2018).

As for the victims' profession, 26 were sex workers, 16 hairdressers, 10 students, 3 *pais-de-santo*, 2 evangelical pastors, 1 Catholic priest, besides merchants, civil servants, lawyers, dancers,.

In 2016, 343 LGBTI persons were murdered in Brazil. This represents 1 death every 25 hours. Out of the 343 murdered, 50% were gay, 42% trans, 3% lesbian, and 1% bisexual, including 12 heterosexual, like transsexual lovers (the so-called *T-lovers*) (GGB, 2016).

As for the color of the LGBTI persons murdered, 64% were white and 36% black. Again, the racial factor escapes the pattern of lethal violence prevalent in the country, since in 2016 the black homicide rate per 100,000 inhabitants was 40.2%, while that of non-blacks was 16.0% (Cerqueira et al., 2018).

The 2017 report showed that “445 LGBT+ persons (lesbians, gays, bisexuals, and transsexuals) died in Brazil (including 3 Brazilian nationals killed abroad) victims of homotransphobia” (GGB, 2017). Out of these victims of prejudice and discrimination, 387 were murdered and 58 committed suicide. Also, according to the report, there was an increase of 30% over the year 2016, when 343 deaths were registered (GGB, 2017).

Out of the 445 victims of homotransphobia documented in 2017, 43.6% were gay, 42.9% trans, 9.7% lesbian, 1.1% bisexual, and 2.7% heterosexual (GGB, 2017).

As for the age of the victims, murders and deaths in the age group from 18 to 25 years (32.9%) predominated, with 41.2% between 26 and 40 years, in the brink of the productive age-ranges; 5.7% were under 18 years. In 1.9% of the deaths, the victims were the elderly: the oldest was 75 years old.

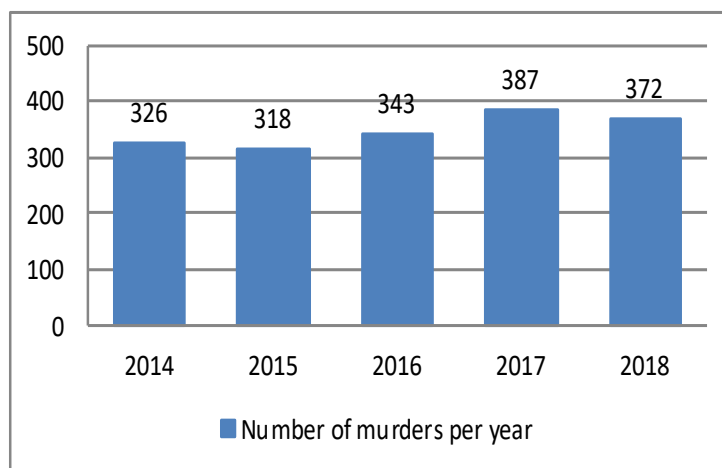
In relation to the skin color of victims of LGBTIphobia, the same regularity of the previous years is verified, predominantly whites (66%), followed by 27% of browns and 7% of blacks.

As for the racial profile by sex category, there is a slight superiority of transsexuals and black transvestites (38%), followed by gays (31%) and lesbians (21%). Therefore, the myth that “the cheapest meat on the market is black meat” falls down, since 61% of the trans persons, mostly sex workers, were identified in police reports or photos in the newspapers as white; 7% were black.

Although the GGB report for 2018 has not been published, yet, the website already provides some data, such as the average age of the LGBTI persons murdered – 27 years for transgender persons and 38 years for gays: 27.7 years corresponds to the average age of trans persons and 28 years of lesbians, while the average age of gays is 38.1 years and that of bisexuals is 42.6 years³. Also, the GGB (2018) accounted for a total of 372 deaths⁴ in the year.

The deaths over the last 5 years (2014 to 2018), as illustrated in Graph 1, demonstrate that contemporary society has been marked by a crisis of compliance with human rights, intolerance, and violence.

Graph 1 – Lethal violence against LGBTI persons in Brazil (2014-2018)



Source: Prepared by the authors.

Besides the data on lethal violence against the LGBTI population shown herein, other types of violence resulting from prejudice/discrimination against gender identity and sexual orientation are not included in the report, such as attempted murder, bodily injury, crimes against honor (vituperation, slander, and defamation) and other typified crimes.

These figures provoke a reflection on lethal violence, an element that must be regarded as an effect of LGBTIphobia in society and the State.

But what is LGBTIphobia?

The idea of homophobia was introduced in the 1970s; it was initially related to irrational fear of homosexuality (Mason, 2002). Since then, several authors have conceptualized

³ These data were collected from a sample of 2,730 people (GGB, n.d.).

⁴ This data is updated daily on GGB (n.d.).

homophobia (Borrillo, 2010; Espejo, 2012) and others prefer to name it as *sexual prejudice* (Herek, 2004)⁵. However, we do not enter into conceptual discussions of the term herein.

LGBTIphobia and sexual prejudice may be understood as hostile attitudes towards gays, lesbians, bisexuals, transvestites, transsexuals, intersex persons or even against heterosexuals who sympathize with LGBTI persons.

Daniel Borrillo (2010, p. 13) explains that “just like xenophobia, racism, or anti-Semitism, homophobia is an arbitrary manifestation that consists in designating the other as contrary, inferior, or abnormal.”

Considered a complex and varied phenomenon (Borrillo, 2010), homophobia may have a subtle form (Espejo, 2012), also named as *symbolic homophobia* (Bourdieu, 2010), and have a rather serious form, with the intent of exterminating the other, just as in the case of Nazi Germany (Borrillo, 2010).

Homophobia is often tolerated in the intimate private sphere, but when it claims a status equivalent to heterosexuality, this becomes intolerable, because homophobia also manifests itself in the fear that this status is recognized.

In this regard, Borrillo (2010, p. 17) states that “homophobia is the fear that appreciation for this identity is recognized; it manifests itself, among other aspects, by the anguish of seeing the boundary and the hierarchy of heterosexual order disappear.”

Thus, homophobia means an aversion, a prejudice that some people have towards homosexual, lesbian, bisexual, transsexual, and intersex persons.

It must be noticed that this hostile feeling dehumanizes individuals and violates the dignity, as well as the personality of these persons, since sexuality is something inherent to the human condition itself (Dias, 2002).

The forms of manifestation of homophobia are diverse. Herein, we address two aspects of homophobia that, according to Borrillo (2010), is divided into *personal dimension* and *cultural dimension*, or, according to Espejo (2012), *psychological dimension* and *social dimension*.

Thus, the term ‘homophobia’ designates two different aspects of the same reality: the personal dimension, which has an affective nature, manifested by rejection of homosexuals; and the cultural dimension, which has a cognitive nature, where the object of rejection is not a homosexual person as an individual, but homosexuality as a psychological and social phenomenon. This distinction makes it possible to better understand a rather widespread situation in modern societies that consists in tolerating, and even sympathizing with, members of the stigmatized group; however, it sees as unacceptable any equality policy in this regard (Borrillo, 2010, p. 22).

5 The research conducted by Herek (2004) indicates that this form of violence should be seen as a bias, since the term homophobia presupposes that negative responses to the LGBTI population are based on pathological and irrational fear (phobia) and that these attitudes do not always stem from fear, but from prejudice.

We infer from the quotation above that personal homophobia has an affective nature and it refers to rejection of homosexuals, while cultural homophobia has a cognitive nature, derived from social, cultural, and political roots, where a homosexual person is not the target of hostility, but homosexuality itself, as a sexual orientation-based form of diversity.

In this way, Roger Rauppper Rios (2009) claims that the subjective dimension triggering homophobia, i.e. fear, aversion, and hatred, results in contempt for homosexuals. In turn, the cultural, social, or political dimension of this discriminatory manifestation, due to the institutionalization of heterosexuality as a standard, leads to abjection of other manifestations of human sexuality (Rios, 2009).

Cultural homophobia is that “installed in the culture that consecrates the regime of exclusion of homosexuals,” including “violations of human rights of these persons, which are often even unknown by several national and international persons and organizations devoted to human rights advocacy and promotion” (Espejo, 2012). This segregationist and exclusionary practice due to sexual orientation and gender identity is regarded as heterosexism.

This system is seen as the psychological consequence of a social representation that grants exclusive right of normality to the heterosexual identity, fostering indifference, contempt, and disregard of a part of the society towards everyone who do not fit the reference model. Heterosexism must be denounced and fought with the same vehemence used against racism or anti-Semitism (Borrillo, 2010).

Just like heterosexism, heteronormativity is also one of the driving forces behind homophobia. Coined by Michael Warner, the term heteronormativity may be understood as the idea/axiom that *heterosexuality* is the only ‘normal’ sexual orientation. According to him, heteronormativity may be seen as “institutions, structures of understanding, and practical orientations that not only make heterosexuality seen coherent,” being considered a natural state, projecting itself as an ideal or moral goal (Berlant & Warner, 1998, p. 548).

So, the difference between heterosexism and heteronormativity lies on the fact the first concept refers to an ideological system that discriminates, stigmatizes, and denies all non-heterosexual practices (Herek, 2004), while the other frames all relationships, including homosexual relationships, within a binary pattern, which systematizes attitudes, positions, and wishes according to the reference of relationship between heterosexual persons.

Thus, we may see LGBTIphobia as a form of violence against sexual diversity, which feeds gender inequalities, violates the dignity, and endangers the human condition of the LGBTI population, expressed as aversion, intolerance, prejudice, discrimination, and so many other forms of violence (physical, patrimonial, psychological).

Moreover, as Rita Segato stresses (2014, our translation), violence should not be seen as scattered, sporadic, and anomalous as the media presents, but “we should notice the systematicity of this huge structure that connects seemingly very distant links in society and traps representative democracy itself.”

Having this problem in view, it is a must to deploy public policies aimed at fighting violence, especially those related to heterosexual (Borrillo, 2010; Herek, 2004; Welzer-Lang, 2001)⁶ and heteronormative ideologies (Berlant & Warner, 1998).

In search of solutions

Although violence is a human and social fact that has always been present in society, it is not inherent to human nature, being considered a biopsychosocial phenomenon where its dynamic complexity emerges in life in society (Minayo, 1994). Rita Segato (2003) claims that violence has psychic, social, and cultural dynamics, moreover, it must be seen as an announcement, that is, violence is communication⁷.

Based on the assumption that violence is a form of communication, it is necessary to use strategies and tools of non-violent communication to deconstruct LGBTIphobia, thus, sexual prejudice, as a social phenomenon, can be deconstructed through dialogue, conversation, education.

Several authors, like Borrillo (2010) and Rios (2009), signal that education is the best alternative to fight homophobia. Education plays a major role in deconstructing and demystifying prejudice by helping us to grasp human rights and equality rights regardless of sexual orientation and gender identity.

The figures over the last 5 years, i.e. 326, 318, 343, 387, and 372, represent a total of 1,746 deaths of LGBTI persons in Brazil, not counting the numbers of suicides that heterosexism and heteronormativity elicit and the cases of subnotification, which only contribute to the invisibility process involving these individuals (Menezes, 2018).

It is worth highlighting the fact that this is a context of lethal violence, not including the innumerable cases of violence occurring every day with the sex-diverse population, either notified or subnotified, since many individuals do not file crimes due to fear or other reason. The lack of continued training for practitioners who serve the population victimized by LGBTIphobic violence is also a determining factor for subnotification of cases of violence (Menezes, 2018).

Despite the intensification of this context of violence, there is no law that criminalizes homophobia, moreover, the attempt to create such a law in the country was frustrated in

6 Heterosexism “is discrimination and oppression based on a distinction made with regard to sexual orientation. Heterosexism is the incessant promotion, by institutions and/or persons, of the superiority of heterosexuality and the simulated subordination of homosexuality. Heterosexism takes for granted that everyone is heterosexual” (Welzer-Lang, 2001, p. 467).

7 Slavoj Žižek (2009) also corroborates this understanding when affirming that violence takes the form of language. The author classifies violence into two types: objective violence and *subjective violence*. The latter is the visible type, which also brings along two types of objective violence. Unlike *objective violence*, which is seen as systemic, a fruit of the functioning of economic and political systems, such violence “cannot be assigned to concrete persons and their ‘bad’ intents, but it is purely ‘objective,’ systemic, anonymous” (Žižek, 2009, p. 24).

2014, when the House Bill (Projeto de Lei da Câmara – PLC) No. 122/2006 was discontinued, which aimed at criminalizing a series of behaviors resulting from discrimination and/or gender bias, sexual orientation, and gender identity.

On the other hand, although the existence of a law establishing mechanisms to fight/prevent the various forms of violence experienced by LGBTI persons is needed⁸, it is necessary to think of other ways to solve conflicts so that there is a possibility of changing behaviors, in order to promote social pacification and the quality of relationships between individuals, as the deconstruction of prejudice cannot become feasible through brute force or normative punishment alone, on the contrary, the use of punitive measures only aggravates “discriminatory attitudes.”

In this way, there is a need to deploy new conflict-solving forms, since mere punishment for criminal behavior motivated by LGBTIphobia, without reflection on the part of the offender and the community, does not contribute at all to social construction in relation to LGBTIphobia as generator of such violence.

The report by the Alto Comisionado de las Naciones Unidas para los Derechos Humanos (ACNUDH, 2015) made recommendations to States to fight acts of violence and discrimination against individuals by having their sexual orientation and gender identity as a basis.

Among the recommendations there are the enactment of laws concerning crimes motivated by prejudices that establish homophobia and transphobia as aggravating factors to determine penalties and prompt and exhaustive investigation of incidents of violence motivated by hate and torture of LGBTI persons, as well as to hold the perpetrators accountable and provide reparation to the victims (ACNUDH, 2015).

Also, it was recommended to collect, register, and publish data on the number and types of incidents registered, ensuring the safety of claimants; prohibition of incitement to hatred and violence based on sexual orientation and gender identity; and accountability of those who utter such hate speech (ACNUDH, 2015).

Qualification of law enforcement practitioners and judges through gender-sensitive approaches to address crimes motivated by sexual orientation and gender identity is also a part of these recommendations.

Likewise, the IACHR recognizes the State’s obligation to prevent violence, either through data collection, adoption of legislative measures to prevent violence (such as

8 It is worth highlighting the fact that, in Brazil, there are laws for protection of blacks and women in the criminal sphere, e.g. Law No. 7,716/1989, as amended by Law No. 12,288/2010 (Brazilian Statute of Racial Equality – Estatuto da Igualdade Racial), which defines crimes resulting from race or color prejudice, and also Law No. 11,340/2006 (Brazilian Maria da Penha Law – Lei Maria da Penha), which creates mechanisms to curb domestic and family violence against women. However, there are no laws that curb discriminatory attitudes and/or establish aggravating factors in the case of existing crimes, but motivated by prejudice/discrimination against gender identity and sexual orientation. This scenario may be considered a reflection of a heteronormative society.

enhanced legal protection against prejudice-based violence, adoption of legislation that protects and recognizes the rights of individuals, and guarantee that laws do not discriminate against or reinforce prejudice-based violence) and eradication of stigma and stereotypes (CIDH, 2015).

Violence prevention in specific contexts (prevention of violence by State security forces, prevention of violence in the health sector, prevention of violence in the education sector) should also be a State priority in the fight against violence, as well as the State obligation to investigate, judge, and punish crimes committed against LGBTI persons, among other measures (CIDH, 2015).

In Brazil, there are several LGBTI social organizations⁹ that fight homophobia, in order to guarantee/protect the rights of the LGBTI population. Support for these NGOs is also a measure that should be adopted to help strengthening the social support network, as well as to mobilize the LGBTI community in the pursuit of its rights.

Institutional homophobia, which feeds heterosexism and heteronormativity, must also be tackled. In Brazil, the federal government advocates for the sex-diverse population by means of campaigns and spaces of denunciation:

The federal government's attitude marks a position to advocate the LGBT community. The State provides spaces for denunciation against prejudice, inscribing it in a position of illegality, since this practice may result in denunciations and legal proceedings by the government sphere in defense of the LGBT community. In the excerpts "if you feel threatened, call us," "if you suffer or witness some kind of violence or discrimination, denounce it," and "dial 100" [...], we have the official discourse drawing a line to receive denunciations of homophobia, indicating the government's concern about this form of violence, not any type of violence, but that motivated by specific hatred (Bastos, Garcia, & Sousa, 2017, p. 17).

However, the reality differs from this discourse. The high levels of violence and the lack of a law that criminalizes homophobia¹⁰ demonstrate that the State agrees with the

9 Some of these NGOs are: a) Brazilian Association of Lesbian, Gays, Bisexual, Transvestites, and Transgender Persons (Associação Brasileira de Lésbicas, Gays, Bissexuais, Travestis e Transexuais – ABGLT); Mothers for Diversity (Mães pela Diversidade); The Women's Movement (Movimento D'Ellas); House 1 (Casa 1) – São Paulo; b) Casa Nem (House Nem) and Rainbow Group – Rio de Janeiro; c) Gay Group of Bahia (Grupo Gay da Bahia – GGB) – Bahia; d) Love House (Casa Amor); Association of Transvestites United to Fight for Citizenship (Associação das Travestis Unidas na Luta pela Cidadania) – Sergipe; e) Boa Vista Institute (Instituto Boa Vista); Association in Defense of Human Rights with a Focus on Sexuality (Associação em Defesa dos Direitos Humanos com Enfoque na Sexualidade – ADEH) – Santa Catarina; among others (Catraca Livre, 2017).

10 It is true that the criminalization of homophobia will not bring this form of violence to an end, but this contributes to standardize the police occurrences and those filed in other public agencies, thus highlighting the reality of violence against the LGBT population.

ideals of these individuals, because, although wrapped in a protectionist discourse, it does not guarantee the rights of the LGBTI population. There is a need to think whether the Brazilian government, from a perspective of institutional homophobia, is aligned with a policy that allows the LGBTI population to die.

Final remarks

Coping with violence against sexual diversity is a major challenge nowadays, because the violence that has been practiced puts at risk the fundamental rights of the LGBTI population and it threatens the human rights of these persons.

In its multiple dimensions, violence, either symbolic or physical, violates the dignity of everyone in the sex-diverse population, highlighting the need to guarantee and enforce rights aimed at reducing the violence that heteronormativity and heterosexism generate.

The lack of education focused on human rights greatly contributes to prejudice in Brazil - which is regarded as the main country in terms of murder of LGBTI persons in the world. This is a political issue that should not be seen in isolation, but in an intersectional manner, where social, sexual, and gender inequality also play a role in this diagnosis.

The data highlighted throughout this reflection are a matter of concern, as they indicate that intolerance, disrespect, prejudice, and discrimination are latent in contemporary Brazilian society.

Thinking of the data shown is urgent and necessary to seek solutions and mechanisms to cope with LGBTIphobic violence. There is a need to realize each case of LGBTIcide as an attack on the whole of society and, consequently, as a fact weakening the rule of law.

The time has come when, paraphrasing Segato (2016), *we have to see ourselves in the mirror of the evil queen* and grasp our position in the world:

- Mirror, mirror on the wall, are we a prejudiced and LGBTIphobic society?
- Do we rank first in the ranking of countries with more murders of LGBTI persons?

Thus, we unveil the ignorance so that the concluding question emerges:

What could we do, and how, in order to fight LGBTIphobia?

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