


Homotransphobia and intersectional violence based on complaints to the police in the state of Sergipe, Brazil (2015-2018)

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Enviado: 15/12/2023 • Aceptado: 06/02/2025

ES Abstract: This article is the result of original research using the analytical tool of intersectionality in relation to cases of violence against sexual and gender diversity, recorded through police reports (B.O) filed in police stations of the Sergipe Public Safety Secretariat (SSP/SE) in Brazil between 2015 and 2018. The mapping was carried out on the SSP/SE intranet system using 32 keywords that served as search sources, with 305 police reports found that contained accusations of homophobic, transphobic and homotransphobic motivations. The methodological approach was based on a qualitative-quantitative, descriptive and documentary analysis and on authors who discuss homotransphobic violence, public safety and sexual and gender diversity. The results show that the majority of the complaints analyzed fit into nine different types of intersectional oppression: ageism, aporophobia, fatphobia, prejudice against people with disabilities, racism, sexism, serophobia and xenophobia. In some cases, more than one type of oppression was present, and most of the situations of violence reported were recurrent, causing serious consequences for victims and non-victims, and affecting all social agents, regardless of their sexual orientation, gender identity, sexual characteristics and/or gender expressions. This reality emphasizes the social nature of homotransphobia, as well as the need for society as a whole to actively engage in the process of preventing and combating all forms of oppression.

Keywords: Violence; Intersectionality; Homotransphobia; Sergipe; Denunciation.

ES Homotransfobia y violencia interseccional a partir de denuncias a la policía en el estado de Sergipe, Brasil (2015-2018)

Resumén: Este artículo es el resultado de una investigación original que utilizó la herramienta analítica de la interseccionalidad en relación a casos de violencia contra la diversidad sexual y de género, ubicados en los informes policiales (B.O) en comisarías de la Secretaría de Seguridad Pública de Sergipe (SSP/SE) en Brasil, entre 2015 y 2018. El mapeo se realizó en el sistema de intranet de la SSP/SE utilizando 32 palabras clave que sirvieron como fuente de búsqueda, donde se encontraron 305 informes policiales con motivaciones homofóbicas, transfóbicas y homotransfóbicas. El abordaje metodológico utilizado se basó en un análisis cualitativo-cuantitativo, descriptivo y documental y en autores que discuten sobre violencia homotransfóbica, seguridad pública y diversidad sexual y de género. Los resultados muestran que la mayoría de las denuncias analizadas presentaban 9 tipos diferentes de opresión interseccional: Edadismo, Aporofobia, Gordofobia, Prejuicios contra las personas con discapacidad, Racismo, Sexismo, Sorofobia y Xenofobia. En algunos casos, está presente más de un tipo de opresión. La mayoría de las situaciones de violencia denunciadas son recurrentes, provocando graves consecuencias para sus víctimas y no víctimas, afectando a todos los agentes sociales, independientemente de su orientación sexual, identidad de género, características sexuales y/o expresiones de género. Esta realidad pone de relieve la naturaleza social de la homotransfobia y la necesidad de un compromiso activo de toda la sociedad en el proceso de prevención y lucha contra todas las formas de opresión.

Palabras clave: Violencia; Interseccionalidad; Homotransfobia; Sergipe; Reportaje.

Sumario: 1. Introduction. 2. Methodology. 2. Analysis and Discussions. 4. Conclusions. References.

Como citar: Santos de Menezes, M.; Andrade Irineu, B. (2025). Homotransphobia and intersectional violence based on complaints to the police in the state of Sergipe, Brazil (2015-2018). *Cuadernos de Trabajo Social* 38(2), 313-322. <https://dx.doi.org/10.5209/cuts.93071>

1. Introduction

Homophobia and transphobia perpetrated against sexual and gender diversity – conceptualized in this article as homotransphobic violence in an intersectional way – is presented as any action of prejudice, discrimination and/or violence directed at the Sexual Orientation, Identity, Gender Expression and Sexual Characteristics (OIEC)¹ of all social subjects, having as minimum criteria for its execution the threat or rupture of cis-heteronormativity² as a model of sexuality and gender identity to be followed.

Homophobia is directed at the threat or rupture of heterosexuality as the only social norm of affective and sexual experience to be followed; and Transphobia consists of the threat or rupture of cisgenderness³ only social norm of gender identity that should be followed.

All these forms of oppression are present in a heterogeneous manner in society, reaching different contexts and different subjects, but they are still rarely investigated and analyzed in our contemporary times. The problem in question is reaffirmed when, through several years of investigation, this presents itself as the first Brazilian study to map official cases of homophobic, transphobic and homotransphobic violence through complaint notification documents (called here Occurrence Reports - B.O.) of the criminal investigation police.

This fact reaffirms the need for more investigations and interventions in this area, while raising questions, such as: How is homotransphobic violence present in Sergipe's society⁴? Are there intersectionalities beyond homotransphobia in these complaints? What types of oppression are present in the denunciations besides homophobia and/or transphobia? Are there recidivism, under-reporting⁵, re-victimization⁶ in these cases?

The objective of this article is to intersectionally map and analyze the cases of violence against sexual and gender minorities, registered through Occurrence Reports (B.O.) in police stations of the Secretariat of Public Security of the State of Sergipe (SSP/SE) in Brazil, between 2015 and 2018, verifying in addition to homophobia and transphobia, which other types of oppression are present in the complaints notified and forwarded by the Civil Police.

Recognizing the diversity of different oppressions identified in the complaints reported to the SSP/SE in addition to the homotransphobia analyzed in this study, which is the main objective of this article, it is necessary to carry out a brief contextualization of the introduction of the category of intersectionality and the creation of its concept.

Intersectionality is a concept that has been widely used in contemporary times, the term was introduced by the American jurist Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1989 in the article *Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antiracist Politics*, but the origin of the intersectionality category as an instrument for analyzing the various social oppressions is related to social struggles and the theoretical elaborations of black women.

The use of the term "intersectionality" is recent in Brazil, however, discussions about the hegemony of oppressions based on cisheteropatriarchy⁷, racism and capitalist exploitation in an articulated way, were already carried out by black activists, who denounce the oppressions that historically befallen them the intersection of gender, race, and class.

In Brazil, according to Collins (2020), the feminist production of the black and feminist movement of 1970 was marked by an analytical focus of the class variable. It was only in 1984 that the debate that relates race and gender was found in the work of Lélia Gonzalez (1984) entitled "Racismo e sexismo na cultura brasileira" (Racism and sexism in Brazilian culture).

The concept of intersectionality introduced by Crenshaw in 1989 is initially widely referenced in the Brazilian reality through the writings of Carla Akotirene, in her book *Intersectionality*, published in 2016. In parallel to this, in the national feminist movement, the publication of the translated version of the book *Women, Race and Class*, by Angela Davis, originally written in 1981, centers the discussions on three central axes: gender, race and class, became a reference in the debate on intersectionality in the country.

¹ We did not include the terms: Sexual Characteristics and Gender Expressions in the definitions of homophobic and transphobic violence because we understand that these violations are diluted in both fields under analysis here. Thus, violence against Sexual Characteristics and Gender Expressions practiced against a certain social agent can have a homophobic, transphobic or homotransphobic character and are independent of their sexual orientation and/or gender identity, in this way, they will be present throughout the analytical path of this article without being directly linked to a specific concept.

² Heterosexism is an ideological system that denies and stigmatizes any non-heterosexual form of behavior, identity, relationship, or community. This ideological system produces privileges for people who follow heterosexual norms and excludes those who do not. Heteronormativity acts in the sense of framing all relationships, even relationships between people of the same sex, in a gender binarism that intends to organize practices, acts and desires, based on the model of the heterosexual reproductive couple (Herek, 1992).

³ Cisgenderism is the condition of the person whose gender identity corresponds to the gender they were assigned at birth.

⁴ The state of Sergipe is the smallest among the 27 units of the Brazilian federation, with 75 municipalities, being located in the Northeast region of the country. According to the last census of the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics – IBGE, carried out in 2021, the state has an estimated population of 2,338,474 inhabitants, with 21,938.188 km² (IBGE, 2021).

⁵ Underreporting occurs when the person suffers one or more incidences of violence and does not record what happened, and thus cannot be counted by the State as an act of violence against sexual orientation and/or gender identity, denying them their own right to reparations and the prevention of new situations of violence.

⁶ Revictimization is the act of becoming a victim again, that is, it is when a person, after suffering a situation of prejudice, discrimination and/or violence, becomes a victim of the same situation again internally or externally. Internal when it "naturalizes" the situation by not seeking help to solve the problem, and external when the violation of its rights comes from society.

⁷ Cisheteropatriarchy – is the junction of the terms cisgenderism, heterosexism and patriarchy as forms of intersectional oppression.

In this sense, it is necessary to be attentive to the intersections between different social markers of difference (gender, sexuality, race, class, religion, generation, place of residence, nationality, among others) in the analysis of different forms of violence. Intersections are not deal with an overlap or a sum of oppressions, because racism manifests itself differently between men and women, as well as between heterosexuals and homosexuals.

Just as transphobia, operates differently for people from different social classes. Understanding this specificity of the concept of intersectionality is one of the reasons why it is a challenge, “[...] is that, frankly, it addresses differences within differences.”

Understanding this, we understand that “[...] in fact, we do not always deal with distinct groups of people, but with overlapping groups” (Crenshaw, 2002, pp. 9-10), that is, for the author, an intersectional perspective must pay attention to the fact that the social markers of difference are singular, despite being constantly crossed.

These avenues are sometimes inadvertently defined as distinct and mutually exclusive axes of power. Homophobia, for example, is distinct from racial prejudice, which in turn differs from machismo and class oppression, but such oppressions can intersect in the life of the same individual, making him more vulnerable to different situations. From this we will highlight, in addition to homophobia and transphobia, the various forms of oppression identified in the cases analyzed.

2. Methodology

This is a qualitative-quantitative investigation, based on the method of documentary analysis. According to Cellard (2008), document analysis is characterized as a systematic procedure for the review or evaluation of documents, requiring that data be examined and interpreted in order to obtain meaning, gain understanding, and develop empirical knowledge.

This investigation went through a long and exhaustive process of producing documentable data from the base of the online system of the Sergipe State Civil Police (*Intranet*).

Considering the absence of specific categories in the official documents of the Sergipe state civil police that identify the motivation and/or nature of the facts as homophobia and/or transphobia and of data that specifies characteristics of the victims that aid in identifying these cases – such as sexual orientation, gender identity, or social name – the procedure sought to map all the complaints that contained in the report of the facts (historical) of the Police Reports through keywords⁸.

It is important to emphasize that the introduction of some keywords filtered documents that identified or referred to other related words, later used as an instrument for new searches.

The thirty-two keywords that helped in the entire data production process were: *afeminado* (effeminate), *bichona* (faggot), *bisexual*, *boiola* (pansy), *Bolsonaro*, *gay*, *homophobia*, *homophobic*, *homosexual*, *homosexuality*, *gender identity*, *lesbian*, *LGBTI+*, *mulher macho* (butch woman), *nome social* (chosen name), *opção sexual* (sexual preference), *orientação sexual* (sexual orientation), *burn the rim* (queima o aro), *sapatão* (dyke), *transsexual*, *transfobia* (transphobia), *transfóbico* (transphobic), *transgênero* (transgender), *traveco* (tranny), *travesti* (transvestite), *deer*, *viadinho* (faggy), *viado* (faggot),⁹ and *vulgo* (alias).

It is important to emphasize that the absence of specific Fields in the document related to the sexual orientation and gender identity of the subjects involved in the official complaints of the SSP/SE, in addition to hindering the process of filtering out these cases and, consequently, the statistics referring to violence with homophobic and transphobic motivations, but also it makes it impossible to access this data for the characterization of these subjects in the aforementioned fields of identification of these complaints.

This lacks a qualitative analysis of the histories/reports of the facts in which the summaries of the narratives of the complainants on the violence reported to the civil police are present.

Thus, the number of cases analyzed here does not represent the exact number of situations of homophobic and/or transphobic violence reported in the State of Sergipe, nor of cases with intersectionalities, since: a) The sources of search and filtering of cases are limited and directed to oppressions with homophobic and/or transphobic motivations (situations that have several other oppressions may not have been found with the keywords used); b) The phenomena of underreporting, re-victimization and impunity of these cases is a reality present in situations of violence with homotransphobic motivations, which inhibits the increase the number of complaints and the possibility of carrying out greater analyses of this phenomenon in society; c) The sources used (B.O. – police reports) have summarized information, characterizing them as the first document of access to the Public Security System, that is, many other oppressions are only present in the criminal investigation process and not in the occurrence of the first documented report itself; d) There are other forms of reporting situations of violence and oppression in addition to the B.O. (police reports) in the State of Sergipe, that go beyond the sources and objectives of this investigation.

Considering all these variables, the data here only represents the tip of an *iceberg* in relation to the rate of homotransphobic violence and the various other intersectional oppressions present in these types of violence, and this reality requires greater investments in investigations and public policies to prevent and confront these types of violence in society.

⁸ This investigation is part of the doctoral thesis entitled: *Violence against sexual and gender diversity in Sergipe: An analysis of the official records of the Secretariat of Public Security between the years 2015 and 2018*, defended at the Department of Social Work of the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro PUC-Rio, in February 2021.

⁹ Some keywords are pejorative terms (moral offenses) widely used in the northeast of Brazil to discriminate against people read as homosexual-gays, such as “faggot, faggot, boy, faggot, faggot, faggot”; Trans people: “” and lesbians: “, macho woman”.

After the data mapping process, 305 complaints with homophobic and/or transphobic motivations were identified distributed among the four years of investigation, namely: 65 cases in 2015, 70 cases in 2016, 96 cases in 2017 and 74 cases in 2018, each of these/all of these cases were individually numbered according to the year in which they were registered with the SSP/SE.

The reports described in this article highlight the identity of the subjects in the cases analyzed, aiming to safeguard the secrecy and confidentiality of the identities of those involved in the complaints, entitled as: a) Whistleblowers (responsible for registering the B.O. – police report – at the SSP/SE); b) Victim (the individual who suffers the situation of violence), who may be a reporter or nonreporter; c) Reported (the perpetrators of the incidences of violence¹⁰); d) Witnesses (people who witnessed the situations of violence mentioned in the B.O. – police report).

The notifications were made in 71 bodies/institutions of the SSP/SE spread among the 75 municipalities of the state. Among the cases analyzed, 146 (48%) presented other intersecting oppressions and 159 (52%) did not present oppression beyond homophobia and/or transphobia¹¹.

It is important to highlight that the number of 48% of the complaints analyzed with intersectional situations is a very expressive number in this investigation, when considering the limitations of the instrument for mapping it (B.O.), in addition to the absence of data regarding the criminal investigation process (where certainly other situations of violence are loaded with intersectional narratives) and the need to categorize only the oppressions that are presented in a clear and objective way in the Police reports as cases of homophobia and/or transphobia.

3. Analysis and Discussions

After analyzing the data among the 305 cases of homotransphobia, it was possible to identify nine types of intersections, namely:

- Sexism, which is constituted as an oppression of the masculine in relation to the feminine, favoring the superiority of men (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999).
- Aporophobia, which corresponds to the fear or aversion to poor people, and consequently to their refusal (Cortina, 2017).
- Racism, which can be individual, institutional and cultural, consisting of discrimination based on social perceptions based on biological differences between peoples, because of their ethnicity or color; not being a single phenomenon, but with different racist manifestations, having as a common point the naturalization or “demonization” of a certain racial group as a function of another seen as superior (James, 1973).
- Serophobia, which is prejudice and discrimination manifested through fear, rejection, and discrimination against people living with the Human Immunodeficiency Virus - HIV (Contreiras, 2017).
- Fatphobia, which consists of aesthetic aversion and moral censorship to the physical and behavioral aspects associated with fat people (Sibilia, 2010).
- Prejudice and discrimination against people with disabilities, who are those who have long-term physical, mental, intellectual or sensory impairments, which, in interaction with one or more barriers, can obstruct their full and effective participation in society on an equal basis with other people (Brasil, 2015).
- Ageism, which consists of discrimination undertaken due to age, which is the decisive factor for its effectiveness, especially with the elderly (Goldani, 2010).
- Xenophobia, which can be understood as the behavior of aversion to foreigners, culminating in the denial or unreasonable restriction of the exercise of human (and fundamental) rights, followed by discrimination to the detriment of their nationality and/or place of birth (Vitorino & Vitorino, 2018).

From the data analyzed on Homotransphobia in the official records of Sergipe, it seems that sexism appeared in most of the reports, with 76 (58%) of the cases analyzed; soon after, comes aporophobia with 34 (26%); and then racism, with 13 (9.9%).

Religious intolerance appears in 8 cases (6.1%), followed by serophobia, with 7 cases (5.3%), and fatphobia with 3 cases (2.3%). The other oppressions, such as prejudice against people with disabilities and ageism, appear in 2 cases each, equivalent to 1.5% of the total.

And, finally, xenophobia was identified in just one case (0.8%). It is important to note that 9 cases point to 2 types of oppression in addition to homophobia and/or transphobia, among these, just one incidences of (fatphobia and ageism); (racism and aporophobia); (racism and religious intolerance); (aporophobia and racism); (sexism and racism); (religious intolerance and aporophobia); (sexism and fatphobia); (sexism and serophobia) and (sexism and xenophobia). In addition to these, 1 case presented 3 types of oppression (Racism, Aporophobia and Religious Intolerance).

¹⁰ We adopted the term “perpetrators of situations of violence”, replacing the terms “aggressors and/or executioners”, as we understand that the latter tend to legitimize a specific and non-transferable place for these subjects in society. Understanding that prejudice is something apprehended, aiming not to specify a place for those who carried out actions of violence, believing that they can change their postures and/or behaviors, in addition to realizing that they can often be their own victims.

¹¹ The cases of homotransphobia do not appear in these quantitative data as intersections, even considering their intersectional aspect, which presents violations against the sexual orientation and gender identity of their victims, they are the central cut of this study, and the intersectional analysis aimed to identify all other oppressions in addition to homophobia and transphobia present in the reports of the facts.

One of the biggest challenges when it comes to intersectionalities is precisely to understand their multiple and interrelated intricacies, which cannot be analyzed in an overlapping way, but as a system of oppressions, dominations that reflect the “intersection” of multiple forms of discrimination.

Thus, we do not intend here to carry out an intersectional quantitative survey of the 9 categories of oppression mapped in the Police Reports without bringing to light the existence of multiple systems of oppression and social markers that directly contribute to the existence of the many oppressions experienced by the diversity of the bodies analyzed here.

In order to better understand this phenomenon, we have provide below some fragments of cases of homophobic, transphobic and homotransphobic violence that have these intersections¹², starting with cases with situations of racism.

[...] they wrote several insulting offenses against the reporter's son, such as “ugly black of the cabrunco”, “sebum soul”, “vulture”, “faggot”, “donkey”, “macumba chicken”, “black and gay it's better to kill yourself”¹³, etc. [...] (B.O. No. 88, 2017).

The reporter declares that he was working, serving customers in his bar, when he was surprised by a police officer from the 8th battalion, NOTICIADO, who told him ‘turn off this disgrace! that the sound was turned off immediately and that the military police still pulled the sound wires along with the freezer. That the newscaster said to the policeman ‘so many vagabonds out there and you are embarrassing me in front of my clients because I am gay and black. I'm working’. The newscaster reports that the policeman replied ‘shut up disgrace of humanity, garbage of humanity, naughty faggot’¹⁴ and that the sound was put in the car and the policeman asked the newscaster to get his ID. That he complied with the request and when he went to get the ID, the policeman pointed a rifle at him, who handed his ID to the policeman and he said ‘you go along with the misfortune of your sound, you naughty black’, opening the door of the car, imagining that he would go in the car seat. [...] (B.O. No. 12, 2018).

He informs that he was at his mother-in-law's farm, on the day and hours mentioned above, when the NOTICIADA, known as [...] who is the wife of his brother-in-law [...], called the newscaster a ‘little black’, and completed by saying: by your color I know that you are a black, you transvestites¹⁵, then after the newscaster has gone home, the NEWSWORTHY 2 son of NOTICIADA, went to his door and told the declarant that he would no longer enter the farm if he was there, and called the declarant a black, [...] (B.O. nº 67, 2018).

The concept of racism in this article is understood, according to Almeida (2018, p. 25), as “a systematic form of discrimination that has race as its foundation, and that manifests itself through conscious or unconscious practices that culminate in disadvantages or privileges, depending on the racial group to which they belong” having a structural character in society.

Therefore, the inferiorization of black bodies that sustained a slavery in the past and had the anachronistic ideal of white supremacy is also present in the B.O. analyzed here, as in case No. 67/2018, when the victim alleges the abuse of power of the police officer (reported), by ordering, in the action of violence, that she remain silent, calling her “[...] misfortune of humanity, garbage of humanity, naughty faggot [...]” and/or “[...] black bastard [...]”.

Also like homotransphobia, racism presents itself through various aggressions directed against race and does so in an intersectional nature, affecting the sexual orientation and/or gender identity of non-white victims, such as case 56 of 2015, when the news claims that he feels sorry for the victim, wishing that she dies, calling her [...] little black deer! [...] (B.O. No. 56, 2015), or as stated in B.O. No. 12/2018, when the news [...] He called the newscaster a ‘little black’, and completed by saying: by your color I know that you are a black, you transvestite [...].

In addition to racism, sexism also presents itself as a type of prejudice and discrimination that is very present in the lives of women (trans and cis), as shown by the examples of fragments of the complaints analyzed below.

That she lived for nine months, as if she were married to the SUSPECT, and due to her aggressive temper and extreme jealousy, decided to separate two weeks ago, and has been suffering death threats. She reports that on 12/05/2016, she received a phone call from SUSPECT, who told her the following: “I'm going to run over you with the truck, I'm going to destroy your life, your job” reports that her ex-partner used to use derogatory words, making her take men and women as lovers, and on one occasion jealous of the friendship

¹² We underline the excerpts from the fragments that correspond to the oppressions analyzed in the aforementioned article in order to facilitate their identification to readers. All the narratives available here are reliable transcriptions of the SSP/SE B.O., where the identifications of the subjects and institutions involved in the complaints were removed, thus safeguarding the confidentiality of these data.

¹³ The slang term “cabrunco”, popular in Sergipe, derives from the term “symptomatic anthrax”, a disease that affects animals. “Alma sebosa” is used in the Northeast to describe people of bad character. “Vulture” is a racist expression that associates blacks with pejorative characteristics, while “chicken of macumba” is an insult that unites racism and religious intolerance, referring to the rituals of African-based religions.

¹⁴ “Veado”, as well as the variations “viado” and “viadinho”, is used in Brazil in a pejorative way to discriminate against homosexual men or people with behaviors that challenge cis-heteronormativity.

¹⁵ The term “transvestite” is used in a pejorative way to attack the victim's gender identity, associating it with an imposed “femininity”, which contrasts with her form of self-identification.

between the victim and two colleagues who are lesbians, made a scandal on a public road, calling her a “disgusting dyke¹⁶, you stopped staying with me to suck pussy¹⁷” [...] (B.O. n° 39, 2016).

The newscaster told her to work it out off the bus, but she kept verbally abusing her saying, ‘You’re a ‘naughty bitch’, you’re a ‘dyke’, you spread your legs to women because men don’t want you’. [...] (B.O. No. 69, 2017).

The reporter reports that last Saturday, she was with some friends at her residence and when almost everyone had left, only one friend remained, the subject named NOTICIADO, known as (...), arrived at the bar in front of the newscaster’s residence and began to curse the newscaster and her companion, shouting from the bar: ‘get out your ‘shoes’, you whores’, he also called ‘bitches’, ‘fuleiras¹⁸’, ‘it’s been a while since I want to get you’, among other curses [...] (B.O. n° 60, 2018).

The sexism resulting from a patriarchal culture, as an instrument used by men to guarantee gender differences, legitimized by attitudes of devaluation of the female sex, appears in the fragments of the previous B.O. (police reports) in an overt and oppressive way.

Terms such as “whore, piranha (manearer), slutty, naughty, dog”, among others, used to offend the honor of victims of homotransphobic violence, being directly aimed at the gender “condition” of the victims, in an attempt to disqualify the feminine.

According to Souza (2013), prejudice related to sex and gender is linked to the practice of domination and violent behaviors against women, which are structured throughout the course of human development, supported by legal, medical, and social mechanisms.

Like sexism, serophobia is another type of prejudice and discrimination present in cases of violence with homophobic and/or transphobic motivations. It is important to emphasize that in the seven cases that appear in situations of serophobia, in no situation do the victims claim to live with the HIV virus or to be suffering from AIDS, which reveals the presence of the strong stigma against LGBTQI+ people, associated in the 1980s and 1990s with the emergence of the well-known “gay plague” and/or “gay cancer”, a stigma that is still very present today. This whole scenario can be detected in the fragments of the police reports in question.

The reporter reports that he was at his home when the reporter sent him messages via WhatsApp through the number (...) with a homophobic and prejudiced nature, psychologically harassing him. According to the communicant, the news wrote to him in private messages saying ‘faggot’, ‘stick in the ass¹⁹’, ‘gay dead’, among others. In addition, the informant says that the reporter sent audios threatening ‘dead gay’ and saying that the informant has AIDS, ‘your AIDS is dead’, ‘your line is for a cocktail, mine is another’ (B.O. n° 8, 2017).

The speeches that the news outlet directs to the victim have characteristics of ‘bad language’. Examples: thief’; ‘: ‘who makes up stories for the neighborhood that he has HIV’; etc. [...] (B.O. No. 55, 2017).

The reporter reports that he constantly suffers embarrassment and moral offenses practiced by his aunt SUSPECT, who tells everyone that the reporter is HIV positive; that, on the day and time mentioned above, he was offended again by his aunt SUSPECT, who called him a ‘villain’, an ‘AIDS carrier’, in addition to having said that the declarant was transmitting the virus to everyone and that he had already passed the disease to three people; that, during the discussion, the SUSPECT also threatened to physically assault the declarant with a piece of wood; [...] (B.O. No. 84, 2017).

Serophobia, present in the complaints, is still a social problem that is very present in the lives of those who are diagnosed with HIV, or stigmatized as people living with HIV/AIDS when they threaten or break away from cis-heteronormativity.

Living with Sexually Transmitted Infections (STIs), and HIV/AIDS in particular, has often been associated with homoerotic sexual practices seen as “deviant” from social norms, such as homosexuality and bisexuality.

Even with all the advances in medicine regarding HIV treatment, HIV-positive people have a tendency to live with two types of disease: the disease itself, diagnosed and bringing psychophysiological consequences, and the disease related to prejudice and discrimination inserted in the experience of those who have been affected by the virus, therefore, these people suffer a double victimization, both because of the diagnosed illness and because of the stigmatization established (Gunther, 2013).

This reality is present in cases of homotransphobia, in which the reported agents associate the sexuality and/or gender identity of their victims with a serological condition in a strictly prejudiced, discriminatory and stigmatizing way.

This context recalls Brazil in 1980, with the spread of AIDS and its association with homosexuality²⁰, which was considered the “gay plague” or “gay cancer” as a conjectured punishment for the sinful lives of all those who broke with heteronormativity (Alós, 2019).

It is important to highlight that regardless of the serological condition of the victims of the cases reported in the SSP/SE (positive or negative), this situation highlights two important issues that must be analyzed: the first is the association that the news make between homosexuality, bisexuality, and transgender identities with the presence of HIV/AIDS, as a condition or consequence of behaviors and conducts recognized by

¹⁶ “Sapatão”, “sapatona” and “sapata” are pejorative expressions, used to discriminate against lesbian women or those perceived as masculinized, reinforcing gender stigmas.

¹⁷ Pussy is the pejorative way of referring to the female genital organ (vulva or vagina).

¹⁸ “Fuleira/o” is a pejorative term that designates people of bad character or who have sexual relations without commitment or responsibility, and is also associated with behaviors considered insignificant or vulgar.

¹⁹ “Pau no Cu”, pejoratively refers to the sexual act - referring to the introduction of the penis into the anus.

²⁰ It is important to emphasize that, in this time frame, issues of sexual orientation were directly related to gender identity, that is, there was still no debate that separated these specificities, the mention of the “gay plague” or “gay cancer” to homosexualities directly contemplated trans and non-cisgender identities.

them as “divergent” from the socially pre-established norms, associating these sexualities and gender identities with diseases.

And the second is the distortion between HIV and AIDS, which is present in the news reports rhetoric when associating a possible serological condition for HIV with the disease AIDS, highlighting a crucial lack of knowledge on the subject.

Another type of oppression found in police reports is aporophobia, which is very present in the capitalist society in which we live. We highlight below some fragments with these cases.

The complainant reports that he lives in a house inherited by his father; THAT for this reason your step-mother, SUSPECT, has been slandering him, calling him a ‘you are only good for getting old men to give you MONEY’ [...] (B.O. No. 18, 2015).

The victim reports that for six months she has been in a romantic relationship with VICTIM 2, and since the beginning of the relationship, the couple has been the victim of homophobia practiced by her partner’s relatives, who do not agree with the relationship, and that is why they threw him from the house where he lived, which is why three months ago, they started to live together, starting to suffer embarrassment, to the extent that they are cursed as ‘naughty faggots, drug dealers, son of a bitch, this son of the cabrunco spoiled our family’, through phone calls and messages on social networks, where death threats are also made, with phrases such as ‘faggot has to die, you deserve a shot in the forehead’. The victim informs that the relatives of VICTIM 2 make comments in the neighborhood, which denigrate his image, since they have no involvement with drug trafficking, and survive on the salaries of the communicant, who is pulled over by the INSS. (...) (B.O. No. 11/2017).

Aporophobia is a phenomenon that is still hardly studied in society, and its presence in the cases analyzed highlights the need for investigations on the subject, and this type of prejudice is an important “watershed”, since the income cut is configured as a type of fundamental capital for the process of autonomy and/or economic dependence of the victims of homotransphobic violence by the perpetrators of the situations of violence.

In the cases highlighted above, discriminatory statements such as “poor”, “you’re only good for getting old men to give you money” and “that you are backed by the INSS” (the latter refers to the National Institute of Social Security, which provides labor and social security rights to its insured persons), mention prejudice related to the socioeconomic condition of the victim, aiming to offend him.

This reality shows that the categories class, gender, sexual orientation and gender identity are constantly interconnected and must be analyzed in a transversal and intersectional way.

Another type of prejudice little studied in contemporary times is fatphobia. This also presents itself as a significant oppression established by socioculturally constructed rules and norms.

The term “fat”, used in the following case to disqualify the victim’s body and sexual orientation, carries with it the socially pre-established prejudice, which places the victim’s body in a place of “imperfection” or “inadequacy” in the face of what is considered an accepted and admirable social model.

The victim reports that he is homosexual and that he is the Coordinator and Representative of the Coalition (...), that regardless of this he was already part of the group (...) on social networks. That on the day, time, and place mentioned above, he received an audio message from Mr. SUSPECT 1 in which he defamed him as a fat, threatening him where he said that the communicant should prepare for when he met him. That Mr. SUSPECT 2 called him a country, that you (his friend) were the faggot’s dog. He also said that the victim, who is a well-known teacher in the city, felt humiliated and discriminated against because his students know him and some are part of this group. (...) (B.O. No. 23, 2016).

The cases of fatphobia present in the police reports highlighted above are concrete examples of a type of discrimination that directly affects the self-esteem of its victims, and can cause various personal and social consequences. Like homotransphobia, fatphobia is the result of the process of social construction defined by norms, habits, social symbols, which are not questioned by society (they are automatically complied with) and reproduced by institutions in a systematic and structural way.

Thus, according to Young (2000), fatphobia operates as a system of oppression, and refers to the discrimination that fat people are subjected to, from humiliation, inferiorization, ridicule, pathologization and exclusion. This type of prejudice can only be deconstructed by breaking stereotypes and stigmas about these bodies, making them as natural and acceptable as their opposites.

Case 23/2016, in addition to fatphobia, also brings the presence of ageism as discrimination undertaken due to the age of the victim, when it is highlighted in the B.O. (police report) that:

(...) Added by PUBLIC OFFICER - 06/09/2016 at 16:00 that the person who threatened the complainant was not SUSPECT 1, but SUSPECT 2 that it was SUSPECT 1 who posted an audio message in a WhatsApp group referring to the complainant as “Fat, old and scumbag” and soon after he posted another audio message in which he speaks untruths about the complainant (...) (B.O. n° 23/2016).

Ageism is also present in case 22/2016, when a trans person mistakenly read by the civil police as homosexual is offended by “Old, Ugly” by the News, as can be seen in the following report:

The complainant reports that on the day, time and place mentioned above, he was verbally assaulted by a citizen named SUSPECT, (better known as GOVERNMENT NAME) because he is homosexual just

like the complainant; that SUSPECT 1 called him an old, ugly, ugly²¹ and several nicknames such as gasparzinho, caranguejo (crab) among other improprieties; that he is not satisfied with these verbal assaults and the SUSPECT is still threatening him with death; that all the aggressions were made through messages sent by WhatsApp; that has audios and messages written on WhatsApp; that he wishes to serve the SUSPECT criminally; (...) (B.O. No. 22/2016).

It is important to analyze that the condition of the victim (10-year-old child with disabilities) becomes vulnerable targets of violence and discrimination by the perpetrators of the situations of violence, since in addition to homophobia, the oppression against the victim's disability is an important variable to be highlighted and emphasized in this case.

Considering the aggressions, the limitations of the victim's responses and the consequences of these recurrent acts in the lives of those who suffered the aggressions, when we detect that: "it is not the first time that 'news assaults VICTIM'". This context is repeated in case 69/2018, when the victim, a 14-year-old boy with hydrocephalus, suffers several situations of homophobic violence at school.

The complainant reports that she has a 14-year-old adolescent son, named VICTIM with hydrocephalus, who is studying at the school mentioned above. The communicant says that on the 23rd of this month, when he arrived at the school to pick up the victim, he was called to the coordination where he was informed that 2 students who study at the school, were verbally assaulting, with curses and threats to the victim. That the student named SUSPECT 1 when he bumped into the victim cursed the same as a faggot, then the SUSPECT student 2 who were participating in a group of students who were mocked and causing a racket, approached the victim and made obscene gestures and even ordered him to take²² his dick. That SUSPECT student 3, called the victim a deer, and said that he had to die and SUSPECT student 4, took a chair and threatened to throw it at the victim and also called him a. According to a report given by the school. Nothing more, it requests the measures that the case requires (B.O No. 69/2018).

Cases in which the victims of homophobia are people with disabilities have recidivism as a hallmark of incidences of violence committed against these types of victims. In addition to this factor, we have as a form of violence the use of promiscuous acts against these victims as a form of violence (an occurrence which is not common in other cases in which the victims do not have disabilities), highlighted through the reports: "That the news said the following: that he was going to put his penis in the VICTIM's anus", "approached the victim and made obscene gestures and even ordered him to take his dick".

This whole context reaffirms the vulnerability of these victims and the intentional oppression against the physical and/or mental condition of those people, intentionally appropriated by the perpetrators of the situations of violence as conditions that "facilitate" the implementation of certain actions of violence recurrently.

This scenario objectively points to the need to debate these issues in depth in the various socio-occupational spaces in the struggle to prevent and confront these types of intersectional oppressions.

In addition to these oppressions related to the physical characteristics of the victims, we have the presence of oppressions directed at the religious option of people that differ from hegemonic patterns in society. Religious intolerance is presented as another type of discrimination in police reports focused on religions of African origin, as can be analyzed in the following reports.

The complainant states that on the day and the time mentioned above, a lady known as SUSPECT (who lives in the (...) and works in the (...)) started cursing the complainant calling him a faggot in the middle of the street to several people and that she was going to 'hit the complainant in the face'; that the reason for this was that the NEWS REPORT thought that the news agent put a macumba doll in the corn stall that the NEWS REPORT owns; that the news report that the information is not true and that it was just a child's doll; [...] (B.O. No. 18, 2018).

In the case of No. 53/2018, religious intolerance and homophobia appear as central motivations for the action of violence. This situation reaffirms the correlation of the intersectional oppressions experienced by its victims arising from different and transversal social markers.

Therefore, it is not worth discussing here which type of oppression had more or less influence the situation where violence occurred, whether it was the victim's sexual orientation or religion.

What needs to be emphasized are the various social markers of these agents, as well as the presence of the various oppressions constructed and reproduced from the socio-historically defined norms, standards and symbols, which enable places of vulnerability and privilege. This reality can be observed in the following case, which deals with xenophobic intersections.

The complainant states that she is the mother of the VICTIM, who is 33 years old, born on 26/04/1982. THAT her daughter married the individual (Name of the victim's husband) in April/2015, a Pakistani citizen, of Muslim religion; THAT after the marriage that took place in Brazil, the couple traveled to the United States, where they also formalized the civil union; That after that the (victim's husband) went to Saudi Arabia and the VICTIM returned to Brazil, as he did not yet have an immigration visa; That after

²¹ "Bicha" is a pejorative term directed at homosexual men, especially those with characteristics associated with femininity, evidencing prejudice and social repression against gender expressions and diverse sexual orientations.

²² "Pau", pejorative term to name the male sexual organ - Penis.

the visa was granted, the VICTIM traveled on 14/06/2015 to the city of (...) capital of Saudi Arabia, where she met with (her husband). That shortly there after the VICTIM's landing in Saudi Arabia, the (victim's husband) was surprised by defamatory photographs and comments published on the social network Facebook.com, disseminated through the fake profile (fake profile name) URL (fake profile address). Which are photographs of the declarant's daughter next to the person named (name of the friend of the victim's daughter), who was her friend, and even came to reside in the same student republic, accompanied by defamatory comments about the sexual orientation and nationality of the VICTIM. THAT after the dissemination of these photographs and comments, his daughter was accused of homosexuality and prostitution, conduct considered criminal in Saudi Arabia, punishable by the death penalty by decapitation (...) (B.O. n° 17, 2017).

The report presents a homophobic and xenophobic situation, highlighting nationality and sexual orientation as motivations for the aggressions suffered by the victim who, specifically in this case could suffer serious punishment considering the criminalization of homosexuality in the country in which he resides.

The present reality reiterates the social character of homophobia, when a heterosexual victim suffers this type of oppression not being an LGBTQI+ person, pointing to the need to recognize homotransphobia as a social problem and not individualized of certain groups or subjects.

The prejudiced and discriminatory actions that result in the situations occurrences of violence studied here are presented in a subtle or manifest in the speeches and actions of those reported against their victims, affecting other particularities that are read as social markers of vulnerability.

Occurrence Reports (B.O.) No. 17/2017, referring to the sexist intersection, objectively shows that the victim's NATIONALITY marker is paramount to making her more vulnerable, which is one of the strategies studied by the Reported Party, according to the Complainant, to reach her and make her more vulnerable, since homosexuality is criminalized in Saudi Arabia:

[...] the SUSPECT frequented the complainant's house, and even used to use the computer to access the internet, who on these occasions realized that the SUSPECT showed a lot of interest in the culture and legislation of Saudi Arabia, including researching on the internet about the sharia (Islamic law), knowing about the consequences suffered if she was accused of homosexuality or prostitution [...] (B.O. n. 17/2017).

The debate here does not turn to a quantitative logic, which measures levels of suffering in relation to these agents. What we have identified, in cases where intersections appear, is that the mention of a certain characteristic, condition or behavior of the victims in a discriminatory way, only exists due to the non-"acceptance" of that specificity and/or particularity by the news reporter; and this is only possible because of the way that society overvalues men to the detriment of women, whites over blacks, citizens over foreigners, among others, that is, "One of the reasons why intersectionality is a challenge is that, frankly, it addresses differences within differences" (Crenshaw, 2002, p. 9).

4. Conclusions

After analyzing the various oppressions that were present in the cases of homophobic and/or transphobic violence against sexual and gender diversity reported in the SSP/SE, we corroborate Collins' (2020) conceptions by highlighting that intersectionality is an analytical tool that considers the categories race, class, gender, sexual orientation, nationality, ability, ethnicity, and age group – among others, interrelationally and mutually shaping.

Intersectional analysis must consider, in addition to the specificities and particularities of the subjects who are victims of various social oppressions, the power relations that influence social relations in a society marked by diversity and individual experiences in the lives of the subjects, in other words, "Intersectionality is a way of understanding and explaining the complexity of the world, of people and human experiences" (Collins, 2020, p. 16).

In this way, it is possible to identify that in contemporary society, power relations involving race, class, and gender, for example, do not manifest themselves as distinct and mutually exclusive entities. According to Collins (2020), these categories are related, presenting themselves in a unified way, affecting all aspects of social life.

This whole scenario is present in the cases highlighted in this article when we analyze that the nine intersectional oppressions are transversal to homophobic and/or transphobic violence that affect different victims, causing numerous consequences in the lives of these people and of non-victim newsmen, such as their families and friends.

It is important to note that the search source of these cases in the SSP/SE system did not have any direct correlation with keywords that directly corroborated with the mapping of cases of ageism, aporophobia, fatphobia, prejudice against people with disabilities, racism, sexism, serophobia and xenophobia.

The emergence of this data, which points to the existence, in many cases of recurrence (thus feeding the cycle of underreporting and the revictimization of these victims), of intersectional oppressions, only reaffirms the inseparability of these oppressions in the incidences of violence reported by the journalists and signals the importance of an inclusive and comprehensive debate on these issues.

It is necessary to look at homophobia, transphobia, racism, serophobia, sexism as well as all other oppressions, as a social problem that affects everyone without restricting and fragmenting struggles for specific individuals and/or communities, in other words, we need to join forces to draw actions to prevent and

confront these forms of oppression, since the intersectional analysis in question here shows us that social inequalities, beyond the exclusive lenses of race, class and gender, cannot be disassociated, presenting themselves as interactions between the various categories of power existing in society, affecting all subjects.

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