ALTERNAUTAS

(Re)Searching Development: The Abya Yala Chapter

Vol.11 – Issue 2 [December 2024]

Black LGBTQIA+ Political Subjectivities in *the Roma Negra*: On Black LGBTQIA+ Political Resistance in Salvador, Bahia, Brazil

Jaimee Swift

James Madison University / Black Women Radicals

Accepted: 16 December 2024 / Published online: 16 December 2024

How to cite: Swift J. (2024), Black LGBTQIA+ Political Subjectivities in the Roma Negra: On Black LGBTQIA+ Political Resistance in Salvador, Bahia, Brazil. *Alternautas,* 11(2), 35-61. DOI: 10.31273/z656ac30.

University of Warwick Press
http://www.alternautas.net

ISSN - 2057-4924

Jaimee Swift[1]

Black LGBTQIA+ Political Subjectivities in the Roma Negra: On Black LGBTQIA+ Political Resistance in Salvador, Bahia, Brazil

Abstract: This article examines the politics of Black LGBTQIA+ resistance against multiform violence in Salvador, Bahia, Brazil. Nicknamed the Roma Negra (Black Rome) due to having the second largest Black population in the world, Salvador, the capital city of the northeastern state of Bahia, has disproportionate rates of LGBTQIA+ violence. This article offers various case studies on how Black LGBTQIA+ activists and civil society and non-governmental organizations in Salvador politically organize, negotiate, and transform space, and combat non-citizenship and subordination since Brazil's redemocratization.

Keywords: Black LGBTQIA+, Salvador, Brazil, Political Resistance, Black Feminism, Violence against Black LGBTQIA+ People

[1] Jaimee Swift has a Ph.D. in Political Science from Howard University and is an Assistant Professor of Political Science at James Madison University. She is the executive director, creator, and founder of Black Women Radicals, a Black feminist advocacy organization dedicated to uplifting and centering Black women and gender expansive people's radical activism in Africa and in the African Diaspora. She is also the creator and founder of The School for Black Feminist Politics (SBFP), the Black feminist political education arm of Black Women Radicals. As a political and cultural custodian dedicated to uncovering, restoring, and restituting Black women and gender expansive people's political memories, movements, narratives, and leadership, Swift works with Black feminist-activists, organizers, scholars, and educators from around the world to explore and expand on the power, possibilities, and futurity of Black feminisms.

Introduction: Fighting For Their Lives: Black LGBTQIA+ Violence in Salvador, Bahia, Brazil

In the early morning of June 24, 2012, Black twin brothers, José Leandro and José Leonardo da Silva were brutally attacked after leaving a party in Camaçari, a city located in Salvador's greater metropolitan region (Coelho, 2012). Nicknamed the *Roma Negra* (Black Rome), Salvador is the capital city of the northeastern state of Bahia and has the second largest Black population in the world, with Lagos, Nigeria having the first (Perry, 2013, p. 5).[2] While walking-arm-in-arm down a street, a group of eight men on a bus saw the twins. Jumping off the bus, the eight men violently ambushed the brothers, mistaking them for a gay couple (Décimo, 2012). Although José Leonardo fought back, he was hit in the head with a cobblestone and died at the scene. He was 22 years-old. José Leandro suffered a broken jaw in three places and had to have extensive surgery (Coelho, 2012) (Décimo, 2012). The attackers fled the scene; however, some of the perpetrators were arrested and charged by the police.

José Leandro, in an interview with Brazilian media outlet, *O Globo*, shared what he thought prompted the attack:

> "I felt my heart stop, I felt like I had lost something. My sister told me I had to be strong…my brother was everything to me, a companion, a friend…I think it was homophobia, they thought we were gay, but I don't understand, we were identical twins, it was evident that we were brothers. I just put my hand on his shoulder…"(Coelho, 2012).

Marcelo Cerqueira, a Black Brazilian gay activist and president of *Grupo Gay da Bahia* (Gay Group of Bahia–GGB)—the oldest non-governmental organization for LGBTQIA+ rights in Latin America, founded in Salvador—noted the attack against the twin brothers is symptomatic of anti-LGBTQIA+ discrimination in Brazilian society: "This case shows how dangerous it is to be homosexual and show affection in public. We condemn the situation and call attention to the approval of [a] law that

[2] Salvador is nicknamed the *Roma Negra* or "Black Rome", not only because of its large Black population but because of the prominence of the Black Brazilian religion Candomblé, which according to Sheila S. Walker "...is the religion that provides the spiritual foundation and superstructure of Bahian life" (Walker, 1990, p. 103). More specifically, the global furtherance of Salvador as the "Black Rome" was advanced by Candomblé priestess, Mother Eugênia Anna Santos, more popularly known as Mãe Aninha, who established the *terreiro* (Candomblé temple) Ilê Axé Opó Afonjá in the Cabula neighborhood of Salvador in 1910 (Andreson, 2020, pgs. 9-10) (Swift, 2021, pgs. 172-173).

makes homophobia a crime in Brazil. Until this happens, many cases will be repeated" (Meneses, 2012).

On August 24, 2012, two months after the brutal beating of José Leandro and José Leonardo, another fatal attack occurred in Camaçari, this time against Black lesbians, Laís Fernanda Pereira dos Santos, 25, and Maiara Dias de Jesus, 22. The couple, while walking hand-in-hand down the street, were shot dead. The police ruled the gunshots were from a single shooter, who had not been identified (Garcia, 2012). Family members of the victims believe the shooting was motivated by homophobia, with Laís's stepfather, Edenil Nunes dos Santos, stating: "That's the only reason, because they weren't involved with drugs or had any problems with anyone. It couldn't have been a coincidence" (Garcia, 2012).

Another case that shocked the city was the stabbing of Djeane Ferreira Lima and Daiane Almeida dos Santos, a Black lesbian couple who lived in Vila Coração de Jesus, a neighborhood in São Cristóvão, a district in Salvador (Jornal Correiro, 2012). On the night of October 16, 2012, Ferreira Lima and Almeida dos Santos had an argument with a neighbor by the name of Alan, who reportedly made lesbophobic remarks about them. Around 10:30 p.m., Alan and an unidentified man invaded the couple's home and attacked them with knives. Ferreira Lima died from her stab wounds. She was 19 years-old. Almeida dos Santos, 22, was stabbed in her head, face, left arm, and chin but survived the attack (Jornal Correiro, 2012). Lúcia Barbosa, who at the time was head of Bahia's State Secretariat for Women's Policies, in response to the attack stated: "...the violence observed in these acts is worthy of repudiation by all people who preserve the right to freedom and gender equality. This reflects how much *machismo* is still present in our daily lives, in addition to the way women are viewed by a large part of society, seen as individuals without rights" (iBahia, 2012).[3]

On November 14, 2018, Raphaela Souza, a Black transsexual woman[4] and LGBTQIA+ activist, was murdered with three shots to the head in Vitória da Conquista, a municipality located in southwest Bahia (Bahiano & da Costa Lima,

[3] Barbosa's statement was also in response to a court case that occurred in Monte Santo, a municipality in Bahia, where "...a family lost custody of their children after a decision by a local judge…" (iBahia, 2012).

[4] The usage of transsexual and homosexual are commonplace in Brazil. According to the *Associação Nacional de Travestis e Transexuais* (National Association of Travestis and Transsexuals) (ANTRA), transsexual women are "...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" (Benevides & Bonfim Nogueira, 2019, p. 10).

2019). The chief delegate of the Homicide Police Station refused to declare Souza a victim of transphobia and instead said her death was related to drug trafficking (Bahiano & da Costa Lima, 2019). In an interview with *Avoador*, Black Brazilian lesbian feminist and historian Kêu Souza, refuted the chief delegate's claim, and instead, reinforced that Souza's death was a direct result of transphobia:

> "Brazil is the country in the world that kills the most LGBT[QIA+] people. Bahia is in third place (in absolute numbers) among the states, and in Vitória da Conquista, it is no different. These girls suffer from social abandonment, are excluded from the job market and also from school. The only thing left for them to survive is the street, and they end up getting involved in prostitution and drug trafficking" (Bahiano & da Costa Lima, 2019).[5]

While these cases of anti-LGBTQIA+ murders took place in Salvador in 2012 and 2018, what Kêu Souza emphasized still holds true: as Brazil still is the number one country that kills LGBTQIA+ people the most and Salvador and Bahia and were one of the most dangerous cities and states for LGBTQIA+ communities in 2023 and 2022 (O Globo, 2024) (Marques, 2023).

Theoretical Frameworks and Methodology

This work examines how Black LGBTQIA+ activists and civil society and non-governmental organizations politically resist multiform violence in Salvador, Bahia, since Brazil's redemocratization in the 1980s.[6] Defining political resistance, I take after Hanes Walton's definition of Black politics, and examine the various ways Black LGBTQIA+ communities "...employ political activities, methods, devices, and techniques that would advance their policy preferences…based on the particular brand of segregation in which [they] find themselves in" (Walton, 1972, pgs. 11-12). More specifically, I interrogate how Black LGBTQIA+ activists utilize reformist-based political resistance methods to foster and strengthen their policy preferences and social inclusion at local, state, and national levels, in attempts to reify their citizenship and humanity (Spillers, 1987, p. 67, 76, 80) (Alves, 2018, pgs. 8,12). Sampada Aranke examines reformist-based political resistance methods, noting that "...while reformist approaches often critique inequality, these initiatives enhance state

[5] In 2019, a report by Grupo Gay da Bahia showed that Bahia was the third state with the most violent LGBTQIA+ deaths in the country (Bahia Notícias, 2019).

[6] I take after ANTRA's usage of LGBTQIA+ (Lesbians, Gays, Bisexuals, Travestis, Transsexuals, Transgender, Queer, Intersex, and Asexual) to honor and affirm the language used to categorize gender and sexual identities in Brazil (Benevides B. G., 2024).

power, thus fortifying the very racist structures, logics, and affects that make anti[B]lackness an enduring force…" (Aranke, 2017).

Although Aranke's assessment of reformist-based political engagement focused on the United States, this can also be applied to the Brazilian context, as there have been a series of legislative reforms passed in regard to racial, gender, and sexual rights. However, in spite of these reforms, Brazil has one of the highest rates of anti-LGBTQIA+ violence in the world, which I examine in more detail in the next section. Aranke's offerings on reformist-based political resistance also reinforce what Global South, decolonial feminist scholar Ochy Curiel highlights as the refusal of the State to truly incorporate Black, Indigenous, and LGBTQIA+ populations as citizen and human, despite its promotion of multicultural, democratic space, and inclusion (Curiel, 2021).

Although reformist-based political resistance methods—like revolutionary ones—have its limitations, it is imperative to interrogate the political resistance of Black LGBTQIA+ communities for several reasons. From 1964 to 1985, Brazil was governed by a military dictatorship, which not only suppressed political participation but targeted communities who did not conform to cis-heternormativity (Quinalha, 2020). From 1974 to 1989, the country went through *abertura política* (political opening), a period of redemocratization, which subsequently ended military rule; saw the institution of a new constitution in 1988 that affirmed human rights and citizenship across race, class, sexuality, and gender; and ushered in democratic elections (Dixon, 2016, p. 126) (Wampler, 2012, p. 342). Thus, the emergence of civil society organizations and social movements during this time period ushered in a new age of citizen engagement and allowed "…civil society activists [to] [reposition] themselves in the new participatory governance architecture in order to continue their efforts to empower citizens, expand rights, and hold local states accountable" (Wampler, 2012, p. 345).

Salvador is an important locale to examine Black LGBTQIA+ political subjectivities, not only because of its sizable Black population, but because it was where Portuguese imperial rule and slavocracy began, as the city was the first capital of Brazil from 1549 to 1763. Brazil was the last country in the Western hemisphere to abolish slavery in 1888. Thus, it was in Salvador where the Portuguese imperial state apparatus established and propagated de jure and de facto racialized, gendered, sexualized, and classed social orders. Here, I utilize case studies, document research, and content and textual analyses as methodologies to showcase Black LGBTQIA+ political resistance and leadership in Salvador in advancing reformist-based, participatory agendas against multiform state and structural violence. I specifically analyze Black

LGBTQIA+ political leadership in Salvador from the 1980s to present-day, although some of the organizations examined in this article are no longer active.

In defining state and structural violence, I make use of Ruth Blakeley and Alison Rutherford's analyses (Blakeley, 2012) (Rutherford, et.al, 2007). According to Blakeley, state violence or state terrorism can be examined in four elements: "1) There must be a deliberate act of violence against individuals that the state has a duty to protect, or a threat of such an act if a climate of fear has already been established through preceding acts of state violence; 2) The act must be perpetrated by actors on behalf of or in conjunction with the state, including paramilitaries and private security agents; 3) The act or threat of violence is intended to induce extreme fear in some target observers who identify with that victim; and 4) The target audience is forced to consider changing their behavior in some way" (Blakeley, 2012, pgs. 3-4). Structural Violence "refers to the physical and psychological harm that result from exploitative and unjust social, political and economic systems" (Rutherford, A., Zwi, A. B., Grove, N. J., & Butchart, A., 2007). Moreover, "[s]tructural violence is, however, often most pervasive because of its invisibility: "embedded in ubiquitous social structures (and) normalized by stable institutions and regular experience…structural inequities usually seem ordinary"' (Rutherford, A., Zwi, A. B., Grove, N. J., & Butchart, A., 2007).

Intersectionality, coined by U.S. Black feminist legal theorist Kimberlé W. Crenshaw, offers an analysis of the limitations of U.S. judicial systems, mainstream feminism, and anti-racism movements in viewing the identities of Black women from "...single issue analyses" instead of cross-cutting (Crenshaw, 1989) (Swift, 2021, pgs. 79-80). While intersectionality is important to the Black feminist canon, knowledge, and political productions from the Global North—particularly U.S.-based, English-speaking perspectives—are overwhelmingly centered and reinforced in citational and political practices (Smith, 2016). For example, Black Brazilian feminist, activist, and scholar Lélia Gonzalez's theory of Amefricanidade laid the groundwork for centralizing decolonial Black and Indigenous feminist traditions in Brazil and across the Americas. In her essay, "Por um Feminismo Afro Latino Americano" (1988), she advances interventions to interrogate Black and Indigenous women's political struggles for liberation. Critiquing mainstream, White Latin American feminism in excluding the livelihoods and leadership of Black and Indigenous women, she analyzes how racism, sexism, and colonialism impact these communities. Here, Gonzalez coined the term *Amefricanidade*, defining it as a "historic process of intense cultural dynamic (resistance, accommodation, reinterpretation, creation of new forms) referenced in African models that shape the construction of an ethnic identity. The value of this category is in fact to rescue a specific unity, historically forged in the interior of different societies that are formed in a certain part of the world"

(Gonzalez, 1988) (Perry & Sotero, 2017, p. 62). An important aspect of *Amefricanidade* is Gonzalez's emphasis on the vitality and resilience of African culture, which she argues has shaped Brazilian culture.

Curiel critiques intersectionality, offering that the theory does not consider the enduring effects of colonialism and imperialism in shaping race, ethnicity, class, gender, sexuality, citizenship, and geopolitics in Latin America and the Caribbean (Curiel, 2021). Here, Curiel advances a decolonial feminist perspective to account for these power dynamics. In this work, I utilize Gonzalez and Curiel's decolonial feminist perspectives to both center and further highlight the constraints of Black LGBTQIA+ activists and civil society and non-governmental organizations in resisting multiform state and structural violence and negotiating space and power in Salvador.

The Veneer of Inclusion as State and Structural Violence Against Black LGBTQIA+ Communities in Brazil

Similar to Brazil's advancement of the myth of racial democracy—which promoted the idea that race relations in Brazil were harmonious due to *mestiçagem* (miscegenation) of its Amerindian (Indigenous), African, and European populations—the country also bolsters an aesthetic of sexual and gender inclusivity, which is reproduced in global imagery, events, and legislation (Encarnación, 2016, p. 151-152) (Hernández, 2015) According to Omar G. Encarnación, since 1830, homosexuality in Brazil has been decriminalized, "...a first for a nation in the Western Hemisphere, shortly after the country gained its independence from Portugal" (Encarnación, 2016, p. 152) (Swift, 2021, p. 140). Brazil was at the forefront of the HIV/AIDS epidemic, with the passage of Law No. 9.313, signed in November 1996 by President Fernando Henrique Cardoso, which guaranteed free, universal access to antiretroviral therapy to Brazilians with HIV/AIDS (Parker, 2020).

In 1985, not only did the *Partido dos Trabalhadores* (Workers' Party) (PT) become the "first political party in Latin America to declare its support for the LGBT[QIA+] community", that same year, "the Brazilian Medical Association removed homosexuality from its list of disorders (a decision that came years before the World

Health Organization took a similar step" (Encarnación, 2016, pgs. 152-153).[7] In 2004, the federal government created the national program, *Brasil Sem Homofobia* (Brazil Without Homophobia) (Allen, 2015, p. 36). In 2009, Brazil broke the Guinness World Record of having the largest Pride parade in the world, in São Paulo, with more than 3 million participants (Encarnación, 2016, pgs. 152, 158). However, during Pride that year, a homemade bomb exploded in Largo do Arouche, a plaza in central São Paulo, and injured 21 people (Encarnación, 2016, pgs. 152, 158) (Americas Quarterly, 2009). On June 13, 2019, "...Brazil's Supreme Federal Court officially made homophobia and transphobia—locally known as *LGBTphobia*—a crime and outlawed discrimination based on sexual orientation and gender identity" (Swift, 2019). Several scholars have written about the history and militancy of LGBTQIA+ movements in Brazil and how their organizing has been central advancing reforms in fighting against queerphobic and transphobic violence (Aguião, 2018) (Green, 2018) (Pereira, 2017).

Since Brazil's redemocratization, the city of Salvador and the state of Bahia have passed critical LGBTQIA+ legislative and social actions. In 1990, Salvador became "the first city in Latin America to prohibit discrimination based on sexual orientation in the Municipal Organic Law, [which was] followed by 72 more municipalities" (Grupo Dignidade, 2008, p. 45). On September 9, 1997, Law 5.275 was passed in Salvador, which "institutes penalties for the practice of discrimination based on sexual orientation…" (ABGLT Website). In April 2010, Bahia's Supreme Court of Justice permitted the adoption of a child to a lesbian couple (Consultor Jurídico, 2010). Since October 2012, same-sex civil marriage has been recognized by the state (O Globo, 2012). In 2014, the Center for Public Policies on Citizenship and LGBT Rights was established, which is a municipal organ to combat *LGBTphobia* at the legislative and grassroots levels (Moreno, 2017) (Correio24, 2014) (Swift, 2021, p. 223). In October 2020, the *Teu Nascimento* (Law No. 291/17) was sanctioned, a municipal law that fines establishments and revokes permits for discriminating against LGBTQIA+ people (Swift, 2021, p. 190) (O Globo, 2020).

Teu Nascimento was named in honor of Thadeu Nascimento (known as Teu), a 24-year-old Black transgender man who was fatally shot in the São Cristóvão neighborhood of Salvador in 2017 (O Globo, 2017). According to reports, drug trafficker Julimar da Paixão Pereira (known as Lenga) admitted to having Nascimento murdered, as he believed he was a police informant (Wendel, 2017). In 2022, the

[7] While the PT was a forerunner in openly supporting the LGBTQIA+ community, there were internal issues among its members regarding whether to put homosexuality on their political agenda. In her autobiography, Benedita da Silva, the first Black woman senator and governor in Brazil, discussed ideological divides in the PT on LGBTQIA+ rights (Silva, B. 1997, p. 96).

Legislative Assembly of Bahia approved the *Millena Passos Bill* (Law 22.845/2018), which expands the *Teu Nascimento* law to the state level (O Globo, 2022).The bill is named after Millena Passos. Born in Salvador, Passos is the first transgender woman to work at the Secretariat for Women's Policies in Bahia (Rodrigues, 2018). Passos, in an interview with *O Globo*, spoke about how disproportionately Black LGBTQIA+ people are impacted by violence in the country: "It is important that I also pull Black women, like me, in this fight against *machismo* in order to minimize these risks. Black LGBT[QIA+]s are the ones who die the most in Brazil. It worries me a lot" (Rodrigues, 2018).

Despite "inclusion" and reforms at legislative and social levels, Brazil is the country that kills the most LGBTQIA+ people in the world and has held this position for many years (Kwong, 2016). According to a 2024 report by *Grupo Gay da Bahia* (GGB), in 2023, the country had 257 LGBTQIA+ murders, "...one more than the number recorded in 2022 (O Globo, 2024). The GGB report indicated that out of the 257 victims, "...127 were *travestis*[8] and transgender, 118 were gay, 9 were lesbians and 3 were bisexual" (O Globo, 2024).[9] The report also ranked the states with the most LGBTQIA+ deaths, with the top four being: São Paulo, Minas Gerais, Rio de Janeiro, and Bahia (O Globo, 2024). Salvador was ranked as the fourth most violent city for LGBTQIA+ people in the country (O Globo, 2024). In 2022, Bahia was the state that killed the most LGBTQIA+ people (Marques, 2023).

In comparison to GGB's 2024 report, data from the *Associação Nacional de Travestis e Transexuais* (National Association of Travestis and Transsexuals) (ANTRA), showed there were at least 145 *travestis*, transsexuals, and transgender people murdered in 2023, which is on average, one murder every three days (Custódio & Fonseca, 2024) (Benevides B. G., 2024, p. 43-44). ANTRA's report found that São Paulo had the highest number of *travestis*, transsexual, and transgender murders in 2023 (Benevides B. G., 2024, pgs. 47-48). Bahia ranked sixth overall, with 10 murders, which was an increase from 2022, from 7 murders (Benevides B. G., 2024, pgs. 47-48). However, in 2021, Bahia was the second state with the most deaths of *travestis*, transsexuals, and transgender people (O Globo, 2022) (Benevides B. G., 2024, pgs. 47-48).

[8] According to ANTRA, *travestis* are "...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" (Benevides & Bonfim Nogueira, 2019, p. 10).

[9] The GGB report also indicated there was "...an underreporting rate, since sexual orientation, or identity is often omitted in funeral publications" (O Globo, 2024).

As Passos noted, the victims of LGBTIQIA+ murders are overwhelmingly *preto* (Black) and *pardo* (Brown or a mixed-race with African ancestry).[10] While data from GGB shows that *branco* (White)[11] LGBTQIA+ communities represent the majority of LGBTQIA+ people in the country (14.39 percent), if LGBTQIA+ *pardos* (10.50 percent) and *pretos* (10.89 percent) were combined, they would constitute the majority of the LGBTQIA+ population at 21.39 percent (O Globo, 2024). Given that IGBE does not conduct reports on violence against the LGBTQIA+ population, civil society, and non-governmental organizations such as GGB and ANTRA, must initiate these studies "...based on information gathered from the media, Internet research sites, and correspondence…" and "...is carried out without government funding, by volunteers" (O Globo, 2024).[12]

Blakeley's definition of state violence can be applied here, as the Brazilian State refuses to enact official reporting on LGBTQIA+ hate crimes and murders, despite having a duty to protect and advance the rights of *all* of its citizens (Blakeley, 2012, pgs. 3-4). Rutherford's definition of structural violence can also be applied as well, as the Brazilian State's political apathy towards its LGBTQIA+ denizens manifests institutionally and societally, thus, making LGBTQIA+ murders not only permissible but "regular" and "ordinary" (Rutherford, et.al, 2007). Moreover, Curiel highlights the contradictions of the Brazilian State as a site of democratic inclusion, offering that "…even if [the State] adopts a multicultural approach that recognizes Afro-descendant and Indigenous populations, it will not implement meaningful changes that ensure the dignity of these groups is respected, that they are treated as human beings, and that they are no longer victims of racism [sexism, and LGBTphobia]" (Curiel, 2021).

[10] The Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IGBE) is a government agency that is responsible for collecting data, information, and facilitating the country's census. The IGBE lists the following racial-color categories on the Brazilian census—*branco* (white), *pardo* (Brown or a mixed-raced person with African ancestry), *preto* (Black), *amarelo* (yellow), and *indio* (Indigenous) (Monk 2016).

[11] See footnote 9.

[12] In 2022, a survey conducted by IGBE found that 2.9 million people in the country identified as homosexual or bisexual (Silveira, 2022). In Bahia, data showed that 204,000 people identify as homosexual or bisexual (O Globo, 2022). However, this survey was groundbreaking, as "this [was] the first time that [the IGBE] released data on sexual orientation. The [survey] occurred after the agency was taken to court by the Federal Public Ministry…[who] questioned the fact that the 2022 Demographic Census did not include questions about the LGBTQIA+ population" (Silveira, 2022).

Who Can Be Saved in the Roma Negra? On Black LGBTQIA+ Political Resistance in Salvador

In this section, I utilize a case study method and document research and content analyses to examine Black LGBTQIA+ political resistance against multiform state and structural violence in Salvador and the various ways they advance racialized, gendered, sexualized, and classed reformist-based, participatory agendas. I analyze the political resistance of various activists affiliated with the following civil society and non-governmental organizations: *Grupo Gay da Bahia, Adé-Dudu, Quimbanda-Dudu–Grupo Gay Negro da Bahia, Grupo Palavra de Mulher Lésbica, Rede Afro LGBT, Associação de Travestis e Transexuais de Salvador, and Associação Nacional de Travestis e Transexuais*. These organizations give critical insights on how Black LGBTQIA+ activists politically organize, attempt to negotiate, and transform space, and combat non-citizenship and subordination in Salvador since Brazil's redemocratization.

While it is known colloquially as Salvador, the city's full name is *São Salvador da Bahia de Todos os Santos* ("Holy Savior of the Bay of All Saints"), named after the main bay surrounding the city. Salvador means "Savior" in Brazilian Portuguese. Alan Costa is the founder of Afrobapho, "an integrated arts collective formed by young LGBTQIA+ people [in Salvador]" (Afrobapho Instagram). A Black queer effeminate man, in an interview with *Vogue*, Costa discussed the intersectional plight of Black Brazilian LGBTQIA+ communities: "The violence against our bodies is alarming, both in *physical form and in a symbolic way*[13]…This has become institutionally authorized…We are Black bodies, victims of structured racism in every part of the country, including institutions, which exclude us, rape, kill, imprison" (Abraham, 2019). In another interview, Costa, in response to the emotional abuse he endured due to being hypersexualized and fetishized, stated: "And so, Afrobapho has been my *savior*[14] in relation to all this and made me stop thinking this way" (Costa, 2019). Here, if Salvador means "Savior", who is Salvador a political and symbolic "Savior" to? Who is saving Black LGBTQIA+ people like José Leandro and José Leonardo da Silva, Laís Fernanda Pereira dos Santos and Maiara Dias de Jesus, Djeane Ferreira Lima and Daiane Almeida dos Santos, and Raphaela Souza in the Holy Savior of the Bay of All Saints? In this section, I showcase how Black LGBTQIA+ communities in Salvador throughout the years have attempted to *save themselves*.

[13] My emphasis.
[14] My emphasis.

Grupo Gay da Bahia (GGB)

Founded in 1980—five years before the end of Brazil's military dictatorship––GGB is "the oldest association for the defense of the human rights of homosexuals in Brazil" (GGB Website). The founder and former president is Luiz Roberto de Barros Mott, popularly known as Luiz Mott, who calls himself a "dean" or "patriarch" of the Brazilian LGBTQIA+ movement (Mott, 2018, p. 22). An anthropologist, Mott, is a White Brazilian, and was born in São Paulo in 1946. In 1979, Mott was a victim of a homophobic attack in Salvador. It was after this violent encounter that Mott decided to create a group that would protect the livelihoods and rights of the LGBTQIA+ community in the city.

GGB has been pivotal in advancing rights, citizenship, and anti-violence measures. According to Mott, "the first activity [of GGB was their] public service campaign [for] medical-services to *travestis* in Pelourinho [where] a GGB member [who was] a doctor consulted dozens of *travestis,* providing them with an exam request for STDs" (Mott, 2018, p. 24). In August 1981, GGB published its first bulletin. (Mott L., Boletim do Grupo Gay da Bahia, 2011). The bulletins not only offered information about other LGBTQIA+ organizations, causes, and activists in Salvador, in Bahia, and around the world, but it also documented anti-LGBTQIA+ hate crimes. With this information, GGB created a database and annual report of LGBTQIA+ homicides in Brazil, the first of its kind (Gortázar, 2024) (Mott, 2018, p. 25). GGB was also integral in combating police violence against the LGBTQIA+ community in Salvador (Mott, 2018, p. 23). According to Mott, the majority of its members identify as Black (Vieira, 2020). The current president of GGB is Marcelo Cerqueira, a Black *soteropolitano* (a person from Salvador).[15] In 2003, Cerqueira ran for public office as a candidate for state deputy with the Green Party of Brazil and "[his] campaign was to guarantee representation for homosexuals in the country's decision-making centers" (Keene, 2005). In 2004, Cerqueira ran again and was "...involved in an effort called "Desire and Power" to elect gay candidates in the major cities of northeastern Brazil" (Keene, 2005).

Adé-Dudu

Founded in Salvador on March 14, 1981, Adé-Dudu was one of the first Black gay groups of Brazil. With a mission of addressing the issues of racism, homophobia, and violence against Black homosexuals, the name of the organization stems from a West African, Yoruba word that translates into Brazilian Portuguese as "Black homosexual" (Benedetti, 2024). Founding members of Adé-Dudu were Dionisius Filho (Nega Fulô), Antônio Carlos Conceição, Ermeval da Hora, Ernani

[15] In a 1995 autobiographical interview, Mott stated that Cerqueira is "the great love of his life" and they married on June 8th, 1994 (Luiz Mott Blog).

Filho, Evilásio Santos, Genildo Souza, Jorge Santos, Marco Argolo, Marcus Mahallia, Roquinho Sóstenes (Sostinho), Tosta Passarinho, Wilson Santana, and Wilson "Mandela" Santos (formerly Wilson Bispo dos Santos) (Benedetti, 2024). Many of the founding members were militants of the *Movimento Negro Unificado* (the United Black Movement), one of the most formidable Black organizations in regard to raising racial consciousness in the country (Covin, 2006).[16]

One of the first activities of the organization was conducting a survey, "...between March and September 1981, aiming to better understand the social, economic and cultural profile of Black homosexuals" (Benedetti, 2024). In October 1981, members of Adé-Dudu participated in the first encounter of Black people of the North and Northeast at the Federal University of Pernambuco in Recife (Mott L., Boletim do Grupo Gay da Bahia, 2011, pgs. 34-35). Some of the topics at the meeting were on Black homosexuality; the concerns of Black women; and police violence (Mott L., Boletim do Grupo Gay da Bahia, 2011, pgs. 34-35).

While some members of Adé-Dudu previously joined or were affiliated with GGB, there was possibly at one point in time, a rupture across racialized and classed lines between the groups. In an interview, Mott shared that Wilson "Mandela" Santos (formerly Wilson Bispo dos Santos), one of the founders of Adé-Dudu, was at the foundational meeting of GGB on February 29, 1980. Mott shared: "We met, seventeen people on a Saturday night, were Haroldo, Ricardo Lipper, the [friend] of Ricardo Lipper who was Antônio Carlos Pacheco, another who was called Alexandre Ferraz–anarchist-journalist; Carlinhos and his case...Wilson [Bispo dos Santos]. The latter was Black… he split from [GGB] after two years and founded Adé Dudu" (Luiz Mott Blog).

Mott's racial delineation that dos Santos was Black; along with his exit from GGB; and with the mission and aims of Adé Dudu in addressing the intersections of racism and homophobia, alludes to a possible alienation of Black members of GGB by White gays; thus, the push to create their own organizations that spoke to their needs. Here,

[16] The *Movimento Negro Unificado* (the United Black Movement) was founded on June 18, 1978, in São Paulo (Covin, 2006, p. 5). Mobilizing around issues that impact Black Brazilians such as police violence; the need for Black formal political representation at national, state, and local levels; and Black educational and cultural recognition, the MNU, while formalized in São Paulo, had chapters and delegates from various cities across the country including Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais, Belo Horizonte, Goiás, Salvador, and more (Covin, 2006, p. 147-148). Many LGBTQIA+ members in the MNU suffered discrimination based on their gender and sexual identities (Covin, 2006, p. 110).

this reinforces what Costa highlights as a refusal by the White LGBTQIA+ community to center the politics, perspectives, and plights of Black LGBTQIA+ people, even within civil society and social movements (Dawson-Banson, 2019). Moreover, the necessity for Black LGBTQIA+ communities to create autonomous political organizations correlates with Gonzalez's advancement of Amefricanidade in centering Black political productions, resistance, and leadership.

Quimbanda-Dudu–Grupo Gay Negro da Bahia

Cerqueira, along with Black gay activists Ozéas Santana, Ricardo Silva, and Otávio Reis, co-founded *Quimbanda-Dudu–Grupo Gay Negro da Bahia*, an independent sub-group of GGB.[17] The group defined itself as "a non-governmental, multi-racial, and multi-sexual organization to fight racism, homophobia, and AIDS [and] accepts as a member men and women of any color or sexual orientation, reserving the group's coordination to Afro-Brazilian homosexuals" (Boletim do Quimbanda-Dudu—Grupo Gay Negro da Bahia, 2005, p. 32).[18] With the group's name deriving from Kimbanda (Quimbanda in Brazilian Portuguese), an early religious system in Angola, and Dudu, a Yoruba name meaning, Black", the six objectives of the organization were: "(1) Fight against racism within the Brazilian homosexual community; (2) Fighting homophobia within the local and national Black community; (3) Rescue the history and biography of Afro-descendant translesbigays; (4) Disseminate information about homosexuality in Africa and the Black Diaspora; (5) Establish contact with gay and lesbian groups in Africa and people of African descent; (6) Work to prevent AIDS and other STDs within the Black community" (Boletim do Quimbanda-Dudu—Grupo Gay Negro da Bahia, 2005, p. 32). In 2002, Quimbanda-Dudu was officially recognized as a non-governmental organization and changed their name to *Quimbanda-Dudu: Direitos Humanos, Diversidade Sexual e Cidadania dos Afrodescendentes* (Quimbanda-Dudu: Human Rights, Sexual Diversity and Citizenship of People of African Descent) (Boletim do Quimbanda-Dudu, 2002, pgs. 26-77) (Boletim do Quimbanda-Dudu–

[17] GGB was umbrella organization for other organizations such as *Quimbanda-Dudu, Grupo Lésbico da Bahia* (the Lesbian Group of Bahia) (GLB); *Associação de Travestis e Transexuais de Salvador* (the Association of Travestis and Transsexuals of Salvador) (ATRAS); *Associação de Mulheres Profissionais do Sexo da Bahia* (Association of Prostitutes of Bahia) (APROSBA); and others (GGB Website).

[18] According to the Quimbanda-Dudu's newsletter, on November 9, 1995, Quimbanda-Dudu was informally established at the behest of Mott, who invited Black gay leaders from Salvador to commemorate the 300th anniversary of the death of Zumbi dos Palmares, the great *quilombo* warrior who resisted the Portuguese until his death (Boletim do Quimbanda-Dudu—Grupo Gay Negro da Bahia, 2005, p. 32) (Swift, 2021, p. 229).

–Grupo Gay Negro da Bahia, 2005, p. 32). Several of the group's initiatives included petitioning anti-LGBTQIA+ policies in Uganda and in other African countries; challenging homophobic stereotypes in media; and offering STD and AIDS prevention training to *Candomblé* leaders in Salvador (Boletim do Quimbanda-Dudu, 2000, p. 2) (Folha de S.Paulo, 1995).

In a 2006 interview, Santana shared the reason why Quimbanda-Dudu was created, emphasizing that "...we wanted the particularities of *our* struggle [to] be heard and addressed within GGB" (Keene, 2006).[19] Very similarly to Adé-Dudu, Santana's comment reveals what Black members or affiliates of GGB felt about the organization—that it lacked an intersectional analysis on the specific needs of Black LGBTQIA+ people. His comment also speaks to the racialized power dynamic of GGB, particularly the position of Mott—a White gay man from São Paulo who, at the time, was at the helm of a renown LGBTQIA+ organization in a predominantly Black city. Furthermore, Santana offers important insights on what life is like for Black Brazilian LGBTQIA+ communities in Salvador:

> "Bahia is beautiful. It's a marvelous place for tourists. For anyone who comes in search of easy sex, it's a paradise here. Unfortunately, Salvador is an [un]just and cruel city for its Black children. Injustice exists. Black homosexuals are discriminated against. During Carnival, in the *afoxés* and in the streets, Black gay men are beautiful and marvelous; [during] the rest of the year, they pass by unnoticed. There is a White and powerful Bahia that does not lower itself to deal with the large part of the population that's Black. Not everything is happiness and pleasure, then, for the Black gay people of Bahia, [t]here is pain and suffering also. Many Black gays are assassinated. Many Black *travestis* are exploited and AIDS is still greater in the Black population" (Keene, 2006).

Santana's comments also speak to the facade of racialized, LGBTQIA+ inclusion at both state and structural levels**,** which Curiel critiques. The Brazilian State uses political propaganda and messaging to promote Bahia as a racialized, utopic tourist destination or what Christen A. Smith defines it as an "Afro-Paradise" (Smith, 2016, p. 3). However, within this "Afro-Paradise", Black people suffer disproportionately from multiform political, social, and economic subalternity and violence. Here, as Smith emphasizes, Salvador is far from a racial utopia as "....there's a paradoxical relationship between Bahia's identity as an exotic, Black jovial playland where anyone, especially tourists, can enjoy Black culture and Black people, and the state's

[19] My emphasis.

use of terror against the very Black bodies that ostensibly produce this exotic space…" (Smith 2016, p. 3).

Grupo Palavra de Mulher Lésbica

In 2002, Black lesbian feminist-activist, Valquíria Costa established the GPML (the *Grupo Palavra de Mulher Lésbica*–Word Group of Lesbian Women), the first Black lesbian organization in Salvador (da Silva Z.P. p., 2017a, p. 33) (da Silva Z.P. p., 2017b, p. 2). Prior to the formation of GPML, the organization was known as *Grupo Palavra de Mulher* (the Woman's Word Group—GPM), which was "created in the capital of Bahia on September 21, 1999, by heterosexual Black women fighting against racism [with] a focus on ending violence against women" (da Silva Z. p., 2017b, p. 3). In 2007, during the II Municipal Conference on Policies for Women in Salvador, Costa was a pivotal force in advancing political representation and policies for Black lesbians (da Silva Z. p., 2017b, pgs. 6-7). On August 29, 2008, on National Lesbian Visibility Day, Costa announced her run for City Council of Salvador on YouTube (da Silva Z. p., 2017b, p. 9). In the video, she reiterated her commitment to securing lesbian political representation: "It is necessary that the City Council and the Legislative Assembly have lesbian women committed to deconstructing the myth that says the lesbian has no rights to politics or political space to act" (da Silva Z. p., 2017b, p. 9).

While Costa did not win, her commentary on the lack of lesbian political representation also draws attention to anti-Black and anti-LGBTQIA+ structural violence at the electoral level in Salvador and in Bahia. Although Salvador boasts an 80 percent Black population, a Black mayor of Salvador or a Black governor of Bahia, of any gender and/or sexual orientation, have never been elected (Dixon, 2016, p. 127). The only time a Black person was in a mayoral position was in 1978, when Mario Edvaldo de Brito Pereira, a Black man, was appointed by the military dictatorship to serve as mayor of Salvador (Dixon, 2016, p. 128). As Kwame Dixon offers, this has limited the political incorporation of Black communities at local and state levels, as they have not been able to gain a "…modicum of political power" (Dixon, 2016, p. 127).

Rede Afro LGBT

In 2005, Black lesbian feminist, activist, and Professor Ana Cristina Conceição Santos (popularly known as *Negra Cris*), co-founded *A Rede de Negras e Negros LGBT* (Network of Black LGBT Women and Men), more commonly known as *Rede Afro LGBT* or Afro LGBT Network. The mission of the organization is to

"fight against racism and lesbophobia, transphobia, homophobia and biphobia, and all forms of discrimination" (Rede Afro LGBT Facebook). While a participant at the XII Brazilian Meeting of Gays, Lesbians, and Transgenders in Brasília in 2005, Negra Cris and other Black LGBTQIA+ activists shared their experiences of homophobia; the lack of interrogation of sexuality and gender in the Black movement; and how race and racism were rarely discussed in the LGBTQIA+ movement (Santos A. C., 2018, pgs. 159-160). From November 8-10, 2012, Rede Afro LGBT hosted its first seminar in Salvador (Coutinho, 2012). The theme of the seminar was "For a Brazil Free of Racism and Homophobia", which was an ode to the theme of Afro LGBT Network's first conference, which took place in Rio de Janeiro six years prior (Coutinho, 2012).

From the periphery of Salvador, Negra Cris, in a 2008 interview with *Tribuna*, spoke about the racialized, gendered, and classed conditions of Black LGBTQIA+ communities, noting that "...being Black and homosexual means suffering double discrimination, due to the racial issue and sexual discrimination" (Tribuna do Paraná, 2008). Moreover, when discussing violence against Black LGBTQIA+ people, she emphasized that it is "mainly from the police. And when the young person is transsexual or *travesti,* this violence increases" (Tribuna do Paraná, 2008).

Associação Nacional de Travestis e Transexuais (ANTRA) and Associação de Travestis e Transexuais de Salvador (ATRAS)

The *Associação Nacional de Travestis e Transexuais* (the National Association of Travestis and Transsexuals) (ANTRA) is a network of more than 200 institutions in promoting the citizenship, human rights, and livelihoods of the travesti and transsexual populations in Brazil (ANTRA Website). One of ANTRA's key initiatives is its map of murders of *travestis*, transsexual women, and transgender men, which documents and tracks annually anti-LGBTQIA+ homicides and suicides among the *travesti* and trans populations. The current president is Keila Simpson, a Black *travesti* activist and sex worker (Gortázar, 2024).

Originally from Pedreiras, a city located in the state of Maranhão, Simpson is a long-time resident of Salvador, and came to the city in the mid-1980s (Gortázar, 2024). Her activism work began with GGB, where she distributed free condoms (Gortázar, 2024) (Kulick, 1998, p. 26). For GGB, she also prepared reports on LGBTQIA+ murders. However, she stated that "...in the meetings, I saw that there were gay people [and] one or two lesbians… but there were no [trans people]" (Gortázar, 2024). Similar to Adé-Dudu and Quimbanda-Dudu, Simpson decided to create a

space for *travestis* and transsexuals to politically advance their interests (Gortázar, 2024).

Simpson was also a member and activist of ATRAS–*Associação de Travestis e Transexuais de Salvador* (the Association of Travestis and Transsexuals of Salvador) (Fórum Baiano LGBT, 2012) (ATRAS Website). According to the organization's website, ATRAS "was formed by a group of *travestis* and [GGB]" and was officially registered in 1999 as a civil society organization (ATRAS Website). Michelle Marry, a prominent *travesti* activist, was the co-founder and president of ATRAS. Marry was known for working to safeguard *travestis* against police violence and rallying for adequate health access and care for the transgender population in Salvador (ANTRA-*Atrás dos olhos*). With actions to address state violence, AIDS prevention, and health education, and ending *travestifobia* (discrimination against *travestis*), ATRAS published the bulletin, *Princesa* (Princess). The bulletin documented the concerns of *travestis* in Salvador, in Brazil writ-large, and globally; documented the murders of *travestis* and spotlighted *travesti* leaders in Latin America; and featured a manifesto of travestis and transsexuals of Brazil (ANTRA—Arquivo ATRAS: BOLETIM "PRINCESA").

Conclusion

This work offered a brief yet comprehensive profile on how Black LGBTQIA+ activists and civil and non-governmental organizations in Salvador have advanced reformist-based, political resistance agendas in resisting multiform state and structural violence since Brazil's redemocratization. Each of the case studies showcases the importance of Black LGBTQIA+ political engagement and leadership in Salvador, highlighting the various activities and methodologies deployed over the past four decades in advancing their political and social preferences and policies (Walton, 1972, pg. 11-12). Although organizations such as Adé-Dudu, Quimbanda-Dudu, and Grupo Palavra de Mulher Lésbica are defunct, all the organizations examined offer insights on how Black LGBTQIA+ activists have politically organized, negotiated and transformed space, and combatted non-citizenship and subordination. As discussed throughout this work, although the LGBTQIA+ movement has been critical in garnering legislative and social reforms in Salvador and across the country, these reforms—whether under liberal or conservative governmental administrations—have not decreased violence against the LGBTQIA+ community. For the Black LGBTQIA+ community, which stands at the axis of race, sexuality, gender, class, and more, multiform violence is sustained and persistent. Here, Curiel's assessment of the contradictions of the Brazilian State and its multicultural approaches to democratic inclusion still applies, as these reforms are

not preventing Black LGBTQIA+ communities from being victims of anti-Black and anti-LGBTQIA+ violence (Curiel, 2021). Sadly, despite their valiant work to resist multiform violence, countless Black LGBTQIA+ people in Salvador and in Bahia are dying, and it is still Black LGBTQIA+ activists who are doing the work to try save them, as they fight to save themselves.

References

ABGLT. (n.d.). Ferramentas Jurídicas Estaduais. Retrieved from ABGLT: https://www.abglt.org/bahia

ANTRA. *Associação de Travestis e Transexuais de Salvador (ANTRA).* Retrieved from Antra Brasil: https://antrabrasil.org/sobre/

ATRAS. (n.d.). *Atrás dos olhos.* Retrieved from ATRAS – Associação de Travestis e Transexuais de Salvador: https://atrasassociacao.wordpress.com/atras-dos-olhos/

ATRAS. (n.d.). *Histórico*. Retrieved from ATRAS – Associação de Travestis e Transexuais de Salvador: https://atrasassociacao.wordpress.com/historico/

ATRAS. (n.d.). *Arquivo ATRAS: BOLETIM "PRINCESA".* Retrieved from ATRAS – Associação de Travestis e Transexuais de Salvador: https://atrasassociacao.wordpress.com/arquivo-atras/

A Tarde. (2013, February 6). *GGB aguarda que ACM Neto aprove criar centro anti-homofobia.* Retrieved from A Tarde: https://atarde.com.br/bahia/bahiasalvador/ggb-aguarda-que-acm-neto-aprove-criar-centro-anti-homofobia-494264

Abraham, A. (2019, June 4). *50 Years After Stonewall: Why The Fight For LGBTQIA+ Rights Still Isn't Over.* Retrieved from Vogue UK : https://www.vogue.co.uk/article/50-years-after-stonewall-why-the-fight-for-lgbtq-rights-still-isnt-over

Afrobapho Instagram. (n.d.). *Instagram.* Retrieved from Afrobapho: https://www.instagram.com/afrobaphooficial/?hl=en

Aguião, Silvia. Fazer-se no "Estado": uma etnografia sobre o processo de constituição dos "LGBT" como sujeitos de direitos no Brasil contemporâneo. Rio de Janeiro: EdUERJ, 2018.

Allen, A. S. (2015). *Violence and Desire in Brazilian Lesbian Relationships*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Alves, J. A. (2018). *The anti-black city: Police terror and black urban life in Brazil*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Americas Quarterly. (2009, June 15). *Bomb Explodes During São Paulo's Annual Gay Pride Parade.* Retrieved from Americas Quarterly: https://www.americasquarterly.org/blog/bomb-explodes-during-sao-paulos-annual-gay-pride-parade/

Andreson, J. L. (2020). *Mothers in the Family of Saints: Gender and Race in the Making of Afro-Brazilian Heritage* .University of Michigan , Department of Anthropology and History. University of Michigan.

Aranke, S. (2017, October 25). *Political Resistance.* Retrieved from Oxford Bibliographies: https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/display/document/obo-9780190280024/obo-9780190280024-0054.xml

Bahia Notícias. (2019, January 26). *Bahia é terceiro estado em número de mortes violentas de LGBTs, aponta GGB.* Retrieved from Bahia Notícias: https://www.bahianoticias.com.br/noticia/231706-bahia-e-terceiro-estado-em-numero-de-mortes-violentas-de-lgbts-aponta-ggb

Bahiano, M., & da Costa Lima, P. (2019, June 28). *Assassinato de militante Raphaela Souza denuncia a exclusão e a violência sofrida pela população LGBT+.* Retrieved from Avoador: https://avoador.com.br/maria-maria/assassinato-de-militante-raphaela-souza-denuncia-a-exclusao-e-a-violencia-sofrida-pela-populacao-lgbt/

Benedetti, L. (2024, July 3). *Adé Dudu: as quatro décadas do Grupo de Negros Homossexuais celebrados pelo MAB.* Retrieved from Universoretro: https://universoretro.com.br/ade-dudu-as-quatro-decadas-do-grupo-de-negros-homossexuais-celebrados-pela-mab/

Benevides, B. G. (2024). *Dossiê: assassinatos e violências contra travestis e transexuais brasileiras em 2023.* Brasília: Distrito Drag; ANTRA.

Benevides, B. G., & Bonfim Nogueira, S. N. (2019). *Dossier: Murders and Violence against Travestis and Trans People in Brazil.*Brasília: Distrito Drag.

Blakeley, R. (2012) *State Violence as State Terrorism.* In: Breen-Smyth, Marie, ed. The Ashgate Research Companion to Political Violence. Ashgate, London, pp. 63-78.

Boletim do Quimbanda-Dudu—Grupo Gay Negro da Bahia. (2005). *Boletim do Quimbanda-Dudu—Grupo Gay Negro da Bahia.* Retrieved from Homofobiamata: https://homofobiamata.files.wordpress.com/2016/12/boletim-do-grupo-gay-negro-da-bahia.pdf

Boletim do Quimbanda-Dudu. (2002, February). *Boletim do Quimbanda-Dudu: Direitos Humanos, Diversidade Sexual e Cidadania dos Afrodescendentes.* Retrieved from Bajubā Memorial LGBT: http://acervobajuba.com.br/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/Quimbanda-Dudu-ed.4-girado-final.pdf

Boletim do Quimbanda-Dudu. (2000, February). *Boletim do Quimbanda-Dudu.* Retrieved from Bajubā Memoria LGBT: http://acervobajuba.com.br/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/Quimbanda-Dudu-2.pdf

Coelho, B. (2012, June 27). *'Meu irmão era tudo para mim', diz gêmeo de rapaz morto em Camaçari.* Retrieved from O Globo: https://g1.globo.com/bahia/noticia/2012/06/meu-irmao-era-tudo-para-mim-diz-gemeo-de-rapaz-morto-em-camacari.html

Consultor Jurídico. (2010, April 27). *STJ permite adoção de crianças por casal de mulheres.* Retrieved from Consultor Jurídico: https://www.conjur.com.br/2010-abr-27/ministros-stj-permitem-adocao-criancas-casal-mulheres/

Coutinho, G. (2012, November 9). *1º Seminário Nacional de Negras e Negros LGBT, em Salvador (BA).* Retrieved from Dois Terços : http://www.doistercos.com.br/1o-seminario-nacional-de-negras-e-negros-lgbt-em-salvador-ba/

Correio24. (2014, May 17). *LGBT comemoram criação de órgão municipal de combate à homofobia.* Retrieved from Correio24: https://www.correio24horas.com.br/noticia/nid/lgbt-comemoram-criacao-de-orgao-municipal-de-combate-a-homofobia/

Costa, A. (2019, February 14). *"I don't need a Prince Charming to find love".* Retrieved from Amnesty International: https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/campaigns/2019/02/alans-alternative-love-story/

Covin, D. (2006). *The Unified Black Movement in Brazil, 1978-2002*. Jefferson, N.C: McFarland & Co.

Crenshaw, K. 1989. Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Policies. University of Chicago Legal Forum 1989: 139–67.

Curiel, O (2021). Decolonial feminism in Abya Yala. Multitudes, 2021/3 No 84. pp. 78-86. https://doi.org/10.3917/mult.084.0078.

Custódio, R., & Fonseca, B. (2024, February 5). *Every three days, a trans person is murdered in Brazil, says a report.* Retrieved from Brasil de Fato :

https://www.brasildefato.com.br/2024/02/05/every-three-days-a-trans-person-is-murdered-in-brazil-says-a-report

da Silva, Z. P. (2017a). *GRUPO PALAVRA DE MULHER LÉSBICA: "UMA ESCOLA PARA PROJETAR LÉSBICAS".*Seminário Internacional Fazendo Gênero 11 & 13th Women's Worlds Congress. Florianópolis: Anais Eletrônicos.

da Silva, Z. P. (2017b). LBL - Liga Brasileira de Lésbicas: organização e luta política. *Revista Periódicus, 1*(7), 20-53.

Dawson-Banson, A. (2019, July 8). *Powerful portraits and statements from Brazil's black and LGBTQ+ community.*Retrieved from Dazed Digital: https://www.dazeddigital.com/art-photography/article/45127/1/afrobapho-art-collective-portraits-statements-from-brazils-black-lgbti-community

Décimo, T. (2012, June 28). *Ataque homofóbico contra gêmeos mata um dos irmãos.* Retrieved from O Estado de S. Paulo: https://sao-paulo.estadao.com.br/noticias/geral,ataque-homofobico-contra-gemeos-mata-um-dos-irmaos-imp-,892612

Dixon, K. (2016). *Afro-politics and civil society in Salvador da Bahia, Brazil.* Gainesville: University Press of Florida.

Encarnación, O. G. (2016). *Out in the periphery : Latin America's gay rights revolution*. Oxford University Press.

Folha de S.Paulo. (1995, November 9). *Grupo gay de negros é fundado na Bahia.* Retrieved from Folha de S.Paulo: https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/fsp/1995/11/09/cotidiano/16.html

Fórum Baiano LGBT. (2012, September). *Carta do Diadorim, LBL e LesBiBahia*. Retrieved from Fórum Baiano LGBT: http://forumbaianolgbt.blogspot.com/2012/09/carta-do-diadorim-lbl-e-lesbibahia.html

Garcia, M. (2012, August 25). *Duas jovens são assassinadas em suposto caso de homofobia.* Retrieved from A Tarde: https://atarde.com.br/bahia/duas-jovens-sao-assassinadas-em-suposto-caso-de-homofobia-460529

Gonzalez, L. (1988). *For an Afro-Latin American Feminism.* Retrieved from Isis International : http://feministarchives.isiswomen.org/47-books/confronting-the-crisis-in-latin-america-women-organizing-for-change/828-for-an-afro-latin-american-feminism

Gortázar, N. G. (2024, March 28). *The veteran LGBTQ+ activist who defies statistics and dreams of becoming a centenarian.*Retrieved from El Pais :

https://english.elpais.com/international/women-leaders-of-latin-america/2024-03-28/the-veteran-lgbtq-activist-who-defies-statistics-and-dreams-of-becoming-a-centenarian.html

Green, James N. et al. (org.). História do Movimento LGBT no Brasil. São Paulo: Alameda Editorial, 2018.

Grupo Dignidade. (2008). Uma história de Dignidade: Grupo Dignidade - contribuindo para a construção da cidadania de lésbicas, gays, bissexuais, travestis e transexuais (LGBT). *Uma história de Dignidade:*. Curitiba: Grupo Dignidade.

Grupo Gay da Bahia (GGB). (n.d.). *O que é o GGB (nossa história)*. Retrieved from Grupo Gay da Bahia: https://grupogaydabahia.com.br/o-que-e-o-ggb/

Hernández, Tanya Katerí. 2015. Colorism and the Law in Latin America—Global Perspectives on Colorism Conference Remarks. Washington University Global Studies 14: 683–93.

iBahia. (2012, October 19). *SPM acompanhará violência contra lésbicas e adoção em Monte Santo.* Retrieved from iBahia: https://www.ibahia.com/bahia/spm-acompanhara-violencia-contra-lesbicas-e-adocao-em-monte-santo

Jornal Correiro. (2012, October 17). *Jovem é morta a facadas e namorada fica ferida em crime homofóbico em Salvador.*Retrieved from Jornal Correiro: https://www.correio24horas.com.br/salvador/jovem-e-morta-a-facadas-e-namorada-fica-ferida-em-crime-homofobico-em-salvador--1012

Keene, J. (2006, June 13). *Interview with Oséas Santana of Quibanda Dudu.* Retrieved from J's Theater: http://jstheater.blogspot.com/2006/06/interview-with-osas-santana-of.html

Keene, J. (2005, March 1). *Interview with Marcelo Cerqueira of GGB.* Retrieved from J's Theater : http://jstheater.blogspot.com/2005/03/interview-with-marcelo-cerqueira-of.html

Kulick, D. (1998). *Travesti: Sex, gender, and culture among Brazilian transgendered prostitutes*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kwong, M. (2016, August 18). *'They kill with so much hate': Anti-LGBT violence soars in Brazil.* Retrieved from CBC News: https://www.cbc.ca/news/world/lgbt-brazil-transgender-violence-1.3724955

Leis Municipais Bahia Salvador (2015). https://leismunicipais.com.br/a/ba/s/salvador/decreto/2015/2619/26181/decreto-n-26181-2015-altera-o-art-2-do-decreto-26053-de-19-de-maio-de-2015-que-institui-

o-comite-municipal-de-promocao-e-defesa-dos-direitos-de-lesbicas-gays-bissexuais-travestis-e-transexuais-comite-lgbt

Luiz Mott Blog . (n.d.). *Quem é Luiz Mott.* Retrieved from Luiz Mott Blog: https://luizmottblog.wordpress.com/sobre/

Marques, M. (2023, June 29). *Bahia é o estado que mais mata pessoas LGBTQIA+ no país.* Retrieved from Jornal Correio: https://www.correio24horas.com.br/minha-bahia/bahia-e-o-estado-que-mais-mata-pessoas-lgbtqia-no-pais-0623

Meneses, R. (2012, June 27). *Abraço de irmãos acaba em ataque homofóbico e morte na Bahia.* Retrieved from O Globo : https://oglobo.globo.com/politica/abraco-de-irmaos-acaba-em-ataque-homofobico-morte-na-bahia-5330477

Monk, E. P. (2016). The Consequences of "Race and Color" in Brazil. *Social Problems* , 413-430.

Moreno, S. (2017, March 25). *Centro de Referência LGBT de Salvador fez mais de 600 atendimentos em um ano.* Retrieved from Agência Brasil: https://agenciabrasil.ebc.com.br/direitos-humanos/noticia/2017-03/centro-de-referencia-lgbt-de-salvador-fez-mais-de-600-atendimentos

Mott, L. (2018). Foto-Reportagem Sobre O Grupo Gay da Bahia (GGB). In M. Caetano, C. Nascimento, T. Ellen Goulart, & A. Rodrigues, *Quando ousamos existir: itinerários fotobiográficos do Movimento LGBTI do Brasil (1978-2918)*(pp. 22-26). Tubarão-SC: Copiart.

Mott, L. (2011). *Boletim do Grupo Gay da Bahia (1981-2005).* Retrieved from Grupo Dignidade Bahia: https://cedoc.grupodignidade.org.br/grupo-gay-da-bahia/boletim-do-grupo-gay-da-bahia/

O Globo. (2012, November 28). *Casais gays já podem oficializar casamento em cartórios da Bahia.* Retrieved from O Globo: https://g1.globo.com/bahia/noticia/2012/11/casais-gays-ja-podem-oficializar-casamento-em-cartorios-da-bahia.html

O Globo. (2017, May 7). *Vendedor transexual é encontrado morto após sumir de casa em Salvador.* Retrieved from O Globo: https://g1.globo.com/bahia/noticia/transexual-e-encontrado-morto-apos-sumir-de-casa-em-salvador.ghtml

O Globo. (2020, October 15). *Estabelecimentos que impedirem beijo LGBTQIA+ poderão receber multas de até R$100 mil em Salvador.* Retrieved from O Globo : https://g1.globo.com/ba/bahia/noticia/2020/10/15/estabelecimentos-que-discriminarem-pessoas-da-comunidade-lgbtqia-poderao-receber-multas-de-ate-r100-mil-em-salvador.ghtml

O Globo. (2022, June 1). *Alba aprova projeto que prevê sanções contra discriminação por causa da orientação sexual e identidade de gênero no estado.* Retrieved from O Globo: https://g1.globo.com/ba/bahia/noticia/2022/06/01/alba-aprova-projeto-que-preve-sancoes-contra-discriminacao-por-causa-da-orientacao-sexual-e-identidade-de-genero-no-estado.ghtml

O Globo. (2022, January 28). *Bahia é 2º estado do Brasil com mais mortes de pessoas trans e travestis em 2021, aponta relatório da Antra.* Retrieved from O Globo: https://g1.globo.com/ba/bahia/noticia/2022/01/28/bahia-e-2o-estado-do-brasil-que-mais-matou-mulheres-trans-e-travestis-em-2021-aponta-relatorio-da-antra.ghtml

O Globo. (2022, May 25). *Diversidade sexual: 204 mil baianos se declaram homossexuais ou bissexuais, aponta IBGE.* Retrieved from O Globo: https://g1.globo.com/ba/bahia/noticia/2022/05/25/diversidade-sexual-204-mil-baianos-se-declaram-homossexuais-ou-bissexuais-aponta-ibge.ghtml

O Globo. (2024, January 20). *Brasil registra 257 mortes violentas de pessoas LGBTQIA+ em 2023, uma a mais que 2022, e segue como país mais homotransfóbico do mundo.* Retrieved from O Globo: https://g1.globo.com/ba/bahia/noticia/2024/01/20/mortes-violentas-de-pessoas-lgbtqia-na-ba-2023.ghtml

Parker, R. (2020, May 29). AIDS Crisis and Brazil. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Latin American History.* https://oxfordre.com/latinamericanhistory/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199366439.001.0001/acrefore-9780199366439-e-865.

Pereira, Matheus Mazzilli. Da saúde pública à homofobia: spillover e as transformações nas reivindicações do movimento LGBT em interações com o Estado. Revista Psicologia Política, v. 17, n. 38, p. 141-165, 2017.

Perry, K.-K. Y. (2013). Black women against the land grab: The fight for racial justice in Brazil. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Perry, K.-K.Y, & Sotero, E. S. (2017). *Amefricanidade: The Black Diaspora Feminism of Lélia Gonzalez.* Retrieved from DOSSIER: EL PENSAMIENTO DE LÉLIA GONZALEZ, UN LEGADO Y UN HORIZONTE: https://forum.lasaweb.org/files/vol50-issue3/Dossier-Lelia-Gonzalez-5.pdf

Quinalha, R. (2020, June 17). *A história do movimento LGBT brasileiro.* Retrieved from O Globo: https://gente.globo.com/a-historia-do-movimento-lgbt-brasileiro/

Rede Afro LGBT Facebook. (n.d.). *Rede Afro LGBT.* Retrieved from Facebook: https://www.facebook.com/redeafrolgbt/

Rodrigues, D. (2018, March 9). *A mulher fantástica baiana: Millena Passos e a trajetória de luta por direitos de trans e travestis .* Retrieved from O Globo: https://g1.globo.com/ba/bahia/noticia/a-mulher-fantastica-baiana-milena-passos-e-a-trajetoria-de-luta-por-direitos-de-trans-e-travestis.ghtml

Rutherford, A., Zwi, A. B., Grove, N. J., & Butchart, A. (2007). Violence: a glossary. *Journal of epidemiology and community health*, *61*(8), 676–680. https://doi.org/10.1136/jech.2005.043711

Santos, A. C. (2018). Negra e Lésbica – Ativismo Interseccional. In M. Caetano, C. Nascimento, T. Ellen Goulart, & A. Rodrigues, *Quando ousamos existir: itinerários fotobiográficos do movimento LGBTI* (pp. 159-162). Rio Grande: Copiart.

Secretaria Municipal da Reparação (n.d). https://reparacao.salvador.ba.gov.br/lgbt/

Secretaria Municipal da Reparação. Centro Municipal de Referencia LGBT. https://reparacao.salvador.ba.gov.br/centro-municipal-de-referencia-lgbt/

Silva, B. d., Benjamin, M., & Mendonça, M. L. (1997). *Benedita da Silva : an Afro-Brazilian woman's story of politics and love*. Institute for Food and Development Policy.

Silveira, D. (2022, May 25). *Diversidade sexual: 2,9 milhões de brasileiros se declaram homossexuais ou bissexuais, aponta IBGE.* Retrieved from O Globo: https://g1.globo.com/saude/sexualidade/noticia/2022/05/25/diversidade-sexual-29-milhoes-de-brasileiros-se-declaram-homossexuais-ou-bissexuais-aponta-ibge.ghtml

Smith, C. A. (2017). *Afro-paradise: Blackness, violence, and performance in Brazil*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Smith, C.A. (2016). Towards a Black Feminist Model of Black Atlantic Liberation: Remembering Beatriz Nascimento. *Meridians, 14*(2), 71-87. doi:10.2979/meridians.14.2.06

Spillers, H. J. "Mama's Baby, Papa's Maybe: An American Grammar Book." *Diacritics*, vol. 17, no. 2, 1987, pp. 65–81. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/464747.

Swift, J. (2021). Toward a Queer Amefricanidade: State, Structural, and Symbolic Violence and Afro-Brazilian LGBT Women's Resistance in Salvador, Bahia, Brazil. Howard University ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 28492729.

Swift, J. (2019, June 18). *Legal Victory Strengthens LGBT Activists as Threat From Bolsonaro Looms.* Retrieved from Truthout: https://truthout.org/articles/legal-victory-strengthens-lgbt-activists-as-threat-from-bolsonaro-looms/

Tribuna do Paraná. (2008, June 8). *Grupo homossexual e negro pede segurança, saúde e educação* . Retrieved from Tribuna do Paraná: https://www.tribunapr.com.br/noticias/brasil/grupo-homossexual-e-negro-pede-seguranca-saude-e-educacao/

Walker, S. (1990). Every day and Esoteric Reality in the Afro-Brazilian Candomblé. *History of Religions, 30*(2), 103-128. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1062896

Walton, H. (1994). *Black Politics and Black Political Behavior: A Linkage* Analysis. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.

Wampler, B. (2012, Vol. 60). Entering the State: Civil Society Activism and Participatory Governance in Brazil. *Political Studies*, 341-362.

Wendel, B. (2017, October 24). *Em áudio, traficante confessou ter ordenado morte de homem trans.* Retrieved from Jornal Correiro: https://www.correio24horas.com.br/salvador/em-audio-traficante-confessou-ter-ordenado-morte-de-homem-trans-1017