

Colonized masculinities and femicide in Latin America

Masculinidades colonizadas y feminicidios en América Latina

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Abstract: This article addresses studies on masculinities, gender violence and femicide in Latin America, based on theories from the Global South, with the aim of understanding how the modern-colonial gender system produces agents of death among colonized men. Through an intersectional and multicentered approach and based on the categories gender, masculinities, race, neoliberalism and necropolitics, the *continuum of modern-colonial patriarchal violence is proposed* to conceptualize a logical scheme of connection between the cycle of violence against the female gender to interpersonal level and the historical/global reproduction of a cycle of patriarchal violence of colonial origin that engenders an increase in the neoliberal stage, collecting systematic deaths of cis women, trans women and transvestites in Latin America.

Key words: genre; masculinities; femicide.

Resumén: Este artículo aborda estudios sobre masculinidades, violencia de género y feminicidio en América Latina, basados en teorías del Sur Global, con el objetivo de comprender cómo el sistema de género moderno-colonial produce agentes de muerte entre los hombres colonizados. A través de un enfoque interseccional y multicéntrico basado en las categorías género, masculinidades, raza, neoliberalismo y necropolítica, se propone el constructo *continuum de violencia patriarcal moderno-colonial* para conceptualizar un esquema lógico de conexión entre el ciclo de violencia contra el género femenino a nivel interpersonal y la reproducción histórico/global de un ciclo de violencia patriarcal de origen colonial que enendra una creciente en la etapa neoliberal, recogiendo muertes sistemáticas de mujeres cis, mujeres trans y travestis en América Latina.

Palabras-clave: género; masculinidades; feminicidios.

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Introduction

Latin America is a territory that lately and continuously breathes the air of colonization. Here, characters and scenarios from the *Demônios do Demônio* emerge, ironically recounted in Eduardo Galeano's essay (2005). Among these demons Galeano includes blacks, poor, indigenous, women, foreigners and homosexuals defined by the North as less human, less rational, less functional. Closer to nature, emotion, idleness, and sin (QUIJANO, 2005; GROSGUÉL, 2012). More than close, they embody sin itself. Being close to or falling into the abyss of the non-human is characteristic of this colonized people. It is up to these demons only the benevolence of “good men”, who deny them History and accuse them of inconvenience.

These structures and representations of colonial origin have been remodeled for centuries to maintain the modern-colonial system. During research on the History teaching, it was identified that this also occurs through the reproduction of excluding representations referring to the categories of poverty and race (AGUIRRE, 2017). The stigmatized and objectively harmed groups, in turn, internalize the dominant culture and produce ways of being and acting according to the values and judgments designated by the environment and social structures (BOURDIEU; CHARTIER; 2011).

Galeano (2005) sarcastically reinforces the representations reproduced about historically discriminated groups and how their victims are discredited by social standards, as well as accused of causing the chaos in which they live. This author poetizes the way we are socially educated not to be distracted in the presence of demons and to follow the example of the “heroes of our time who violate the land, poison the air and water, strangle wages, murder jobs and kidnap countries” (GALEANO, 2005, p.1). Galeano's demonization therefore appears to be produced by a dominant Demon. In other words, while the *owners of everything* exploit people and territories, expropriate rights and waste natural wealth for profit, the *owners of nothing* are led to believe that they are responsible for their conditions of misery, hunger, death and social precariousness. More than that, led to practice the crimes that sustain the neoliberal economy (VALENCIA, 2010; MBEMBE, 2018). Through this social game, dominant groups reproduce their condition of power, as well as, using symbolic violence, they make excluded groups incorporate the representations projected by them, legitimizing, and naturalizing social exclusion (AGUIRRE, 2017).

However, in the research mentioned above, a category was highlighted that, when ignored, left this analysis incomplete (AGUIRRE, 2017). Gender, markedly like race and class, conditioned the relationships of groups and agents, guiding their ways of seeing themselves and the world, as well as their practices and the History teaching. Gender is a founding element of this social fabric, and this is evidenced in the world statistics of femicide that point to Latin America as the most lethal territory in the world for cis women, trans women, transvestites and homosexuals (MENDES; SILVA, 2020), being that the perpetrators of these crimes are mostly male. Terrifyingly, Brazil occupies the first and fifth positions in the rankings of transfemicides and femicides in the world (LAGATA; BALZER; BERREDO, 2016; UNODC, 2017) and ironically is also one of the countries that most consumes pornography in the world, leading consumption of trans pornography².

Considering the problem of femicide studies³, we identified that this phenomenon illustrates a framework of historical violence constituting sociocultural norms that naturalize the victimization of the female gender and the victory/resistance of men to the advancement of those who question these norms of the patriarchal order (VIVEROS-VIGOYA, 2018). In statistical terms, male violence against females is a problem for them, but for men, since they are the main aggressors. In fact, violence is one of the main themes of studies on masculinities in Latin America (VIVEROS-VIGOYA, 2018). Gender violence and masculinities should therefore be inseparable categories in investigations on femicide. Yet, through a state of the art on femicide/femicide, we identified that studies on men in the catalogs analyzed are almost null. As femicide is hegemonically perpetrated by men, it is essential that we connect their intimate and global motivations.

Seeking to understand these connections, we start from non-essentialist theories about men and masculinities (PAREDES-CARVAJAL, 2014; VIVEROS-VIGOYA, 2018; CONNELL, 2016). This whole scenario of demonization and death of the other in Latin America makes us consider that there is a web of vulnerable conditions resulting from the lack of access to basic rights, goods and public services and the unequal distribution of wealth that culminates in the

1 Outside war zones.

² SUPER INTERESSANTE. *Brazil is the country that most searches for transsexuals on RedTube – and the one that most commits transphobic crimes on the streets.* Available at <https://super.abril.com.br/comportamento/brasil-e-o-pais-que-mais-procura-por-transsexuais-no-redtube-e-o-que-mais-comete-crimes-transfobicos-nas-ruas/> Access on 10/08/2020.

³ Defined here as the murder of women, trans women and transvestites for reasons of gender.

⁴ Searches were made for theses in the CAPES Theses and Dissertations Bank and in the Scielo catalog in the last 20 years with the keywords femicide.

femicide, building and sustaining violent masculinities, urban violence, trafficking and criminal corporations at an intra and transnational level, showing that there is a direct relationship between capital and death (SEGATO, 2005). In these terms, the violence perpetrated against the female gender by the colonized man points to a complex system of violence of colonial origin. The focus is not on gender difference, but on how this difference is produced in modernity and erupts in the growing number of murders of women for gender reasons in the last 30 years throughout Latin America.

From this perspective, the present article consists of a theoretical-conceptual review and analytical proposal on the production of masculinities in colonized territories, more specifically in Latin America, with the objective of understanding how the modern-colonial gender system produces agents of death among the colonized men. The debate addressed stems from the theories of the Global South, proposing a decolonial feminist research through the articulation of the categories gender, masculinities, race, neoliberalism and necropolitics (LUGONES, 2020; CURIEL, 2020). The main references are Raweyn Connell (2016), Rita Segato (2005), Mara Viveros (2018), Sílvio Almeida (2019), Wendy Brown (2019), Achille Mbembe (2018) and Sayak Valencia (2010). At the core of the text, these concepts are discussed from an intersectional and multicentered approach (SIBAI, 2016) and then we suggest the construct of a *continuum of modern-colonial patriarchal violence*.

Although it includes a literature review inspired by decolonial feminist theorists, this text is part of a research especially focused on the emerging demands in the speeches of women and peripheral leaders⁵, committing to the emancipation of Latin American and Caribbean men and women from the violentgenic matrix (SEGATO, 2012) of modern-colonial domination and, in particular, of their communities and families who have interrupted lives and cruelly registered marks of these violence in the bodies and memories of their women and transvestites.

Latin American gender structures and masculinities

⁵ In the exploratory stage of research on femicides in Latin America, more specifically in the state of Rio Grande do Sul, RS, Brazil, ethnographic incursions were made between December 2019 and March 2020 with the activities of the Task Force to Combat Femicides in the RS and the network to combat violence against women in the city of São Leopoldo/RS, identifying the need for the presence of men in these spaces and the construction of secure connections between services for women and the periphery.

For the Decolonial Theory (QUIJANO, 2005) the invasion and invention of America in 1492 is the founding mark of Modernity. The colonial experience initiated in this period also implied decolonizing struggles in the dominated territories. Subsequently, these struggles became fundamental theories for the impacts of this encounter on modern societies (CONNELL, 2012; CURIEL, 2019). However, just as “[...] almost everywhere, the anti-colonial struggle was also led by men, valuing violent masculinities” (CONNELL; PEARSE, 2015, p. 284) and, by extension, gender structures were ignored or naturalized by critical theorists. The combination of Decolonial Theory and the counter-hegemonic thinking of feminists from the South, added to their criticism of some of the decolonial thinkers (LUGONES, 2020), constitutes the so-called decolonial feminism. This feminist perspective, on the one hand, reviews and problematizes hegemonic feminist productions (ESPINOSA MIÑOSO, 2020) and, on the other hand, expands concepts of Decolonial Theory (LUGONES, 2020; CURIEL, 2020).

In these terms, the current work has matured from the understanding that there is a colonial and global matrix that forges identities and the ways in which they are violated or privileged according to the interests of hegemonic groups. This makes a culturalist approach to intersectionality ineffective in the analysis of gender relations (SEGATO, 2012; CURIEL, 2019). If decolonial feminisms try to account for the materiality and reality of women in Latin America and the Caribbean (VIVEROS-VIGOYA, 2018), the marking essentially focused on race, gender, sexuality, or class identities is abandoned, and it starts to focus on how they are produced and relate to others, under what purpose or resistance to the modern-colonial system.

To do so, it is necessary to transform the analysis of gender, revealing its coloniality⁶, through a few points: 1) understanding of voices in gender politics that, in the global periphery, are intertwined with the dynamics of colonization and globalization (CONNELL, 2016, p. 31); 2) the assumption that colonial violence was a gendered act is linked to the first point⁷. Colonial power intentionally structured the gender order in colonized societies (through work, rape, hierarchies, etc). There was an active response from colonized men to the “new” colonial standards of masculinity. Thus, there is a diversity of masculinities, and their production is closely related to structures, institutions, and power relations; 3) finally, understanding fundamental that

⁶ Coloniality is the apparatus for maintaining modern/colonial power that consists of global hierarchies and intertwined between race, gender, class, politics, linguistics, etc., around a global capitalist economy (SIBAI, 2016).

⁷ What was touched by the genre (CONNELL; PEARSE, 2015).

gendered processes are collective and, therefore, gender dynamics cannot be reduced to the individual, as well as racial structures (CONNELL, 2016).

In this scheme, we understand gender as a multidimensional structure that standardizes the arrangements by which groups and individuals act socially, but which is changeable, adapts and rebuilds according to social, political, and economic demands and crises. Gender, beyond reproduction, reinvents itself. In addition, in these terms, the human and social sciences would contribute by ceasing to focus on gender and vulnerable and dubious differences and dichotomies and starting to focus on the relationships that produce it (CONNELL; PEARSE, 2015).

These historical structures forge gender orders in constant production and dispute and we have been experiencing this conflict through public manifestations in recent decades in Latin America, from the discursive level and its amplification through the internet and other media, to its expression and inscription on bodies, claimed through life and death. For example, if, on the one hand, the World Conferences on Women, organized by the UN in the 1990s, generally resized gender policy, explaining the structural character of inequality and raising debates on women's sexual and reproductive rights, on the other hand, Catholic and Moroccan delegations strongly united against the adoption of the gender category in the guidance documents for public policies promoted by these conferences, under conservative arguments that this category would be a code for feminism and severe positions against abortion, contraception and lesbianism. These conflicts resulted in the closure of these conferences and a decade-long delay in the publication of a broad international agreement on the subject (CONNELL & PEARSE, 2015; MACHADO, 2018; SOUZA, 2018). This was the clash that gave rise to the expression “*gender ideology*”, a supposed project that aims to destroy the traditional family and heterosexuality, very present in the conflicts, speeches, and projects of conservative and Bolsonarist politicians in the current Brazilian government (MISKOLCI & CAMPANA, 2017).

This means that demands for reforms and even anti-colonial movements are present and gaining visibility. But there are also campaigns and actions of counter-reform and resistance to change. On the one hand, subjects and groups claiming the right to their lives and identities that frustrate social norms, on the other hand, the maintenance of order through death, not just living death (MBEMBE, 2012), but the murder of those who dare to flee. to hegemonic standards (SEGATO, 2013; MENEGHEL; LOZANO, 2017; BENEVIDES; NOGUEIRA, 2020).

We can see throughout Latin America odious efforts aimed at rectifying a gender order based on heteronormative, white and patriarchal patterns. For example, the Colombian Machista Movement, founded in 2002 by Edilberto Barreto as an opposition to feminist movements. To belong to this organization, men must prove their masculinity through violence and aggression against women, which is claimed as a right by its founder (MORENO, 2016; VIVEROS-VIGOYA, 2018). For anthropologist Mara Viveros-Vigoya, these “[...] violent and repressive methods are not signs of male power, but the reaction to the loss of power” (VIVEROS-VIGOYA, 2018, p. 171).

In Brazil there are also several examples of conservative, misogynistic and homophobic discourses and practices carried out by public figures and authorities. The first and only woman to hold the position of president of Brazil, Dilma Rousseff⁸, suffered numerous sexist and misogynist attacks throughout her political career. These attacks were exacerbated in the context of the 2016 coup, when the hegemonic media represented it as out of control, incapable and in ruins, blaming it for the economic and political crisis (SILVA et al, 2017). As a solution and contrast to this negative image, the same media produced and offered the romantic couple “Mi” and “Mar”, composed by the then Vice President Michel Temer and his wife Marcela, who months later would become the first lady “beautiful, demure and housewife”⁹. While Temer was active in the coup d'état, Marcela was represented as the model of a woman to be desired by the nation: white, young, rich, literate and dedicated exclusively to motherhood, home and husband.

The undemocratic debacle that followed the 2016 coup exacerbated this kind of conservative dichotomous discourse between the renegade woman and the idealized woman. A kind of extreme right has emerged in the country, represented by the men of the Bolsonaro family, led by former federal deputy Jair Messias Bolsonaro, currently president of Brazil. The current first lady Michelle Bolsonaro, also had her image formatted by the media, since the election campaign, to reinforce the symbolization of a traditional, white, Christian family and savior of the homeland supposedly destroyed by previous governments. Despite the corruption scandals, Michelle is represented as a wife, mother, and actor in social programs. The Bolsonaro family is still enthusiastic about guns and torture, supporter

⁸ VEJA. *Dilma e o fogo o fogo olímpico: a imagem de um mandato em chamas*. Available at <https://veja.abril.com.br/politica/dilma-e-o-fogo-olimpico-a-imagem-de-um-mandato-em-chamas/> Access on 08/10/2020.

⁹ VEJA. *Marcela Temer: bela, recatada e “do lar”*. Available at <https://veja.abril.com.br/brasil/marcela-temer-bela-recatada-e-do-lar/> Access on 08/10/2020.

of the Civil-Military Dictatorship, of extermination policies and representative of the congressional evangelical bench.

In turn, Jair Bolsonaro has already been denounced and convicted of misogynistic attacks, in addition to having a long history of racist and homophobic speeches¹⁰. For example, Bolsonaro recently said he was concerned about Brazil's image abroad as a destination for gay tourism, praising sex tourism and saying that “*Anyone is free if they want to come here to have sex with a woman.*”¹¹. In better-known episodes, the president stated that his only female daughter was the result of a weak moment of him, that he does not run the risk of his children dating black women because they were well educated, that he would not pay the same salary to men and women, due to incompetence. of the latter and maternity pay, and that he would not rape another parliamentarian because she is very ugly and does not deserve such an act¹².

In his cadre of white ministers, businessmen, landowners and Christians, the Bolsonaro government has a woman minister, responsible for the portfolio of the Ministry of Women, Family and Human Rights. Minister Damares Alves is a lawyer and evangelical pastor and one of the main responsible for the effort to demonize and prevent gender debates in schools. When she took office as minister, Damares stated that although the State is secular, she is a “*strong christian*” and that was the beginning of a “*Brazilian new era*” in which the boys would wear blue and be princes and the girls would wear pink and be princesses¹³. To show the minister's performance, especially at the time this text is being produced, we can list the alarming rates of femicide in the country, the absence of federal funding for programs to combat violence against women and the presidential and ministerial justification that this area it does not need financial resources, but a change of posture and awareness¹⁴.

Policies to protect women are achievements that cannot be taken for granted. There is a constant dispute of bills around the tools and

¹⁰ The rap “*Primavera Fascista*” by Felipe Artioli, Bocaum, Leoni, Adikto, Axant, Mary Jane and VK Mac critically compiles several conservative and violent speeches by Jair Bolsonaro. Available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3ntLQqYs-f8> Acesso em 13/07/2020.

¹¹ CONGRESSO EM FOCO. UOL. *Treze frases de Bolsonaro de natureza sexual*. Available at <https://congressoemfoco.uol.com.br/governo/treze-frases-de-bolsonaro-de-natureza-sexual-e-machista/> Access on 10/08/2020.

¹² CARTA CAPITAL. *Bolsonaro em 25 frases polêmicas*. Available at <https://www.cartacapital.com.br/politica/bolsonaro-em-25-frases-polemicas/> Access on 10/08/2020.

¹³ G1. *Em vídeo, Damares diz que ‘nova era’ começou: ‘meninos vestem azul e meninas vestem rosa’*. Available at <https://g1.globo.com/politica/noticia/2019/01/03/em-video-damares-alves-diz-que-nova-era-comecou-no-brasil-meninos-vestem-azul-e-meninas-vestem-rosa.ghtml> Access on 10/08/2020.

¹⁴ EL PAÍS. *De Bertha Luz a Damares Alves, o contraste dramático do Brasil na defesa do papel da mulher*. Available at <https://brasil.elpais.com/opiniao/2020-07-01/de-bertha-lutz-a-damares-alves-o-contraste-dramatico-do-brasil-na-defesa-do-papel-da-mulher.html> Access on 10/08/2020.

state policies to combat violence against women¹⁵, such as the Maria da Penha Law¹⁶, already disseminated in popular language; the transfer of the National Secretariat for Policies for Women (which during the PT government had the status of Ministry) to the Ministry of Human Rights¹⁷; the extinction of the gender, diversity and inclusion committees by the current Minister Damare Alves in this ministry; the lack of federal funding for policies to combat violence against women¹⁸; the extinction of the Secretary of Policies for Women¹⁹ in the state of Rio Grande do Sul by the government of José Ivo Sartori, transforming it into a department of the Secretary of Social Development, Labor, Justice and Human Rights; the reduction of resources to combat violence against women by the current governor Eduardo Leite, allocating only 20 thousand reais to the 2020 budget of this agenda (0.2% of the 2014 budget forecast of the secretariat extinct in 2015²⁰), even with the state from RS occupying the third place in the ranking of femicides in Brazil. In addition, in September 2020, the First Panel of the Federal Supreme Court (STF) upheld the acquittal of a man who confessed to the attempted murder of his ex-partner by stabbing, supported by the defendant's defense as a legitimate defense of honor²¹.

In this scenario of increasing violence against the female gender, addressing gender discussions in Latin America and more specifically in Brazil also depends on understanding not only the historical and social constructions that have been produced in relation to the hegemonic patterns of being/becoming a woman and man, but how this is produced as a modern/colonial gender system (LUGONES, 2020) and, due to the question

¹⁵ UNIVERSA. UOL. *Projetos de lei para alterar Lei Maria da Penha dispõem no Congresso*. Available at <https://www.uol.com.br/universa/noticias/azmina/2020/06/17/projetos-de-lei-para-alterar-lei-maria-da-penha-dispõem-no-congresso.htm> Access on 10/08/2020.

¹⁶ METRÓPOLES. *Tramitam na Câmara 124 projetos para mudar a lei Maria da Penha*. Available at <https://www.metropoles.com/brasil/politica-brasil/tramitam-na-camara-124-projetos-para-mudar-a-lei-maria-da-penha> Access on 10/08/2020.

¹⁷ Today the Ministry of Women, Family and Human Rights, the transfer was made during the term of interim president Temer. Available at <https://www.gov.br/mdh/pt-br/assuntos/noticias/2018/junho/decreto-transfere-secretaria-de-politica-para-mulheres-para-o-ministerio-dos-direitos-humanos> Access on 10/08/2020.

¹⁸ CNTE. "A política de gênero no governo Bolsonaro é uma política em extinção", diz secretária de relações de gênero da CNTE após fim de comitês. Available at <https://www.cnte.org.br/index.php/menu/comunicacao/posts/noticias/72207-a-politica-de-genero-no-governo-bolsonaro-e-uma-politica-em-extincao-diz-secretaria-de-relacoes-de-genero-da-cnte-apos-extincao-de-conselhos> Access on 10/08/2020.

¹⁹ CORREIO DO POVO. *Brasil tem seis estados com secretarias exclusivas para formular políticas contra a violência à mulher*. Available at <https://www.correiodopovo.com.br/not%C3%ADcias/geral/brasil-tem-6-estados-com-secretarias-exclusivas-para-formular-pol%C3%ADticas-contr-a-viol%C3%Aancia-%C3%A0-mulher-1.367996> Access on 07/13/2020.

²⁰ SUL21. *Desmonte de políticas públicas coloca RS entre estados que mais matam mulheres no Brasil*. Available at <https://www.sul21.com.br/ultimas-noticias/geral/2020/03/desmonte-de-politicas-publicas-coloca-rs-entre-estados-que-mais-matam-mulheres-no-brasil/> Access on 10/08/2020.

²¹ STF. *1ª Turma mantém decisão de Júri que absolveu réu contra a prova dos autos*. Available at <http://www.stf.jus.br/portal/cms/verNoticiaDetalhe.asp?idConteudo=452595> Access on 10/08/2020.

that guides this article, how it affects the conditions of life (and death) of cis women, trans women and transvestites to maintain these structures.

Colonialism impacted gender in different ways in colonized regions, due to its specificities, struggles and ways of facing it. However, these differences connect regions across the globe due to their domination matrix, which is the same. In this perspective, micro, meso and macro levels of structures are related in the production of gender systems, with a view to a global order. Lugones (2020) discusses how this system instrumentalizes the submission of all, while forcibly dissolving the ties of solidarity between the victims of colonial domination, so that they become loyal to this system. For this author, the indifference or consent of colonized men to violent gender dynamics, whether daily or epistemological, is one of the barriers to confronting colonial structures and their radical transformations.

As gender heterogeneous, relational, and changeable, authors on masculinity, violence and social policies dialogue when seeking alternatives in projects that reshape the patterns of “being a man” in the search for other gender values guided by feminist ethical perspectives (CONNELL, 2016; VIVEROS-VIGOYA, 2018). Evaluating this alternative in the fight against femicide, we discuss how the modern/colonial gender order produces diverse masculinities in Latin America, creating agents of death committed to maintaining this system.

We started this discussion by highlighting the constitution of men as sexual beings and not as a universal reference and hegemonic masculinity as a historical construction, therefore, a changing process (VIVEROS-VIGOYA, 2018). Although men continue to have advantages over women, even with their inclusion in the labor market, this also depends on other hierarchical vectors. In other words, produced by gender orders, we understand masculinities as heterogeneous, relational, and conditioned by power relations and economic, political and cultural structures. However, “most of the works that describe the norms that oppress men adopt a very subjective perspective, without clearly identifying the social origin of the identity malaise that some men who do not conform to the norms may experience” (VIVEROS-VIGOYA, 2018, p. 16). That is why it is necessary to understand the production of masculinities historically, connecting “[...] the histories of different geopolitical zones, with colonial and neocolonial processes and with those of world economic liberalism” (VIVEROS-VIGOYA, 2018, p. 185) .

For Rita Segato (2012) modernity/coloniality exacerbated what the *author calls low-intensity patriarchies* that already included “[...] clear hierarchies of prestige between masculinity and femininity, represented by figures that can be understood as men and women” (SEGATO, 2012, p. 117). It so happens that those arrangements and gender patterns conceived and practiced by other peoples²² were condemned and blocked by the colonizer. That is, this does not mean that there was no gender in pre-colonial territories, but that it was also experienced in other ways and, on a large scale, “[...] they were ruined by slavery, by the work stipulated in the contract, by the appropriation of land and resettlement” (CONNELL; PEARSE, 2015, p.275). This also means not only submission or extinction, but dynamic impacts on the colony's gender relations and, by extension, on contemporary masculinities. From this perspective, the behaviors produced in everyday micro and macro relationships based on patterns of masculinity are not products of gender, but gender itself (CONNELL; PEARSE, 2015).

Understanding gender as a structure of this system means considering that socioeconomic changes also affect the processes and practices that produce it. Connell and Pearse (2015) report, for example, how gender arrangements were impacted by the proletarianization of South African miners in the second half of the 20th century (MOODIE, 1994 *apud* CONNELL; PEARSE, 2015). These men who moved from their regions of origin to work in the mines of the Witwatersrand, before this period, presented gender dynamics different from European standards. Working as a miner was a means of consolidating himself economically as the head of the family in his regions of origin, which was considered an ideal of masculinity.

Away from their families, the migrants in the clusters found jobs and temporary domestic and sexual partnerships, finding partnerships with women from cities close to the mines, or with other men in the clusters, also based on generational criteria. This last dynamic was called the *marriage of mine*. In turn, women in the territory of origin of migrant miners could be responsible for the leadership of rural properties, which in their communities constituted a “being a man” in this dynamic. The proletarianization of this region and, therefore, the class factor, influenced the rise of Eurocentric gender ideology, making masculinities no longer understood in terms of work and leadership, but based on biological criteria and, therefore, dichotomizing masculinity and

²² For example, the gynocentric egalitarianism of Native American tribes (LUGONES, 2020), the third gender and the relationships considered homosexual by Westerners (CONNELL; PEARSE, 2015).

femininity and preventing women from exercising roles seen as masculine (CONNELL; PEARSE, 2015). According to the authors

Proletarianization finally arrived, and with a gender ideology closer to the European standard. Among young people from Minas Gerais – more unionized, more militant, and much better paid than their parents – masculinity is increasingly associated with severity, physical dominance and aggressiveness. This pattern of masculinity does not require reciprocity with women who are increasingly left in the position of housewives dependent on a male breadwinner. (CONNELL; PEARSE, 2015, p. 62)

Another example addressed by these authors on how global structures co-produce with gender orders and can impact changes or setbacks/ruptures concerns the Soviet and post-Soviet experience. The Soviet Union, according to them, promoted “[...] one of the greatest experiments in gender equality ever carried out in the world” (CONNELL; PEARSE, 2015, p. 70). However, the collapse of the Soviet Union, the economic dependence of the new countries on a global economy and their attempt to create a new national identity caused a large part of post-Soviet regimes to return to a militant patriarchy where men were supposed to reorganize the state. This was also done through the marginalization of women returning home, the emphasis on patriarchal religions and a harsh and aggressive male national identity that rejects the national/maternal body produced by the Soviet regime (NOVIKOVA, 2000 *apud* CONNELL; PEARSE, 2015). , p. 71).

For the authors, this return of gender privilege in post-Soviet regimes also shows that gender equality in the Soviet Union was an unconsolidated experience, which coexisted in many aspects with strong inequality after a few years of Revolution, established by the leadership of Stalin and who backtracked on many feminist achievements of women in this regime. In addition, we can also mention the women who went to war in this context. On the one hand, as soldiers and nurses, on the other, as victims of harassment, humiliation and sexual exploitation perpetrated by their own battle companions (ALEXIEVICH, 1988 *apud* CONNELL; PEARSE, 2015).

Rita Segato (2003) also highlighted the variability of gender dynamics when she investigated bloody rape from testimonies of men incarcerated in Brasília, DF, Brazil. According to the author, in the prison environment populated by anatomies of

men, the violent use and abuse of feminized bodies rearticulates the structures of gender and power between them. We also highlight from this, especially, the submissive and violable character of femininities by masculinities, based on strength, fear and aggression by itself.

This research show us that there is a frontier work to produce and rectify the gender. Within the limits of these borders, specific elements of gender dynamics are also reproduced at different levels, which through hierarchies of power differentiate and praise or submit ways of exercising gender (SCHPUN, 2004; CONNELL; PEARSE, 2015). The history of Latin America itself exemplifies the transposition between structural violence, resulting from the European conquest and colonization, and everyday gender violence, of which colonized women and men were victims. This transposition forms a *continuum of violence* that is reproduced in chain, spiral and mirror time in which structural, symbolic, every day, domestic and intimate violence overlap and/or alternate (VIVEROS-VIGOYA, 2018).

For example, the concept of *chauvinism* has racist origins in the conflictive relations between the US and Mexico, in which the former attribute pejorative sexual characteristics supposedly intrinsic to Mexican men and their descendants and, by extension, Latin Americans, in contrast to white men from the North. This articulation between chauvinism and nationalism spread and spread from the Global North, allowing “[...] to establish a graduation from superior to inferior in which skin colors and sexual behaviors are superimposed” (VIVEROS-VIGOYA, 2018, p. . 160).

The valorization of masculinities focused on authority, rationality, suppression of emotions and whiteness were also produced by “[...] the highly masculinized military forces of the colonial era *[that]*²³ provided the basis for many elites of post-colonial states” (CONNELL; PEARSE, 2015, p. 261), producing a national identity and an internal enemy (FRANCO, 2018; MBEMBÉ, 2018). Many of the works on black masculinities (consolidated in Brazil and Colombia) also claim that masculinities are produced not only in opposition to femininity, but also depending on ethnic and racial factors, which are also intersected (VIVEROS-VIGOYA, 2018).

Throughout Latin American colonial history to the present day, patterns of masculinities are also racialized, causing the ideals of masculinity to be constructed intertwined with those of race and nation, toning “[...] categories such as 'man

²³ Our amendments in italics for consistency.

Latin American'. In practice [...] this category proved to be unstable and fragile: neither masculinities nor national identities proved to be solid and fixed notions". (VIVEROS-VIGOYA, 2018, p. 73-74).

As the Latin American colonies acquired independence from the metropolises and founded republics, whitening was constituted as a project of national identity, through which white and white-mestizo elites aspired to modern European ideals, exercising their dominion through the coloniality of the power, "[...] against democracy, citizenship, the nation and the modern nation-state" (QUIJANO, 2005, p. 135-136). Therefore,

[...] whitening persisted as a promise of inclusion in the community of citizens not only through the right to vote or union with "whiter" people, but also for the participation in different political and public spaces or for the adherence to the values of respectability and honor, considered proper of the groups constructed as whites. (VIVEROS-VIGOYA, 2018, p. 137)

In other words, more than being a man and having light skin, these people should concentrate economic, social, cultural and symbolic capital, thus constituting a group of white men from the ruling classes, while racially marked groups and women "[...] they were considered incapable of responding to the injunctions of modernity, thus sharing the same lower social status" (VIVEROS-VIGOYA, 2018, p. 138-139).

Consequently, the perspective of transition and social ascension in Brazil also links gender, class and race relations. According to Almeida (2019), the possibility of black individuals moving towards the aesthetics, consumption and circulation capacity of whiteness and the middle class can make someone racially white. This illustrates the permanence of the criteria mentioned above as an identity ideal.

These same identity ideals were shared among ordinary working men, among whom those who met moral attributes such as respectability, honor, education, engagement in work and moderate conduct would be recognized as citizens. This generated a patriarchal bond between men of different classes founded on a modern and "civilized" masculinity. However, since this pattern of masculinity is white and European, "the only ones who could benefit

totally part of modernity were the heterosexual white men of the upper classes who monopolized the rules of moral control and the privilege of honorability” (VIVEROS-VIGOYA, 2018, p. 139).

In this way, both the processes of independence and constitution of republics in Latin America, as well as the recent post-dictatorial democratizations, took place in patriarchal terms and in an elitist miscegenation adequate to the habitus of whiteness at the cost of dehumanization, reputation and dishonor of women and men. non-whites (VIVEROS-VIGOYA, 2018; ALMEIDA, 2019), that is, the maintenance of historical racist structures. And this structural and symbolic violence of race and class of which markedly racialized men “[...] have been victims has been prolonged in political-military violence and, in the same way, has been transferred to new forms of interpersonal violence within same communities” (VIVEROS-VIGOYA, 2018, p. 161). Therefore, we consider the conformity of subordinated men to the hegemonic model both as a means of “protecting themselves” and as a means of establishing an advantage. Dominated by white, rich, and heterosexual men, subaltern men resort to violence against each other and against women as a strategy of supposed emancipation and empowerment (which is also frustrated, due to the ambiguous stereotypes of non-white men).

Connell and Pearse (2015) call this “advantage granted to men as a group by maintaining an unequal order” the *Patriarchal Dividend*, which can be distributed in income, “[...] authority, respect, services offered, security, housing, access to institutional power, emotional support, sexual pleasure and control over one's own body” (CONNELL; PEARSE, 2015, p. 269). However, this dividend is also unevenly distributed and there are men who, depending on their position in the social order, receive none or almost none of these benefits. Just as there are women who benefit from this dividend, for example, “[...] living off the income generated in part by the low-paid work of another woman” (CONNELL; PEARSE, 2015, p. 270).

Although unstable, hegemonic masculinities present a cross-cultural historical characteristic: the status of masculinity depends on its conquest and the approval of peers through “[...] collection of tributes from another who, due to his naturalized position in this order of *status*, is perceived as the provider of the repertoire of actions that feed virility (SEGATO, 2013, p.24, our translation). Segato (2013) calls this *taxation* process in which men must regularly reconfirm the attainment of status throughout life and the “other” excluded from the process and responsible for the tribute are women.

This also depends on a process in which boys, from an early age, are encouraged to compete and demonstrate violence and aggression, which, according to Connell and Pearse (2015) constitutes a social resource. Working-class boys who do not have access to other resources are recruited in large scale to work in risky jobs such as industries, construction, and mining, or violent jobs such as police, armed forces, private security, blue-collar crime, 24 and professional sports (CONNEL; PEARSE, 2015).

In turn, women are responsible for dealing with the consequences of this violence, both as direct victims of men who see women as their property, and as main recruits for jobs such as nursing, psychology and social work (CONNELL; PEARSE, 2015). This was also identified in misogynistic elements in the relationships between boys and girls in the school environment (THORNE, 1993 apud CONNELL; PEARSE, 2015). Even if misogyny is ignored as a problem or classified as “child's play”, these actions and ways of dealing with the feminine reflect a claim to male superiority based on the gender order.

Contemplating this process of masculinity production, Connel and Pearse (2015) cite Simone de Beauvoir's famous phrase to state that as much as “*You are not born a woman*”, the principle is the same for men, “[...] no one is born male, it is necessary to become a man” (CONNEL; PEARSE, 2015, p. 38). In addition, there is also no fixed male identity. For these authors, “[...] we claim a place in the gender order – or we respond to the place that is given to us –, in the way we conduct everyday life” (CONNELL; PEARSE, 2015, p. 39).

This is latent in Brazilian contemporaneity, where the efforts and violent discourses by the group in power show us that there is a conflict and a constant project to establish and strengthen a white and violent masculinity as dominant and models of femininity based on care and submission. These efforts to promote binary, opposing and conservative ideas and models of being a woman and being a man show that these boundaries are not stable and need to be drawn in a constant process. For Connell and Pearse, this process regularly does not require masculine social movements and “[...] everyday sexist practices such as the trivialization and sexualization of women promoted by the media are sufficient” (CONNELL; PEARSE, 2015, p. 185). The

24 Small crimes usually committed by people belonging to the working class, such as theft, robbery, embezzlement and receiving.

authors point out exceptions, but point out that, in general, the norm is maintained through the patriarchal institutions themselves. However, they argue that the changing character of gender politics implies conflicts and movements of reform and resistance to change.

The Latin American cases that we brought here are an example of how social movements of men and state authorities are articulating against transformations in the hegemonic orders of gender. These hierarchies that intersect race, class, gender, and sexuality, that produce patterns of femininity and masculinity and condemn dissident groups, are the same hierarchies that produce agents of death and collect bodies of cis women, trans women and transvestites in Latin America. The men who kill among the demons of the Devil, however, are the minor agents of this articulation that points to a *historical cycle of modern-colonial patriarchal violence*, which we will discuss below.

Continuum of modern-colonial patriarchal violence

The modern ideal of the individual is a powerful fiction forged by the colonizer, and the criteria of equality “[...] apparently universal that govern civil society are, in fact, those associated with the liberal conception of the male individual” (PATEMAN, 2014, p. 59). Adjusting this analysis, this individual is also white, proprietary, and literate and the hegemonic masculinities are guided by this ideal. This makes all those who do not correspond or adapt to the *universal and rational being* to be considered *irrational non-beings*. In neoliberal economics, the citizenship status of “first class” men was only extended to middle and upper class women from North to South 25. In other words, patriarchy applied a variable according to neoliberal demand and the hierarchy of the “remains” of the world in lower classes remained the same (PAREDES-CARJAVAL, 2014). For those who have always worked and have always been at greater risk of life, among this group of poor and non-white Latin American women and transvestites, this has meant an even more intense burden and death.

The racial and gender hierarchy has been toned by the policy of austerity, dismantling of the welfare state, fiscal crisis, precarious work and unemployment and a restricted world economy (BROWN, 2019). And, in this context, the maintenance of life is no longer necessary, but its destruction through *necropolitics* (MBEMBE, 2018). That is, the

25 This does not cancel out its character as a *thing* and *possession* that can be claimed in crisis contexts – such as during the Covid-19 pandemic, in which the rate of violence against women soars in both dominant and peripheral countries.

way capitalism organizes time and space impacts the subjectivity and lives of Latin American men and women. The rationality of sovereign life ratifies the exercise of killing the *other*, certifying the superiority of the first. The colonized body, from the territory to the subject, in Enlightenment thought and, in the Eurocentric, modern practice and imagination “[...] represents the place where sovereignty consists fundamentally in the exercise of power outside the law [...] and in the which 'peace' tends to assume the face of an 'endless war’” (MBEMBE, 2018, p. 32-33).

This colonial sovereignty gave meaning to “[...] the institution of different rights, for different categories of people, for different purposes within the same space” (MBEMBE, 2018, p. 39), relegating the colonized body to a third zone. , between the status of subject and object. This logic was reproduced internally in previously colonized territories. Within these territories, the constitution of internal borders to the territory-nation is what defines colonial subjects, although citizens. Capitalism subverts the body into merchandise and death into the accumulation of bodies (VALENCIA, 2010).

In these terms, death constitutes a profitable business. An illegal economy that sustains the demands of the legal, globalized, and neoliberal economy (SEGATO, 2005; LOZANO-LERMA, 2016). Because the framework of the freedom of action of the Rule of Law is not sustainable for this new model, the project of maintaining the sovereignty of the superpowers of the North over the countries of the South, inscribes the terms of this economy in those bodies considered uncivilized, inferior and disposable, but also potentially threatening and dangerous for capitalist maintenance. The colonizer’s phobia to the colonized’s reaction (MALDONADO-TORRES, 2018) becomes an increasingly specialized technology of death (FRANCO, 2018; MBEMBE, 2018). This economy anchored in death spreads from institutions to subjects and, combined with the weakening of the social fabric and its consequent crisis in the existence and valuation of human rights, evokes necroempowerment practices. In these terms, “contemporary history is no longer written from the survivors, but from the number of dead” (VALENCIA, 2010, p. 20, our translation).

The radical violence of the neoliberal period in the former colonies links a web of economic benefits to its spectacularization and commercialization through the information media, making it serve both as a technology of control and as a political-educational instrument. For this reason, Valencia (2010) understands violence as an episteme that links a bloody and symbolic act, as a horizon of meaning and reference. In these terms, modernity in its neoliberal stage potentiates violent ways of being and acting that produce agents of death. The subject who kills does so as a way of legitimizing himself in this

gendered and racialized economy, embodying the liberal figure of *the self-made man*, that is, exhibiting (or trying to exhibit) his merit as an economic rule and not as an excluded body (VALENCIA, 2010).

Furthermore, the economy performs the role of breaking community fabrics, since in a regime of terror, fear and a feeling of lack of protection, people are increasingly isolated in their homes and family nuclei, preventing organization and political claims for safety and security. basic rights. For most cis women, trans women and transvestites, this means that there is no safe place. Neither the streets nor the interior of the houses ensures the fullness of living their lives.

In this context, the death agent is often also a colonial subject, as the foundation of perverse subjectivities becomes the normality of the neoliberal state, exacerbating violent masculinities. But their attempt to reclaim white, patriarchal, Eurocentric reason through violence is flawed, because only the dominant groups embody this image. The guarantee of law and negotiation is not possible for this colonial subject, any more than it is for those subjects who are left to die by the State.

In turn, as a target of continuous misogynistic and transphobic violence, women have their bodies reduced to disposable biological and their maximum right to life is violated, as if it were transmuted into a patriarchal right of possession and death. That is why we understand femicide as an exercise in maintaining the modern-colonial gender system. Under the logic of necropolitics, it is justified death that gives femicide the character of a neoliberal technology of death. The submission of the female and feminized body can be understood in terms of arbitrary sovereignty that dominates and eradicates the power of the other (SEGATO, 2013). However, for this sovereignty to be efficient, the combination of psychic and moral subordinations to the physical consumption of the other is vital for the project of domination. In short, this is an exercise in sovereignty. This exercise crosses politics and subject under a constant of terror that gives men power and satisfaction in killing and displaying female and feminized bodies as a patriarchal tribute.

This can also be illustrated by the translation between body and territory made by Segato (2005; 2006). For example, just as there is an ostensible obsession of conservative groups with the intimate life (sexual, reproductive and behavioral) of cis women, this is not only maintained in the surveillance and persecution of the gender and sexuality of transsexual and transvestite women but is also exacerbated in the abomination and bestialization of their bodies, to the signifiers of femininity as a claim and identity performance or abandonment to them. Non-conformity to normative standards of femininity and masculinity in terms of

symbolic and biological is the justification for the sovereign attack on the body-territory of this entire dissident group.

The moral and psychic domination of intimate and private practices become “[...] be ostensibly proscribed for reasons that are hidden behind pseudo-doctrinal statements: for the collectivity to present its image and power to the world through its ability to control a territory – the women's body” (SEGATO, 2006, p. 6, our translation). In addition, when normatively “making live” through symbolic subordination is no longer effective or is no longer necessary, the sovereign at the apex of a *continuum* of violence exercises his power of death. The violation of the woman's body, shared between sexual crimes and femicide, comes from this process and from its constitution as a thing and as a possession based on the duality body/nature *versus* soul/reason that dehumanizes it and is reproduced by the educative/formative of common sense about gender relations.

This exercise of sovereignty marked in female and feminized bodies shows why “[...] the violation of bodies and the territorial conquest have gone and always go hand in hand, throughout the most varied periods, from tribal to the most modernized societies” (SEGATO, 2006, p.5, our translation). In this way, the phenomenon of femicide and its increase in the neoliberal stage of capitalism, with different types of this violence, can be understood as an instrument of the project of permanent colonization of modernity/coloniality in which “[...] some are destined for death so that the sovereign power may engrave its mark on their bodies; in this sense, the death of those elected to represent the dharma of domination is an expressive death, not a utilitarian death” (SEGATO, 2013, p. 21-22, our translation).

Connecting authors from the perspective of the Global South (QUIJANO, 2005; SEGATO, 2012; CONNELL; PEARSE, 2015; VIVEROS-VIGOYA, 2018; BROWN, 2019; LUGONES, 2020) and thinking about the neoliberal advance in Latin America with a market framework of privatization, individualization, and setback and/or instability in the conquest of basic rights, combined with conservative movements that return to concentrating women in the private sector and the increasing rate of femicides, we understand that it reproduces a historical cycle of violence against women, founded by modernity/coloniality.

Behind this violence are the constant failure of the authorities to stop or penalize these crimes and the resistance to the transformation of this gender order, showing that “the violence produced in the private sphere has never been alien to the institutional and macro-social context and, conversely, the exercise of political and social violence is linked to domestic violence” (VIVEROS-VIGOYA, 2018, p. 180). This gender order begins with the establishment of a

system of gender and modern-colonial patriarchy that curtails the political power of women's participation, exacerbating low-intensity patriarchies (SEGATO, 2012), repressing other ways of living gender (killing those who dare to live them), breaking bonds of solidarity (between minorities, between women and colonized men towards them), dehumanizing the bodies of racialized and transgender women and men, defining them as irrational and hypersexualized bodies that attack and/or that deserve to be raped, punished or killed.

If femicide constitutes a crime generally announceable by the cycle of violence followed by the victims, defined as *a.* increase in tension, *b.* act of aggression, *c.* honeymoon and sometimes access to the critical route (SAGOT, 2000; MENEGHEL, 2007; MENEGHEL et al, 2011; LUCENA et al, 2016), this pattern can be conceived at a micro level as the historical reproduction of a global cycle founded by modernity/coloniality that, on the one hand, offers the illusory discourse of modern equality (which is white, Eurocentric, heteronormative and elitist) and, on the other hand, takes the lives of other subjects through necropolitics (VALENCIA, 2016; MBEMBE, 2018; FRANCO, 2018), destroying ties, spreading violence, inequality and hatred among them for the benefit of Capital, racial and gender hierarchies between States, peoples and between groups that fall to reproduce this order.

In the cycle of violence identified in the domestic context, the aggressor conceives of the woman as an object and possession and himself as an unpunished holder who, for this purpose, isolates her economically and from her family, community, friends (phase of *tension increase*), violates her psychological state, her heritage, makes her see herself as someone who has no rights, violates her body, and makes her blame herself for her condition (phase of the *act of aggression*), apologizes and gives hope for a horizon of peace (the *honeymoon* phase, or of *regret and affection*), and goes back to the beginning until this *continuum* reaches its apex in femicide. The solution of this crime for the State and many feminist theorists is centered on the punishment of the individual/aggressor (MENEGHEL, 2007).

We argue that this cycle is nothing more than the reproduction at the microsocial level of the same historical global logic of gender violence. This totality can be translated into: (1) Establishment of a modern/colonial patriarchy and an abyssal hierarchical hiatus in which the “[...] sexual contract is disguised by the language of the citizen contract” (SEGATO, 2012, p. 118). As stated by Segato (2012) it was with men that “[...] the colonizers fought and negotiated, and it is with men that the State of colonial/modernity also does it” (SEGATO, 2012, p. 119); (2) The body of the woman and of the

transvestite is conceived as an object external to modern rationality and subjectivity (SEGATO, 2012; QUIJANO, 2005) and the colonized man sees it through the lens of the administrator-pornographic colonizer; (3) This makes even the colonized men understand themselves as the holders of power and resources, that is, those who in fact decide for the life (or death) of everyone - women, children, family members (SEGATO, 2012). At a global level, this is evidenced by the Second State networks which, on the one hand, are not subject to any legal jurisdiction, and on the other hand, also produce the State; (4) The privatization and marginalization of the domestic space expropriates what was political in gender relations, isolating women, breaking community ties, of solidarity between them. This also happens through the services themselves that should fight and prevent femicide. When the health worker ignores the sign of aggression, when the police officer refuses to make a record or issue a protection order, when the prosecutor suggests reconciliation, when the social worker says that there is no place for a woman with her children, and when all this is done under the imminent risk of femicide, the potential victim is isolated by the State. Access to these services is difficult for women in general and for those markedly racialized and transsexuals, due to racism, transphobia and classism that also constitute the institutions and world perspectives of public operators; (5) If at the micro level the honeymoon phase is contained in the cycle of violence against women, in the global scope “[...] the gender takes on the heterosexual matrix, in the Western way, and rights to protect against homophobia and policies to promote equality and sexual freedom, such as marriage between men and women, become necessary” (SEGATO, 2012, p. 125-126), and other policies and projects to promote gender equity. In other words, the State gives with one hand what it has already taken with the other (SEGATO, 2012). Fundamental agents of this phase are also the churches (especially the neo-Pentecostals and the charismatic Catholic segment²⁶), the hegemonic media and public representatives who retract violence against women to the private sphere and to the passionate, psychological, behavioral, and cultural characteristics of the groups and individuals. In the same way that the aggressor subject seeks to redeem himself by arguing for an infrequent act, this hegemonic discourse isolates the phenomenon and disconnects it from the global dimension. This is directly linked to blaming the victim, first because it already constitutes this phase

²⁶ FOLHA DE S. PAULO. *Carismáticos católicos se aproximam de evangélicos nos ritos e em Bolsonaro*. Available at <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2019/11/carismaticos-catolicos-se-aproximam-de-evangelicos-nos-ritos-e-em-bolsonaro.shtml> Access in 10/28/2020.

in itself – when the apology is accompanied by “You got me out of my mind!”, “It was no big deal!”, “He was beaten because he deserved it” – and secondly because it becomes the later accountability of the murdered woman – when the disclosure comes accompanied by moralistic arguments such as “But why did they travel alone?”, “That wouldn’t happen if I wasn’t wearing that slut outfit”, “I knew he was like that and stayed in the relationship”, “Why didn’t you report him?”, “Why did you withdraw the complaint?” etc.

(6) In a conflictive scenario between gender reforms, masculinist and conservative movements and structures, combined with the new policies of a neoliberal market, femicide reaches alarming peaks throughout Latin America and continues to be seen as a crime of a passionate and interpersonal nature (MENEGHEL, 2007) even when the death of a woman does not carry elements of communication between her and her tormentor, but between the aggressor and other horizontal or antagonistic interlocutors (SEGATO, 2013); (7) However, these men discover that seeing through the lens of the colonizer does not make the colonized man the white, proprietary, literate standard, and along with this hyperinflation of the masculine position, there is also the emasculation of his image, expelled from the purity of the colonizer (SEGATO, 2012). Violence against women is now pointed out by Westerners as a cultural characteristic of the colonized (VIVEROS-VIGOYA, 2018) who, in turn, reproduce the colonial violence suffered by targeting the “other” woman, with an accentuation among non-whites. and transsexuals or transvestites. At this point, where once colonized men and women, now “undeveloped” (PAREDES-CARVAJAL, 2014; MOHANTY, 2017), are blamed for the economy of death, we return to the first phase of this cycle.

Comparatively, just as at the micro level all the phases of the cycle of violence intersect, at the global historical level they are all produced in connection and according to a pattern that has femicide as its apex consequence. This perspective is similar to the discussion by Jaqueline Gomes de Jesus on the murder of trans people as genocide, contradicting the visibility of these crimes as “[...] a series of isolated murders, and reveal[ing]²⁷ their mechanism of generalized intolerance” (JESUS, 2013, p. 119). The dissemination of an objectifying and heteronormative look at female and feminized bodies (SEGATO, 2012; CONNELL; PEARSE, 2015), the political and economic isolation of these women, the fetishization and animalization of trans, transvestites and markedly racialized women, the racialization of men and masculinities and punitivism as a solution

²⁷ Our amendments in italics for consistency.

for a phenomenon of colonial roots, they configure, therefore, a cycle of constant maintenance of the modern/colonial gender order.

Since there is a *continuum* of violence against women also at a global level, which adapts according to the demands of modernity/coloniality, feminist perspectives that point to an essentially punitive immediate solution to these crimes can also be categorized as a non-emancipatory resistance front (SIBAI, 2016), since this same discourse of individualization and domestication of femicide, characterizing it as an intimate and private phenomenon, is repeated in the statements of heads of state and their misogynist representatives. Wouldn't this be a way to decouple gender violence from other social, racial, economic, political, and religious structures? The neoliberal project of exemption, privatization and individualization of work and life has successfully perpetuated these structures. This is what we are calling a *continuum of modern-colonial patriarchal violence*.

This construct, still in development, was inspired by the theories of Mara Viveros, Rita Segato and María Lugones. The *continuum of violence* was highlighted in Viveros-Vigoya (2018), when discussing the relationship between colonial violence and hegemonic and subordinate masculinities in Latin America; Segato's (2012) patriarchal approach, by showing how the colonial encounter modified and exacerbated gender hierarchies that already existed in colonized territories; and *modern-colonial* by María Lugones (2020), by showing that the hegemonic pattern of gender we live in today was founded in 1492. The current phase of this *continuum* is also modern-colonial because, as Segato stated in 2016 (MENEGHEL; LOZANO, 2017) about extreme violence in Latin America, it derives from a 500-year conquest that has not yet fully materialized and that depends on its constant maintenance. Despite their differences, the three authors approach the pact between subaltern and elite men as a convenient way for the former to try to get closer to the second group and obtain the same dividends from the hegemonic patriarchy (which, we already know, is frustrated). This scheme that we point out here shows how the masculinities produced by modernity and the particularities of the murder of cis women, trans women and transvestites perpetrated by men are historically connected.

Conclusion

We started this article with references to Galeano's essay *Os demônios do Demônio*. Just as depictions of black and poor *demons* are based on perspectives

of a *Demon* that projects and secures these representations to remain dominant, we understand that the lethal violence against female and feminized bodies in Latin America, in the form of multiple attacks with gunshots, stabbings, stoning, beheadings, decapitations, rapes, lynchings, charring, disappearances or public exposure of victims more than caused by personal motivations, they are motivated by violent patterns of masculinities that serve global patriarchal, political and economic articulations (the dominant Devil). To do so, we connect the historical constitution of violent masculinities in Latin America to the growing feminicide in contemporary times as a project of permanent conquest of modernity/coloniality. The agents of death are in dialogue with the same hegemonic patriarchy that oppresses them.

On the other hand, it is necessary to remember that “[...] not all men defend patriarchy” (CONNELL; PEARSE, 2015, p. 186). We can highlight pro-feminist men's movements, reflective groups of masculinities and paternity, and the multiplication of these ideas through education and social projects (VIVEROS-VIGOYA, 2018). There are informal movements and NGOs and international networks of men supporting gender equality and feminist agendas (combating violence, motherhood, politics, etc). This reflects “[...] the dynamic nature of the genre. While there are considerable continuities in the gender order, the resistance and debate it inspires contributes to change” (CONNELL; PEARSE, 2015, p. 187).

Viveros-Vigoya (2018) summarizes some recommendations for programs that promote masculinities that combat gender violence: strengthening relationships between researchers and project managers/workers; specialization of human resources, questioning common sense; promote networks between academia, the State and social movements; inclusion of the theme in the formation of technical and professional centers; to delegitimize and denaturalize violence through communication aimed at men, avoiding sensationalism and starting from a feminist ethic; identify the mechanisms that generate and reproduce images of hegemonic masculinities; promote interventions that target all men, but also according to their specific demands.

However, “it is also not enough to assume that the performative act that affirms the existence of 'new masculinities' gives them real social existence” (VIVEROS-VIGOYA, 2018, p. 17), due to the way in which economic and political structures distribute bodies and condition practices and relationships according to their demands. But producing feminist investigations and theories about masculinities implies the understanding that they are configured

within gender structures, highlighting gender inequalities also among men. This necessarily depends on analyzing practices, social, political and gender dynamics that condition subjectivities and, consequently, the costs and sufferings of being a man (VIVEROS-VIGOYA, 2018).

In this light, we germinated and identified in this work theoretical bases that have been guiding us in research on the phenomenon of femicide from the experience of peripheral men and women in situations of gender violence, users of public policies managed by the network to combat violence against women in the city of São Leopoldo/RS, Brazil. Being in investigative contact with male perpetrators of violence against the female gender and who evoke aggressive, conservative and violent masculinities also requires understanding their historical constitution as a group and as a subject.

As there is a demand for empirical research on this topic and under a feminist ethical orientation (CONNELL; PEARSE, 2015; VIVEROS-VIGOYA, 2018), we hope that this work will contribute to qualitative research committed to tackling gender violence from an anti-colonial perspective that highlight the effects of the world market on gender relations, in the life and death of Latin American women and transvestites, and mobilize ways to produce effective public policies to fight femicide from below, that is, from the experience of men and women in situations of gender violence.

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