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Artículos Científicos

Victimización y género en el discurso colectivo en prisiones baianas

Victimization and Gender in the collective discourse in Bahia prisons

Vitimização e Gênero no discurso coletivo em prisões baianas

Sandro José Gomes

Centro de Estudios e Investigaciones para el Desarrollo Docente CENID A.C., México

sandro.gomes@seap.ba.gov.br

<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7637-8809>

Resumen

El objetivo de esta investigación fue indagar, a través del discurso del sujeto, hasta qué punto temas como el sexismo, la misoginia y la homofobia son percibidos por agentes penitenciarios, otros trabajadores penales y privados de libertad como correlacionados con los prejuicios, intolerancia, falta de respeto, violencia física y psicológica, y otras formas de victimización que personas LGBTTTI y mujeres encarceladas pueden sufrir en las unidades penitenciarias del estado de Bahía (Brasil). La investigación tuvo un enfoque tanto cualitativo como cuantitativo, y fue realizada con base en el discurso del sujeto colectivo (DSC), técnica que agrupa en un único discurso informaciones obtenidas de diversos testimonios para construir una opinión colectiva. Para ello, se consultaron a 400 sujetos de 28 unidades penitenciarias de Bahía. Los hallazgos muestran que los problemas referidos a cuestiones de género son generados por la racionalidad punitiva predominante en las unidades penales de Bahía, la cual es promovida por la omisión de los directores y los agentes en cuanto a tomar acciones que inhiban la victimización de los homosexuales, transexuales y transgéneros en la prisión. De hecho, algunas veces, los propios directores y agentes penitenciarios son responsables por victimizar a esta población, pues se hallaron relatos de incluso tortura. En síntesis, los resultados demuestran que la población LGBTTTI es víctima de violencia física y psicológica por parte de otros presos y trabajadores



penitenciarios, y que las mujeres no tienen sus peculiaridades respetadas.

Palabras clave: mujeres encarceladas, población LGBTTTI, sistema penitenciario, victimización.

Abstract

The main objective of this research was to investigate, through the subjects' discourse, to what extent issues such as sexism, misogyny and homophobia are perceived by prison workers and inmates as correlated to prejudice, intolerance, disrespect, physical and psychological violence and other forms of victimization that LGBTTTI people and women can suffer in prisons in the State of Bahia, Brazil. The investigation, as a qualitative and also quantitative approach and was carried out on the basis of the Collective Subject Discourse (DSC) which is a technique of writing in a single discourse information obtained from different testimonies, and the final product is a collective opinion. While the studio was set up, it consisted of 400 subjects from 28 penitentiary units in Bahia. Among the findings, the research shows that the problems that refer to gender issues are affected by the prevailing punitive rationale in Bahia's penal units, to the point of this punitive rationale being responsible for the omission of prison directors and agents with respect to take actions that inhibit the victimization of homosexuals, transsexuals and transgenders in prison, and at times, the directors and prison agents themselves are responsible for victimizing this population in prison, even with reports of torture. In the results, it was also found that the LGBTTTI population is the victim of physical and psychological violence by other prisoners and prison workers and that women do not have their peculiarities respected.

Keywords: incarcerated women, LGBTTTI population, penitentiary system, victimization.

Resumo

O objetivo principal desta pesquisa foi investigar, por meio do discurso do sujeito, até que ponto questões como sexismo, misoginia e homofobia são percebidas por trabalhadores penitenciários e presidiários como correlacionadas com preconceito, intolerância, desrespeito, violência física e psicológica e outras formas de vitimização que pessoas LGBTTTI e mulheres podem sofrer nas prisões do Estado da Bahia, Brasil. A pesquisa teve abordagem em partes qualitativa e em partes quantitativa, sendo realizada com base no Discurso do Sujeito Coletivo (DSC), que é uma técnica de redação de informações obtidas a partir de vários depoimentos em um único discurso, tendo



como efeito o produto final uma opinião coletiva. Quanto à população de estudo, foi composta por 400 sujeitos de 28 unidades penitenciárias da Bahia. Entre os achados, a pesquisa mostra que os problemas referentes às questões de gênero são afetados pela lógica punitiva vigente nas unidades penais baianas, a ponto de essa lógica punitiva ser responsável pela omissão de dirigentes e agentes penitenciários a respeito de realizar ações que inibam a vitimização de homossexuais, transexuais e transgêneros na prisão, sendo que, por vezes, os próprios dirigentes e agentes penitenciários são responsáveis pela vitimização dessa população na prisão, havendo até mesmo relatos de tortura. Nos resultados, também foi constatado que a população LGBTTTI é vítima de violência física e psicológica por parte de outros presidiários e funcionários penitenciários e que as mulheres não têm suas peculiaridades respeitadas.

Palavras-chave: mulheres encarceradas, população LGBTTTI, sistema penitenciário, vitimização.

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Introduction

The objective of this work is to investigate, through the subject's discourse, how issues such as sexism, misogyny and homophobia are perceived by those deprived of liberty, prison agents and prison workers, and if these are linked to prejudices, intolerance, lack of respect, physical and psychological violence, as well as other forms of victimization that LGBTTTI persons and incarcerated women may suffer in the penitentiary units of the state of Bahia, Brazil.

For this, the research addresses gender issues in prison, understanding the prison from the perspective of Foucault (2012) analyzed in Pino (2020) in correlation with other concepts such as total institution (Goffman, 2010) and victimization, and other violence in penal spaces (Almeida, 2019). In this regard, it is considered that Brazilian society has a very large punitive rationale (Laier, 2016) and the country's prisons are constituted in an environment of exclusion and social marginality, according to the Ministério da Mulher, da Família e dos Direitos Humanos [MMFDH] (2020).

Thus, this study is based on the assumption that problems related to gender binaryism were always common in Brazilian prisons (especially those in Bahia), either with women - in terms of violence against their rights - or with the LGBTTTI universe (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transsexual, transgender, transvestite and intersexual, according to the Council to Prevent and



Eliminate Discrimination of Mexico City (COPRED) (2018) -. In this sense, it is worth noting that The first three letters of said acronym (LGB) refer to sexual orientations or preferences, the next two (TT) are linked to gender identity, the next (T) corresponds to a gender expression, and the last (I) constitutes intersex that is associated with a biological condition (COPRED, 2018; López y Serrato Guzmán, 2018; MMFDH, 2020).

This research estimates that in Bahia prisons a reality of deep inequalities is reflected (Gomes, 2020), aggravated by gender, ethnic-racial and sexual orientation discrimination.

The study considers that the intensification in the organization of inmates associated with the increase in organized crime in Brazil - another serious problem in the country's prisons (Darke and Karam, 2017; Pekny and Mattos Ricardo, 2017) - is also present in prisons de Bahía (Almeida and Paes-Machado, 2013), which generates prison victimization, a process in which a person deprived of liberty, in most cases, becomes an object of violence by another subject (s) (s) or prison worker (s), be it an individual or a group, depending on the social exclusion that occurs before the person arrived at said site (Almeida and Paes-Machado, 2013).

Victimization gives the penitentiary system of Brazilian states very oppressive characteristics, since the secondary role of the State in the micro-social scene of penal units favors the reinvention of the prison by criminal gangs, which require violence among prisoners and increase the effects of victimization in prison (Almeida and Paes-Machado, 2013).

In this way, criminal gangs that promote victimization in these spaces exploit gender, ethnic-racial and sexual orientation discrimination among the various forms of violence. This action by the gangs is in addition to those of prison workers who are more concerned with punishing people than rehabilitating them for the return to life in society (Gomes and Silva, 2017).

Therefore, the following questions have been asked: is there inhumane treatment of LGBTTTTI prisoners and women in the prisons of Bahia? What is the correlation that the discourse of prison workers and the prisoners themselves establishes between gender issues in prison and the victimization of LGBTTTTI prisoners and women who become objects of violence by other prisoners and prison workers?

Methodology

The research, based on qualitative analysis, was carried out through a current bibliographic survey on the subject. For this, a questionnaire was applied based on the discourse of the collective subject (DSC), a technique that serves to compile in a single discourse information obtained from various testimonies (Lefevre and Lefevre, 2014).

For Gomes and Silva (2017) in Brazil, the analysis of the discourse of the collective subject (DSC) is a methodology widely used in doctoral theses and master's thesis, as well as in research published in scientific journals in the areas of health, education, security public and penal system.

The elaboration of the DSC -technique of tabulation and organization of qualitative data-distinguishes the discursive logic of the mathematical logic, since both present their specific codes of communication and the also quantitative approach of production of the DSC expresses different dimensions of the same phenomenon by means of the collective thinking. This makes it possible to quantify how many subjects share the same thought and then give a statistical treatment to the DSC (Nicolau, Fonseca Escalda & Furlan, 2015).

Lefevre and Lefevre (2014) suggest four operations to produce the DSC: 1) key expressions; 2) central ideas; 3) anchors and 4) discourses of the collective subject (DSC):

1. Key expressions (CHEs) are fragments of verbal material (speech) from each linguistic record that form literal descriptions of the testimonies.
2. The central idea (CI) is the name or linguistic expression that reveals and describes, in a synthetic and precise way, the meaning present in the testimonies. The ICs are synthetically assembled by the researcher to compose the DSC.
3. The anchor (AC) must always be a positively worded statement that linguistically expresses ideologies, beliefs, theories, and values of individuals. The CA brings the basic idea of sustainability to the discourse, since it is through the basic ideas that the social representations about the object in apprehension are impregnated and identified, in which the common sense about what is under study is contained.
4. The discourses of the collective subject (DSC) is the elaboration of the synthesis of the key expressions present in the testimonies that have a central idea and / or anchor with a similar or complementary meaning, always written in the first person singular.

In this context, the DSC becomes a methodological technique that allows the rescue of the significant social representations present in the society and in the culture of a certain universe. Social representations comprise a set of concepts, propositions and explanations originated in everyday life in the development of interpersonal communications, that is, they are socio-cognitive schemes that people use to issue, in their daily lives, judgments or opinions (Lefevre and Lefevre, 2014).

Thus, in this research, a questionnaire was made up of closed questions that requested a complement in the form of an open question to ensure obtaining the DSC. The questionnaire was applied between January and June 2020 in the penal units, and consisted of two questions (with four propositions in each one) and the request for justification of the proposition chosen as an answer.

Regarding the study population, it was constituted by 400 subjects, of which 200 were prison workers (75 prison officers, 25 prison managers and 100 prison workers who had direct contact with the prisoners, such as teachers and professionals of the prison). Health). The other 200 participants were prisoners from all the Bahia penal units (28 units), administered by the Secretariat of Penitentiary Administration and Resocialization of the Government of the State of Bahia (SEAP). Among the prisoners surveyed, 136 were men and 64 women (only 32% of prison units have incarcerated women). Table 1 shows the categories of responses to the first question.

Tabla 1. Tabla demostrativa de las categorías de respuestas de la pregunta 1

PREGUNTA 1
¿Está de acuerdo con que las cuestiones de género como el sexismo, la misoginia y la homofobia están correlacionadas con los prejuicios, intolerancia, falta de respeto, violencia física y psicológica y otras formas de victimización en su establecimiento penitenciario?
CATEGORÍA DE RESPUESTAS
CATEGORÍA A: Sí, estoy totalmente de acuerdo y he experimentado este hecho con frecuencia en mi unidad de prisión.
CATEGORÍA B: Sí, estoy totalmente de acuerdo, pero nunca o raramente veo esto en mi unidad de prisión.
CATEGORÍA C: No estoy de acuerdo, aunque he sido testigo de varias formas de victimización en mi unidad penitenciaria por otras razones que no tienen correlación con los problemas de género.
CATEGORÍA D: No estoy de acuerdo; además, en mi unidad penitenciaria rara vez he visto alguna forma de victimización de prisionero.

Fuente: Elaboración propia

Table 2 shows the response categories for the second question.

Tabla 2. Tabla demostrativa de las categorías de respuestas de la pregunta 2

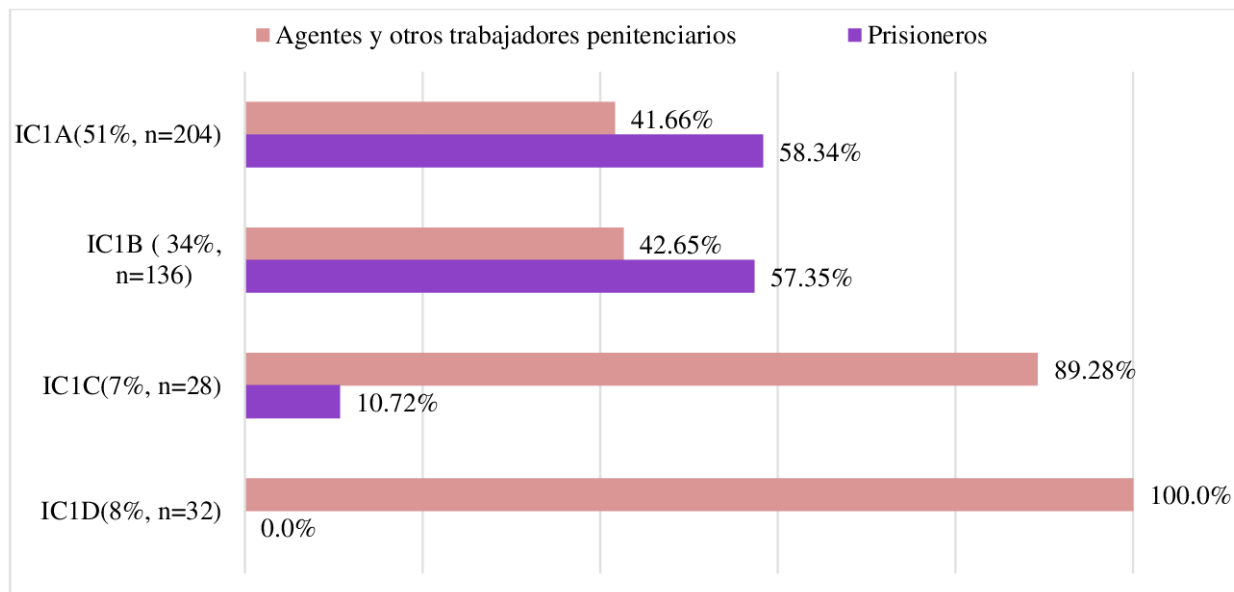
PREGUNTA 2
¿Está de acuerdo con que las mujeres en el sistema penitenciario de Bahía reciben un trato peor que los hombres y no tienen sus peculiaridades respetadas?
CATEGORÍA DE RESPUESTAS
CATEGORÍA A: Sí, estoy totalmente de acuerdo y en mi unidad penitenciaria las mujeres reciben un trato peor que los hombres y no tienen sus peculiaridades respetadas.
CATEGORÍA B: Sí, estoy totalmente de acuerdo que las mujeres en el sistema penitenciario de Bahía reciben un trato peor que los hombres y no tienen sus peculiaridades respetadas; pero en mi unidad penitenciaria no se custodia a mujeres.
CATEGORÍA C: No estoy de acuerdo con que las mujeres en el sistema penitenciario de Bahía reciben un trato peor que los hombres y que no tienen sus peculiaridades respetadas; pero en mi unidad penitenciaria no se custodia a mujeres.
CATEGORÍA D: No estoy de acuerdo con que en mi unidad penitenciaria o en el sistema penitenciario de Bahía las mujeres reciben un trato peor que los hombres y que no tienen sus peculiaridades respetadas.

Fuente: Elaboración propia

Results

The questionnaire applied to obtain the DSC, in its first question, sought to collect information on the perception of the respondents regarding the correlation of gender issues (such as sexism, misogyny and homophobia) with prejudice, intolerance, lack of respect, physical and psychological violence, as well as other forms of victimization that are supposed to occur in the prison environment. Figure 1 shows the percentage and frequency of the central ideas of question 1.

Figura 1. Porcentaje y frecuencia de ideas centrales de la primera pregunta



Fuente: Elaboración propia

The data obtained with the questionnaire —through the open complement of question 1, response category A— show that the key expressions (ECH) of the predominant central idea (IC1A) indicate that gender issues such as sexism, Misogyny and homophobia are correlated with prejudice, intolerance, disrespect, physical and psychological violence and other forms of victimization, as perceived by 51% (n = 204) of the respondents. Thus, according to the DSC obtained in IC1A:

I fully agree that gender issues are correlated with the many forms of victimization in prisons; Thus, I agree that physical and psychological violence in my unit is frequent with LGBT prisoners who suffer violence when they live with other prisoners, especially in the middle of a faction, and are forced to isolate themselves in special cells, which almost never exist; also in some cases homosexual prisoners suffer physical and psychological violence by prison officials, including prison directors. Directors are more concerned with punishing prisoners and the torture of prisoners, especially homosexuals, is a constant in Bahia prisons, since even recently the director of a unit was removed from office by the Judiciary for torturing some prisoners, including homosexuals (datos de investigación, 2020).

These results show that the majority of respondents (n = 204) fully agree that gender issues are correlated with the various forms of victimization in penal institutions, with a not too large gap in the perception of inmates (n = 119) and criminal workers (n = 85).

The key expressions (CHEs) of the central idea IC1B —obtained through the open complement of question 1, response category B of the questionnaire— indicate that 34% (n = 136) of the respondents totally agree that the questions Gender are correlated with the various forms of victimization in penal establishments, although they never or rarely saw this in their prison unit. Thus, according to the DSC obtained in the central idea IC1B:

I totally agree; although it is not very frequent in my prison unit that various forms of victimization take place against inmates with respect to their sexuality; However, in the Bahia prison system, women, homosexuals, and transvestites and transsexuals are deprived of specific policies, which sometimes culminate in some forms of violence against this population that does not receive due attention from the directors. , mostly military police officers, whose punitive rationale makes them ignore relevant actions aimed at the re-socialization of women, homosexuals, transvestites and transsexuals (datos de investigación, 2020).

Regarding LGBTTTI prisoners, the DSC obtained in the central idea IC1B was added:

When the LGBT population, the social name is not respected, the right to choose male or female clothing is not granted and the prisoners are forced to cut their hair. There are no specific spaces for the LGBT population; however, only three units have a specific cell for this population (datos de investigación, 2020).

The DSC obtained from the key expressions (ECH) of the central idea IC1C —through the open complement of question 1, response category C of the questionnaire— shows that 7% (n = 28) of those investigated do not believe that the questions Gender issues such as sexism, misogyny and homophobia are correlated with prejudice, intolerance, lack of respect, physical and psychological violence and other forms of victimization in penal establishments. According to these investigated:

I do not agree; although I have witnessed various forms of victimization in my prison unit for other reasons that have no correlation with gender issues. The physical and psychological violence and other forms of victimization that I witness almost every day in my prison have no correlation with intolerance due to the sexuality of the prisoners or the form of treatment that the inmates receive; but

they refer to the existence of factions and gangs that operate within the prison and make victims men and women, homosexuals and all types of people, therefore, there are cases of inhuman treatment and torture in my penal unit; but it is not related to gender, but to belonging to one or another criminal faction (datos de investigación, 2020).

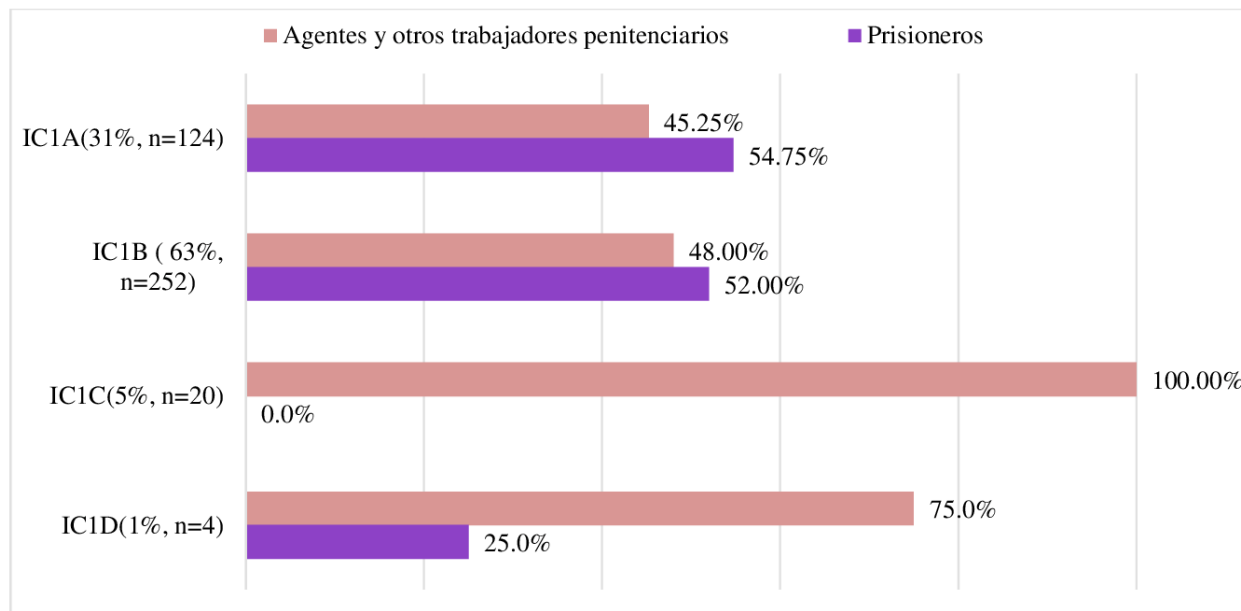
Through the open complement of question 1 —response category D of the questionnaire, with the central idea IC1D (8%; n = 32) - a DSC was obtained among those investigated in which it is stated:

I do not agree; because in my penitentiary unit I have rarely seen any form of victimization of incarcerated people. In my penitentiary unit there is no intolerance due to the sexuality of prisoners and female prisoners are treated with respect. The unit follows the guidelines received from the Penitentiary Secretariat, which recommends guaranteeing the rights of the LGBT population and implementing prison policies aimed at women. (datos de investigación, 2020).

When comparing the central ideas of the first question, it should be noted that the participation of prisoners was very small in the central idea IC1C, and there was no participation of any prisoners in the central idea IC1D; on the other hand, in the central idea IC1A and the central idea IC1B, prison workers and prisoners had a similar discourse. In addition, both in the central idea IC1A (51%; n = 204) and in the central idea IC1B (34%; n = 136) the participants said that there is a punitive stance on the part of the Directorate of the penal units and mistreatment of the LGBTTTI population.

The second question sought the perception of those investigated about the unequal position assumed by women in the Bahia prison system. Figure 2 shows the percentage and frequency of the central ideas of question 2.

Figura 2. Porcentaje y frecuencia de ideas centrales de la segunda pregunta



Fuente: Elaboración propia

According to the data obtained through the IC2A —developed from the open complement of question 2, response category A of the questionnaire— 31% (n = 124) of those investigated expressed the following discourse:

The treatment received by women in my penitentiary unit and also in the Bahia penitentiary system affects the re-socialization of incarcerated women, since the Bahia penal system was not designed for women, but for men, like the SEAP resources; there is only one female penitentiary in the entire state, and in the other units the prisons that no longer serve to house male prisoners are destined for women; and almost always women are guarded in unhealthy makeshift spaces and do not have the specific needs of women cared for (datos de investigación, 2020).

The predominant central idea IC2B —formulated according to the open complement of question 2, response category B of the questionnaire— brings the speech of 63% (n = 252) of the participants:

Although there are no incarcerated women in my prison unit, I have knowledge, through official documents of organizations such as the Public Ministry and the Judicial Power itself, as well as testimonies of prisoners and workers transferred from these prisons, that women incarcerated in other prisons Units in the Bahia prison system are treated worse than men (datos de investigación, 2020).

In accordance with the central idea IC2C —whose elaboration had been based on the open complement of question 2, response category C of the questionnaire—, for 5% (n = 20) of the participants:

My prison unit does not take custody of women; Furthermore, I do not agree that women in the Bahia prison system receive worse treatment than men, it is the same for everyone ... In the same way that men are treated, women also receive similar treatment (datos de investigación, 2020).

Only 1% (n = 04) of those consulted chose the IC2D central idea, obtained through the open complement of question 2, response category D of the questionnaire; In other words, they do not agree that in the Bahia prison system women are treated worse than men, since they state that “both in my prison unit and in the Bahia prison system women receive equal treatment to that given to men”(research data, 2020).

When the central ideas of the second question (IC2A and IC2B) are compared, it can be seen that women are mistreated in the prisons of Bahia. Therefore, it should be noted that among prisoners the central idea IC2A concentrates the discourse of all the women surveyed (n = 64) and only four men, the central idea IC2B concentrates the other men (n = 132); while among prison workers the majority (n = 120) focus on the central idea IC2B, followed by IC2A (n = 56).

With both the first and second questions, individual testimonies or their most significant strata were discarded on the scale of each DSC, as they did not have a similar or complementary meaning, although the subjects of the discourse belonged to two different categories: penal workers and prisoners.

Discussion

In this research, the assumption was made that when studying victimization in penal units, gender issues could not be ignored, since - to the extent that it establishes power distributions - gender is involved in the conception and construction of the own power (Scott, 2016), matrices through which domination relationships are justified (Barrientos, 2016; Rojas, 2016).

In this context, the results of this research show that gender relations are factors of victimization in prison, which reinforce the prevailing cruelty in the Bahia prison environment, very representative of the Brazilian prison system (Gomes, 2020). Therefore, and considering the opinion of Boiteux (2017) that "the Brazilian prison system is today a powder keg: overcrowded, unhealthy, totally inadequate, ready to explode at any time" (p. 22), with the present Research



may indicate that the Bahia prison system is part of that powder keg.

The results found also show that problems regarding gender issues are fostered by a punitive rationale, pointed out by Laier (2016) as one of the characteristics of the Brazilian prison system. This punitive rationale that dominates prisons in other parts of the country also exists in the prisons of the Bay, and is correlated with the gender perspective when it is estimated that these inequalities reflect a context of exclusion that nullifies any act of emancipation and valorization (Barrientos , 2016; Laier, 2016). In this environment, people belonging to the LGBTTTTI universe are in a position of complete disadvantage and fragility in a society based on heteronormativity and gender binarism where punitive rationality predominates.

In this sense, the data obtained through the discourse of the collective subject show that the majority of the participants (85%; n = 340) recognize that the mentality of a large part of the prison administrators in Bahia is a punitive rationality, which it makes them ignore relevant policies from a gender perspective.

The results also indicate that punitive rationality leads to the omission of prison directors and agents with respect to taking actions that inhibit the victimization of homosexuals, transsexuals and transgenders in prison, which makes their torture possible not only by the other prisoners, but even by the prison workers themselves.

It should be noted that Brazil is one of the countries with the most alarming data on violent deaths due to homophobia, which is why it is one of the nations where the most transvestites and transsexual people are killed. In fact, the state of Bahia is the second in deaths, according to the Gay Group of Bahia [GGB] (2020), hence the victimization of this population that is deprived of liberty is common, as the results also indicate that gangs inside the prison sometimes make homosexuals, transsexuals and transgenders their victims.

In this way, the figures collected are consistent with the most recent report on the LGBTTTTI population in Brazilian prisons, which presents complaints of physical, sexual and emotional violence, in addition to a series of complaints and testimonies of torture and ill-treatment. In this document it is noted that it is common for transsexual and transvestite women to be sent to male prisons, where they are forced to cut their hair, wear men's clothing and are denied the right to use their social name (MMFDH, 2020).

Likewise, regarding women deprived of liberty in Bahia, it can be said that the prison is an institution of a punitive and corrective nature where they must face various types of violence, such as threats, physical impossibilities and psychological violence reflected in a



depersonalization of their self. . While it is true that this also occurs with incarcerated men, in the case of pregnant women it becomes a double violence, which is more devastating (Boiteux, 2017; Laier, 2016).

Therefore, the research indicates that 94% (n = 376) of those consulted agree that women receive worse treatment than men in the Bahia prison system and that their particularities are not respected.

In this sense, Gomes (2020), based on some reports on the conditions of deprivation of liberty of women in the penal units of Bahia, concludes the following:

The Bahia prison system, especially in the interior of the state, is not prepared to receive women and, when it does, they treat them even worse than that given to men, which prevents the possibility of resocialization advocated in Brazilian penitentiary legislation... These women are placed in penitentiary units that ignore gender specificities, since they are the result of improvising spaces previously destined for other purposes. In general, these are very inhumane environments to guard people. Therefore, in most units with incarcerated women in Bahia, the environment is promiscuous and unhealthy, especially for pregnant women. (p. 14).

Therefore, and from the findings collected, it is possible to deduce that within prison aspects such as sexism, misogyny and homophobia are related to prejudice, intolerance, lack of respect, physical and psychological violence and other forms of victimization that, according to Almeida (2019), damage the rehabilitation of punishment. All this reflects the worst characteristics of an androcentric and exclusive society in which gender issues influence the power structure, the relationship between prisoners and even the relationship between prisoners and prison workers, so it is not possible to dissociate the gender variables of behaviors and attitudes that occur within the prison (Laier, 2016; Lobo y Rosas Vilarrubia, 2017).

Conclusions

The results of this research allow us to conclude that there is a generalized perception of disrespect for the rights of inmates of the prisons of the state of Bahia (Brazil), especially women and members of the LGBTTTI community. These findings show that a punitive rationality prevails among prison administrators, causing them to ignore relevant policies from a gender perspective. Furthermore, this rationality leads to the omission of prison directors and officers in taking actions that inhibit the victimization of homosexuals, transsexuals and transgenders in prison, which is usually caused by the prison directors and officers themselves.

On the other hand, the research with the discourse of the collective subject (DSC) also points out that women in the Bahia prison system receive worse treatment than men, and do not have their peculiarities respected, an aspect also pointed out in the literature review .

Therefore, it can be affirmed that there is inhumane treatment of LGBTTTI prisoners and women in Bahia generated by prison agents, other prison workers and the prisoners themselves, who establish a direct relationship between victimization and gender issues in prison.

Now, with respect to the limitations of the present study, it can be indicated that the use of information based on the opinion of workers and prisoners - procedure that characterized the discourse of the collective subject (DSC) - can cause an overestimation of the exposures studied, which constitutes a possible methodological limitation. In this sense, it should be remembered that, in addition to its descriptive nature, this study has an exploratory nature that allows the generation of hypotheses to be tested in future research. In this way, more quantitative and qualitative data can be obtained to fill the gaps eventually left in this work.

Contributions to future lines of research

This research can serve as the basis for future studies on gender issues in the penal system of Bahia and Brazil. In fact, based on these results, new inquiries may be developed regarding the reasons why issues such as sexism, misogyny and homophobia are present in the prisons of the state of Bahia and how they affect the resocialization activities that are part of it. from the prison routine. Likewise, other factors not explored in this research can be addressed, but which make the association of these issues with the multiple forms of prison victimization feasible. Finally, mechanisms should be proposed to combat this problem.



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