

2,190 murders are only the tip of the iceberg –
An introduction to the Trans Murder Monitoring project

TMM annual report 2016

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W O R L D W I D E



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I Acronyms

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
APTN	Asia-Pacific Transgender Network
ASTRA Rio	Associação das Travestis e Transexuais do Estado do Rio de Janeiro
Diverlex	Diversidad e Igualdad a Través de la Ley Diverlex
GGB	Grupo Gay da Bahia
IDAHO	International Day against Homophobia, Biphobia and Transphobia
LGBT	Lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
OHCHR	Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
S.H.E.	Social, Health And Empowerment Feminist Collective Of Transgender Women Of Africa
SOGI/E	Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity / Gender Expression
STRAP	Society of Transsexual Women of the Philippines
TDoR	International Transgender Day of Remembrance
Thai TGA	Thai Transgender Alliance
TGEU	Transgender Europe
TMM	Trans Murder Monitoring project
TvT	Transrespect versus Transphobia Worldwide research project
UNDOC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime

Terminology

Due to the vast diversity of concepts and self-definitions used by the communities we work with around the world, we have chosen to limit ourselves to only two widely established terms, 'trans people' and 'gender-diverse people'. We are aware of the challenges in using these terms, as they originated in Western discourses in which binary gender/sex concepts are assumed to be the norm, and thus are unable to fully capture the breadth of gender concepts present in many societies. Nevertheless, we feel that it is necessary to use more general terminology so that our work is accessible to the broadest array of readers.

In the context of the TvT research project and this report, trans people and gender-diverse people include those with a gender identity that is different from the gender they were assigned at birth, and those who wish to portray their gender in a way that differs from the gender they were assigned at birth. Among them are those people who feel they have to – or those who prefer/choose to – present themselves in ways that conflict with the social expectations of the gender role assigned to them at birth. They may express this difference through language, clothing, accessories, cosmetics, or body modification. Trans people and gender-diverse people include, among many others, transsexual and transgender people, trans men and trans women, transvestites, cross-dressers, no-gender, liminal-gender, multigender, and genderqueer people, as well as intersex people who relate to or identify as any of the above. Also included are those who self-identify or relate to the terms 'trans people' or 'gender-diverse people' in international contexts, such as people who see themselves as a part of local, indigenous, or subcultural groups – e.g. Leitis in Tonga – and those people in non-binary gender-systems who were raised in a different gender than male or female. Although some gender-diverse people feel represented by the umbrella term 'trans', others do not, and vice-versa. Hence, we have opted to use both terms throughout this text.

'Transphobia' and 'Transrespect' are the guiding terms in this project: they encompass a spectrum from violence, discrimination, and negative attitudes towards trans and gender-diverse people on the one hand, and recognition, acknowledgement, and respect on the other. It is necessary to investigate both of these poles in order to develop actionable analyses and politics related to trans activism. To underline the significance and specific meanings of these terms in the context of this report, we treat these words as proper nouns and have thus capitalised them throughout.

We use the term **Transphobia** to denote forms of violence, discrimination, hatred, disgust, aggressive behaviour, and negative attitudes directed at individuals or groups who transgress or do not conform to social expectations and norms having to do with gender. This includes institutionalised forms of discrimination, criminalisation, pathologisation, and stigmatisation that manifest in various ways, ranging from physical violence, hate speech, insults, and hostile media coverage to forms of more diffuse forms of oppression and social exclusion. Transphobia particularly affects trans and gender-diverse people. It often operates together with other forms of discrimination and violence. The suffix 'phobia', understood in psychology to indicate an individual pathological response, has come to be used in the social sciences to denote a complex social phenomenon that encompasses discrimination and aggression against a class of people. The terms 'hate violence' and 'hate crime' (or 'bias crime') are related to Transphobia and also have a special significance in this report.

Transphobic hate violence denotes any incident that is motivated by prejudice, hostility, or hatred towards persons or groups who transgress or do not conform to societal gender expectations and norms. It includes physical, verbal, or other forms of violent expression. Trans and gender-diverse people are particularly affected by hate violence. Transphobic hate violence can have a deep impact not only on individual victims, but also on the wider group or community with which they are associated. Thus, Transphobia affects social cohesion and stability with regard to not only trans and gender-diverse people's communities, but also within the larger societies in which those communities are embedded. The term **transphobic hate crime** (or 'bias crime') is used where such violence is viewed through the lens of the law enforcement and criminal justice systems. The 'hate crime' concept can, for instance, form the legal basis for criminal sentences (or increased sentences) due to the perpetrator's intent to discriminate.

The term **Transrespect**, in the context of the TvT project, does not simply refer to the absence of any form of Transphobia. Instead, it is the expression of deep respect for and positive recognition of trans and gender-diverse people. It includes the acknowledgement of the unique or particular ways in which these people enrich society. Thus, Transrespect honours the cultural and social benefits of gender non-conformity, gender liminality, and gender diversity. It can manifest in individual behaviour as well as on larger social levels. The creation, transformation, and reproduction of practices that embody Transrespect can be enacted in cultural, social, religious, and administrative institutions. Transrespect can benefit not only certain individuals or minorities, but societies as a whole.

I. Introducing Transgender Europe's Trans Murder Monitoring project

How and why the TMM project started

For a long time, trans and gender-diverse people in all parts of the world have been victims of horrifying hate violence, including beatings, mutilation, rape, and murder. Often these horrible forms of gender-biased violence went unreported. The murder of trans and gender-diverse people is sometimes reported, but often in a transphobic way, obscuring the gender-biased discrimination that may have caused it. Activists have reacted to the murders of trans and gender-diverse people at the national and international level with efforts to bring attention to transphobic violence, such as the launch of the Transgender day of Remembrance (TDoR) in 1999 and TGEU's international campaign 'Justice for Gisberta' in 2006. Nevertheless, there had been no systematic hate violence monitoring or reports on trans and gender-diverse murders at an international level until 2009. Before then, the only archive documenting the murder of trans and gender-diverse people on a global scale was a TDoR website based in the USA. In 2008, this website showed only 28 reported murders of trans and gender-diverse people worldwide, of which 16 were in the USA. That same year, however, the Brazilian LGBT organisation Grupo Gay da Bahia (GGB), which has been publishing data on reported murders of LGBT people in Brazil since 1980, documented 59 murders of trans and gender-diverse people in that country alone. This disparity in reliable data about hate violence on a global scale illustrated the need for the TMM project. Activists sensed that the actual number of trans and gender-diverse murders was much higher than had been previously reported, and accurate, comparable data and documentation was scarce.¹

In order to correct these shortcomings, the TMM project was developed in April 2009. Since then, it has systematically monitored, collected, and analysed reports of the killing of trans and gender-diverse people worldwide. The TMM project was originally designed as a first stage pilot project of what would later become TGEU's Transrespect versus Transphobia Worldwide (TVT) research project (see Table 1 on page 6).

The TMM project's preliminary results were first published in July 2009 in the scientific online magazine *Liminalis – Journal for Sex/Gender Emancipation and Resistance*. The results reported 121 murders in 2008 and a further 83 in the first half of 2009. These very preliminary data suggested that, "every 3rd day the murder of a trans person is reported".² Shocking as these results were, in the following years these numbers more than doubled. The count reached its peak in 2012 with 311 reported murders of trans and gender-diverse people worldwide. After 2012, the numbers of annual reported murders collected by the TMM project varied between 271 and 294. However, in the first six months of 2016, the TMM project has collected 166 reports of murder, the highest number ever reported during the first half of any year so far, accounting for almost a murder every day.

The consistently high numbers of reported murders, along with their recent increase in 2016, are indicators that extreme violence against trans and gender-diverse people is not abating, and continues to be a pressing issue for activists as well as an important issue in national and international politics.

The regular publication of the TMM project's findings has helped raise awareness of the situation and spurred important public dialogue surrounding the issue of hate violence. Since 2009, the TMM project's work has been cited and mentioned in numerous national and international newspapers, magazines, and television and radio programs. It has also been disseminated widely through web-based media, blogs, NGO websites, and across multiple social media platforms. TMM figures have been even featured in *Vogue* magazine, reaching broad audiences outside of the field of human rights. TMM maps, press releases, and excerpts thereof have been translated into numerous languages, including Chinese, Dutch, Finnish, French, Georgian, German, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese, Persian, Polish, Portuguese, Russian, Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian, Thai, and Turkish, to name but a few. NGOs and lawyers that support trans and gender-diverse asylum seekers have used the data as evidence in asylum application processes. Furthermore, the figures have been cited in both major UN

1 See: C. Balzer and J.S. Hutta, *Transrespect versus Transphobia Worldwide: A Comparative Review of the Human-rights Situation of Gender-variant/Trans People*, November 2012, p. 26-27, available at http://transrespect.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/TVT_research-report.pdf (last accessed on 28 August 2016).

2 See: C. Balzer, 'Every 3rd day the murder of a trans person is reported – Preliminary results of a new Trans Murder Monitoring Project show more than 200 reported cases of murdered trans people from January 2008 to June 2009', *Liminalis – Journal of Sex/Gender Emancipation and Resistance*, Vol 3, 2009, p. 148, available at http://www.liminalis.de/2009_03/TMM/tmm-englisch/Liminalis-2009-TMM-report2008-2009-en.pdf (last accessed August 28 2016) It must be noted that since the first report, updates have been published two to four times a year comprising amendments to and corrections of previous publications, which leads to the actual number of 149 reported murders in 2008 in the last TMM update.

reports related to sexual orientation and gender identity (SOGI): the Report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights “*Discriminatory laws and practices and acts of violence against individuals based on their sexual orientation and gender identity*” published in 2011, and the Report of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights “*Discrimination and violence against individuals based on their sexual orientation and gender identity*” published in 2014.³ Following the first publication of a Transrespect versus Transphobia Worldwide research report in 2012⁴, which contained TMM data in a deeper context, donors such as The Open Society Foundations and the US State Department began including the prevention and monitoring of transphobic violence (particularly in South America) into their funding agenda. These little successes motivated TGEU’s TvT team to continue and expand the TMM research.

³ See http://www.ohchr.org/documents/issues/discrimination/a.hrc.19.41_english.pdf (last accessed on August 28 2016) and http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=A/HRC/29/23&referer=/english/&Lang=E, p. 9 (last accessed on August 28 2016)

⁴ See: C. Balzer and J.S. Hutta, *Transrespect versus Transphobia Worldwide: A Comparative Review of the Human-rights Situation of Gender-variant/Trans People*, November 2012, available at http://transrespect.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/TvT_research-report.pdf (last accessed on 28 August 2016).

“**Transrespect versus Transphobia Worldwide**” (TvT) is an ongoing, comparative, qualitative-quantitative research project initiated by Transgender Europe (TGEU).

The advocacy network Transgender Europe (TGEU), established in 2005, has provided a great environment for gathering the expertise of trans and gender-diverse activists from around the world. Thanks to over 100 active member organisations in more than 40 countries, as well as sound organisational structures, TGEU has facilitated the development, research collaborations, and administrative implementation of the TvT project. With the assistance of dozens of partner organisations and experts in more than 100 countries in the world, and the guidance of an international Advisory Board consisting of 16 experts and researchers from all world regions, as well as with funding from The ARCUS Foundation (USA), The Open Society Foundations (USA) and the Heinrich Böll Foundation (Germany), TGEU’s TvT project provides ground-breaking research on the human rights situation of trans and gender-diverse people worldwide.

This ongoing, comparative, qualitative-quantitative research is first and foremost grounded in, and serves trans and gender-diverse people’s movements and activism. The project seeks to provide an overview of the human-rights situation of trans and gender-diverse persons in different parts of the world and to develop useful data and advocacy tools for international institutions, human-rights organisations, the trans movement, and the general public.

The TvT project includes the following three sub-projects:

Trans Murder Monitoring (TMM) is a systematic collection, monitoring, and analysis of reported killings of trans and gender-diverse people worldwide.

Legal and Social Mapping provides an overview of existing laws, law proposals, and actual legal and health-care practices as well as diverse aspects of the social situation relevant to trans and gender-diverse people. It currently comprises more than 130 countries in six world regions. The TvT research report from 2012 presents, discusses, and contextualises the key findings of these two sub-projects and provides a polyvocal account of some of the major challenges and achievements of trans and gender-diverse people and movements in the twenty-first century.

The third sub-project is a **Survey on the Social Experiences of Trans and Gender-Diverse People**, which addresses experiences of both Transphobia and Transrespect and has been developed and conducted together with our partner organisations in 2012 and 2014 in Colombia, India, the Philippines, Serbia, Thailand, Tonga, Turkey, and Venezuela. In 2016 new cooperations started to implement the survey in three further states in Oceania.

Having the format of peer research that combines research with empowerment, it lays the ground for future TvT research and further regional and transnational collaborations.

The TvT research project is a work in progress. The data is collected, compiled, and updated periodically.

More data from these sub-projects can be found in the research sections of the TvT website as well as in the TvT databank, which provides a visualisation of the combined different sets of comparative data: www.transrespect.org

Following a decision made at a Strategic Planning meeting with our partners in the global South and East in 2012 in Stockholm (Sweden), the TvT project also organises **capacity building trainings for trans and gender-diverse people**.

| Table 1

How the Trans Murder Monitoring is conducted

There are several reasons for the increases and variations of the figures from year to year. Since it first began its work, TGEU's TvT research team has continuously improved its monitoring methods and its cooperation with partner organisations. Over time, the project has relied on the work of a variety of researchers and partner organisations. Since Spring 2016, there have been two dedicated researchers of TGEU's TvT research team working on the TMM, in conjunction with six core partner organisations. This change in resources dedicated to the TMM may explain some of the variation in results, including the very recent resurgence of reported murders.

However, other reasons may also affect the results of the TMM as the project grows. To get a better understanding of these factors, the methodology of the Trans Murder Monitoring will be explained further below.

Trans Murder Monitoring is dependent both on the visibility of trans and gender-diverse people in the specific countries – especially in the public discourse – and on the existence of strong and connected trans movements / communities in these countries. When both of these factors are in place, appropriate reporting of the murders of trans and gender-diverse people in newspapers, blogs, NGO websites, and social media is more likely. These factors also allow for more accurate local and regional monitoring. Over the years, the TMM project has relied on three different methods to collect data.

1) Internet research

Internet research, carried out by TGEU's TvT research team in six different languages (English, Spanish, Portuguese, French, Italian, and German) focuses on newspaper reports, blog entries, NGO website reporting, social media, and mailing lists. Culturally specific key-words as well as pejorative terms used in mainstream media are used to search for reported murders of trans and gender-diverse people. For instance, when searching for reports of murdered trans and gender-diverse people in Indian or Pakistani newspapers, the pejorative term "eunuch" is used in addition to culturally appropriate terms such as *arvani*, *hijras*, *koti*, trans and transgender. In Thai newspapers, the pejorative term "ladyboy" is used in addition to the culturally appropriate terms *katoey*, *toms*, *tomboys*, trans, and transgender. During the initial years of the TMM project, this was the primary method used for collecting data. Fortunately, the TvT research team has developed other methods that have become valuable sources for more accurate information.

2) Cooperation with partner organisations

The second method used in the TMM, which has gained more and more importance as the project matures, is reliance on TGEU's strong cooperation with partner organisations in different world regions. In 2010, the TvT research team started exchanging data with organisations that do professional monitoring. Over the years, this exchange has evolved and now includes sub-granting, sub-contracting, and the training of partner organisations to conduct TMM in their country or region. As mentioned before, the number of partner organisations within the TvT project had changed over the time for manifold reasons, but there have been always five to ten core partner organisations with which TGEU had cooperated in the different TvT sub-projects. Table 2 on page 8 shows the 18 partner organisations that have cooperated with TGEU on the TMM project, including the six current core partner organisations (marked in bold) that are sub-granted and trained by TGEU to support Trans Murder Monitoring. The current core partners are the Asia-Pacific Transgender Network (APTAN), which covers many countries in Asia and Oceania; the Mexican trans organisation Centro de Apoyo a las Identidades Trans A.C., which had supported TGEU for many years with monitoring in Spanish speaking countries in Central and South America; the Refugee Law Project in Uganda, which covers a range of East African countries; the South African trans-feminist organisation Social, Health and Empowerment Feminist Collective of Transgender Women of Africa (S.H.E.), which supports the TMM project in Southern African countries; the Pakistani trans organisation Wajood, which conducts TMM in Pakistan; and the Brazilian national trans network Rede Trans Brasil, which covers Brazil, the country with the highest

absolute number of reported murders every year, currently accounting for almost 40% of all reported murders of trans and gender-diverse people worldwide. Representatives of these organisations were invited to Bologna, Italy in June 2016, where they participated in a training on Trans Murder Monitoring methodology conducted by TGEU's TvT research team.

These six organisations are not the only ones that provide TGEU's TvT research team with TMM data. Some organisations that have been core partners in the past continue to provide TMM data, and others occasionally provide data or engage in data exchange.

TMM partner organisations
Organisations that provided / provide a significant amount of data on murdered trans and gender-diverse people to the TMM
<p>Asia-Pacific Transgender Network APTN (Thailand); Associação das Travestis e Transexuais do Estado do Rio de Janeiro ASTRA Rio (Brazil); Centro de Apoyo a las Identidades Trans A.C. (Mexico); Diversidad e Igualdad a Través de la Ley Diverlex (Venezuela); Gender Dynamix (South Africa); Grupo Gay da Bahia GGB (Brazil); Pembe Hayat (Turkey); Observatorio Ciudadano Trans (Colombia); Rede Trans Brasil (Brazil); Red Umbrella (Turkey); Refugee Law Project (Uganda); Social, Health And Empowerment Feminist Collective Of Transgender Women Of Africa S.H.E. (South Africa); Society of Transsexual Women in the Philippines STRAP (The Philippines); Thai Transgender Alliance Thai TGA (Thailand); The Philippine LGBT Hate Crime Watch (The Philippines); Trans China (China); Trans X (Austria); Wajood (Pakistan).</p>

Table 2

3) Contributions from activists and researchers

The third method, which has helped to cover countries that had previously been blind spots in TMM, involves including questions relevant to Trans Murder Monitoring in the TvT expert questionnaires that are completed by local experts and researchers in more than 130 countries. The completed questionnaires form the basis of another TvT sub-project, the TvT Legal and Social Mapping.⁵ The questions used to gather data for TMM can be found in Appendix A. They cover a wide range of important information on victims (legal and social name, age, profession, gender identity, ethnic identity, migrant status, etc.), on details of murders (date, place, cause of death, bias indicators, etc.), on perpetrators, and on the murders' aftermaths and social impacts. They include all categories that are important for TMM analysis.

In addition to obtaining data via these three methods, TGEU's TvT research team regularly receives reports of murders of trans and gender-diverse people from activists and experts from all parts of the world.

⁵ See: <http://transrespect.org/en/research/legal-social-mapping/> (last accessed on August 28 2016).

How the Trans Murder Monitoring data should be interpreted

The Trans Murder Monitoring project faces several challenges apart from the changing number of researchers and partner organisations.

It is important to note that the Trans Murder Monitoring findings only show the cases of murdered trans and gender-diverse people that have been reported. There is no data available to estimate the number of unreported cases. Research suggests that there is likely to be a significant number of unreported cases in the TMM blind-spot countries, i.e. those with high levels of widespread Transphobia and hate violence directed toward trans and gender-diverse people, but where such violence is rarely reported upon.

The data presented in the Trans Murder Monitoring does not include all reported murders of trans and gender-diverse people worldwide. It includes only those reported murders, which can be found on the Internet and which are reported by local communities and activists. This fact highlights two challenges for the TMM project. Due to the numerous languages used online, the variety of terms used to refer to trans and gender-diverse people, and the myriad websites to review, it is simply impossible to find every report on the Internet given TGEU's current resources. Both TGEU's TvT research team, as well as the TMM partner organisations, are stretched to their limits. Similarly, it is unrealistic given the current conditions to reach out to all local trans and gender-diverse communities that could contribute to TMM.

Furthermore, it can often be challenging to find reports of murdered trans and gender-diverse persons in particular as not all of these people are identified as such in the media. This poses one of the major challenges for TMM, which can result in particularly skewed data for some countries and regions. This challenge has been faced by the TMM project since its inception. It was addressed in the TvT research report from 2012, where the situation in Africa was described as follows:

"While Africa has fewer documented killings of gender-variant/trans people than other world regions, the TMM findings are still significant for at least three reasons. First, the fact that there is limited public knowledge regarding the violence committed against gender-variant/trans people speaks to the difficulties involved in monitoring the murder of gender-variant/trans people. No such monitoring exists in a systematic way in Africa. Activists from several countries have reported that people who identify as trans or express their gender differently from social expectations are perceived as 'homosexuals', as is discussed later on. This fact suggests that murders of gender-variant/trans people are rarely reported as such by the media. Despite ample evidence of violence related to gender identity or expression, there tends to be no engagement with Transphobia as a distinct problem".⁶

In 2016, TGEU's TvT research team addressed this challenge with a field trip to South Africa, where they initiated closer cooperation with African trans activists and NGOs, subcontracting trans organisations in Eastern and Southern Africa to support the TMM data collection in these regions, and by providing training to African trans activists in Trans Murder Monitoring methodologies.

As murder silences its victims and denies them the ability to share their truth, Trans Murder Monitoring is mostly dependent upon information circulated in newspapers and other media. Media often report female-identified trans and gender-diverse murder victims as being gay or simply male, resulting in these deaths going unnoticed by the TMM project. Additionally, societal Transphobia frequently prompts news outlets to mislabel hate violence against trans and gender-diverse people as 'crimes of passion', self-defence, the result of substance abuse, etc. Complicating matters further, police and judicial authorities fail to investigate and prosecute transphobic violence in many cases, lacking the awareness or volition to look into the hate-based motives behind violence against trans and gender-diverse people. In this way, societal Transphobia directly abets and contributes to violence against and murders of trans and gender-diverse people in many countries. At the same time, it serves to conceal the very existence of transphobic violence and murder. The TvT research report from 2012 presents several examples of this phenomenon, and elaborates on its implications in regard to the safety of trans and gender-diverse people.⁷

6 See: C. Balzer and J.S. Dutta, *Transrespect versus Transphobia Worldwide: A Comparative Review of the Human-rights Situation of Gender-variant/Trans People*, November 2012, p. 32, available at http://transrespect.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/TvT_research-report.pdf (last accessed on 28 August 2016).

7 See: C. Balzer and J.S. Dutta, *Transrespect versus Transphobia Worldwide: A Comparative Review of the Human-rights Situation of Gender-variant/Trans People*, November 2012, pp. 26-68, available at http://transrespect.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/TvT_research-report.pdf (last accessed on 28 August 2016).

Although the brutal violence and other circumstances in reported TMM cases suggest that quite a lot of them – even almost all cases – are transphobic hate crimes (according to the TvT research project’s classification) or crimes related to specific situations that trans and gender-diverse people have to face in some countries (e.g., being forced to do sex work to earn one’s living due to discrimination in employment), the TMM project is not currently equipped to definitely classify all murders it reports as hate violence. Therefore, the TMM report classifies them simply as reports of murdered trans and gender-diverse persons.

Of note when interpreting Trans Murder Monitoring data

- 1) TMM data only shows cases that have been reported.
- 2) TMM data does not include all reported cases worldwide.
- 3) Not all trans and gender-diverse murder victims are identified as such in reports of their death.
- 4) Transphobic and inappropriate media coverage often conceals the very existence of transphobic violence and murder.
- 5) TMM data shows only the tip of the iceberg of murdered trans and gender-diverse people.

I Table 3

These challenges and limitations with regard to comprehensive worldwide Trans Murder Monitoring demonstrate that the data presented by the TMM project must be understood as showing only a glimpse of the reality, the tip of the iceberg of murdered trans and gender-diverse people. The reality is much worse.

How the Trans Murder Monitoring data is presented

The first TMM results were published in July 2009 in the scientific online journal *Liminalis – Journal for Sex/Gender Emancipation and Resistance* in English, Spanish, and German. These were presented in the form of a report accompanied by tables, name lists, and maps. After TMM became one of the sub-projects of TGEU's Transrespect versus Transphobia Worldwide (TvT) research project, regular updates to these results have been published on the TvT website in English and Spanish. In the last seven years, TGEU published 17 TMM updates in the form of press releases accompanied by tables, name lists, maps, and, more recently, various infographics. Special updates to the TMM results have been published for the International Transgender Day of Remembrance (TDoR) and also for the International Day Against Homophobia, Biphobia and Transphobia (IDAHOT) so as to assist activists worldwide in raising public awareness about hate violence against trans and gender-diverse people. In 2012, the then TvT research team published its first TvT research report called *“Transrespect versus Transphobia Worldwide: A Comparative Review of the Human-rights Situation of Gender-variant/Trans People”*, which also focussed on TMM and its results. The report was published in English and Spanish, and later translated into Turkish.

The TMM chapter in this report served to present TMM and contextualise its results. Likewise, the regularly published press releases gave updates of these results and reported on trends revealed by the ongoing analysis of the collected reports. Such trends include the worrisome significant increase in reported murders of trans and gender-diverse children and youth mentioned in the 2015 IDAHOT press release: *“In the last seven years, 131 trans and gender-diverse persons under 20 years of age have been reported murdered, accounting for 12 % of all reported murders where the age was known. Forty-eight of these 131 victims were under 18. An extremely distressing tendency is the fact that in the last two years five trans people under 14 have been reported murdered.”*⁸ These press releases also offer background information and show data on specifically targeted groups, such as trans sex workers: *“Furthermore the analysis of the TMM data shows that 65 % of all murdered trans and gender-diverse people whose profession was known were sex workers. Of those reported victims where the cause of death is known, 44 % were shot to death, 23 % were stabbed to death and 13 % were beaten to death. Of those victims where the location of death has been reported, 38 % were murdered in the street and 24 % were murdered in their homes.”*⁹

Unfortunately, due to limited resources and the complexity of the TvT project, the TMM analysis presented in these updates has been restricted in its scope. In 2015, we decided to improve this by a) adding new analysis categories to our ever-growing TMM archive, and b) publishing annual TMM reports that allow a more detailed analysis and discussion of the results. While in the future we plan to focus in our analysis on specific topics, themes, regions, or target groups, this first TMM annual report serves as an introduction to the TMM project, its history, approaches, methodology, cooperation partners, and challenges.

In the following chapter we will give an overview of some of the results and analysis of the collected data of in the last eight and a half years, that is, from January 2008 to June 2016. As the main function of this report is the introduction of the TMM project, this overview will be rather brief and focus on the results and presentation on the impacts of the many challenges and limitations of the TMM elaborated in this chapter.

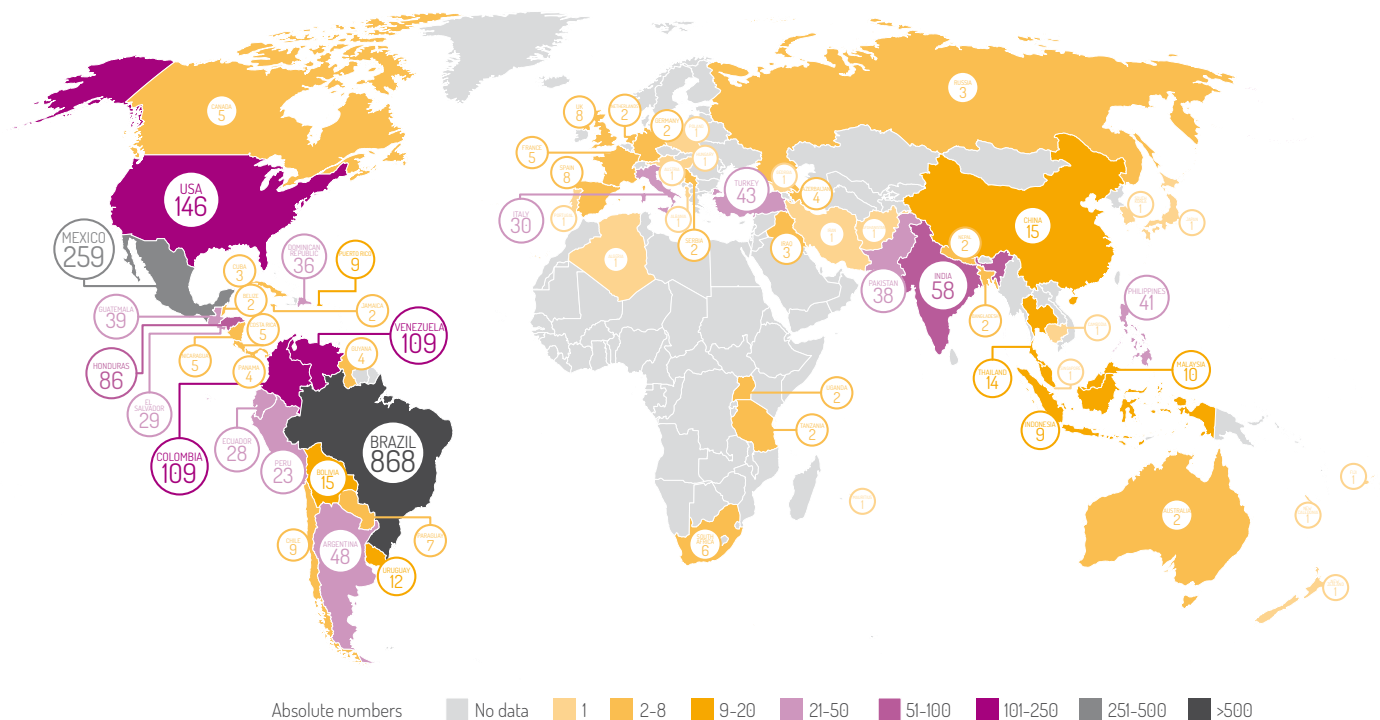
8 See: <http://transrespect.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/TMM-PR-IDAHOT2015-en.pdf> (last accessed on 28 August 2016).

9 See: <http://transrespect.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/TMM-PR-IDAHOT2015-en.pdf> (last accessed on 28 August 2016).

II. 2,190 reported murders are only the tip of the iceberg

In July 2016, the TMM archive held reports of a total of 2,190 murdered trans and gender-diverse people in 66 countries worldwide between 1 January 2008 and 30 June 2016. These murders have been reported from all major world regions (Africa, Asia, Central and South America, Europe, North America, and Oceania). Given the very partial knowledge we are able to gain in many places, which Map 1 vividly demonstrates, these 2,190 murders are only the tip of the iceberg.

In the previous chapter, the TMM project's founding, methodology, and challenges were discussed. This chapter will take a closer look at the results of seven years of Trans Murder Monitoring.



Map 1 | Trans Murder Monitoring (TMM) – 2190 reported cases of trans and gender diverse people murdered between January 2008 and June 2016

Source: www.transrespect.org/en/map/trans-murder-monitoring
© 2016 Transgender Europe (TGEU)

The analysis of these 2,190 reported murders according to the years (see Table 4) shows an enormous increase in the first 5 years, the stabilisation of numbers in the following years, and a new rise in the first half of 2016. The peak number of 311 murdered trans and gender-diverse people in 2012 may directly relate to the monitoring situation in 2012, which was characterised by an intensified effort in all three monitoring methods described in the previous chapter. This year, TGEU's TMM research team faces a similar situation, which might lead to the effect of having another peak reported for 2016 in early 2017.

Trans Murder Monitoring results over the years (as of July 2016)								
2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	Jan - June 2016
149	224	233	268	311	271	294	274	166

Table 4

A closer analysis of the regions and the number of countries per regions (see Table 5) reveals an astonishing imbalance in reported murders and TMM covered countries across the six world regions.

Number of countries/region	Region/Year	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	Jan - June 2016	Total	Percentage
5	Africa	2	2	0	1	4	1	1	1	0	12	0.5 %
16	Asia	18	20	31	26	21	20	31	21	10	198	9.0 %
23	Central and South America	94	167	182	208	254	217	238	216	135	1711	78.1 %
16	Europe	13	20	11	16	15	10	8	13	7	113	5.2 %
2	North America	19	14	9	17	17	23	15	23	14	151	6.9 %
4	Oceania	3	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	5	0.2 %
66		149	224	233	268	311	271	294	274	166	2190	100 %

Table 5

The region of Central and South America (including the Caribbean) has yielded 1,711 reports of murdered trans and gender-diverse people in 23 different countries over the last eight and a half years. This number accounts for more than 78 % of all TMM reported murders of trans and gender-diverse people worldwide. In contrast, there have been only 12 reported murders of trans and gender-diverse people in five countries across the entire African region, accounting for 0.5% of all reported murders worldwide.

This striking imbalance between world regions clearly demonstrates a correlation often observed by the TVT research team: areas with high visibility of trans and gender-diverse people (in society and public discourse), strong regional, national and local organising of trans and gender-diverse people, and professional monitoring of LGBT and trans murders are the same areas that show the highest absolute numbers of reported murders. While this observation may be somewhat obvious, it is critical to draw attention to the fact that data is likely missing from places where trans and gender-diverse people may be most at risk of hate violence. The impact this correlation has for the TMM, its results, presentations, and the interpretation of these results as outlined in the previous chapter, cannot be underestimated.

Similarly, the North American region yielded reports of 151 murders of trans and gender-diverse people in the last eight and a half years, accounting for almost 7% of all reported murders worldwide. In contrast, the Asian region, with more than two thirds of the world population, reported merely 198 murders, accounting for 9 % of the murders reported globally. The Americas have a high visibility of trans and gender-diverse people and several professional monitoring systems. As such, the Americas, where the most appropriate monitoring is conducted, have been the setting for 85% of all reported murders studied by the TMM project, even though they are home to only 13.5% of the world's population.

This correlation becomes even more striking when examining the countries with the highest absolute numbers of reported murders. Throughout all six world regions, the highest absolute numbers have been found in countries with a strong visibility, a strong organising of trans and gender-diverse people's communities, and trans/LGBT organisations that do professional monitoring: Brazil (868), Mexico (259), Colombia (109), Venezuela (109), and Honduras (86) in Central and South America, the United States (146) in North America, Turkey (43) and Italy (30) in Europe, as well as India (58) and the Philippines (41) in Asia.

This shows some of the limitations of a global monitoring system such as the Trans Murder Monitoring project, as well as the need for the careful interpretation of results. Knowing this, it is important to point out that TMM has only limited capacity to access information about the murder of trans and gender-diverse people in many parts of Asia and Africa. The lack of data on murders in these regions should not suggest that hate violence is not present there. It means that it is very likely that the so-called dark (or hidden) figure of crime, i.e. the amount of unreported and undiscovered murders of trans and gender-diverse people is higher in Africa as it is in the Americas.

The six countries with the highest absolute and the highest relative numbers are in the Americas, as shown in Chart 1. By examining the relative numbers, it becomes clear that the situation in countries such as e.g. Honduras is even worse than in Brazil, which has the highest absolute number of reported murders.

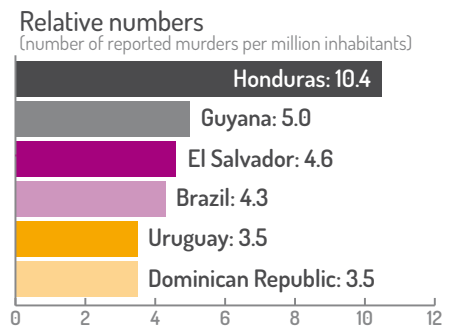
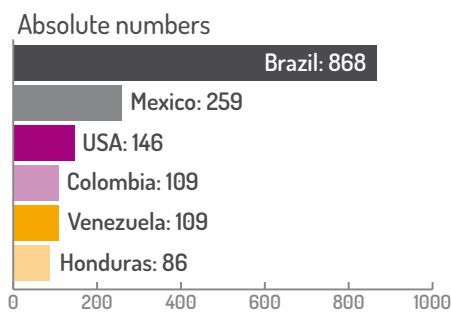
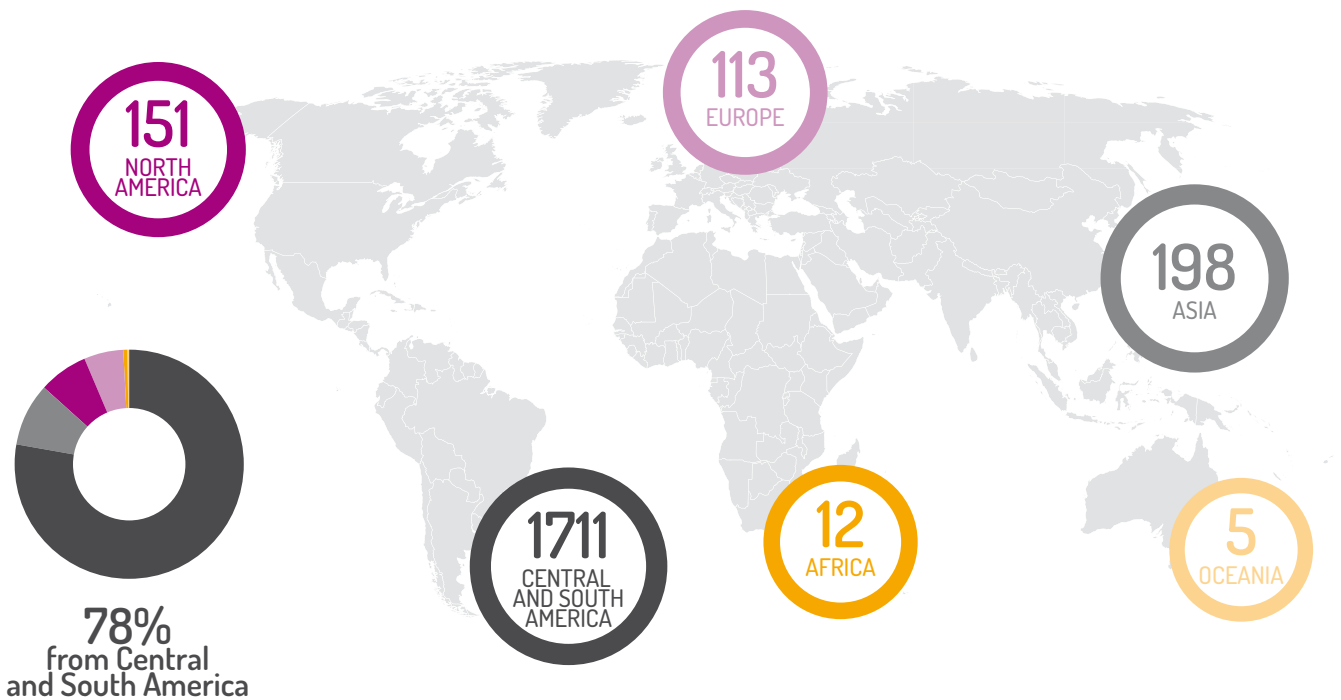


Chart 1 | 2190 reported killings of trans and gender diverse people in 65 countries worldwide between the 1st of January 2008 and the 30th of June 2006
© 2016 Transgender Europe's Trans Murder Monitoring

Table 6 clearly demonstrates the high numbers of reported murders in Central and South American countries, even those with low population sizes. Reports of murder in Brazil have consistently been so high that the country accounts for almost 40% of all reported murders worldwide since 2008. TGEU's TvT research team cooperated for many years with Grupo Gay da Bahia, which has been monitoring reports of murdered LGBT people in Brazil since the 1980s. In 2016, TGEU began cooperating with the national trans network Rede Trans Brasil, which led to a further increase of reports of murdered trans and gender-diverse people in the first six months of the year. Mexico, which is the country with the second highest absolute numbers in the TMM, has seen a significant increase in reported murders from 2011 onward. In 2011, the Mexican trans organisation Centro de Apoyo a las Identidades Trans A.C. started exchanging data with TGEU for the first time. Consequently, the organisation became one of the TMM core partners in 2012. In the first TMM report published in 2009, the problem of the lack of specific monitoring in regions and countries with a high level of transphobic violence was discussed in the example of Iraq:

*“A very recent example of the central problem in reporting murders of trans people occurred in the context of the enormous increase of violence against LGBT people in Iraq since the issue of a fatwa against homosexuals in 2005. A report published in April 2009 says that there have been ‘63 more murders of gay people in Iraq just since December [2008] bringing to nearly 600 the number of cases of LGBT Iraqis killed for their sexuality [since 2005]’. How many of these 600 LGBT people or of these 60 gay people are trans people is not reported. A New York Times article stated at the same time that in February and March 2009 ‘as many as 25 boys and men suspected of being gay’ have been found murdered in Sadr City, Iraq, several with the word “pervert” in Arabic on notes attached to their bodies. The authors cite a witness, ‘who preferred to be called “Basima” – the feminine version of his [sic] name’ and state about another witness ‘a man named Sa’ad, who has been taking estrogen and has developed small breasts’”.*¹⁰

¹⁰ See: C. Balzer, ‘Every 3rd day the murder of a trans person is reported – Preliminary results of a new Trans Murder Monitoring Project show more than 200 reported cases of murdered trans people from January 2008 to June 2009’, *Liminalis - Journal of Sex/Gender Emancipation and Resistance*, Vol 3, 2009, p. 152, available at http://www.liminalis.de/2009_03/TMM/tmm-englisch/Liminalis-2009-TMM-report2008-2009-en.pdf (last accessed August 28 2016)

Central and South America											
Country	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	Jan - June 2016	2008 - June 2016	2008 - June 2016 (per million inhabitants)
Brazil	57	68	99	103	126	104	132	113	66	868	4.332
Mexico	4	9	14	33	49	45	40	35	30	259	2.117
Colombia	13	13	15	18	10	8	8	20	4	109	2.256
Venezuela	4	23	6	17	8	21	8	11	11	109	3.585
Honduras	4	15	8	10	15	14	11	5	4	86	10.411
Argentina	2	3	3	10	1	5	11	6	7	48	1.158
Guatemala	1	12	14	4	5	0	3	0	0	39	2.521
Dominican Republic	0	4	4	4	18	1	3	1	1	36	3.460
El Salvador	1	5	0	1	0	5	3	7	7	29	4.574
Ecuador	1	2	5	1	2	1	9	7	0	28	1.779
Peru	1	4	2	2	2	3	6	2	1	23	0.757
Bolivia	0	1	5	1	3	3	0	0	2	15	1.406
Uruguay	0	1	0	1	6	2	0	2	0	12	3.522
Chile	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	2	1	9	0.511
Puerto Rico	0	2	5	1	1	0	0	0	0	9	2.443
Paraguay	2	0	1	0	2	1	0	1	0	7	1.029
Costa Rica	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	5	1.026
Nicaragua	0	2	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	5	0.822
Guyana	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	1	0	4	5.002
Panama	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	0	4	1.035
Cuba	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	3	0.266
Belize	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	6.026
Jamaica	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0.737
Total	94	167	182	208	254	217	238	216	135	1711	

Table 6

If there had been professional monitoring in Iraq or, to be more precise, if the TvT research team had the same access to professional monitoring as it has in Brazil and Mexico, the TMM numbers for Iraq would be higher than those three reported murders of trans and gender-diverse people in the last eight and a half years, all three of which took place in 2008. Iraq, however, is only one of many examples of places with inadequate monitoring.

On the other hand, the tip-of-the-iceberg situation is not meant to imply that all countries with few or no reports of murdered trans and gender-diverse people are similar to Brazil and Mexico, or Iraq as described in 2009. There are also countries like Tonga, where the levels of societal Transrespect are extremely high and levels of societal Transphobia extremely low, as a recent comparative TvT survey demonstrated last year. Of eight countries compared across the world regions (Colombia, India, the Philippines, Serbia, Thailand, Tonga, Turkey, and Venezuela), Tonga had the highest level of societal Transrespect, comparatively low levels of societal Transphobia, and was the only one without a single reported murder of trans and gender-diverse people.¹¹

There are, of course, many other reasons that explain the high number of murders in the Americas, especially in Brazil and Mexico, which lead this sad list. The high number of murders in these countries and across the region must be understood in the specific social, political, economic, and historical contexts in which they occur. These reasons include: high levels of violence emerging from historical situations (colonialism, slave trade, dictatorships, emergence of death squads, AIDS hysteria), recent or persistent violent developments (drug wars, coups d'état), the high-risk situations faced by trans sex workers in these countries, and the state's failure to prevent and properly investigate these crimes. These reasons are discussed in detail with regard to Brazil, Mexico, Honduras, and other Central and South American countries in the first TvT research report from 2012.¹² Data presented in the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime report "Global Study on Homicide 2013", confirms the specific violent situation in the Americas: "UNODC estimates that deaths resulting from intentional homicide amounted to a total of 437,000 at the global level in 2012. The largest share of those was registered in the Americas (36 per cent) and large shares were also recorded in Africa and Asia (31 per cent and 28 per cent, respectively). Europe (5 per cent) and Oceania (0.3 per cent) accounted for the lowest shares of homicide by region".¹³ In total, the numbers of homicides in the Americas in 2012 amounted to 157,000, while in Africa it was 135,000, in Asia 122,000, in Europe 22,000, and in Oceania 1,100.¹⁴

Due to the imbalance in monitoring across the regions, the numbers in Central and South America, and in Brazil in particular, have shaped the overall picture of reported murders. As Chart 2 shows, an increase or decrease in numbers in this region, whether due to better monitoring or new cooperation, has a large influence on the greater picture of reported murders of trans and gender-diverse people worldwide.

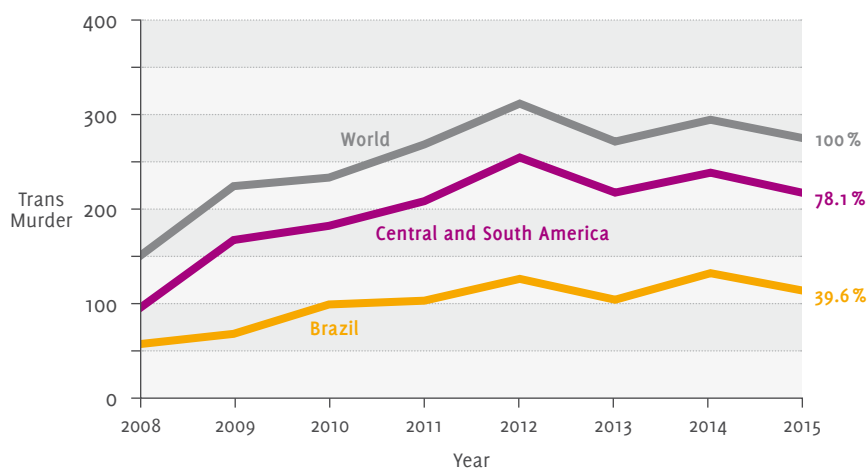


Chart 2 | Trans Murder Monitoring results over the years (as of July 2016)

11 See: C. Balzer/C. LaGata and J.S. Hutta, *Transrespect versus Transphobia: The social experiences of trans and gender-diverse people in Colombia, India, the Philippines, Serbia, Thailand, Tonga, Turkey, and Venezuela*, September 2015, pp. 19-20, 24-34, available at <http://transrespect.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/TvT-PS-Vol9-2015.pdf> (last accessed on 28 August 2016).

12 See: C. Balzer and J.S. Hutta, *Transrespect versus Transphobia Worldwide: A Comparative Review of the Human-rights Situation of Gender-variant/Trans People*, November 2012, pp. 46-53, available at http://transrespect.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/TvT_research-report.pdf (last accessed on 28 August 2016).

13 United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime *Global Study on Homicide 2013*, 2014, p. 21, available at https://www.unodc.org/documents/gsh/pdfs/2014_GLOBAL_HOMICIDE_BOOK_web.pdf (last accessed on 28 August 2016).

14 United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime *Global Study on Homicide 2013*, 2014, p. 21, available at https://www.unodc.org/documents/gsh/pdfs/2014_GLOBAL_HOMICIDE_BOOK_web.pdf (last accessed on 28 August 2016).

2012 UNDOC and TMM murder figures in percentages across the regions					
Region	Africa	Americas	Asia	Europe	Oceania
UNDOC	31%	36%	28%	5%	0.3%
TMM	1%	87%	7%	5%	0%

Table 7

The region with the second highest number of absolute murders is Asia, which accounts for 9% of all reported murders listed by TMM. This is only one ninth of the numbers recorded in Central and South America. When these numbers are compared with those from UNDOC for 2012, as is done in Table 7, it becomes clear how the data is skewed in TMM reports toward countries with higher levels of monitoring.

What is striking in Asia are the high absolute and relative numbers in the Philippines, and, to a lesser degree, in Thailand, as shown in Table 8. Both countries are widely considered as trans and gender-diverse-friendly, as was shown in the first TvT research report in 2012¹⁵. This perception was corroborated in the results of TvT surveys in these countries, presented in the TvT survey report in 2015¹⁶. Here, again, the three factors that contribute to higher numbers of reported murders (the visibility of trans and gender-diverse people in daily life and public discourse, well-organised trans and gender-diverse communities, and the existence of professional LGBT murder monitoring) are present in the Philippines and Thailand. For several years, TGEU's TvT research team has cooperated with STRAP in the Philippines and Thai TGA in Thailand, leading to more accurate information being included in TMM. Similarly, the peak of numbers of reported murders in India in 2014, which are very likely not representative at all, stems from a report published in English about 10 murders of trans and gender-diverse people in the city of Hyderabad in 2014, resulting from information gathered by a local organisation. If TGEU's TvT research team had access to such local monitoring, numbers would be much higher in many countries.

Because of these factors, one should always keep in mind the situation on the ground for trans and gender-diverse people when interpreting the TMM reports.

15 See: C. Balzer and J.S. Hutta, *Transrespect versus Transphobia Worldwide: A Comparative Review of the Human-rights Situation of Gender-variant/Trans People*, November 2012, pp. 39-41, available at http://transrespect.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/TvT_research-report.pdf (last accessed on 28 August 2016).

16 See: Brenda Alegre, C. Joy Cruz, and Charlese Saballe *The Social Experiences of Trans People in the Philippines* in: C. Balzer/C. LaGata and J.S. Hutta (eds.), *Transrespect versus Transphobia: The social experiences of trans and gender-diverse people in Colombia, India, the Philippines, Serbia, Thailand, Tonga, Turkey, and Venezuela*, September 2015, pp. 36-43, available at <http://transrespect.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/TvT-PS-Vol9-2015.pdf> (last accessed on 28 August 2016); and Rena Janamnuaysook, Jetsada Taesombat and Kath Khangpiboon *The Social Experiences of Trans People in Thailand*, in: C. Balzer/C. LaGata and J.S. Hutta (eds.), *Transrespect versus Transphobia: The social experiences of trans and gender-diverse people in Colombia, India, the Philippines, Serbia, Thailand, Tonga, Turkey, and Venezuela*, September 2015, pp. 44-53, available at <http://transrespect.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/TvT-PS-Vol9-2015.pdf> (last accessed on 28 August 2016).

Asia											
Country	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	Jan - June 2016	2008 - June 2016	2008 - June 2016 (per million inhabitants)
India	1	9	5	5	8	6	14	7	3	58	0.046
Philippines	5	1	10	9	3	1	6	5	1	41	0.417
Pakistan	3	1	5	6	6	2	5	6	4	38	0.209
China	1	3	4	0	1	2	3	1	0	15	0.011
Thailand	0	1	3	2	0	6	2	0	0	14	0.209
Malaysia	1	4	0	1	1	2	0	0	1	10	0.337
Indonesia	3	1	1	2	0	1	0	1	0	9	0.036
Iraq	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.090
Bangladesh	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0.013
Nepal	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	2	0.072
Afghanistan	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.033
Cambodia	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0.066
Iran	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.013
Japan	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0.008
Republic of Korea	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.020
Singapore	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.185
Total	18	20	31	26	21	20	31	21	10	198	

Table 8

In North America, the numbers are shaped by the extremely high absolute numbers in the United States, accounting for 97% of the numbers in the region. As shown in Table 9, the relative numbers in the USA are three times higher than those in Canada. The International Transgender Day of Remembrance (TDoR) originated in the USA in 1999, and has resulted in a greater awareness of hate violence directed toward trans and gender-diverse people. TDoR has also spurred organisations in the USA to engage in local monitoring of transphobic murders. In the USA, 56% of the victims (when the cause of death was known) were shot to death. This extremely high number in international comparison (see chart 4 on page 22) confirms USA-specific findings we first reported in 2012 and raises questions in regard to access to and use of firearms in the USA¹⁷. Another confirmed finding in regard to 2012 is the continuously high number of people of colour among the victims, which even increased in 2015 and 2016 and led to widespread discussion in the country.¹⁸

17 See: C. Balzer and J.S. Hutta, *Transrespect versus Transphobia Worldwide: A Comparative Review of the Human-rights Situation of Gender-variant/Trans People*, November 2012, p. 63, available at http://transrespect.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/TVT_research-report.pdf (last accessed on 28 August 2016).

North America											
Country	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	Jan-June 2016	2008-June 2016	2008-June 2016 (per million inhabitants)
USA	18	14	9	17	16	22	14	22	14	146	0.462
Canada	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	5	0.142
Total	19	14	9	17	17	23	15	23	14	151	

Table 9

18 See: National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs *Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, and HIV-affected Hate-Violence in 2015*, 2016, p. 9, available at: http://www.avp.org/storage/documents/ncavp_hvreport_2015_final.pdf (last accessed on 28 August 2016) and National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs *NCAVP mourns the homicide of Crystal Edmonds, a transgender woman of color killed in Baltimore, Maryland; the 20th reported killing of a transgender/gender non-conforming person NCAVP has responded to in 2016*, Press Release, 19 September 2016, available at: http://www.avp.org/storage/documents/2016.9.16_ncavp_mr_crystaledmondsbaltimore.pdf

19 See: C. Balzer, 'Every 3rd day the murder of a trans person is reported - Preliminary results of a new Trans Murder Monitoring Project show more than 200 reported cases of murdered trans people from January 2008 to June 2009', *Liminalis - Journal of Sex/Gender Emancipation and Resistance*, Vol 3, 2009, pp. 155-156, available at http://www.liminalis.de/2009_03/TMM/tmm-englisch/Liminalis-2009-TMM-report2008-2009-en.pdf (last accessed August 28 2016).

20 See: C. Balzer and J.S. Hutta, *Transrespect versus Transphobia Worldwide: A Comparative Review of the Human-rights Situation of Gender-variant/Trans People*, November 2012, p. 59, available at http://transrespect.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/TVT_research-report.pdf (last accessed on 28 August 2016).

In Europe, with Transgender Europe (TGEU), there exists a strong regional trans network. TGEU has implemented two multi-country monitoring projects since 2005. However, there are still challenges in monitoring reports of murdered trans and gender-diverse people when it comes to clouded media reporting and countries with no strong trans organisations or lack of monitoring. In Europe, the highest absolute numbers of murders have been reported in Turkey (43) and Italy (30). Both countries also lead the region in the number of murders relative to the population, as shown in Table 10 on page 19. Local trans organisations in Turkey already conduct such monitoring and have been cooperating with TGEU for years. This is not the case for Italy. Hence, it is quite possible that the relative number of murdered trans and gender-diverse people in Italy is even higher than in Turkey. The analysis shows that in Italy there are a significant number of migrants among the murdered trans and gender-diverse people. In fact, 70% of all murdered trans and gender-diverse people have been migrants in Italy.

Previous analysis has already shown that migrants constitute a high number of murdered trans and gender-diverse people in Europe¹⁹. The most recent data, along with the TVT research report in 2012²⁰, suggests that this continues to be a trend. Of the 113 trans and gender-diverse people murdered in Europe in the last eight and a half years, 35 victims i.e. 31% of all victims have been migrants. Table 10 and Table 11 on page 19 demonstrate that in some countries, such as Italy, more than two thirds of the registered murders were of migrants. Of the 30 reported murdered trans and gender-diverse people in Italy, 21 victims i.e. 70% of all victims were migrants. Of the five reported murders in France, three victims i.e. 60% of all victims were migrants (one from Brazil, and two from Colombia). Five of the eight reported murders in Spain i.e. 63% were migrants. The only recorded murder in Portugal in 2008 was a migrant from Brazil as well. To sum up: In France and the three Southern European countries Italy, Portugal, and Spain, the countries where most trans and gender-diverse people from Africa and Central and South America migrate too, 30 of the 44 reported murders i.e. 68% were migrants.

The analysis further shows, that most of the murdered migrants in Europe came from Brazil. Of the 35 reported murders of migrants in Europe, 19 i.e. 54% were from Brazil. In Italy alone, 15 victims i.e. 71% of all murdered migrants in Italy were from Brazil. The high number of reported murders of Brazilian trans and gender-diverse people in Italy and Europe in general might also stem from the fact that Brazilian monitoring systems include information on Brazilians who were murdered abroad. This fact also raises the important question of so-called dark (or hidden) figure of crime, i.e. the number of unreported and undiscovered murders for this key population in Europe.

Europe											
Country	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	Jan-June 2016	2008-June 2016	2008-June 2016 (per million inhabitants)
Turkey	4	7	7	6	6	4	3	4	2	43	0.574
Italy	5	7	1	3	6	2	1	2	3	30	0.501
Spain	1	2	0	2	1	0	1	1	0	8	0.171
UK	0	2	1	1	1	1	0	2	0	8	0.125
France	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	1	5	0.076
Azerbaijan	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	4	0.425
Russia	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	3	0.021
Germany	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0.025
Netherlands	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0.119
Serbia	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0.279
Albania	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.361
Austria	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0.116
Georgia	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0.223
Hungary	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0.101
Poland	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.026
Portugal	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.096
Total	13	20	11	16	15	10	8	13	7	113	

Table 10

Country of origin													
Country of murder	Brazil	Peru	Colombia	Russia	Morocco	Turkey	Argentina	Serbia and Montenegro	Mexico	Tunisia	Germany	Ecuador	Total
Italy	15	2	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	21
Spain	1	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	5
France	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
The Netherlands	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
UK	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Germany	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Austria	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Portugal	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Turkey	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total	19	4	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	35

Table 11 | Absolute numbers of murdered trans and gender-diverse migrants in Europe from January 2008 to June 2016

In Africa, there are several challenges to conducting Trans Murder Monitoring. As stated in the previous chapter, these challenges include: the lack of visibility of trans and gender-diverse people in everyday life and public discourse, inaccurate media coverage of the murders of trans and gender-diverse people, and the lack of monitoring systems when contrasted with other regions. Each of these factors can help to explain the comparatively low figures gathered from the region. Table 12 on page 20 shows that South Africa, a country that does face the challenges listed above to a lesser degree, is leading the continent in absolute numbers of murders. The afore-mentioned correlation between high absolute numbers of reported murders in an area and the high visibility of trans and gender-diverse individuals and organisations is present in South Africa as well. As mentioned before, TGEU started cooperating with two African organisations that will conduct the TMM in the Eastern and Southern African region in 2016 to improve the TMM figures for this region.

Africa											
Country	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	Jan-June 2016	2008-June 2016	2008-June 2016 (per million inhabitants)
South Africa	1	0	0	0	4	0	0	1	0	6	0.113
Tanzania	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0.037
Uganda	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0.053
Algeria	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.026
Mauritius	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.771
Total	2	2	0	1	4	1	1	1	0	12	

Table 12

While Oceania is the least populated world region, it has a high visibility of trans and gender-diverse people, some of whom have been a part of societies' cultural consciousnesses for centuries. The TvT survey on Tonga clearly showed the high levels of Transrespect that sometimes exist in such societies.²¹ At the same time, the homicide numbers in this region are very low, as the UNDOC report for 2012 shows. Overall homicide numbers in this region account for 0.3% of the world homicides (see Table 7 on page 17). Still, violence against trans and gender-diverse people exists and murders occur in the region, as Table 13 demonstrates. Some of the TMM-specific challenges occur in this region as well. There are reports of violence against trans and gender-diverse people in some countries in Melanesia, yet professional monitoring is lacking. In the 2012 TvT research report, the striking differences between countries/islands/territories in Polynesia and Melanesia have been illustrated with the examples of Fiji and Tonga.²²

Below is a brief overview of further important results of the Trans Murder Monitoring analysis.

Since 2009, the TMM project has been collecting victims' ages. Chart 3 on page 21 gives an overview of general figures. In cases where victims' ages were known, more than half of the reported victims (57%) were less than 30 years old. As shocking as these numbers are, if we take a closer look we see that more than a tenth of victims (11.5%) were less than 20 years old. Table 14 on page 21 demonstrates that in recent years, there has been a worrisome increase in reports of murdered minor trans and gender-diverse people, and especially those under 15. Of the nine murdered trans and gender-diverse people under 15 years old, all were murdered in Brazil, except one, who was murdered in Peru. The fact that these murders were reported in Brazil is a result of the strong monitoring situation there. As discussed before, Brazil has a high level of professional monitoring and a great awareness of trans and gender-diverse people in the media.

Oceania											
Country	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	Jan-June 2016	2008-June 2016	2008-June 2016 (per million inhabitants)
Australia	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0.086
Fiji	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1.135
New Caledonia	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3.817
New Zealand	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.224
Total	3	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	5	

Table 13

The monitoring in Brazil brought attention to the case of Alex, an eight-year-old trans girl, who was beaten to death on 18 February 2014 in Rio de Janeiro by her father who wanted to teach her to behave like a man after she expressed an interest in belly-dancing, wearing female-clothing, and washing dishes. Alex was a primary school student. It also brought attention to the fact that among the nine murdered trans children between 8 and 14 years, there was a 13-year-old trans girl selling sex whose female name was not reported. The young trans girl was stabbed to death on 18 March 2015 in Araraquara, Brazil. She was found lying in the street with 15 knife wounds all over her body, including her head and face, as well as with a broken finger and fractured skull. A 14-year-old trans girl named Erica was shot to death with eleven bullets on 25 December 2010 in Maceio, Brazil. Erica engaged in commercial sex, too. 14-year-old Vanessa had received death threats and fled to her grandmother's house in Angelica, Brazil, where she was found strangled on 10 March 2014.

These stories about trans and gender-diverse children are only some of the horrible stories that have been reported. But many of these stories go unreported and, thus, uncaptured by the Trans Murder Monitoring project. Again, these stories are only the tip of the iceberg, reported from a country with the best reporting statistics, while for many places such profound documentation is lacking.

Ages of victims by year										
Age	total	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	Jan - June 2016
< 10	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
10 - 14	8	0	0	1	0	0	3	1	1	2
15 - 17	64	7	6	4	7	8	9	8	9	6
18 - 19	91	7	13	9	15	13	13	7	10	4
< 20	164	14	19	14	22	21	25	17	20	12
20 - 29	647	42	53	65	73	88	80	97	104	45
30 - 39	409	25	49	40	44	61	64	47	48	31
40 - 49	149	12	21	14	16	20	18	28	15	5
50 - 59	40	3	2	4	6	4	6	6	4	5
> 60	15	1	2	2	2	0	2	1	3	2
Not reported	766	52	78	94	105	117	76	98	80	66

Table 14

The stories of Alex, Erica, Vanessa, and the trans girl whose name was not reported, are emblematic of many other stories of violence collected by the TMM project. As shown in Table 15 and Chart 4 on page 22, most murdered trans and gender-diverse people (when the cause of death has been reported) were either shot (44%), stabbed (24%), or beaten to death (13%). The chart also shows that in the last eight and half years, 37 trans and gender-diverse people have been found dismembered or decapitated in the following countries: Afghanistan, Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Ecuador, El Salvador, Honduras, Indonesia, Mexico, Turkey, Uruguay, USA, and Venezuela. In the same period, 28 trans and gender-diverse people have been tortured to death in Argentina, Brazil, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Honduras, India, Pakistan, Peru, the Philippines, Mexico, Uganda, and Venezuela.

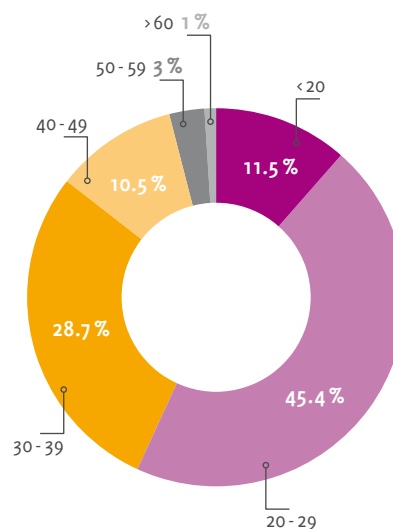


Chart 3 | Ages of victims from January 2008 to June 2016

Cause of Death											
	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	Jan-June 2016	2008-June 2016	Percentage
shot	70	73	92	92	119	100	89	98	70	803	43.93%
stabbed	29	47	43	51	49	47	66	73	38	443	24.23%
beaten	13	17	24	34	32	29	38	29	18	234	12.80%
strangled/hanged	0	11	12	23	9	9	3	12	2	81	4.43%
stoned	4	3	5	8	9	10	7	6	0	52	2.84%
decapitated/dismembered	2	3	4	9	7	5	4	2	1	37	2.02%
throat cut	0	6	5	3	6	6	1	1	2	30	1.64%
asphyxiation/smoke inhalation/suffocated	0	1	2	1	2	3	13	8	5	35	1.91%
tortured	3	2	2	2	2	4	5	6	2	28	1.53%
burned	1	4	1	5	2	1	9	0	3	26	1.42%
run-over by car	3	1	2	1	5	4	1	6	4	27	1.48%
other	4	3	6	2	4	4	3	3	3	32	1.75%
not reported	20	53	35	37	65	49	55	30	18	362	19.80%
	149	224	233	268	311	271	294	274	166	2190	

Table 15

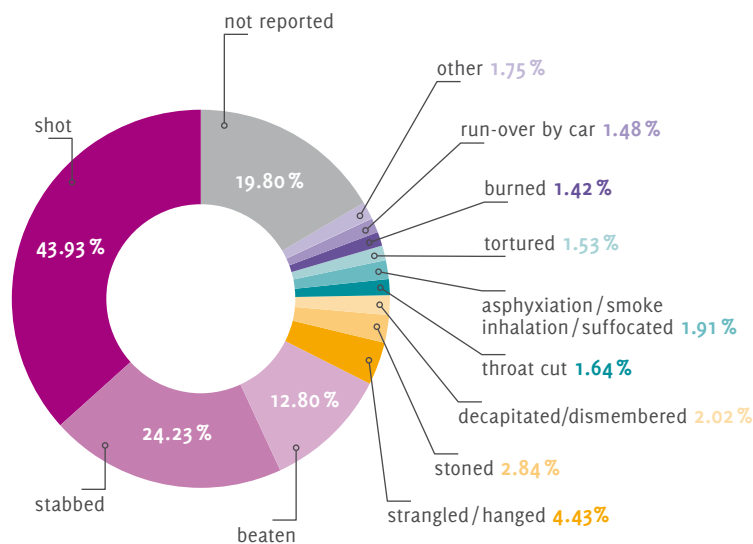


Chart 4 | Cause of Death

Of the nine murdered trans and gender-diverse children under the age of 15, we only know about the background of three: one was a primary school student and two were selling sex. This breakdown is similar to the data collected about other victims whose professions have been reported. Chart 5 on page 23 shows that among trans and gender-diverse murder victims whose profession was known, 65% were earning a living as sex workers. Table 16 on page 23 shows that the absolute numbers of sex workers among victims varied between 49 and 73 per year in the period from 2008 to 2015. As Chart 5 on page 23 shows, the percentage of sex workers among the victims in Central and South America is 68%. Thus, as was already shown in Chart 2 on page 16, the large amount of data from Central and South America shape the overall picture of victims in TMM reports. If we take a closer look at the countries with the highest absolute numbers in this region, we see that in countries like Brazil or Venezuela and Colombia, 79%, 67%, and 64% respectively of all murdered trans and gender-diverse people (whose profession was reported) have been sex workers. In Mexico, the country with the second highest absolute numbers, 49% of the victims have been sex workers. Thus, these countries shape the picture of Central and South America in this aspect.

In Europe, the high percentage (86%) of sex workers among the murdered trans and gender-diverse people whose profession is known is also shaped by those countries with the highest absolute numbers, i.e. Turkey (90%) and Italy (83%). The highest percentage of sex workers among the victims has been found for migrants in Italy: 93%. This result points to the intersection of multiple forms of discrimination, namely Transphobia, racism, and whorephobia, and needs further research in this direction.

This is only a glimpse of the analysis that has been conducted on the data from the TMM archive. It has been presented here so as to provide an overview of the data, analysis, challenges, and limitations of the TMM project. Future TMM reports will build on this introductory report, and focus on the presentation and analysis of data from certain regions, topics, or key populations. Their results should be interpreted using the elaborated discussion in this report.

Profession/occupation/source of income											
	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	Jan-June 2016	2008-June 2016	Percentage of known profession
sex worker	60	53	63	72	69	49	55	73	28	522	64.68 %
hairstylist/stylist/beautician	3	4	6	7	13	14	17	9	8	81	10.04 %
artist	1	2	5	0	1	7	4	8	1	29	3.59 %
employee/clerk/civil servant	1	4	2	3	4	5	2	3	1	25	3.10 %
activist/movement leader	2	2	2	0	3	1	1	6	6	23	2.85 %
seller/merchant	0	3	3	0	1	4	3	1	2	17	2.11 %
waitress/waiter/bartender	1	2	1	2	3	1	4	1	3	18	2.23 %
owner of beauty shop/hair salon/bar/shop	1	2	4	1	1	0	2	0	2	13	1.61 %
religious leader	0	3	3	0	2	0	1	0	0	9	1.12 %
housekeeper/cleaner	0	0	0	2	3	1	0	1	1	8	0.99 %
other	2	3	3	7	9	12	15	7	4	62	7.68 %
not reported	78	146	141	174	202	177	190	165	110	1383	
	149	224	233	268	311	271	294	274	166	2190	

Table 16

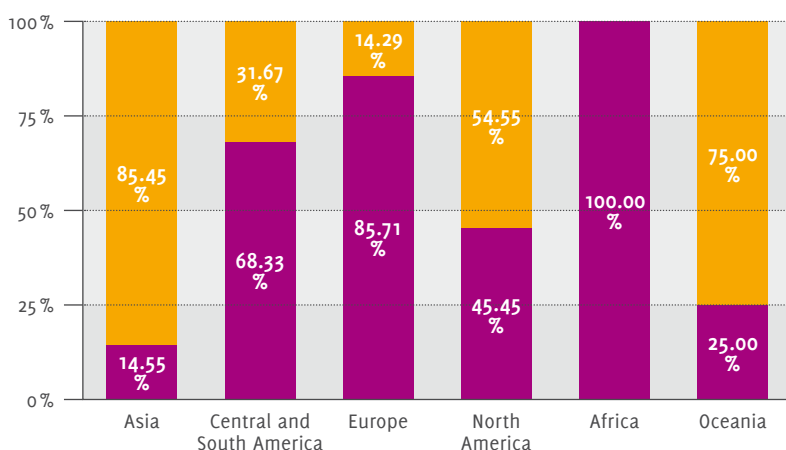


Chart 5 | Percentages of sex workers among reported murders between January 2008 and June 2016 by region

VI. Appendix

A. TMM Questionnaire

Legal Name:

Please give the legal name of the victim as in newspaper reports for further research

Social Name:

Please give the social name of the victim for publication

Gender Identity:

If you know, please tell us the gender identity of the victim, and if not please tell us the sex the victim was assigned at birth. Due to the specificities of each context and culture, as well as the fact that there is no way of knowing someone's gender identity and/or expression without asking, we use the category "sex assigned at birth" internally for a differentiated analysis, e.g. xx % of victims are trans women/female-identified trans people etc.

Age:

Profession/occupation of the victim:

Ethnic background of the victim:

Migrant status: No

Yes

from (Name country):

Date of Death:

Please give the exact date if possible

Place of Death:

Please be as specific as possible: give street name and number, neighbourhood, city and state, if possible. This data will be used to position the case using Google Maps.

Location of Death:

Please name the location, i.e. street, own apartment etc.

Cause of Death:

Please name the cause, e.g. stabbed, shot etc.

Number of perpetrators:

Type of perpetrator(s):

Please name the type of perpetrator e.g. police officer, partner, relative, sex worker's client, gang member etc.

Bias indicator:

Please name the reason why it is considered transphobic, i.e. witness perception; language used; degree of violence; organised hate groups; offender characteristics etc.

Description of perpetrator(s):

Impact:

Please describe the impact of the murder on the community

Follow-up:

Please describe follow-up actions e.g. prosecution or prosecution as hate crime, conviction of perpetrator etc., community events, media response etc.

Remarks:

Please give further explanatory remarks explaining the incident e.g. context, significance etc.

Sources:

If you use media reports as sources, please try to give two different reports as sources

B. TvT Publication Series

- Volume 13** | Transfobiye Karşı Trans-Saygı: Türkiye’de yaşayan trans bireylerin toplumsal Deneyimleri: Kemal Ördek ve Carsten Balzer / Carla LaGata, Kırmızı Şemsiye ve Transgender Europe, Kasım 2015
- Volume 12** | การเคารพคนข้ามเพศเปรียบเทียบกับการเกลียดกลัวคนข้ามเพศ ประสบการณ์ทำงานสังคมของคนข้ามเพศในประเทศไทย เรียบเรียงโดย: รัตวัฒน์ จันทรอำนาจสุข และ Carsten Balzer / Carla LaGata, Thai Transgender Alliance and TGEU, October 2015
- Volume 11** | Transrespect versus Transphobia: The Experiences of trans people in the Philippines, Charlese Saballe and Carsten Balzer / Carla LaGata (editors), STRAP and TGEU, September 2015
- Volume 10** | Transrespect versus Transphobia – The experiences of Leitis in Tonga, Joleen Mataele and Carsten Balzer / Carla LaGata (editors), TLA and TGEU, September 2015
- Volume 9** | Transrespect versus Transphobia – The experiences of trans and gender-diverse people in Colombia, India, the Philippines, Serbia, Thailand, Tonga, Turkey and Venezuela, Carsten Balzer / Carla LaGata and Jan Simon Hutta (editors), TGEU, September 2015
- Volume 8** | KÜRESEL “TRANSFOBİYE KARŞI TRANS-SAYGI” PROJESİ Toplumsal Cinsiyet Farklılığına Sahip Bireylerin/Trans Bireylerin İnsan Hakları Durumunun Karşılaştırmalı İnceleme, Carsten Balzer ve Jan Simon Hutta (*Tamara Adrian, Peter Hyndal ve Susan Stryker’in katkılarıyla...*), TGEU, Kasım 2012 (1st TvT report Turkish version)
- Volume 7** | TRANSRESPECTO VERSUS TRANSFOBIA EN EL MUNDO – Un Estudio Comparativo de la Situación de los Derechos Humanos de las personas Trans, Carsten Balzer y Jan Simon Hutta (con Tamara Adrián, Peter Hyndal y Susan Stryker), TGEU, Noviembre 2012 (1st TvT report Spanish version)
- Volume 6** | TRANSRESPECT VERSUS TRANSPHOBIA WORLDWIDE – A Comparative Review of the Human-rights Situation of Gender-variant/Trans People, Carsten Balzer and Jan Simon Hutta (with Tamara Adrián, Peter Hyndal and Susan Stryker), TGEU, November 2012 (English version)
- Volume 5** | Direitos Humanos e Identidade de Gênero – Relatório Temático de Thomas Hammarberg, *Comissário de Direitos Humanos do Conselho da Europa (Série de Publicações do TvT – Volume 5)* Issue Paper “Humans Rights and Gender Identity,” Thomas Hammarberg, Council of Europe Commissioner for Human Rights. (Portuguese translation – English original version)
- Volume 4** | I Diritti Umani e l’Identità di Genere – Issue Paper di Thomas Hammarberg, *Commissario del Consiglio d’Europa per i Diritti Umani (Pubblicazione per la serie TvT – Volume 4)* Issue Paper “Humans Rights and Gender Identity,” Thomas Hammarberg, Council of Europe Commissioner for Human Rights. (Italian translation – English original version)
- Volume 3** | Tożsamość płciowa a prawa człowieka – Dokument tematyczny autorstwa Thomasa Hammarberga, *Komisarza Praw Człowieka Rady Europy (Publikacje projektu TvT – tom 3)* Issue Paper “Humans Rights and Gender Identity,” Thomas Hammarberg, Council of Europe Commissioner for Human Rights. (Polish translation – English original version)
- Volume 2** | Menschenrechte und Geschlechtsidentität – Themenpapier von Thomas Hammarberg, *Kommissar für Menschenrechte des Europarats (TvT Veröffentlichungsreihe – Band 2)* Issue Paper “Humans Rights and Gender Identity,” Thomas Hammarberg, Council of Europe Commissioner for Human Rights. (German translation – English original version)
- Volume 1** | Derechos humanos e identidad de género – Informe temático de Thomas Hammarberg, *Comisario de Derechos Humanos del Consejo de Europa (Serie de publicaciones de TvT – volumen 1)* Issue Paper “Humans Rights and Gender Identity,” Thomas Hammarberg, Council of Europe Commissioner for Human Rights. (Spanish translation – English original version).

C. About the authors



Carsten Balzer/Carla LaGata

... has been active in several social movements since the mid-1980s and wrote hir PhD thesis on trans communities in Brazil, Germany, and the United States. S_he is a founding editor of *Liminalis – Journal for Sex/Gender Emancipation and Resistance* and an Editorial Board member of *Transgender Studies Quarterly (TSQ)*. From 2011 to 2012, s_he was a member of the Advisory Committee of the Open Society Foundations' LGBTI Rights Initiative. Carla supported TGEU from its very beginnings and served as a TGEU Steering Committee member from 2008 to 2012. S_he is TGEU's Senior Researcher and initiated the TvT project in 2009.



Lukas Berredo

... was born and raised in Brazil. He has been a sexual and gender diversity advocate and educator since 2007, giving multiple presentations and trainings around the world. In Chile he was board member of the Movement for Sexual Diversity, while in China he started the youth organization Diversity and co-founded TRANScending Borders. As Transrespect Officer, Lukas supports the implementation of TGEU's work on a global level, in particular in the framework of the TvT research project.



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TMM annual report 2016

Carsten Balzer / Carla LaGata and Lukas Berredo

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