

**THE SOCIOECONOMIC PROFILE OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN
PALMAS – TOCANTINS.**

*O PERFIL SOCIOECONÔMICO DA VIOLÊNCIA CONTRA A MULHER NA CIDADE DE PALMAS –
TOCANTINS.*

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RESUMO

A violência doméstica contra a mulher é uma questão histórica, de alcance mundial, e não escolhe a origem de suas vítimas, seja de classe, escolaridade, profissão, etnia, dentre outros atributos de ordem socioeconômica. Neste trabalho abordamos o fenômeno como sendo decorrência de uma ordem patriarcal de gênero, estabelecida culturalmente e que ao longo do tempo vem subordinando a mulher ao poder masculino, colocando-a em situação de opressão e de violência. Foram analisados aleatoriamente 251 processos, ajuizados de 2018 a 2021, no Juizado da Violência Doméstica e Familiar contra a Mulher (JVDFM), da cidade de Palmas, capital do Tocantins. Foi utilizada uma abordagem interseccional, considerando gênero, raça e classe como fatores hierarquizantes e que demonstram como a mulher não é uma categoria universal. O objetivo foi identificar se existe um perfil predominante de vítimas que denunciam, ou não, e, com isso, contribuir para com os direcionamentos das ações policial e jurisdicional no enfrentamento da violência doméstica contra a mulher, ao público do aludido município em que as agressões mais se

manifestam. Observou-se um perfil predominante relacionado às questões sociais e econômicas em que mulheres que estão na base da pirâmide social carecem também de serem socorridas por aquelas que já alcançaram melhores posições dentro dessa hierarquia.

Palavras-Chave: Violência Doméstica. Gênero. Raça. Classe.

ABSTRACT

Domestic violence against women is a historical issue, within global reach and that does not choose the origin of its victims, it could be from any class, education, profession, ethnicity, among other socioeconomic attributes. In this work, we approach the phenomenon as a result of a culturally established patriarchal gender order that over time has subordinated women to male power, placing them in an oppression and violence situation. A total of 251 lawsuits, filed from 2018 to 2021, at the Court of Domestic and Family Violence against Women in the city of Palmas (JVDFM), Tocantins capital. They were analyzed at random. An intersectional approach was used where gender, race and class were considered as hierarchical factors that demonstrate how women are not a universal category. The objective was to identify if there is a predominant victims profile who report, or who do not report and, with that, contribute to the directions of police and judicial actions in the face of domestic violence against women for the public where the aggressions are most manifested in the aforementioned County. It was observed that there was a predominant profile related to social and economic issues in which women who are at the bottom of the social pyramid also lack to be helped by those who have already reached better positions within this hierarchy.

KEYWORDS: Domestic Violence. Gender. Race. Class.

1 INTRODUCTION

Violence against women is a reality that is reported every day, with a high number of aggressions and deaths of victims. Its consequences go beyond the violation of human rights, as it has a direct impact on the development process, since it leads to women being excluded from the job market and the educational process, compromising their physical and mental well-being and their dignity. The escalation of violence against women continues, despite a series of

affirmative policies implemented by the government in recent years, based on constitutional provisions and international treaties.

In this work, domestic violence was discussed with a focus on identifying the socio-economic profile of women who reported their aggressors between February 2018 and December 2021 and were assisted by police stations and the Domestic and Family Violence Court against Women (JVDFM) in the city of Palmas-TO. This is an analysis of violence in the domestic and family environment from a legal perspective of the creation and implementation of public policies (which contributes to the development of the Northern Region, as it is one of the regions with high rates of violence against women), taking into account aspects related to their socioeconomic profile, such as race and class.

We believe it is essential in this research to consider this reality and approach the issue from a perspective that goes beyond the sexist issue, in order to also look at the race and class of the women served by the judicial apparatus studied, to understand the profile of the victims and aggressors so that actions can be established and directed towards tackling violence in family relationships.

Discussions on gender issues, which go beyond the differences between the sexes, have been based on the thinking of various theorists, demonstrating how social constructions have established the position of women in society, and how this still contributes to and impacts on violence against women. The unequal treatment of men and women, historically naturalized by society and based on gender issues, has been discussed at academic and public level in order to make the problem visible and raise awareness of the causes of this reality, which is responsible for assigning different spaces to men and women in society, as well as the consequences it creates.

2 GENDER, RACE AND CLASS AS THE FOUNDATIONS OF SOCIAL HIERARCHIES OF POWER

Violence against women has been an issue for many contemporary researchers. It takes the form of psychological, sexual, property, physical and moral aggression. This situation intrigues sociologists, anthropologists, historians, feminists and gender scholars in general and has driven them in their search for answers as to the reasons that lead to the inferiorization, degradation, objectification and other forms of oppression experienced by women around the world.

Despite legislative changes in Brazil, this reality still haunts many homes, and silence is often imposed for various reasons, ranging from economic dependence of raising children and a belief that the behavior of the aggressor may change. The truth is that the figures for domestic violence against women are still alarming. This paper will take a closer look at the concepts and ideas related to gender in order to better understand their relevance to the discussion at hand.

In 1949, during the second wave of feminism, Beauvoir (2019) wrote the book "The Second Sex", a work that is still considered a reference for feminist theorists. Divided into two volumes, in the first the author demonstrates that the biological differences between men and women cannot have the power to cause such inequalities between them, to the point where women are placed in a position of inferiority in relation to men.

Within psychoanalysis itself, no arguments were found to support the mentioned inequality. In this regard, Beauvoir argues with Freud and Adler, contesting the assumption of the former that "the woman feels like a mutilated man" (BEAUVOIR, 2019, p. 70, Vol. 1), and that this causes envy in the female sex due to a "comparison and prior valorization of virility that would cause the envy of the girl". The author maintains the existence of male hegemony, but that this stems from the construction of meanings, and not from the phallus, because it is not the absence of the penis that causes women to be "envious" of men, "except as a symbol of the privileges granted to boys, the place that the father occupies in the family, the universal preponderance of males, education, everything confirms the idea of male superiority" (BEAUVOIR, 2019, p. 72, Vol. 1). According to the author, this complex of inferiority of women "takes the form of an ashamed refusal of femininity caused by the whole situation".

Beauvoir (2019, p. 71, vol. 1) believes that the sovereignty of the father also derives from a social order, which Freud himself fails to explain, confessing, "that it is impossible to know what authority decided at a moment in history that the father would surpass the mother; this decision represents, in her view, progress, but the causes are ignored" (BEAUVOIR, 2019, p. 71, vol. 1).

In this book, there is a profound and unprecedented discussion about prejudices, social impositions, myths and experiences of women, radically concluding that being a woman is a social and cultural construction that has been implemented over the years and between generations, and that the reasons that oppress women lie in this context.

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The author begins the second volume with the statement that "no one is born a woman, they become one" (BEAUVOIR, 2019, p. 11, vol. 2). Thus, she translates the aforementioned idea that "no biological, psychic or economic destiny defines the form that the human female takes within society; it is the whole of civilization that elaborates this intermediate product between the male and the castrated, which qualify the feminine".

Ser mulher ou ser homem não é a mesma coisa numa sociedade católica e numa sociedade muçulmana, por exemplo. É exatamente esta dimensão sociocultural que permite compreender a famosa frase de Simone de Beauvoir, em "O segundo sexo: "ninguém nasce mulher; torna-se mulher" (SAFFIOTI, 1987, p. 10)

Given this reasoning, it can be inferred that the child is taught by the social environment to be a man or a woman, assuming behaviors that are inherent and pre-defined, historically and culturally, for their biological sex, and that, according to Beauvoir, it is through the mediation of third parties that the individual is constituted as the other, because the child does not perceive themselves within this sexual differentiation while existing only for themselves. These are gender roles, which

[...] são comportamentos aprendidos em uma sociedade, comunidade ou grupo social, nos quais seus membros estão condicionados para perceber certas atividades, tarefas e responsabilidade como masculinas ou femininas. Estas percepções estão influenciadas pela idade, classe, raça, etnia, cultura, religião ou outras ideologias, assim como pelo meio geográfico, o sistema econômico e político. Em um determinado contexto social, os papéis de gênero dos homens e das mulheres podem ser flexíveis ou rígidos, semelhantes ou diferentes, complementares ou conflituosos (CEPAL, 2006, p. 225).

Here again, the distinction between sex and gender is highlighted.

Na sua utilização mais recente, o termo "gênero" parece ter feito sua aparição inicial entre as feministas americanas, que queriam enfatizar o

caráter fundamentalmente social das distinções baseadas no sexo. A palavra indicava uma rejeição do determinismo biológico implícito no uso de termos como “sexo” ou “diferença sexual” (SCOTT, 1995, p. 72).

It was thus perceived that, beyond the natural differences between the sexes, a great inequality emerges, which functions as a mechanism to validate the power relations that exist between men and women.

a grande questão que todas queriam responder, e que buscavam nas várias ciências, era o porquê de as mulheres, em diferentes sociedades, serem submetidas à autoridade masculina, nas mais diversas formas e nos mais diferentes graus. Assim constatavam, não importava o que a cultura definia como sendo atividade de mulheres: esta atividade era sempre desqualificada em relação àquilo que os homens, desta mesma cultura, faziam (PEDRO, 2005, p. 83).

"Established as an objective set of references, gender concepts structure the perception and the concrete and symbolic organization of all social life" (BOURDIEU, 1980, apud SCOTT, 1995, p. 88). Thus, "to the extent that these references establish distributions of power (a control over or differential access to material and symbolic resources), gender becomes implicated in the conception and construction of power itself (SCOTT, 1995, p. 88).

Gender can therefore be used as an analytical tool in various social aspects. Sexual difference is a primary way of giving meaning to differentiation. Gender, then, provides a means of decoding meaning and understanding the complex connections between various forms of human interaction (SCOTT, 1995, p. 89).

For the author (SCOTT, 1995), "hierarchical structures depend on generalized understandings of so-called natural relations between men and women. In the 19th century, the concept of class depended on gender for its articulation". She cites the example of France, where bourgeois reformers swore male workers were strong and providers, while jobs coded as female were weak, exploited and subordinate (SCOTT, 1995, p. 91). The work of Joan Scott, developed in 1995, is therefore fundamental for thinking about the construction of this hierarchical structure.

In the same sense, based on the definitions of philosophers at the time her book was written, in 1949, Simone de Beauvoir already stated that women are defined as the "Other", given their imperfection in relation to men, and that their description is based on comparison with men, who, in turn, are the ones who decree and differentiate women in relation to themselves, and not themselves.

They are the subject, the essence, the absolute, and they, in contrast, are the object, the incidental, the Other. Socially, men are considered the norm and women the secondary sex.

Regarding the acceptance and validation of such constructions, "it is characteristic of the human species to socially elaborate natural phenomena. This is why it is so difficult, if not impossible, to separate nature from what it has been transformed into by socio-cultural processes" (SAFFIOTI, 1987, p. 10), and that

Não basta, entretanto, conhecer a capacidade humana de transformar o reino natural. E preciso atentar para o processo inverso, que consiste em naturalizar processos socioculturais. Quando se afirma que é natural que a mulher se ocupe do espaço doméstico, deixando livre para o homem o espaço público, está-se, rigorosamente, naturalizando um resultado da história (SAFFIOTI, 1987, p. 11).

These are structural social issues; in this line of reasoning, the author states that men are educated and socialized to exercise domination over women who, in turn, submit to the power of the male in a naturalized and structured way. This socialization ends up reflecting in the "maintenance of power relations between the genders and the perpetuation of violence by one over the other", according to Medeiros (2020, p. 2,088).

In empirical and qualitative research carried out by UN Women Brazil¹, by the site talk of man (papo de homem)² – "Do we need to talk to men? A journey for gender equality" – sought to analyze how people feel about issues related to masculinity. It emerged that the majority of men consider themselves to be quite macho, and that this fact doesn't just harm women, but men themselves. It refers to an aspect present in certain societies and cultures in a given historical period:

The research revolves around the concept of the "box of men", referring to a cultural prison that limits the action and expression of men and boys, generating tensions that become part of the male reality. Living inside this box consists of obsessively following the characteristics it lists:

Heterossexual, fisicamente apto, corajoso, forte, no controle, ativo, sexualmente experiente, prontidão sexual, fala firme, não demonstra emoções, sabe se defender, não chora, sexualmente impositivo, trabalhador, provedor, não comete erros, não desiste, aguenta o tranco,

¹ <https://www.onumulheres.org.br/destaques/precisamosfalarcomoshomens/>

² <https://papodehomem.com.br/caixa-dos-homens-definicao-como-utilizar/#origem>

competitivo, bem sucedido, dominante em relação à mulher (VALADARES, 2020, p. 25).

This instrument shows that, in certain societies, there is a primer on how a man should be. These teachings come from school, the street, the family, in short, from social culture. From this construction emerges the figure of the male, reaffirmed through this cultural recipe that dictates the behavior of the strong, provider and virile male who does manly things.

[...] os processos de subjetivação-objetificação estão constantemente sujeitos à capacidade-incapacidade de apropriação dos frutos da práxis humana por parte de seus sujeitos, não somente em virtude de ser a sociedade brasileira dividida em classes sociais, mas também por ser ela atravessada pelas contradições de gênero e de raça/etnia (SAFFIOTI, 2019, p. 141).

We mustn't lose sight of other social aspects that emerge from this debate on gender and that the cultural construction of men is not isolated; it is necessary to consider the connection that exists with the construction of women, gays, blacks, whites, indigenous people, the poor, the rich, etc.

[...] "the place in which we are situated will determine our interpretation of the double phenomenon of racism and sexism" (GONZALEZ, 2019, p. 238). Skin color, as well as financial situation, place of birth – whether in the countryside, on the outskirts or in a large city – sexual and religious orientation, class and race are aspects of life that cross and divide our existences, and this must be made visible in the context of the study of gender and violence discussed here.

Saffioti (2019, p. 41) believes that the three antagonisms (gender, race and class) intertwine to form a knot and that

não se trata de uma dissolução dos três eixos ao longo dos quais se estruturam as desigualdades, traduzidas em hierarquias e diferentes tipos de conflitos entre os socii. Trata-se de um entrelaçamento, que não apenas põe em relevo as contradições próprias de cada ordenamento das relações sociais, mas que os potencializa.

The issue of inequality between men and women is clearly felt and perceived, but what also needs to be considered and discussed in debates on gender violence are the inequalities that exist between women themselves. These differences are closely related to the inherent aspects of race and class and, when

it is proposed to discuss gender with such intersectionality, the object of research inevitably expands in complexity.

Kilomba (2019) inserts black women into the comparison of Beauvoir of the lack of reciprocity between men and women in terms of how one sees the other. In the thinking of the French author, women are always seen by men in a place of subordination, as the absolute other, in an absolute vision of patriarchy (BEAUVOIR, 2019, v. 2). But this statement by Beauvoir, according to Kilomba, concerns white women. This author goes beyond this analysis, including black women in this comparison. Her thinking is that there is an oscillation that makes it possible for there to be "reciprocity between white woman and white man and between white woman and black man" at certain times, and this allows white women and black men to still be seen as subjects.

Nesse esquema, a mulher negra só pode ser o outro, e nunca si mesma. [...] Mulheres brancas têm um oscilante status, enquanto si mesmas e enquanto o "outro" do homem branco, pois são brancas, mas não são homens; homens negros exercem a função de oponentes dos homens brancos, pois são homens, mas não são brancos; mulheres negras, entretanto, não são nem brancas nem homens, e exercem a função de "outro" do outro" (KILOMBA, 2019, p. 125).

Thus, if for Beauvoir the woman is the object before the subject, then she is the other of that subject. Kilomba adds that, in this scenario, the black woman is the other of the other.

It can be seen from the above that, in the case of black women, oppression stems from gender and color, not to mention poverty and low schooling, often resulting from the racial issue itself, which can be a factor that compromises opportunities in a context where there is structural racism. Thus, while white women demanded space in the job market and equal pay with their husbands, black women worked for them as domestic servants for low wages.

Quando mulheres brancas de classe média lutaram para poder trabalhar fora de casa, a grande maioria das mulheres pobres e pretas já exerciam ofícios externos, que eram quase sempre braçais e mal remunerados. Esses trabalhos não eram sinônimo de liberdade para elas, pois apenas perpetuavam um sistema violento e opressor (BRUM, 2020, p. 48).

If white women disregard racial and class issues, fighting only for their rights as women seeking to ascend economically, forgetting the search for freedom and rights for all women, then they end up perpetuating oppression.

In addition to gender oppression, poor and black women carry an even heavier burden because they occupy an even more underprivileged position in society than white women. Power relations are not only structured on gender, but also on other social and economic aspects.

[...] para as mulheres negras atingirem os mesmos níveis de desigualdades existentes entre os homens e mulheres brancos significaria experimentar uma extraordinária mobilidade social, uma vez que os homens negros, na maioria dos indicadores sociais, encontram-se abaixo das mulheres brancas (CARNEIRO, 2019, p. 274).

In the state of Tocantins, the figures for violence differ considerably when you look at the racial aspect. The figures in the state show that black women suffer much more from violence than white women. Below is a table with the homicide figures for non-black women in Tocantins, from 2006 to 2017:

Figure 1: Homicides against non-black women in the State of Tocantins – 2006 to 2017

	UF	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
■	TO	4	2	4	8	3	11	9	7	6	8	10	7

Source: Waiselfisz (2012)

In the same period, the figures showing homicides against black women in the State:

Figure 2: Homicide against black women in the State of Tocantins – 2006 to 2017

	UF	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
■	TO	18	26	17	23	30	36	40	31	29	39	30	30

Source: Waiselfisz (2012)

The disparity in the figures is striking and, although they refer to the entire state of Tocantins, they may reflect the situation in the capital, thus demonstrating the need to approach domestic violence against women from an intersectional perspective, in order to investigate how access to justice in the city

of Palmas has been given to women, especially black women, who are identified by the violence map as those who suffer the most from violence, as well as women with low levels of education and purchasing power.

Access to justice is part of the list of fundamental rights and guarantees. They are human rights, consisting of basic services that every human being needs in order to have a dignified existence, and cannot have the power to generate inequalities. It is different from privilege, which

É um benefício, um “passo à frente” dos demais oriundo da própria desigualdade que a nossa sociedade promove. Ou seja, ele acontece exatamente devido ao capitalismo, que, além dos direitos já adquiridos, concede algumas vantagens a determinadas pessoas. E esse mesmo sistema sustenta as desigualdades de direitos que deveriam contemplar toda a população, independentemente de sua classe social, raça ou gênero (BRUM, 2020, p. 46).

For white people, who are privileged, it is difficult to understand the struggles of those who are discriminated against because of the color of their skin. However, the criticism should not revolve around the people themselves, but the system, which places some in more advantageous positions, so that for others to achieve the same goals the effort expended must be much greater.

Even today, the feminist agendas discussed by black and white women include distinctions, since the rights sought differ, considering that the movement does not yet have a collective bias, but there is still a universalization of women. Brum (2020, p. 49) states that "while black women still seek not to be animalized by society, fighting a stereotype of angry women that always haunts them, white women talk about the importance of not having to perform femininity".

It is well known that women from wealthier social classes have more opportunities when it comes to access to education. This is a crucial factor in achieving freedoms of women, as it provides financial, social and perhaps emotional independence from their partners.

Como a educação é um requisito para o acesso às melhores condições na hierarquia de empregos, deduz-se que as populações de cor e as mulheres brancas não estariam capacitadas para assumir os empregos de maior status, tendo, conseqüentemente, maior remuneração. Nesse contexto, a mulher negra tem possibilidades menores que qualquer um outro grupo social (NASCIMENTO, 2020, p. 262).

The Maria da Penha Law is the main Brazilian law aimed at combating domestic violence. It contains various mechanisms aimed at preventing and curbing situations of aggression against women in the domestic and family environment in intimate relationships of affection. However, repeated evaluations of state action on the application of the law and the protection mechanisms it provides for is what will signal improvements in the services provided and the implementation of more effective policies.

3. VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN AND THE DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

The discussion of gender has become important in this work in order to understand domestic violence against women, which is a type of gender violence

É pela perspectiva de gênero que se entende o fato de a violência contra as mulheres emergir da questão da alteridade como fundamento distinto de outras violências. Ou seja, esse tipo de violência não se refere a atitudes e pensamentos de aniquilação do outro, que venha a ser uma pessoa consideradas igual ou que é vista nas mesmas condições de existência e valor que o seu perpetrador. Ao contrário, tal violência ocorre motivada pelas expressões de desigualdades baseadas na condição de sexo, a qual começa no universo familiar, em que as relações de gênero se constituem no protótipo de relações hierárquicas. Porém, em outras situações, quem subjuga e quem é subjogado pode receber marcas de raça, idade, classe dentre outras, modificando sua posição em relação àquela do núcleo familiar (BANDEIRA, 2019, p. 294).

This category provides a historical analysis of the reasons why women suffer violence because they are women. The socially constructed stereotype of women as sweet, unprotected and fragile is contrasted with that of strong, macho men who are providers. These attributions have led to hierarchies structured on power relations, so that men have assumed a dominant position in relation to women.

A violência de gênero é uma das expressões nessa divisão de poderes que limita não só a vida das mulheres, mas também a dos homens quando, por exemplo, restringe sua possibilidade de manifestar seus sentimentos, através do choro, da suavidade ou da beleza, de cuidar dos filhos e da casa (CFEMEA, 2009, p. 21).

Male violence against women manifests itself in all phallogocentric societies. Since they all are, to a greater or lesser extent, this phenomenon is omnipresent

(ALMEIDA and SAFFIOTI, 1995, p. 4). According to the author, the phenomenon knows no boundaries in terms of class, level of education, socio-economic development, and can be practiced in both public and private spaces, and can be practiced by strangers, family members or acquaintances. In addition to this universal nature, it is a phenomenon that is constantly changing, since society is changing too, according to (ALMEIDA and SAFFIOTI, 1995, p. 4).

Such statements have had the effect of reifying policies, based on the fact that women around the world and throughout the centuries have always been exposed to a multitude of vulnerabilities. However, this inequality between the sexes is still a reality that has been debated and confronted, given the sometimes irreparable damage that results from it.

Ao contrário do que normalmente se pensa, só recentemente a violência se tornou um problema central da humanidade. Embora presente em toda a nossa história, e provavelmente indissociável da experiência humana, foi somente a partir da modernidade, com a elaboração e difusão de valores como liberdade e igualdade, que se firmou a noção de cidadania. Dela decorre que nas sociedades democráticas, ao menos teoricamente, todos têm direitos humanos – assim denominados porque inerentes à condição humana – que lhes protegem contra coerções, maus-tratos e demais atos de desumanização (MORAES, 2010, p. 20).

Although Brazil is a signatory to international treaties on human rights, crimes committed against women fall under the jurisdiction of the state courts, even though they are a serious affront to human rights. It was only in 1993, in Vienna, at the United Nations Conference on Human Rights, that violence against women was formalized as a violation of human rights and, in 1994, it was proclaimed in the Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Domestic Violence, which was also reinforced in the Brazilian legal system by Article 6 of Law 11.340 of 2006³.

These violent practices are related, as mentioned above, to the use of physical, psychological, material, intellectual or sexual force, which attempts to force a woman to do something contrary to her will, with the aim of depriving her of her freedoms and rights of choice, in an attempt to submit her to male domination.

³ Art. 6º A violência doméstica e familiar contra a mulher constitui uma das formas de violação dos direitos humanos (BRASIL, 2006).

Understanding the historical dimension of male domination is difficult, given how deeply rooted it is and how naturally it is seen even by women themselves. This is an age-old issue that gender scholars and feminist activists have sought to understand in order to find an answer that justifies the inferiority with which women are viewed and treated, to the point where men feel comfortable practicing oppressive behavior and imposing submission and obedience on them. This inequality compromises their freedom, leaving their lives full of constraints, fears and uncertainties.

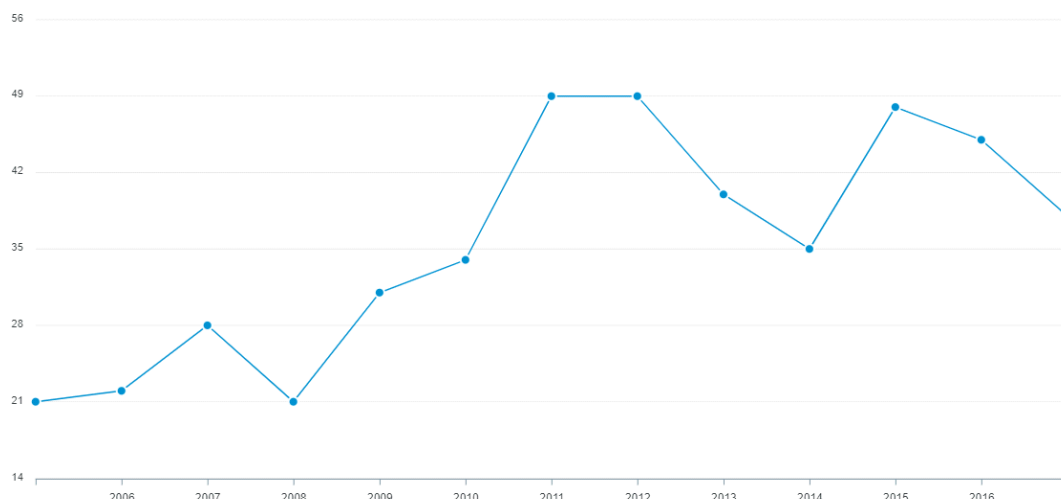
The cycle of violence is also fostered by popular sayings that give it a natural tone: "the place of a woman is in the kitchen", "a woman likes to be hit", "he doesn't know why he hits, but she knows why she hits", among others that show how society itself, albeit irrationally and unconsciously, naturalizes violence against women. "Only in our century have the rights of children, women and racial minorities been made effective, and racism and intolerance towards our fellow human beings have come to be really frowned upon, considered socially bad behavior" (MORAES, 2010, p. 27).

About the numbers of violence in Brazil,

Somente em 2015, quando entrou em vigor a Lei 13.104, a chamada Lei do Femicídio, é que se passou a quantificar a morte de mulheres, por sua condição de mulher. Segundo os dados da Organização Mundial da Saúde – OMS, a taxa do Brasil é a quinta maior do mundo. Publicação do Fórum Brasileiro de Violência Pública, informa que três mulheres são mortas a cada dia e a cada dois minutos uma mulher é agredida dentro de sua casa (DIAS, 2021, p. 27).

In the State of Tocantins, violence against women, despite some variations each year, has grown and it is growing, as shown in the IPEA graph, which illustrates the number of deaths of women over the years in the State:

Figure 2: Graphic of the number of homicides against women in the State of Tocantins – 2006 to 2017



Source: Waiselfisz (2012)

The following table shows the number of homicides recorded against women in Tocantins over the years:

Figure 3: Number of homicides recorded against women in the State of Tocantins – 2005 to 2017

UF	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
■ TO	21	22	28	21	31	34	49	49	40	35	48	45	38

Source: Waiselfisz (2012)

Violence against women is a type of gender violence and, according to Dias (2021, p. 53–54), it is an affront to human rights because it compromises fundamental rights: freedom, when the man tries to submit the woman to his domination, imposing obedience and submission on her, forcing her to give up her own will; equality, since "culturally, physical, economic, psychological, social and, above all, emotional power continues to be centered on the figure of the man"; and it also compromises the right to solidarity. It relates to so-called transindividual rights and includes rights that are not taken individually, but in a generic and diffuse way, conditioning the realization of the human condition. (DIAS, 2021, p. 52)

Violence functions as a mechanism used to maintain an established order, and violence against women is a phenomenon present in the structure of patriarchal societies which, within a system of domination, maintain inequalities based on gender stereotypes and feed the hierarchy that sustains and acts as a separator between dominant and dominated groups, such as women.

Domestic violence against women reflects these culturally and historically unequal power relations, since the family environment functions as a small sample universe of society in which gender inequalities are reproduced, in which each person plays the role that has been socially assigned to them and, even though some women have gained a place in the public sphere, they are still tasked with running the household and raising the children, while men are still considered the family providers.

Se os homens cometem e sofrem violências no espaço público, reinam soberanos no espaço privado, como detentores do monopólio do uso “legítimo” da força física. Com efeito, o domicílio constitui um lugar extremamente violento para mulheres e crianças de ambos os sexos, principalmente as meninas. Desta sorte, as quatro paredes de uma casa guardam segredos de sevícias, humilhações e atos libidinosos/estupros graças à posição subalterna da mulher e da criança face ao homem e da ampla legitimação social desta supremacia masculina. É com esta estrutura que a família tem garantido o status quo, pleno de privilégios para os homens, sobretudo ricos e brancos. Daí o pânico até mesmo em se pensar em transformá-la. Ademais, ela treina seus membros na competição, valor basilar da sociedade de classes. Constrói-se, em virtude da sacralidade da família, um verdadeiro muro de silêncio em torno dos eventos ocorridos no seio deste grupo (ALMEIDA; SAFIOTTI, 1995, p. 33–34).

This type of violence occurs in the most intimate and inviolable sphere of life: in the home, in a veiled and cruel way. The largest Brazilian legislative instrument used to combat domestic violence in the country, Law No. 11.340 of 2006, known as the Maria da Penha Law, invokes the Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence against Women (Convention of the city of Belém do Pará) to conceptualize violence against women as "any act or conduct based on gender that causes death, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, whether in the public or private sphere" (BRASIL, 2006). This concept was used by the Brazilian legislator to create the mechanisms for dealing with domestic violence in Brazil.

From the beginning of the discussions about the law, "the idea (sic) was to characterize domestic and family violence as a violation of the human rights of women and to draft a law that would guarantee protection and humane police and judicial procedures for the victims (CFEMEA, 2009, p. 19).

The concept of domestic violence is set out in Article 5 of the mentioned law, which defines that "domestic and family violence against women is any action or omission based on gender that causes death, injury, physical, sexual or psychological suffering and moral or property damage:

I – no âmbito da unidade doméstica, compreendida como o espaço de convívio permanente de pessoas, com ou sem vínculo familiar, inclusive as esporadicamente agregadas; II – no âmbito da família, compreendida como a comunidade formada por indivíduos que são ou se consideram aparentados, unidos por laços naturais, por afinidade ou por vontade expressa; III – em qualquer relação íntima de afeto, na qual o agressor conviva ou tenha convivido com a ofendida, independentemente de coabitação. Parágrafo único. As relações pessoais enunciadas neste artigo independem de orientação sexual (BRASIL, 2006, s/p).

The definition of the family has been broadened by case law, given the transformations the institution has undergone, the effects of which have reverberated in the text and interpretation of the Federal Constitution of 1988.

Afastou-se do modelo convencional da família constituída pelos "sagrados" laços do matrimônio, para enlaçar uma multiplicidade de conformações familiares: famílias compostas, reconstruídas, informais, monoparentais, famílias formadas por pessoas do mesmo sexo etc. (DIAS, 2021, p. 66).

Based on these transformations, the law itself, in an unprecedented way and in order to guarantee its own application, defines family in section II of article 5 as being "a community formed by individuals who are or consider themselves to be related, united by natural ties, by affinity or by express will" (BRASIL, 2006). The bond of affection would be the element that configures the family, an institution that is constituted by the will of its members, and no longer by force of law. This definition opens up the possibility of applying the Maria da Penha Law to a range of family formats, since "hierarchical relationships of power and oppression have led doctrine and justice to place under its protective mantle those who submit to situations of domination due to family or affective ties" (DIAS, 2021, p. 77), but this work is limited to analyzing only the violence of men against women in the domestic environment and in intimate relationships of affection.

"A domestic unit is understood to be the place where the woman resides or is temporarily domiciled" (CAVALCANTI, 2020, p. 134). According to Dias (2021, p. 69), "it is mandatory that the action or omission occurs in the domestic or family

unit or due to any intimate relationship of affection", and it is not necessary for there to be cohabitation between the perpetrator of the aggression and the victim for domestic violence to be configured. It is enough that both maintain or have maintained a family relationship.

Misaka (2007, p. 87) states that "for violence to be classified as domestic, there must be a link between the aggression and the situation that generated it, in other words, the intimate relationship of affection must be the cause of the violence". Therefore, it doesn't matter how long the affective relationship lasted or how long it has been since it ended. If the aggressor lives or has lived with the victim, even if it is not under the same roof, domestic violence has taken place and Law 11.340 of 2006 provides protection. What counts here is demonstrating that there is a causal link between the relationship of affection and the aggression, which can be perpetrated by the husband, ex-husband, partner, ex-partner, stepfather, father, brother, boyfriend, son-in-law, son, etc.

In a survey carried out by the Avon Institute⁴, when the interviewees were asked about the reasons that lead a woman to continue a relationship with her aggressor, 24% claimed that they lacked the economic means to live without their partner; 23% defended their concern about raising children; 17% said they were afraid of being killed if they broke off the relationship; 12% attributed it to a lack of self-esteem; 8% said they were ashamed to admit that they were beaten and beaten up; 6% were ashamed to separate; 4% confessed to having an emotional dependency; 4% felt they had an obligation to maintain the marriage.

As we can see, the reasons that keep women in situations of violence are not universal, as many of them remain in abusive relationships with their aggressors for different reasons, ranging from fear of reporting them, shame, or having nowhere else to go, to the economic difficulties they may face in raising and supporting their children.

Ninguém acredita que a violência sofrida pela mulher seja exclusivamente de responsabilidade do agressor. A sociedade ainda cultiva valores que incentivam a violência, o que impõe a necessidade de

⁴ Pesquisa quantitativa, com aplicação de questionário estruturado por meio de entrevistas pessoais, cujo objetivo foi levantar percepções da população em relação à violência doméstica contra a mulher e ao conhecimento dos mecanismos para proteção da vítima, sendo o universo constituído por população com 16 anos ou mais, com período de campo de 13 a 17 de fevereiro de 2009 e com dimensionamento de 2.002 entrevistas. Margem de erro: O intervalo de confiança é de 95%, e a margem de erro máxima é de 2 pontos percentuais para mais ou para menos sobre os resultados encontrados no total da amostra. Disponível em: <https://assets-compromissoeatitude-ipg.sfo2.digitaloceanspaces.com/2012/08/Avon-lbope-pesquisa-violencia-2009.pdf>. Acesso em: 28 de mar. 2022.

se tomar consciência de que a culpa é de todos. O fundamento é cultural e decorre da desigualdade no exercício do poder o qual gera uma relação de dominante e dominado. O processo de naturalização é feito a partir da dissimulação, utilizada com o intuito de tornar invisível a violência conjugal. (DIAS, 2015, p. 24).

The above survey showed that 56% point to domestic violence against women in the home as the problem that most worries Brazilians. A curious fact was that "the fear of death was cited in a higher percentage by the segments with lower purchasing power and less schooling and by the younger interviewees".

Ainda que tais dados sejam surpreendentes, os números não retratam a realidade, pois a violência é subnotificada. É o que se chama de "cifras negras": a crença na impunidade, além do temo, faz com que muitas mulheres não denunciem a violência de que são vítimas (DIAS, 2021, p. 27).

Still according to Dias, the police are only aware of 10% of the aggressions suffered, because there is a certain resistance or difficulty in reporting someone "with whom you have an emotional bond and children in common and who, not infrequently, is responsible for the family's livelihood" (DIAS, 2021, p. 27). The author also blames emotional dependence for the difficulty in reporting the case, even more than financial dependence itself. "It's the so-called Stockholm syndrome, in which, in abusive situations, any positive gesture from the person causing the pain and fear generates a feeling of gratitude, a bond of complicity" (DIAS, 2021, p. 28). According to Rovinski (2004, p. 8), "on average, women spend no less than ten years living with their abusers".

No âmbito das relações domésticas este sentimento recebe o nome de síndrome da mulher agredida. A vítima crê não poder escapar da situação em que se encontra. Pequenos atos de bondade por parte do agressor – sejam eles reais ou percebidos – geram a esperança de que o arrependimento é real e que a violência vai cessar.

A conclusão é uma só: as mulheres nunca param de apanhar, sendo a sua casa o lugar mais perigoso para ela e para os seus filhos (DIAS, 2021, p. 28).

lugar mais perigoso para ela e para os seus filhos (DIAS, 2021, p. 28).

Even though the Federal Constitution has proclaimed equality between men and women, despite the "consolidation of human rights, men are still considered

the owners of their bodies and of the will of their wives and children. Society protects male aggression and respects his virility, building the belief in his superiority" (DIAS, 2021, p. 22).

Patriarchal ideology still remains, keeping women in a position of discrimination. This fact, which was once based on the biological factor to justify men's power over women, has been debunked over time by theorists who have shown that it is a socio-cultural issue. This mistaken perception of power gives men the presumption of superiority and permission to use physical force against women and their children.

Within this patriarchal movement, "women have been sold the idea that they should be pure, modest and at home. That she is fragile and needs protection. Men were delegated the role of protector and provider. From there to domination, from the feeling of superiority to aggression, is a step" (DIAS, 2021, p. 22).

Durante boa parte da história, o patriarcado foi incontestavelmente aceito por ambos os sexos. Os papéis diferenciados de gênero eram legitimados nos valores associados à separação entre as esferas pública e privada. Ao homem sempre coube o espaço público. A mulher foi confinada nos limites da família e do lar, o que ensejou a formação de dois mundos: um de dominação, externo e produtor. Outro de submissão, interno e reprodutor. Ambos os universos, ativo e passivo, criam polos de dominação e submissão (ANDRADE e VIANA, 2007, p. 13).

However, the family model has changed as a result of feminist struggles and women taking control of their sexuality and reproduction. In addition, by occupying public spaces previously reserved for men only and entering the job market, she has brought about changes in the patriarchal model in force. According to Maria Berenice Dias (2021, p. 23), "this change ended up causing a departure from the pre-established parameters and, like anything new, brought a lot of insecurity, fertile ground for conflict".

Giddens (1996, p. 271) states that this battle "waged by men against women is the result of the partial disintegration of patriarchal power. It is in this context that violence arises, justified as a way of compensating for possible failures in the ideal fulfillment of gender roles".

"Although the different gender roles in the family and the stereotypes that justify them are questioned and transformations are perceived, gender

stereotypes are still considered to be the most widespread and persistent in all societies" (DIAS, 2021, p. 60).

The Maria da Penha Law has emerged as an affirmative action in the Brazilian legal system, in order to compensate for the damage caused by a culture that still massacres, humiliates and violates the human rights of women. The struggle and articulation of the feminist movement in the process of drafting and sanctioning the law must be recognized, as its social and ideological objective has helped to win more and more equal rights for men and women.

The law was created with the aim of preventing domestic violence and assisting women who suffer or have suffered aggression in this context. Because it is a popular law, widely disseminated and known from the slums to the most upscale neighborhoods, there may be misconceptions about a supposed punitive bias; however, in the legal text there is only one article that creates a new crime, having been recently inserted, it is the failure to comply with protective measures imposed by the courts.

One of the greatest and most significant achievements of the Maria da Penha Law was the creation of the Domestic and Family Violence Courts against Women (JVDFMs) with civil and criminal jurisdiction, as set out in the article 14. Article 19 allows the victim to personally request the granting of a protective measure in her favor; she must be accompanied by a lawyer at all stages, both by the police and in court, as required by the article 27.

There is also the provision of safe shelter for women and their children, their continued employment, the removal of the aggressor from the home, the possibility of preventive detention of the offender at any stage of the process, without the need for the usual legal formalities, such as the opening of the State Prosecution, as well as the possibility of a precautionary detention, with the only justification being the physical or psychological integrity of the woman.

The National Council of Justice (CNJ), a public body whose mission is to "promote the development of the Judiciary for the benefit of society, through judicial policies [...]", has been very active in tackling domestic violence and "never tires of issuing rulings, resolutions and recommendations to make the Maria da Penha Law effective" (DIAS, 2021, p. 38).

There have been some significant achievements, such as the House of the Brazilian Woman (Casa da Mulher Brasileira) program,

De iniciativa do Poder Executivo, visa o atendimento humanizado às mulheres. Integram o mesmo espaço serviços especializados:

acolhimento e triagem, apoio psicossocial, delegacia, Juizado, Ministério Público, Defensoria Pública, promoção de autonomia econômica; cuidado das crianças com brinquedoteca; alojamento de passagem e central de transportes. No entanto, poucos Estados instalaram estes espaços de excelência (DIAS, 2021, p. 40).

The shelter offered to women in situations of violence was another result of the struggles of feminist social movements, considering that, in situations of aggression or when a woman feels threatened, she would no longer need to go to the homes of relatives, friends or neighbors to hide, but would have a place to shelter herself and her children.

The Maria da Penha Patrol, recommended by Captain Nádia Gerhard, was created in 2012 by the Military Police of the State of Rio Grande do Sul. The aim is to provide police assistance to women in situations of violence, in which "routine and coordinated home visits are carried out with the aim of acting in a preventive manner, providing close monitoring of the family situation in which both the victim of aggression and their dependents live" (GERHARD, 2014, p. 86).

A Patrulha Maria da Penha, com atendimento e fiscalização através de policiais militares capacitados especificamente para essa finalidade, contemplando a adequação de recursos, meios e práticas de polícia às necessidade das vítimas e buscando seu envolvimento completo na solução da violência doméstica, entendendo-se o cidadão, a cidadã e a sociedade não apenas como clientes, mas como parceiros e parceiras nos serviços desempenhados pela polícia e o policial militar, como um organizador das potencialidades comunitárias, em lugar de ser apenas um prestador de serviços, exercendo com plenitude todas as dimensões do conceito de polícia ostensiva e de preservação da ordem pública (ordem, consentimento, fiscalização e sanção de polícia), constitucionalmente atribuídas, *latu sensu*, aos órgãos policiais definidos no art. 144, e, *stricto sensu*, à Polícia Militar. (GERHARD, 2014, p. 83)

However, there is an abyss that distances formal/legal equality from material equality between people, since there are countless established social positions. Differences of race, ethnicity, gender, religion and class define where an individual is socially and the consequent opportunities that are accessible or denied to them, despite the provisions of the Law No. 11.340, of September 22nd, 2006:

Art. 2º Toda mulher, independentemente de classe, raça, etnia, orientação sexual, renda, cultura, nível educacional, idade e religião, goza dos direitos fundamentais inerentes à pessoa humana, sendo-lhe asseguradas as oportunidades e facilidades para viver sem violência, preservar sua saúde física e mental e seu aperfeiçoamento moral, intelectual e social (BRASIL, 2006).

In many instances, the constitutionality of the Maria da Penha Law is questioned, as it is intended to protect only women in situations of violence.

O modelo conservador da sociedade que coloca a mulher em situação de inferioridade e submissão, é que torna vítima da violência masculina. A lei atenta para esta realidade, ainda que os homens possam ser vítimas da violência doméstica, tais fatos não decorrem de razões de ordem social e cultural. Aliás, é exatamente para dar efetividade ao princípio da igualdade que se fazem necessárias equalizações por meio de ações afirmativas. Daí o significado da lei: assegurar à mulher o direito à sua integridade física, psíquica, sexual, moral e patrimonial (DIAS, 2007, p. 300).

The equality sought with the effectiveness of the law concerns substantial equality, in other words, isonomy, which seeks, through affirmative action, to reduce the historical inequalities reflected in the countless records of domestic and family violence suffered by so many women. It is only fair that the legal system should look at those who are in a vulnerable position.

Studying gender as a category of analysis allows us to understand how power relations between men and women are structured in society. In the same way, racism and social class differences establish hierarchies between individuals, assigning different places to each of them. Thus, because they are women and because of the symbolic representation that has historically been built around this, the superiority of men has been built up. Poverty and blackness foster this oppression, sentencing poor black women to social limbo. These issues are interrelated and therefore need to be understood in a way that is not separate from each other in order to understand domestic violence against women in all its complexity, its reasons and its effects.

We now turn to the results found in the cases of the Domestic and Family Violence Court against Women in the city of Palmas, looking at the socio-economic aspects of those who seek police and judicial protection to break the circle of violence.

4 RESULTS

In this study, 251 cases from the Domestic and Family Violence Court against Women (JVDFM) in the city of Palmas, the capital of the State of Tocantins, were analyzed on a year-by-year basis (2018 to 2021). Data was collected on the types of crimes most often committed and the age, profession, education, race/ethnicity of the women in situations of violence who resorted to the police/judicial apparatus in this city. The aim was to analyze the socio-economic profile of the victims in order to see if there is a specific type that suffers the most domestic violence and if access to the police and justice apparatus takes place regardless.

There is the issue of underreporting, or black figures, already mentioned above, because not all women have the information and/or the conditions to report their aggressors. Women who are better educated and more economically independent would be more likely to seek justice in order to free themselves from a situation of violence, while those with lower levels of education, poorer financial situations and who have children obviously have more limited opportunities to break out of this circle. The data obtained by collecting information from 251 randomly selected cases, despite not having undergone statistical treatment, reflects the socio-economic profile of women in situations of violence in Palmas, as well as the main crimes committed. By identifying these elements, public policies can be targeted at the public that suffers most from this problem, making existing actions to combat domestic violence against women more effective.

From the data collected in the sample, there was a great disparity in the number of cases from the years 2018 to 2021, as can be seen in the table. These were selected at random, and the date of the police report was identified only after the cases were opened. Of the 251 cases analyzed, 9 cases occurred in 2018; 36 cases in 2019; 113 cases in 2020; and 93 cases in 2021.

There was a sudden rise in the figures from 2019 to 2020 and a slight drop from 2020 to 2021, but they remain worrying because the number of occurrences has remained high. These are the most striking figures in the annual variation of violence rates in the city of Palmas and lead us to reflect on the pandemic moment experienced in 2020 and 2021, years in which social isolation was imposed and which, as already explained in this research, despite underreporting, may have increased the occurrences of domestic violence.

As for the most common crimes, in other words, the typification of the crime, this consists of the legal provision of how aggression can materialize, in other words, through what conduct/actions. In order to understand the results obtained in this study, it is important to look at the types of violence listed in the Law 11.340 of 2006.

According to the article 7 of this law, domestic violence against women can be manifested through acts against their physical, moral, sexual, property and psychological integrity. These acts can be verified through the practice of crimes provided for in the Penal Code or in the Decree-Law No. 3.688, of October 3rd, 1941, known as the Criminal Contraventions Law.

In the data collected from the proceedings of the Domestic and Family Violence Courts against Women in the city of Palmas-TO, it was possible to observe the commission of various crimes against women; however, in the majority of cases there was the commission of more than one crime, either at different times or not.

It was observed that threats were the most common crime, occurring in 183 of the cases analyzed, followed by insults, which appeared in 128 cases. Threats are defined in article 147 (BRAZIL, 1941), which consists of "threatening someone, by word, writing or gesture, or any other symbolic means, to cause them unjust and serious harm". Injury, on the other hand, is defined in article 140 of the same law: "insulting someone, offending their dignity or decorum". These two crimes were observed together in 40 of the cases analyzed. It should be noted that these cases are already included in the isolated occurrences, but as the occurrence in competition appeared in considerable numbers, demonstrating the clear intention to hurt the woman's honor, it was considered important to present the numbers in which the offenses occurred concurrently.

Another aggression that appeared in very significant numbers was bodily injury, provided for in article 129 of the Penal Code, which describes the conduct as the act of "offending the bodily integrity or health of another". The ninth paragraph of the provision states that the penalty is increased "if the injury is committed against an ascendant, descendant, sibling, spouse or partner, or with whom the perpetrator lives or has lived, or if the perpetrator takes advantage of domestic relations, cohabitation or hospitality", making clear the greater seriousness when the violence occurs in the domestic sphere.

This crime occurred 81 times in the cases analyzed, either separately or together with other criminal acts. Bodily injury appeared 26 times on its own, as

shown in the table, and in the remaining cases it was accompanied by other conduct. In 14 cases, it was accompanied by a threat; in 10 cases it occurred together with the practice of insult; and in 14 cases bodily injury against women was practiced together with threats and insults. Defamation occurred only a few times in the sample, just 9 cases, as well as one case of spreading pornographic scenes.

With regard to sexual violence, 40 cases of rape were found in the files, and all the cases were accompanied by the crime of threat. There were 26 cases of damage to property.

With regard to criminal contraventions, there were 14 occurrences indeed, provided for in article 21 (BRAZIL, 1941). The abolished misdemeanor, disturbance of tranquility or quiet, which was provided for in article 65 of the aforementioned Decree and consisted of "harassing someone or disturbing their tranquility, for an acrimonious or reprehensible reason", appeared in 9 police reports filed in the cases; however, as it has already been abolished, it is no longer in force in the legal system. It is considered that the aggressor's behavior of harassing the victim, causing her psychological distress, is subject to a request for protective measures, with the request for the aggressor to be distanced from her home and family being allowed.

As for the data on race/ethnicity, in all the years, the number of brown people exceeded the other colors, showing proportionality with the percentage of the population of Tocantins. If the majority of the population is brown, the data on violence shows that the highest rate of aggression occurs against brown women. Given that the highest number of violence cases identified occurred in 2021, it can be seen that the annual percentage also followed the increase, compared to 2020. With regard to brown and black women, who make up the black population, there is a higher rate of violence against women of this race/ethnicity.

The figures found in the Court of Domestic Violence of the city of Palmas cases were that 53% of the women in situations of violence surveyed were brown; 11.6% declared themselves black. Thus, 63% of the women who filed complaints or reported domestic violence represent black women in the city of Palmas. The number of white women totals 28.3% of the sample group, with only one woman declaring herself to be yellow and no indigenous women; 6.8% of the cases did not report their race/ethnicity.

The number of white women who have applied for Emergency Protective Measures (MPUs) is high. This data shows that violence does not choose race; however, what is questioned here is the issue of access to information on the part of those who report it. Since race is a limiting factor in access to resources in society, as discussed in this paper, white women may have achieved a relatively high number in the figures, given their higher level of belief in the punishment of their aggressor. Black women, as well as poor women, based on their own life experiences, permeated by naturalized racism, may not feel as confident in reporting the aggression they have suffered, given the certainty of impunity. Racism and poverty often go hand in hand, since racism is the cause of poverty, due to the lack of opportunities and the consequences of the power relations that result from it.

Education and occupation are closely linked and reflect a socio-economic profile of the individual. Education is capable of leveraging human development by helping individuals to improve their potential and skills, and this process is not restricted to educational institutions alone, but also reaches people's social environment. However, the teaching-learning process promoted within schools empowers human beings, enabling their full development, creating better opportunities to reach the job market.

The result regarding the education of women was compromised by the number of omissions related to this issue. Of the 251 samples, 138 cases did not specify the schooling of the victim, which represents 55% of the cases analyzed. This is a striking fact. This was the question, among all those analyzed, that had the highest number of omissions, either in the police reports or in the other documents attached to the case, such as statements and forms filled in by the woman or the defendant, which were also used as a source of data.

The majority of the women who reported their education had completed high school and totaled 35 (13.9%) in the four years analyzed; then 26 (10.4%) women reported having completed higher education; 7.2% of the women, which totals 18 cases, had incomplete primary education; and 15 women had incomplete higher education, or 6% of the total. There were 9 women with incomplete secondary education, followed by 8 women with complete primary education. It was also noted that there were only 2 cases of women with no schooling, representing 0.8% of the total.

With regard to occupations, the occupation with the highest number of women registering police reports at one of the Police Stations of Women in the city of

Palmas was "housewife", of which there were 47. Although this is considered an occupation, it is not usually paid. Following the statements made by the victims, there were 30 omissions regarding profession; 21 declared themselves to be students, highlighting the increase in violence in this category, which jumped from 2 cases in 2019, to 12 occurrences in 2020; 14 are unemployed; 12 are self-employed; three professionals appeared in 8 cases: general service assistant, domestic worker and manicurist/pedicurist. Other professions appeared, but in less considerable numbers.

It was observed that the highest number of occurrences were against women who have no income, such as students, housewives and the unemployed, which leads to the inference and reaffirmation that women's economic dependence on men is one of the potentializers of violence and one of the reasons that keeps the victim in this circle.

With regard to the type of relationship between the parties at the time of the assault, in 95 cases the aggressor was an ex-husband/ex-partner, which represents 37.8% of the cases; then, in 89 of the cases, the aggressor and the victim were living in a marital relationship, i.e. cohabiting and living together, which accounts for 35.5 of the percentage of cases in the sample analyzed here. The two classifications of relationship together account for 195 of the recorded cases of aggression against women, which represents 73.3% of the aggressions. This means that cases of aggression are closely related to the type of relationship. According to the results, the closer and more intimate the relationship, the greater the propensity for violent acts in domestic relationships. Children, siblings, boyfriends and sons-in-law appeared in the sample, but in relatively small numbers compared to the types of relationship mentioned above.

5 CONCLUSION

It is impossible to estimate how many women around the world have been victims of some kind of aggression in their emotional relationships. Domestic violence against women is a scourge that has been present in many homes throughout history, and for a long time has remained outside the untrained eyes of the public authorities. In the city of Palmas alone, the number of cases filed with the JVDPM exceeds 32,000. And here we are talking about cases that have been registered by women, thus disregarding those of victims who do not seek justice for one of the reasons we have listed throughout this work.

This is gender-based violence, in which men and women occupy different places in society and are educated to act in accordance with the social culture that has been built up, since within the family microsystem the roles between men and women go off script and a fertile environment for aggression against the latter emerges.

In Brazil, despite the equality of the sexes provided for in the 1988 Federal Constitution, it was only in 2006 that legislation was effectively passed to protect women in situations of violence. It took several years of invisibility and marginalization before the social movements of women were able to win a law that would prevent aggression in the domestic environment and protect women in situations of violence in the most comprehensive way possible.

Because of the imbalance in these relationships, in which women have historically been in a position of vulnerability, the law brought in legal, police, welfare, work and health mechanisms to compensate and protect women, which revolutionized these spheres, considering the invisibility with which domestic violence had been treated until then.

The changes in the legal system brought a different treatment format for violence in the domestic and family environment; the creation of the DEAMs, as well as the institution of the Maria da Penha Patrol, created specifically to provide care and support to these women; free legal assistance; the possibility of removing the public servant and guaranteeing the employment of victims; the right of the victim to remain at home and not have to flee the aggression, sometimes with her children, to the homes of friends, neighbors or family, among others, are examples of how the Law 11.340 of 2006 has brought with it ways of confronting violence against women, giving them a minimum of dignity through the exercise of their inherent human rights.

The Maria da Penha Law has made the violence that turns women in the domestic environment into more visible. It created mechanisms to prevent, and stop aggression from evolving. It provides for assistance to the victim and her offspring, gives the Judge freedom to use all possible means at his disposal to guarantee the integrity of the woman and her family and, even if not provoked, both the magistrate and the State Prosecution can and should review the requests for emergency relief demanded by the victim so that the effectiveness of the protective law is guaranteed.

Given all the provisions of the Law No. 11.340 of 2006, it is up to legal operators, justice officials and police officers, as well as ongoing training, to

internalize how important and valuable it is to welcome and support victims, avoiding their re-victimization. This law, as we have tried to demonstrate in this work, has the potential to give women back their dignity, so battered by history and the still patriarchal culture. It is up to the state and the professionals who work to combat domestic violence to think about how they can continue so that their actions can contribute more and more to making the protection of women within this space effective.

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