

Violence Against Women: A Critical Analysis of Legislation and Statistical Data from Espírito Santo

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SUMMARY: Historically subjected to male domination, women have been the target of various forms of violence over the centuries. The fight for gender equality, which intensified in the 20th century, brought to light the seriousness of crimes against women, culminating in the classification of femicide in Brazil. In this context, Law No. 9,099/95, which established the Special Criminal Courts, proved insufficient to curb domestic violence against women. The informality and speed characteristic of this procedure, although advantageous in other cases, proved ineffective in the context of gender-based violence, which requires a more forceful and specialized response. Impunity and underreporting of cases were frequent, highlighting the need for specific legislation to protect women victims of domestic violence. Thus, Law No. 11,340/2006, known as the Maria da Penha Law, was a milestone in Brazilian legislation, as it classified the various forms of domestic and family violence against women and established mechanisms to protect and assist victims. The new law introduced a more rigorous approach to punishing aggressors and guaranteeing women's rights, overcoming the limitations of Law No. 9,099/95. This paper aims to analyze the reasons why Law No. 9,099/95 proved ineffective in combating domestic violence against women, highlighting the importance of the Maria da Penha Law for protecting women's rights and building a more just and egalitarian society.

Keywords: woman; violence; protection; family; public safety.

I. INTRODUCTION

Violence against women is a serious and persistent social problem, with deep roots in gender inequality and patriarchal culture. In Brazil, the issue gained national attention after the case of Maria da Penha, who suffered several attacks by her partner and inspired the creation of the Maria da Penha Law (Law No. 11,340/2006). This legislation represented a significant advance in the protection of women, but there are still challenges to be overcome.

Several studies indicate that violence against women gained visibility as a result of the public debate sparked by feminists about the murders of women from the 1970s onwards. This discussion brought to light questions about the violence and discrimination that women had experienced for centuries in public and private spaces. The

phenomenological analysis of everyday life, or rather, of subjective experience, refrains from any causal or genetic hypothesis, as well as from statements regarding the ontological status of the phenomena to be analyzed. Common sense contains pre-scientific interpretations of social reality, in which such hypotheses have credibility, contributing, among other things, to violence against women.

Within this theme, the reality will be described based on interpretations of statistical data from the Secretariat of Public Security and Social Defense – SESP, of the state of Espírito Santo. Thus, the data presented here are the basis for phenomenological analysis (Berger; Luckmann, 2014).

It is important to note that violence against women does not always occur in a family and/or emotional context, so that when it culminates in the murder of a woman, it may correspond to a simple homicide or femicide per se. This understanding generates different definitions for violence against women, depending on the context in which it occurs. The term domestic violence is used to refer to violence that occurs in the home, while family violence refers to violence that occurs between members of the same family, and conjugal violence is used to express aggression that occurs between intimate partners or ex-partners (Prates, 2013).

Violence against women can be physical, sexual, psychological, moral, or patrimonial, among others. Different types of violence often occur simultaneously, often resulting in the premature termination of a woman's life.

Aspects related to the interrelationship between gender, race and socioeconomic conditions in the context of a capitalist and patriarchal society, lead to women's vulnerability and create challenges in terms of understanding and theoretical explanations, without excluding the need for concrete attitudes that generate equality between men and women.

It is in this context of understanding and defending women that public institutions, including those in the security sector, are called to act. Public institutions understand that violence against women is a chronic and interdisciplinary event, requiring intervention from public security, public health, social action, transformation through education and culture, among other sectors. Therefore, resolution takes time and victims need to be assisted, monitored and strengthened in lines of care specific to the social system in which they are inserted.

It is understood, however, that public safety is urgently needed to combat feminicide, given that this type of crime is an action that can occur abruptly after a threat or conflict or even without any prior violence, so that, in these cases, measures to protect women must be timely and rapid.

This work was developed considering the violence against women classified as feminicide and its necessary combat by public security in Espírito Santo. Here, we analyze statistical data on the evolution of homicides of women in Espírito Santo between 2001 and 2018 and feminicides between 2016 and 2018; we point out the laws that direct the confrontation of violence against women in Brazil and encourage discussions on the subject, in addition to proposals for preventing and combating feminicides in the context of public security in Espírito Santo.

II. HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF THE BRAZILIAN CIVIL CODE IN RELATION TO WOMEN'S RIGHTS

The evolution of women's rights in Brazil was marked by profound changes in the legislative sphere, with the Civil Code of 1916 being an initial milestone that reflected the patriarchal values of the time. This code, the first to regulate civil relations in the country, consolidated gender inequality, assigning men the position of head of the conjugal society. Women, in turn, were relegated to a condition of subordination, as evidenced in article 233, which determined that wives should obey their husbands in everything that was not contrary to the law.

This provision highlighted the lack of autonomy of women, who could not freely dispose of their assets and needed their husband's authorization for practically all important decisions.

This situation extended to the administration of family assets, an exclusive prerogative of the husband, and to restrictions on the legal capacity of married women. Furthermore, the provisions of articles 240 to 255, under the title "Of the Rights and Duties of Women", reinforced the idea that women should be submissive to the family, without any impetus or will of their own, limiting their participation in decisions regarding the education of their children, their place of residence and even the administration of their own assets.

With the enactment of the Civil Code of 2002, there was a significant advance in the search for gender equality. The new legislation recognized women as equal partners in the marital society, granting them the same rights and duties as their husbands. Marriage began to be seen as a union between two people, regardless of gender, and women gained the right to manage their assets independently, without the need for their spouse's consent. In addition, divorce was made easier, and both spouses now had the same right to request it, strengthening individual autonomy within the marital union.

In 2020, the Brazilian Civil Code underwent new changes, reflecting the evolution of social demands. The inclusion of the concept of multi-parenthood and the express prohibition of obstetric violence were some of the innovations that sought to ensure greater protection and respect for women's rights. The legislation also began to concentrate cases related to domestic and family violence against women in a specific court, highlighting the importance of more effective and specialized treatment for these cases.

Although legislative progress has been notable, the challenge remains in effectively implementing these rights in practice. The social and cultural transformation needed to ensure that legal achievements translate into real changes in women's lives still requires ongoing efforts. The fight for a more just and equal society continues, with legislation being only one part of the process of building a society in which women's rights are fully respected and exercised.

III. THE INADEQUACY OF THE SPECIAL CRIMINAL COURT (JECRIM) FOR CASES OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE: AN ANALYSIS

The use of the Special Criminal Court (JECrim) to judge cases of domestic violence was a common practice before the Maria da Penha Law (Law No. 11,340/2006). However, this practice proved to be inadequate and generated several problems, culminating in the need for specific legislation to address this issue.

The JECrim was created to judge crimes of lesser potential harm, with the aim of relieving the burden on the Judiciary and offering a faster and more informal process. However, domestic violence, even when it does not result in serious injuries, involves a dynamic of power, control and oppression that requires a more specialized and complex approach.

a) Complex Nature: Domestic violence is not limited to physical acts, but involves a range of abusive behaviors, such as threats, constraints, financial and psychological control. This complexity requires an in-depth analysis of the power relations between aggressor and victim, which is not always possible within the scope of JECrim;

b) Recidivism: Domestic violence is a cycle and recurrence is common. The informality of JECrim and the lack of specialized monitoring of the victim made it difficult to identify and prevent new episodes of violence;

c) Reduced Vision: JECrim's focus on a quick resolution of the conflict and, often, did not take into account the needs of the victim, such as protection, psychological support and the guarantee of their rights.

The perception of the inadequacy of the Special Criminal Court (JECRIM) for judging cases of domestic violence did not occur abruptly, but through a gradual process of recognition of the specificities of this type of crime and the limitations of the summary criminal procedural system.

The discussion about the limitations of the JECRIM for cases of domestic violence had already been debated by legal scholars and practitioners before the enactment of the Maria da Penha Law. Several studies and scientific articles pointed to the need for a more in-depth and complex approach to these cases, which required an analysis that went beyond the limits of the summary process.

IV. HISTORY OF THE CREATION OF LAW NO. 11,340/06

A pharmacist from Ceará, Maria da Penha suffered constant aggression from her husband. In 1983, her husband tried to kill her with a shotgun. Maria escaped death, but was left paraplegic. When she returned home, after hospitalization and treatment, she suffered another assassination attempt. This time, her husband tried to electrocute her (Lima, 2014, p. 882).

After suffering a lot with her husband, Maria da Penha found the courage to report the aggressor. However, she was faced with a scenario that many women face in cases of violence: disbelief and lack of legal support from the Brazilian justice system. Therefore, the aggressor's defense was given the opportunity to allege irregularities in the process, keeping him free while he awaited trial (Lima, 2014, p. 882).

With the case still ongoing in court, in 1994, Maria da Penha released the book "Sobrevivi posso contar", in which she narrates the violence suffered by her and her three daughters.

With support coming after the book was released, Maria contacted the Center for Justice and International Law (CEJIL) and the Latin American and Caribbean Committee for the Defense of Women's Rights (CLADEM). These organizations forwarded her case to the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights of the Organization of American States (OAS) in 1998.

Thus, in 2002, the case was resolved, when the Brazilian State was condemned for omission and negligence by the Inter-American Court of Human Rights. Therefore, Brazil had to commit to reforming its laws and policies regarding domestic violence. 19 years after it came into force, the Maria da Penha Law is considered a major step forward in guaranteeing women's safety and rights. Only 2% of Brazilians had never heard of this law and there was an 86% increase in reports of family and domestic violence after its creation.

V. COMPARISON BETWEEN LAW N° 9,099/1995 AND LAW N° 11,340/06 - OBJECTIVES AND DIFFERENCES

The Law of Small Claims Courts (Law No. 9,099/1995) and the Maria da Penha Law (Law No. 11,340/2006) are two important laws in the Brazilian legal system, but with different objectives and characteristics. The Maria da Penha Law, in turn, brought significant innovations to combat domestic violence against women.

5.1 Law on Special Criminal Courts (Law No. 9,099/1995)

a) Objective: To reduce bureaucracy and speed up criminal proceedings for crimes of lesser offensive potential, seeking civil compensation for damages and the application of alternative penalties;

- b) Scope: Applies to a wide range of crimes, from petty theft to minor bodily harm;
- c) Procedure: Seeks conciliation between the parties and the application of alternative penalties, such as community service.

5.2 Maria da Penha Law (Law No. 11,340/2006)

- a) Objective:** Comprehensive protection of women, guaranteeing their rights and punishing aggressors, with a focus on domestic and family violence;
- b) Scope:** It applies exclusively to crimes of domestic and family violence against women;
- c) Procedure:** It prioritizes the protection of the victim, with urgent protective measures, and holding the aggressor accountable, with more severe penalties.

5.3 Innovations in the Maria da Penha Law in relation to the Law on Special Criminal Courts

- a) Specialization: Creation of Special Courts for Domestic and Family Violence against Women, with exclusive jurisdiction to judge these cases, ensuring more specialized and humanized care for victims;
- b) Protective Measures: Provision of urgent protective measures, such as prohibiting the aggressor from approaching, removal from the home and custody of the children, aiming to guarantee the victim's safety;
- c) More severe penalties: Penalties for domestic violence crimes are stricter, considering the severity of the violence and the woman's need for protection;
- d) Multidisciplinary Care: Encourages the creation of support networks for women who are victims of violence, with the participation of different areas, such as health, social assistance and justice;
- e) Prevention: Seeks to prevent domestic violence through awareness campaigns and education programs;
- f) Inadmissibility of the Law on Special Criminal Courts: The Maria da Penha Law excludes the application of the Law on Special Criminal Courts to crimes of domestic and family violence against women, due to the seriousness of these crimes and the need for differentiated legal treatment.

The Maria da Penha Law introduced a series of innovations in relation to the Law of Special Criminal Courts, with the aim of guaranteeing more effective protection for women victims of domestic violence. The specialization of courts, the provision of urgent protective measures, harsher penalties and the focus on prevention are some of the main advances provided by this law.

The main difference between the two laws lies in their focus, as it is conclusive that the Law of Special Criminal Courts seeks speed and informality in proceedings, while the Maria da Penha Law seeks the comprehensive protection of women and the punishment of aggressors.

VI. VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN: HOMICIDE AND FEMINICIDE

Historically, differences between men and women have been noted. Women have been subjugated by humanity since prehistoric times, when men dominated women through physical force. The evolution of humanity has not

abandoned this prehistoric line of reasoning. In different ways, male superiority and the consequent submission of women are proposed. From this perspective, violence against women is rooted in the human historical-cultural process.

The murder of women is common in patriarchal regimes, in which they are subject to the control of men, whether they are husbands, family members or strangers. The causes of these crimes are not due to pathological conditions of the offenders, but to the desire for possession of women, who are often blamed for not fulfilling culturally designated gender roles (Meneghel; Portela, 2017).

The subjugation of women, however, did not go unnoticed in the last century. Its origin, its form and its real, technical and scientific basis were discussed. Gradually, women gained the right to have a voice and to be heard and seen by society, and protection and equalization mechanisms were created to deal with unequal treatment of those who were unequal.

In Brazil, an iconic event in the fight against violence against women was the Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence against Women, or the Belém do Pará Convention, held in 1994. This convention defined violence against women as “any action or conduct, based on gender, that causes death, harm or physical, sexual or psychological suffering to women, whether in the public or private sphere” (Pitanguy, 2002; Prates, 2013).

In August 2006, Law No. 11,340, nicknamed the Maria da Penha Law, was enacted, which defined mechanisms to curb, prevent and punish domestic and family violence against women in Brazil, in addition to establishing measures to assist and protect these women.

It was only in March 2015, however, that the Femicide Law, Law No. 13,104, amended the Brazilian Penal Code and included the classification of the crime of femicide. According to the amendment to the Penal Code, femicide is understood to exist when the homicide occurred “against a woman for reasons of her gender” (Brazil, 2015), involving “domestic and family violence” (Brazil, 2015) or “disparagement or disregard for the condition of being a woman” (Brazil, 2015).

Thus, violence against women encompasses a wide range of physical, psychological, sexual and patrimonial aggressions that occur on a continuum, which can culminate in death by homicide, an act that, depending on the context, is classified as femicide.

VII. CONTEXTUALIZATION OF PUBLIC SAFETY IN CAPIXABA

Espírito Santo is a Brazilian state located in the southeast region of Brazil. The political division of the state has 78 municipalities, grouped into 05 Integrated Public Security Regions - RISP. Thus, there is RISP 1 - Metropolitan Region of Greater Vitória; RISP 2 - North Region; RISP 3 - South Region; RISP 4 - Northwest Region and RISP 5 - Mountain Region. This subdivision respects the regional particularities of the territory, so that they occupy, respectively, the central-east, north, south, northwest and central regions of the territory of Espírito Santo.

The regionalization of administrative and operational areas aims to integrate the ostensive police, Military Police of Espírito Santo - PMES and judicial police, Civil Police of Espírito Santo - PCES, contributing to more effective action by public security forces and consequent reduction in crime rates.

VIII. FEMINICIDES IN ESPÍRITO SANTO

To classify a violent death of a woman as femicide, it is necessary to use the definitions already set out in this article, so that the crime is classified as such when the aggression involves domestic and family violence or when it shows contempt or discrimination against the condition of being a woman, characterizing the crime because the victim is female.

For years, Espírito Santo was at the top of the national ranking of states with the highest rates of female homicides. In 2009, the situation was alarming, with an average of 11 female murders for every 100,000 women, more than double the national average. Every two days, a woman from Espírito Santo was the victim of femicide, revealing a deeply rooted scenario of gender violence.

In light of this situation, state authorities have implemented several actions to combat violence against women. The measures have had an effect and between 2006 and 2016, the state recorded a 43.2% reduction in the female homicide rate, according to data from the Atlas of Violence. In 2016, the rate in Espírito Santo equaled the national average.

However, this fragile stability was shaken in 2017, with an increase in homicides in general, including those of women, as a result of the public security crisis. Violence, which seemed to be under control, returned to haunt Espírito Santo.

In 2018, there was a new drop in female homicides, demonstrating that the actions implemented continued to have an effect. With the return of the Estado Presente Program in 2019, public security managers intensified the fight against feminicides, creating an exclusive department to assist women victims of violence.

However, from 2020 onwards, there was a consecutive increase in records of homicides of women, a scenario that may be related to the COVID-19 pandemic and changes in social behavior patterns.

In 2022, the numbers again showed a drop of 16.67% compared to the previous year, with a rate of 4.3 deaths for every 100,000 inhabitants.

The progress made in recent years shows that it is possible to reduce femicide rates through effective public policies and coordinated work between different sectors of society. However, the persistence of violence and fluctuations in rates show that the problem is still far from being resolved.

The quantification of femicide crimes requires correct annotation in police reports drawn up in cases of flagrant crime, in which it is possible to identify in loco that the aggressor meets the specific conditions in the legislation.

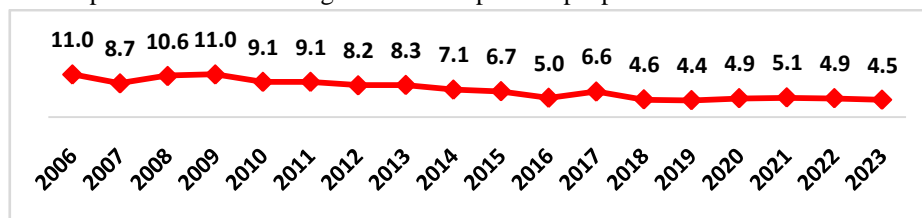
In cases where the family and/or social relationship between the victim and the perpetrator is unclear, the homicide may only be reclassified as femicide after the criminal investigation has been concluded. There are, therefore, many open inquiries, with investigations in full swing that may or may not be considered femicide.

SESP makes statistics on crimes that occur in Espírito Santo available through the Public Security Observatory Management – GeOSP, which accesses the police occurrence systems of both the state's ostensive police and the state's judicial police, compiling and processing the data in order to generate the information necessary for public security planning.

Data on homicides of women in Espírito Santo between 2006 and 2023, made available by GeOSP (Graph 1), show that The highest rates of homicides against women occurred between 2006 and 2009.

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Graph 1: Homicide rate against women per 100 people – 2006 to 2023



Source: GeOSP/SESP (2023)

It was only in 2016, after extensive discussion about violence against women and the classification of the crime of femicide in federal legislation, that GeOSP began to quantify homicides against women in a different way to femicides (Graph 2).

Graph 2: Homicides against women and femicides in Espírito Santo – 2016 to 2024

Year	Homicides	Femicides	Total
2016	64	35	99
2017	133	42	175
2018	94	34	128
2019	91	34	125
2020	102	26	128
2021	107	39	146
2022	96	35	131
2023	88	35	123
2024	61	27	88

Source: GeOSP/SESP (2024)

In the years preceding the classification of femicide as a crime, it can be inferred that femicides were included within the crimes of homicides against women. This perception is clear from Graphs 1 and 2: when the homicides of women and femicides are added together, generating the total number of violent deaths of women. From this perspective, Graph 2 shows a number close to the homicides of women presented in Graph 1. This shows that violence against women, within the family/affective cell and/or due to their condition as women, has always existed.

Despite the short time frame for recording femicides, it is clear that they occur less frequently than homicides against women. This does not in any way diminish the importance of the issue nor does it rule out the concern to reduce and perhaps eradicate the violent deaths of women.

When talking, however, about women's lives cut short by murder, whether homicides or femicides, the absolute number of cases between 2016, 2018 and 2024, it is important to emphasize that the year 2024 has not yet ended, being the lowest since the beginning of the series presented, which occurred in 2001.

In addition to the data presented in Graphs 1 and 2, GeOSP made available the numbers on the region (Table 1), regarding the number of feminicides by RISP in ES – 2016 to 2024, means used in the practice of the crime of femicide (Table 2), skin color (Table 3), age of the victim (Table 4), in addition to the relationship between perpetrator and victim (Table 5).

Table 1: Number of feminicides by RISP in ES – 2016 to 2022

	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024
RISP01	15	18	10	17	8	15	10	11	13
RISP02	6	3	11	7	6	4	5	2	4
RISP03	3	13	6	5	5	8	2	5	3
RISP04	10	4	5	3	2	8	8	9	3
RISP05	1	4	2	2	5	4	6	2	4

Source: GeOSP/SESP (2024)

Table 2: Means used in feminicides in ES – 2016 to 2024

	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024
Firearms	25,71%	26,19%	26,47%	35,29%	19,23%	33,33%	22,86%	17,14%	18,52%
Bladed weapons	37,14%	54,76%	47,06%	23,53%	53,85%	46,15%	45,71%	60,00%	48,15%
Others means	37,14%	19,05%	26,47%	41,18%	26,92%	20,51%	31,43%	22,86%	33,33%
Total	35%	42%	34%	34%	26%	39%	35%	35%	27%

Source: GeOSP/SESP (2024)

Table 3: Skin color of victims of femicide in ES – 2016 to 2024

	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024	Total
Brown	16	31	23	23	15	27	25	20	10	190
White	7	11	2	6	8	11	4	11	4	64
Black	10	1	7	2	3	1	3	2	2	31
Unidentified	2	0	0	3	0	0	3	2	11	21
Total	35	43	32	34	26	39	35	35	27	306

Source: GeOSP/SESP (2024)

Table 4: Age range of victims of femicide in ES – 2016 to 2024

	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024
Up to 12 years	1	0	0	2	0	2	2	0	2
13 to 17 years	0	0	0	1	1	1	3	1	0
18 to 35 years	18	23	15	12	14	14	11	11	10
36 to 59 years	15	17	16	19	9	21	18	14	12
Over 60 years	1	2	2	2	2	1	1	5	3

Source: GeOSP/SESP (2024)

Table 5: Relationship between perpetrator and victim of femicides in ES – 2016 to 2024.

Relationship	n
Husband	85
Partner	65
Ex-husband	37
Boyfriend	32
Ex-partner	17
Ex-boyfriend	10
Relative	9
Known	7
Father	3
Son	2
Unidentified	2
Stepfather	2
Daughter	1
Total	272

Source: GeOSP/SESP (2024)

According to the data presented, the highest absolute number of femicides, from 2016 to 2024, occurred in RISP 1, which corresponds to the Metropolitan Region of Greater Vitória. It is worth noting, however, that this is the area with the highest population concentration in the state of Espírito Santo.

Regarding the means used to commit feminicide, in the three years covered, bladed weapons lead the ranking. There is a tie for second type of means used for feminicide in 2017 and 2018, between firearms and other means.

The majority of victims are predominantly brown, followed by whites in 2017 and blacks in 2018.

The women who die most as a result of femicide are usually between the ages of 18 and 35. An exception occurred in 2018, when the majority of victims were between the ages of 36 and 59.

Femicides are mostly committed by husbands and partners, followed by ex-husbands and ex-partners and boyfriends. The smallest proportion of femicides are committed by people with other types of emotional/family/social relationships between the criminals and the victims.

IX. PUBLIC POLICIES TO COMBAT VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

The state of Espírito Santo has good practices in combating violence against women. SESP and the public security institutions subordinate to it develop projects that encourage discussions, implementing the reception and protection of women who are victims of violence, as well as the prevention of new occurrences of violence against women. The Casa Abrigo, Patrulha Maria da Penha and Homem que é Homem projects are successful examples of the actions developed by the state in favor of women.

The Shelter Home was founded in 2005, in a partnership between the federal and state governments, and is directly linked to SESP. Its main objective is to provide shelter to women who are victims of physical, sexual or psychological violence, in the domestic and family environment, at imminent risk of death, as well as to their respective dependent minors (up to 14 years old) or incapacitated.

Access to the Shelter Home is granted by referral of the victimized woman by the Social Assistance Reference Center (CRAS); by the Specialized Social Assistance Reference Center (CREAS); by the Specialized Police Station for Women's Assistance or by the Special Women's Police Station on duty in the Metropolitan Region. The stay of the assisted woman at the Shelter Home can be up to 90 days, with this period being extended for up to another 90 days. The Shelter Home is located in a confidential location in the Greater Vitória Metropolitan Region, and the woman and her sheltered children are not allowed to go out on the streets alone or use their own telephones. Contact with the family is made through the house telephone.

The Shelter has the capacity to serve 30 people, offering a range of essential services. However, the demand for places is often greater than the supply, highlighting the magnitude of the problem of domestic violence. Since its creation, the shelter has already sheltered 760 women, a number that demonstrates the importance of this service for the community. The numbers are described in Table6, which shows all the services provided.

Table6: Allservicesprovided by Casa Brigo from 2006 to 2022

Year	Women	Children	Total
2006	4	6	10
2007	18	49	67
2008	26	42	68
2009	36	60	96
2010	30	52	82
2011	37	63	100
2012	51	54	105
2013	46	55	101
2014	42	55	97
2015	56	78	134
2016	57	74	131
2017	62	61	123
2018	60	83	143
2019	73	82	155
2020	58	77	135
2021	53	67	120
2022	51	65	116
Total	760	1023	1783

Source: GeOSP/SESP (2024)

The Maria da Penha Patrol was created in 2017 and is a form of policing adopted by PMES teams. This type of policing has specific parameters for creation, structuring and operation. In fact, military police officers carry outreassuring visits to women who are victims of domestic and family violence. The public security agents who work directly in the Maria da Penha Patrol were trained by SESP toto provide adequate support to women who are victims of domestic violence. The training began with the participation of police officers from RISP 1 and was later extended to other regions of the state. Periodically, the central management of PMES, through its Human Rights and Community Policing Directorate – DDHPC, holds meetings to evaluate and monitor the services provided by the Maria da Penha Patrol, as well as to align new strategies for the program's

operations. The Delegates located in the Specialized Police Stations for Women are responsible for requesting protective measures from the Public Prosecutor's Office and can immediately indicate that the woman who is a victim of violence begins to receive reassuring visits. The selection of victims follows criteria of case relevance, as per the table below, which describes all the incidents attended to.

Table 7: All occurrences recorded in the regions

Year	RISP 01 Metropolitan	RISP 02 North	RISP 03 South	RISP 04 Northwest	RISP 05 Mountainous regions	Total
2016	2939	1377	361	-	-	4677
2017	3452	577	87	792	79	4987
2018	3373	1248	623	818	187	6249
2019	3987	1058	1519	831	614	8009
2020	3597	787	1273	721	701	7079
2021	3921	677	1434	777	765	7574
2022	3344	446	2141	837	745	7513
Total	24613	6170	7438	4776	3091	46088

Source: GeOSP/SESP (2024)

The Homem que é Homem project was created and is implemented by the PCES psychosocial team. The project works directly with men who are perpetrators of violence against women and who have proceedings underway at the Specialized Police Stations for Women in the Greater Vitória Metropolitan Region. The project is developed through meetings in the format of a reflective group, and the participant is summoned by the Police Authority to attend the first meeting. Continuing and joining the following meetings will be voluntary.

The topics covered in the meetings include gender relations, deconstructing sexist and macho ideas, encouraging peaceful ways of dealing with conflicts, identifying and reflecting on violence in relationships and aspects related to family relationships. These topics aim to stimulate thinking about the subjective space occupied by the family as a democratic and coexistent place, in addition to spreading a culture of respect and non-violence. Six cycles are held per year and each one has eight meetings, which take place once a week, within the Civil Police Academy. In Greater Vitória, 65 people have already been assisted by the Civil Police. In the other municipalities, the service is provided by the City Halls that joined the Project and total 171 people assisted in 2022. This expansion was renewed in Linhares, Marataízes and Montanha and adding 04 municipalities (Alfredo Chaves, Jaguaré, Nova Venécia and Conceição do Castelo). The goal for 2023 is to expand to other municipalities, with 9 currently in the initial negotiation phase and 7 requesting inclusion, as shown below.

Table8: Services provided between 2015 and 2022.

Year	Participations
2015	73
2016	63
2017	68
2018	56
2019	48
2020*	0
2021*	0
2022	236
Total	544

*Due to Covid-19, the project did not operate in 2020 and 2021

Source: GeOSP/SESP (2024)

The Man Who is a Man project, in particular, is a promising initiative that reveals possibilities for success when, instead of simply punishing in the traditional model, it contributes to the reflection on the role of man in the family and in society by the perpetrator of violence himself. The project is an example of different types of intervention.

There was also the creation of the SOS Marias-190 application, which is a functionality within 190 ES made available for emergency activation of PMES without the need to go through the conventional call center triage and is intended to assist women in situations of domestic and family violence who cannot, at the time, request vehicle support by dialing 190. It is important to note that the victim does not need to have a protective measure to use the application (which was created in 2021 and is available for Android and IOS).

X. CHALLENGES

Even after the creation of this system, it is believed that there is still underreporting of cases of violence against women. Reporting these events is still avoided by many victims, who keep the situation confidential for fear of reprisals from the aggressor himself or even from the sociocultural environment in which they live. Preventing cases of femicide depends, among other factors, on prior knowledge of women who suffer some type of domestic/family violence. Increasing proximity and trust among women who are victims of violence is a challenge faced mainly by the Maria da Penha Patrol.

The Homem que é Homem project works on the issue of transforming culturally rooted thinking in a specific and restricted group. The challenge is to change collective thinking on a broad scale, with an education truly focused on gender equality and a culture of peace.

Another challenging aspect is the correct classification of female deaths due to assault. Not all cases result in the victim dying at the time of the assault, and they may spend time in hospitals, for example, and their death is not always associated with the crime of violence against women. Deaths are certified, but are not classified in emergency service records. Expert reports and investigations can make this association. Compiling information from hospital death reports and expert reports from the Forensic Medical Institute (IML) requires extensive availability of documents, researchers, and research funding.

Exposing and discussing information about femicides is hard work. This is sometimes due to methodological obstacles – considering the lack of a policy for data disaggregation based on a gender perspective – and sometimes due to the difficulty of accessing the institutions that make up the criminal justice system, whose dynamics, as a rule, are not open to field research. In the same vein, the dissemination of information from the judiciary follows, archived in different spaces within the same system that does not have a clear dialogue between the instances that make it up.

The structuring of the data that should be collected, in addition to those that already exist, in reports of violence against women, should include more information. Family income and educational level, for example, of the victim and perpetrator are still inconsistent data, preventing an analysis in this sense.

XI. FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Violence against women is historical and its origins go back to a system of domination-subordination that determines the roles of each sex in society, based on subjectivities, representations, and behaviors that must be obeyed and that have long been based on essentialist discourses. This occurs as if, by biological determination, the way of feeling, thinking, and perceiving the world were predefined a priori, and therefore incontestable and definitive. Women would only be left with obedience in the name of a supposed family and social balance, often internalized and reproduced by women themselves. Consequently, this social model has led to rights violations and imposed on women a condition of inferiority in relation to men, manifested mainly by vast types of violence, from physical and sexual subjugation to the actualization of death - femicide (Meneghel; Portela, 2017).

In 2009, Espírito Santo was the state with the highest number of incidents related to domestic violence. Throughout 2017, numerous reassuring visits were carried out. In addition to the data collection, the activities carried out are significantly complex in terms of the process of listening to the victims who requested the visits, with guidance and referrals.

Furthermore, the creation of legislation in Brazil that typified cases of femicide was of fundamental magnitude, so that, before society in general, through the research carried out, information was introduced about the reality experienced by so many women, as well as the need for a change and breaking of dominant paradigms, if one can say so.

Community policing, as defined by Skolnick and Bayley (2006), involves profound changes in the usual roles of the police. Such policing involves making the public a stakeholder group for the police. A key feature of community policing is the redeployment of police personnel to encourage regular, routine interaction with the public, not just emergency-related ones.

The proposal for training and education of police officers involved in combating violence against women is not the focus of this article. It is only known that SESP seeks to train specialists to act both in direct intervention and in management actions and in the construction of public policies in the public or private security sector. The aim is for the training to be carried out through an interdisciplinary perspective of activities that involve the construction of policies and actions aimed at the promotion, prevention and control of issues related to human rights, citizenship, violence and crime.

Effective prevention is achieved through the participation of all social actors and all levels of government. It is believed that the consolidation of community guards within the municipalities of Espírito Santo and the implementation of public safety programs that combine preventive actions will contribute to reducing the rates of all types of violence, including violence against women.

The contribution of qualified repression is also evident, prioritizing territories marked by socioeconomic vulnerabilities and high crime rates, with police stations specifically dedicated to assisting women. This practice creates an atmosphere conducive to women feeling welcomed and seeking help.

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