LUMEN ET VIRTUS
ISSN: 2177-2789

PUBLIC POLICIES FOR THE PROTECTION OF WOMEN VICTIMS OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE: A VICTIMOLOGICAL AND CRIMINAL ANALYSIS UNDER THE BRAZILIAN REALITY

https://doi.org/10.56238/levv16n47-103

Submitted on: 24/03/2025 **Publication date:** 24/04/2025

Esther Brisa da Silva Barros[1] and Lucas Lucena Oliveira[2]

ABSTRACT

Domestic violence against women is a structural and multifaceted phenomenon, which requires effective responses from the legal system and public policies to protect victims. In Brazil, the legislative and institutional evolution of policies to protect women victims of violence has been marked by important advances, such as the creation of the Maria da Penha Law and the inclusion of psychological violence in the Penal Code, but it also faces challenges related to the effective application of laws and overcoming the macho culture that still permeates the care of victims. This article aims to analyze public policies for the protection of victims of domestic violence in Brazil, from the perspective of victimology and criminal law, highlighting their advances, limitations and challenges. The methodology adopted is qualitative, using bibliographic review and analysis of emblematic cases and jurisprudence related to domestic violence. The results indicate that, although there have been significant advances in legislation and support institutions, the lack of effectiveness in protective measures and the inadequate treatment of victims in the police and judicial spheres still compromise the effectiveness of public policies. It is concluded that, in order to achieve comprehensive protection, it is necessary not only to improve the legislation, but also to improve the training of professionals involved in the care of victims and ensure greater agility in judicial processes, in addition to fostering a cultural change that combats gender violence in a comprehensive way.

Keywords: Gender Violence. Public Policies. Protective Measures.

[1]Academic of the Bachelor of Laws course at the Institute of Higher Education of Southern Maranhão – IESMA/Unisulma.
E-mail: barrosesther661@gmail.com
[2]Advisor Professor. Lawyer. Researcher associated with the National Council for Research and Graduate Studies in Law. Doctorate student in Law at the University of Marília - UNIMAR. Master in Education from the Federal University of Maranhão - UFMA. Specialist in Civil Procedural Law from the International University Center. Graduated in Law from the Federal University of Maranhão - UFMA. Coordinator of the Law Course at the Higher Education Unit of Southern Maranhão - UNISULMA. Leader of the Research Group on Law, Economics and Sustainable Development at UNISULMA.

INTRODUCTION

Gender inequality is a historical construct that perpetuates structures of domination and exclusion, especially with regard to women's rights. For centuries, the discourse of female inferiority was legitimized by biological, social and cultural arguments that relegated women to the private sphere, denying them the full exercise of citizenship.

Resistance to this logic of domination gained strength through feminist social movements, which, over the decades, have pushed for profound transformations in legal and social structures. In Europe, and later in several Latin American countries, public policies aimed at gender equality began to be implemented, revealing the importance of collective action and the struggle for recognition. In Brazil, legislative advances in this field are directly related to social mobilization and female protagonism, especially after the promulgation of the Federal Constitution of 1988.

The Citizen Constitution enshrines, in its article 5, caput, and in article 226, §§ 5 and 8, the principle of equality between men and women, imposing on the State the duty to ensure not only the formality of this right, but its effectiveness. This means recognizing the structural inequalities that affect women and promoting public policies that seek to curb gender violence. This constitutional guideline is in line with international commitments signed by Brazil, such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and the Convention of Belém do Pará, which established fundamental guidelines for the promotion of a safe, egalitarian and violence-free environment for women.

The enactment of Law No. 11,340/2006 – Maria da Penha Law was an undeniable milestone in this process, representing a response of the Brazilian legal system to social requirements and international treaties. This legislation innovated by recognizing the complexity of domestic and family violence, proposing emergency protective measures, expanding the mechanisms for holding aggressors accountable, and creating institutional spaces to welcome victims. However, despite its undeniable normative advance, Brazil still lives with alarming numbers of gender violence, reflecting structural flaws in the effectiveness of these public policies.

In view of this reality, this article has as its guiding question: "How have Brazilian public policies been responding, from a criminal and victimological perspective, to domestic violence against women?" Followed by its general objective, to analyze the public policies for the protection of victims of domestic violence in Brazil, from the perspective of victimology and criminal law, highlighting their advances, limitations and challenges.

The methodology adopted will be qualitative, based on bibliographic and documentary research, using legislation, international treaties, statistical data and specialized doctrines. The construction of the article will be divided into three central axes: (1) the legislative and institutional evolution of public policies in Brazil; (2) a victimological analysis of the profile of the victims and the psychosocial impacts of domestic violence; and (3) a critical evaluation of the performance of the criminal system and the obstacles faced for the effectiveness of state protection.

THE LEGISLATIVE AND INSTITUTIONAL EVOLUTION OF PUBLIC POLICIES FOR THE PROTECTION OF WOMEN VICTIMS OF VIOLENCE IN BRAZIL

The 5th edition of the survey "Visible and Invisible: the Victimization of Women in Brazil", released by the Brazilian Forum on Public Security, reveals an alarming scenario of violence against women in the country. According to the data, 37.5% of the women interviewed reported having suffered some type of violence in the last 12 months, the highest rate ever recorded since the beginning of the time series, representing an increase of 8.6 percentage points in relation to the previous edition of the survey. This is equivalent to about 21.4 million Brazilian women aged 16 and over.

According to Samira Bueno, executive director of the Forum, the results show that "there is no safe place for women in Brazil: at home, on the street, at work or on public transport, in all spaces women are vulnerable to situations of violence and harassment" (Brazilian Forum on Public Security, 2025).

In Brazil, the Federal Constitution of 1988 ensures, in its article 5, the right to life as a fundamental right, and in its article 227, it reinforces the priority protection of children and adolescents, attributing to the family, society and the State the responsibility to guarantee their safety. In this context, any type of abuse, violence or sexual exploitation is prohibited, and such practices must be severely punished (Brasil, 1988).

Even before the promulgation of the Brazilian Constitution, the international scenario already pointed to the need for more effective measures to protect women's rights. In 1979, the United Nations (UN) Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women was established as a reference framework for the protection of women's rights, both internationally and in Brazilian law. This international treaty became the first binding norm to comprehensively address women's rights, directly influencing Brazilian legislation and the process of incorporating human rights into national legislation (UN CEDAW Convention, 1979).

Prior to the Brazilian Constitution, in 1979 there was the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women.

> This convention was [...] a reference framework for the protection of Women's Rights, both internationally and in Brazilian law. In the international sphere, it is the first international provision to comprehensively address (and with binding force) Women's Rights [..] it is a milestone in the process of incorporating International Human Rights Law into Brazilian legislation (UN CEDAW Convention, 1979).

The Convention formulated concepts on equality and discrimination, highlighting the importance of eliminating these practices, which represented a turning point for gender and women's protection policies, both in the global scenario and in the Brazilian legal context. The 1980s were marked by growing social mobilization, with feminist movements and women organizing to seek partnerships with the State in order to solve the problem of gender violence. Among the achievements of these mobilizations are the right to vote, access to education, inclusion in sports activities, political participation, and access to contraceptive methods (Bezerra, 2022).

However, a major legislative milestone in Brazil occurred with the enactment of Law No. 11,340 of 2006, known as the Maria da Penha Law, which represented a significant advance in the protection of women victims of domestic violence. This legislation, in addition to repudiating domestic violence, establishes urgent protective measures, and creates a support network for women in vulnerable situations (Brasil, 2006).

Domestic violence, as conceptualized in the legislation, ranges from physical torture to more subtle forms of violence present in the victim's daily life, whether in the family, social, or work sphere, in public or private spaces (Bezerra, 2022). Domestic violence manifests itself in a cyclical way, as described by the Maria da Penha Institute (2018), divided into three phases: (i) initial tension, characterized by attitudes of irritability and humiliation on the part of the aggressor; (ii) the phase of violence, where physical, psychological, moral or patrimonial aggression materializes; and (iii) the "honeymoon" phase, where the aggressor usually tries to justify his conduct and promises not to repeat the aggression, establishing a false reconciliation.

At the international level, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, by stating, in its article 7, that everyone is equal before the law, consolidated a fundamental principle of equal rights, being a pillar for the construction of norms aimed at the protection of women against violence (United Nations, 1948). In 1985, the first police station for specialized assistance to women was inaugurated in the State of São Paulo, an example of an initiative that later spread to other states, providing specialized and more welcoming care to victims of violence (Bezerra, 2022).

Other important legislative milestones in the fight against gender-based violence include Law No. 8,930 of 1994, which made the crime of rape and indecent assault heinous crimes, and Law No. 10,224 of 2001, which included the crime of sexual harassment in the Penal Code (BRASIL, 1994; 2001). Law No. 10,714 of 2003 established the creation of the 180 telephone line, known as the Women's Service Center, which allows anonymous and free complaints, contributing to the construction of a support network for women in situations of violence (Brasil, 2003).

It is important to highlight that, before the enactment of the Maria da Penha Law and the Femicide Law, violence against women was often treated as a private matter, restricted to the family environment, without due recognition of the seriousness of the problem. As pointed out by Silveira (2020), the popular expression "in a fight between husband and wife does not get into a spoon" still persists in the collective imagination, evidencing a culture that minimizes domestic violence and considers it as something private between the couple. From this perspective, crimes of domestic violence were often classified as misdemeanors of lesser offensive potential, subject to lenient treatment by the authorities.

> Article 1 - The Special Civil and Criminal Courts, organs of the Ordinary Justice, shall be created by the Union, in the Federal District and in the Territories, and by the States, for conciliation, process, judgment and execution, in cases within their jurisdiction. Article 2 The process will be guided by the criteria of orality, simplicity, informality, procedural economy and speed, seeking, whenever possible, conciliation or settlement (Brasil, 2021).

In practice, when an occurrence of this type was registered, the defendant was instructed to sign a detailed term, committing to attend the hearing and, in many cases, to pay a bail, without the provision of imprisonment. This more lenient treatment of infractions related to domestic violence was supported by Law No. 9,099/95, which regulated the Special Criminal Courts and established that, in cases of infractions of lesser offensive potential, the punishment should be lenient and prioritize conciliation, criminal settlement and procedural speed, thus ruling out imprisonment as a common measure for such situations (Brasil, 1995).

Law No. 13,104 of 2015, also known as the Femicide Law, broadened the understanding of the crime of homicide, including femicide as a qualifier for homicide when the crime is motivated by domestic and family violence or by discrimination against the female sex (Brasil, 2015). A recent advance was Law No. 13,827, of 2019, which instituted protective measures to immediately remove the aggressor from the environment of coexistence with the victim, reinforcing the guarantees of protection for women (Brasil, 2019).

Data on violence against children and adolescents in Brazil, according to a survey carried out by Dial 100 in 2014, indicate that the main types of violence recorded are negligence (37%), psychological violence (21%), physical (25%) and sexual violence (13%) (ABRINQ, 2022). In addition, Brazil has faced international pressure, especially at the UN and the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, to improve its system of protection for minors and women victims of violence. In 2013, Brazil was held responsible for non-compliance with the American Convention on Human Rights and the Convention of Belém do Pará, due to domestic violence and the ineffectiveness of public protection policies (Costa; Araújo, 2022).

Research on domestic violence in Brazil still needs to be further investigated, making it difficult to formulate interventions that transcend punishment and repression. According to Ribeiro et al. (2018), existing research is insufficient to provide clarity in the approach and implementation of effective public policies. The public policy for the protection of women, although recent in Brazil, has experienced significant advances, being a field of constant evolution (Secchi; Walnut; Pires, 2020).

The creation of the National Form for Risk and Protection of Life (FRIDA) in 2018 established a standardized protocol to assess the degree of risk of women in situations of violence.

> The risk assessment aims to prevent the occurrence or worsening of domestic and family violence against women. The systematized and standardized collection of information allows: • To substantiate requests for emergency protective measures provided for in the Maria da Penha Law, contributing to the speed of their approval; • Guide the application of the protection measures provided for in article 11 of the Maria da Penha Law; • Prevent the worsening of violence for surviving victims of femicides and/or indirect victims; • Organize the referral and follow-up of women through the network of services, facilitating communication between professionals with a view to expanding protection for women. (CNMP, 2019, p.09).

This form, which can be applied by professionals in the women's care network, such as police stations and reference centers, allows for a more accurate assessment of the victim's situation, contributing to the request for emergency protective measures and to communication between the professionals involved in the care (Mata, 2020; CNMP, 2019).

VICTIMOLOGICAL ANALYSIS: THE PROFILE OF THE VICTIM AND THE PSYCHOSOCIAL IMPACTS OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE

The victimological analysis of domestic violence requires a deep understanding of the structural and sociocultural factors that involve the figure of the victim, as well as the psychosocial impacts resulting from the aggression. In the Brazilian context, violence

against women is rooted in historically constructed social inequalities, being strongly crossed by factors such as gender, race, and social class. According to Pasinato and Colares (2020), these structural inequalities are even more accentuated in times of crisis, such as those observed during the Covid-19 pandemic, a context in which female vulnerability was significantly expanded.

Artistic expression has also proven to be an important tool for denunciation and resistance. The song *Rosas*, by the group Atitude Feminina, released in 2006, is a striking example of this when it states that "every year two million women are beaten, by husbands or boyfriends". This statement reveals the naturalization of gender violence in Brazilian daily life and the silence that often accompanies it, demonstrating that, even outside the academic environment, the reality of domestic violence is perceived, felt and denounced by thousands of women.

At the international level, data from the United Nations (UN) reveal that about 33% of women have been victims of violence at some point in their lives. This statistic, as pointed out by Freitas et al. (2020) and corroborated by Brazil (2018b), highlights the profound impacts that such experiences generate on women's biopsychosocial integrity, affecting their emotional, psychological, and social balance.

Institutional fragility also contributes to the perpetuation of the problem. As highlighted by Oliveira and Ferigato (2019), there is a significant gap in the training of health professionals, especially in primary care, with regard to care and notification of cases of violence against women. This deficiency has a negative impact on the effectiveness of public policies, since many professionals are unaware of women's human rights and the applicable legislation, which contributes to the underreporting of cases.

Victimology, as a field of study, cannot ignore the historical and cultural elements that shape the phenomenon of domestic violence. Colling (2020) points out that the perpetuation of domestic violence is intrinsically linked to patriarchal heritage, which establishes unequal power relations between men and women. This social structure tends to inferiorize women, favoring their vulnerability in the face of situations of violence. This violence, which is increasingly frequent within families, is often made invisible, especially in the absence of support networks or effective institutional protection mechanisms.

Despite the centrality of the victim in the dynamics of domestic violence, there is a relevant gap in the formulation of public policies aimed at the rehabilitation of aggressors. As Castro (2019) warns, the absence of specific strategies for the treatment and accountability of the perpetrator of violence prevents the effective confrontation of the gender problem.

It is necessary to recognize that, for the most part, episodes of violence occur within the home. Silveira (2022, p. 17) highlights that aggressions occur predominantly in the domestic and family space, and present different forms of manifestation, which can change over time, following new behaviors and relational dynamics.

From a psychological point of view, it is relevant to consider the occurrence of complex phenomena such as Stockholm Syndrome, common in long-term abusive relationships. According to Nascimento (2019, p. 23–24), this syndrome is characterized by the development of positive feelings of the victim in relation to the aggressor, functioning as an unconscious defense mechanism in situations of prolonged fear. In these cases, the woman can develop empathy, affection and even love for her aggressor, making it difficult for her to get out of the cycle of violence.

Another control mechanism frequently employed is moral and psychological violence. Lima (2018, p. 221) points out that, many times, the aggressor resorts to humiliation related to personal aspects of the victim — such as insecurities or traumas — and attributes to him the responsibility for his own violent conduct. Such a dynamic reinforces the blaming of women and intensifies their emotional fragility, making them even more vulnerable to the control of the aggressor.

The construction of women's social role also influences the perpetuation of gender violence. Cisne and Santos (2018, p. 152) point out that institutions such as the Catholic Church, throughout history, have contributed to the reproduction of patriarchal patterns by idealizing a model of the "good woman" — submissive, selfless, and devoted, under the image of Mary, mother of Jesus. This symbolic construction reinforces women's passivity and limits their possibilities of reaction in the face of violence.

Regarding the profile of the aggressor, Engel (2020) observes that, in 70% of cases of domestic violence, the aggressors are partners, ex-partners, or close relatives of the victim, which reaffirms the intimate and relational nature of the aggression, making it difficult to cope with and report it.

The insufficiency of public reception policies is also worrying. Data from the IBGE (2019) indicate that only 2.4% of Brazilian municipalities had shelters for women in situations of violence in 2018, totaling only 43 units across the country. This number reveals stagnation, since in 2013 the percentage was 2.5%, demonstrating that there was no significant advance in the period, even in the face of the growing demand for this type of protection.

Finally, Ramos (2022, p. 94) makes an important conceptual distinction between the terms "gender violence", "family violence" and "domestic violence". The author highlights

that gender violence is the broadest category, encompassing the others. Family violence, in turn, refers to aggressions that occur between members of the same family unit, whether extended or nuclear, considering the ties of consanguinity or affinity. Domestic violence, on the other hand, takes on a specific contour because it develops in the home environment, but not always between family members, and may involve intimate partners or people with a previous affective bond.

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE CRIMINAL SYSTEM AND THE OBSTACLES TO THE DENUNCIATION AND PUNISHMENT OF AGGRESSORS

The consolidation of public policies to combat violence against women in Brazil reflects not only a normative advance, but also a continuous process of institutional resignification of women's human rights. On the social level, domestic violence is still camouflaged under cultural stigmas that make it difficult to recognize the victim and the violence suffered.

One of the aspects that aggravate this scenario is the discrepancy between the public image of the aggressor and the reality of the victim: often, the perpetrator of violence is seen by family and friends as someone respectable and upright. This dissonance, as Silveira (2020) observes, is part of a dynamic of manipulation that confuses the victim and reinforces the cycle of violence. The disqualification of the female report is still a worrying reality, marked by deep-rooted prejudices and the perpetuation of patriarchal culture. Lima (2018, p. 225) emphasizes that,

> The testimony given by the victim is often not taken seriously, either in terms of severity or periodicity. Prejudices come to the surface and the macho culture disqualifies the victim's account, which has its credibility put in check[...] (Lima, 2018, p. 225).

With this, the woman's testimony, often instead of welcoming, discredits her. For Hooks (2019), the fight against patriarchal violence must remain as a central axis of the feminist movement, with the end of all forms of violence being its main banner.

Media cases such as that of presenter Ana Hickmann, in 2023, reveal that domestic violence transcends socioeconomic barriers. The presenter filed a police report against her then-husband for physical assault, an episode that, even in the face of the victim's fame, was initially denied by the aggressor. The subsequent admission of the facts and the absence of requested protective measures illustrate how the complexity of these relationships affects even women in positions of public visibility (Estadão, 2023; O Globo, 2023). This fact reinforces the urgency of effective and comprehensive public policies.

In the Brazilian normative framework, instruments such as the Statute of the Child and Adolescent (Brasil, 1990) and, especially, the Maria da Penha Law (Law No. 11,340/2006) represent fundamental milestones in the protection of the physical, moral and psychological integrity of victims of domestic violence. The protective measures provided for in these laws aim to ensure not only the safety of the victim, but also of their families, acting preventively to interrupt the cycle of violence (Court of Justice of the Federal District, 2014).

Physical violence, one of the most visible forms of aggression, can constitute the crimes of bodily injury or femicide, according to articles 129 and 121, paragraph 2, item VI, of the Penal Code, in addition to the criminal misdemeanor by means of fact, provided for in article 21 of the Criminal Misdemeanor Law. Cunha and Pinto (2018, p. 76) highlight that this violence is characterized by the use of physical force – punches, slaps, pushes, burns, among others – regardless of the existence of apparent marks.

Brazilian jurisprudence has also consolidated its understanding of the relevance of the victim's testimony and the scope of psychological violence. In a decision of the Court of Justice of Maranhão (ACR 16782/2008), it was recognized that the threat and keeping the woman in confinement constitute forms of domestic violence, and the appearance of physical injuries is not necessary to constitute the crime. The Maria da Penha Law, by providing for different types of violence, including psychological violence (article 7, II), offers a legal basis for holding accountable conduct that, although it does not leave visible marks, produces deep and lasting damage.

In this sense, Mello and Paiva (2020) highlight that police service plays a decisive role in women's access to the protection network and the justice system, with the police being the main gateway to these cases. Article 11 of the Maria da Penha Law imposes on the police authority the duty to guarantee immediate protection, including accompanying the victim in the removal of personal belongings and in the referral for medical care, when necessary.

However, despite the normative advances, the Brazilian justice system still faces structural obstacles. According to a report prepared by the CNJ in partnership with IPEA (2019), the duration of criminal proceedings often exceeds the estimated between six months and a year and a half. Cases of prescription and proceedings of more than eight years are not rare, revealing a panorama of slowness that compromises the effectiveness of judicial protection. In addition, the service in the police stations, especially in those that are not specialized, has been pointed out by victims as unsatisfactory, marked by omission, helplessness and, sometimes, by the explicit refusal of care.

The search for the effectiveness of protective measures has also been the subject of legislative debate. In March 2025, the Chamber of Deputies discussed Bill No. 6020/2023, which aims to amend the Maria da Penha Law to typify as an infraction the simple act of the aggressor approaching the areas delimited for the protection of the victim, even with the victim's consent. This proposal reinforces the binding nature of protective measures, seeking to prevent relapses and pressure the justice system to respond more rigorously (Agência Câmara de Notícias, 2025).

In the field of reparation, the possibility of setting a minimum indemnity in a criminal conviction is highlighted. According to Júlio Cesar Konkowski Silva, quoted in an article by Migalhas (2025), article 387, item V, of the Code of Criminal Procedure, introduced by Law No. 11,719/2008, allows the judge to set a minimum amount for compensation for damages, provided that there is an express request. This judicial prerogative is in line with the institutional advances of the Maria da Penha Law, which inaugurated a new paradigm of full protection for women, not only repressive, but also preventive and reparative.

Another important milestone was the enactment of Law No. 14,188/2021, which introduced article 147-B into the Penal Code, typifying the crime of psychological violence against women, regardless of the domestic bond between aggressor and victim. According to Freire (2023), this innovation broadens the spectrum of protection, recognizing emotional damage as an autonomous and severe form of gender violence. Recent court decisions have treated psychological violence as an offense capable of producing traumas as devastating as physical aggression.

Finally, the Brazilian legislative and institutional evolution in the fight against violence against women is anchored in international commitments, such as the Convention of Belém do Pará, which establishes the duty of the State to adopt effective measures to prevent, punish and eradicate gender violence. The incorporation of these principles into the Brazilian legal system reinforces the need for integrated public policies, which articulate legislative, institutional and social actions to guarantee women the full exercise of their fundamental rights.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The study of public policies for the protection of women victims of domestic violence in Brazil, analyzed from the perspective of victimology and criminal law, reveals a complex picture of legislative and institutional advances, but also highlights significant limitations and continuous challenges. The Brazilian legal system, represented mainly by the Maria da

Penha Law (Law 11.340/06), establishes a protection network that, over the years, has been strengthened through legal reforms and institutional initiatives.

The inclusion of types of psychological violence in the Penal Code, with the amendment of article 147-B by Law 14,188/2021, is a clear example of this advance, expanding the possibilities of punishment and recognition of the various forms of aggression that affect women. However, although Brazil has committed itself internationally, through pacts such as the Convention of Belém do Pará, the practical application of these measures still faces a number of obstacles.

One of the biggest challenges faced by victims of domestic violence continues to be the effectiveness of the criminal system and the confrontation of obstacles to reporting and punishing aggressors. The macho culture, still deeply rooted in Brazilian society, plays a central role in the difficulty of recognizing the seriousness of the aggressions suffered by women. The victim's testimony is often minimized, disqualified, or discredited, making it difficult to seek justice. In addition, the slowness of judicial processes and the lack of adequate structure in specialized police stations (DEAMs) further aggravate the situation, leaving many women in a position of vulnerability and helplessness, as pointed out by the CNJ and IPEA report (2019). In many cases, the victim is pressured to return to living with the aggressor, due to the revictimization suffered during the process of denunciation and judicialization.

Victimological analysis, in turn, allows a deeper understanding of the profile of victims of domestic violence, evidencing the devastating psychosocial impacts of this type of violence. Women of different social and economic profiles, as illustrated by the case of presenter Ana Hickmann, are also subject to this violence, which demystifies the idea that aggression is a phenomenon restricted to the lower classes or to environments of social exclusion.

The impact of domestic violence goes beyond the physical marks, directly affecting the emotional and psychological well-being of the victims, often creating a vicious cycle of fear, shame, and even emotional dependence on the abuser. The scarcity of adequate public policies to address these psychological needs and the lack of continuous psychological support for victims create a barrier to true recovery and social reintegration.

Therefore, despite the legislative advances and protective measures already consolidated, the implementation of effective public policies still needs significant improvements. The strengthening of support networks, with the inclusion of more psychological support resources and the streamlining of judicial processes, is essential to ensure full protection for women who are victims of violence.

Society needs to evolve in its understanding of the phenomenon of domestic violence, not only from a legal point of view, but also from a sociocultural point of view, combating the macho culture and promoting a change in mentality. Confronting gender violence requires a joint effort between the State, civil society and institutions, so that public policies are in fact effective in protecting women and punishing aggressors, with a view to building a more just and egalitarian society.

REFERENCES

1. Abrinq. (2022). Violência contra a criança e contra o adolescente. Observatório da Criança e do Adolescente. https://observatoriocrianca.org.br/agendalegislativa/temas/violencia-contra-crianca-contra-adolescente

2. Atitude Feminina. (2006). Rosas [Song]. Featuring Ellen Oléria; Produced by DJ Raffa. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VuD1wDM_CSE

3. Bezerra, G. D. (2022). A violência doméstica contra a mulher no ordenamento jurídico brasileiro. https://www.repositorio.ufc.br/handle/riufc/1504-4676-1-PB

4. Brasil. (2019). Lei nº 13.827, de 13 de maio de 2019: Altera a Lei nº 11.340, de 7 de agosto de 2006 (Lei Maria da Penha). https://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_ato2019-2022/2019/lei/L13827.htm

5. Câmara dos Deputados. (2025, March 13). Câmara pode votar projeto que inclui na Lei Maria da Penha punição em caso de aproximação consensual do agressor. https://www.camara.leg.br/noticias/1140412-camara-pode-votar-projeto-que-inclui-na-lei-maria-da-penha-punicao-em-caso-de-aproximacao-consensual-do-agressor

6. Cisne, M., & Santos, S. M. M. (2018). Feminismo, diversidade sexual e Serviço Social. Cortez.

7. Colling, A. M. (2020). Violência contra as mulheres: Herança cruel do patriarcado. Diversidade e Educação, 8(Especial), 171–194. https://doi.org/10.28998/de.v8iEspecial.13540

8. Convenção sobre a Eliminação de Todas as Formas de Discriminação contra a Mulher. (1979). In Enciclopédia Jurídica da PUC SP. https://enciclopediajuridica.pucsp.br/verbete/527/edicao-1/convencoes-de-direitos-humanos-sobre-direitos-da-mulher

9. Costa, A. S., & Araújo, A. M. (2022, July 5). Temas controversos da Lei Henry Borel. Consultor Jurídico. https://www.conjur.com.br/2022-jul-05/academia-policiatemas-controversos-lei-henry-borel

10. Engel, C. L. (2020). A violência contra a mulher. In IPEA (Ed.), Retratos das desigualdades de gênero e raça (pp. XX–XX). Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada. http://repositorio.ipea.gov.br/handle/11058/1031

11. Estadão. (2023). Ana Hickmann confirma ida à polícia após desentendimento com o marido. https://www.estadao.com.br/emais/gente/ana-hickmann-confirma-ida-a-policia-apos-desentendimento-com-o-marido-nprec/

12. Fórum Brasileiro de Segurança Pública. (2025). Mais de 21 milhões de brasileiras sofreram algum tipo de violência nos últimos 12 meses, revela pesquisa do Fórum Brasileiro de Segurança Pública. Fontesegura. https://fontesegura.forumseguranca.org.br/mais-de-21-milhoes-de-brasileiras-sofreram-algum-tipo-de-violencia-nos-ultimos-12-meses-revela-pesquisa-do-forum-brasileiro-de-seguranca-publica/

13. Freire, A. B. S. (2023). Violência psicológica contra a mulher em situação de violência doméstica e familiar: Uma análise do art. 147-B do Código Penal Brasileiro [Undergraduate thesis, Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Norte]. Repositório UFRN.

14. Freitas, R. G., Silva, J. P., Oliveira, M. C., & Santos, R. F. (2020). Percepções do atendimento em saúde no contexto de violência conjugal. Revista Baiana de Enfermagem, 34, eXX. https://doi.org/10.18471/rbe.v34.37430

15. Hooks, B. (2019). O feminismo é para todo mundo: Políticas arrebatadoras (A. L. Libânio, Trans., 4th ed.). Rosa dos Tempos.

16. Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada. (2020). Atlas da violência. https://www.ipea.gov.br/atlasviolencia/dados-series/40

17. Lima, T. M. (2018). Os filtros inibidores que atuam da ocorrência da violência até a propositura da ação penal e o acesso à justiça. In A. Gostinski, A. F. Bispo, & F. Martins (Eds.), Estudos feministas por um direito menos machista (Vol. 3, pp. XX–XX). [Publisher not specified].

18. Matta, I. A. (2020). A Lei Maria da Penha e o acesso à justiça: Da necessidade de implementação de políticas públicas de proteção e prevenção da violência contra mulher [Unpublished manuscript].

19. Mello, A. R., & Paiva, L. M. L. (2020). Lei Maria da Penha na prática (2nd ed.) [E-book]. Thomson Reuters Brasil.

20. Nascimento, I. I. D. (2019). Ela não apanha porque gosta: Uma análise do ciclo de violência doméstica contra a mulher através da Síndrome de Estocolmo, tendo por último ato o cometimento do feminicídio [Undergraduate thesis, Centro Universitário de Brasília]. https://repositorio.uniceub.br/jspui/handle/prefix/13810

21. O Globo. (2023, November 13). Acusado de agressão, marido de Ana Hickmann confessa que mentiu e classifica caso como “desinteligência”. https://oglobo.globo.com/cultura/noticia/2023/11/13/acusado-de-agressao-marido-de-ana-hickmann-confessa-que-mentiu-e-classifica-caso-como-desinteligencia-entre-casais.ghtml

22. Oliveira, M. T., & Ferigato, S. H. (2019). A atenção às mulheres vítimas de violência doméstica e familiar: A construção de tecnologias de cuidado da terapia ocupacional na atenção básica em saúde. Cadernos Brasileiros de Terapia Ocupacional, 27(3), 508–521. https://doi.org/10.4322/2526-8910.ctoAO1817

23. Pasinato, W., & Colares, E. S. (2020, April). Pandemia, violência contra as mulheres e a ameaça quando vem de números. Psicanálise e Democracia. www.psicanaliseedemocracia.com.br

24. Ramos, A. L. S. (2022). Violência psicológica contra a mulher: Dano emocional e aspectos criminais (3rd ed.). Editora Mais.

25. Ribeiro, L. M. A., & Leite, L. M. C. (2018). Violência doméstica, infância e rede de apoio. Revista Latinoamericana de Psicopatologia Fundamental, 21(3), 646–659. https://doi.org/10.1590/1415-4714.2018v21n3p646.10

26. Secchi, L., Coelho, F. S., & Pires, V. (2020). Políticas públicas: Conceitos, casos práticos, questões de concurso (3rd ed.) [E-book]. Cengage Learning.

27. Secretaria de Estado de Saúde do Distrito Federal. (2008). Manual para atendimento às vítimas de violência na rede de saúde pública do Distrito Federal. http://bvsms.saude.gov.br/bvs/publicacoes/manual_atendimento_vitimas_violencia_saude_publica_DF.pdf

28. Silva, J. C. K. (2025, April 16). Jurisprudência do STJ sobre dano moral presumido nos casos de violência doméstica. Migalhas. https://www.migalhas.com.br/depeso/428450/jurisprudencia-do-stj-nos-casos-de-violencia-domestica

29. Silveira, F. N. (2022). Políticas públicas e comunitárias para a proteção e prevenção da violência doméstica em Jaguarão/Brasil e Rio Branco/Uruguai: Desafios e perspectivas [Unpublished manuscript].