CONDEMNED BY COLOR – THE RACIAL DISPARITY IN GENDER VIOLENCE AGAINST BLACK WOMEN AND THE OMISSION OF PUBLIC POLICIES BASED ON "COLOR FASCISM" IN BRAZIL

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ABSTRACT

In a society that is markedly racist, sexist, and patriarchal, as is the case in Brazil, data from the National Map of Gender-Based Violence reveal that black women, within their gender group, are the main victims of homicide in the country, in a significant way. The statistical data were obtained through several databases, including health (DataSUS – SIM and Sinan), public security (Sinesp), and justice (CNJ – DataJus), in addition to the National Survey of Violence against Women, conducted by the DataSenado Research Institute, and the Observatory of Women against Violence. Given this reality, the question is: is the murder of black women in Brazil a reflection of the "Fascism of color", which perpetuates racial and gender-based violence, highlighting the negligence of public policies in addressing this structural issue? To answer this question, the collected data were analyzed in light of the work "The Fascism of Color", by Muniz Sodré (2023), and other authors such as Nascimento (2016), Lerner (2019), Hunt (2009), Gomes (2019) and Moore (2015). The research adopts a qualitative, bibliographical approach, according to Minayo (2007) and Gil (2008), and a comprehensive approach, based on Weber (2009). The analysis of the data showed that black women are disproportionately victimized by homicides in Brazil, being the target of violence that combines structural racism and gender inequality. This reality is a reflection of the "fascism of color", a concept that points to the confluence of discrimination based on color and gender. In addition, the lack of public policies aimed at protecting this group was observed, highlighting the role of institutional structures in maintaining this violence.

Keywords: Gender Violence. Black Women. Structural Racism. Color Fascism.

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COLONIAL LEGACIES AND STRUCTURAL RACISM: GENDER VIOLENCE AGAINST BLACK WOMEN IN BRAZIL – INTRODUCTION

The history of Black women in Brazil is marked by violence, exploitation, and marginalization, a direct legacy of a colonial system that consolidated slavery as the structural axis of social and gender inequalities. For over three centuries, Black women were relegated to the status of property, used for both forced labor and sexual exploitation. Laurentino Gomes (2019) describes slavery as a "vision of hell" (p. 211), highlighting the brutality that sustained Brazilian slave society. This condition not only perpetuated dehumanization but also established a racial and gender hierarchy that continues to structure social relations in the country today.

Since the primary reason for importing slaves was economic exploitation for profit, slaves, labeled as subhuman or inhuman, were relegated to a societal role corresponding to their economic function: mere labor force. [...] The norm was the exploitation of African women by slave masters, illustrating one of the most repugnant aspects of the lascivious, indolent, and greedy character of the Portuguese ruling class. Brazil inherited from Portugal the patriarchal family structure, and the price of this legacy was paid by Black women, not only during slavery but even today, due to their condition of poverty, lack of social status, and total helplessness (Nascimento, 2016, p. 134).

With the formal end of slavery in 1888, Black women did not experience true emancipation (Santos et al., 2024). Instead, they were pushed to the margins of society, without access to inclusion policies, and relegated to underemployment and precarious living conditions. According to Silvio Almeida (2019), structural racism is responsible for "[...] naturalizing the subalternity of Black people" (p. 53), placing them in a position of exclusion that reproduces itself in institutions and everyday micro-relations. This logic is even more cruel for Black women, who face the intersection of racism and sexism, a combination that uniquely and profoundly shapes their life trajectories.

Structural racism operates as a mechanism that naturalizes the exclusion and subalternity of Black people, especially women, perpetuating inequalities that transcend the economic sphere to affect political, social, and cultural structures. Racism, more than an isolated practice, is a system that integrates the organization of society, shaping both institutions and everyday relations. It does not require intent to manifest, as it is inscribed in the very fabric of social structure, becoming a "machine for producing inequalities" that directly affect the lives of racialized groups (Almeida, 2019, p. 45-46).

Thus, this reality contributes to Black women being the primary victims of murders in Brazil today, a reflection of racial and gender violence that remains latent. Muniz Sodré (2023) analyzes "color fascism" as a process that "[...] operates structurally and symbolically, perpetuating violence against Black bodies" (p. 45). This violence is reinforced by the absence of effective public policies, highlighting state negligence in protecting these women. The extreme vulnerability of Black women reveals that racism in Brazil is not a past event but a persistent structure that shapes subjectivities and perpetuates exclusion and violence.

Brazilian racism acts as an invisible yet pervasive structure across all social layers, perpetuating inequalities that transcend the economic sphere and directly affect power relations. Violence against Black bodies is a symbolic and structural strategy for maintaining social control, naturalizing dehumanization and exclusion in a country where whiteness is established as the norm. This logic manifests in the absence of effective public policies and the maintenance of historically discriminatory practices, leaving Black populations, especially women, in a constant state of vulnerability and social invisibility (Sodré, 2023, p. 45).

Black women in Brazil continue to face significant barriers in accessing spaces of power and decision-making. Despite advances in representation, challenges persist that reflect structural racism and sexism. Silvio Almeida (2019) emphasizes that "[...] representation can have two important effects in combating discrimination: opening a political space for minority demands to be heard [...] and dismantling discriminatory narratives that always place minorities in subaltern positions" (p. 53). However, the author warns that visibility is not synonymous with real power, stressing that racism remains a structure that legitimizes exclusion, even with the presence of minorities in certain spaces.

Black representation in public spaces does not necessarily imply increased power in political society but enhances social power within civil society. This means that the presence of Black men and women in prominent positions is important for destabilizing racist representations but insufficient to alter the structural conditions that perpetuate exclusion (Sodré, 2023, p. 45).

In the workplace, the situation for Black women is even more challenging. They are often relegated to lower-prestige positions and face significant wage disparities. As Silvio Almeida (2019) states, "[...] racism manifests objectively in the economic field, such as when economic policies establish privileges for the dominant racial group or harm

minorities [...] Black women pay proportionally more taxes than white men" (p. 182). This inequality is also reflected in the lack of access to promotion opportunities, reinforcing racial and gender hierarchies in the labor market.

Post-abolition racialization was a neocolonial strategy for constructing internal social boundaries, ideologically supported by pseudoscientific knowledge about the anthropological inferiority of Black people, as well as by economic interests aimed at assigning lower wage value to their labor as free men. Racism functions as a strategy for social hierarchization within a chain of continuity governed by new rules (Sodré, 2023, p. 56).

In educational spaces, Black women deal with prejudices that directly affect their educational trajectories. They face both exclusion and underrepresentation in prestigious academic environments. Silvio Almeida (2019) observes that "[...] even in universalized public education systems, the racial profile of those in prestigious positions reaffirms the imaginary that associates competence and merit with whiteness and masculinity" (p. 121). This context contributes to perpetuating a cycle of exclusion that limits their prospects and reinforces the meritocratic logic that sustains racial inequality.

The object of this research is to analyze the alarming rate of murders of Black women in Brazil, situating this violence within the context of a historical structure of racial and gender inequality. As Abdias do Nascimento states, "[...] the daily killing of dozens of Black people is the subject of parliamentary commissions and human rights campaigns but remains neglected by the state, which insists on treating the issue as isolated cases rather than a structural problem" (Nascimento, 2016, p. 198). The violence is not only physical but also symbolic, perpetuated by the absence of effective public policies and the reproduction of institutionalized racism that dehumanizes Black bodies.

The daily killing of dozens of Black people is the subject of parliamentary commissions and human rights campaigns, such as Amnesty International. [...] The media portrays the situation in a distorted way, highlighting the fear of the privileged elite in the face of extreme poverty produced by income concentration in a context of scandalous economic inequality with clear racial contours. [...] Racial discrimination is confirmed as a structuring factor (Nascimento, 2016, p. 198).

The objectives of this analytical endeavor include understanding the historical roots of this violence and identifying how contemporary dynamics of racism and sexism reinforce the vulnerability of Black women. As Gerda Lerner points out, "[...] patriarchy and racism

have created a system that associates control over female bodies with power structures, reinforcing the marginalization of Black women in all social spheres" (Lerner, 2019, p. 78). Thus, the research aims not only to expose alarming statistics but also to propose solutions based on awareness and institutional transformation.

For millennia, women have participated in the process of their subordination, having been psychologically shaped to internalize the idea of their inferiority. The lack of awareness of their history and achievements is one of the main ways of keeping them subordinated (Lerner, 2019, p. 52).

The importance of this scientific overview for society lies in its ability to denaturalize violence against Black women and challenge the myth of racial democracy. As previously highlighted by Sodré, "[...] violence against Black bodies is a symbolic and structural strategy for maintaining social control, perpetuating exclusion in a country where whiteness is established as the norm" (Sodré, 2023, p. 45). For Lynn Hunt, "[...] a just and egalitarian society is only possible when the intersectionality of gender, race, and class oppressions is recognized and combated" (2009, p. 146). Exploring this relationship allows us to understand how structural racism not only affects the opportunities of Black women but also places their lives at constant risk.

Thus, this research contributes to the public debate by pointing out paths for social transformation based on racial injustices (Santos et al., 2024b). Lynn Hunt argues that "[...] human rights cannot be dissociated from the fight against structural inequalities; without equality, violence persists as a tool of control" (Hunt, 2009, p. 146). Therefore, addressing violence against Black women is essential for building a truly democratic society.

COMPREHENSIVE AND INTERSECTIONAL APPROACH: UNRAVELING THE DIMENSIONS OF RACE, CLASS, AND GENDER IN VIOLENCE AGAINST BLACK WOMEN

Qualitative research is essential for understanding complex social phenomena, such as gender violence against Black women in Brazil. This approach allows access to the subjective and contextual meanings of lived experiences, offering a deeper analysis of issues related to race, gender, and class. Minayo (2007) states that "[...] the object of Social Sciences is essentially qualitative [...] seeking to theoretically reconstruct processes, relationships, symbols, and meanings of social reality" (p. 13). This demonstrates how qualitative methodology is perfectly suited to the analysis of such an intricate phenomenon.

Qualitative research addresses very specific questions. It deals, in the Social Sciences, with a level of reality that cannot or should not be quantified. That is, it works with the universe of meanings, motives, aspirations, beliefs, values, and attitudes. This set of human phenomena is understood here as part of social reality, as human beings are distinguished not only by their actions but also by their thoughts about what they do and by interpreting their actions within and from the reality lived and shared with their peers (Minayo, 2007, p. 21).

Moreover, qualitative research offers flexibility to explore emerging themes and specific contexts that cannot be adequately quantified. Gil (2008) emphasizes that "[...] qualitative research is indicated for studies seeking to understand human behavior and the reasons behind it, being particularly useful for exploratory studies" (p. 28). This is especially relevant in the context of violence against Black women, where social and historical dynamics need to be unraveled.

Another relevant point is the ability of this perspective to give voice to the researched subjects, a crucial aspect in studies on marginalized populations. As Minayo (2007) states, "[...] social reality is richer than any theory, and the Social Sciences have tools capable of approaching the complexity of this existence" (p. 12). This reinforces the importance of adopting an approach that values the narratives and experiences of Black women, contextualizing them in their realities.

Finally, it must be affirmed that the object of Social Sciences is essentially qualitative. Social reality is the stage and womb of the dynamism of individual and collective life with all the richness of meanings overflowing from it. This same reality is richer than any theory, any thought, and any discourse we can elaborate on. Therefore, the codes of sciences, which by their nature are always referred to and delimited, are incapable of containing the totality of social life. However, the Social Sciences possess tools and theories capable of approximating the splendor of human existence in society, albeit incompletely, imperfectly, and unsatisfactorily (Minayo, 2007, p. 13).

Thus, qualitative research enables the construction of critical and transformative knowledge, contributing to public debate and the formulation of inclusive policies. According to Minayo (2007), "[...] the method is the soul of theory, articulating itself with empirical reality and thoughts about it" (p. 14). In this research, the qualitative approach was decisive in revealing how public policies neglect violence against Black women, perpetuating structural inequalities.

The bibliographic research was a crucial initial step in constructing the research object, allowing the delimitation of the problem and the identification of gaps in existing knowledge. Gil (2008) describes that "[...] bibliographic research is conducted based on the survey of already published material, mainly books, scientific articles, and electronic documents, to analyze and interpret phenomena" (p. 50). This process was essential for contextualizing violence against Black women in Brazil.

Bibliographic research is developed from already elaborated material, consisting mainly of books and scientific articles. Although almost all studies require some type of work of this nature, there are researches conducted exclusively from bibliographic sources. Part of exploratory studies can be defined as bibliographic research. The main advantage of this type of research lies in the fact that it allows the investigator to cover a much broader range of phenomena than could be directly researched (Gil, 2008, p. 50).

The choice of sources included classical and contemporary works addressing structural racism and gender violence, such as texts by Muniz Sodré (2023) and Silvio Almeida (2019). The initial work involved identifying key concepts, such as "color fascism" and "structural racism," which guided the formulation of the research objectives. Minayo (2007) emphasizes that "[...] mastery of theories grounds the path of thought and theoretical practice, besides constituting the interpretative framework for inquiries" (p. 18).

After the bibliographic survey, the focus shifted to analyzing statistics on homicides of Black women, extracted from databases such as DataSUS and CNJ. This step was crucial for formulating the research question, which sought to connect the neglect of public policies to structural racism. Gil (2008) emphasizes that "[...] the formulation of the problem is the initial and most important step, as the entire conduct of the study depends on it" (p. 33).

Only when the researcher has a clear idea of what they intend to say about the chosen subject are they in a position to begin their work? It is not enough, for example, to intend to study unemployment, nor even unemployment in Brazil or a specific state. It is necessary to clearly define what one wants to know about unemployment: 'How does it occur?', 'Where does it occur?', 'What are its causes?' or 'What are its consequences?'. Besides its clear formulation, the problem must be delimited to a feasible dimension (Gil, 2008, p. 72).

Thus, this perspective allowed for a broader view of the theme, connecting statistical data to theoretical analysis and contributing to the construction of a relevant and innovative research object. The integration of readings with empirical data enabled the formulation of grounded hypotheses, as recommended by Gil (2008), who states that "[...] bibliographic research should help clarify the research object and raise questions more appropriately" (p. 77).

Max Weber's comprehensive approach was fundamental for the analysis of this study, as it allowed an understanding of the intersections between race, class, and gender in the phenomenon of violence against Black women. Weber (2009) argues that understanding is essential to grasp the subjective meaning of human actions, stating that "[...] social action is that which, according to its subjective meaning, refers to the behavior of others and is oriented by it" (p. 21). This perspective was indispensable for exploring the structural and symbolic logic of "color fascism."

The comprehensive methodology also favored the analysis of the historical dynamics that sustain structural racism and sexism. As Minayo (2007) states, "[...] the Social Sciences deal with a reality marked by subjectivity, which requires methods that contemplate the complexity and specificity of social phenomena" (p. 10). This approach made it possible to identify how gender violence is embedded in a system of intersectional oppression.

Max Weber (1864-1920) opposes the use of natural science methods in the study of society, proposing instead the empathetic apprehension of the finalistic meaning of an action, partially or entirely originating from irrational motivations. This procedure, which he calls comprehension, involves a reconstruction of the original subjective meaning of the action and the recognition of the observer's partiality. For Weber, social scientists must apprehend the social world without eliminating the subjective integrity of the actors who attribute meaning (Gil, 2008, p. 110).

Moreover, comprehensive analysis allowed connecting statistical data to the lived experiences of Black women, valuing theorists' narratives as central elements for understanding racial and gender violence. According to Gil (2008), "[...] the interpretation of data in qualitative research should be guided by a theoretical framework that allows capturing the relationships between the analyzed elements" (p. 156). This connection was essential for revealing the nuances of the investigated problem.

In addition, the application of the comprehensive approach contributed to identifying the flaws in public policies and proposing solutions that consider intersectionality. As Minayo (2007) highlights, "[...] methodology must articulate theory, empirical reality, and thoughts about reality" (p. 14). This articulation was decisive for understanding how structural racism, patriarchy, and state negligence perpetuate violence against Black women in Brazil.

Racial Disparity in Gender Violence Against Black Women and the Omission of Public Policies Based on "Color Fascism" in Brazil

The murders of Black women in Brazil represent a grave social problem that highlights the confluence of structural racism and gender inequality. Data from the "National Map of Gender Violence" show that, among women murdered in 2022, 67% were Black, reflecting how historical oppressions continue to directly impact their lives. Laurentino Gomes (2019) points out that "[...] freedom never meant, for former slaves and their descendants, opportunities for social mobility or improved living conditions [...] They were never treated as citizens" (p. 267). The theorist continues: "[...] they never had access to land, good jobs, decent housing, education, healthcare, and other opportunities available to whites" (Laurentino Gomes, 2019, p. 267). This historical text helps to understand how the structural marginalization of Black women persists.

The analysis of data reveals that the violence suffered by Black women is not only physical but also symbolic and institutional. According to Silvio Almeida (2019), "[...] structural racism integrates the economic and political organization of society, legitimizing the exclusion of racialized groups and restricting their life opportunities" (p. 35). The perspective of structural racism reinforces the idea that the lives of these women are devalued, creating a continuous cycle of oppression and vulnerability (Santos et al., 2024).

Racism is a consequence of the very social structure, that is, the 'normal' way in which political, economic, legal, and even family relations are constituted, not being a social pathology nor an institutional disorder (Almeida, 2019, p. 39).

Institutional racism, often ignored, plays a fundamental role in perpetuating this violence. According to Abdias do Nascimento (2016), "[...] the daily killing of Black people is treated as isolated cases, while it should be recognized as part of a structural problem" (p. 198). This denial in providing adequate protection reinforces the vulnerability of Black women and the perpetuation of their social exclusion.

In a world where legal systems of racial segregation, such as Jim Crow in the United States and apartheid in South Africa, have been dismantled, forms of racism characterized by informality prevail, yet firmly implanted in the institutional structure of societies (Nascimento, 2016, p. 200).

Moreover, the economic impact of racism is also evident. Black women represent the majority in precarious and poorly paid jobs, which limits their ability to escape the cycle of violence (Santos et al., 2024). Silvio Almeida (2019) states that "[...] racism in the economic field legitimizes exploitation, placing Black women in positions of greater vulnerability, with low wages and lack of social protection" (p. 182).

In the healthcare system, the racial and gender issue is also reflected in unequal treatment, which aggravates the living conditions of these women. As Gerda Lerner (2019) points out, "[...] patriarchy and racism have created a system that associates control over female bodies with power structures, reinforcing marginalization in all social spheres" (p. 78). This institutional negligence contributes to the increased mortality among Black women.

The patriarchal system can only function with the cooperation of women. This cooperation is ensured by various means: gender indoctrination, educational deprivation, denial of women's knowledge of their own history, division of women by defining 'respectability' and 'deviance,' coercion, discrimination in access to economic resources and political power, and the granting of class privileges to women who conform (Lerner, 2019, p. 51).

The importance of studies and research that bring these data to light is undeniable. Lynn Hunt (2009) emphasizes that "[...] a just society can only be built when the structural oppressions that shape the lives of marginalized groups are recognized" (p. 146). From this understanding, it becomes possible to propose policies aimed at equity. Moreover, social awareness about the impact of structural racism is essential for transforming this reality (Santos et al., 2024). Carlos Moore states that "[...] racism is maintained not only by conscious actions but by the social structure that sustains it as a system of power" (2015, p. 282). Thus, combating violence against Black women requires actions that question and dismantle the foundations of racism.

The alarming data from the Mortality Information System (SIM) and the National Public Security System (Sinesp) reveal that Black women continue to be the primary victims of violence in Brazil. In 2022, 67% of murdered women were Black, reflecting a

systemic exclusion that perpetuates structural racism and gender inequality. As Silvio Almeida points out, "[...] racism is part of a social process that occurs 'behind the backs of individuals and seems to them inherited by tradition,' shaping a society where racial inequality is the norm" (2019, p. 39).

Black women are considered less capable because there is an entire economic, political, and legal system that perpetuates this condition of subalternity, keeping them with low wages, out of decision-making spaces, and exposed to all kinds of violence (Almeida, 2019, p. 47).

Sexual violence also presents a clear racial bias. Data show that 62% of women victims of sexual violence with recorded race/color were Black, exposing the intersection of racism and sexism. Muniz Sodré emphasizes that "[...] violence against Black bodies is part of a structural strategy that reinforces dehumanization and sustains social exclusion, allowing this violence to be naturalized in the collective imagination" (Sodré, 2023, p. 45). This perspective highlights how the political and social invisibility of Black women contributes to the perpetuation of this cycle of oppression.

Brazil inherited from Portugal the patriarchal family structure, and the price of this legacy was paid by Black women, not only during slavery. Even today, Black women, due to their condition of poverty, lack of social status, and total helplessness, remain easy victims, vulnerable to any sexual aggression by white men (Nascimento, 2023, p. 72).

In addition, inequality in access to resources and protection also constitutes a central factor in the social marginalization of Black women. Gerda Lerner observes that "[...] patriarchy and racism have created systems that restrict Black women's access to positions of power and security, perpetuating their marginalization in all social spheres" (Lerner, 2019, p. 52). This is reflected in unequal treatment in healthcare and public security systems, where institutional racism reinforces exclusion and precarity.

In the labor market, Black women face even more unfavorable conditions, often being allocated to precarious and low-paying positions. As Abdias do Nascimento points out, "[...] racial discrimination, sanctioned by institutional practices, limits the economic opportunities of Black women, relegating them to a state of constant vulnerability" (Nascimento, 2016, p. 200). This scenario not only reinforces economic inequalities but also deepens social exclusion.

Thus, the myth of racial democracy in Brazil contributes to hiding these inequalities, making it difficult to effectively combat violence. According to Florestan Fernandes, "[...] the

idea of a racially harmonious society is a fiction that masks power relations and exploitation maintained against the Black population, especially women" (Fernandes, 2008, p. 112). This critical view helps deconstruct narratives that naturalize violence and inequality.

The ideology of racial democracy produces a racist and legitimizing discourse of violence and racial inequality in the face of the specificities of Brazilian capitalism. Racism is a structural element that organizes political and economic relations. Whether as internalized racism – directed against internal populations – or externalized racism – directed against foreigners – it is possible to say that countries like Brazil, South Africa, and the United States are not what they are despite racism, but because of racism (Almeida, 2019, p. 112).

Data extracted from the Notifiable Diseases Information System (Sinan) reveal that, in 2022, 202,608 Brazilian women suffered some type of violence, of which 55% were Black women (112,162). This alarming number reflects a historical pattern of oppression that places Black women as the primary victims of aggression in Brazil. According to Muniz Sodré, "[...] racism in Brazil is so deeply rooted that it operates as a structural force, making Black bodies more vulnerable and unprotected" (Sodré, 2023, p. 67). This analysis underscores how violence against Black women is associated with a system that perpetuates exclusion and inequality.

In the field of sexual violence, data from the National Public Security System (Sinesp) indicate that, among the 8,062 women victims of sexual violence with recorded race/color, 62% (5,024) were Black. This bias reveals an overlap between racism and sexism, which amplifies the vulnerability of Black women. As Muniz Sodré highlights, "[...] sexual violence against Black bodies is often invisibilized, as its denunciation implies questioning the very structural foundations of society" (Sodré, 2023, p. 81). This perspective points to the need to rethink public policies that recognize and combat these intersections of oppression.

In addition, data on lethal violence also present a significant racial bias. The Mortality Information System (SIM) shows that, in 2022, of the 3,373 murdered women with recorded race/color, 67% (2,276) were Black. This data reflects the structural racism that naturalizes violence against Black bodies, as Muniz Sodré points out: "[...] The death of Black people in Brazil is treated as a commonplace event, a result of structural racism that organizes social and power relations" (Sodré, 2023, p. 95). This trivialization of violence highlights how racial exclusion directly affects the right to life of Black women.

The idea of racial democracy in Brazil contributes to masking these inequalities, making it difficult to recognize racism as a structuring element of gender violence. As Muniz Sodré points out, "[...] the myth of racial democracy is an ideological device that prevents Brazilian society from seriously addressing the issue of racism" (2023, p. 102). This fiction of racial harmony perpetuates the invisibility of Black victims and hinders the construction of effective strategies to confront inequalities and violence..

Table 1 – Black female population by region (2023).
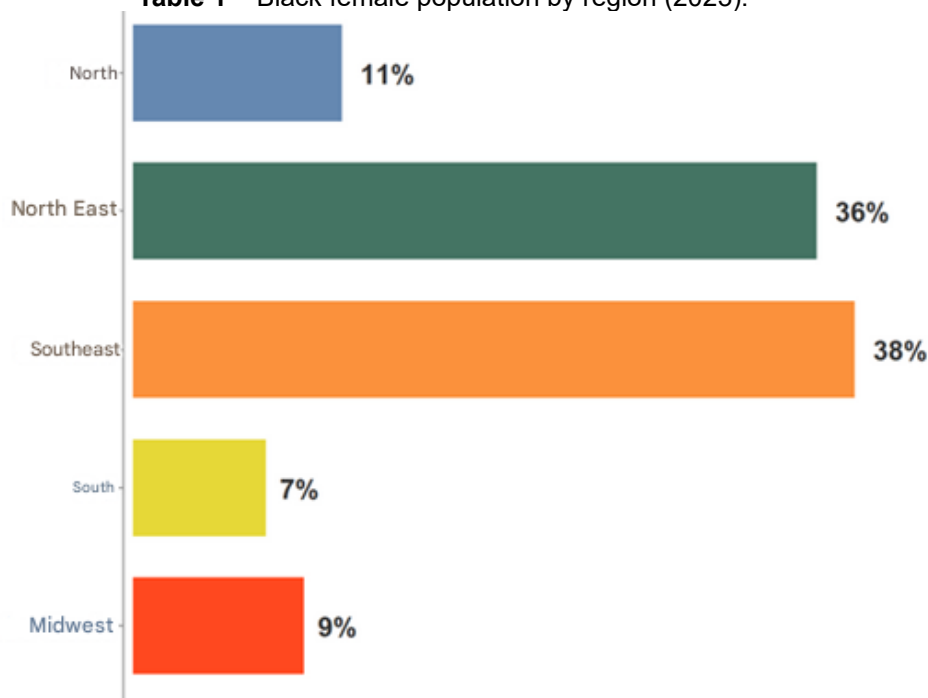
Source: DataSenado Research Institute.
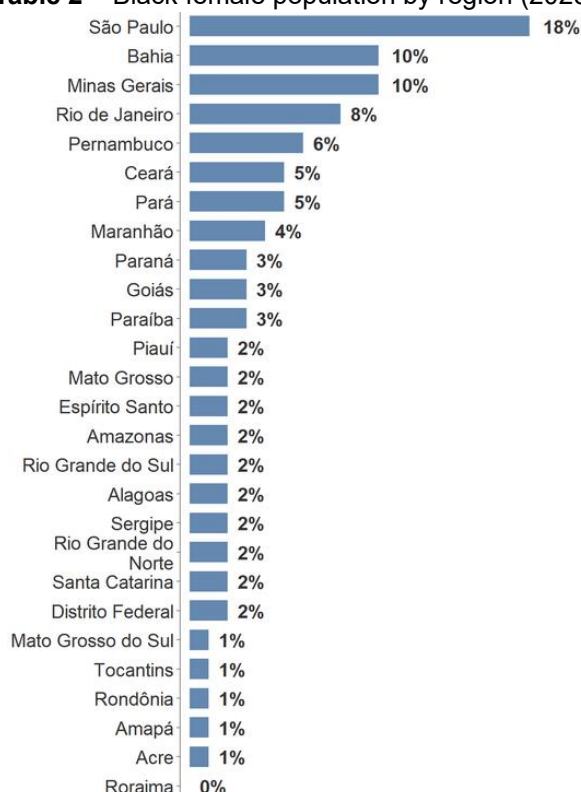**Note:** the sum of the percentages differs from 100% due to rounding.

The concentration of black women in the Northeast (36%) and Southeast (38%) regions of Brazil is directly related to the country's history, especially the period of slavery. During the centuries of colonization, these regions became economic and demographic hubs due to the intense use of enslaved labor in sugar plantations, mining, and domestic services (Santos, et. al., 2024). As Laurentino Gomes points out, "[...] the ports of Salvador and Rio de Janeiro were the main entry points for millions of enslaved Africans, who would later form the basis of the black populations in these regions" (2019, p. 220). This historical legacy shaped not only the demographics of these areas, but also the conditions of inequality faced by black women.

Urbanization and economic growth during the 19th and 20th centuries also contributed to the maintenance of this population concentration. Many black women

migrated to large cities in search of better living conditions, but ended up confined to precarious and poorly paid jobs (Santos, et. al., 2024). As Muniz Sodré highlights, "[...] structural racism created barriers that pushed the black population, especially women, to urban peripheries, perpetuating their exclusion from spaces of power and privilege" (Sodré, 2023, p. 82). Thus, the current distribution of the black female population reflects not only a historical legacy of exploitation, but also the continuity of a system that reinforces regional and racial inequalities..

> The issue of racism in Brazil is inseparable from the historical and economic dynamics that shaped the country. Slavery, concentrated mainly in the Southeast and Northeast regions, laid the foundations for current inequalities. As a result, black women, mostly descendants of slaves, form a group marked by specific vulnerabilities. The colonial legacy, associated with the economic exploitation and symbolic devaluation of these populations, perpetuated a logic of exclusion. This exclusion occurs not only through direct discrimination, but also through the absence of policies that recognize these inequalities as structural and historical (Almeida, 2019, p. 123).

Table 2 – Black female population by region (2023).

Region	Percentage
São Paulo	18%
Bahia	10%
Minas Gerais	10%
Rio de Janeiro	8%
Pernambuco	6%
Ceará	5%
Pará	5%
Maranhão	4%
Paraná	3%
Goiás	3%
Paraíba	3%
Piauí	2%
Mato Grosso	2%
Espírito Santo	2%
Amazonas	2%
Rio Grande do Sul	2%
Alagoas	2%
Sergipe	2%
Rio Grande do Norte	2%
Santa Catarina	2%
Distrito Federal	2%
Mato Grosso do Sul	1%
Tocantins	1%
Rondônia	1%
Amapá	1%
Acre	1%
Roraima	0%

Source: DataSenado Research Institute.
Note: the sum of the percentages differs from 100% due to rounding.

The prevalence of black women in the states of São Paulo, Bahia, and Minas Gerais is closely linked to the history of slavery and the economic structure of these states. As Laurentino Gomes points out, "[...] almost all of the 2.3 million captives destined for the

Southeast region – especially Minas Gerais, Rio de Janeiro, and São Paulo – were shipped from Angola. [...] The Southeast became the preferred destination due to the gold and diamond mines, in addition to the coffee farms that marked the economy of these states" (Gomes, 2019, p. 113). This historical process shaped the demographic base of these regions, establishing the current scenario of population concentration. Bahia, in turn, was another important center of slavery in Brazil, especially due to its connection with the Slave Coast in Africa. Gomes (2019, p. 116) states that: "[...] of a total of 1.6 million captives disembarked in Salvador, more than half came from the Slave Coast, between Benin and Nigeria". This legacy is reflected in the significant presence of black women in the state, who today represent 10% of the total population of this population in Brazil. The history of resistance and cultural construction of black populations in Bahia also contributes to its relevance as a symbol of Afro-descendants in the country.

In Minas Gerais, the discovery of gold and precious stones in the 18th century intensified the migration of enslaved Africans to the region. The "[...] gold rush in Minas Gerais in the 18th century attracted around 2 million captives to Brazil, redefining the economy and demographics of the region" (Gomes, 2019, p. 98). This movement consolidated the presence of black women in urban and rural areas, where they were exploited both in domestic services and in farming and extractive activities.

In São Paulo, the coffee cycle in the 19th century was the main factor responsible for the intensification of the presence of slaves, including black women. The state of "[...] São Paulo became one of the main hubs for the trafficking of Africans to Brazil, with thousands of slaves working on coffee farms spread throughout the interior of the state" (Nascimento, 1980, p. 23). This historical legacy helps to explain why the state currently has the largest population of black women in Brazil, accounting for 18% of the national total. Subsequent urbanization reinforced this concentration, placing these women in precarious jobs and reinforcing structural inequalities..

> Among the Brazilian regions, there were significant differences related to the slaves' ports of origin. Almost all of the Africans trafficked to Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Minas Gerais and Pernambuco came from Angola. In the case of Bahia, more than half were from Nigeria, Benin and Togo, the region known at the time as the Mina Coast. For Maranhão and Pará, the majority came from the so-called Senegambia [...] These numbers help to explain today the enormous differences in the biotype and habits and customs of Brazilians of African descent, such as, for example, taller and more slender black people in Bahia than in Rio de Janeiro and Minas Gerais (Gomes, 2019, p. 113).).

Table 3 – Education level of the black female population (2023).
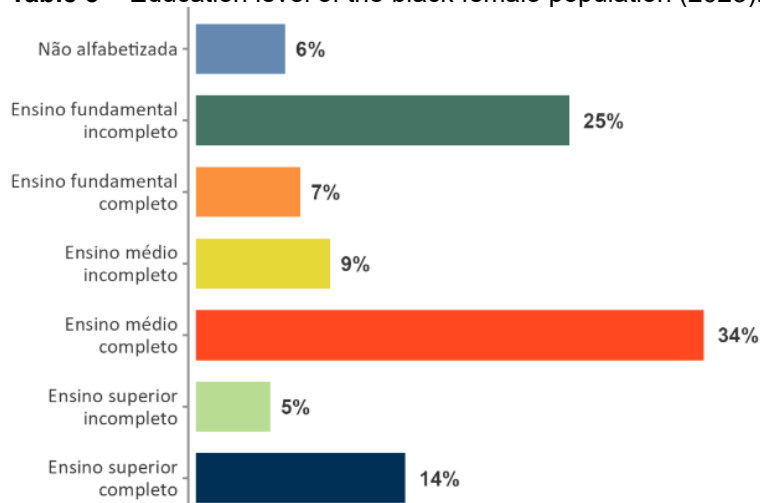
Source: DataSenado Research Institute.
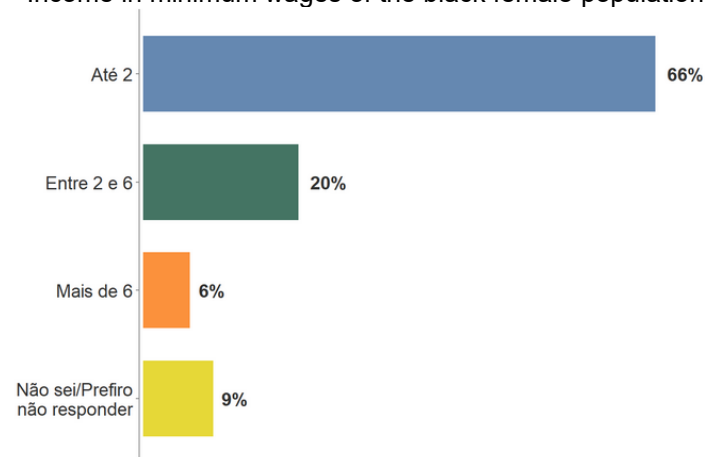**Note:** the sum of the percentages differs from 100% due to rounding.

Data on the educational attainment of black women in Brazil reveal striking inequalities. More than 2.8 million black women are illiterate, while 11.4 million have only incomplete elementary education, which is equivalent to 31% of this population. This reality reflects a history of educational exclusion that dates back to slavery. As Silvio Almeida points out, "[...] educational inequality is a direct manifestation of structural racism that, over time, has been consolidated through the denial of access to formal education for black men and women" (2019, p. 112).

Although 34% of black women complete high school, only 14% manage to reach higher education. This data reflects structural barriers that hinder access to university, reinforcing the perpetuation of inequality (Santos, et. al., 2024). Laurentino Gomes states that "[...] slavery not only deprived black people of freedom, but also excluded them from educational opportunities and social mobility, creating a chasm between the black and white populations" (Gomes, 2019, p. 116).

This educational exclusion is also connected to the lack of effective public policies to promote equal opportunities. Abdias do Nascimento's text highlights that "[...] universal policies were not enough to reduce the differences between black and white people, especially with regard to access to quality education and inclusion in Higher Education" (Nascimento, 2019, p. 204). This scenario highlights how the intersection between race and class continues to determine the destinies of a large portion of black women in Brazil..

In Brazil, there is no teaching of African History or the history of Africans outside the continent in any of the levels of the educational system. When a course on these subjects does occur, it is in order to perpetuate neocolonialist and racist concepts about Africa and its people. The country's immigration policy has a long history of discouraging the entry of Africans, while actively promoting, supporting and subsidizing the mass immigration of white Europeans. "[...] This not only prevents them [black people] from gaining historical awareness, but also denies them the statistical tool that is indispensable for their efforts to improve their current living conditions" (Nascimento, 2019, p. 89).).

Table 4 – Income in minimum wages of the black female population (2023)).

Source: DataSenado Research Institute.
Note: the sum of the percentages differs from 100% due to rounding.

The low income of black women in Brazil directly reflects the structural racism that organizes society. According to Silvio Almeida, "[...] racism normalizes the overexploitation of labor, which consists of paying wages below the amount necessary to replace the workforce. This overexploitation occurs especially in groups such as black women, who are pushed into precarious and low-paying jobs" (Almeida, 2019, p. 182). This dynamic reinforces socioeconomic inequality, perpetuating the historical marginalization of this group.
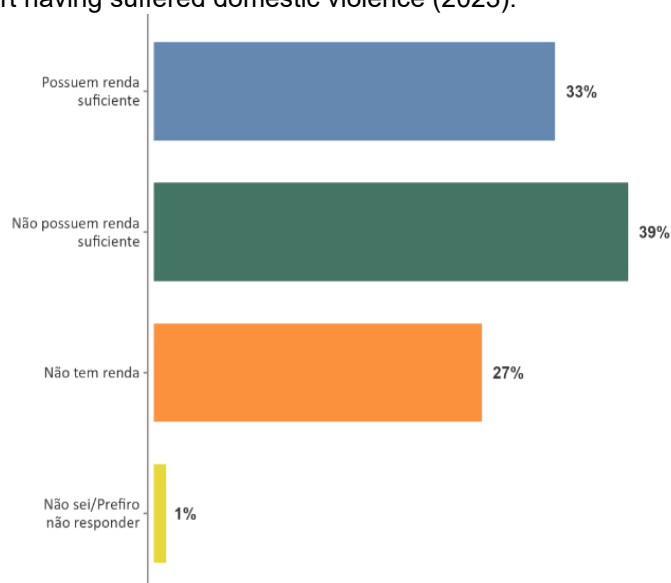
Even though half of black women are employed, 66% live on up to two minimum wages, demonstrating that their work is largely undervalued. As Laurentino Gomes points out, "[...] the descendants of slaves never had access to quality jobs and were pushed into informal or precarious jobs. This perpetuated the inequality between whites and blacks in the labor market" (Gomes, 2019, p. 220). This economic exclusion is not only a consequence of historical racism, but also of a system that privileges whites in higher-income positions.

Brazil's post-abolitionist society, despite having formally proclaimed social equality, has never broken down the real barriers that prevent black people from moving up the social ladder. This is strikingly reflected in the labor market, where black women continue to occupy low-paying positions, largely as a legacy of a colonial system that associated black labor with exploitation and subordination. Structural racism imposes concrete limitations on these women's possibilities for social mobility, keeping them in a cycle of economic exclusion and precariousness (Sodré, 2023, p. 92).

In addition, the weight of Brazil's regressive tax system worsens the situation of black women. Almeida points out that "[...] the Brazilian tax burden is mainly focused on consumption, which disproportionately impacts black women, who pay more taxes in proportion to their income than white men" (Almeida, 2019, p. 183). This scenario further compromises the purchasing power of this population, making it difficult to overcome poverty and improve their living conditions.

Therefore, it is important to emphasize that the income of black women in Brazil cannot be analyzed in isolation, but as part of a structural system that combines racism, sexism, and economic exclusion. As Almeida observes, "[...] any economic policy that deserves to be taken seriously must incorporate the debate on racial inequality, recognizing that the poverty and exclusion of black women are the result of a system structured to keep them in subordinate positions" (Almeida, 2019, p. 185).).

Table 5 – Distribution of black women who do or do not have sufficient individual income to support themselves and who report having suffered domestic violence (2023).

Possuem renda suficiente	33%
Não possuem renda suficiente	39%
Não tem renda	27%
Não sei/Prefiro não responder	1%

Source: DataSenado Research Institute.

The insufficient income or lack of income of black women in Brazil is a factor that directly contributes to their economic and social vulnerability. According to the data, 66% of black women who reported suffering domestic violence stated that they had no income or that their income was insufficient. This situation reflects the continuity of structural inequalities. As Silvio Almeida points out, "[...] the economic precariousness of black women is a direct consequence of structural racism, which confines these women to low-paid occupations and prevents their social advancement, perpetuating their economic dependence" (2019, p. 182). This highlights how economic marginalization fuels cycles of violence and exclusion.

In this way, the slavery of women, combining both racism and sexism, preceded the formation of classes and class oppression. Class differences were, in their beginnings, expressed and constituted in terms of patriarchal relations. [...] Women were exchanged or bought in marriages for the benefit of their families. Later, they were dominated or bought into slavery, when their sexual services were part of their labor and their children were the property of their masters (Lerner, 1986, p. 185).

Economic vulnerability is also associated with greater exposure to domestic violence. Among black women who suffered violence, 39% reported not having enough income to support themselves and 27% had no source of income at all. This financial dependence often prevents these women from breaking off abusive relationships (Santos, et. al., 2024). As Abdias do Nascimento highlights, "[...] racial and economic inequality is one of the pillars that sustain the oppression of black women, preventing them from building paths to their autonomy and emancipation" (Nascimento, 2019, p. 204). This relationship reinforces the importance of strategies that combine combating violence with promoting financial independence. Although income is not an absolute protective factor against violence, black women with financial autonomy face lower risks of abuse. Only 33% of women with sufficient income reported having suffered violence, which suggests that economic independence can act as a protective element (Santos, et. al., 2024). Muniz Sodré points out that "[...] economic exclusion keeps black women in a state of vulnerability that makes them preferred targets of violence, both in the private and public spaces" (2023, p. 92). This indicates that the fight against domestic violence necessarily involves policies that promote racial and gender equality in the labor market.

Promoting the financial autonomy of black women should be a priority in public policies aimed at reducing domestic violence. According to Silvio Almeida, "[...] the creation

of real employment and income opportunities for black women is essential to break the cycle of economic dependence that perpetuates their exclusion and their vulnerability to various forms of oppression" (2019, p. 185). This includes initiatives such as the provision of professional training, incentives for entrepreneurship and programs for access to credit.

Women have always shared the class privileges of men of their class as long as they remained under the 'protection' of a man. For women, except those of the lower class, the 'reciprocal agreement' occurred as follows: in exchange for sexual, economic, political and intellectual subordination to men, you will be able to share the power of men of your class to exploit men and women of lower classes. In a class society, it is difficult for people who have some power – even if limited and circumscribed – to also see themselves as disadvantaged and subordinate. The privileges of race and class serve to destroy the ability of women to see themselves as part of a related group (Lerner, 1986, p. 185).

Thus, the data demonstrate that the relationship between insufficient income and domestic violence among black women is more than an individual problem; This is a reflection of structural inequalities. Overcoming this scenario requires public policies that recognize the intersections between race, gender and class, promoting financial autonomy as a central instrument for the protection and emancipation of these women. As Muniz Sodré states, "[...] financial autonomy is not just a survival tool, but an indispensable condition for black women to free themselves from the structures that keep them subordinate and vulnerable" (Sodré, 2023, p. 102).).

Table 6 – The individual income of the female population is sufficient to support them, plus the people who depend on them
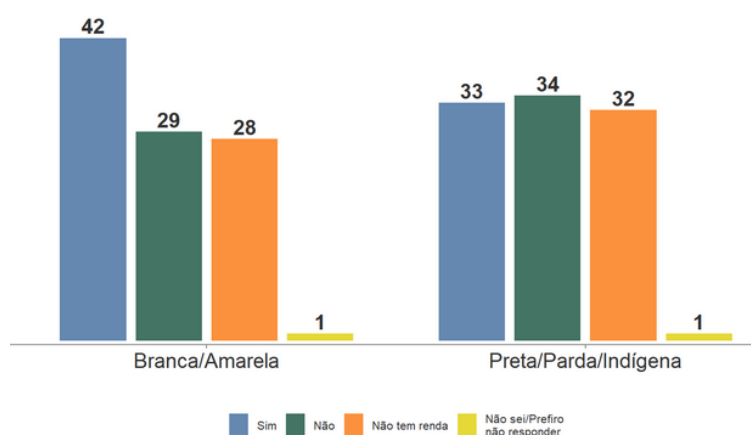
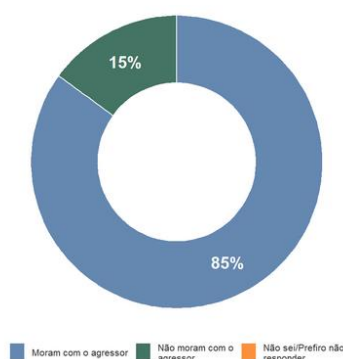**Source:** DataSenado Research Institute.
Note: the sum of the percentages differs from 100% due to rounding.

Economic insufficiency is directly related to the vulnerability of black women, especially in the context of domestic violence. Data indicate that while 66% of black women who suffered violence reported not having sufficient income, only 33% of women who are financially independent reported the same. As Muniz Sodré highlights, "[...] the racist structure of Brazilian society operates not only in the cultural and social spheres, but also in the economic field, where black women are relegated to positions of lower prestige and remuneration, perpetuating a cycle of dependence and exclusion" (Sodré, 2023, p. 95). This shows that insufficient income is one of the variables that increase the risk of abuse and violence.

Economic inequality is not only a question of low pay, but also of limited opportunities for social mobility (Santos, et. al., 2024c). Black women face significant barriers to achieving jobs that offer financial autonomy. Silvio Almeida points out that "[...] structural racism confines racially identified groups, such as black women, to the most precarious layers of the labor market, preventing them from accessing jobs that offer dignity and economic stability" (Almeida, 2019, p. 182). This economic restriction worsens their dependence in contexts of domestic violence, making it difficult to break these abusive cycles.

Although economic sufficiency is not an absolute protective factor against violence, its absence worsens exposure to abuse. The relationship between financial autonomy and the ability to face abusive situations is clear: black women who have sufficient income have greater freedom to make decisions that break cycles of violence. As Muniz Sodré observes, "[...] financial autonomy is an indispensable condition for black women to be able to claim spaces of power and freedom in a society that confines them to subordination" (Sodré, 2023, p. 102).

Figure 7 – Black female population who do not have an income and whether or not they live with the aggressor.

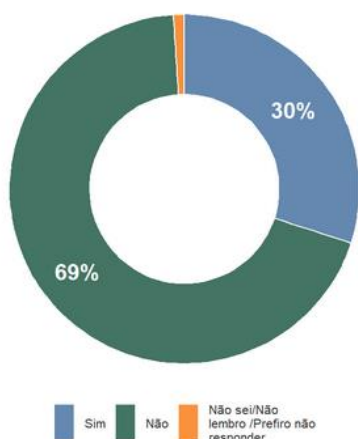**Source:** DataSenado Research Institute.

Economic dependence is a central factor in the subordination of black women to their aggressors. Among black women without sufficient income to support themselves, 85% live with their aggressor, highlighting how the lack of financial resources makes it difficult to break out of cycles of violence. According to Abdias do Nascimento, "[...] structural racism not only marginalizes the black population economically, but also reinforces their condition of vulnerability, creating mechanisms that make breaking with oppression extremely difficult" (Nascimento, 1978, p. 45). This scenario demonstrates how economic vulnerability is used as a tool of control in situations of domestic violence.

Financial autonomy is essential for black women to be able to break out of abusive relationships (Santos, et. al., 2024). Without access to sufficient income, many are forced to remain in violent homes because they have no viable alternatives for subsistence. Abdias do Nascimento emphasizes that "[...] the absence of effective public policies for the economic inclusion of black people reinforces their social exclusion and severely limits their opportunities for advancement" (Nascimento, 1978, p. 56). This reinforces the need for government actions that promote economic inclusion and guarantee support for women at risk.

In addition, the relationship between financial dependence and subordination to the aggressor is deeply connected to the structural inequalities of the Brazilian labor market. As Nascimento points out, "[...] the labor market was not designed to include black people equally, but to exploit them in subordinate positions, perpetuating the logic of slavery" (Nascimento, 1978, p. 78). This exclusion not only perpetuates racial inequality, but also amplifies the challenges faced by black women seeking independence and security. Policies that promote equality in the labor market are essential to breaking this cycle of vulnerability and violence..

> The economic exclusion of black women is not only a reflection of structural racism, but also a control mechanism that reinforces these women's dependence on men in contexts of violence. The lack of sufficient income limits their options, preventing them from leaving abusive situations. In many cases, this dependence is perpetuated by a system that normalizes wage inequality, the devaluation of black women's work, and the precariousness of living conditions.(Sodré, 2023, p. 95).

Figure 8 – Black women who suffered violence and did or did not seek health care.

Source: DataSenado Research Institute.
Note: the sum of the percentages differs from 100% due to rounding..

The relationship between the socioeconomic context and the vulnerability of black women to domestic violence is evidenced by data on economic insufficiency. For many, the lack of financial resources makes it difficult to break the cycle of abuse and access essential services. According to Carlos Moore, "[...] the economic development of modern societies often deliberately excludes racialized groups, consolidating barriers to access to basic resources and perpetuating structural inequalities that restrict social mobility" (Moore, 2023, p. 157). This exclusion reinforces the vulnerability of black women to domestic abuse and limits their options for independence.

Autonomy means achieving one's own status, not obtaining it through inheritance or marriage; it means financial independence; freedom to choose one's lifestyle and experience one's sexual orientation – all of which suggest a radical transformation of existing values, theories and institutions (Lerner, 2019, p. 464).

Knowledge of rights and the ability to seek protection are also affected by economic status. Among black women without sufficient income to support themselves, only 30% sought health care after experiencing severe violence. Vladimir Rodrigues explains that "[...] unequal access to basic rights and economic marginalization create a scenario in which racialized populations face additional barriers to accessing essential services, perpetuating cycles of violence and exploitation" (Rodrigues, 2013, p. 72). The absence of effective protection and support mechanisms further aggravates the exclusion of these women.

In addition, economic insufficiency is also linked to a lack of autonomy. As Lynn Hunt points out, "[...] financial independence is a critical element for individual autonomy, but it is

systematically denied to vulnerable groups, especially racialized women, through policies that reinforce economic and social inequalities" (Hunt, 2023, p. 86). This context highlights the urgent need for public policies that promote economic equality and provide adequate support for black women in situations of violence. Creating safety nets and opportunities for financial autonomy is essential to breaking the cycle of exclusion and abuse..

> Racialized people are shaped by structural and institutional conditions. In this sense, we can say that it is racism that creates race and racialized subjects. [...] After years of watching Brazilian soap operas, an individual will end up convincing himself that black women have a natural vocation for domestic work, [...] or that white men are, in essence, more capable of leadership positions (Silvio Almeida, 2019, p. 45-46).

Figure 9 – Black women who suffered serious violence and did or did not seek some type of help divided by education level (2023).
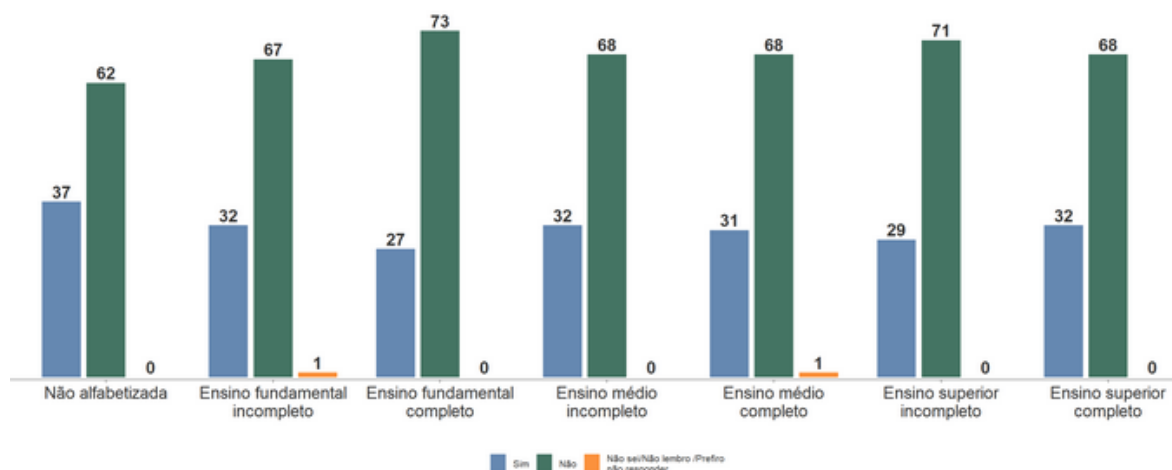
Source: DataSenado Research Institute.

The research shows that illiterate women have the highest percentage of people seeking assistance, even in a scenario of structural vulnerability. This data contrasts with the logic that education is directly linked to greater access to support services. In this regard, Gerda Lerner (2019) points out that "[...] the hegemony of men over the symbol system has harmed women, creating educational deprivation and monopolizing the definition of central issues" (p. 56). This historical deprivation has contributed to social exclusion and limits women's ability to seek support in crisis situations. Among women with complete elementary education, 73% did not seek assistance, suggesting that barriers to access go beyond educational level. This reflects the impact of structural racism and social inequalities in Brazil. As Silvio Almeida (2019) highlights, "[...] discriminatory practices in access to education and justice institutionalize inequalities and restrict opportunities for racialized women, keeping them in positions of vulnerability" (p. 45). Thus, even if they

have completed part of their formal education, these women face significant obstacles in accessing essential services. Overall, the data indicate that, at all educational levels, more than 60% of women chose not to seek help. This pattern reinforces the existence of social and cultural barriers that transcend the level of education, perpetuating cycles of exclusion. Laurentino Gomes (2019) explains that "[...] education in Brazil has always been structured to privilege elites and exclude the most vulnerable groups, perpetuating historical inequalities" (p. 153). This structural exclusion is reflected in the difficulty that women, especially those of color, have in accessing services that are their right. Therefore, the high rates of non-seeking assistance highlight the urgent need for inclusive and intersectional public policies that consider not only education, but also the social markers of race, gender, and class. As Silvio Almeida (2019) points out, "[...] affirmative action and economic redistribution policies are essential to correct historical imbalances and ensure that marginalized groups have equitable access to basic rights" (p. 78). These measures are indispensable to promote social justice and break down the barriers that prevent women in vulnerable situations from fully exercising their citizenship.

In slave society, racism was a declared or visible technology of power, whose framework consisted of a triptych of stigmatization/discrimination/segregation, structurally or systemically inscribed in laws and normative facts. [...] Post-abolitionist society undertakes the transition to modernity required by industrial capitalism, but without culturally or symbolically abolishing this framework, which was, in fact, a colonial structure (Sodré, 2023, p. 14).

CONCLUSION

The results of this research confirm that the murder of black women in Brazil is a reflection of "fascism of color," a concept that highlights the confluence of racial and gender discrimination in a social structure marked by structural racism and patriarchy. This violence is intensified by the absence of effective public policies, which not only ignore the specific vulnerability faced by these women, but also perpetuate cycles of exclusion and dehumanization. Muniz Sodré (2023) describes that "fascism of color" operates in a structural and symbolic manner, reinforcing violence against black bodies and highlighting state negligence (p. 45).

The data analyzed, extracted from sources such as DataSUS, CNJ, and the National Map of Gender Violence, show that the majority of women murdered in Brazil are

black, accounting for 67% of cases in 2022. This disparity reveals that structural racism is not an isolated phenomenon, but a systemic mechanism that shapes social, political, and economic relations. As Silvio Almeida (2019) points out, structural racism "[...] is part of the economic and political organization of society, legitimizing the exclusion of racialized groups and restricting their life opportunities" (p. 35). Thus, it is clear that historical and institutional dynamics keep black women in conditions of extreme vulnerability.

In addition, the research showed that the intersectionality between race, gender and class is central to understanding the conditions that make black women the main victims of violence. This situation is aggravated by insufficient income and economic exclusion, which often force these women to remain in abusive situations. As Gerda Lerner (2019) points out, "[...] patriarchy and racism have created a system that associates the control of female bodies with the power structure, reinforcing marginalization in all social spheres" (p. 78). Financial dependence, combined with the neglect of policies public policies, increases exclusion and limits the emancipation options of these women.

Therefore, it is imperative that public policies be reformulated from an intersectional perspective, which considers the specificities of black women and seeks to promote equality and social justice. Strategies such as expanding support networks, affirmative action and promoting financial autonomy are fundamental to breaking the cycles of violence and exclusion. Abdias do Nascimento (2016) states that "[...] racial discrimination is confirmed as a structuring factor, preventing the black population from having access to their most basic rights" (p. 198). Thus, confronting "fascism of color" requires an institutional commitment to structural transformation, going beyond palliative measures, to ensure the full exercise of citizenship for black women.

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