

CHALLENGES AND PERSPECTIVES OF PROTECTION AGAINST RECIDIVISM IN DOMESTIC VIOLENCE: A SYSTEMATIC REVIEW



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ABSTRACT

This article analyzes the challenges and perspectives related to coping with recidivism in cases of domestic violence. Its relevance is justified by the need to improve existing institutional mechanisms, especially the protective measures provided for by the Maria da Penha Law, whose practical effectiveness still faces limitations, largely due to insufficient training of the professionals responsible for implementing and monitoring these measures. The general objective is to investigate contemporary approaches capable of reducing recidivism, highlighting as specific objectives the analysis of strategies aimed at the reeducation of aggressors and the interinstitutional articulation of public policies. Methodologically, the research was developed through a systematic review of scientific articles published in national journals, selected through the CAPES Journals portal, complemented by other academic publications relevant to the theme. The results showed that psychological interventions aimed at deconstructing gender stereotypes and innovative approaches such as Systemic Law can contribute significantly to reducing recidivism. It is concluded that, despite the advances brought about by the Maria da Penha Law, the effective confrontation of domestic violence requires not only immediate protective measures, but also integrated multidisciplinary strategies, with emphasis on the training of the professionals involved and the development of socio-educational actions with aggressors and victims.

Keywords: Maria da Penha Law. Protective measures. Re-education of aggressors. Recidivism. Domestic violence.

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INTRODUCTION

Domestic and family violence against women is a structural and persistent problem, which challenges societies around the world and demands effective responses from the State and civil society with the implementation of public policies and systematic interventions to break the cycle of violence. Characterized by physical, psychological, patrimonial, sexual and moral aggression, domestic violence reflects dynamics of gender inequality, historically reproduced through power relations. In Brazil, the Maria da Penha Law (Law No. 11,340/2006) represents a significant advance in tackling this problem, by establishing protection, punishment and prevention mechanisms. However, the recidivism of aggressors is still a significant challenge, highlighting the need to improve the mechanisms for inspection and monitoring of protective measures, as well as the training of professionals involved in law enforcement and victim care.

Although the Maria da Penha Law has strengthened the protection network for women, its application faces obstacles that reduce its effectiveness. Among the main challenges, the failure to supervise emergency protective measures, the disarticulation between the bodies of the justice and social assistance system and the lack of adequate training of professionals who work on the front line of care for victims stand out. These factors contribute to many women remaining in continuous cycles of violence, even after the granting of protective measures. In addition, the socioeconomic vulnerability of the victims also appears as a central element for the recurrence of domestic violence, since many women do not have the financial and emotional conditions to break with the aggressor and seek institutional support effectively.

Given this scenario, this article aims to analyze contemporary approaches to confronting domestic violence, exploring new proposals to strengthen the state response and reduce the recidivism of aggressors.

The relevance of this research is justified by the need to improve the mechanisms to cope with domestic violence, focusing on reducing the recidivism of aggressors and improving the care provided to victims. Despite the normative and institutional advances, there are still weaknesses in the application of protective measures, especially with regard to the monitoring of the aggressor and the inspection of compliance with court orders. In addition, there are deficiencies in the training of the professionals responsible for implementing these measures, resulting in precarious care and a lack of agile responses



from the justice system. Thus, this study intends to contribute with proposals that improve inter-institutional articulation, making the fight against domestic violence more efficient.

METHODOLOGY

This work is characterized as a systematic review, with a qualitative and quantitative approach, carried out with the objective of identifying challenges and perspectives related to coping with recidivism in cases of domestic violence. The choice of this methodology allows us to gather and critically analyze the available scientific production, offering grounded subsidies for the formulation of effective strategies to cope with this phenomenon.

The research began with a clear definition of the guiding question, formulated based on the research problem: how can contemporary approaches and inter-institutional strategies contribute to reducing recidivism in cases of domestic violence? Based on this question, specific terms were selected for the search: "domestic violence" and "recidivism". These terms were combined using the Boolean operator "AND" to ensure an accurate and relevant search.

The bibliographic survey was carried out on the CAPES Journals portal, chosen due to the wide access to a significant variety of national and international scientific journals recognized by the academic community. The inclusion criteria adopted in the selection of articles were: peer-reviewed publications, full texts available in Portuguese, published between January 2019 and February 2025, which explicitly addressed the themes of recidivism and domestic violence. On the other hand, articles that did not have a direct relationship with the specific theme of domestic violence recurrence or that did not present empirical data or theoretical analyses relevant to the research objective were excluded.

After applying the aforementioned criteria, eight articles were selected for in-depth analysis. The selected articles underwent a careful reading, being submitted to a systematic analysis, carried out through the content analysis technique, which allowed the identification of recurrent thematic categories, as well as elements of convergence and divergence between the texts. The systematic review was complemented by other relevant academic studies, especially books, legislation, and national regulations pertinent to the theme, seeking to expand and strengthen the theoretical and conceptual framework of the research.



For the quantitative analysis, the main statistical data found in the selected publications on recidivism, types of violence reported, effectiveness of protective measures and profile of victims and aggressors were organized and evaluated. This stage provided an objective view of the dynamics and patterns related to recidivism, offering solid subsidies for the identification of institutional and legal weaknesses described by the studies analyzed.

In the qualitative dimension, the conceptual approaches and practical proposals related to the re-education of aggressors, the training of professionals involved and the articulation between different institutions involved in confronting domestic violence were highlighted. The qualitative analysis allowed us to interpret the perceptions and recommendations present in the reviewed articles, evidencing the importance of interdisciplinary and intersectoral integration as an essential condition to effectively combat the problem.

Finally, the combination of qualitative and quantitative results allowed a broader and deeper understanding of the phenomenon studied, enabling the formulation of proposals and recommendations applicable both in the academic and practical contexts. This integrated approach seeks to contribute directly to the improvement of public policies, with special attention to professional training and the articulation of the institutions involved in confronting recidivism in cases of domestic violence.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION ON TRAINING AND NETWORKING AS WAYS TO FACE RECIDIVISM

The Maria da Penha Law, sanctioned in 2006, represents an important milestone in Brazilian legislation aimed at protecting women against domestic violence. Created in honor of Maria da Penha Maia Fernandes, who survived two attempted murders committed by her own husband, the law's main objective is to prevent and combat violence in the domestic and family environment, establishing protective measures and stricter punishments for aggressors. However, although it has made significant progress, reality still reveals a series of challenges to be overcome to ensure that domestic violence is effectively combated and eradicated (Santos; Sanches, 2025).

A variety of sources explore violence against women and the difficulties of protection in contact with the aggressor, notably with regard to the recurrence of violence, from different perspectives. One of the studies, for example, analyzes notifications of intimate



partner violence in Brazil, identifying associated factors and the most common types of violence (Mascarenhas et al, 2020). Other research examines the knowledge and approach of physicians in a public hospital, revealing gaps in training and the lack of protocols (Silva et al, 2022). A case study in Sergipe characterizes the profile of domestic violence (Araujo *et al*, 2022), while another in Vitória relates violence to patriarchal social values and male domination (Silva; Borges, 2022). Together, the sources, listed in the table below, highlight the complexity of violence against women, the importance of the intervention of health professionals, and the influence of cultural and social factors.

ARTICLES SELECTED FOR SYSTEMATIC REVIEW			
ARTICLE TITLE	PUBLICATION	CONCLUSION	
Analysis of notifications of intimate partner violence against women, Brazil, 2011-2017	2020 - BRAZILIAN ASSOCIATION OF COLLECTIVE HEALTH Brazilian Journal of Epidemiology	Most of the notifications of violence against women registered in health services were perpetrated by intimate partners, with emphasis on physical, psychological and sexual violence. It was possible to identify factors associated with IPV, such as age, education, pregnancy, occurrence at home, recurrence, and alcohol intake by the aggressor.	
Domestic violence: a case study in Vitória (Espírito Santo, Brazil, 2004-2010)	2022 - REVHIST - UEG History Journal	Through the sources, it was possible to verify that the economic dependence of women is one of the main reasons that generate their permanence in the marital relationship, in which they suffer from the recurrence of physical violence. It was also evidenced that in addition to economic issues, there are other factors that reinforce the permanence of women in this relationship. In this case, children, family relationships, fear, and the culture that constitutes, for the most part, the cultural values shaped by the patriarchal system.	
Knowledge and medical approach to cases of violence against women in a public hospital in Alagoas	2022 - RIO DE JANEIRO STATE UNIVERSITY Physis Journal of Collective Health	It was found that, despite recognizing some important aspects for the care of women victims of violence, there is a huge lack of knowledge about the policies and the care network, due to the lack of training. The institutional lack of protocols to deal with cases leads to a subjectivist professional practice that is sometimes limited to the physical injuries of violence.	
Criminal Policy and Re-education of Aggressors: A State Response to Reduce Domestic Violence	2019 – UNICURITIBA - Legal Journal vol. 01	It is concluded that the use of such obligation as an extra-criminal criminal policy, observing the sociohistorical-cultural origins of aggression against women in the family and domestic environment, has a greater ability to fulfill the purposes proposed by the Maria da Penha Law, as well as, in the long run, to respond to popular desires, transmuting the application of the Law to merely media and symbolic purposes to an effective use of the legal text to reduce the situation of domestic violence against women in Brazil.	
Systemic law in the fight against new episodes of domestic	2019 - Journal of Doctrine and Jurisprudence	Based on the theory developed by Bert Hellinger and on the practical cases already identified in several Brazilian states, it is proposed the use of family constellation workshops as tools to avoid the	



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and family violence against women		repetition of cases of domestic and family violence against women, as well as the occurrence of new situations of this nature in future generations.
The impact of CREAS in the fight against violence against women	2019 - Persona Institute of Higher Education ID on line JOURNAL OF PSYCHOLOGY	The results demonstrate a difficulty in establishing a more effective approach with the victims of violence against women in Salgueiro (PE), a difficulty generated by the lack of training of professionals on the subject and how to work with the aggressor in order to prevent the recurrence of cases, it was also evident that it is necessary to create spaces and instruments to promote women's autonomy, both in the economic and social spheres, so that it is actually possible to break the cycle of violence in which the victims are inserted.
Legal Psychology and intervention with male perpetrators of violence against women: (Re) Building Masculinities	2020 - Federal University of Rio Grande Diversity and Education	The results indicate that the judicialization of this type of violence is insufficient to effectively protect women because it is not capable of transforming old conceptions of gender and violent masculinities. An intervention is necessary that enables men to deconstruct paradigms based on gender discrimination and the current idea of masculinity. It is suggested that the legal psychologist adopt this work strategy to reduce the numbers of recidivism. It is concluded that further research is needed to point out the best means of instrumentalizing this program to guide and enrich new practices.
Domestic violence against women and girls in the state of Sergipe: a public health issue	2022 - Research Group Methodologies in Science Teaching and Learning Research Society and Development	In the 4,997 notifications, the prevailing The quality of the information in the notifications is very debatable, since many variables are poorly filled in. The lack of accurate information impairs the knowledge of the phenomenon, interfering in the actions of combat and planning of health services, requiring better preparation of professionals who deal with these situations.

Source: Research conducted by the author (2025)

The texts selected from the proposed methodology address the complex theme of violence against women from different perspectives, from the analysis of public policies and psychological interventions to the socioeconomic and cultural aspects that perpetuate this cycle of violence. The naturalization of violence against women is a recurring theme in the texts, being pointed out as one of the factors that contribute to its perpetuation. The social construction of unequal gender roles, based on a patriarchal system, reinforces stereotypes that justify male domination and female submission.

The study "Legal psychology and intervention with men perpetrators of violence against women", by Ferrari and Ribeiro (2020) emphasizes the urgency of deconstructing outdated discriminatory norms and questioning the current models of masculinity. The research shows that violence against women is not only an individual problem, but a social and cultural phenomenon rooted in patriarchal structures that naturalize male domination.



In this context, Legal Psychology emerges as a fundamental field to understand and intervene in the dynamics that sustain this violence, proposing strategies that go beyond punishment and seek the re-education and resocialization of aggressors.

Psychological intervention with male perpetrators of violence should therefore focus on deconstructing gender stereotypes, promoting more egalitarian relationships, and developing emotional and social skills that allow the construction of nonviolent masculinity. In addition, the study reinforces the need for integrated and multidisciplinary public policies that act in prevention, victim care and accountability of aggressors, always with the objective of breaking cycles of violence and promoting a culture of respect and equity between men and women (Ferrari; Ribeiro, 2020).

Systemic Law emerges as an approach that, according to one of the texts, is innovative and effective in preventing the repetition of cases of domestic violence, promoting the peaceful resolution of marital conflicts and contributing to the reduction of recidivism (Gonçalves, 2019). This systemic perspective, inspired by family constellations and the understanding of relational dynamics, seeks to identify and address the root causes of conflicts, which are often rooted in behavioral and emotional patterns passed down over generations. Instead of focusing only on punishment or strict application of the law, Systemic Law proposes a broader and more humanized view, which considers family ties, personal histories, and the social contexts involved.

Although the excerpted text points to Systemic Law as an innovative and potentially promising proposal for the resolution of marital conflicts and the prevention of recidivism in cases of domestic violence, it is important to emphasize that this approach has not been tested or deepened in the present work (Gonçalves, 2019). Thus, it is not possible to defend it as the only or even as the best solution to such problems. The absence of robust empirical studies and detailed analyses of its practical efficacy limits the ability to assert its superiority in relation to other methodologies already consolidated or under development.

In addition, the complexity of domestic violence cases requires a multifaceted approach, which considers the particularities of each situation, the socio-cultural context, and the specific needs of victims and perpetrators. Therefore, although Systemic Law can be seen as a complementary tool, its application should not be generalized or taken as a definitive solution without a critical and in-depth evaluation of its results and limitations. The diversity of strategies and the integration of different perspectives remain essential to effectively and comprehensively address violence against women.



It is also argued that emergency protective measures, although they represent a significant advance in the protection of victims of domestic violence, do not effectively punish the aggressor and, by themselves, are insufficient to prevent recidivism (Silva; Guimarães; Barbosa, 2019). These measures, such as removing the perpetrator from the home or prohibiting contact with the victim, are preventive and immediate in nature, but they do not address the root causes of violent behavior, nor do they promote accountability and effective change on the part of the perpetrator. Without complementary interventions, such as re-education programs, psychological counseling, and socio-educational actions, the cycle of violence tends to perpetuate itself. Therefore, although protective measures are essential to ensure the immediate safety of the victim, their long-term effectiveness depends on integration with other strategies aimed at transforming relational dynamics and

preventing new episodes of violence (Silva; Guimarães; Barbosa, 2019).

Among the advances provided by emergency protective measures, there is also the need for a balance between immediate security and a more effective action to transform the power relations that generate violence. This is because, despite the effectiveness of the measures in removing the aggressor and ensuring temporary protection, they do not directly address the cultural and behavioral patterns that feed the cycle of violence. The preventive nature of the measures should therefore be complemented by a deeper approach that involves the rehabilitation of the aggressor and the strengthening of victim support networks. Thus, it is crucial that the justice system adopts a broader vision, where the punishment of the aggressor and the change in behavior become central objectives for the effective prevention of the recurrence of episodes of domestic violence, as indicated by the following data regarding the Federal District:

It is important to make it clear that, in the vast majority of cases, protective measures are sufficient to prevent further violence. The offender is usually notified of the measures and does not bother the woman again", says the Judge. The data demonstrate this. Since the Femicide Law (Law 13.104/15) came into force in 2015, until this Monday, 7/8, 167 cases of femicides have been confirmed in the Federal District. Of these, about 70% (67.3%) of the victimized women had never registered a complaint against the aggressors, according to the Femicide Panel of the State Secretariat of Public Security of the DF (SSP/DF). In addition, about 12 thousand protective measures were granted by the TJDFT in 2022, and in the same year, according to the SSP/DF, non-compliance with 1,762 decisions granting protective measures and 16 femicides were recorded (TJDFT, 2023).

It is proposed to the operators of the law the broadest application of article 45 of the Maria da Penha Law, which deals with the obligation of the aggressor to attend education



and rehabilitation centers, in order to provide an effective deconstruction of their conceptions of gender and their real responsibility for the damages as a protective measure to be claimed by the victim. The use of such obligation as an extra-criminal criminal policy, observing the socio-historical-cultural origins of aggression against women in the family and domestic environment, is more likely to fulfill the purposes proposed by the Maria da Penha Law (Silva; Guimarães; Barbosa, 2019).

The study "Domestic violence: a case study in Vitória" demonstrates that women's financial dependence is one of the main reasons that lead them to remain in violent marital relationships. The study also identifies other factors that contribute to this permanence, such as the presence of children, family relationships, fear, and cultural values shaped by the patriarchal system. Specifically, the study reveals that 59% of the women assisted at the Specialized Police Station for Assistance to Women in Vitória, in the period from 2004 to 2010, performed domestic activities and 11% were assistants, which evidences the relationship between economic dependence and the maintenance of women in violent relationships (Silva; Borges, 2022).

Along these lines, the article "The impact of CREAS in the fight against violence against women" addresses the impact of CREAS (Specialized Reference Center for Social Assistance) in the fight against violence against women, based on a research carried out in the city of Salgueiro, Pernambuco, emphasizing that the promotion of women's autonomy, both in the economic and social spheres, was identified as a crucial need for the cycle of violence to be broken. Income transfer programs and psychological support are essential in this context so that they can deal with the complexity of violence against women, which involves emotional, financial, and family issues (Silva; Cleone, 2019). For the authors:

The care of victims in this situation requires a multidisciplinary contribution due to the complexity of the factors involved, as there are issues of financial and emotional dependence that require not only legal but also psychosocial follow-up, where the victim should be referred to income transfer programs (such as Bolsa Família, social rent) and psychological follow-up (Silva; Cleone, 2019, p. 920).

The way in which CREAS professionals approach victims of violence, as well as the adequate preparation to develop this approach, are fundamental and decisive factors for success in consolidating the rights of these women. In addition, the effectiveness of this approach is crucial to promote the recovery of the quality of life and dignity of the victims, since well-structured care that is sensitive to individual needs can significantly contribute to



overcoming adversity and rebuilding their autonomy, mental and emotional health (Silva; Cleone, 2019).

Regarding the point of improvement and training of the team of care and reception for victims of violence, the study carried out by researchers from the Federal University of Piauí⁴, highlights the need to improve the quality of records of violence, since psychological abuse, for example, is often not adequately reported, leading to underreporting of this form of violence. Improving the training of health professionals to deal with these situations is essential to strengthen public policies to combat violence against women (Mascarenhas, et al, 2020).

Intimate partner violence (IPV) accounted for 62.4% of notifications of violence against women, with physical violence being the most prevalent (86.6%), followed by psychological (53.1%) and sexual (4.8%) violence⁵. The analysis revealed a strong association between IPV and socioeconomic and demographic factors, highlighting that violence was more common among women aged 20 to 39 years, pregnant women, and those in a marital partner. An alarming fact is that violence occurred predominantly within the home and had a high rate of recidivism, particularly when the aggressor had consumed alcohol. Alcohol proved to be a critical factor, as it was consistently associated with a higher occurrence of IPV, especially of a physical nature, highlighting its role as an enhancer of violence, associated with the intensification and perpetuation of aggression (Mascarenhas, et al, 2020).

The main conclusions of the article "Knowledge and medical approach in cases of violence against women in a public hospital in Alagoas" (Silva; Saints; Bezerra, 2022) indicate that there is a large gap in the knowledge of medical professionals about policies to care for violence against women. Although they recognize the importance of the theme,

⁴ "Analysis of Notifications of Intimate Partner Violence against Women, Brazil, 2011–2017" deals with the analysis of notifications of violence perpetrated by intimate partners against women in Brazil, based on data from the Notifiable Diseases Information System (SINAN).

⁵ The Maria da Penha Law (Law No. 11,340/2006) characterizes domestic and family violence against women in several forms, namely: 1) Physical Violence: Any conduct that offends the integrity or bodily health of women, such as physical aggression that can range from pushing to serious aggression that results in injuries and deaths; 2) Psychological Violence: Characterized by acts that cause emotional damage or reduce the woman's self-esteem, such as humiliation, threats, manipulation, among other behaviors that affect the emotional and psychological well-being of the victim; 3) Sexual Violence: Includes any act of violence that involves embarrassment, such as the use of force or threat to force the woman to have sexual intercourse or perform sexual acts against her will; 4) Property Violence: Consists of the retention, subtraction, destruction or any act aimed at harming the woman's material assets, such as the destruction of personal objects or the control of her assets and financial resources; 5) Moral Violence: It involves defamation, slander, injury and other acts that damage the image or reputation of women, affecting their honor and dignity (BRASIL, 2006).



inadequate training and the lack of institutional protocols often make care limited to physical injuries, without considering the psychological and social dimension of violence. The absence of continuous training and the non-use of protocols to deal with these cases are also highlighted. The implementation of flowcharts and protocols, as well as professional updating courses, are suggested as necessary measures to improve comprehensive and humanized care for victims.

The training of professionals directly involved in the care of victims of domestic violence is, according to the texts collected, insufficient. According to Marques, Pereira, and Dias (2024), the lack of specialized training in areas such as psychology, social work, and the encouragement of preventive policing contribute to inadequate or insensitive treatment, which can discourage women from seeking help. In this context, it is essential that the State invests not only in the expansion of the service infrastructure, but also in the training of qualified professionals, capable of dealing with the complexities of situations of gender violence.

The knowledge by the professionals of how the network is structured, of how the articulated action between governmental and non-governmental institutions/services and the community takes place - aiming to expand and optimize the quality of care; the identification and appropriate referral of women in situations of violence; and the development of effective prevention strategies is still limited (Jardim; Paltrinieri, 2022, p. 759).

Therefore, in order to effectively combat domestic violence, it is crucial that the State not only invests in the continuous training of professionals who deal with victims, but also in the creation of a robust support network that offers multiple options for care and support. The training of professionals in areas such as health, social assistance and public security must be expanded, with a focus on the management of cases of gender violence, to ensure that care is sensitive, qualified and effective.

In addition, it is essential to implement networked instruments, such as psychological support services, legal assistance, and specialized reference centers, which enable victims to have access to a variety of resources according to their specific needs. The texts of the systematic review reinforce the importance of integrating these various approaches in a coordinated way, so that women can find continuous support, from the initial reception to the resolution of their situation, breaking the cycle of violence and promoting their recovery and autonomy.



CONCLUSION

It is concluded that, despite the significant advances provided by the Maria da Penha Law and the emergency protective measures, domestic violence still remains a complex issue that is difficult to eradicate. The legislation, although it has been a milestone in the fight against violence against women, still faces challenges in its practical application, especially with regard to the recidivism of aggressors and the effectiveness of protection measures. The research shows that, in addition to the implementation of protective measures, it is essential to continuously improve the training of professionals involved in the care of victims, including training in psychosocial and legal aspects, and the implementation of specific protocols for the appropriate approach to cases of violence. The lack of preparation of professionals often contributes to the precariousness of care and the feeling of impunity on the part of aggressors, which reinforces the cycle of violence.

In addition, the effectiveness of emergency protective measures, such as the removal of the aggressor and the prohibition of contact with the victim, depends on complementary actions, such as rehabilitation programs for aggressors, psychological counseling, and legal and social support for victims. The rehabilitation of aggressors, in particular, should be a priority in public policies to combat violence, because without this component, protection measures tend to be palliative, without solving the structural and cultural causes that fuel violence. In addition, it is essential that public policies promote women's autonomy, both in the economic and emotional spheres, so that they can break the cycle of violence, without dependence on the aggressor, which also implies the strengthening of support networks, such as social and psychological assistance services.

The effectiveness of the Maria da Penha Law, therefore, depends on a continuous and integrated effort between the various institutions responsible for confronting domestic violence, including the justice system, health services, social assistance and public security. The improvement of inter-institutional coordination is essential to ensure a coordinated, efficient and rapid response to victims, in addition to providing proper follow-up of cases. In this context, it is crucial to promote broader public policies, which encompass both the protection of victims and the effective accountability of aggressors, aiming at the true transformation of power dynamics within family and social relations.



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