

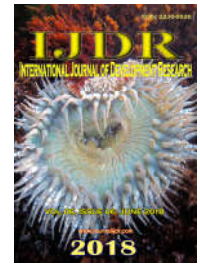


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DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN HAS MEMORY

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ABSTRACT

This paper is part of a qualitative research and has as goal to discuss how the male power, revealed through machismo, a memory of patriarchy has succeeded in perpetuating itself between the generations in our daily lives. For this purpose, we have substantiated ourselves on authors' readings who have given important contributions about the thematic of domestic violence against women, and about memory and human rights, as well as the six interviewed women reports that happened between 1990 and 2010 they suffered marital domestic violence in a city of the state of Bahia - Brazil - when they were still married. Our assessment has allowed us to imply that patriarchal values are still alive in our society because the majority of people still uncritically reproduce the speeches that come from this order, even though we live in a wide social context of technological development and progress and women's conquests. It means that juridical equality and the women human dignity recognition are entirely attached to the laws, but does they do not resonate at the same ration in real life. To balance these differences, we consider important and urgent the Women's Human Rights recognition, so that we can have a fairest and equal society, not just in law.

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INTRODUCTION

Domestic violence against women "involves physical, sexual or emotional abuse of a person that lives at the same residence as the offender, irrespective of the existence of relationship, including conjugal violence against women" (CUNHA, 2007, p. 43). When examining historical reports, we realize that this phenomenon affects the Brazilian society since its creation and in accordance with more recent data, it continues reoccurring regardless of all manifestations of disapproval and of the social and juridical recognition of women human dignity and the public policies acting as an example special police stations for women, women's reference centers, shelter houses, special courts, as well as legal devices such as Law 11340/06, or Maria da Penha Law that has as objective to repress domestic violence against women in Brazil. The 11340/06 Law criminalizes domestic and family violence and may punish the offender of this crime with up to three years of arrest. In accordance with the items I, II, III of article 5 of this Law, it is considered as this type of violence:

Any action or omission based on gender that causes death, wound, physical, sexual or psychological suffering and moral or patrimonial damage: I - at the domestic unit scope, comprehended as the space of people permanent interaction, with or without family bond, including sparse aggressions; II - in the family scope, understood as the community formed by individuals who are or consider themselves to be connected by natural bonds, by affinity or expressed desire; III - in any intimate affection relation, in which the offender lives or had lived with the victim, regardless of cohabitation. In paragraphs, I to V of article 7 of this same Law are arranged the forms of domestic and family violence: physical, psychological, sexual, moral and patrimonial. But in spite of the criminalization of these acts, the rates remain alarming. In 2013, about 700 thousand Brazilians have suffered domestic violence, primarily from their partner the lowest educated women were the most abused, approximately 71% of them (BRAZIL, 2013a). In 2017, the situation didn't enhance because the number of women who reported having suffered some type of domestic violence rose from 18% in 2015 to 29% in 2017 (BRAZIL, 2017). These data are still presumed high for the Brazilian reality and for this reason, we can't be indifferent to this fact. Regardless of if we are directly or

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indirectly affected by domestic violence against women, determining the causes and offenders of this violence form is very important as long as it is from there that we can debate and find ways of intervention and combat to this phenomenon. Saffioti (2004) states that the source of violence against women is linked to a system of female subjugation that emerged approximately 7,000 years ago called patriarchy - a collection of ideas, strategies, conducts, rules and values that legitimized perception that women were considered simple objects and children reproducers. In this form of society, women weren't acknowledged as subjects and would live marginalized from public life, degrading and subjugated for many centuries (SAFFIOTI, 1987, 2004; PATEMAN, 1993; CUNHA, 2007). In accordance with Pateman (1993), patriarchy as a regime and / or system of daily regulation, no longer exists, crumbled with the solidification of the capitalist production mode - economic model strengthened from the Industrial Revolution - because both were not aligned and this made the first to collapse. Therefore, societies started to live a new moment, because there were significant changes in productive and reproductive life. Since then, gradually and facing much resistance, women came into the work market and organized themselves as a social category - a feminist movement with the goal of claim recognition for their political, social and economic rights and to demand respect and a decent treatment wherever they would be.

This way, the battles for a dignified life for women arose with the first feminists but unfortunately they continue until now because although they have conquered some rights in Western societies, including the Brazilian, many men continue to treat women with the same indifference, violence and barbarity of patriarchal times. After these considerations, it is plausible to deduce that there is a connection between the memory phenomena and the ones of domestic violence against women, as it remains present in marital relationships and continuous between generations as if the objectification and women submission by men was still something as natural as in the past. The memory thematic in the social sciences area is a recent one, and it was launched by Halbwachs (1992), but has already provided significant debates in the academic environment because it exposed a new way of understanding reality and social relations. Halbwachs (2006), Peralta (2007), Fentress and Wickhan (1992), Le Goff (1990), Pollak (1992) and others report memory as a multimodal, multiple phenomenon that use the most diverse expressions of language to materialize it in the present. As Pollak (1992) clarifies, memory is

To some extent, inherited does not only refer to the person's physical life. Memory also suffers changes that are function of the moment in which it is articulated and is being expressed. The worries of the moment represents an element of memory structuring. [...] and its organization according to personal and political concerns of the moment exhibit that memory is a constructed phenomenon (POLLAK, 1992).

That way, memory does not exist in our society just as a memory but it acts as a bond that provides symbolic and cultural structures a continuation sense in the means of the dynamicity of the daily life, in other words it carries cultural constructions over time through the generations using elements of these new settings and present times to coordinate the past's constructs in the present parallel to the paradigm changes that the same societies embrace. In accordance with Pollak (1992),

"memory is a formative element of the identity feeling, not only individual but also collective, as far as it is also a widely important factor in the continuity sense and coherence of a person or group in the reconstruction of themselves" (POLLAK, 1992). This way, the mix of patriarchal values with the social category identity of man supplies the emergence of a phenomenon known as machismo. It involves feminine image demeaning in various forms to praise the being man pride. Therefore, through jokes, discriminatory and violent actions, people have been naturally reproducing the patriarchal speech among the generations and thus keeping its memory alive in our environment - the machismo. To better comprehend how machismo has managed to be kept itself through generations and how it has been expressed in our daily lives we have assumed the theoretical referential on domestic violence against women, memory and human rights, and we have interacted with six women reports which from 1990 to 2010 years suffered domestic violence in the marital relationship as long as still married to their ex-husbands in a city in the state of Bahia.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

The research bias is qualitative, we favored the technique of semi-structured interview as the data collection tool and we examined these data. The participation of the respondents was voluntary, we acquired authorization to record the conversations and we committed ourselves on securing their names and the aspects that could identify them. The interviews were performed in a private place and the women didn't decline to answer the questions neither have shown any pain in recalling those unfortunate and frustrating moments of their lives. We chose these women as sample because they have empowered themselves as individuals and citizens that could break with the violence cycle that has affected them over the years and because they have shown that today they can have a critical reality view they did not have before they began their maturing process.

Marchismo as a booster agent of domestic violence against women in Brazil

Along with the caravels, there also came to Brazil the patriarchal system and its peculiar woman's perception. Patriarchy is "a word that reminds of the father's power" (SAFFIOTI, 2004, p.122) and can be assumed as a system that has validated the violation of the women human rights for centuries. Still according to the author, in the patriarchal reality these were raped, noticed and treated as an "object" of sexual satisfaction of men, inheritant reproducers and also procreators of new reproducers. Because of these facts, women didn't have autonomy over their own bodies and minds, they were observed as lower "nature" beings and called as incapable, weak and non-skilled for public life (PATEMAN, 1993). This way, the domestic gap and everything that was considered inherent to it including women, was socially neglected, nevertheless, to the same measure and in the opposite sense, the public scope and men were praised.

About this issue, Saffioti (1987) states:

Given the social depreciation of the domestic space, the powerful have the interest in establishing the belief that this part has always been performed by women. For the consolidation of this belief nothing better than taking away of

this attribution of socio-cultural dimension roles. In stating that women have always been taking up the domestic space, it eliminates the historical differences and it highlights the "natural" characteristics of these functions. These parts begin to be enrolled in the "feminine nature". This way, ideology complies one of the most relevant purposes, that is to disguise reality (SAFFIOTI, 1987).

That is, men while a social classed society as a whole to believe in the existence of an alleged "woman's nature" and a "man's nature" to justify a discriminating, excluding and violent speech against women and at the same time to make these places appear natural. Thus, this dubious way of comprehending has become a dogma and has oriented depreciative behaviors and perceptions directed to the female universe. Even women themselves replicate the patriarchal speech, as Saffioti (2004) says:

[...] Impregnated with the ideology that covers patriarchy, women play with more or less frequently and with more or less roughness the functions of the patriarch, regulating children and other kids or teenagers, according to the father's law. Though they aren't these regime accessories, they cooperate to feed it (SAFFIOTI, 2004). What the author enlightens through these words is that, even though women have disseminated the patriarchal speech, they may be considered as accessories to them because their actions weren't performed with the intention of building it, raising or perpetuating it, however rather in the sense of keeping a social congruent homeostasis with the values and ideologies of patriarchal societies. The changes regarding perception and treatment directed to women happened from the nineteenth century, but at a low rate so that in the middle of the twentieth century, a period that in Brazil was known as "The Golden Years" because of the economic wealth, growth and nation development, women were yet treated and tailored to behave according to what proclaims the patriarchal values.

According to Bassanezi (1997), in the 1950 decade:

[...] A common wife, raised on the shape of the 50's middle class women in Brazil. Being the inheritant of old ideas, but always renewed that women are born to be housekeepers, wives and mothers, it would know the significance assigned to marriage in any woman's life. I would have learned that men and women look at sex in a different way and that marital happiness relies fundamentally on women's efforts to hold the family together and the husband satisfied (BASSANEZI, 1997). When Bassanezi (1997) states "being inheritant of old ideas, but that are always renewed", we realize the presence of memory because "every time that a memory is relatively built, it performs a maintenance work, of coherence, unity, continuity and organization (POLLAK, 1992) so it is clear that the renewal of the ideas that women were born to be dedicated mothers and submissive wives supported the maintenance, coherence, unity, continuity and organization of a memory. Other archetypes that pervaded the social picture of that time too, such as: married women should not have a job, because "it was expected that these women would dedicate themselves entirely to the home, be sustained by their husbands and preserved from the street" (BASSANEZI, 1997) confirms this purpose and this way we perceive that female subjugation and machismo crosses generations as if these phenomena were natural to the human species and not a social construction with

a well-defined goal and that has been represented until today - the male superiority.

This way, we agree that machismo functions as a memory, because as Peralta (2007) says:

Memory enables you to carry the past into the present and can do it in two ways: by acting or through remembrance. In the first case, we are in front of habit memory, which refers to the ability to reproduce a specified performance. In the second case, contrary to habit memory, it is necessary a construction of the past, which this way obtains a critical distance from the present. It is consequently, unlike habit, an active and intentional process as referred by Youg (1988). Both, coexisting in the same period, and it cannot be said that one replaces the other (PERALTA, 2007).

We noticed in our daily life the habit of renew prejudiced, discriminatory and violent actions against women, as well as the recollection of relevant ideas of patriarchal values, for as we can see in the reports of Sara, Ruth, Juliana and Suzi, they learned in their childhood that women had to passively bear the impositions of men. And as Bassanezi (1997) says, these ancient ideas were always being renewed.

At that time, when we got married we thought we had to bear everything. The older people would say, they had that custom - that's how we lived there in the farm. It was not like that, not like nowadays. Today is completely different. I could handle many things to not disturb the marriage. I believed I was a woman. And he was the first husband, my first man, I didn't know anyone, I didn't know anything about life, I was a kid when I got married (Sara, 45 years old, Unemployed). Because of machismo. The man is in the first place in everything. The man can do this, the man can do that, nothing reaches the man. Even the man's wage is higher than the woman's wage even performing the same function. Everything is different for the woman. The woman suffers more in everything (Ruth, 40 years old, General Services). I guess that, overall women are always withdraw of their rights. When you are with a pain and you aren't respected, of having an issue and having no one to help you. I believe as women are very discriminated. I think this comes from the culture itself. This is from the Brazilian culture and we accept it. This thing of us accepting...

I don't know! I believe it was more about education, from the older customs. You see inequality there as it is. I guess that it is already the woman's custom. It's already this way. (Suzi, 45 years old, Receptionist). Regarding Bassanezi (1997) declarations and the perceptions of our respondents we can imply that the relatives and socializing agents of these women were educated in a context strongly influenced by patriarchal values and therefore reproduced them uncritically for women in a new context. The reports below show that these are symbolic constructs already settled, that were being broadcast by the contemporary culture, education, and customs. Still according to our respondents, her ex-husbands were also socialized from the patriarchal outlook, and this was manifested not only through speech, but also in the violent actions practiced against them. For better understanding these statements, let's check what Suzi, Juliana, and Sara reported about their ex-husbands:

He would say: "I married you, now I am in charge. You have to be submissive to me, you won't wear this clothe, you won't talk to my mother because it would bring problem in the couple life" (Juliana, 44 years old, Self-employed).

I would see other women say that at the time of their period the husband didn't touch them. I kept thinking, quietly, "Oh my God, I'm embarrassed to talk about this to people." When I told him this, he would say, "No, I'm not eating other people's women, I'm eating mine. "Those terrible words.(Sara, 45 years old, Unemployed).

He was scared I would cheat on him. In my head I wanted to do that, better, to show him that I would do it, but in my heart I wouldn't have the courage even if I found someone. Do you know what he did? He went to work and said that he wasn't coming anymore. Then he went to my works door and watched me, spent all day stalking me. I left work and he was behind me, I went to the mall and he followed me. He was so worried that he told my brother to come after me - and he came. Even my brother kept stalking me so I wouldn't go out with other men (Suzi, 45 years old, Receptionist).

The subjection requests, "do what I want," the watching to not damage the honor of the family, the words "crespas" that objectify the woman denoting that these men notice them as property, so they thought they had the right to do as they wanted with them like it happens in patriarchal societies. And this was so largely spread in our environment that, according to our respondents, they believed that men had this right. Still according to them, they only comprehended that it was a fallacy when they started to mobilize personally and legally against the evil that annoyed them, in other words when they began their empowering in the face of the violent reality to which they were associated.

Other content that arose from women's reports was the act of defending the honor of men through the control of women's bodies and sexuality. Because of Maria da Penha Law, the juridical devices and the maturing of society regarding the recognition of the women's human dignity, men need to build self-protection strategies - to watch from far to ambush, to express themselves roughly just in front of them - because these acts today aren't understood as "normal", this way they causes retaliation and exhibitions.

Ana and Suzi's reports make it clear that not only men, the authors of violence make of women objects like in the Patriarchal societies, but also those known and / or unknown that realize themselves in the same situations of self-protection analog to those mentioned above, because their machista acts, in the nowadays context, are also disapproved and liable to a criminal sanction. Let's see the experiences that they reported experiencing and witnessing that corroborate with the exposed above:

The owners of the houses we lived came to collect the rent, and sometimes the water and light that were overdue. Several of these men, have already asked me to sleep with them because Juvenal delayed the payment. They would say: "Why are you with this man? You are a beautiful woman! Have an affair with me and I won't charge you every month, I won't even pass here. You can also be with him and with me." They would say just like that. I heard it all my life! She was being harassed by the homeowners. Today I think this was horrible!

Because with the mind that I have today, I have no idea about what I would do with him or with anyone who said it to me. But at that time I was really silly, I thought it was normal.(Suzi, 45 years old, Receptionist).

I have a niece that lives in São Paulo, daughter of my brother. She is beautiful! 14 years old. Long hair, beautiful body, loved wearing shorts! Last year we were in a store, when I saw it, there was a guy messing with her. Ah! But I cursed this guy so much. I said: "Your pedophile, your crazy, your low spirit ... She is a child. She can be with her legs showing, body like that ... you're crazy, you shit, you're a "bostetico". " Then he came to me and said, "You're crazy!" I replied: Have some respect, to play with a child. "There was a black guy, who saw everything and told," Very well, very well "(Ana, 48 years old, Administrative technician). These reports demonstrate that in daily life machismo is hidden in the form of jokes, "of craziness", of improper proposals to continue present in our environment the habit of placing women in a place of inferiority to realize them as an object for the man sexual satisfaction. However, proof that things were not always like this, or better saying that it shouldn't continue like this, it was Ana's answer to the harassment, the approval report of another man in favor of Ana's defense for her niece, the critical thought that today Suzi made the men who made her improper proposals. Such actions demonstrate attitudes of resistance to machismo, but also show that he is still alive in everyday relationships, raising inequalities between men and women, which according to juridical texts and official speeches should no longer exist.

According with Madalena e Ruth reports, women are starting to realize these facts:

It appears that woman and man are the same, but society doesn't see it this way. Man is man. At work we see that even a man's wage is higher than that of a woman. There's no reason on denying it. In politics there is more man than woman. It's changing, I think things are going to change, but 100%, "from equal to equal," just like I'm telling to you it won't be (Madalena, 60 years old, Administrative Technician).

There is difference in the way of raising boys and raising girls. With girls we are more careful, but with boys no, we let them free. It is different, and I think this is because of machismo! (Ruth, 40 years old, General services).

These assertions allow us to deduce that the laws and many things in societies have changed, but some way people are still not relating their actions to the norms' content, mainly regarding the woman's human dignity. This way, what really exists in our daily lives is an apparent equality between genders, and what Saffioti (2004) suggests, this occurs because the material support of the patriarchy has not been destroyed, in her words:

The important thing to withhold is that the patriarchy material basis has not been destroyed, nevertheless the advances made by women, both in the professional field and in representation in the Brazilian parliament and other elective political posts. If in ancient Rome the patriarch had the choice between the right of life and death over his wife, today the homicide is capitulated in the Penal Code but the murderers enjoy major impunity. Furthermore, there is the traditional lower access of

women to adequate education to obtain a well-paying job (SAFFIOTI, 2004, p.106).

And fairly because this material base of the patriarchy had not been destroyed, many women are submitted to disrespectful, degrading, discriminatory and even violent situations, as the reports of our respondents show:

At home I was often slapped, and on the face. The worse it was one day that Geraldo took a gun. My son and I went to sleep at a neighbor's house. I slept in the neighbor's house because of my son, for not having aggression. [...] Once I was with a lot of colleagues, dancing in one of these carnivals [...], when I saw I was just slapped. Every time he attacked me, it only came from cheating. Everyone heard about it, the blood would gush (Ana, 48 years old, Administrative technician). He would do the things, cheat on me, and when I found out, he would make me look crazy. He would hide my flip-flops, he would hide the bible so I couldn't read, take my things away, he would hide my things and pretend I was crazy. To cover his mistakes, he justified himself by putting me as the crazy one. He would come to me and ask, "Who is your husband?" I would answer, "It is you, isn't it?" He would say: "Are you sure of what you're saying?" I would think it was a game, but it wasn't (Suzi, 45 years old, Receptionist).

Luiz wanted to be in charge of my life, on my footsteps, he didn't want me to do anything, he didn't want me to keep in touch with my family, with people. I had to do everything he wanted inside the Church ... He wouldn't let me turn on the television. I couldn't even choose my son's clothes, to choose his name, not to do anything for him: I couldn't take him to school. It was Luiz who decided everything (Juliana, 45 years old, Self-employed).

When I would have intercourse with him Oh! My god! I cried, cried, asked the Lord: "Help me", because it was the hardest thing. It hurts, it was pain in the body, I was hurt inside, I couldn't handle it and he was brute. He would think that when I didn't want to have intercourse with him it was because I had intercourse with another man and then it was that way (Sara, 45 years old, Unemployed).

How many times I remained on the stairs, on the outside with the door locked from the inside. I would stay outside waiting for him to sleep so I would go inside. For more than once my son took his blanket and brought it to me outside on the stairs. When he slept, Gustavo [son] would open the door and I would come in. There was nothing worse than this. This was degrading (Madalena, 60 years old, Administrative Technician).

All these facts are regrettable and we could never be conformed to them. More important than restrain violence is to educate people to do not commit them, to value the humanity of the other and of their own humanity. Only this way we will balance the theoretical speech with the daily life expressions, therefore eliminate the base material of patriarchy that yet insists on being present in our environment- The machismo.

Final Considerations

As well demonstrate our respondents' reports, the nature of patriarchal values has been spread through generations and has been legitimating excluding and degrading speeches regarding

women in our society. This entails that the patriarchal rank has been updated in the present, exhibiting the patriarchal memory presence.

The maturation that the Brazilian society have regarding to women goes against with what machismo wants to keep naturalizing. As we are speaking about a symbolic content the most appropriate intervention about this may only come through Education, more particularly Human Rights Education, because this can cause an empowerment process of directed to deconstruct outdated paradigms that for centuries have been shared in our society.

This way, it is relevant to highlight that the social maturation process particularly the ones from women opens new views but also brings sorrows because it is through the drafting of these pains that women become aware and become their own destinies' authors.

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