



SOCIAL VIOLENCE AGAINST BLACK WOMEN: A LITERATURE SYSTEMATIC REVIEW

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ABSTRACT

There are still few studies in Brazil on violence against black women, despite being the most affected by this phenomenon, regarding violence against white women. Thus, the present study aimed to discuss the pertinence of research that addresses the race/ethnicity of the black woman, target of violence, and its implications for Public Safety. Based on a systematic review of the literature, we searched for references in the CAPES periodicals from 2003 to 2017, conditioned by the term "violence against black women". The results indicated a high percentage of publications in the South, Southeast and Central West regions, compared to publications in the North and Northeast regions, although they recorded a higher number of cases of violence against black and brown women. They also indicated that there was a common use of the term "gender violence" in the study articles to identify violence involving black women. It is pertinent to carry out more research that gives visibility to black women and stimulates public policies to face the violence that they are targeting.

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INTRODUCTION

Both the Brazilian Constitution (2015), and the Declaration of Human Rights (1948) organized by the United Nations (UN) declare that men and women have equal rights. Women Rights have advanced besides that there are still problems related to gender violence in Brazilian society. Article previous readings about gender violence are relevant to comprehend the social phenomena and discuss the theme of this research. These articles indicate that there is a smoothness of gender, feminism, race, and social class (BEAUVOIR, 1976; GREGORI, 1992; SAFFIOTI, 2004; WERNECK, 2010; CARNEIRO, 2011; DAVIS, 2016; HOOKS, 2017). Beauvoir (1976) in her work, *The Second Sex*, report the problems faced by European women in 50s and 60s. She reflects about the "woman being" and "man being" at the same time. The author argues that society considers the man a rational person without a woman; otherwise, the woman does not have the same treatment without a man. The man decides what a woman is. We can notice in Beauvoir's work the women's invisibility.

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The author also linked the races issues to social classes. Saffioti (2004) discuss the social or gender violence against the woman, adopting a perspective of capitalist exploitation, in a patriarchal system, beyond the sexist ideology. There is only one beneficiary of a patriarchal and capitalist system, which is the rich and white man. These systems support the ideology which male individuals have the right to dominate, educate, and submit women to men's desires as a natural fate. Davis (2016) argues about the importance to relate gender violence with other kinds of violence, like institutional violence. This relation seeks to confront the sexism ideology. The author advocates the relevance of considering the gender violence analysis, the intersectionalities, or the oppressions addition as the relation amongst social class with race and gender (further information see CARNEIRO, 2011). Davis concludes that is necessary to consider the differences in Women's Right because they are unequal in their social and political positions, color, ethnicity, educational level, and perspectives. Gregori (1992) analyses the perspective of gender violence between man and woman. The society feeds this oppressed relation that contributes to maintaining the conception of a reproductive woman and a housewife. However, this woman has no protection. Werneck (2010) refers to the black woman as a hypersexualized object because they have a robust body

related to the white woman. The author points out the idea of a 'mulatto woman' contributes to the men's fantasy for sexual desires. Otherwise, this is different when men have a relation with white women. Hooks (2017) discusses the black woman affection linked to the loneliness which this woman placed in a rejection position of her rational consciousness and lack of her social and economic projection. That is why men change their black partner to the white woman, as a social or economic ascension, in author's point of view. As seen in Carneiro (2011) and Davis' (2016) ideas about gender violence or social violence against woman include race issues, color, ethnicity. These ideas require a consistent analysis of the violence against black women, mainly, in a Brazilian context. The Violence Map (2015) (www.mapadaviolencia.org.br) published, in its first edition, the statistics of gender violence from 2003 to 2013. The report shows the discrepancies between the rate of murder of white women and black women. Furthermore, the analysis of race or color issues links to homicides of this group of people. According to The Violence Map (2015, p.29), black people are the primary victim of Brazilian violence and killings. It also demonstrates the homicide rates of white people decrease during the time, otherwise is the opposite for black people and because of that, the victimization rates of black people have increased drastically. When we concern the statistics of violence with White Women, the article shows a decreasing number of homicides. In 2003, there were 1.747 victims. In 2013, the number went down to 1.576 victims. However, when we analyze the statistics of social violence against Black Women had increased from 1.864 to 2.875 victims during the same period. This work demonstrates that there is a lack of studies related to the violence against Black Women in Brazil. The article aims to discuss the importance of systematic studies centered on black women. They are violented because of their color and gender. This way we can reflect on this type of research and its contributions on public security in Brazil.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

There two procedures for localization and selection of references to be part of this study: 1) theoretical background

research on CAPES Journal (<http://www.periodicos.capes.gov.br>); 2) time delimitation of articles with the current theme from 2003 to 2017. This paper has the violence against Black Women as a theme, that is why we chose a systematic review of articles which have gender or color violence as themes, at the same time mentioned before. The research language was in Portuguese.

Articles research and selection followed by the guided question research: What was the term used to refer to violence against black women in the reports? Is there a category for black women in gender or ethnicity violence? Articles selection had three steps to determine the inclusion or rejection of this research. It was necessary the reading of 1) theme, 2) abstract, and 3) introduction of each one. We based the selection on time delimitation, the relation with this research and the language (Portuguese). The articles approached about racial violence, mental and physical health of white and black women, and about black feminism. That is why the research rejected these studies for the current aim. However, they will have an analysis to further articles. The analyses of articles which combined with this theme, we checked how the authors comprehend about subjects as the violence against black women. It also reviewed the journal paper and the place where these researches were published in Brazil.

RESULTS

There are four charts present in the research results. Located, selected, and rejected articles are in Table 1. The Papers are on the CAPES Journal website. They presented the violence against black women keyword. Table 2 shows a sample of articles excluded because they did not agree to the study criteria. This research accepted a few references. They are in tables 3 and 4. According to Table 1, the total number of article is 11.400 through Google Scholar filters we selected 30. Half of these articles have compatibility with the criteria study otherwise another half do not attend it. The content in Table 2 has the total of articles rejected for this study.

Table 1. Quantity of articles located, selected, rejected, and used relate to the keyword research (violence against black women) on Google Scholar and Integral Research Methods

Quantity of Studies					
Categories	Studies located on Google Scholar	Studies located by Integral Research Method	Studies selected on Google Scholar	Studies rejected on Google Scholar	Studies used in this article
Total	11.400	15	30	15	15

Source: CAPES Journal Website (www.periodicos.capes.gov.br) - jul.2018.

Table 2. Articles rejected because they are not related to the study

Article Identification	Article Titles	Release Date
A1	Sexuality, reproductive health and violence against the African Brazilian women: aspects of interest for nursing care.	2008
A2	Scientific Production of Nursing Racial and Gender Issues in Brazil	2011
A3	Violence and health: theoretical, methodological, and ethical contributions from studies on violence against women.	2008
A4	Social violence from a public health perspective.	2010
A5	Health family professionals' practices toward women in sexual violence situations.	2007
A6	Masculinity and violence in Brazil: contributes to reflection in health field.	2014
A7	The role of NGOs in designing public health policies: the Aids epidemic, women's health and mental health.	2010
A8	Violence against women and Health Policies in Brazil: what health services can do?	2011
A9	The perceptions of the health professionals at a hospital about the violence against women	2009
A10	Brazilian Black Women: from Bertioga to Beijing.	2008
A11	Masculinity, race/color and health.	2004
A12	Beyond the numbers barrier: racial inequalities and health.	2005
A13	Black feminism: race, identity and reproductive health in brazil (1975-1993)	2012
A14	Nuances of violence against women: knowing the phenomenon.	2004
A15	Violence against women: feminicide in Brazil.	2013

Source: CAPES Journal Website – jul.2018

Table 3. Studies used in this work

Article Identification	Article Titles	Authors	Release Date
A1	Domestic and Family Violence against Black and Brown Women in Brazil: Reflections from the Latin American Feminist Studies Perspective.	Almeida, T. M. C. de; Pereira, B. C. J.	2012
A2	Gender violence against black women: reflections from The Violence Map in 2015.	Roza, G. S. da.	2016
A3	Profile of gender violence perpetrated by a partner.	Kronbauer, J. F. D.; Meneghel, S. N.	2003
A4	Domestic Violence Victims: an approach in Women Assistance Police Station in Bahia	Mendes, Z. et. al.	2017
A5	The Intersectionality of Race and Gender Discrimination	Crenshaw, K.	2004
A6	For feminist and black criminology: a critical analysis of the marginalization of black women in the Brazilian prison.	Vasconcelos, I. C. C.; Oliveira, M. R. D.	2016
A7	Black women and the violence in Rio de Janeiro	Werneck, J.	2010
A8	Love is not an excuse: black women and domestic violence.	White, E.	2002
A9	The woman in class society: Myth and Reality.	Saffioti, H.	2008
A10	Multiple discrimination as intersectional discrimination: the achievements of black feminism and the right of antidiscrimination.	Silva, R. da.	2016
A11	Blackening Feminism: The Situation of Black Women in Latin America from a Gender Perspective	Carneiro, S.	2011
A12	Racism and Violence Experiences: a study on the vulnerabilities of black women and the HIV/AIDS prevention in quilombos communities in Alagoas.	Riscado, J. L. S. et. al.	2009
A13	Our footsteps are long journey! Black women's movements and political strategies against sexism and racism	Werneck, J.	2010
A14	Ways of Iansã: mapping the subjectivity of women in gender violence situations.	Ramão, S. R. et al.	2004
A15	Black Women's objectification: racial discrimination effects.	Oliveira, M. L. P. de.	2008

Source: CAPES Journal Website. jul. 2018.

Table 4. Studies used in this work by their location

Article Identification	State	Journal
A1	Minas Gerais	Article/Revista Crítica e Sociedade. Revista de Cultura Política
A2	Brasília	Article/ The ViolenceMap (2015)
A3	São Paulo	Article/Revista de Saúde Pública
A4	Paraíba	Article/Revista Brasileira de Ciências da Saúde
A5	Santa Catarina	Article/Revista de Estudos Feministas
A6	Rio Grande do Sul	Article/Revista Eletrônica de Direito Penal e Política Criminal
A7	Rio de Janeiro	Article/Revista Criola
A8	São Paulo	Article/ Geledés- Instituto da Mulher negra
A9	Minas Gerais	Article/Revista Crítica e Sociedade. Revista de Cultura Política
A10	Minas Gerais	Article/Revista Crítica e Sociedade. Revista de Cultura Política
A11	São Paulo	Article/Geledés- Instituto da Mulher negra
A12	São Paulo	Article/Revista Saúde e Sociedade
A13	Goiás	Article/Revista ABPN (Associação Brasileira de Pesquisadores Negros)
A14	Santa Catarina	Article/Revista Psicologia e Sociedade
A15	Santa Catarina	Article/Revista Psicologia e Sociedade

Source: CAPES Journal Website– jul. 2018.

Article publications are from the following years: 2010 (2), 2011 (2), 2012 (1), 2013 (1), and 2014 (1). The word 'Health' appears most of them, see Table 2 (A1, A3, A4, A5, A6, A7, A8, A9, A11, A12, and A13). In Table 3, the articles (A3, A4, A5, A9, A10, A11, A12, A13, and A14) do not have the 'Black Woma (e) n' term. However, they approach the violence against these people. Table 4 demonstrates a higher percentage of articles with this thematic in Midwest, Southeast, South regions. There was one article from the Northeast region. On the other hand, the researches point out that the North and Northeast regions are the main places where violence against black and brown women happen, after all, most of these women live in these regions.

DISCUSSIONS

Almeida and Pereira (2012) point out that the investigation about domestic and familiar violence frequently happens against women in Brazil. Although policy defenses for women have advanced (eradication, prevention, and punishment of the violence against the woman) it is necessary to be aware of the black and brown women's reality. This helplessness contributes to the gender violence invisibility because of the patriarchal aggressors also linking to racial and social economic issues.

Roza (2016) says that the violence against black and brown women have a relationship between gender and racial problems in Brazil when we consider factors (social vulnerability, employment, level of instruction, and others) that grant the homicide rates against black women. However, it happens the opposite for white women with the same factors. This analysis comes from The Violence Map, in its first edition, which it has a suggestion of specific group treatment for black women as a public policy. Kronbauer and Meneghel (2003) concern about the violence against women when they relate the types of abuse (physical, psychological, and sexual) made by their (ex) partners. They argue the importance to discuss these attacks to these people and link them to the gender, color and social classes discussions. Mendes et al. (2017) present a profile of women who suffered domestic violence. From 2012 to 2014, the victims received support at Women's Care Center located in São Francisco do Conde, Bahia. The authors have observed that most of the women supported in this center were black, their profile (young people, low level of instruction, insufficient socioeconomic status, mothers) linked to various abuses committed by their partners. Crenshaw (2004) concerns to identify the different existence of discrimination (gender and racial) which women have suffered during their lives that restrain the opportunities to black women achieve professional success. Author's study

also aims to emphasize the necessity of efforts to exclude the hindrances faced by them which recognizes their experiences from an intersectionality perspective. These obstacles cannot have separate categories of discrimination when black women are the target of it.

Vasconcelos and Oliveira (2016) highlight the women's lifestyle changing and their role worldwide in this age. So, it is pertinent to give attention to Black Women's needs because they suffer double discrimination. These people are women in a machinist and misogyny society also they are black in a racist society. Authors use Critical and Black Feminist Criminology Theories to analyze the variables of gender, ethnicity, and social exclusion. Werneck (2010) criticizes the way how the data is collected by the National Health System (SUS). For her, data is not precisely because the clients are, in its majority, Brazilian black people. The author discusses the disproportionality of violence cases in the populational groups which allow the racism identification in its origins. It observes the same predominance of the black racial group can be verified in cases of reported sexual violence of black women vulnerability due to their social, economic and emotional situation. White (2002) points out the public policies work to fight with black women violence cases. Since these people are the main denouncer also the primary victims of domestic and outdoor violence. Saffioti (2008) reports that social advances are relevant (like women's suffrage in Switzerland, legalization of abortion in USA and France, divorce right in Brazil).

These rights did not have the black women protagonism because they worked as servants in white women houses. SueliCarneiro reinforces this thought when she says:

The historical conditions in Americas that contributed to creating a view that black people were things, mainly black women in particular. We also know that throughout this context of conquest moreover, domination, the social appropriation of women in the group defeated is one of the emblematic moments of the winner's superiority (CARNEIRO, 2011, p.1). Silva (2010) demonstrate the rise of Black Feminism as a rupture to the model bound to the primacy of gender and well succeeded social class. The image decentralization of a political person has changed in this society, which does not only present a Eurocentric protestant standard. This new view also includes black and poor women. Carneiro (2011) points out the differences between the white women movements for rights in the 50s from black women. They present different historical experiences. Until today, there is no qualitative recognition of women's oppression recognized because this violence case report does not consider the black women's identity, which we can conclude as either gender or racial problem. Riscado et al. (2009) study the black women's report cases of violence in their natures (gender or racial). They also study the quilombola women and STD (AIDS) report cases in Community of Quilombos in Alagoas. When we investigate the racism in their reports, quilombola women detail racial issues, underestimation, and humiliation treatment in the streets, schools, parties, and health care centers.

Werneck (2010) argues about the restitution of black women's protagonist in society. These people are stereotyped and underestimated in Brazilian history, which contribute to their invisibility and increase violence rates as a consequence. So it necessary to conflict the inferiority system that black women

are in it. Ramão, Meneguel, and Oliveira (2004) analyzes the subjectivity of women who suffered gender violation by their partners. This study uses an intervention through cartograph technique (workshops) which collect women's narratives of gender violence. The victims receive support in a non-governmental organization (NGO) for black women named Maria Mulher (Porto Alegre). It was observed that these people suffer multiple acts of violence and they do not consider to raise their voices, which contributes to the already know role-play (mother, wife, and housekeeper). Oliveira (2008) studies the work made by black women in a social assistance program, the SOS Racism (RS) and its effect against racial discrimination of them. It takes the narratives of women who suffered racism or discrimination. The program helps them through conflict strategies of resistance as a direct intervention in violence cases, changing their narratives into public cases.

Studies of Violence against Black Women

In the studies selected and presented before, we can recognize the term 'violence against black women' is not inserted (or hardly ever) in gender violence cases or violence against women reports. It constates that gender violence expression is used to identify the attacks suffered by black women or any woman who had experienced it. Racial violence and its repercussions on black women's identity and subjectivity is a research theme unexplored due to the social and politic construct of race conception which has changed along the time. It also observed that gender violence has been including in domestic violence cases in many studies which include the violence against women without distinction. This reality contrasts to the data collected that report the gender, ethnicity, and social class of victims. Almeida (1992) presented a different approach for the violence against black women. Werneck (2010) says that violence is seen as a broad set of problems which restrict the intervention possibilities in different sectors in society. These problems have institutional and structural forms, and they are presented in society ramifications (political, economic, cultural) where we observe numerous institutional violence. Racism is one of them. Almeida (2012) identifies three general perceptions that contribute to defy the violence against women. First thought is called men domination that comprehends as a male expression, excluding women's autonomy also becoming them victims and partaker of this domination. Second thought is called patriarchal domination which women are autonomous individuals but they are violented historically by men's social control. Last thought has a relational issue. There is a relativization of male domination and female victimization. It is conceived as a form of communication. Women are victims and accomplice in this view.

Conclusion

This work has a systematic review of the literature about violence against black women from 2003 to 2017 in Brazil. It demonstrates the invisibility of gender and color issues in many studies. We can conclude that it is necessary to do other researches in the North region about this theme because we observed that most articles which approach violence against black women are from the Midwest, Southeast, and South regions. As we stated, there are two measures for the violence suffered by black and white women seen on The Violence Map report. However, this fact has been treated as irrelevant in

order to stimulate new research perspectives related to gender and color conditions of Brazilian black women. Carneiro (2011) considers the necessity of black women's visibility, linking to gender, color, and social class condition to elaborate public security policies in order to face the violence women are the target. This study is a contribution to lead in this direction.

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