


**PATRIMONIAL VIOLENCE: CONCEPTUAL ANALYSIS AND USES OF THE CONCEPT  
IN BRAZIL, LATIN AMERICA AND FROM A TRANSCULTURAL PERSPECTIVE**

**VIOLÊNCIA PATRIMONIAL: ANÁLISE CONCEITUAL E USOS DO CONCEITO NO  
BRASIL, AMÉRICA LATINA E NUMA PERSPECTIVA TRANSCULTURAL**

**VIOLENCIA PATRIMONIAL: ANÁLISIS CONCEPTUAL Y USOS DEL CONCEPTO EN  
BRASIL, AMÉRICA LATINA Y DESDE UNA PERSPECTIVA TRANSCULTURAL**

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**ABSTRACT**

The objectives of this study were (1) to conduct a conceptual analysis of Patrimonial Violence, examining the logic of the concept in articles (from Brazil, Latin America, and Multi-Country) that address the topic. To this end, analytical philosophy tools were employed to reveal distinctions, related concepts, and hidden implications in terminological choices; (2) to investigate its main concepts and uses in Brazil and worldwide. Analyzing the logic of the concept's use, using analytical philosophy techniques, allowed us to identify structural elements, conceptual boundaries, and forms of patrimonial violence that are often overlooked. This approach highlighted that certain practices, naturalized in contexts of gender inequality, constitute patrimonial violence even when they do not involve the explicit appropriation of material goods. Mapping and analyzing the main uses of the concept in Brazil, Latin America, and from a multi-country cross-cultural perspective indicated that, in Brazil, the concept's application is restricted to issues of property rights, leaving out important dimensions of this form of violence, confirming what the conceptual analysis had revealed. Furthermore, Latin America is underrepresented in cross-cultural research, suggesting the invisibility of the Global South in academic research.

**Keywords:** Patrimonial Violence. Economic Violence. Economic Abuse. Conceptual Analysis. Invisible Violence.

**RESUMO**

Os objetivos deste estudo foram (1) realizar uma análise conceitual sobre Violência Patrimonial, através de uma análise da lógica do conceito, em artigos (Brasil, América Latina e Multi-Country) que abordam o tema. Para isso, foram empregadas ferramentas da filosofia analítica, de modo a desvelar distinções, conceitos afins e implicações ocultas nas escolhas terminológicas; (2) investigar seus principais conceitos e usos no Brasil e no mundo. A análise da lógica do uso do conceito, por meio de técnicas da filosofia analítica, permitiu identificar elementos estruturais, fronteiras conceituais e formas de violência patrimonial frequentemente invisibilizadas. Essa abordagem evidenciou que certas práticas,

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naturalizadas em contextos de desigualdade de gênero, configuram violência patrimonial mesmo quando não envolvem apropriação explícita de bens materiais. O mapeamento e a análise dos principais usos do conceito no Brasil, na América Latina e numa perspectiva transcultural multi-country apontaram que o conceito, no Brasil, tem aplicação restrita às questões de direito de patrimônio, deixando de fora importantes dimensões dessa forma de violência, confirmando o que a análise conceitual havia revelado. Além disso, a América Latina encontra-se sub-representada nas pesquisas transculturais, o que sugere a invisibilidade do Sul Global nas pesquisas acadêmicas.

**Palavras-chave:** Violência Patrimonial. Violência Econômica. Abuso Econômico. Análise Conceitual. Violência Invisível.

## RESUMEN

Los objetivos de este estudio fueron (1) realizar un análisis conceptual de la Violencia Patrimonial, examinando la lógica del concepto en artículos (de Brasil, Latinoamérica y de varios países) que abordan el tema. Para ello, se emplearon herramientas de filosofía analítica para revelar distinciones, conceptos relacionados e implicaciones ocultas en las elecciones terminológicas; (2) investigar sus principales conceptos y usos en Brasil y en todo el mundo. Analizar la lógica del uso del concepto, mediante técnicas de filosofía analítica, nos permitió identificar elementos estructurales, límites conceptuales y formas de violencia patrimonial que a menudo se pasan por alto. Este enfoque destacó que ciertas prácticas, naturalizadas en contextos de desigualdad de género, constituyen violencia patrimonial incluso cuando no implican la apropiación explícita de bienes materiales. El mapeo y análisis de los principales usos del concepto en Brasil, Latinoamérica y desde una perspectiva intercultural multinacional indicó que, en Brasil, la aplicación del concepto se restringe a cuestiones de derechos de propiedad, dejando de lado dimensiones importantes de esta forma de violencia, lo que confirma lo que el análisis conceptual había revelado. Además, América Latina está subrepresentada en la investigación transcultural, lo que sugiere la invisibilidad del Sur Global en la investigación académica.

**Palabras clave:** Violencia Patrimonial. Violencia Económica. Abuso Económico. Análisis Conceptual. Violencia Invisible.

## 1 INTRODUCTION

What is Property Violence - VP and how is this concept used in practice? Let us initially consider what the Maria da Penha law (Brasil, 2006) says: *"any conduct that constitutes retention, subtraction, partial or total destruction of their objects, work instruments, personal documents, goods, values and rights or economic resources, including those intended to satisfy their needs."*

However, beyond what the law informs, the way in which this concept behaves in concrete daily, legal and academic interactions is a topic that does not require further investigation. Conceptual analysis is not limited to the meaning of the word, usually found in the dictionary or in the letter of the law. It is necessary to search for the possible and effective uses of words in a given context (Wilson, 2001). Wittgenstein was one of the best-known proponents of this type of language analysis, with the purpose of understanding the "logical grammar" of our shared concepts, stating that "the meaning of a word is its use in language" (Wittgenstein, 1953, 1999 p.43).

In this context, Machado & Silva (2007) highlight that scientific activity includes three complementary dimensions: (1) conceptual analysis, (2) empirical research, and (3) quantification. However, the first dimension has often been neglected, and can have negative consequences due to conceptual confusion and/or distortion of the phenomena studied (Pfeiffer-Flores, 2020).

This article intends to develop a conceptual study of "Patrimonial Violence" and its main objectives are: (1) to examine how the concept operates logically in its "house of origin" (Wittgenstein, 1953, 1999), that is, its application in concrete situations, especially its paradigmatic or "typical" uses, thus revealing hidden implications, asymmetries, and other dimensions not immediately evident; (2) to discuss the similarities and differences in the use of the concept in different contexts today. To achieve the first objective, conceptual analysis techniques from analytic philosophy were applied (cf. Wilson, 2001; Harzem & Miles, 1978). For the second objective, articles on the subject were examined, the result of an integrative review previously carried out (Martins-Britto & Zanello, 2025), from three geographical/cultural cuts: in multi-country cross-cultural studies, in Latin America and in Brazil.

## 2 METHODOLOGY

For the analysis of the logic of the use of the concept, the analysis techniques exposed in Table 1 were used, which summarizes each technique and briefly describes the objective of each one. More detailed explanations are given during the development of the analysis.

**Table 1**

*Techniques for analyzing the logic of the use of the concept and its objectives*

| <b>Técnica</b>     | <b>Objetivo principal</b>   |
|--------------------|---|
| Caso paradigmático | Identificar um exemplo inequívoco do conceito, que ilustre seu uso central. |
| Contra-exemplo     | Delimitar o conceito mostrando situações que não se enquadram nele.         |
| Casos afins        | Evidenciar conceitos intimamente relacionados e suas implicações.           |
| Casos-límitrofes   | Explorar zonas de dúvida ou usos controversos do conceito.                  |

Note: The table summarizes the techniques employed to examine the "logical geography" of the concept of property violence.

Source: Inspired by Ryle (1949) and Wilson's didactic systematizations (2001)

Observing the patterns in the literature, the following search terms were used in the original review: *patrimonial violence* and its counterpart in the direct translation into English, *patrimonial violence*. Considering that, in English, the literal translation is not the expression that best corresponds to the expression in Portuguese "violência patrimonial", the expressions *economic abuse*, *financial abuse* or *economic harm* were used, which were included in the search, composing the descriptors in Portuguese and English. The term economic violence in Spanish and *violence économique in French was also included*.

The searches were carried out on the following platforms: 1) Publimed; 2) Web of Science; 3) PsycNet APA; 4) Scopus; 5) Scielo; 6) VHL and 7) Capes Journals in the period from February to April 2024, using the time frame from 2014 to 2023 (10 years). A total of 130 articles evaluated for eligibility were located. The inclusion criteria were: articles whose central subject in the text was Patrimonial Violence in intimate or abusive relationships committed by partners or ex-partners and their variations in the languages researched, regardless of whether the term Patrimonial Violence or other conceptually related terms were used; and the exclusion groups were: articles on elder abuse; damage to property such as crimes against property (robbery, assault) in a non-specific manner; financial abuse specifically committed against Persons with Disabilities; financial abuse in the context of substance use; specific diseases; and other financial or political issues that did not represent property violence in the manner delimited in the inclusion criteria. Articles on financial empowerment after domestic violence; coercive control after divorce; financial abuse in the

context of gambling; and payment of dowry for marriage. There were 96 articles, written in English (n=80), Spanish (n=12) or Portuguese (n=4).

Regarding the geographic distribution of the articles, most of them were written by researchers linked to American universities and considered the United States of America (27%) as a sample, as detailed in Table 1. Thirty-five articles (36%) were from English-speaking countries (23 from the USA, 7 from Australia, and 5 from the United Kingdom) and 53% are considered from *WEIRD* societies - *Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich, and Democratic* (26 studies from North American countries, 14 from Europe, and 11 from Oceania). Therefore, there is an imbalance in the distribution of research, which can result, even in cross-cultural studies, in conceptual choices that reflect much more the cultural universe of the (English-speaking) authors than of the countries analyzed. And this WEIRD universe named by Henrich et al (2010) is not always among the most representative populations to generalize research on human behavior.

**Table 2**

*Articles distributed by continent and country*

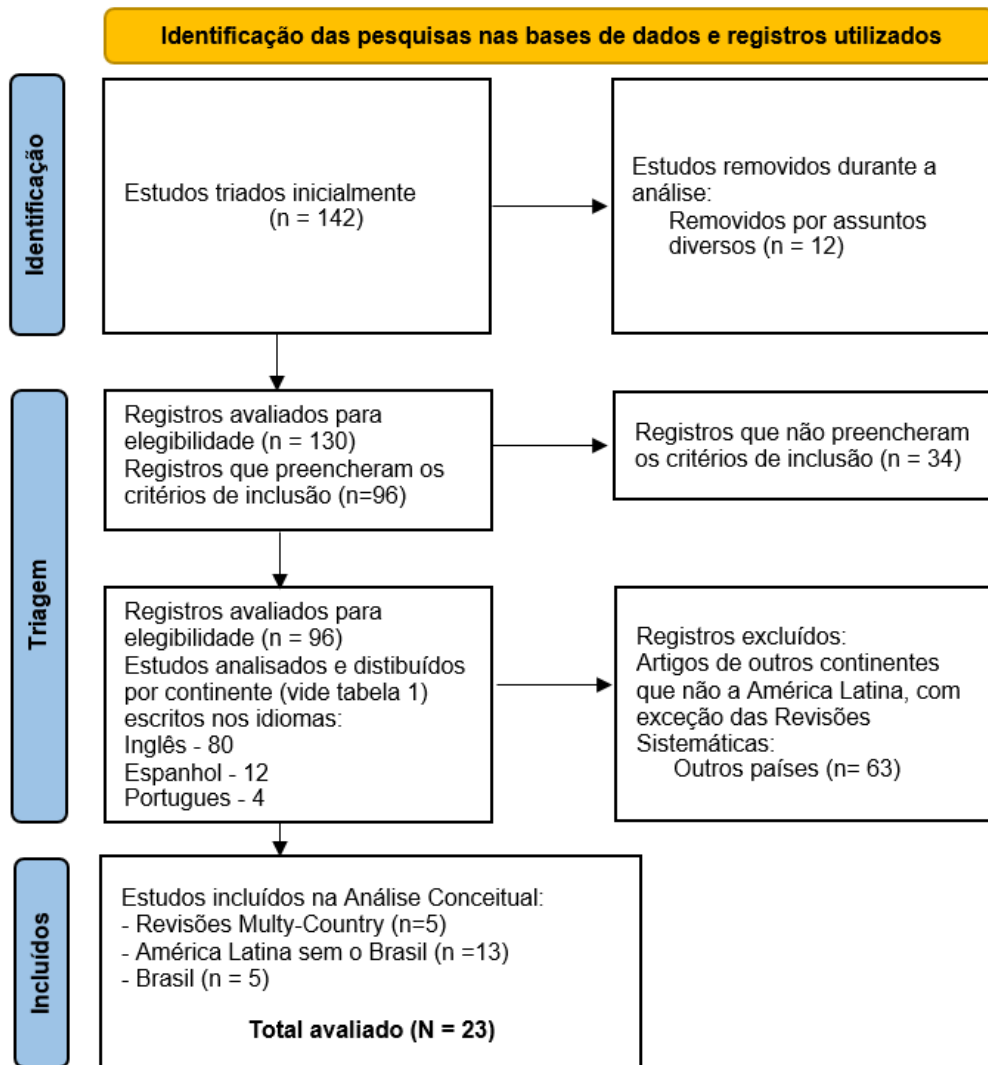
| Continente   | Nº de artigos | Percentual |
|--|---------------|------------|
| <b>América do Norte</b>                              | <b>26</b>     | <b>27</b>  |
| Estados Unidos (20), EUA e Porto Rico (3)            | 23            | 88         |
| Canadá   | 3             | 12         |
| <b>América Latina</b>                                | <b>18</b>     | <b>19</b>  |
| Brasil   | 5             | 28         |
| Equador  | 3             | 17         |
| Colômbia, Cuba e Chile (2)                           | 6             | 33         |
| Argentina, Porto Rico, México e América Latina (1)   | 4             | 22         |
| <b>Ásia</b>  | <b>14</b>     | <b>15</b>  |
| China, Israel, Jordania, Malasia e Ásia-Pacífico (2) | 10            | 71         |
| Filipinas, Índia, Irã, Hong Kong (1)                 | 4             | 29         |
| <b>Europa</b>  | <b>14</b>     | <b>15</b>  |
| Suécia   | 7             | 50         |
| Reino Unido (4), Reino Unido e Índia (1)             | 5             | 36         |
| Lituânia, Finlândia (1)                              | 2             | 14         |
| <b>Oceania</b>                                       | <b>11</b>     | <b>11</b>  |
| Austrália  | 7             | 64         |
| Nova Zelândia  | 4             | 36         |
| <b>África</b>  | <b>8</b>      | <b>8</b>   |
| Ghana  | 4             | 50         |
| Nigéria  | 2             | 25         |
| África do Sul, Tanzânia (1)                          | 2             | 25         |
| <b>Revisões MultiCountry</b>                         | <b>5</b>      | <b>5</b>   |
| <b>Somatório</b>                                     | <b>96</b>     | <b>100</b> |

Source: The authors.

Regarding the concept used by the studies, it was observed that the prevalent term was *Economic Abuse* (n=71), followed by *Property Violence* (n=13), *Financial Abuse* (n=7) and *Economic Violence* (n=5). Considering the interest in researching the use of the concept of Patrimonial Violence, all 13 articles with this descriptor were selected, divided as follows: 5 articles on Brazil, 7 articles on Latin America and 1 multi-country cross-cultural literature review. To complement the data and make the cut more comprehensive, all articles on Latin America (n=13) were included, in addition to the Brazilian articles that use the concept of Property Violence (n=5), even using other terms, and the other multi-country systematic reviews located in the sample (n=5) were also included. Thus, a total of 23 articles were selected for the conceptual analysis, as detailed in Figure 1:

**Figure 1**

*Prism Diagram*



Source: Adapted from Page et al, 2021.

Within the sample of 23 articles, 5 are multi-country literature reviews, which analyzed the phenomenon in several countries with different terms, between 2018 and 2023 (Gutierrez, 2023; Johnson et al 2022; Yau et al, 2021; Postmus et al 2020; and Stilyanou 2018). The studies refer to each other (the most recent reviews mention the oldest ones, with the exception of the Latin American review) and are unanimous in describing the need to broaden the scope of research. As for articles referring to Latin America, the only review in which the Latin American public appears (Gutierrez, 2023) addresses the legal and jurisprudential aspects in eight Spanish-speaking countries: Peru, Uruguay, Colombia, Argentina, El Salvador, Honduras, Panama, and Mexico.

### 3 RESULTS

#### 3.1 ANALYSIS OF THE LOGIC OF THE USE OF THE CONCEPT OF *PATRIMONIAL VIOLENCE* AND RELATED CONCEPTS

To begin with, we return to what the definition of training in Law No. 11,340 of August 7, 2006 (Maria da Penha) says:

Art. 7 The following are forms of domestic and family violence against women, among others: (...) V – patrimonial violence, understood as any conduct that constitutes retention, subtraction, partial or total destruction of their objects, work instruments, personal documents, goods, values and rights or economic resources, including those intended to satisfy their needs; (...) (Brazil, 2006).

This formal definition can be supplemented with the clarifications obtained through some techniques that examine the logic of the use of the concept, as set out in the Methodology section (Exhibit 1), which will help us to capture possible limitations and blind spots of the formal definition, as well as tensions and conflicts in the use of the term that are inseparable from the tensions and conflicts in political practices, legal and social in which the concept of property violence (and other family concepts) are used. Unlike the second part of the results of this study, which carries out an empirical survey of the terms and their uses, conceptual analysis examines the meanings and uses that are part of the internal grammar of concepts, their "logical geography" (Ryle, 1949), through the examination of concrete situations and questions such as "in what situations would we say x?"; "What counts as x, what doesn't count as x?"; "X is opposed to what?", among others. The didactic techniques systematized by Wilson (2001), of which we unfold some here, help us to remain at the level of use and avoid abstractions and theorizations that distance us from this logical geography.

##### 3.1.1 Paradigmatic case

The technique of the paradigmatic case invites us to examine a use of the concept in which we would have no doubt that it is being used appropriately. As Harzem and Miles (1978) explain, it is a situation in which you would say "If this is not x (in our case, x = patrimonial violence), then I don't know what x is." Another way to think of the paradigmatic case is that it is the kind of example you would give if you wanted someone to understand the term. It is very important to remember that it is not saying here that every example of property violence should have the same characteristics possessed by the paradigmatic case. On the contrary, every concept has numerous uses that are connected to each other by



"family similarities" (Wittgenstein, 1953, 1999), and there are even borderline cases, as we will see later.

*A woman and her partner live in community of property. The woman saves her whole life to buy a house, the couple's only asset. The partner contributes less than her to day-to-day expenses and does not save, spending his money on individual leisure and on superfluous objects for individual use, not including the partner. The house is bought. Eventually, the partner coerces the woman, through subtle and not-so-subtle pressure, to sign the sale of the house, makes the sale and appropriates all the money. The woman is forced to live with relatives.*

Several important dimensions of the phenomenon of property violence are revealed to us here, in this example of a paradigmatic case of property violence. First, there is appropriation of something or part of something that does not legally belong to the appropriating party. In other words, there is a theft, which, nevertheless, ends up socially and legally obscured by the marriage or conjugal bond. Secondly, even with regard to the part that would rightfully belong to the appropriating party, there was an asymmetry in the effort and work to achieve it, an asymmetry that is not taken into account. Thirdly, the act of patrimonial violence involves coercive means, since, due to its patent injustice, it would hardly occur without abuse of power. Last but not least, it is noted that the final act of patrimonial violence is only the last link in a prolonged chain of asymmetry and injustice in contributing to the acquisition of the asset. Property violence, in other words, began long before this definitive act took place.

### **3.1.2 Counter-Example**

Before proceeding, it is important to warn that counterexamples are not just the opposite of the paradigmatic example. Rather, they constitute those cases that help to see what the concept in focus distinguishes. Every concept is useful because it draws distinctions, and distinctions are only important when confusion is possible. This is why it may be necessary to differentiate property violence from a legal dispute with a balance of power, but it is not necessary to differentiate property violence from, say, physical violence. In short, the counterexamples serve to show the usefulness of the concept in differentiating what is and, in this case, what is not patrimonial violence. Concepts that do not distinguish are of no use and the counterexamples serve to illuminate the distinctions that the concept helps to draw.

*Two people on equal terms dispute in a fair way the division of assets acquired together, with equal effort and contribution from both and with equal power between the parties in the dispute for the division. There is disagreement, which can be intense, but there is no coercion or significant disproportionality of power between the parties.*

The counter-example used serves to illuminate that the essential point is not conflict, but injustice and the violation of rights.

### 3.1.3 Related cases

Related cases are concepts or conceptual structures that are logically internal or directly derive from the concept, or that have an intimate connection with it in paradigmatic contexts. Below, we list and explain some concepts that are related to the concept of property violence. The usefulness of the technique of affinity-cases lies in showing us what is implied in the concept of patrimonial violence and warns us against theoretical isolation or excessive abstraction. Concepts do not live alone, but in intricate networks, and these intricate networks, in turn, illuminate, not only words, but the networks of concrete relationships in which these words are used. Below, we list some concepts strongly connected to the concept of property violence and, more importantly, the implications of these connections, often forgotten when operating with an overly isolated definition of property violence:

- A. *Violence against women*: as property violence is part of the Maria da Penha Law, it is important to remember that it is a sub-type of gendered violence. It is also from this that the close relationship with items B and, above all, C is understood, since it is from the broader patriarchal relations that the inequality of power originates that allows patrimonial violence to occur, which, as we have seen when analyzing the paradigmatic case, has as a necessary condition the use of some type of coercion, whether explicit or subtle, based in turn on an inequality of power.
- B. *Coercive control*: property violence is a form of coercive control, whether by force, deception, or manipulation (e.g., emotional).
- C. *Inequality of conditions*: It is not a conflict between equals or a "couple's quarrel", but an unequal power structure, in which the party that exercises violence (A) exercises violence from a pre-existing structure of inequality (e.g., the violated party does not have its own income) or created by the one who coerces (e.g., inequality of access to information, to one's own financial resources or assets, etc.).

*D. Misappropriation, theft:* Property violence is the misappropriation of something that does not belong to the rapist, e.g., the labor force of the violated party, of goods acquired with the work of the violated party (whether this work is paid or not), of the money that should be designated for the maintenance of the housing that both enjoy, of the resources that should be designated for the dependents of both, and so on.

### 3.1.4 Borderline cases

The technique of borderline cases consists of asking: "In which cases does there tend to be doubt about whether or not it is x?" These are those gray areas, in which either (1) there is really doubt about the applicability of the concept and/or (2) the cases, although they are strong candidates, are ignored socially or politically in favor of an extremely narrow and limited definition of the phenomenon.

*A. Inequality in the availability of time to generate income:* Although there is no explicit appropriation of material goods, in this borderline case, there is an extreme inequality in the time that each party has to dedicate to paid activities, and one of the parties imposes on the other the vast majority of unpaid activities necessary to maintain the basic structure that allows the functioning on which the paid activity becomes possible (e.g., household chores, care for dependents, daily administration activities, etc.).

*B. Appropriation of intellectual and artistic heritage:* The violating party systematically appropriates the ideas and intellectual, technological or artistic productions of the violated party, taking advantage of the informal structure and unregistered exchanges between the parties.

These cases, which still tend to be considered dubious and are rarely considered, help to highlight manifestations of the phenomenon of property violence that may be ignored or made invisible, not because they are uncommon, but because what would be considered unequal outside the gendrada structure tends to be naturalized within it.

## 3.2 ANALYSIS OF THE TERMS USED IN THE INTERNATIONAL LITERATURE

### 3.2.1 In multi-country cross-cultural studies

Of the 5 cross-cultural multi-country reviews, 4 used the term *Economic Abuse*, were written in English and addressed several countries. One of the reviews used the concept of

*patrimonial or economic violence* and was written in Spanish, addressing the Latin American public.

The first literature review located in the literature search was published in 2018 by Amanda Stylianou, an American social worker linked to the non-profit organization Safe Horizon (n.d.) based in New York. The author explores the current understanding of economic abuse, prevention measures, prevalence estimates, and the impact of economic abuse (EC) on victims of intimate partner violence. It distinguishes EC from other forms of abuse, especially considering two aspects: the spatial issue - as it is a modality of violence that can be perpetrated without any contact with the victim - and the creation of economic dependence of the victim in relation to the aggressor, undermining their financial security and livelihoods.

The aforementioned author rescues the work in which Mary Susan Miller (1995) differentiated the modalities of physical and non-physical violence in her book *Invisible Wounds: Non-Physical Abuse Against Women*. Miller mentions four types of non-physical abuse: emotional abuse, psychological abuse, social abuse, and economic abuse, the latter being characterized by the act of creating an economic dependence of the perpetrator on his victim. Stylianou (2018) argues that among the forms of non-physical abuse, historically Economic Abuse - EA has been the least researched form, often being subsumed within emotional or psychological abuse, or simply ignored in research, being therefore described as a form of *invisible violence*.

In order to measure EA in the United States, Adams et al (2008) proposed the creation of a scale derived from pre-existing instruments to measure domestic violence more broadly. Economic Abuse was defined as partner behaviors that aim to control a woman's ability to acquire, use, and maintain economic resources, thereby threatening her economic security and her potential for self-sufficiency. Stylianou (2018) explains that, similar to forms of psychological abuse, economic abuse incorporates behaviors that control both what the victim can and cannot do. Economic abuse occurs when the abuser takes control over the victim's financial resources and includes three distinct forms: economic control, job sabotage, and economic exploitation, whose definition and main tactics can be found in Table 2, adapted from Stylianou (2018).

It is important to emphasize that most of the publications prior to 2008 bring the concept of Economic Abuse without adequately distinguishing it from other forms of violence against intimate partners. It is only very recently, from the second half of the last decade, that there has begun to be a little clearer about the specificity of this type of violence, which is

evidenced when we observe that about 81% of the 96 articles located date from 2019 to 2023.

**Table 3**

*Definitions and tactics of Economic Abuse*

| Tipo de Abuso Econômico | Definição   | Táticas   | Autores  |
|-------------------------|---|---|--|
| Controle Econômico      | O agressor impede que a vítima tenha acesso ou conhecimento sobre finanças e a impede de tomar qualquer decisão financeira. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Controlar e limitar o acesso a recursos financeiros.</li> <li>• Negar acesso a necessidades básicas, como comida, roupas e/ou medicamentos.</li> <li>• Monitorar o uso do dinheiro pela vítima.</li> <li>• Reter ou esconder dinheiro ganho em conjunto.</li> <li>• Impedir a vítima de acessar uma conta bancária.</li> <li>• Mentir sobre propriedades e bens compartilhados.</li> </ul> | Anderson et al., 2003; Brewster, 2003; Postmus, Plummer et al., 2015; Sanders, 2015; Stylianou et al., 2013; Von DeLinde, 2002; Wettersten et al., 2004.   |
| Sabotagem de emprego    | Engloba comportamentos que impedem a vítima de obter ou manter um emprego.  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Proibir, desencorajar ou interferir ativamente no emprego e/ou na educação da vítima.</li> <li>• Assediar a vítima em seu local de trabalho.</li> <li>• Obstruir a vítima de receber outras formas de renda, como pensão alimentícia, assistência pública ou pagamentos por invalidez.</li> </ul>  | Alexander, 2011; Anderson et al., 2003; Brewster, 2003; Moe & Bell, 2004; Postmus, Plummer et al., 2015; Riger, Ahrens, & Blickenstaff, 2000; Sanders, 2015; Stylianou et al., 2013; Swanberg & Logan, 2005; Swanberg & Macke, 2006; Tolman & Raphael, 2000; Von DeLinde, 2002; Wettersten et al., 2004. |
| Exploração Econômica    | O agressor, intencionalmente, adota comportamentos que visam destruir os recursos financeiros ou o crédito da vítima.       | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Roubo de dinheiro, cheques ou cartões de crédito.</li> <li>• Abrir ou usar linha de crédito da vítima sem permissão.</li> <li>• Recusar-se a pagar contas ou acumular dívidas em nome da vítima ou de seus filhos.</li> <li>• Utilizar dinheiro ganho em conjunto para apostas e jogos de azar.</li> </ul>   | Anderson et al., 2003; Brewster, 2003; Littwin, 2012; Postmus, Plummer et al., 2015; Stylianou et al., 2013.   |

Source: Adapted from Stylianou (2018).

In 2020, Judy Postmus, Gretchen Hoge, Jan Breckenridge, Nicola Sharp-Jeffs, and Donna Chung presented a new systematic literature review, with a greater focus on how each publication defines and measures Economic Abuse. We investigated 46 articles in about 21 countries distributed across six continents. Notably, however, even with the objective of a global survey, this review excluded any and all Latin American countries and concentrated its analysis mainly on the United States (17 of the 46 articles, which is equivalent to 37% of the sample). The authors, who come from Social Assistance at universities in the three main English-speaking countries (the United States, Australia, and the United Kingdom) hypothesize that the prevalence of gender-related economic insecurity may be linked in an emergent way to the occurrence of economic abuse. However, they point out that there is still a lack of consistency in definitions both in the United States and worldwide for a better investigation of these phenomena. As an example, he mentions the terms "economic abuse" and "financial abuse", which are often used interchangeably in the literature and warns:

The choice of different terms, defined in slightly different ways, and the interchange of these terms at other times had the unintended effect of diluting the evidence base. The lack of clarity in the definition also means that it is difficult to measure whether the responses of services and policies are adequately addressing the issue, or whether they are addressing it at all" (Postmus et al p. 262).

Sharp-Jeffs (2015), in a proposal for unification, adapted the definition of economic abuse, proposing the use of the term financial abuse instead. The distinction made between the two concepts is that financial abuse is part of economic abuse and involves similar behaviors. However, financial abuse focuses specifically on individual money and finances, while economic abuse also encompasses broader economic resources such as transportation, housing, employment, and education (Sharp-Jeffs, 2015).

Postmus et al (2020), in the same sense, concluded from their analysis of 46 articles that less than half clearly define Economic Abuse, that is, citing at least one abuse tactic that characterizes this type of violence, namely: economic control, economic exploitation, and sabotage of employment. Economic control was the most common type, present in all 20 articles. Economic Exploitation appears in 17 articles and Job Sabotage in 15 articles. The remaining 26 articles did not contain a clear definition of economic abuse or the tactics used.

The authors' work demonstrates, therefore, that the definition of Economic Abuse can be a challenge to unify research on the subject, as well as its form of measurement, especially because most of the public that participates in the research is among women victims of other types of domestic violence, who end up being treated as more important or more significant, reinforcing the way of seeing EC as a modality of invisible or hidden violence.

The third systematic literature review was carried out by Jessie Ho-Yin Yau, Janet Yuen-Ha Wong, and Daniel Yee-Tak Fong (2021) linked to the Hong Kong University of Nursing and Medicine, and aimed to critically evaluate the instruments for measuring economic abuse and the impacts associated with the mental well-being of women who experience it. It was based on ten studies published up to May 2020 and elaborated with data mainly from the USA (n=5), followed by countries in the Middle East (n=4), the Philippines, and Hong Kong (n=1).

The authors use as a definition the same adopted by Sharp-Jeffs (2015) and Postmus et al (2020), namely: economic abuse involves behaviors that control, exploit, or sabotage the victim's economic resources, including employment and education, which, in turn, threatens their economic security and their ability to self-sufficiency. They also identify, as

already pointed out by other authors, that Economic Abuse is a broader term that includes financial abuse, the latter being part of economic abuse that involves similar behaviors, however, it focuses only on money or individual finances and not on other economic resources. Economic abuse includes control of household expenses, isolation from participation in any financial decisions, as well as access to household income. It can also include various work interferences that make the victim dependent on the abuser for economic resources.

As a detriment to the well-being of the victims, Yau et al (2021) point out that Economic Abuse creates a threat to survival, causing short- and long-term mental well-being problems, since the financial impact persists not only in its psychic impacts, but also renews itself (does not cease to occur) over the years, increasing the chance of economic hardship and poverty even in the years following the separation. These financial difficulties, in turn, can increase the risk of depression, stress, and anxiety, including post-traumatic stress and suicide attempts among the surveyed public. Chronic health problems such as headaches, eating and sleep disorders, among others, were mentioned.

Another important finding of this study is that the way to measure Economic Abuse has almost always been through a North American scale, the SEA, (*Scale of Economic Abuse*) in its three versions, as it is so far the first and only instrument developed and validated to assess economic abuse separate from other scales of violence against women. The authors adapted the scale to the culture of Asia, which was poorly represented in their literature search (2 out of 10 articles), but defended the need to expand the application of the scale to different countries, cultures, and languages. It is important to remember that the measure adopted in a study reflects, in practice, the definition of economic abuse adopted. The "scale" or the "questionnaire" are not neutral instruments: they translate, in measurable items, the researcher's conception of the phenomenon and delimit which aspects will be recognized as such. Thus, if a study uses, for example, a scale developed in the United States, it does not matter that the researcher verbally adopts a broader definition. In practice, the operational definition will be that of the North American scale, with all the cuts and limitations that it implies.

The fourth work researched deals with the scoping review of the literature on the impact of Economic Abuse on survivors of Intimate Partner Violence - IPV, which can be considered a review that provides an overview of the publications and a map of the available evidence (Munn et al, 2018). American authors in the field of Social Assistance Laura

Johnson, Yafan Chen, Amanda Stylianou and Alexandra Arnold (2022) searched for studies published since 2000 focused on the impact of Economic Abuse perpetrated by an intimate partner, with EA as an independent variable and analyzed separately from other forms of IPV in a total of 14 databases searched, in addition to convenience and population samples included in the review. We analyzed 35 peer-reviewed articles that met the following criteria: written in English, published since 2000, and focused specifically on the impact of economic abuse perpetrated by an intimate partner. The authors emphasize the ability of EA to transcend beyond physical limits, since it can be practiced from anywhere, with little or no contact with the survivor and with long-term impact, such as when debts generate consequences (credit negative, cutting of basic service bills, etc.). These characteristics are important factors since the stabilized economic situation can be a social determinant of well-being and has a significant influence on the physical and mental health and safety of women victims of violence.

The authors mention the three reviews already described and among the 35 articles, more than half of the studies (n=19) analyze data from samples in the United States. Again, there is no Latin American country, although two studies conducted in the United States relied on entirely Latino samples. In almost all studies, the participant's sexual orientation or gender was unclear, despite using male pronouns in the research items (e.g. He tried to prevent you from going to work/school). Only one study clearly indicated that the perpetrators were male, and two indicated that the sample included participants of both sexes. With the exception of these two studies, the sample of respondents is entirely female for the other studies.

Economic abuse was not defined in seven of the studies analyzed. It was defined in a similar way in 23 studies, but with variations in the specific language used. Some studies have described economic abuse as being: a mechanism of coercion and control (n=8); or even an attitude or behavior (n=1) or an abusive behavior (n=1). Regarding the strategies used by the aggressor, they highlighted those that aimed to hinder the woman's ability to acquire, use and maintain economic resources (n=8), threatening her economic security (n=10) and financial self-sufficiency (n=10). In addition, it was evidenced that these abuses increase the victim's financial dependence on the abusive partner (n=5).

Using the three concepts of EA identified by Postmus (2016), the authors consider that: Economic control (n=10) is the most prevalent; followed by Sabotage of employment (n=7); and Economic exploitation (n=4). The most commonly used measure to assess economic abuse in the studies was once again the Scale of *Economic Abuse* (SEA) or one



of its variations. As a result of the studies, most looked at the financial and mental and physical health impacts of victims of economic abuse, although some studies also examined outcomes related to parenting and childhood, and the woman's quality of life after experiencing EC.

Three articles surveyed highlighted the ways in which cultural norms, including gendered attitudes toward money, family dynamics, and formal and informal economic policies (e.g., unequal inheritance rights), influence the experiences of EA survivors. The authors cite as examples cultures in which women may be restricted from engaging in work activities due to family care obligations or required to keep their financial assets in joint accounts controlled by their husbands, or to fulfill marriage-related traditions such as wedding gifts, bride price, or dowry. which can also be used as forms of control or economic exploitation.

Finally, the authors suggest that future research should continue to explore the ways in which EA impacts women's lives and, subsequently, its consequences for their children. The authors also state that the manuscripts analyzed were exclusively in English and that they are not representative of the general population because they have participants mostly from organizations that support women victims of multiple domestic violence.

Finally, the Peruvian author Henry Fernando Miraya Gutierrez (2023) presents a systematic and conceptual review of the literature in order to, in the legal sphere, defend the criminalization of the practice of property and economic violence in Peruvian legislation without, however, going into the issues regarding the measurement of the phenomenon or its prevalence. The author makes a historical overview of the legal treatment and jurisprudence of the VP in eight Latin American countries (Peru, Uruguay, Colombia, Argentina, El Salvador, Honduras, Panama and Mexico). In the title of her research, she uses the term *Patrimonial and Economic Violence* and defines *Economic Violence* as a more subtle form of family violence that manifests itself when the male partner takes advantage, subtracting or reducing the woman's financial capacity. The aggressors manipulate money, are petty, dishonest in the accounts and force women to perform unwanted acts to receive the necessary support for the home, coercing their wives to obtain domination and sexual oppression, or even make loans in the name of the female partner, later failing to pay the debts assumed. The author argues that treating Property Violence as psychological violence is an error of assessment, as it manifests itself when the element of dependence is money.

### 3.2.2 In Latin America

The thirteen articles found on the topic of "patrimonial violence" in Latin America were mostly developed in the last five years (2018 to 2023), with only two articles from the year 2014. Because these are articles with a qualitative research method, they were not included in the literature reviews, which mostly include quantitative or mixed articles. They were published mostly in Spanish (n=11), the rest in English (n=2). One article makes an overview of several Latin American countries (n=1), and the others deal with the phenomenon in the context of seven countries: Ecuador (n=3), Colombia, Cuba and Chile (n=2), Argentina, Puerto Rico and Mexico (n=1), which represents less than half of the 20 countries that make up Latin America.

Most of the articles define the phenomenon researched (n=10), while 3 do not offer a clear definition. Of the thirteen articles, most of them use the concept of *Property Violence* (n=7), followed by *Economic Violence* (n=5), only the article of Puerto Rico uses the term Economic Abuse (n=1), which may occur because it is an unincorporated territory and with geographical proximity to the United States. Sharp-Jeffs (2021) points out that there are few studies on economic abuse of women in the context of migration, ethnic minority, or transnational marriages, in which there may be a greater scenario of vulnerability. It is important to note that *Patrimonial Violence* is used in four articles in the strict sense of *Property Rights* and two articles use two terms together in Spanish: *Economic Violence or Patrimonial*.

The articles are mostly in the area of law (n=8), being subdivided into Legislation on PV (n=4), Property Rights (n=3) and Human Rights (n=1). The remaining 5 articles are in the area of social policy. In a cross-sectional way, 5 articles deal with the topic of Alimony and how non-payment is a form of PV/EV (three from law and two from the area of social policy). The authors also point out that the existence of several regulations in Latin American countries that aim to protect women's rights against gender-based violence contrasts with the difficulties in interpreting the regulations and their respective application in this region, which is limited compared to existing legislation (Bandeira and Almeida 2015; Londoño-Vasquez, 2020; Deere and Leon, 2021;). A more in-depth analysis of the Latin American articles will be part of another publication.

### 3.2.3 In Brazil

The concept of *Property Violence* in Brazil is, in all publications, guided by the text of the Maria da Penha law (Brasil, 2006). However, the text of the law, although well formulated, raises important discussions about the phenomenon of *Property Violence* in the country. When analyzing the concept of *Economic or Property Violence* adopted by PAHO (2004), it can be observed that it was one of the main sources for the creation of Brazilian law, as pointed out by Bandeira and Almeida (2015) and Spinassi (2024). The concept detailed in the letter of the law is comprehensive and informs the three types of economic abuse described by Postmus et al (2016): 1) economic control; 2) job sabotage; and 3) economic exploitation. However, the law does not make this didactic separation from the tactics of violence, which was suggested by Sharp-Jeffs (2021) to improve the definition of economic abuse in the United Kingdom. The author defends the detailing of the term *any behavior* with the express inclusion of the three proposed definitions (economic control, economic exploitation or sabotage of employment). The equivalent for the Maria da Penha Law (Brazil, 2006) would be the detailing of the term *any conduct*.

The concepts of *economic violence* and *property violence* are sometimes considered synonymous and used interchangeably, according to Deere et al (2014). Although *property violence* is considered a subcategory of *economic violence*, it is important to analytically separate these concepts, since the way of conceptualizing a phenomenon has practical uses, including making the research more precise as to what is being investigated and allowing women who go through PV to identify this specific type of violence more quickly, since naming is to objectify, represent and politicize violence, realizing that it is not an individual and isolated situation (Zanello, 2018).

First, we can classify *economic violence* as "acts that restrict women's ability to manage or control their own income or provide for their families." (Deere et al, 2014). This modality takes the form of various mechanisms to control and monitor women's behavior regarding the use and distribution of money and the threat of denying economic resources (e.g., alimony). The objective, in this case, is to reinforce the man's bonds of dependence (or power) over the woman, leaving him as the traditional "provider" or "breadwinner", in charge of bringing sustenance to the home, while she is placed in the place of "housewife", marked by passivity and seclusion to the domestic space. This form of violence can be considered part of the tactic of economic control described by Postmus (2016), although the control and exercise of power permeate all three tactics of violence described.

Property violence, in turn, may be focused on violations of women's property rights - their ability to own and manage the individual and joint property to which they are entitled, a meaning that is characterized as "minimal" by Deere et al (2014), if compared to the broader concept and considering what was described by the Maria da Penha law (Brazil, 2006). This form, in turn, can be included in both the tactic of economic control and the tactic of economic exploitation, depending on the violence practiced, the ownership of the asset and the nuances involved in the case.

Economic *violence* and *property violence* can be both referred to as synonyms and treated differently, according to Ludermit (2023). The risk of using the same term is the importance that is given to a certain phenomenon to the detriment of another, such as, for example, not giving due attention to issues about the right to property can lead to the non-specific observation of real estate, in general more expensive assets and which are an important marker of power and dominance exercised by men in relation to women (Ludermit, 2023). In this context, interest in property rights is driven by the important role of assets for women, which is considered a factor that improves their "*fallback position*", which describes how well off they would be on their own if their relationship ended (Deere et al, 2014). In theory, a woman who owns her own home will be in a stronger position to end an unsatisfactory marriage than one who does not, because she has the security of a place to live, giving her a position of strength and voice in domestic decisions, as opposed to the popular saying: "there is nowhere to drop dead".

The opposite can also happen, since women who experience Property Violence that does not involve property may have their case mischaracterized by the authorities or even by family and friends, considering an approach that limits the interpretation of the law exclusively to the possession of the property. In addition, even women who own properties can be forced to leave their homes, leaving the property to their ex-partner in order to preserve life, which is illustrated by Lurdemir (2023) through the commonly repeated popular phrase, "the rings go, the fingers remain", described by a woman who was a victim of DV and who left the house she owned to stay alive. This also configures PV, together with other types of physical violence. Another modality would be the "financial compensation" for the end of the marriage, which can be either demanded by the ex-husband or delivered by the ex-wife, either so as not to prolong an already worn out relationship even more, or because one feels obliged to "repair" the other for the act of deciding for divorce.

It is important to consider that crimes against property in Brazil in general are defined by the Penal Code of 1940 and include theft, robbery, usurpation, damage, abandonment, misappropriation, fraud and inducement to speculation (Brasil, 1940). However, they do not specify gender violence, which was included through the Maria da Penha law (Brasil, 2006), which describes that when a property crime is perpetrated against a woman, based on gender, in a domestic, family or intimate relationship context, it constitutes a specific type of domestic violence, known as property violence against women. However, there is a legal provision that may generate conflict between the two laws: Article 181 of the penal code (Brasil, 1940), which grants exemption from punishment to property crimes committed against spouses/partners, ascendants (parents) and descendants (children). In practice, this difference means that, if property violence against women is exercised by these actors, it may not be dealt with in domestic (criminal) violence courts, as with other forms of domestic/family violence, but in (civil) family courts, where attention to gender violence, in general, may be perceived as less expressive (Lurdemir, 2023).

As PV in Brazil is defined and used largely by authors in the legal field, which is a reference for the practical application of the phenomenon, it can be observed that there is no division, detailing and separation between the types and tactics of economic abuse. In this context, and using the three possible tactics of Economic Abuse available in the researched literature, we included Table 3, in which the definitions and aspects that may represent the three tactics of violence appear, as an attempt to make the concept used in Brazil compatible with the international literature, as described by the Maria da Penha Law, the National Council of Justice (CNJ) and the Pan American Health Organization (PAHO).

It is interesting to note that the Maria da Penha law (Brasil, 2006) has criteria to characterize the three tactics and to be equated with international legislation. However, the use ends up being restricted to the right to property compared to the established criteria. This separation can also be important in conducting research, considering that we can assume that women who are economically financially disadvantaged in relation to their partners are more subject to economic control and job sabotage, while women who are financially advantageous in relation to their partners are more susceptible to economic exploitation and its variations, such as emotional embezzlement, as pointed out by the research by Adams et al (2023) that relates economic abuse and financial capacity, credit and the existence of debts of women and their former partners. In addition, the practical, financial, and psychological consequences of experiencing this type of violence can take years to reverse.

In addition, it is necessary to weigh the existence or not of children as a result of this union, which can facilitate or hinder the finances of women, especially those who give up their professional life to take care of their children or those who take care of them without any participation of the parent, whether financially or in terms of the work spent on care activities, thus demonstrating inequality in the care economy (Zanello et al, 2022) and increased time poverty of women who are mothers, which affects them in their professional and economic life both in the present and in the future, for the purpose of retirement (Ferrito, 2019).

**Table 4**

*Types of Economic Abuse and equivalences with the concepts used in Brazil*

| Fonte  | Conceito  |
|--|---|
| CNJ<br>2021, pág. 32<br><br>(grifos dos autores)   | <b>Destrução de bens e propriedade privada, ocultação de patrimônio, subtração da participação nos lucros em sociedades empresárias, invisibilização no recebimento de heranças, apropriação dos rendimentos, inviabilização da administração de recursos financeiros, simulação de contratos, não pagamento de pensão alimentícia.</b>   |
| Maria da Penha<br>Lei Nº 11.340 de<br>07/08/2006, Art. 7º,<br>inciso IV.<br>(grifos dos autores)   | <b><u>Retenção, subtração, destruição parcial ou total de seus objetos, instrumentos de trabalho, documentos pessoais, bens, valores e direitos ou recursos econômicos, incluindo os destinados a satisfazer suas necessidades.</u></b>   |
| OPAS<br>2004, pág.19<br><br>(grifos dos autores)   | <b>Medidas tomadas pelo agressor ou omissões que afetam a sobrevivência dos familiares. Pode implicar na perda da casa e na não cobertura de pagamentos de pensão alimentícia, entre outros. Em algumas legislações, a violência patrimonial está relacionada a limitações econômicas como a gestão e controle salarial, a exclusão em contas bancárias e a exclusão em sociedades em que estão incluídos o patrimônio ou capitais familiares, entre outros. As diferentes leis não especificam claramente o que se entende por violência patrimonial. Alguns a definem como qualquer ação ou omissão que envolva perda, transformação, subtração, destruição, retenção ou distração de objetos, documentos pessoais, bens, valores, direitos ou recursos econômicos destinados a satisfazer as necessidades de qualquer uma das pessoas vulneráveis a este tipo de violência; podendo englobar os danos causados ao bem comum ou à vítima.</b> |
| <b>Legenda: Tipos de Abuso Econômico descritos na literatura internacional</b>   |   |
| <b>Controle econômico:</b><br>Comportamentos que impedem a vítima de ter acesso ou conhecimento das finanças ou qualquer poder de decisão financeira <b>(grafado em negrito)</b> . | <b>Sabotagem de emprego:</b><br>Comportamentos que impedem a vítima de obter ou manter um emprego, incluindo atividades educacionais <u>(grafado Sublinhado)</u> .  |
|  | <b>Exploração econômica:</b><br>Comportamentos destinados a destruir os recursos financeiros ou de crédito da vítima em benefício próprio ou de outros <i>(grafado em itálico)</i> .  |

Source: The authors

Keeping similar meanings in English, the most used terms are *economic abuse* or *financial abuse*, expressions whose literal translation in Brazil refers more directly to Law No. 4,137, which deals with the regulation and repression of the abuse of economic power, linked to the regulation of markets, competition and monopoly (Brasil, 1962).

In Brazil, the term *Property Violence* ends up being used largely as a violation of the right to property, along the lines described by Deere (2022, 2021, 2014) and Ludemir (2023, 2021), which can be described in English as *Property Rights*. The five Brazilian publications are restricted to the use of the concept in this sense: property rights as described in Martins-Britto & Zanello (2025).

It can be observed that there is a wide variety of terms used by the authors when referring to the phenomenon of PV in world publications. In Brazil, although the Maria da Penha law is broad and always mentioned in the description of the types of violence (Brasil, 2006), its practical application can be somewhat challenging. Despite the scope of the concept used by the Maria da Penha Law, its application in articles written at the national level appears more restricted to the field of law or development of urban studies, referring only to the right of patrimony linked to the possession of land/house/real estate.

#### 4 CONCLUSION

Analyzing the 23 publications described, it is observed that Latin America, despite being the second in number of articles (n=18) in the universe of 96 articles located in the initial research, which represents 19% of the sample, ends up being underrepresented in the Multi-Country cross-cultural reviews. Of the five reviews analyzed, only one deals with the topic in the region. Brazil, in turn, has 5 articles on the subject, one of them in English, but it is not included in any review analyzed, not even in the review made on Latin America. And this invisibility can be attributed to the choice of the term Property Violence, which may have triggered the unintended effect of diluting the evidence base for research purposes, reinforcing the hypothesis raised by Postmus et al (2020). We can also point out the qualitative nature of the surveys, which doubly exclude them from multi-country surveys.

On the other hand, from the conceptual development of these cross-cultural studies, it is necessary to point out that if the occurrence of Economic Abuse is considered invisible violence in the world, both Latin America and more specifically Brazil confirm this reality, as they have several studies on the subject but portray it in a restricted way in the publications available in the researched databases.

As for the use of the concept, it was found that it is minimal close to the potential, and much lower than what is described by the Maria da Penha Law itself. Of the three dimensions of Economic Abuse proposed by Postmus et al (2016) (Economic Control, Economic Exploitation and Employment Sabotage) and cited in the Maria da Penha Law in a non-specific way, the use of the concept is restricted to real estate, being closer to the concept of property rights than necessarily to the Property Violence described in the letter of the law.

In addition, it can be observed that the concept of Economic Abuse, considered synonymous with Property Violence as described by the law (Brasil, 2006) is broad, and encompasses the other concepts considered as "minor", as described in Figure 2:

It is thus highlighted that, although "Property Violence" has a broad concept, its use is restricted, which can have several implications, such as the victim's difficulty in perceiving violence, difficulty in characterizing property violence as a crime outside the civil sphere, and the challenges to measure its frequency and prevalence. In addition to apprehending that there is no consensus on conceptual issues, it is also pointed out that there are several uses for the concept of Property Violence and one can even observe a conflict between them, which in turn reflect the conflicts of the concrete relationships in which property violence appears and in which the concept is put into practice. It is true to say that it is not possible to reach unanimity on the use of the concept, nor is it the objective of this publication. However, from this work of conceptual analysis, it is intended to problematize the meanings of Patrimonial Violence in Brazil, giving visibility to the phenomenon, in order to fight for an expansion of both the use of the concept in the legal sphere, its "house of origin", and in the awareness of women who go through this type of violence.

It is also worth noting that this is a type of violence that is made invisible in a double way, which we call double damage. On the one hand, when the side of patrimonial damage is emphasized, the gendered character of the violence that affects women in the context of power inequality is made invisible. On the other hand, when the generated character is emphasized, the main objective of the Maria da Penha law, there is the possibility of making it invisible that it is a crime of robbery, violence against the victim's property, a type of conduct that in other contexts is harshly punished, but in the context of the couple, apart from the specific issues about the right to property, it may end up confirming the literature, demonstrating an invisible form of violence. It is also necessary to consider that this is a form of patriarchal power that is extended in time and that often begins years before being named as such and that continues to harm the woman for years after the separation.



**Figure 2**

*Economic Abuse divided between the three related tactics and concepts*



Source: The authors.

In short, conceptual development is essential for the visibility, quantification and measurement of the phenomenon of "Patrimonial Violence" in Brazil.

It is also important to point out that even though there are conceptual differences, several articles deal with the LA/PV theme, but do not define it (n= 36 in total). The lack of clarity in the definition can lead to negative impacts on research carried out in this area, including the category errors described by Gutierrez (2023), as well as to the practical difficulty in applying the legal norms that should protect women.

Another important observation concerns the prevalence of the studies, most of which are located in the United States of America. This centralization ends up making it difficult to know and carry out research in other locations, especially in Brazil. These are studies that represent the American continent, but do not reflect the reality of a large part of the continent, composed of Brazil and Latin America, which is very diverse in its culture, economic development and gender equality. In addition, it is a field more researched by the area of law and social policy, with little research on the impact on women in terms of mental health and its consequences on the future financial stability of women who have been victims of Property Violence, which can reinforce female impoverishment.

Finally, the research was carried out in a broad and exploratory way, so that all authors defended the need to elaborate new investigations, expanding the geographical scope and the languages used. In addition, the need for more research aimed at characterizing Economic Abuse as a modality of gender violence was pointed out. Although all studies indicate that women are the main victims in the prevalence of PV cases, and men are the perpetrators, the neutral nature of the discussion is generally maintained, which again makes it difficult to make visible this phenomenon that affects women so much. In this context, it is necessary to highlight the need to carry out research on Property Violence against women in Brazil, from a gender perspective, and beyond the legal field.

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