

VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN TOCANTINS: ANALYSIS OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AND FEMICIDE CRIMES IN THE POST-PANDEMIC PERIOD

VIOÊNCIA CONTRA MULHER NO TOCANTINS: ANÁLISE DOS CRIMES DE VIOÊNCIA DOMÉSTICA E FEMENICÍDIO NO PERÍODO PÓS- PANDEMIA

VIOLENCIA CONTRA LAS MUJERES EN TOCANTINS: ANÁLISIS DE LOS DELITOS DE VIOLENCIA DOMÉSTICA Y FEMENICIDIO EN EL PERÍODO POSPANDÉMICO

 <https://doi.org/10.56238/sevened2025.036-018>

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ABSTRACT

The fight against gender-based violence remains one of the most serious forms of denial of fundamental rights in Brazil, with worrying rates persisting despite recent legal advances. In Tocantins, cases of gender-motivated killings and domestic aggressions are structural phenomena, intensified by cultural and socioeconomic conditions. This study aimed to examine the evolution of such offenses between 2022 and 2024, focusing on the effects of the post-COVID-19 pandemic context on their incidence, recurring motives, and institutional mechanisms created for victim protection. The research adopted a bibliographic and documentary design, guided by the hypothetical-deductive method, and considered as central references Law No. 11.340/2006, known as the Maria da Penha legislation, and Law No. 13.104/2015, which classified femicide as a criminal type. Data were collected from official reports issued by the Public Security Secretariat of Tocantins (SSP/TO) and analyzed through descriptive statistics combined with content analysis. Findings reveal that, even with consolidated legal frameworks, the rates remain high, underscoring the urgency of more effective public policies and the expansion of specialized support networks in the interior regions of the state.

Keywords: Gender-Based Violence. Femicide in Tocantins. Post-COVID Pandemic. Protection Actions. Support System

RESUMO

O enfrentamento à violência dirigida a mulheres ainda representa uma das mais graves formas de negação dos direitos fundamentais no Brasil, mantendo índices preocupantes mesmo diante dos avanços legais recentes. No Tocantins, os casos de assassinatos motivados por gênero e de agressões no ambiente doméstico configuram fenômenos estruturais, agravados por condições culturais e socioeconômicas. Este estudo buscou

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analisar a evolução desses delitos entre 2022 e 2024, observando os impactos do contexto pós-pandemia da COVID-19 sobre sua ocorrência, os fatores motivadores recorrentes e os mecanismos institucionais criados para proteção. A pesquisa, de natureza bibliográfica e documental, foi conduzida pelo método hipotético-dedutivo, tomando como referenciais centrais a Lei nº 11.340/2006, conhecida como legislação Maria da Penha, e a Lei nº 13.104/2015, que tipificou o feminicídio. As informações foram coletadas em relatórios oficiais da Secretaria de Segurança Pública do Tocantins (SSP/TO) e submetidas a estatística descritiva combinada à análise de conteúdo. Os resultados indicam que, mesmo com instrumentos jurídicos consolidados, os índices permanecem elevados, reforçando a necessidade de políticas públicas mais eficazes e da expansão da rede de atendimento especializado no interior do estado.

Palavras-chave: Violência Motivada por Gênero. Feminicídio em Tocantins. Pós-Pandemia da COVID. Ações de Proteção. Sistema de Atendimento.

RESUMEN

La lucha contra la violencia contra las mujeres sigue representando una de las formas más graves de negación de los derechos fundamentales en Brasil, manteniendo índices preocupantes incluso a la luz de los recientes avances legales. En Tocantins, los casos de asesinato por motivos de género y violencia doméstica representan fenómenos estructurales, agravados por las condiciones culturales y socioeconómicas. Este estudio buscó analizar la evolución de estos delitos entre 2022 y 2024, observando los impactos del contexto pospandemia de COVID-19 en su ocurrencia, los factores motivadores recurrentes y los mecanismos institucionales creados para su protección. La investigación, de naturaleza bibliográfica y documental, se realizó mediante el método hipotético-deductivo, tomando como referencias centrales la Ley n.º 11.340/2006, conocida como la ley Maria da Penha, y la Ley n.º 13.104/2015, que penalizó el feminicidio. La información se recopiló de informes oficiales de la Secretaría de Seguridad Pública de Tocantins (SSP/TO) y se sometió a estadística descriptiva combinada con análisis de contenido. Los resultados indican que, incluso con instrumentos legales consolidados, las tasas siguen siendo elevadas, lo que refuerza la necesidad de políticas públicas más efectivas y de la ampliación de la red de atención especializada en el interior del estado.

Palabras clave: Violencia de Género. Femicidio en Tocantins. Pospandemia de COVID-19. Medidas de Protección. Sistema de Servicios.

1 INTRODUCTION

Aggressions directed at the female public are configured as serious transgressions of fundamental guarantees, remaining a persistent global challenge. It is a structural problem that affects women in multiple community and cultural environments, evidencing its historical permanence. The Atlas of Violence points out that about a third of women on the planet have already been victims of bodily attacks, which reveals the magnitude of the problem (IPEA, 2024; WHO, 2020).

In Brazil, the picture presents similar complexity. Domestic occurrences and gender-related murders remain at a high level, producing relevant collective effects and significant economic costs (FBSP, 2024). To face this scenario, significant legal frameworks were instituted: Law No. 11,340/2006 created innovative mechanisms aimed at supporting victims and punishing the perpetrators of aggression (BRASIL, 2006); Law No. 13,104/2015 began to recognize femicide as a qualifying circumstance for homicide (BRASIL, 2015); and Law No. 14,994/2024 transformed it into an autonomous criminal type, expanding sanctions and strengthening the legal debate (BRASIL, 2024). Even with these advances, records of violence remained high and intensified in the period after the pandemic, influenced by social isolation, economic difficulties, and the overload of public services (CUNHA, 2020; BRAZIL, 2025; UN WOMEN, 2016).

In Tocantins, territorial and cultural factors increase the complexity. The difficulty in expanding specialized services and the vulnerabilities that affect indigenous, quilombola, and riverine groups result in a critical scenario (MOREIRA, 2024; RIBEIRO, 2017). Actions such as the Maria da Penha Patrol and the Phoenix Project, implemented in Araguaína, have made progress, but official data on homicides of women and intrafamily violence reveal that such initiatives are still not enough to reverse the situation (TOCANTINS, 2025).

The work proposes to investigate the dynamics of gender abuse in Tocantins, articulating scientific production with social demands. The research adopts a qualitative-quantitative approach, of exploratory and descriptive character, guided by the hypothetical-deductive method. Bibliographic, documental and statistical analyses are combined, as well as theoretical and normative references, giving greater robustness to the interpretations (BARDIN, 2011; MARCONI; LAKATOS, 2017).

The main objective is to examine the cases of domestic violence and femicides registered in Tocantins between 2022 and 2024, considering the impacts of the period after the pandemic, seeking, in a specific way, to measure the variation of indicators, map

elements of vulnerability, assess the limits and advances of public policies and present recommendations for the improvement of mechanisms to prevent and combat abuse in the family environment.

2 MATERIAL AND METHODS

The research was developed with a qualitative-quantitative approach, of exploratory and descriptive character, supported by the hypothetical-deductive method, according to the guidelines of Petenate (2013). The concept of scientific investigation presented by Marconi and Lakatos (2017) was used, which emphasize the importance of methodological rigor in the construction of knowledge. It was hypothesized that the indicators of intrafamily violence recorded in Tocantins, between 2022 and 2024, underwent changes related to the sociopolitical and organizational scenario after the COVID-19 pandemic. The analysis sought to confirm or refute this hypothesis based on empirical information combined with theoretical and normative references.

Data collection was organized into three complementary stages. Initially, a literature and documentary review was carried out based on the PRISMA protocol (*Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses*), which ensures transparency and traceability in the selection of sources (MOHER et al., 2009). Next, a qualitative analysis was carried out, based on the content analysis technique proposed by Bardin (2011), applied to legislation, institutional reports, government plans — with emphasis on the State Plan for Women's Rights 2022–2025 (TOCANTINS, 2022) — and scientific productions. Finally, a descriptive quantitative analysis was carried out, involving the calculation of frequencies, percentages and annual variations of records made available by the Department of Public Security and the Military Police of Tocantins.

The materials analyzed covered national and state legislation, including the Federal Constitution of 1988, Law No. 11,340/2006 (Maria da Penha Law) and its amendments, Law No. 14,994/2024 (Femicide Law) and other state regulations (TOCANTINS, 2019). Official reports, action plans, public policies to combat gender violence, as well as scientific articles, dissertations, theses, and institutional communications identified throughout the systematic review were also considered.

The period investigated corresponded to the years 2022 to 2024, a phase marked by the reopening of social, economic, and administrative activities after the restrictions established by Federal Law No. 13,979/2020 and the guidelines of the World Health

Organization (WHO). This context may have impacted both the frequency of crimes against women and the response capacity of public institutions.

The treatment of the data followed a deductive and interpretative approach, starting from general assumptions about gender violence in Brazil until reaching specific conclusions for Tocantins. To increase the reliability of the results, triangulation of sources was applied, cross-referencing legislation, reports, official statistics and scientific literature. As Petenate (2013) points out, this strategy confers greater methodological robustness and reduces biases, allowing for more consistent inferences

3 CONCEPTUAL AND LEGAL ASPECTS OF THE PROTECTION OF WOMEN

Acts of violence against women are a complex phenomenon that, in the Brazilian legal system, is defined by a set of rules that aim to promote the complete protection of women's dignity. Cunha (2020) observes that conflicts that occur in the domestic environment can be understood as offensive acts practiced against women in family or intimate living spaces, exploiting their position of inequality. This understanding expands the concept of violence, making it clear that it is not restricted to physical aggression, but encompasses psychological, sexual, moral and patrimonial dimensions, composing a multifaceted picture of rights violations.

In the criminal field, Brazilian legislation has advanced by recognizing femicide as a qualified form of homicide through Law No. 13,104/2015, which included this framework in the Penal Code. This recognition establishes that the death of women motivated by gender reasons must receive differentiated legal treatment, especially in situations that occur in the intrafamily environment resulting from inequality and/or debasement of this condition. Subsequently, Law No. 14,994/2024 made significant progress by transforming this criminal act into an autonomous criminal type, now provided for in article 121-A of the Penal Code. With this update, the punishment moved to an interval of 20 to 40 years of imprisonment, classifying it among the most serious crimes in the legal system and reinforcing the need for punitive responses and more effective actions (BRASIL, 2024)

It should be noted that the enactment of Law No. 14,994/2024 was not limited to transforming femicide into an autonomous criminal type; it also made important adjustments to Law No. 11,340/2006. The modifications expanded the scope of protection measures, streamlined the procedures for granting these measures, and strengthened the mechanisms for punishing offenders. With these changes, the legislation began to offer faster and more

effective responses, aimed at safeguarding women and confronting gender violence practices. (BRAZIL, 2006; BRAZIL, 2024).

4 THEORETICAL AND NORMATIVE APPROACHES TO FEMALE SAFEGUARDING

The harmful conducts that affect the female public in Tocantins are a social and legal problem of great relevance, marked by cultural, regional and institutional particularities. Examining this issue requires going beyond the mere observance of legal provisions. It is necessary to articulate these instruments with theoretical frameworks that make it possible to interpret both vulnerability factors and institutional responses to femicide and attacks in the post-pandemic context (WALKER, 1979; MOREIRA, 2024).

4.1 INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE AND NORMATIVE FRAMEWORKS

On the international scene, essential documents have been consolidated. The Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence against Women – known as the Convention of Belém do Pará (1994) – recognized this violence as a violation of human rights and attributed to States the duty to prevent it, punish those responsible and promote eradication policies. At the Brazilian level, this commitment resulted in legal frameworks recognized worldwide. Among them, the Maria da Penha Law (Law No. 11,340/2006) stands out, which classified the various forms of offensive conduct in the home and instituted protection mechanisms and emergency measures aimed at women's integrity (BRASIL, 2006; OAS, 1994).

4.2 ECOLOGICAL MODEL FOR UNDERSTANDING CONFLICTS

The population health model, widely disseminated by the WHO, interprets these occurrences as the result of the interaction of four levels: individual, relational, community and sociocultural (WHO, 2002). This broader perspective shows that these are not just isolated episodes, but a set of factors that reinforce each other. In Tocantins, aspects such as excessive alcohol use, illegal availability of weapons, and barriers to access to services in rural and riverside regions significantly increase women's exposure to risk situations (MOREIRA, 2024).

4.3 DYNAMICS OF THE CYCLE OF ABUSE

Walker (1979) described marital violence as a cyclical process, composed of three phases: the accumulation of tension, the explosion of aggression and reconciliation, characterized by apologies or promises of change from the aggressor. This pattern generates in the victim the expectation that the partner can become and also that keeps him trapped in an unequal power relationship. Later studies identified variations: in some situations, the reconciliation phase disappears, making the cycle more direct and lethal; in others, it is replaced by periods of silence and withdrawal, equally marked by intimidation and psychological control (DOBASH; DOBASH, 2004).

In Tocantins, the permanence of women in abusive relationships is not explained only by economic dependence. Research points to factors such as low education, lack of knowledge about rights, difficulty in accessing support services outside the capital, persistent fear of the partner, responsibilities with young children, and lack of social or psychological support (MOREIRA, 2024).

Added to this scenario are the continuity of patriarchal values and the cultural acceptance of these acts in family relationships, which reinforces imprisonment and restricts women's autonomy (SAFFIOTI, 2004). This picture demonstrates that the cycle of abuse should not be analyzed only from an individual or relational perspective, but as an expression of historical structures of gender disparity, sustained by cultural practices and institutional weaknesses. Understanding these dimensions is crucial to construct government guidelines that also guarantee immediate protection and transformation of the social conditions that maintain this situation (WALKER, 1979; SAFFIOTI, 2004; MOREIRA, 2024).

4.4 COERCIVE CONTROL AND INVISIBLE FORMS OF DOMINATION

Stark (2007) developed the notion of coercive control, which broadens the understanding of power dynamics by showing that this phenomenon is not restricted to physical harm. It consists of a continuous pattern of imposition, exercised methodologically planned through emotional, psychological, economic and collective resources. Among the recurrent behaviors, the following stand out: social isolation (restriction of friendships and family contacts), surveillance of habits and communications (monitoring of cell phones, messages and others), financial control (appropriation of salary, limitation of resources) and emotional intimidation (blackmail involving children, threats or public defamation) (STARK, 2007; BANDEIRA, 2014).

Another important aspect is the use of the institutions themselves as an instrument of coercion. In these situations, the perpetrator of the abuse manipulates police records, threatens to remove responsibility for the children or uses the judicial bureaucracy as a strategy of psychological and economic exhaustion. Research shows that, in several situations, psychological and institutional pressure overlaps with physical pressure, creating even more complex obstacles to the autonomy of victims (PASINATO, 2011; FILE; GONÇALVES, 2018).

In Tocantins, this situation also occurs. In 2024, Dial 180 recorded an increase of 18.3% in service records and 14.8% in complaints compared to the previous year, indicating greater visibility of forms of psychological and technological abuse (BRASIL, 2025). These data confirm that confronting these practices requires recognizing the subtle and "invisible" forms of hierarchical imposition, which silently erode female autonomy and challenge the effectiveness of the protection system.

4.5 INTERSECTIONALITY AND OVERLAPPING VULNERABILITIES

The notion of intersectionality, formulated by Crenshaw (1989), demonstrates how different systems of oppression – sex, ethnicity and class – intersect, producing peculiar forms of submission. In Brazil, authors such as Carneiro (2003) and Ribeiro (2017) show that Afro-descendant or brown women face particular vulnerabilities, marked by the combination of structural racism and socioeconomic inequality. The same occurs with indigenous women and women from traditional communities, who are often excluded from access to basic health services, the justice system and institutional support.

In Tocantins, the issue is intensified by the great geographical distances and the difficulty of expanding specialized services. Indigenous, quilombola, and riverine women face additional obstacles, such as cultural discrimination, institutional racism, and denial of linguistic rights. The absence of ethnic-racial data in official records increases this invisibility, making it difficult to formulate effectively intersectional public policies (CRENSHAW, 1989; CARNEIRO, 2003; RIBEIRO, 2017).

4.6 MASCULINITIES AND PRACTICES OF DOMINATION

Connell (1995) presented the notion of hegemonic masculinity, which exalts attributes such as virility, strength, and power of control, establishing standards that legitimize female

subordination. Such cultural construction goes beyond the individual sphere, permeating social structures, shaping expectations of behavior and naturalizing forms of coercion.

In Brazil, surveys by the Brazilian Security Forum indicate that a large portion of homicides of women result from the refusal to maintain the relationship, evidencing a pattern of male ownership and resistance to female autonomy (FBSP, 2024). In Tocantins, the records confirm this reality: in several situations, marital separation or unaccepted breakup was the central motivation, reflecting the perception that the body and life in women are treated as the property of the partner.

Femicide, therefore, should not be interpreted as an isolated fact, but as the extreme manifestation of a system of systematic male pressure, sustained by cultural narratives and management habits that still tend to relativize the seriousness of the phenomenon. The maintenance of the term "crime of passion" in news reports and the opposition of conservative sectors to the full application of the laws reinforce this logic (SAFFIOTI, 2004; CONNELL, 1995; FBSP, 2024).

5 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The survey shows that, in the period between 2022 and 2024, Tocantins presented a heterogeneous panorama of gender-based aggressions. The tables reveal not only the dimension of the problem, but also changes in its spatial configuration.

The Secretariat of Public Security of Tocantins (SSP-TO) discloses the crimes under study separating Palmas (capital) and Araguaína, the second largest municipality, grouping the others in the "Interior" category. This methodological option is adequate, as it considers the population weight of these cities and the effect of specific local policies, such as the Phoenix Project and Operation Atrium. As the official reports do not present individualized numbers for intermediate-sized municipalities such as Gurupi, Porto Nacional and Paraíso, it was not possible to make isolated comparisons for these locations.

5.1 RESULTS

According to the survey, the information was systematized in absolute and relative numbers, as shown in table 1. With this, it was possible to visualize the evolution of the records in relation to the territorial distribution.



Table 1

Occurrences of femicide in Tocantins (2022–2024)

Year	Palmas (n)	Palmas (%)	Araguaína (n)	Araguaína (%)	Total
2022	8	57.1%	2	14.3%	14
2023	7	41.2%	1	5.9%	17
2024	6	42.9%	0	0.0%	14

Source: SSP/TO (2025).

Table 1 presents the distribution of femicides recorded in Tocantins between 2022 and 2024, discriminating occurrences in Palmas and Araguaína and indicating the relative percentages. It is observed that the total number remained stable in the period, with 14 records in 2022, 17 in 2023 and again 14 in 2024.

Palmas concentrated most of the cases in all the years analyzed, ranging from 57.1% in 2022 to 42.9% in 2024, which reveals a slight proportional reduction. Araguaína showed a continuous drop, going from two cases in 2022 to just one in 2023 and reaching zero in 2024. This downward trajectory suggests a positive effect of local policies, such as the Phoenix Project and Operation Átria (TOCANTINS, 2024; MJSP, 2023).

The joint reading of these numbers allows us to highlight two central findings: the persistence of high rates in the capital and the localized reduction in Araguaína. These results reinforce the importance of territorialized policies and continuous monitoring of indicators to understand the factors that affect the dynamics of crimes in the state.

Ligue 180 records indicate that, between 2023 and 2024, there was a significant growth in the number of calls (18.3%) and formal complaints (14.8%), as shown in table 2. More than indicating a simple increase in violence, these numbers suggest an increase in women's access to support channels and greater trust in protection institutions. This movement may be associated with social mobilization campaigns, such as Agosto Lilás, and the expansion of the support system, which have contributed to reducing underreporting and making the problem more visible.

Table 2

Calls and complaints in Dial 180 (2023–2024): absolute numbers and percentages of variation

Year	Attendances (n)	Change (%)	Complaints (n)	Change (%)
2023	3.681	-	549	-
2024	4.353	18.3%	630	14.8%

Source: Ministry of Women (2025).

In a cross-reading of the two tables, it is possible to identify three movements: I - persistence of high levels of femicide, even without growth in total; II - differentiated effects of local policies, with Araguaína zeroing the registrations while the interior expanded its participation; and III - strengthening of institutionalized denunciation, evidenced by the growing use of Dial 180. These elements dialogue directly with the research question: to understand how the post-pandemic period influenced the patterns of oppression and gender abuse in the State. The scenario suggests that the social tensions of the period may have kept violence at high levels, but well-targeted policies, when applied consistently, have the potential to alter local trajectories.

The interpretative analysis was conducted by inference, starting from general premises about gender violence in Brazil and advancing to the reality of Tocantins. The objective was to relate the statistical data to current regulations and scientific evidence, building a broader reading of the phenomenon. Table 3 summarizes this path, articulating evidence, sources and conclusions at different levels of analysis.

Table 3

Interpretative and deductive approach to gender aggressions in Brazil and Tocantins

Level of analysis	Key evidence	Triangulated fonts	Interpretative conclusions
General Assumptions (Brazil)	High prevalence of gender-based violence; femicide recognized by law (Law 13,104/2015);	Federal legislation, national studies (IPEA, FBSP, UN Women).	Violence against women is structural and requires an intersectoral response.

		national policies to confront it.		
Regional trends (North/Midwest)		Rates above the national average; marked underreporting; barriers to access services.	FBSP reports, academic literature on peripheral regions.	Regional inequality intensifies female vulnerabilities.
State context (Tocantins)		Stable femicides in absolute numbers (2022–2024); increased use of Dial 180; specific policies in Araguaína (Phoenix Project, Operation Atrium).	SSP/TO, Ministry of Women, official press.	The phenomenon combines structural permanence with specific local advances.
Specific conclusions		Significant reduction in Araguaína; interior concentrates more cases; institutional strengthening through campaigns.	Statistical data, government reports, supporting literature.	Focused territorial policies can change local realities.

Source: Prepared by the authors based on legislation, institutional reports, statistical data and scientific literature (2025).

The examination of Table 3, interpretative and deductive, begins at the national level. According to data released by UN Women in 2023, Brazil remains among the countries with the highest rates of femicide in the world, which shows that gender-based aggression remains a structural phenomenon. This data also reveals the seriousness of the problem and helps to understand why the object under debate has been treated not only as a criminal issue, but also as a matter of public health and the dignity of the person. There were legislative achievements and undeniable advances. However, recent data from the FBSP (2024) and IPEA (2023) indicate that such norms, although fundamental, have not been sufficient to stop the escalation of intrafamily brutality. There is still a distance between the legal provision and the daily reality that exposes weaknesses in the execution of the law and gaps in the support network



In the North and Midwest regions, the situation is aggravated by underreporting, lack of specific investigation units in many cities, and reduced supply of shelters. Regional studies show that indigenous, quilombola, and rural women are even more exposed, either because of the geographical distance of services or because of historical conditions of inequality.

In Tocantins, this logic is repeated with its own nuances. Occurrences of femicide remained stable between 2022 and 2024, but their territorial distribution changed. Palmas continued to concentrate in most of the records; Araguaína, on the other hand, showed a downward trajectory until it reached zero in 2024, a result associated with focused policies such as the Phoenix Project and Operation Atrium. Meanwhile, the interior began to accumulate the age of majority in number of occurrences, showing that, without the same intensity of government guidelines, violence persists or even intensifies. At the same time, there was a significant increase in calls and complaints from Dial 180, which suggests both greater institutional trust and greater visibility of the problem. It is not possible to say that there was more violence, but there was certainly more willingness to report it and seek shelter.

The specific findings reinforce two central ideas. The first is that the violence linked to the manifestations of inequalities under study is persistent, structural in nature, and will hardly be eliminated by isolated measures. The second is that intersectoral policies and territorialities can generate concrete impacts. The experience of Araguaína, where precautionary and repressive measures were combined with community communication strategies, shows that it is possible to change local trajectories. This case reveals a broader lesson: it is not enough to have advanced legislation; It is essential to ensure its effective implementation, strengthen the support system and adapt the actions to the particularities of each territory.

These findings suggest that gender-based violence is multicausal and that its mitigation depends on a combination of intersectoral policies, strengthening of the reception network, and actions adapted to local specificities. The experience of Araguaína demonstrates that, when prevention, repression and community awareness are articulated, it is possible to significantly reduce the incidence of cases.

5.2 DISCUSSION

The apparent stability in the total number of these crimes cannot be confused with immobility. Behind the numbers, there are distinct movements between the territories. Palmas

maintained high rates, the interior expanded its participation and Araguaína managed to reduce occurrences to zero in 2024. This variation demonstrates that abusive investments respond directly to the intensity and quality of institutional policies. The example of Araguaína, where the Phoenix Project and Operation Átria were applied more consistently, reinforces that focused and articulated actions can transform local realities. This result dialogues with Castro (2002), when he highlights the strength of integrated security strategies in delimited contexts, and also with Baldissera (2008), for whom institutional communication, when well directed, enhances the reach of policies.

The growth of calls and complaints on Dial 180 suggests another relevant movement: the consolidation of social trust in official channels. It is not only about an increase in violence, but an increase in the willingness to denounce. Campaigns such as Agosto Lilás and articulated operations reinforced this visibility. Kunsch (2003) had already observed that the combination of wide-ranging institutional messages and proximity actions increases both the victim's perception of protection and the risk perceived by the aggressor.

When looking at the whole, a fundamental problem emerges: regional inequalities. Municipalities with a stronger institutional presence advanced, while areas with low coverage maintained high rates. This disparity is consistent with the analyses of Saffioti (2004) and Connell (1995), who relate these abusive attitudes to patriarchal structures and the maintenance of hegemonic masculinities. In other words, the absence of the State in certain territories allows the reproduction of dynamics of oppression that resist despite advances in legislation.

The discussion also requires an intersectional perspective. Authors such as Crenshaw (1989) and Ribeiro (2017) draw attention to the class of black, indigenous, and quilombola women, who face overlapping social, economic, and racial vulnerabilities. The lack of these cuts in official statistics makes part of the abuse invisible and limits the formulation of specific policies. Thus, although the data reveal some advances, it is likely that a significant portion of the cases remain out of the records.

The findings in Table 3 reinforce this deductive interpretation. Starting from the general premises of Brazil, marked by high rates of femicide although progressing in the legislatures, we arrive at the specific conclusions of Tocantins. The state picture mirrors the national structure, but also shows how localized policies can alter trajectories. Araguaína has become an example of how intersectoral strategies — combining repression, prevention, and community communication — produce visible effects. In contrast, the interior demonstrates

how the absence of these policies magnifies inequalities. The deductive reading, therefore, shows that crimes are simultaneously structural and territorial phenomena.

It is necessary to acknowledge, however, the limitations of this study. Underreporting remains an obstacle, the lack of data disaggregated by race prevents a more accurate analysis, and methodological differences between agencies make direct comparisons difficult. These weaknesses do not invalidate the results, but reinforce the urgency of more integrated and standardized databases.

In summary, these abusive attitudes mentioned in Tocantins reflect the Brazilian contradictions: persistent and structural, but also sensitive to well-designed policies. The data confirm that legislation is a necessary condition, but not sufficient. It is necessary to expand the territorial presence of the State, invest in institutional communication and incorporate intersectional cuts. Only then will it be possible to transform specific advances into lasting changes.

6 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

In summary, this study allowed us to understand that gender abuse in Tocantins, between 2022 and 2024, remained at high levels, but presented important transformations in its territorial distribution. The results show that, although femicides remained stable, the main difference between the regions analyzed was significant: Palmas maintained high rates, Araguaína reduced to zero occurrences in 2024, and the interior had an increase in occurrences.

These results reinforce the understanding that this type of crime continues to be a structurally based phenomenon, but sensitive to the implementation of targeted policies. The Araguaína experiment is in line with the conviction that the combination of qualified repression, community prevention and institutional communication can change local realities. On the other hand, the interior of the state, without similar coverage, ratifies that the lack of structured actions keeps abuses at high levels.

The results also point to another advance: the growth of Ligue 180. This data suggests greater social trust in official channels and corroborates the importance of public integration and educational campaigns. It can be considered that this institutional strengthening is a positive indicator, although insufficient in the face of the persistence of femicides.

The contributions of this work are located in the critical analysis of the post-pandemic scenario and in the practical demonstration that intersectoral policies can generate



measurable impacts. The study provides subsidies for both public managers and researchers, by expressing the demands to territorialize policies and increase the internalization of the support system.

The limitations for this study were the underreporting of records, the lack of information disaggregated by cultural characteristics, and methodological differences between agencies. These constraints limit the scope of the conclusions, but do not invalidate the identified trend. The results would be more conclusive if there were more standardized and complete databases, especially with intersectional cuts.

For future work, it is recommended the introduction of qualitative data on the concrete cases of the victims, the deepening of the intersectional analysis and the longitudinal evaluation of the public policies implemented. Such advances can offer a more comprehensive picture and contribute to more effective coping strategies.

To recover the initial argument, it can be generalized that violence against women in Tocantins reflects national patterns, but also demonstrates that well-structured policies are capable of changing local trajectories. The challenge, therefore, is to transform successful one-off experiences into permanent practices, with reach throughout the state.

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