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The alarming reality of femicide in Roraima in light of the intersectionality between gender and race-ethnicity

A realidade alarmante do feminicídio em Roraima à luz da interseccionalidade entre gênero e raça-etnia

La alarmante realidad del feminicidio en Roraima a la luz de la interseccionalidad entre género y raza-etnia

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ABSTRACT

Objective: To analyze the panorama of femicide cases in Roraima based on data provided by the Gender Violence Monitoring Dashboard of the Roraima State Court of Justice, considering the intersection between the social categories of gender and race-ethnicity. **Methods:** This cross-sectional study was based on secondary data obtained from the Roraima State Court of Justice and the Department of Informatics of the Brazilian Unified Health System, collected between 2015 and 2024. Statistical analyses were performed using Stata/MP 14.0 Statistical Software (College Station, TX: StataCorp LP), considering statistical significance at $p < 0.05$. **Results:** A total of 86 cases were recorded, of which 48 (55.8%) were attempted femicides. Most cases occurred in the state capital, involved sharp weapons, and took place in residential settings. The mean reporting time was 192 days, with 45 (52.3%) cases reported during weekends (Friday, Saturday, and Sunday). Victims had a mean age of 33.8 ± 12.4 years and were predominantly mothers and self-identified as mixed-race, Black, or Indigenous. Perpetrators had a mean age of 37.1 ± 11.2 years and a low educational level. **Conclusion:** The sociodemographic profile of both victims and perpetrators highlights the intersectional dimension of violence, in which racism structures and intensifies gender inequalities.

Descriptors: Gender Studies; Femicide; Gender Violence; Racism; Violence Against Women.

RESUMO

Objetivo: *Analisar o panorama dos casos de feminicídio em Roraima com base nos dados disponibilizados pelo Painel de Monitoramento da Violência de Gênero do Tribunal de Justiça de Roraima, à luz da interseção entre as categorias sociais gênero e raça-etnia.* ***Método:*** *Estudo transversal com base em dados secundários do Tribunal de Justiça de Roraima e do Departamento de Informática do Sistema Único de Saúde, coletados entre os anos de 2015 e 2024. As análises estatísticas foram realizadas no Stata/MP 14.0. Statistical Software (College Station, TX: StataCorp LP), considerando um valor significativo, se $p < 0,05$.* ***Resultados:*** *Foram registrados 86 casos, dos quais 48 (55,8%) foram tentativas. A maioria ocorreu na capital, com arma branca e em residências. O tempo médio das denúncias foi de 192 dias, sendo 45 (52,3%) casos notificados no fim de semana (sexta-*

feira, sábado e domingo). As vítimas tinham idade média de 33,8 ± 12,4 anos e eram majoritariamente mães e autodeclaradas pardas, pretas ou indígenas. Os autores tinham idade média de 37,1 ± 11,2 anos e baixo nível de escolaridade. ***Conclusão:*** *O perfil sociodemográfico tanto das vítimas quanto dos agressores evidencia a dimensão interseccional da violência, em que o racismo estrutura e potencializa as desigualdades de gênero.*

Descritores: *Estudos de Gênero; Feminicídio; Violência de Gênero; Racismo; Violência contra a Mulher.*

RESUMEN

Objetivo: *Analizar el panorama de los casos de feminicidio en Roraima con base en los datos disponibles en el Panel de Monitoreo de la Violencia de Género del Tribunal de Justicia de Roraima, a la luz de la intersección entre las categorías sociales género y raza-etnia.* ***Método:*** *Estudio transversal basado en datos secundarios del Tribunal de Justicia de Roraima y del Departamento de Informática del Sistema Único de Salud, recopilados entre los años 2015 y 2024. Los análisis estadísticos se realizaron en el software Stata/MP 14.0 (College Station, TX: StataCorp LP), considerando un valor significativo cuando p < 0,05.* ***Resultados:*** *Se registraron 86 casos, de los cuales 48 (55,8%) correspondieron a tentativas. La mayoría ocurrió en la capital, con arma blanca y en domicilios. El tiempo promedio de las denuncias fue de 192 días, siendo 45 (52,3%) casos notificados durante el fin de semana (viernes, sábado y domingo). Las víctimas tenían una edad media de 33,8 ± 12,4 años y eran mayoritariamente madres y autodeclaradas pardas, negras o indígenas. Los agresores tenían una edad media de 37,1 ± 11,2 años y bajo nivel educativo.* ***Conclusión:*** *El perfil sociodemográfico tanto de las víctimas como de los agresores evidencia la dimensión interseccional de la violencia, en la cual el racismo estructura y potencia las desigualdades de género.*

Descriptores: *Estudios de Género; Feminicidio; Violencia de Género; Racismo; Violencia contra la Mujer.*

INTRODUCTION

Violence against women has become a matter of concern across multiple sectors, including health care, particularly in recent decades, as it represents one of the main barriers to overcoming inequities across all spheres of life. It is a global issue that transcends social, cultural, and economic boundaries. Moreover, it manifests alarmingly and affects women of all social classes, generations, and racial-ethnic groups. Although this topic has been extensively discussed, the debate remains far from exhausted because, despite efforts to combat it, violence against women continues to increase worldwide and in Brazil. It is a historical and structural phenomenon sustained by the subordination of women within patriarchal and androcentric sociocultural systems[1,2].

Violence against women can be understood as resulting from power relations based on domination, control, and oppression, which sustain discriminatory practices and stereotypes transmitted across generations and reproduced in both public and private spheres. As a result, forms of inequality become normalized, enabling violations against women's integrity, health, freedom, and lives[1,2].

Particularly since the last decade of the 20th century, efforts have been made to expose, recognize, and emphasize the severity of violence against women to strengthen actions against it. In Brazil, the 1994 Inter-American Convention classified violence against women as physical, sexual, and psychological violence, which may occur within family or community settings and may be perpetrated or tolerated by the State. Although distinct, these manifestations reveal the persistence of oppressive structures and inequalities, especially those related to gender and race-ethnicity. The Convention already employed the term gender, although still linked to the male-female binary[3].

Notably, discussions surrounding gender have advanced through feminist scholarship. Moreover, this category has been used to analyze violence against women precisely because they are women. The concept of gender, one of feminism's most significant contributions during the second half of the 20th century, emerged to analyze social relations between the sexes and challenge the dualistic perspective embedded in essentialist views of social subjects. Such naturalized views position men in dominant roles relative to women or to social subjects perceived as resembling women, even in appearance, as in the case of transgender women[4].

However, gender alone cannot fully explain women's experiences of domination. Other categories, such as race-ethnicity, social class, and generation, intersect with gender and allow a more comprehensive understanding of violence against women[4].

Intersectionality theory, originating from Black feminism, "seeks to capture the structural and dynamic consequences of interactions between two or more axes of subordination."[5] It specifically addresses how racism, patriarchy, classism, ageism, and other forms of discrimination generate inequalities that shape social positions related to individuals, racial groups, ethnicities, social classes, and other dimensions. According to this framework, different forms of

discrimination are not experienced separately but rather intersect, requiring non-hierarchical approaches to social categories and recognition of their interwoven nature[5,6].

These categories involve social, cultural, and linguistic constructions that shape perceptions of differences among individuals. From this analytical perspective, such differences and inequalities are understood as socially determined, even when grounded in biological dimensions, such as gender, race-ethnicity, or generation. Representations, behaviors, and attitudes associated with identities, because they are embedded within broader social contexts, are continuously reinforced and negotiated in everyday life. This means that the process through which social norms related to identity categories are internalized is neither linear nor harmonious, nor is it ever entirely complete or finalized[6,7].

This process occurs through institutions responsible for producing and reproducing social consciousness, including education, sports, religion, and other social practices. When experienced in daily life, these institutions also contribute to the formation of identities corresponding to specific social and historical contexts[6,7].

From this perspective, gender-based violence refers to violence committed against women because they are women within society. Its most extreme manifestation is femicide or feminicide, defined as the killing of women simply because they are women or appear to be women.[8]

The United Nations (UN) defines femicide as the killing of women and girls because of their gender.[9] In Brazil, legal recognition of this crime occurred in two stages. In 2015, Law No. 13,104 incorporated feminicide into the Penal Code as an aggravating circumstance for homicide, describing it as the killing of women for "reasons related to the female sex condition," reflecting power asymmetries and structural violence against women. This legal advancement enabled greater visibility and the collection of specific data on the issue beginning that year[10].

Subsequently, in 2024, Law No. 14,994 elevated feminicide to the status of an autonomous criminal offense while preserving the essence of the previous definition. This change reinforced the severity of the crime, increased applicable penalties, and established additional measures to prevent and combat gender-based violence, representing an important milestone in protecting women's rights and addressing gender-based violence in Brazil[11].

These legislative changes weaken narratives suggesting that the increase in feminicide cases merely reflects a broader rise in violence, particularly urban violence, since feminicide is specifically motivated by gender-related factors[10].

This crime may occur as either an attempted or completed offense and may involve either direct intent or eventual intent. Regardless of classification (attempted or completed), the aggravating circumstance of feminicide applies equally, reflecting the seriousness attributed to the crime by lawmakers. Thus, feminicide is legally classified as a heinous crime, and the distinction between attempted and completed forms lies solely in the final outcome of the act (victim survival or death). Nevertheless, both are treated with equal severity under Brazilian criminal law[12].

In 2019, Brazil recorded 1,326 feminicide cases, representing a 43% increase from 2016 to 2019. Of these victims, 66.6% were Black women, and in 89.9% of cases, the perpetrator was the victim's current or former intimate partner[2].

Later, 2023 recorded the highest number of feminicides since 2015, the first year of the historical series. Importantly, these crimes are unevenly distributed across Brazil, concentrating in major clusters of violence[13]. Roraima, for example, is among the Brazilian states with the highest rates of feminicide and gender-based violence, standing out negatively in the national context[14,15].

To increase visibility regarding gender-based violence, the Roraima State Court of Justice (TJRR) created the Gender Violence Monitoring Dashboard, which provides data related to this issue within the state, including feminicide statistics. Given this context, the objective of this study was to analyze the panorama of feminicide cases in Roraima based on data available through the Gender Violence Monitoring Dashboard of TJRR, considering the social categories of gender and race-ethnicity.

The rationale for this study lies in recognizing and critically analyzing this phenomenon to provide evidence supporting actions to address it. The relevance of examining the reality of Roraima is particularly noteworthy, as it is one of Brazil's most dangerous states for women, which gives this study originality and social relevance. In this context, understanding the panorama of this violence also contributes to strengthening integrated public policies involving both justice and health care systems aimed at protecting and supporting victims. For public health, it is essential that interventions addressing this issue be developed under the framework of the social determination of health[4].

METHOD

This was a cross-sectional, quantitative study based on secondary data. In cross-sectional studies, exposure to the factor under investigation and the outcome are assessed simultaneously during a specific period, without temporal follow-up. In epidemiology, a cross-sectional study is an observational design that evaluates the prevalence

of a condition or characteristic within a specific population at a given point in time. Thus, it provides a snapshot of the population at a particular moment, capturing the relationship between variables of interest at that time[16].

The study analyzed publicly available data provided by TJRR regarding feminicide cases in the state between January 2015 and December 2024. Information on the number of cases per month, year of registration, victim municipality of residence, type of case (attempted or completed), type of violence (physical, moral, property-related, or psychological), sociodemographic characteristics of victims and perpetrators, as well as the location, means, and motivation of the crime, was obtained from the Domestic Violence Coordination Office (CEVID)[17].

Data regarding the estimated female population were extracted from the Department of Informatics of the Brazilian Unified Health System (DATASUS) website under the "Resident Population" section[18].

Furthermore, because the study used publicly available secondary data, approval by an institutional review board was not required.

Data were entered into Microsoft® Excel spreadsheets, and statistical analyses were performed using Stata/MP 14.0 Statistical Software (College Station, TX: StataCorp LP). Continuous variables were assessed for normality using the Shapiro-Wilk test, presented as mean ± standard deviation (SD), and analyzed using Student's *t* test. Categorical variables, including municipality of residence, case type, type of violence, crime location, means and motivation of the crime, skin color, educational level, and nationality, were presented as absolute and relative frequencies and analyzed using Pearson's chi-square test (χ^2) or Fisher's exact test. Strength of association was assessed using prevalence ratios (PRs) and corresponding 95% CIs. Statistical significance was set at $p < 0.05$ for all analyses.

RESULTS

Temporal distribution of cases registered in TJRR

Between 2015 and 2024, 86 feminicide cases were recorded in the state of Roraima, corresponding to an average of 1.3 cases per 100,000 women. In 2020 and 2024, rates reached 2.2 and 4.4 cases per 100,000 women, respectively. The mean reporting time was 192 days, and 45 cases (52.3%) were reported during weekends (Friday, Saturday, and Sunday). The year 2023 stood out with 19 cases (22.1%), followed by 2020 and 2024, each with 12 cases (14.0%) (Figure 1). The months with the highest frequency of reports were September and December, each accounting for 12 cases (14.0%), followed by February and April, with 8 cases (9.3%) each. Data were expressed as the total number of cases occurring each year.

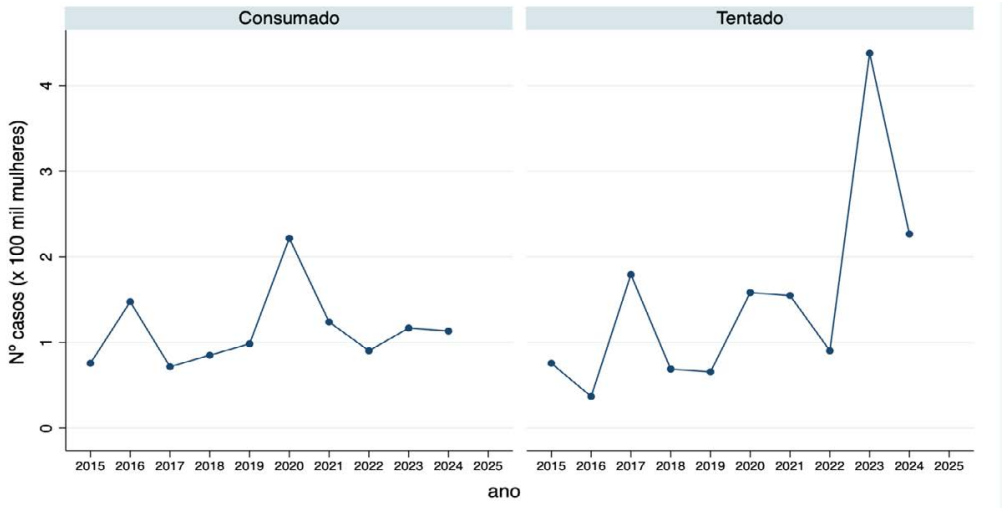

Figure 1. Temporal distribution of feminicide cases (attempted and completed), per 100,000 women, registered by TJRR between 2015 and 2024.
Source: Prepared by the authors, 2024.

Regarding legal classification, attempted feminicides accounted for 48 cases (55.8%) during the study period, whereas completed feminicides represented 38 cases (44.2%). Analysis of the geographic distribution revealed that among the 15 cities in Roraima, only 2 (13.0%) had no registered feminicide cases: Amajari and Iracema. Most cases occurred in the state capital, Boa Vista, with 53 cases (61.6%), followed by Rorainópolis and Bonfim, with 9 (10.5%) and 8 (9.3%) cases, respectively. The remaining municipalities recorded between 1 and 3 cases (Figure 2).

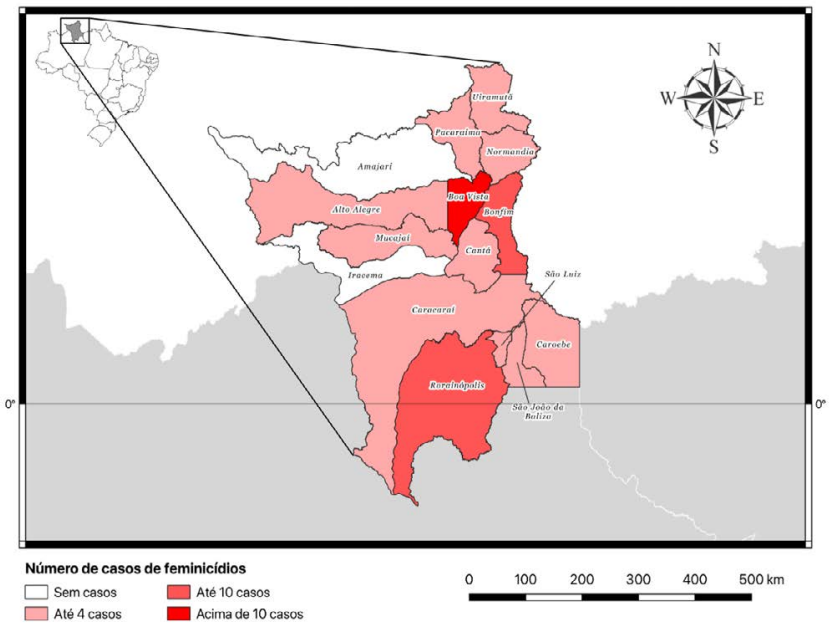

Figure 2. Geographic distribution of feminicide cases (attempted and completed) registered in Roraima between 2015 and 2024.
Source: Prepared by the authors, 2024.

Profile of victims and perpetrators

Regarding victim characteristics, 61 (70.9%) were mothers, 42 (48.8%) were aged 30-49 years, and the mean age was 33.8 ± 12.4 years. Additionally, 76 (91.6%) self-identified as mixed-race, Black, or Indigenous, 29 (42.0%) had completed high school education, and 75 (87.2%) were Brazilian nationals (Table 1).

Table 1 – Sociodemographic profile of victims in attempted and completed femicide cases in Roraima, 2015 to 2024

Variable	Total (n = 86)	Attempted (n = 48)	Completed (n = 38)	PR (95% CI)	p-value
Age (years), mean ± SD	33.8 ± 12.4	32.7 ± 10.3	35.2 ± 14.7	-	0.353*
Age group, n (%)†					
≤ 33	46 (53.5)	27 (56.3)	19 (50.0)	0.9 (0.5-1.4)	0.564**
> 33	40 (46.5)	21 (43.8)	19 (50.0)	1.00	
Ethnicity, n (%)††					
Mixed-race/Black/Indigenous	76 (91.6)	41 (89.1)	35 (94.6)	1.6 (0.5-5.4)	0.453***
White	7 (8.4)	5 (10.9)	2 (5.4)	1.00	
Educational level, n (%)††					
Incomplete elementary education	21 (30.4)	14 (35.9)	7 (23.3)	1.5 (1.1-2.0)	0.294***
Complete elementary education	15 (21.7)	7 (17.9)	8 (26.7)	2.1 (1.2-3.7)	0.103***
Complete high school education	29 (42.0)	14 (35.9)	15 (50.0)	2.1 (1.4-3.1)	0.229***
Complete higher education	4 (5.8)	4 (10.3)	-	1.00	-
Nationality, n (%)					
Brazilian	75 (87.2)	43 (89.6)	32 (84.2)	0.8 (0.4-1.4)	0.526***
Foreign	11 (12.8)	5 (10.4)	6 (15.8)	1.00	

Source: Prepared by the authors, 2024.
PR: prevalence ratio.
*Student's *t* test.
**Pearson's chi-square test (χ^2).
***Fisher's exact test.
†Categorization by the median.
††Cases with missing information were excluded from the table.

Regarding perpetrator characteristics, most were aged 30-49 years (n = 46; 53.5%), with a mean age of 37.1 ± 11.2 years. Most self-identified as mixed-race, Black, or Indigenous (n = 54; 62.8%), had not completed high school education (77.0%) (incomplete elementary education: n = 28, 37.8%; complete elementary education: n = 29, 39.2%), and were Brazilian nationals (n = 77; 89.5%) (Table 2). No statistically significant differences were observed in victim or perpetrator profiles according to attempted or completed legal classification (p > 0.05).

Table 2 – Sociodemographic profile of perpetrators of attempted and completed femicide crimes in Roraima, 2015 to 2024

Variable	Total (n = 86)	Attempted (n = 48)	Completed (n = 38)	PR (95% CI)	p-value
Age (years), mean ± SD	37.1 ± 11.2	35.9 ± 10.6	38.6 ± 11.9	-	0.293*
Age group, n (%)†					
≤ 37	45 (52.3)	27 (56.3)	18 (47.4)	0.8 (0.5-1.3)	0.413**
> 37	41 (47.7)	21 (43.8)	20 (52.6)	1.00	
Ethnicity, n (%)††					
Mixed-race/Black/Indigenous	67 (88.2)	37 (84.1)	30 (93.8)	2.0 (0.6-7.1)	0.288***
White	9 (11.8)	7 (15.9)	2 (6.3)	1.00	
Educational level, n (%)††					
Incomplete elementary education	28 (37.8)	14 (31.8)	14 (46.7)	1.0 (0.06-17.6)	1.000***
Complete elementary education	29 (39.2)	20 (45.5)	9 (30.0)	0.4 (0.03-8.0)	1.000***
Complete high school education	15 (20.3)	9 (20.5)	6 (20.0)	0.7 (0.03-12.8)	1.000***
Complete higher education	2 (2.7)	1 (2.3)	1 (3.3)	1.00	-
Nationality, n (%)					
Brazilian	77 (89.5)	43 (89.6)	34 (89.5)	1.0 (0.5-2.2)	1.000***
Foreign	9 (10.5)	5 (10.4)	4 (10.5)	1.00	

Source: Prepared by the authors, 2024.
PR: prevalence ratio.
*Student's *t* test.
**Pearson's chi-square test (χ^2).
***Fisher's exact test.
†Categorization by the median.
††Cases with missing information were excluded from the table.

Circumstances related to cases (attempted and completed)

Sharp weapons were the most frequently used means, accounting for 62 cases (72.9%), followed by manual assault methods (asphyxiation, strangulation, or beating), with 14 cases (16.5%), and firearms, with 7 cases (8.2%). Arrows and motor vehicles were involved in 1 case (1.2%) each.

Regarding crime location, residences were the predominant setting, accounting for 70 cases (81.4%), followed by public spaces, with 16 cases (18.6%). Concerning crime motivation, "did not accept the end of the relationship" accounted for 28 cases (32.6%), "jealousy" appeared in 27 cases (31.4%), and "possessiveness" in 14 cases (16.3%). Among victims, 68 (79.1%) did not have protective measures in place; of these, 35 (72.9%) belonged to attempted cases and 33 (86.8%) to completed cases (p = 0.115).

Type of violence was reported in 18 cases (20.9%). Isolated physical violence accounted for 6 cases (33.3%), whereas isolated psychological violence represented 4 cases (22.2%). Additionally, multiple forms of violence were identified in 8 cases (44.5%): psychological/physical violence (n = 3, 16.7%), psychological/physical/moral violence (n = 2, 11.1%), and moral/physical, psychological/moral, and psychological/physical/property-related violence were each observed in 1 case (5.6%).

DISCUSSION

Data on feminicide in Roraima between 2015 and 2024 reveal a concerning scenario, with 86 recorded cases during the study period. According to the 2022 census, Roraima is the Brazilian state with the smallest population,

totaling 636,707 inhabitants[19]. More than half of the occurrences (52.3%) were reported during weekends (Friday through Sunday), suggesting a possible association between gender-based violence and periods of increased family interaction or tension. Furthermore, the mean interval of 192 days between case registration and formal prosecution indicates that the Roraima Judiciary is among the fastest in Brazil regarding judicial case processing[20].

These 86 cases correspond to a rate of 1.3 per 100,000 women in the state, exceeding the Brazilian national feminicide rate of 1.1 per 100,000 women[21,22]. These findings confirm that Roraima is among the most dangerous states for women in Brazil. The year 2023 recorded the highest number of cases (22.1%), followed by 2020 and 2024 (14.0% each), indicating an upward trend in recent years. Notably, cases were concentrated in September and December, both accounting for 14.0% of notifications[20].

December is marked by year-end celebrations, which are generally family-centered. Within this context, increased domestic interaction and potentially greater alcohol consumption may intensify or trigger conflicts. Supporting this perspective, a study investigating lethal and non-lethal violence against women using data from the Roraima Institute of Forensic Medicine found that September also presented the highest frequency of violent or unnatural deaths and non-lethal violence among adult women in the state. April, June, and December likewise stood out because of elevated numbers of cases[23].

The findings revealed that most feminicide victims (70.9%) were mothers, predominantly aged 30-49 years (48.8%), with a mean age of 33.8 years. Furthermore, 91.6% self-identified as mixed-race, Black, or Indigenous women, and 52.1% had not completed high school education. These findings partially align with the literature, which consistently identifies young women, women with lower educational attainment, and women in intimate relationships as the groups most vulnerable to intimate partner violence in Roraima[8,22,24].

The predominance of mothers among victims introduces an additional concern. The loss of a woman within a family often creates a caregiving gap affecting children and, frequently, other family members. A systematic review examining the impacts of feminicide on children found that “orphanhood resulting from feminicide causes devastating psychosocial developmental consequences; abrupt and irreversible changes in routine; weakening of family systems; challenges in processing traumatic grief; and impairments in identity development”[25].

Regarding racial-ethnic characteristics, the findings align with previous evidence indicating a higher prevalence of violence against Black women (mixed-race and Black), reinforcing the role of intersectionality between gender and race-ethnicity in intensifying violence dynamics[21,22,24].

A 2011 study investigating lethal and non-lethal violence against women in Roraima found that 85.5% of violence cases involved Black women (mixed-race and Black)[23]. This pattern persists, as studies conducted more than a decade later have reported similar findings[15,24].

A similar pattern was observed among Indigenous women. The present findings corroborate previous studies demonstrating that feminicide also affects Indigenous populations[26-28].

Overall, the findings revealed a substantial concentration of feminicide cases (attempted and completed) in the state capital, Boa Vista (61.6%), followed by municipalities such as Rorainópolis (10.5%), the state’s second-largest city, and Bonfim (9.3%), which borders the capital. This uneven distribution may be associated with greater population density, urban violence dynamics, broader access to women’s protection services, and potential underreporting in smaller municipalities. Conversely, the absence of reported cases in Amajari and Iracema (13.0% of cities) may indicate limitations in reporting attempted cases due to logistical constraints or cultural barriers discouraging reporting.

A 2011 study examining violent and unnatural deaths among women in Roraima found that 63.9% occurred in the capital city, whereas 33.3% took place in rural municipalities and 2.8% lacked residence information. During that period, 19.4% of female deaths were classified as homicides. This finding may reflect limitations in crime classification before later legal developments, such as feminicide criminalization. From today’s perspective, part or all of those cases might have been classified as feminicide[8,23].

Regarding perpetrators, most were adult men aged 30-49 years, with a mean age of 37.1 years, and predominantly Black (mixed-race and Black) or Indigenous. Approximately three-quarters had not completed high school education. In terms of nationality, nearly 90.0% were Brazilian nationals.

Victims and perpetrators shared similarities regarding social class and race-ethnicity but differed substantially in relation to gender. These findings reinforce gender as a central analytical category for understanding violence against women, with patriarchy representing the deepest structural foundation sustaining such violence. Patriarchy may be understood as “a system of social organization in which political, economic, cultural, religious, and academic power structures remain predominantly under male control,” perpetuated through historical processes functioning as a persistent and deeply entrenched mechanism[21].

Although focused on non-lethal violence, a study conducted in Roraima found that 46.0% of physical violence cases were committed by intimate partners, whereas 10.8% involved relatives and 16.5% involved nonrelatives[22]. Regarding feminicide specifically, evidence consistently demonstrates that perpetrators are predominantly individuals close to the victim[14,15,21].

The present findings showed that sharp weapons were the most frequently used means in feminicide cases, followed by methods such as asphyxiation and/or physical assault and, to a lesser extent, firearms, with occasional use of other means, including arrows and vehicles. This pattern aligns with previous studies identifying cutting or piercing objects as the primary instrument (37.5% of cases), followed by hanging (16.7%) and blunt force trauma (16.7%). The predominance of sharp weapons suggests an important characteristic of lethal violence against women, reflecting the intimate and private nature of these crimes, in which commonly available household objects frequently become instruments of violence[26].

Most crimes occurred in domestic settings, reinforcing the home as a setting of heightened vulnerability for women. The most frequent motivations involved relationship conflicts, including inability to accept relationship termination, jealousy, and possessiveness, reflecting dynamics of control and male domination. Analysis of violence types revealed that, beyond physical aggression, psychological and moral violence frequently occurred simultaneously, highlighting the complexity of the phenomenon. These findings reveal an important gender-related aspect underlying violence against women: the perception of women as male property, directly rooted in patriarchal structures[29].

Overall, the findings align closely with the concept of hegemonic masculinity, referring to the dominant model of masculinity that naturalizes male superiority and female subordination. Consequently, men who adopt rigid and traditional perspectives regarding gender and power are more likely to perpetrate violence against female partners. Refusal to accept relationship dissolution, jealousy, and possessiveness toward women reflect patriarchal structures that frame women as property and legitimize violence as a mechanism for maintaining control. This social construction not only facilitates violence but also contributes to the normalization of gender-based violence, perpetuating cycles of oppression and impunity. The predominance of crimes within private settings further reinforces how patriarchal culture operates within intimate relationships, frequently remaining socially invisible[30].

This situation becomes even more severe when structural racism is considered. Structural racism subordinates racial-ethnic groups to whiteness as a legacy of colonialism, xenophobia, and historically imposed inferiority. Although the present study did not identify racial differences between victims and perpetrators, these structural processes are internalized by perpetrators and may influence violence directed against women. The internalization of racist ideologies shapes subjectivity such that Black individuals may internalize inferiority and absorb values associated with colonial whitening ideologies. Ideals centered on wealth and whiteness become unattainable standards, producing psychological consequences including guilt, inferiority, phobic defenses, and depression. Therefore, the emotional burden of racism results from a dual denial of selfhood: as a Black body and as a member of a marginalized social-racial position[31].

Although the present study revealed important aspects regarding perpetrator profiles, an important limitation lies in insufficient data concerning victim-perpetrator relationships. This gap prevents a more detailed understanding of relational dynamics underlying these crimes, a crucial component for comprehending gender-based violence in its complexity. The absence of these data limits identification of relationship patterns and may hinder development of more effective public policies addressing violence against women.

Importantly, the monitoring dashboard only publishes data after prosecution is formally initiated and accepted by the judiciary, when the accused transitions from suspect to defendant status. Consequently, cases involving perpetrator suicide, for example, may not be included because they do not generate criminal proceedings. Furthermore, comparisons between dashboard data and police records may present challenges because initial feminicide classification is performed by the police officer responsible for case registration. Not all law enforcement personnel may be adequately trained to classify feminicide cases, and cases initially recorded as feminicide do not necessarily become criminal proceedings or reach trial due to reclassification, case dismissal, or other procedural reasons.

CONCLUSION

This study analyzed feminicide trends in Roraima between 2015 and 2024, revealing a scenario characterized by rates exceeding the national average and marked growth in recent years. The years 2023 and 2024, for example, presented the highest rates in the historical series, highlighting the serious public health issue reflected by official statistics. The predominance of cases reported during weekends, the average delay of 192 days before prosecution, and the marked concentration of cases in Boa Vista indicate weaknesses in protection access and justice system responsiveness.

Additionally, the low frequency of protective measures among victims exposed substantial gaps within protection networks. The predominance of mixed-race, Black, and Indigenous individuals among both victims and perpetrators

highlighted the intersectional dimension of violence, in which racism structures and intensifies gender inequalities. These findings underscore the urgent need for more effective public policies integrating prevention, protection, and accountability, alongside educational and sociocultural strategies addressing the structural roots of sexism and racial-ethnic discrimination while promoting gender and racial-ethnic equity.

From the perspective of justice, society, and health system interactions, the findings demonstrated that the gap between protective legislation and its practical implementation may contribute to delayed recognition of violence situations and delayed access to protection mechanisms. The potentially harmful health consequences experienced by women exposed to violence reinforce the importance of this issue for public health, which should incorporate these impacts into territorial planning, surveillance activities, and comprehensive health care delivery.

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