

## **Reflections about violent female deaths by race: the case of Sao Paulo city**

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The debate on mortality for external causes in Brazil has centralized the attention in the study of masculine case, therefore the young blacks from poor areas of the great cities are the group that presents greater risk to die for homicides, traffic accidents and police violence. However, according to demographic studies on mortality, the strong growth of urban violence can be observed in the last decade of century XX, when phenomenon tried for more ample parcels and social-spatial groups residents in the great Brazilian cities. It is in this period that the homicides become the main cause of death between adolescent and young men (Aidar, 2002).

Research like the elaborated by the Nucleus of Studies of Violence NEV/USP about mortality by fire weapon says that exist different distribution of the possibility to be victim of homicides for firearms according to sex, age and region. Denouncing not only the inequalities in the death risk as also associating these asymmetries to the different distribution of the social and civil rights in the Brazilian society. They observe, thus, the growth of the taxes of homicide as a social and public health problem to be combated in Brazil (Perez: 2004). Other diagnostics, as the Report of Human Rights in Brazil: Racism, poverty and violence, deepen the analyses and introduce the study of differentials of color in the distribution and type of these deaths. This study showed that the blacks are the main targets of the lethal violence and that the tax of homicides between Whites and Asiatic is significantly inferior to Black people in Brazil: tax for black people is 1,9 times bigger than whites in firsts years of 2000 (Lopes, 2005).

The data from 2000 indicated the trend of fall of the deaths by homicide for both the sex, the case of the City of Sao Paulo. Making a simple exercise of observation of the absolute numbers of cases of death for aggressions, according to sex and color, for the years of 2003, 2004 and 2005 in the City of São Paulo, we can see the fall expressive of the masculine deaths, followed of less accented decrease of the feminine deaths, with differential of race in every year. Although with the reduction of these deaths (of 4.619

masculine deaths in 2003 for 2.583 cases in 2005; of 354 feminine deaths in 2003 for 225 deaths), they still are large volumes of deaths that might be prevented.

Another comment is that inside of this alarming context in relation to the impact of the urban violence in the behavior of masculine adult mortality in the big cities. Are suppressed and justified by quantitative aspects the study about the impact of this cause of death in the profile of female mortality, as well as the possible differentials of race and class. If compared just by aspects of volume of this deaths, the female homicide are approximately 10% of all the deaths for homicide what it has justified its absence in these studies on violence and mortality. Then studies about the impact of the urban violence in the condition of life of the women are need.

This research has as objective to bring some reflections for the debate of female mortality by homicides according to race and class. Part of the idea, as well as in some studies on violence against the woman that the violence against women is an integral part of social organization of gender, race and class therefore it is intrinsically linked to power relationships established historically of different forms between men and women in the society—what causes serious consequences for full development of the women. (Saffioti, 2004; Collins: 1990). In this way, literature on social relations of gender, dimension that better the possible nature of the violence against the woman would leading in consideration the presence in our society of racism, lesbo-homofobia, sexism and classism, is of extreme relevance in the reflections to be proposals.

The first question to be made is where measured the homicide taxes can be used as indicative of urban violence for the women? Analyzing the data of sociological research on murder of women, we can see that one of the marks of this type of death is the prevalence of motivations involving the sexist violence of men against women. That is, the aggressors are generally of friends, former-friends, boyfriends, familiar, neighborhood and known people. This fact, to lead us to assume that the homicide in the case of the women expresses the impact of the urban violence but also the domestic violence against the woman in female mortality. Differently of the masculine case where the tax of homicides is used as index of urban violence. Then the necessity of more complex methodologies and more flexible data bases for it could capture the diverse dimensions of the homicide, in special those against the women (Blay, 2008; Saffioti, 2005)

This paper intends to bring some results that was finding during the process of my dissertation research on female violent deaths. We intends to think about how qualitative and quantitative approach can capture that dimension, the propose is to use the combination of data from security public and public health take the demographic studies of inequalities as the perspective view.

## **Methods**

The objective of this research was to study the urban and domestic ways of violence against the woman, through deaths for aggression/homicides analysis, as well as the possible connections, similarities and differences of race/color of these deaths. We use two types of sources of mortality data: the Declarations of Death (SIM/MS), between 2000 to 2005, and Occurrence Reports (INFOCRIM/SSP-SP), 2005. The Demographic Census of 2000 and the population projections elaborated by the SEADE were used for information about the population exposed at risk of death profile. The space unit of analysis is the City of São Paulo.

The main variables was the categories race/color, sex and age.

Aggressions Mortality tax:

Generically, the taxes of mortality for homicide are used as index of urban violence, being that the focus basically is placed by volume of masculine deaths by fire weapons. As mentioned previously, in the case specify of the woman these deaths express beyond the urban violence, on factors from context of them gender condition. Moreover, still the studies are few that analyze this type of tax disaggregated for race/color. For these reasons, the present study considers to elaborate and to analyze specific tax of mortality for sex, age and race/color for the quinquennial of the year of 2000 the 2005, for the period five year, always with the space analyses in the City of São Paulo.

**A fórmula aplicada foi:**

$$mx(n) = D(n) / P(n) * 100.000 \quad ^1$$

Considering the limitations how much to the contextualize of the deaths for homicide through information proceeding from the area of the health, this research launched hand of the qualitative study of the police reports of year 2005.

### **Some results:**

Analise the data about external cause of mortality we can see that for men and for women the aggressions occupy the main cause in the ample age band of the 15 to 44 years. Also we can to note some differences of intensity second group of age and race/color. The results strengthen known standards already, with the aggressions representing the great part of the external causes between the young of 15 to the 24 years. For the white men, 68.7% of the deaths for external causes are caused by aggression, being that for the black men the representation is still bigger, reaching 79,4. The weight of the aggressions enters the women in the total of the external causes is a little lower than between the men, but it keeps the leadership in practically all the etários groups, in special for the black population. For the women of 15 the 24 years, 43% and 56% of the deaths for external causes are aggressions, in the white and black population respectively.

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<sup>1</sup> Onde, a taxa de mortalidade por homicídio específica de certo sexo, grupo de idade e raça/cor e determinado período é igual as mortes por agressão segundo estas variáveis e períodos divididos pela população segundo estas mesmas variáveis e período multiplicado por 100.000.

Table 1. Distribuição Proporcional das Causas Externas, Segundo Subgrupo de Causas, por Sexo, Idade e Raça/Cor - Município de São Paulo, 2000 a 2005

Sexo	Idade	Raça/Cor	Acidentes de Transportes	Eventos com intenção ignorada	Outras Causas Externas	Agressões		Total	
						%	Razão (n)/(b)		
Homens	0-14	Branços	24,8	18,5	38,2	18,5	1,5	836	
		Negros	22,5	20,4	28,8	28,3		445	
	15-24	Branços	13,4	5,5	12,4	68,7	1,2	8154	
		Negros	6,2	4,7	9,7	79,4		7473	
	25-34	Branços	13,8	8,0	12,5	65,7	1,1	6882	
		Negros	8,5	6,7	9,9	74,8		5479	
	35-44	Branços	15,0	13,3	19,8	52,0	1,1	4400	
		Negros	11,3	13,3	16,0	59,4		2860	
	45 ou mais	Branços	19,3	19,8	37,1	23,8	1,4	6720	
		Negros	17,3	19,5	30,5	32,6		2335	
	Total	Branços	15,6	11,4	20,6	52,5	1,3	26992	
		Negros	9,5	8,9	13,8	67,9		18592	
	Mulheres	0-14	Branças	27,5	19,5	40,3	12,6	2,1	461
			Negras	19,5	19,5	34,8	26,2		221
15-24		Branças	28,0	9,4	19,9	42,7	1,3	906	
		Negras	19,2	10,5	14,5	55,8		573	
25-34		Branças	23,1	14,2	18,3	44,5	1,2	706	
		Negras	14,6	15,0	15,3	55,2		426	
35-44		Branças	22,3	12,4	27,4	37,9	1,1	591	
		Negras	18,2	20,6	19,3	41,9		296	
45 ou mais		Branças	21,2	20,9	50,8	7,1	1,7	2931	
		Negras	25,9	22,2	40,0	11,9		528	
Total		Branças	23,2	17,2	38,4	21,3	1,8	5595	
		Negras	19,9	16,9	24,1	39,1		2044	

Fonte: sistema de informações de mortalidade SIM/ DATASUS/ MS. Tabulações próprias.

The specific tax of mortality by aggression, relating population displayed to the risk and the proper deaths, serve of good parameter for the analysis of the differentiate of race/color. It can be observed by the Table 2, that the reasons between the tax of the black population in relation to the white population are high, mainly between young and young adult that present greater vulnerability front to the urban violence.

**Table 2. Taxas de Mortalidade por Agressão, por Sexo, Idade e Raça/Cor - Município de São Paulo, 2000 a 2005**

Faixa etária	Homens			Mulheres		
	Branco (b)	Negros (n)	Razão (n)/(b)	Branco (b)	Negras (n)	Razão (n)/(b)
0-14	3,0	5,1	1,7	1,1	2,2	1,9
15-24	159,1	309,7	1,9	10,2	17,1	1,7
25-34	134,8	225,4	1,7	8,3	13,0	1,6
35-44	77,1	120,5	1,6	6,5	8,4	1,3
45 ou mais	32,3	46,1	1,4	3,2	3,2	1,0
Total	71,2	133,5	1,9	5,3	8,3	1,6

Fonte: SIM/Datasus/MS. FSEADE. Tabulações próprias.

The joined results indicate that it enters the young blacks the risk of violent death is practically the double of what between the young whites, being the relation for the women young a little lower: 1,7 bigger risk for the young blacks of 15 the 24 years of what for the whites. In the band of 25 the 34 years the reason is of 1,7 for men and 1,6 for women, in the following band of 35 the 44 years this difference passes to 1,6 for men and 1,3 for women. Fact that calls attention is the maintenance of the race differentials/color for all the age groups independent of the sex of the victim.

Exactly recognizing the value of the statisticians of mortality for causes external - ordinary of the ones Death registrations and given by the Health department - as privileged source for the elaboration of studies on violência in Brazil, because the systematization in the collection and treatment of the information and possibility of comparison in national level (ZALUAR; NORONHA; ALBUQUERQUE, 1994), we diagnosis some limitations that make it difficult the study of the violence when the case is the homicide against women. These information are little elucidative how much to the circumstances of the

aggressions due its unilateral character. A limitation that if places mentions the generating circumstances to it of the death, that is, where these women were at the moment whom they had suffered these aggressions, which its relations with the aggressors, the existence of multiple victims, among others information that would evidence the internal questions the violence against women.

From the police reportes we can see this motivations throug the qualitative analises.

From the information of the descriptions - part narrative of the police reports - it was possible to identify to which age the type of relationship between victims and aggressors. At a first moment of the treatment of the data we preserve the presented native categories in the text of the police reports, after what we group in more general categories. About 25% of the aggressors of fatal victims they were unknown, 19% were kept conjugal affective relation/with its victims, 8.3% had a familiar type of relationship and about 5% of the cases the aggressive one one known of the victims was (Table 14). That is, 33% of the aggressors had next relationship with the fatal victim. This dumb picture subtle when we consider the total of the aggression victims, when the ratio of victims whose relationship with type aggressor 'desconhecido' goes up for a percentage of 31,3% of the cases, diminishing mainly the cases whose type of relationship is affective/conjugal, with 11% of the cases. The analysis of the distributions is very important for the study of the violence against the woman, therefore taking off the ratio of 'ignorados' we can notice that it enters the fatal victims the possibility that the aggressor is of some form known for the victim increases.

**Table. 3. Distribuição percentual segundo o sexo do agressor das vítimas de agressões, fatais e não fatais.- Município de São Paulo, 2005**

<b>Sexo do Agressor</b>	<b>Vítimas Fatais</b>	<b>Total de Vítimas</b>
Feminino	1,5	1,9
Masculino	40,0	45,6
NS/NR	58,5	52,5
Total	100,0	100,0
N	205	377

**Fonte:** INFOCRIM/SSP-SP, 2005. Tabulações Próprias.

**Table 4. Distribuição Percentual do Tipo de Relação entre Vítima e Agressor, das Mulheres Vítimas Fatais e Totais de Agressão - Município de São Paulo, 2005**

<b>Relação entre Vítima e Agressor</b>	<b>Vítimas Fatais</b>	<b>Total de Vítimas</b>
Afetiva e/ou conjugal	19,0	11,1
Conhecido	4,9	9,3
Famíliares	8,3	7,2
Desconhecido	24,9	31,3
NS/NR	42,9	41,1
Total	100,0	100,0
N	205	377

**Fonte:** INFOCRIM/SSP-SP, 2005. Tabulações Próprias.

\*Nota: A categoria analítica ‘Afetiva e/ou conjugal’ compreende os relatos que se referiam à relação entre vítima e agressor como sendo: amante/companheiro/amásio/esposo/ex-companheiro ou amásio/ex-marido/ex-namorado/namorado e “ex-marido da patroa”, cujo caso era aparentemente amoroso. A categoria analítica ‘Famíliares’ compreende os relatos que se referiam à relação entre vítima e agressor como sendo: pai, padrasto, filho, enteado, irmão/irmã, mãe, tio, primo, cunhado, ex-cunhado. A categoria analítica ‘Conhecido’ compreende os relatos que se referiam a relação entre vítima e agressor como sendo: vizinho/conhecido/porteiro/colega de trabalho.



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