

Without a happy end: female homicides moral in Cachoeiro de Itapemirim - ES

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1. Introduction

The death by homicides has been an extremely relevant problem in Brazil and Latin America in the last decades, in special from the eighties (IMBUSCH, MISSE e CARRIÓN, 2011, p.95). The high incidence of violent deaths is customarily associated to the social inequality and lack of opportunities in the continent, with a juxtaposition between extremely poverty and extremely wealth, sustained on a process of social exclusion, institutional fragility, police corruption, lawful deficit, a sexist culture, among other factors that conduct to a kind of “culture of violence” (idem, p. 89). In the case of female deaths,

Les recherches s'accordent généralement à dire que, si les femmes ne constituent qu'environ 15% des auteurs de crimes, elles représentent par contre fréquemment près d'un tiers des victimes. C'est la principale différence démographique entre auteurs et victimes.(MUCCHIELLI, 2002,p.11).

Although the common sense deals with the homicide crime as a fatalistic chance completely out of human control, the sociological experience shows that the violent deaths are predictable in whole (SOARES, 2008,p.27). In a broader set of deaths, subsets can be identified and delimited with specific characteristics that allow a large knowledge and predictability of the phenomenon.

The aim of this work was limited by the subsets of homicide crimes practiced against women defined by Klarissa Silva (2006, p.47) as “for loving reasons”, (our translation)

(...) where the antecedents indicated fights between intimates, dating couples, married couples, lovers, and also retaliation due to disruption of the relationship by one party. Generally they are framed in Items I, II, III and IV from Article 121. According to an extract from the indictment: "(...) Police inquiry shows that after a troubled relationship between the defendant and the victim, characterized by a coexistence at loggerheads, influenced by the evil presence of alcohol, jealousy and constant aggressive actions, this degrading relationship was ended at the initiative of the victim. Before separation, the defendant materialized his instinct of revenge and feeling of

contempt against the mother of his daughter, feeling a deep dissatisfaction and revolt (...)"

It is the kind of homicide that Katz (1997) calls a *homicide modal*, a passional temptation to perform a sacrifice in name of a version or other of "goodness", an action of moralist rage (p.47).

In the context of this delimitation, the objective of the article is to amplify the comprehension of the moral dimension of this kind of conflict that ends in the total eradication of the interlocutor for tightly moral reasons, beyond forecasts and criminal considerations that oftentimes precede the crime without avoiding it.

Two approaches were used on the present work. Cachoeiro de Itapemirim, a city in the southern of Espírito Santo state, was taken as reference; initially it was traced a profile of women who were victims of homicides from 2005 to 2010 using collected data directly from the corresponding police investigations. Besides the profile, were collected data that would allow identifying a context of moral insult, of social contempt as background of the victim's life story. The second strategy took care of analyzing the dynamic of two homicide cases selected from this delimited universe as a form to illustrate the way of the moral insult context and the social contempt where the victims lived, hypothesis that was confirmed before the preliminary investigations. If from a macro point of view appealed to the recognizing theory and its evolution to characterize the environment in which the violence happens, the case analysis sought inspiration on action sociology, focused on the action of the social actors on determined situations.

The sequence of the text consists on the presentation of details about how the research took place and still it is, followed by the presentation of the profile of women homicides on the field of study under the theory of recognizing and its evolution. After, it is offered to reading an analysis of the context of moral insult referring to the data collected from the two specific cases, which illustrates revealing aspects of the general ideas that were intended to discuss.

2. Objectives

The fundamental objective of this work is contributing to a moral comprehension of women homicides, understanding that just the criminal dimension does not produce satisfactory results the way it has been applied in recent years in Brazil, besides keeping

intact the context where violence is produced and usually precedes the lethal violence. The utilization of the punishment as a dissuasion effect, by means of more severe and radical application of the law was object of analysis by Gove and Geerken (1997). The conclusion of the authors, and shared by several others scholars, is that crimes of lower planning and reasoning are less impacted by the extension of the severity of the penalty and others dissuasion variables, like the punitive certain, situation aggravated in Brazil, where the criminal system is very inefficient. An example of this inefficient system can be found on the National Justice Committee report that, taking the data from 2011 as a base, shows a national mean of judged and closed cases referring to Maria da Penha Law, that deals with violence against women, is of 57%, and in four units of the federation this national mean is lower than 20%, and in twelve of them is 50% or lower.

The passional context that emerges from the study of the female homicides enquiry, on the analysis of the interviews and the bibliographic reference leads us to believe that policies designates to reduce the violence against women, supported exclusively on the amplification of the punitive certain or on the severity of the penalty, would be unfit for having the expected effects, not just for the incapacity of the Brazilian State but for the specific characteristic of this kind of crime. On the other hand, the results of the restorative justice are notorious. As Rolim remembers (2006)

Beyond the punishment of the aggressor, then – through it is created a new damage – cares to repair the bad caused and reestablish the relationship between people, understanding that everyone was, in any way, injured by the unpleasant act.

The statement above will be even more truthful on the familiar context, where the obligation of acknowledgment is the more fundamental and basic standard inside the explicated context by Honneth (2003) and discussed in various texts from Luís Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira dealing this theme (2002, 2008).

The expectation is that studies like this one can contribute to a criminal policy with more effective results on the reduction of crime against women and, mostly on the resolution of conflicts preventing the course that may lead to a fatal end.

3. Data Source

The discussions presented here are held up in field incursions in police stations and prisons, collecting data and interviews. The project develops itself in the ambit of the Institution, Violence and Citizenship Studies and Research Group installed on the Historical and Social Research Laboratory of São Camilo University Center – ES and composes a segment of PhDs works of the first author, in progress on the program of graduate degrees in Sociology and Anthropology of the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro – UFRJ in Portuguese). The city where the research was developed, Cachoeiro de Itapemirim, accounts around one hundred and ninety thousand inhabitants and it is located on the southern of Espírito Santo State, southeast of Brazil, one of the leader states on the national ranking of homicides. It is an interesting field to this research, presenting typical characteristics of a standard medium Brazilian city. At the same time that is insert on the context of a modern and active economy in a reasonable way, with international insertion for the mining activities in special marble and granite, the city preserves the classical dilemma of coexistence with the tradition. The county presents low numbers of homicides in comparison to other county of the Espírito Santo, which has reached terrified levels on the rates of homicides for one hundred thousand inhabitants. Such fact makes less complex the quantitative analysis and allows the profound qualitative study of the cases. The contrast between the levels of violence on the county and others areas on the state, as well as the capixaba average are considered on the researches orientation.

A part of the data was obtained directly from the police enquiry, stored and or in progress investigations on the Crimes Against Life Police Station of the county. The option for this strategy of data collection brings the benefit of accessing the happening from the police investigators view, being possible, in the reading of documents that it is composed, taking information about the moment of the happening and others subjectivities implicit during the accusation process. It does not leave out the criticism to the police and judicial procedures regarding the criminal investigation, besides the police data, at least in the Espírito Santo, presents different quantitative data from DATASUS² (Ministry Health System that records and classifies deaths in the country) and other data sources. On the contrary, the contradictions are part of the research orientation. The police enquiry in Brazil is an administrative piece that does not allow conflict and will just become judicial piece when assumed by the public prosecutor, charged of prosecution. Such fact brings limits to the quality of the document “police

enquiry”, imposing to be careful with the statements according to view from who is investigating. (MISSE, 2011).

During the research two individuals were interviewed both involved on the identified cases, serving a term of prison at the Regional Penitentiary of Cachoeiro de Itapemirim. The principle of presumption of innocence compelled us to find involved people already convicted. The two interviews mentioned here were done at the penitentiary; in a reserved room with just one more employee following the chat, without interfering.

4. Discussion and Results

After the procedures adopted were submitted, we start to list the results and present the discussions, starting by the victims’ characterization, their context on recognizing/disregarding and the discussion focusing on the two exemplification cases of our studies.

4.1 Who are the victims?

Besides presenting the women victims of homicides profile in Cachoeiro de Itapemirim and put them into the context in a bigger scope, the data below discuss the relation of the victims with a disrespect context, disregard, of social contempt.

According to the collected data, Cachoeiro de Itapemirim recorded two hundred, fifty three murders from 2005 to 2010. Twenty three of these two hundred, fifty three victims were women, approximately 9,1% of the recorded homicides.

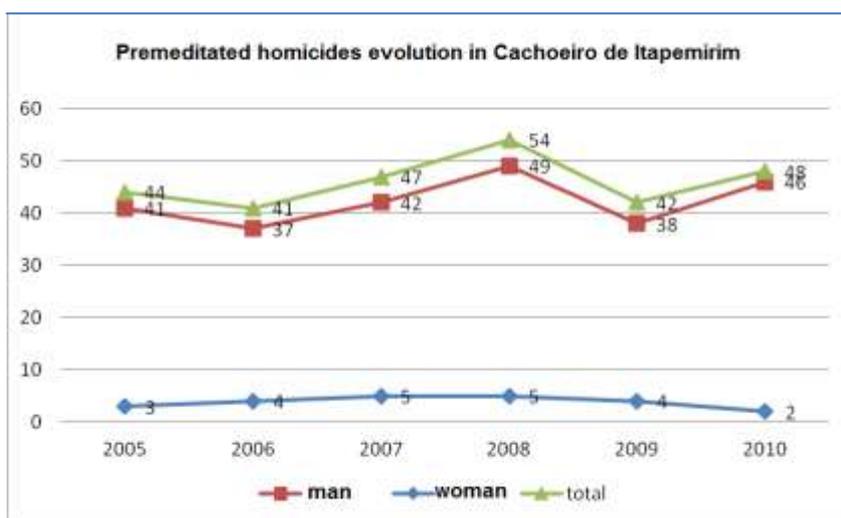


Diagram 1 - Source: Institution, Violence and Citizenship Studies and Research Group CUSC-ES.

It was found that the female victims of homicides vary between the age of eighteen and twenty five, usually of white or brown color, different from the male standards, which are brown and black. Among the female victims eleven of them are single, which represents 48% of the sample and eight women presented a marital situation not defined, which represent 35% of the sample. The major part of them lived with a partner in a concubinage situation, adjusting to the national profile traced by Meneghel and Hirakata (2011).

marital status	Number of victims
Married	03
Divorced	01
Single	11
Others	08
Total	23

Table 1 - Source: Institution, Violence and Citizenship Studies and Research Group CUSC-ES.

About the marital situation, it is a fact that the regularly married victims are minority. The major part of victims are single women or in precarious relationships. The law denies a full recognition of women in that kind of relationship. Besides, on the imaginary, the idea of being officially married still be fundamental to the women acceptance.

Between the socioeconomic and demographic facts associated to women murder by their partners, are included the family's poverty, the disparity of ages among the spouses and the not formalized marital situation. (MENEGHEL; HIRAKATA, 2011, p.566)

About the color, it is important to highlight that the field work showed that there is a difficult on the identification of the correct color of the skin, with a very tenuous frontier between what is considered brown and white. The enquiries observation reveals the distinction is not clear, making the task of determine even in small number of cases

the tendency of domestic violence directed to a specific ethnic composition very complex, although everything suggests that the violence is bigger between brown and black people. In São Paulo, also Blay (2003) found more white and brown women as murder victims. Although the city dimensions are incomparable it is a fact that the police presence is similar in all states, big or small cities, justifying that the doubt about the reliability of this data remains.

In relation to the homicides motivations, we could notice that most of the deaths occur in domestic conditions. According to it could be checked on the investigation analysis, from the fifteen deaths that were proved in this item, ten were explicitly by jealousy. In one of them was doubt about it was jealousy or about the daughter's guardianship, a case that was related to material goods and three female children were killed by their fathers. Waiselfisz (2013, p16-17) reporting to the analysis of Burden of Armed Violence 2011 - Lethal Encounters it was concluded:

- *The femicide cases usually occur in the domestic sphere.* In our case, we checked that in 68,8% of the women victims of violence attendances, the aggression happened in the victim's house.
- *In less than a half of the cases, the criminal is the partner – or ex-partner – of the woman.* In the country, it was possible to verify that 42,5% of the total of aggressions against women fit on this situation. Even more, if we take the group from twenty to forty nine years old, in which more than 65% of aggression had the partner or ex as the author.

As Campbell (2002) indicates, the national north American reports indicates that the women are more frequently murdered by their partners and ex -male partners-husbands, lovers and boyfriends – than by any other agent. In São Paulo, Blay (2003) found that in seven out of ten cases of women homicides, the victim has had some affective relation with the author. He also affirms that from the total of narrated homicides,

(...) the newspapers from 1991 indicate that 22% of the crimes were motivated by breaking up tries, jealousy and adultery suspects. In 2000, these same reasons grew and were responsible for 28% of the crimes.

During the research, it was investigated information about the professional life of the victim. Considering this data of major importance, because it is referred directly with the third sphere of recognition as elaborated by Honneth (2003), which it defined by the individual contribution to society and the return of this contribution as social respect.

The hierarchy of the professions value and the destination of the less valued to the groups historically excluded creates a pattern, reinforcing the idea of disposability and invisibility already present since slavery. In woman's case, there is a "(...) division of labor gender that excludes women from higher wage occupations and does not recognize the need for remuneration for domestic service." (CASTRO, 2010, p.5)

<u>Female Homicides – Professions</u>			
2005		2006	
Autonomous seller	1	Maid	2
Housewife	1	Unemployed (newborn)	1
No reported	1	No reported (received child support from her father)	1
2007		2008	
Unemployed	1	waitress	1
Student	2	Housewife	2
Housewife	1	Seller	1
Maid	1	Maid	1
2009		2010	
Unemployed	1	Prostitute	1
Unemployed (2 and 9 years old)	2	Seamstress	1
Housewife	1		

Table 2 - Source: Institution, Violence and Citizenship Studies and Research Group CUSC-ES.

As we see on the table above, lawyers, teachers, managers, executives, or others functions with more social prestige are not listed among the victims. Except the beginning of 2011 when happened the murder of a lawyer on the county that mobilized all media and political authorities, the homicide victims on the county, in general, are

women working in low social prestige professions, invisible to the media eyes and indifferent to the political concern, not being their lives sufficiently important to motivate reactions so indignant as were the ones about the death of the lawyer. On the research made by Blay (2003), just 3% of the women victims of homicide had ended college.

4.2 Recognition and Moral Insult

In Brazil, as in other places, the domestic violence had to be invented, once that culturally aggression against women was not (and most of the times, is not) understood as a bad thing at all. Blay (2003, p.87) allows us to glimpse a little of the vision that used to have around the violence against women in our country.

In Brazil, under the pretext of adultery, the women's murder was lawful before the Republic. Koerner shows that the woman's sexual relation, out of the marriage, constituted adultery – what according to the book V from the *Philippine Laws* allowed that the husband killed both. The Criminal Code from 1830 attenuated the homicide practiced by the husband when there was adultery. It could be noticed that, if the husband kept a continuous relationship with another woman it was considered concubinage and not adultery.

The East Timor case, that is more recent, is also illustrative. In lots of villages of this country, in what is related to family relationships “the only strength use does not have a negative connotation” (SIMIÃO, 2006, p.135). The concept of domestic violence has been inserted in the local repertoire to restrain the aggression's act that are not moral realized as criminal, included by the victims. In simple aggressions terms, that do not leave marks on who is attacked, there is no social demand on punishment and, in some cases, it is considered a moral obligation to use force.

In Brazil, the use of force in domestic situations was always tolerated but not recommended, not just regarding the children, but also regarding the wives. The famous and polemic quotation from Nelson Rodrigues “Not all women like to take a licking. Only normal ones. The neurotic ones react”. (“Nem todas as mulheres gostam de apanhar. Só as normais. As neuróticas reagem.” in Portuguese) is far away of representing the nerve of a dramatist, represents the thinking of a lot of Brazilian men (and women) generations about the use of the violence in the domestic range. The social

transformations that started from the last two hundred years and were noticed in Brazil, with more intensity in the last decades put this model in question. The proposal of equality status spread by the speech of citizenship to replace the traditional hierarchy (MARSHALL, 1967) reached the questions of genre, that today are shown as a tangled of relationships that bring up conflicts that were not over in search of this equality. Beyond the citizenship politics, appeared from the women, before privated from civil rights and now in use of them, an expectation beyond, of recognition, or consideration as Luis Roberto Cardoso de Oliveira prefers to refer about “disrespect” and “misrecognition”, that Honneth and Nancy Fraser made explicated.

(...)I'd rather talk about slight instead of lack of recognition to emphasize the moral insult that is presented when the interlocutor's identity is unmistakably, and for many times, not recognized. This is, the recognition of an authentic identity is not only a question of cordiality in relation with the interlocutor, but the moral obligation which the non-observance can be seen as an aggression, although it is not intentional, by the one that denies a demand for recognition.

The owning of the own body is a basic detail in this relation. The woman, who belonged to the man before (as a slave was his owner's possession), now she belongs to herself. Resisting to this fact, the male chauvinism expresses itself in the male imaginary recalling the injured honor of the man, who to defend this dignity coming from another symbolical model, refuses to “consider” the woman the owner of herself. Man feels he was “stolen”, “left behind”, “betrayed” when he is replaced by any reason (including fair to his own eyes). This situation asks for reparation that will not be given him by justice, since nowadays, it is social reproved.

This element can be noticed in several crimes whose authors are partners or ex-partners. According to the view of recognition, it constitutes in denying to a person the right of him/herself, from his/her own body, wounding the most basic of the relations of recognition, as Axel Honneth remembers us

The recognition ways of Love, right and solidarity create protection devices intersubjective that guarantee conditions of extern and intern freedom, that depends on the process of an articulation and a spontaneous achievement on individual goals of life; furthermore, since that they do not represent absolutely some institutional sets but only behavioral universal standards,

they distinguish from the concrete totality of all the particular ways of life in the quality of structural elements. (1993, p.274)

Finding out this kind of motivation allows us to conjecture the permanence of some aspects of a patriarchal society, permeated with values where the man is the social core and that “the main woman rule in society is just to be a mother, and lots of women are convinced about it” (Interview from the Espirito Santo Federal University researcher to “A Gazeta” newspaper)¹.

The condition of possession from the partner is reinforced by the woman’s economic dependence, that in the housework range do not maintain herself, not even her children without asking the partner, leading him to extend the sensation of property/owner. According to Castro (2010)

The woman who is a housewife who does not receive any kind of payment for her household chores suffers a kind of economic exploration, but at the same time, she suffers the effects of the male cultural domination that disvalues the domestic work for considering it inferior to the other kinds of works exercised by men.

Looking for this proposed equality, but not transformed in social practice, emancipatory, compensatory and criminalized public politics are created. Since the action of social movements, prosecutors and judges in the twenties and thirties decades of the XX century that called the attention to the serious problem of the murder of wives, passing through the campaign “who loves cannot kill”, that had occasion because of the case of the socialite Angelina Diniz’ murdering (BLAY, 2003), it got to the principal of them nowadays, the Maria da Penha’s law. This law is directed to defeat the violence against the woman, according to Lana Lage (2010, p3) it has come from a favorable political context from the

(...) condemnation of the Brazilian State by the Interamerican Commission of Human Rights, responsible for negligence, omission and tolerance in relation to the domestic violence against women, gathered to the growing dissatisfaction with the treatment given to violence of gender on the JECrims (...)

Its specificity in relation to special protection to woman is its merit and the motivation for the discussion, since, according to the criticals, it injures the equality between the genders, constituting in a way to face the constitutional equality between men and women. The equality between the juridical types is a classic problem in the Brazilian legislation. Men, women, homosexual, black people, Indians, etc. In relation to woman, comes into play the moral question more than any other thing, that ends sometimes overcoming in importance the right to integrity, as Glauce Passos de Souza, Public Defender from Rio de Janeiro, calls attention when analyses contextually the 215 and 216 articles from Penal Code that presupposes doctrinally that to be a victim of sexual fraud, it is necessary that the woman be “honest”, creating a kind of an opened crime (2005,p.181) that protects only those who live according to the moral principles from who is going to meet her at the police station or judge her aggressor. A recent case that filled the whole Brazilian media was the murder of the young Eliza Samúdio by a goalkeeper from a great soccer team. Before the threats that she received against the pregnancy, the result of the relationship with the athlete, she looked for the justice that denied the benefits and the protection from Maria da Penha Law, arguing that she should present marriage certificate or stable union¹. The protection, actually, is just for certain women.

What can be noticed is the circle of production of the tense atmosphere that culminates in the homicide crime is a lot of times ignored by who attends the woman victim of the aggressions and the aggressors. The woman who reaches for support from the State for her domestic questions, contradicting the common Brazilian Proverb that “Mind your own business” or “*em conversa de marido e mulher ninguém mete a colher*” in Portuguese, expects not only a treatment in the dimension of her rights as human being and her several interesting and her children. She expects moral reparation, sometimes more assaulted than her own body. She expects recognition by the ones who attend her the legitimacy, but she has to face the overwork, the coldness and indifference from the law operators (OLIVEIRA, 2008). Then the question is reduced to a term and quickly dispatches before the great amount of audiences, processes and accumulated papers, the severe punishment provided by the law do not solve the conflict, because who should consider the complaining woman it’s the one who deny it to her, and the cold papers and rushed/ delayed judicial procedures do not solve the case, even imputing a severe punishment for the aggressor. Waiselfsz (2012, p.17) remembers us that

If in the following year to the promulgation of Maria da Penha's law – in September 2006 – as the number and the taxes of women homicides have presented a visible drop, but from 2008 the spiral violence reveals the previous levels, clearly indicating that our politics are still insufficient to reverse the situation.

The insufficiency of the criminal enforcement is noticed by Lana Lage, who highlights the own severity of the law is a disincentive to the complaint

If, in the term of 9.099/95, the little gravity or even demoralization of the punishment – as it was the case of the basic food basket payment – there were valid argues to not register; in the context of the Maria da Penha's law, is exactly the gravity of the punishment – having in sight the affective, familiar and dependence relations among the victim and the aggressor – that is alleged to discourage registration. (2010, p.7)

Our objective is highlight that in the base of the problem is the resentment, the sensation of moral offense of men and women that permeate several violent reactions that end in homicides. We can say that, in several cases, it missed a third one to purpose an equivalence that could bring back the possibility of a dialogue, even before the exhaustion of the arguments, taking the fact itself from a regime violence to a justification regime (BOLTANSKI, 2000, p110-113). In this case it is relevant, as Oliveira (2008, p.135) risks to affirm that the physical violence in the lack of moral offense becomes mere abstraction. On the other hand, the moral offense can take aggression traces more than the aggression itself and produce it.

It is essential to highlight that in no moment it is to legitimate violent acts and so explain them in the best possible way, in manner that their comprehension contribute in any way facing the problem.

Pointing it, we start to undertake a phenomenological analysis, pragmatic, from two conflicts of this nature that result in a fatal crime, returning during the analytical exercise to a recognition background in several spheres, of consideration and moral offense.

4.3 Couples in conflict

During the identified cases in the police investigations, two ones could be more depth studied with a semi-structured interview, that happened with two inmate convicted. Both are serving sentence at Regional penitentiary of Cachoeiro de Itapemirim, considered by the director of the prison as ones with good behavior. They both did not have a criminal historical before the crime which they were convicted and they exercised regular professional activities in the region. The sentences respectively of 16 and 18 years refer to the partner's murder.

The first case refers to a homicide crime that occurred in October 2009. The victim was 22 years old, unemployed, white, single, lived in a neighborhood near downtown, without criminal background and died victim of a shot in the neck. Her tormentor was a driver, he finished high school, and he is 36 years old, lived in the suburb from the same city and without criminal background. The crime's author tells that an accident happened. According to his version, he has had bought a gun for a good price and he wanted to sell it to profit. But a mishandling of the gun resulted in the final shot. There's a fact that aggravates the case, constant in the process, but omitted by interviewed that he tried to hidden the body with a help from an underage. Also it is in the police investigation that the victim was the lover of the crime's author, fact that was also omitted in the interview. In relationship terms with the victim, he affirmed that they coexisted in a very positive way for more than a year, information that was not confirmed by other sources.

The second case refers to a homicide occurred in the same city in May 2007. The victim was black, 23 years old, lived with the author of the crime in the suburb in extramarital situation, acting only in the house hold chores. She was killed by a head shot. It was not found any criminal background. In the same way, talking about the author, it was not found any criminal background. He worked as a security, today he is 39 years old, and he has finished high school.

Knowing better the dynamic of these crimes, we used the sociologists Donald Black work, that defines the conflict and the crime as a result of the social time movement, the greater the break of this time, the more abruptly and radical, greater is the possibility of a conflict come with violence. The farthest the individuals are in this space where is given the social time, greater is the possibility of conflicts. As social time, Black understands the fluctuations of the social's space dimensions. In this universe, he concludes the vertical time, related to the inequalities of economic power; the cultural time, relevant to the distance between the cultures; and the relational time, that refers to

the relation among the human beings, increasing or decreasing the intimacy. The last one is the one that interests most in this work. In this case, to Black, the “under intimacy” or the “over intimacy”, extreme approach movements or the extreme detachment can be the cause of the conflicts, specially about couples (BLACK, 2011, p.6-11). The social distance between two points is bi-directional and can be asymmetric, being, for example, A closer than B, than B closer from A (BLACK, 2000, p.349).

The first case can be understood as a situation that the crime’s author put himself apart from the wife (under intimacy) and got closer to another person (over intimacy), creating several problems of moral order. The relational time is a game of zero as a result, as Black calls our attention, that is, getting closer to someone, pulls you apart from another. During the interview, the prisoner does not comment around the reasons of the crime, always saying that the shot was accidental and that the relationship was calm, what is not confirmed by the other sources asked about the case. He was visibly worried with the relevant juridical questions from his case and even it was told him that he could be anonymous he kept the version created by his defense. Taking his version as the true one, we still can notice that adultery is a strong significantly fluctuation in the relational space, bringing unstoppable conflicts. Because of it, the version presented by the prisoner is not very much accepted, for example, by the employees from the jail, although they recognize that he is a “good person”. It is in substantiation against him, according to the police investigation, that he tried to hide the body after opening it and threw it on the coast with a teenager help.

The second case occurred because of a jealousy crises unjustified by the victims part. That’s how the author of the shot said. The work of the husband as security took him a long time outside home at night, followed several times by meetings with friends to “relax” after work. The interviewed recognizes that this fact was bringing constant problems to his relationship, but let it show that he felt injustice because he was target of adultery suspects while he was just working. If it is considered that the prisoner’s version is the real one, we can clearly see that the detachment (under intimacy) between two people that should be extremely near, while husband and wife. Before the situation, the distrust took the victim that, according to the interviewed, offended him verbally and physically. He would take the gun just to intimidate her, make her stop the offenses. During the discussion, the shot, always accidental, got fatality her head. When he is asked if anything in the discussion could offend him in a strongly way, he says, with a

low voice and almost secretly, that she affirmed to him that she had sexual relations with another man. The prisoner affirms that he did not believe in what she said. However, the observation of the interviewed, the pauses and the intensity of the voice allow us to realize that the affirmation sounded as a strong moral insult, a strong break in the relational time. It is legitimate to suppose, not to affirm, that such insult could have a bigger role than what was stated by the interviewed in the moment that he lost the control and the shot happened.

Even though they show a deep regret of the acts that they were convicted, there is no more doubt that the homicides committed and happened in a logical moral, of the homicide modal. As it was described by Black, the events direct themselves to a maintenance of the way of the social space (2011, p.11) there is, a space dominated by men, in which women should submit themselves. When this model is broken, someone has to act to replace the world to its place. We can even say that both act under an unconscious way of the social control exercise and service of maintenance of the patriarchal standard of the society unconsciously based in the authors of the crimes. As Katz (1998) tells us, is a kind of a murder in defense of respectability, of “goodness”, to avoid an eternal humiliation before the present moral system. The insignificant nature of the fact causes the outbreak of the uncontrollable emotions and the urgency of the regime of violence indicates that much more is in game than a simple swearing or suspicion.

Other data can be added to the context. They both victims were in unfavorable professional situation, one because of her job, and another because of the household chores. Both victims lived in marital status precarious, one as a lover and the other in precarious acquaintanceship, sharing almost the same age, 22 and 23 years old respectively. It can also be observed a reasonably distance between the ages of the victims and the aggressors. Both shared, under several aspects, an atmosphere of inconsideration, adjusting to the profile traced and in the conditions that happened the women homicides as it was described.

5. Conclusion

Studying the moral dimension of the conflicts, in special the ones that end in a tragic way, is an essential tool to the comprehension of certain crimes to beyond the juridical objectivity that reduces them to a binary licit/illicit.

If the intimate conflicts that result in death of so many women year after year can be seen under the disrespect optical, of slight, of moral insult, and that is in evidence when we observe the female homicides under a macro view, as well remember Werneck evoking Simmel, that the conflict is the denial of the indifference, in other words, it is a way of sociability (2012m p. 337). As Black confirms what comes (“devir” in Portuguese) from intimacy on the relationship time, considering different positions in the moral space that evocate notion of different virtue ended up being reason of conflicts that escape to a justification and end in fatal violence. An erroneous recognition (TAYLOR, 2000, p 241) is a way of recognize different of the invisibility to the one that Honneth (2004) refers to. Boltanski states that the regime of violence occupies a reverse position to the friendship regime, both free of equivalences.

They can be invisible women to society, occupying subaltern functions, underpaid, absent from social esteem or political and economic significance, but not invisible to their partners.

The affective character of the primary relations creates from both parts a bigger expectation of recognition. Simmel (1971, p.91) has already put in evidence the importance of the primary relations and the intensity of expectations on the scope of these relations. It is fair to suppose that the various ways of denial of the recognition and the moral wounds that the authors concept in terms as disrespect, invisibility, suffering, social despair, moral insult, among others, cause damage on the social support of the individuals, provoking lawsuits of social disaffiliation, increasing the vulnerability and predisposing to a context of violence (RENAULT, 2008, p.323), more intense will be these effects when such facts happen in the ambit of an intimate relation.

According to Renault (2008, 326) there are limits that bring a normal suffering when it is referring to tolerable pains from the social existence. On the other hand, beyond these limits, the normal suffering can be elevated to a not normal stage, pointed by a situation where the individual can lose the capacity to defend himself from the suffering or start to defend himself in contradictory or unsatisfactory ways (idem p327). In social conditions even more serious, this suffering can present severe or pathogenic characteristics, provoking a desperate fight that sacrifices psychic functions, and can induce a passage from the suffering facing logic to a self-destructive logic of painful hysteria, marked by a death drive (idem p 329). It is very common to find depressed and embittered women who are involved in a cycle of discussions and conflicts with their partner that end up intensifying and resulting in physical and moral aggressions, when it

is not preceding fatal situations. Other cases, when this woman breaks away this cycle and goes to a new reality she ends up being victimized for assuming her own liberation. A rupture, a social time movement that provokes some predictable reactions but not desirable ones.

In relation to the female homicides in the studied city, in a macro level it could be noticed women who shared of a social context of disrespect, absence of social esteem and vulnerability. In a micro context, there are women living in broadly unfavorable situation facing their partners and events that happened from accumulation of not solved situations. The result of this equation is a story without a happy end.

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