



Lessons Learned and Best Practices between Brazil and the European Union

Data collection on violence against women

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List of abbreviations

| | |
|------------|--------------------------------------|
| AMB | Association of Brazilian Magisters |
| EVA | Evidence on Violence and Alternative |
| EU | European Union |
| LAI | Access to Information Act |
| WHO | World Health Organization |

1. Introduction

In Brazil, violence against women affects hundreds of thousands of women every year. According to data from DATASUS, in 2020, more than 228 million women were victims of violence in Brazil.¹ This number is just the tip of the iceberg, after all, the fact is that violence against women is one of the most underreported crimes. Additionally, not all cases go through the healthcare system. Often, cases of psychological, moral, patrimonial violence, and even those related to less serious cases of physical and sexual violence, do not reach the healthcare system. Therefore, if they are not reported to the competent law enforcement or justice bodies, they go unnoticed.

The fact is, however, that the origin of violence against women is precisely gender inequality and the apparent different status between men and women that manifests itself in diverse forms of violence, including controlling behaviour, name-calling and threats that do not leave physical marks on their bodies. These types of violence, however, have psychological effects and may indicate the beginning of an even more violent cycle. For this reason, interrupting and preventing the violence cycle requires improvements in data collection, systematization and analysis concerning violence against women. It is also important to build capacity in professionals who serve as the first point of contact for women survivors of violence and to identify vulnerabilities in order to prevent the escalation of violence. In Brazil, the law enforcement system is the gateway for most of these cases.

This research aims to perform a diagnosis on the availability of data on violence against women in the 26 Brazilian states and the Federal District. The goal is to identify information gaps that will be used to draft a document with recommendations on how to improve the flow of information about violence against women, and how to use such data to inform evidence-based public policies that have a direct impact on violence against women.

The analysis is divided into four parts. First, an explanation about the need to improve data collection, availability, and analysis on violence against women for the purpose of informing better public policies was provided. Secondly, the types of data on violence against women that are produced in Brazil and the importance of the information compiled by the law enforcement agencies was described. In the third part, the data from each State in Brazil was examined and the bottlenecks and good practices highlighted. Finally, a series of recommendations aimed at improving data availability and, especially, using such data to inform evidence-based public policies was prepared.

¹ See: Evidências sobre Violências e Alternativas para mulheres e meninas - EVA (2022). Available at: eva.igarape.org.br.

2. Why is it important to produce data to fight violence against women?

Actions to fight violence against women must take into account prevention measures focused on individual and environmental factors that make women more vulnerable to violence; protection measures focused on the assistance provided to women victims of violence; and response mechanism capable of interrupting and deterring the cycles of violence. For this reason, it is particularly important to collect and share demographic or individualized data about women survivors, the places where they were attacked, and characteristics concerning the prevalence of violence, such as time of day, perpetrator profile and weapons used to perpetrate the crime.

Unfortunately, the competent authorities do not always actively collect all this information, which significantly hinders the evidence-based policy planning process. Not only is this type of information disconsidered when drafting public policies, the fact is that it is not even evaluated. Consequently, financial resources are squandered and public policies that do not address the main risk factors behind violence against women end up being implemented.

Between 2015 and 2020, around 300 initiatives focusing on the prevention, reduction, and elimination of violence against women were implemented by the 27 states, as demonstrated by a survey carried out by the EVA platform – Evidence on Violence and Alternatives for Women and Girls, developed by the Igarapé Institute². Generally speaking, there is little information available about the duration, funding, and implementation of these initiatives. The results of eight out of ten actions mapped by EVA were not publicly disclosed, and only 9% of these initiatives were evaluated. The absence of detailed data indicates that public policies concerning violence against women do not necessarily go through an adequate planning process. Even worse, there is no transparency with regards to the implementation of such actions or their impacts.

On the other hand, it should be noted that homicides are not only the most visible form of violence, but they are also the most reliable indicator, even though they represent the only type of violence that affects more men than women. There are certain individual risk factors connected to being a victim or a perpetrator of violence. Being a woman means the person is under greater risk. Women are the main victims of all other types of violence in Brazil. The association of gender with other demographic factors, such as race and age, and with environmental factors, such as location, time of day, etc., can increase or decrease an individual's vulnerability to certain types of violence. Once the victimization dynamics is understood, planning for violence prevention actions becomes more efficient, as it is based on evidence of what actually happens in reality.

However, a significant challenge concerning violence against women is the lack of information. Countries, states, and cities produce, collect, and systematize data on violence against women differently, generating several challenges when it comes to understanding patterns of violence. Moreover, the available data is incomplete and lacks essential information about individual and environmental factors associated with crimes of violence against women. Finally, the fact is that these types of crimes are underreported, especially in cases which are considered “less” severe. Therefore, we would be able to save the lives of thousands of women simply by identifying and treating this type of violence. After all, the murder of women is usually preceded by a series of other violent acts which can be mapped and interrupted before they escalate. The severity of the violent act should not be measured simply in terms of the level of physical harm that was caused to a woman. The level of vulnerability and isolation of the victim must also be considered.

² Available at: eva.igarape.org.br.

Due to the cross-cutting nature of the problem, there are several varying types of state initiatives developed across different sectors aimed at fighting violence against women. Most, approximately one third of the total number, focus on awareness-raising and capacity-building with regards to gender equality³. The good news is that these actions focus on prevention, that is, they target the underlying factors behind violence before it occurs, addressing issues concerning patriarchal culture and aggressive behaviour. On the other hand, there is limited information about their impact. For instance, most of the initiatives that present information about duration, amounting to 36.95%, last less than a year⁴.

Violence against women is rooted in gender inequality. Therefore, this problem deserves long-term investments that go beyond raising awareness. Efforts should also be made to promote empowerment, autonomy, and individual and collective development of women. The second most frequently identified type of initiative addressed the matter of assistance provided to female victims, which focuses primarily on protection after violence, and it accounted for 13.22% of the total number of actions.

Transparency and planning are the areas where there is still a lot of room for improvement. When these elements are absent, it is extremely hard to conduct a consolidated impact analysis. Additionally, most states lack internal standardized processes to obtain access to information, and these processes also vary greatly from state to state. What is even worse is that usually the information exists, but nobody can find it.

³ See: eva.igarape.org.br

⁴ Ibid.

3. What are the existing types of data on violence against women?

In Brazil, data on violence against women comes from three different sources: healthcare system, law enforcement agencies and the judiciary. In general, healthcare databases are more reliable because they tend to be more organized and based on well-structured data production, collection and systematization processes derived from the World Health Organization (WHO). In addition, the Brazilian legislation also establishes that these types of cases must be reported. Data produced by the healthcare system significantly complements information collected by the law enforcement agencies, given that many women do not report incidents of violence to the competent authorities. By comparing these datasets, it is possible to identify existing bottlenecks that might explain why this type of crime is underreported.

However, an analysis of the data produced by law enforcement agencies reveals certain subtle details related to the criminal investigation that are not present in the healthcare system databases. This type of information is crucial when it comes to understanding the individual and environmental risk factors behind vulnerability of women to each type of violence. In addition, women who are victims of violence do not necessarily seek assistance from a healthcare provider. It should also be noted that data obtained from law enforcement agencies indicates the number of women victims of violence who actually initiated a legal procedure. However, there are several different challenges involving law enforcement databases. Difficulties in data collection and standardization in Brazil proved to be an almost insurmountable challenge because of the absence of a central entity capable of compiling all this data.

It is important to mention the advantages and limitations of data from victimization surveys. This information is crucial when it comes to understanding the bottlenecks and the reason cases of violence against women are underreported. It also provides an overview of certain types of violence that are not usually accounted for or disclosed, such as violence in the workplace, obstetric violence and even cyberviolence. However, these surveys often have limited samples and are not implemented frequently enough.

4. Diagnosis: What Types of Data are Produced in each State?

Methodology

As previously highlighted, as opposed to the healthcare sector, Brazilian law enforcement agencies must cope with the significant challenge of not having centralized information about indicators of crimes and violence in the different states. Access to information about violence against women is only granted via data access requests, based on the Access to Information Act (LAI), that must be filed in each of the 27 states. Therefore, the first step towards drafting a diagnosis of the information presented below was to file a request to gain access to the data.

Aside from this initial difficulty of having to request information, another challenge is that data is made available by different entities in different formats and there are no standardized definitions across agencies. The availability of data in terms of time and space varies greatly among states, and the same thing applies to information concerning incident classification, age group of the victims, and weapons used in the attack.

Therefore, the responses to the LAI requests and the level of organization of the information provided served as input to prepare a diagnosis of the data based on type of violence and other indicators collected in different states. Hopefully, the content presented below will shed some light on the types of indicators that are being collected and where. Consequently, that may result in the creation of new actions to improve data production, which in turn can drive the development of better public policies in Brazil.

It is worth mentioning that the information presented below does not necessarily reflect the existing data in the states, but rather the data was made available to the researcher as a result of the request for information. That is, states may record some additional data which they have chosen not to share with the researcher.

Data Availability

The Maria da Penha Law (No. 11340/2006) described different types of violence that affect women, classifying them in Art. 70 under the following categories: physical violence, psychological violence, sexual violence, moral violence, patrimonial or economic violence and domestic or family violence. The following tables show the availability of information for each violence category and will allow for a better understanding of the types of information produced by the law enforcement agencies in Brazil.

Physical violence

Comprises any behaviour or conduct that threatens a person’s bodily integrity or health. This is the most frequently recorded type of violence in the country. There is consensus that it is the most serious type of violence because it leaves marks on the victim’s body and because there is probable cause to believe that a crime was committed.

| Registered Incidents PHYSICAL VIOLENCE | Number of States that Register | Which states register? |
|--|--------------------------------|---|
| Murder ⁵ | 27 | All |
| Attempted Murder ⁶ | 12 | All (except for AC, AL, CE, ES, GO, MA, MG, MS, PB, PE, PI, PR, RN, RO, and SE) |
| FEMICIDE ⁷ | 25 | All (except for AM and AP) |
| Attempted Femicide ⁸ | 10 | All (except for AC, AL, AM, AP, CE, ES, GO, MA, MG, MS, PB, PE, PI, PR, RN, RO, and SE) |
| Intentional Bodily Injury Followed by Death ⁹ | 25 | All (MS, SP) |
| Intentional Bodily Injury ¹⁰ | 19 | All (except for AC, AL, AM, PE, PI, RS, SE and TO) |

The table above shows that incidents that result in death, such as murders, femicides and even intentional bodily injury followed by death, are widely recorded by the states. Incidents that do not result in death, despite being very serious, do not usually receive the same level of attention from the states. Lethal incidents will become less frequent once these cases are adequately monitored and public policies are put into place to reduce such crimes.

⁵ Article 121 of the Penal Code defines murder as the act of intentionally killing someone.

⁶ Attempted murder results from the combination of the crime of second-degree murder with the definition of attempted crime. According to the Penal Code, an attempted crime occurs when a person starts executing a crime, but the act is not completed due to circumstances beyond the perpetrator’s control, as described in Art. 14, item II, included by Law No. 7209/1984.

⁷ Article 121 of the Penal Code refers to femicide as a type of heinous crime that targets women as victims for reasons related to the female gender. It is defined as a crime in cases of: I. domestic and family violence; II. contempt for or discrimination against women.

⁸ Article 121 of the Penal Code defines attempted femicide as a combination of the crime of femicide with the definition of attempted crime. According to Art. 14 of the Penal Code, an attempted crime occurs when a person starts executing a crime, but the act is not completed due to circumstances beyond the perpetrator’s control.

⁹ Article 129 of the Penal Code defines intentional bodily injury followed by death as an act that aims to create substantial risk to a person’s bodily integrity or health and that causes death. Nevertheless, the circumstances demonstrate that the perpetrator did not seek or assume the risk of producing such outcome.

¹⁰ Article 129 of the Penal Code defines intentional bodily injury as an act that aims to create substantial risk to a person’s bodily integrity or health.

Sexual Violence

Comprises any conduct that forces a woman to witness, maintain or participate in unwanted sexual intercourse, through intimidation, threats, coercion or the use of force; that induces a woman to solicit or use, in any way, her sexuality; that prevents her from using any contraceptive method or that forces her into marriage, pregnancy, abortion or prostitution, through coercion, blackmail, bribery or manipulation; or that limits or negates the exercise of sexual and reproductive rights. In Brazil there are records of the following types of sexual violence: sexual abuse, sexual harassment, rape, attempted rape, public lewdness, indecent badgering.

| Registered Incidents SEXUAL VIOLENCE | Number of States that Register | Which states register? |
|---|--------------------------------|---|
| Sexual harassment ¹¹ | 14 | (except for BA, CE, ES, GO, MS, MT, PB, PE, PI, PR, RO, SE, and SP) |
| Public Lewdness ¹² | 15 | (except for BA, CE, ES, GO, MS, PB, PE, PI, PR, RO, SE, and SP) |
| Indecent Badgering ¹³ | 15 | (except for BA, CE, ES, GO, MS, PB, PE, PI, PR, RO, SC, and SP) |
| Rape ¹⁴ | 20 | (except for ES, PB, PE, PI, RN, and RO) |
| Attempted Rape ¹⁵ | 14 | (except for BA, CE, ES, GO, MA, MG, MS, MT, PB, PE, PI, PR, and RO) |

Rape is the most frequently reported crime in terms of sexual violence. Nevertheless, these offenses are not necessarily registered and monitored by all states. Only half of the states in Brazil monitor cases of sexual harassment, public lewdness, and indecent badgering. Once again, it is important to note that the attempted crimes are not considered a priority, despite being very serious cases as well.

¹¹ In Art. 216-A of the Penal Code, sexual harassment refers to the act of intimidating someone in order to obtain sexual advantages or favors, especially when the perpetrator is in a position of authority because of their job, rank, title or position.

¹² According to Art. 233 of the Penal Code, a person commits public lewdness when they engage in obscene acts in a public place or in a place that is open or exposed.

¹³ In Art. 215-A of the Penal Code, indecent badgering refers to the act of engaging in lewd conduct against someone without their consent in order to gratify one's own or someone else's sexual desire.

¹⁴ In Art. 213 of the Penal Code, rape refers to the act of forcing someone, through violence or serious threat, to have sexual intercourse or to engage in or be subjected to lewd conduct.

¹⁵ Article 213 of the Penal Code defines attempted rape as a combination of the crime of rape with the definition of attempted crime. According to the Penal Code (Art. 14, item II, included by Law No. 7209/1984), an attempted crime occurs when a person starts executing a crime, but the act is not completed due to circumstances beyond the perpetrator's control.

Psychological violence

Comprises any conduct that inflicts emotional damage and reduces a person's self-esteem; harms and disturbs their full development; or aims to demean or control their actions, behaviours, beliefs and decisions through threats, intimidation, humiliation, manipulation, isolation, constant surveillance, persistent stalking, insults, blackmail, violation of their privacy, ridicule, exploitation and limitation of their right to come and go, or any other conduct that may cause harm to their psychological health and self-determination. In Brazil, these cases are usually registered as psychological violence, criminal coercion, or threats.

| Registered Incidents PSYCHOLOGICAL VIOLENCE | Number of States that Register | Which states register? |
|--|--------------------------------|---|
| Criminal Coercion ¹⁶ | 13 | ALL (except for AM, CE, ES, GO, MS, PB, PE, PI, PR, RJ, RN, RO, and SE) |
| Threat ¹⁷ | 23 | ALL (except for MS, PB and PI) |

It is important to note that, among cases of psychological violence, threat crimes have become more evident and have been registered by almost all the states. Violence against women usually follows a pattern that starts with threats and eventually turns into physical or even lethal violence. Therefore, having states monitor psychological violence is a critical and positive step towards improving the current scenario.

Economic or Patrimonial Violence

Comprises any conduct that might constitute retention, subtraction, partial or total destruction of objects, work material, personal documents, property, assets and rights or economic resources, including those intended for their own use. In Brazil, the categories are economic or patrimonial violence; damage; suppression of documents; trespassing.

| Registered Incidents PATRIMONIAL VIOLENCE | Number of States that Register | Which states register? |
|--|--------------------------------|--|
| Damage ¹⁸ | 14 | (except for BA, CE, ES, GO, MS, PB, PE, PI, PR, RJ, RN, RO, and RS) |
| Suppression of Documents ¹⁹ | 14 | (except for BA, CE, ES, MG, MS, PB, PE, PI, RJ, RN, RO, RR and SP) |
| Trespassing ²⁰ | 11 | (except for BA, CE, ES, GO, MS, PB, PE, PI, PR, RJ, RN, RO, RR, RS, SE and TO) |

The previous table shows that, out of all the types of violence against women, economic and patrimonial violence is the least monitored by the Brazilian states. Only half of the states have data on property damage or suppression of documents, and less than half have data on trespassing. Violence against women takes place, in many cases, in the victim's home. In that sense, data on trespassing should be considered more important than it actually is at the national level.

¹⁶ In Art. 147 of the Penal Code, threat is described as the act of threatening someone in words, writing or gestures, or any other symbolic way, to cause them unjust and serious harm. In this case, the victim's authorization is required to institute a criminal prosecution.

¹⁷ In Art. 146 of the Penal Code, criminal coercion is described as the act of intimidating someone to infringe the law, either by not doing what is required or by doing something that it does not foresee, through the use of violence or serious threats, or after having undermined their capacity to refuse.

¹⁸ In Art. 163 of the Penal Code, damage is described as the act of destroying, disabling or damaging someone else's property.

¹⁹ In Art. 150 of the Penal Code, trespassing is described as the act of clandestinely or surreptitiously entering or remaining in someone else's property against the other person's tacit or express will.

²⁰ In Art. 305 of the Penal Code, suppression of documents is described as the act of destroying, suppressing or concealing public or private documents belonging to others in their own or someone else's benefit.

Moral Violence

Comprises any conduct that constitutes defamation, such as imputing a criminal offense (*calúnia*), imputing a noncriminal but disreputable conduct (*difamação*), or verbal abuse (*injúria*).

| Registered Incidents MORAL VIOLENCE | Number of States that Register | Which states register? |
|---|--------------------------------|---|
| Defamation (<i>Calúnia</i>) ²¹ | 21 | (except for ES, GO, PB, PE and PI) |
| Defamation (<i>Difamação</i>) ²² | 22 | (except for MS, PB, PE and PI) |
| Defamation (<i>Injúria</i>) ²³ | 14 | (except for AP, CE, ES, GO, MS, PB, PE, PI, PR, RN, RO, and SC) |

Moral violence related to cases of defamation involving falsely imputing a criminal offense (*calúnia*) and imputing a noncriminal but disreputable conduct (*difamação*) are also widely registered by different states. Cases of defamation involving verbal abuse (*injúria*) are registered less frequently.

Other Important Variables for Mapping Violence

In addition to the different incidents of violence, it is important to have access to disaggregated data in order to have a clear understanding of the factors behind the victimization of women. In other words, we need more information about the incidence of each type of violence in the municipalities, the age and race of female victims, and also the types of weapons used by perpetrators. In this sense, the table below provides a glimpse of the level of data disaggregation in different states.

| Data Variables | Number of States that Register | Which states register? |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--|
| Municipality of the incident | 20 | (except for AC, AM, CE, RO, RN, SC, SP) |
| Victim's Age | 23 | (except for PB, RN, SC, and SP) |
| Victim's Race | 18 | (except for CE, MA, PB, PE, PI, PR, RN, SC, and SP) |
| Weapon used by the perpetrator | 16 | (except for AC, ES, MT, RN, RR, SC, PB, RO, RS, SP and TO) |

Based on the information extracted from the table above, it becomes clear that some states do not segregate incident data per municipality. The state of Amazonas is of particular interest when it comes to the lack of disaggregated information per city, given that they only have data on violence against women for the capital, Manaus. There is no information for the rest of the state. It is also noteworthy that Acre, Ceará, Rondônia, Rio Grande do Norte, Santa Catarina and São Paulo only provide data concerning lethal forms of violence per municipality. Other types of non-lethal violent incidents are not disaggregated.

Only two states do not categorize incidents according to the age of the victim, even though this is one of the best variables in this data group. It is worth noting that Rio Grande do Norte only registers age information for lethal violence. With regards to the victim's race, this type of data is treated as secondary when these crimes are registered in police stations. In a country

²¹ In Art. 138 of the Penal Code, this type of defamation (*calúnia*) is described as the act of falsely imputing a criminal offense to someone else.

²² In Art. 139 of the Penal Code, this type of defamation (*difamação*) is described as the act of imputing a noncriminal but disreputable conduct to someone else.

²³ In Art. 140 of the Penal Code, this type of defamation (*injúria*) is described as the act of insulting someone, offending their dignity or honor.

where violence against black women is growing year after year, as opposed to violence against white women, failing to register this information can be quite detrimental to the development of public policies focusing on the women who are most in need of this type of support.

Finally, when it comes to the weapons used by the perpetrator, the data shows that only five states (Paraíba, Rondônia, Rio Grande do Sul, São Paulo, and Tocantins) do not provide this information for registered incidents. On the other hand, the other six states (Acre, Espírito Santo, Mato Grosso, Rio Grande do Norte, Roraima, and Santa Catarina) only register data on weapons for lethal incidents.

5. The bottlenecks: What are the Gaps in Data Collection on Violence Against Women?

Access to information is a major challenge in Brazil. In order to obtain information about **public security in Brazil**, we relied primarily on requests for access to information via e-SIC (Citizen Information Service System). Most of these requests had to be filed more than twice, because either the government did not respond, or they sent incomplete information. Few states have information on the perpetrator profile, and only four sent data about race. In other cases, we only received state-wide information, instead of detailed statistics about crimes per municipality.

6. Recommendations

Based on this experience, seven main points should be highlighted:

Pursuing gender equality and ending violence against women must become a priority once again.

Ever since Dilma Rousseff's administration, the deterioration of this agenda has had an impact on the public policies aimed at fighting violence against women, and it has also influenced the way in which competent authorities collect data to inform such policies.

Improving, standardizing, and centralizing data on violence against women is necessary, given that data informs public policies.

For example, only 23 states sent data on femicides. Nevertheless, most of the information is incomplete, lacking important risk assessment indicators, such as the victim's race, relation to the perpetrator and even weapons used to commit the crime. And the fact is that this data is essential to identify the individual risk factors.

Moreover, femicides are underreported. We still heavily rely on the accounts of the first to arrive at the crime scene and on the police report, which are not the best ways of identifying this type of crime. We need to improve training for the professionals working on the ground.

An analysis of healthcare data, using murders against women committed in their own homes as a proxy for femicides, suggests that there is a clear racial bias. While the murders of white women in their homes decreased by 15%, the same indicator for black women has increased by 87% and that of indigenous women by 167% in the last 20 years.

The data also indicates that, in 50% of the cases, the weapon used to perpetrate the crime was a firearm. Therefore, there is no way of reducing the number of homicides without addressing the matter of gun and ammunition control. In the last 20 years, the number of white women murdered through the use of firearms has decreased by 46%. This same indicator has increased 64% for black women and 79% for indigenous women.

In sum, data is crucial, and healthcare data alone is not enough, we also need public security data.

Femicides are preceded by several acts of violence. Therefore, understanding the patterns behind this type of violence and addressing this issue in combination with the fight against violence against women is crucial.

Data on all other types of violence are much more limited and there is no policy for identifying women who are at risk. We recommend going back to the National Form for Life Risk and Protection, which was designed as a way of identifying, qualifying, and classifying the vulnerability of women. This tool was misconstrued and is not being fully implemented in all states.

Investments in prevention policies are necessary.

The EVA platform also has a database on public policies on fighting violence against women. As previously highlighted, out of 295 initiatives, a large portion, representing 35%, focus on "Awareness-raising and capacity-building on gender equality and violence against women and girls". They consist mostly of awareness-raising campaigns or events. In most cases (94%), we do not have easy access to the amount invested or the duration of these interventions (61%). Reports on the results of the interventions only exist in 10% of these cases, and less than 2% are effectively evaluated. In other words, we have no knowledge about how much is being

invested in the fight against violence against women, or even if these actions have an actual impact on the levels of violence.

What we do know is that other identified initiatives are not actually policies, but rather specific actions focusing on what happens after an episode of violence. We need preventive actions that address the risk factors.

This leads us to one final point about violence against women, which goes beyond domestic violence. In addition to the previously mentioned examples, it is also important to point out that there is a growing number of cases of gender-based political violence, including against female human rights advocates.

Expanding the concept of femicide to include political femicide.

Female human rights advocates are at serious risk of political femicide. The penal code must be adapted to incorporate this important dimension.

Creating goals to reduce femicides in municipalities that will be included in the National Public Security Plan.

Establishing goals to reduce femicides in municipalities that will receive support from the Federal Government is of paramount importance, because this clearly indicates that the reduction of this type of crime is considered a priority, along with the reduction of lethal crimes in general. Usually, when there is a drop in the number of homicides in a particular municipality, this does not necessarily mean that all target groups are equally affected. Currently, the implemented policies have a greater impact in reducing deaths among white men than among black women. Therefore, having a variable that considers race becomes quite strategic.

The creation of specific goals signals that local stakeholders must establish strategies for different target groups. It also indicates that this broader perspective will be considered when monitoring such initiatives. In the case of lethal crimes involving female victims, goals that focus exclusively on reducing femicides are not enough. Measures to reduce murders of women are also required. Otherwise, these cases would possibly be misclassified, since categorizing these deaths is still a great challenge.

In addition, it is difficult to calculate and set specific goals for the reduction of crimes against life. The best strategy is to develop the goal based on a broader 4-5 year historical series, and to determine the acceptable level of deaths within a 5-year period. Calculating the percentage based on a historical series and a future projection makes it possible to split the reduction target in a longer timeframe and enables the development of long-term actions. Finally, presenting the percentage in absolute numbers divided into shorter periods of time tends to keep stakeholders engaged in meeting the goals, thus making the results more achievable.

7. Annex

Data obtained from the request via the Access to Information Act.

Acre: Secretariat of Public Security. Data obtained from the request via the Access to Information Act.

Alagoas: Secretariat of Public Security. Data obtained from the request via the Access to Information Act.

Amazonas: Secretariat of Public Security. Data obtained from the request via the Access to Information Act.

Amapá: Secretariat of Justice and Public Security. Data obtained from the request via the Access to Information Act.

Bahia: Secretariat of Public Security. Data obtained from the request via the Access to Information Act.

Ceará: Secretariat of Public Security and Social Defense. Data obtained from the request via the Access to Information Act.

Distrito Federal: Secretariat of Public Security. Data obtained from the request via the Access to Information Act.

Espírito Santo: Secretariat of Public Security and Social Defense. Data obtained from the request via the Access to Information Act.

Goiás: Did not respond to request.

Maranhão: Secretariat of Public Security. Data obtained from the request via the Access to Information Act.

Mato Grosso: Secretariat of Public Security. Data obtained from the request via the Access to Information Act.

Mato Grosso do Sul: Secretariat of Justice and Public Security. Data obtained from the request via the Access to Information Act.

Minas Gerais: Secretariat of Public Security. Data obtained from the request via the Access to Information Act.

Pará: Secretariat of Public Security and Social Defense. Data obtained from the request via the Access to Information Act.

Paraíba: Secretariat of Public Security and Social Defense. Data obtained from the request via the Access to Information Act.

Piauí: Did not respond to request. Data collected from the 2018 Report on Crime Indicators. Available at: http://www.ssp.pi.gov.br/download/201901/SSP09_8bf9d02b01.pdf

Paraná: Secretariat of Public Security. Data obtained from the request via the Access to Information Act.

Rio de Janeiro: Public Security Institute (ISP). Data obtained from the request via the Access to Information Act.

Rio Grande do Norte: Secretariat of Public Security and Social Defense. Data obtained from the request via the Access to Information Act.

Rio Grande do Sul: Secretariat of Public Security. Data obtained from the request via the Access to Information Act.

Rondônia: Secretariat for Security, Defense and Citizenship. Data obtained from the request via the Access to Information Act.

Roraima: Secretariat of Public Security. Data obtained from the request via the Access to Information Act.

Santa Catarina: Secretary of Public Security. Data obtained from the request via the Access to Information Act.

Sergipe: Secretary of Public Security. Data obtained from the request via the Access to Information Act.

São Paulo: Secretariat of Public Security. Data obtained from the request via the Access to Information Act.

Tocantins: Secretariat of Public Security. Data obtained from the request via the Access to Information Act.