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**VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN THE  
LEGAL AMAZON IN THE LAST FIVE  
YEARS COMPARED TO THE REST  
OF THE COUNTRY:** disproportionate  
lethal violence and more pronounced  
escalation of non-lethal violence

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This report was supported through a grant from **Open Society Foundations**



# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report analyzes the scenario of violence against women in the Legal Amazon over the last five years. Data from Evidence on Violence and Alternatives for Women and Girls – EVA platform,<sup>1</sup> which consolidates information from official health systems and public security agencies, are utilized. Data from the Public Security Secretariats of Brazilian states show that, during this period, there was a 12% reduction in the rates of intentional homicide of women in the Amazon, contrasted with a 14% decrease observed in the rest of the country. Four states in the Amazon region recorded an increase in their intentional homicide rates over the last five years, contributing to a less significant reduction in the region compared to the rest of the country: Rondônia (+58.6%), Mato Grosso (+41.4%), Maranhão (+26.4%) and Tocantins (+10.9%). In the same period, femicide rates in the Amazon increased by 22%, following an upward trend also observed in the rest of the country, with a growth of 12%. It is important to note that femicide rates are slightly higher in the Amazon than in the rest of the country, being in 2022 1.6 and 1.3 per 100,000 women, respectively.

The situation of women in the Legal Amazon is alarming. In the last five years, there has been a 47% increase in the rates of non-lethal violence in the region, while in the rest of Brazil, this growth was 12%. Although the rates of all types of non-lethal violence, except sexual violence, are lower in the Legal Amazon compared to the rest of the country, the pace of growth of these rates in the region was significantly higher over the last five years. Physical violence increased by 37% in the Legal Amazon, in contrast to just 3% in the rest of the country. Economic violence grew by 62% in the region, compared to 51% in the rest of the country. On the other hand, psychological violence experienced an increase of 82% compared to 14%.

Regarding sexual violence, rates are considerably higher in the Legal Amazon than in the rest of the country. In 2018, the rate in the Amazon region was 45.4 per 100,000 women, compared to 32.9 in the rest of the country. By 2022, these rates increased to 60.8 and 47.0, respectively. It is crucial to highlight the incidence of this type of violence against girls aged 0 to 14 years in the Amazon, who represented approximately 69% of the victims in the last five years.

Contrary to the trend of decreasing non-lethal violence rates between 2019 and 2020, observed in a study by the Igarapé Institute,<sup>2</sup> in the Legal Amazon, the rates of psychological and economic violence experienced significant growth during the most critical period of the Covid-19 pandemic.<sup>3</sup>

A detailed analysis reveals that the state of Pará played a decisive role in this increase. For economic violence, an increase in the rate from 3.5 per 100,000 women in 2019 to 8.2 in 2020 was observed, representing an increase of +134%. In 2020, the cases recorded in Pará accounted for approximately 76% of the total cases of economic violence against women in the Legal Amazon. For psychological violence, the rate increased from 66.7 to 133.3 per 100,000 women from 2019 to 2020 (+100%). The cases registered in the state represented around 68% of the total cases of psychological violence with female victims in the Legal Amazon in 2020.

This report highlights that women from the Amazon are proportionally more victims of homicides and sexual violence than women from other regions of the country. It also points out that the records of non-lethal violence reached the highest numbers of the entire historical series (since 2009) in the year 2022. Furthermore, it reveals a more accelerated growth of the rates of physical, economic, and psychological violence compared to the rest of Brazil.

# INTRODUCTION

The Amazon, known for its biodiversity, is the scene of intense geopolitical disputes around the exploitation of its natural resources, involving various significant economic actors, illicit groups, and criminal activities.

Among the various illicit activities present in the daily life of the region, we can highlight logging, agriculture, and livestock farming with negative environmental impacts, illegal mining, especially of gold, land usurpation, and other forms of environmental degradation.<sup>4</sup> These criminal activities in the Amazon go beyond the destruction of forest biodiversity, also revealing institutional fragility through complex criminal networks that foster drug trafficking, child sexual exploitation, slave labor, and high levels of violence in its various forms.<sup>5</sup>

The Amazon is a region marked by various layers of violence, underdevelopment, and reduced quality of life for its diverse population.<sup>6</sup> The high homicide rates in the region, which has a rate of intentional violent deaths 45% higher than the national average and is among the six deadliest cities in Brazil,<sup>7</sup> evidence of a situation of excessive and persistent violence.

Although the homicide rate is the most used parameter to measure violence worldwide, it hides the brutal reality of women's life experiences, who are the main victims of all types of violence, except for homicides. In the Amazon region, this is no different.

In this sense, women are exposed to a greater variety of violence considered "less severe" because they do not directly result in death, compared to men. However, the murders of women often represent the final stage of a succession of aggressions.<sup>8</sup>

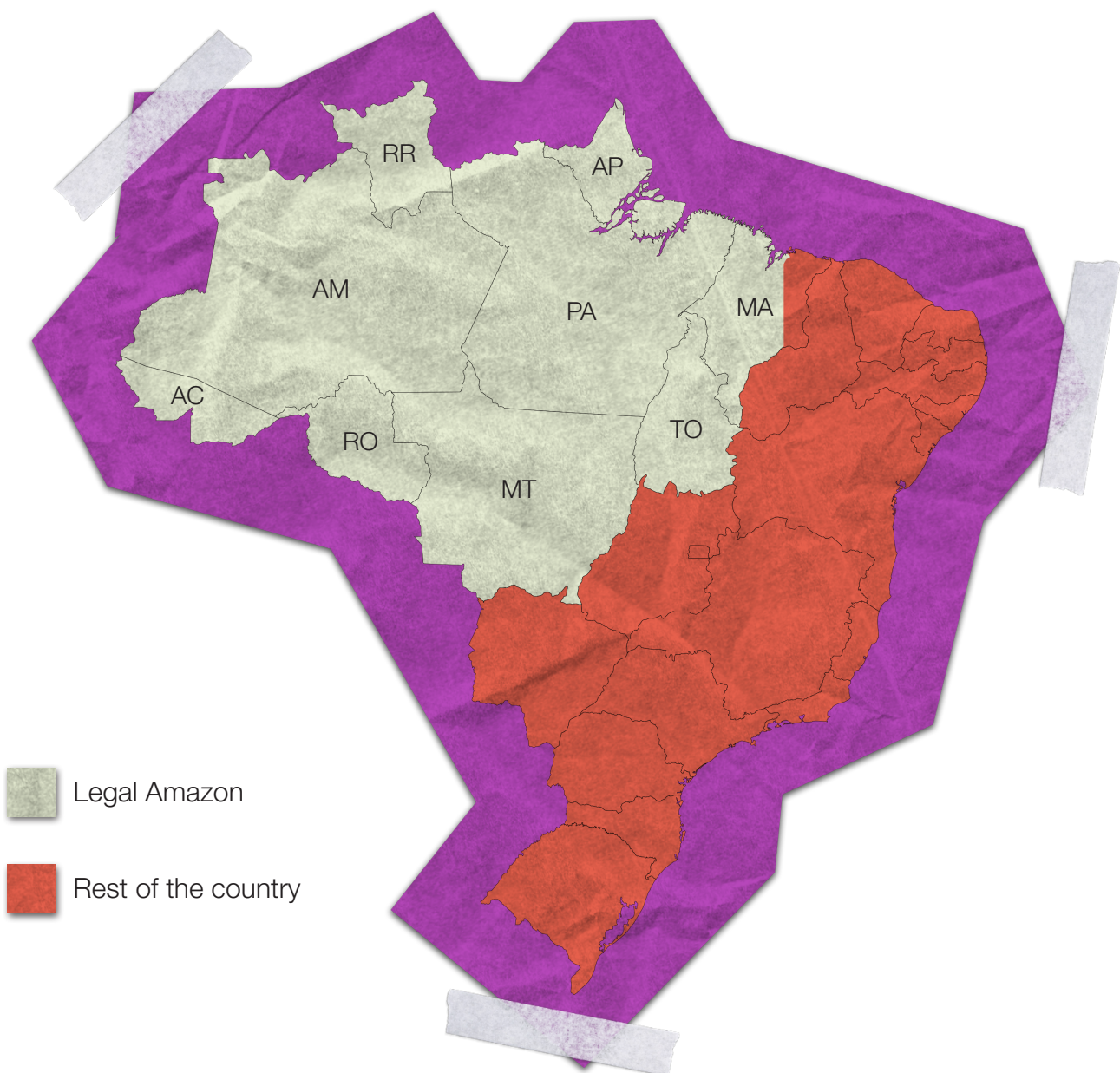
Considering the disproportionality of female victimization in all forms of non-lethal violence – which often do not receive the necessary attention in the formulation of public policies and in debates on the subject, constantly marked by a lack of standardization and reliability in data sources –, the EVA platform<sup>9</sup> and the productions derived from it seek to contribute with the systematization and analysis of data. The goal is to map and understand the patterns of violence against women, providing inputs for the planning of evidence-based public policies, capable of modifying the adverse reality.

This report aims to provide a detailed overview of violence against women in the Amazon region over the last five years.

# METHODOLOGY

For the systematization of data related to violence against women over the past five years, this report utilized data available on the EVA platform, which consolidates official records from health systems and public security bodies of three countries: Brazil, Colombia, and Mexico.<sup>10</sup>

The Brazilian Legal Amazon comprises the following states: Acre, Amapá, Amazonas, Mato Grosso, Pará, Rondônia, Roraima, Tocantins, and 75% of the state of Maranhão. The rest of Brazil consists of the other states, excluding the territory of the Legal Amazon.



Source: Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), [https://geoftp.ibge.gov.br/organizacao\\_do\\_territorio/estrutura\\_territorial/amazonia\\_legal/2022/Mapa\\_da\\_Amazonia\\_Legal\\_2022\\_sem\\_sedes.pdf](https://geoftp.ibge.gov.br/organizacao_do_territorio/estrutura_territorial/amazonia_legal/2022/Mapa_da_Amazonia_Legal_2022_sem_sedes.pdf).

The numbers presented in this report<sup>11</sup> were extracted from two main sources: a database from the Brazilian health system, which compiles information on non-lethal violence,<sup>12</sup> up to the year 2022, and a database of occurrences of lethal violence, recorded by the Public Security Secretariats and Civil Police,<sup>13</sup> as updated until 2022.

Figure 1. Databases by period

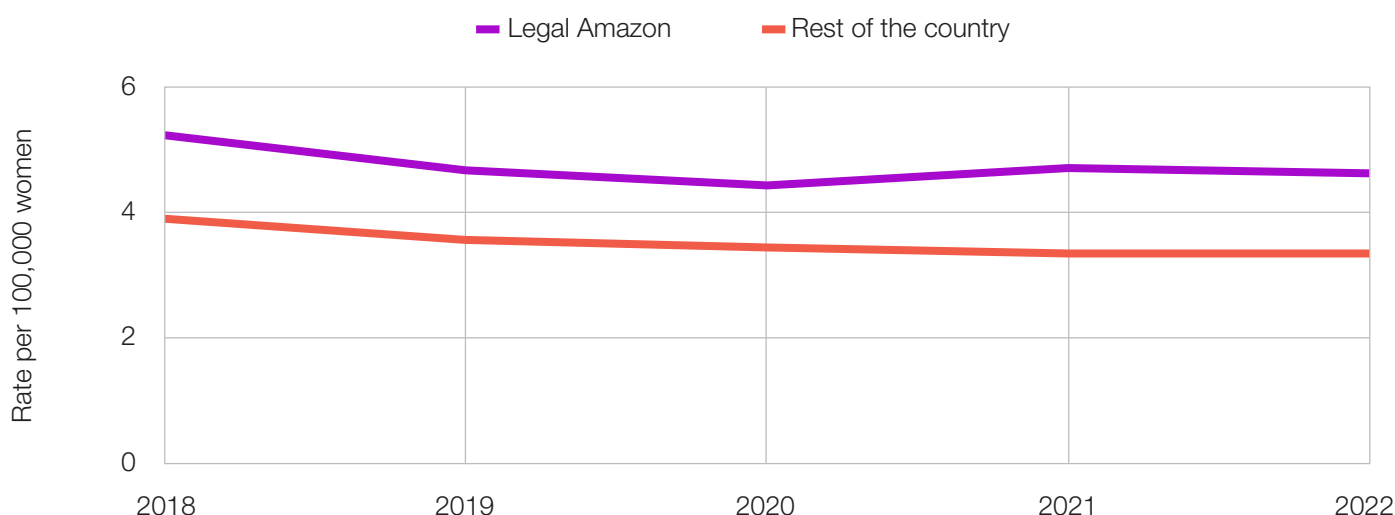
Health System Database	Public Security Database
Non-lethal	Lethal
2018-2022	2018-2022

Sources: Igarapé Institute, based on data provided by Brazil’s health system for non-lethal violence (Violence and Accidents Surveillance System - General Coordination for Non-Communicable Diseases and Conditions Surveillance and Health Promotion, Department of Non-Communicable Diseases and Conditions Surveillance and Health Promotion - Interpersonal Violence); and information on lethal occurrences obtained through the Access to Information Law (LAI) and in the public database of the Public Security Secretariats and Civil Police of the 27 federative units of Brazil. For years with missing data due to LAI requests, annual statistics from the [Fórum Brasileiro de Segurança Pública](#) were used to complete the information.

## Homicides against women in the Legal Amazon from 2018 to 2022

In the last five years, there was a 12% reduction in the homicide rates<sup>14</sup> against women in the Amazon, going from a rate of 5.2 murders per 100,000 women in 2018 to 4.6 in 2022. However, this decrease is smaller than the reduction in homicides of women that occurred in the rest of the country during the same period, which was 14%. In the rest of the country, the rates decreased to 3.9 in 2018 from 3.35 in 2022.

Figure 2. Homicides against women in the Amazon and in the rest of the country (2018-2022)



Source: Igarapé Institute, based on information obtained through the Access to Information Law (LAI) and public databases of public security secretariats and civil police from the 27 federative units of Brazil, and additional data from the [Fórum Brasileiro de Segurança Pública](#).

The more modest reduction in women's murders in the region over the last five years is due to a significant increase in the rates of four states: Rondônia (+58.6%, from 4.4 to 6.9), Mato Grosso (+41.4%, from 4 to 5.7), Maranhão (+26.4%, from 2.9 to 3.6) and Tocantins (+10.9, from 4.0 to 4.5).

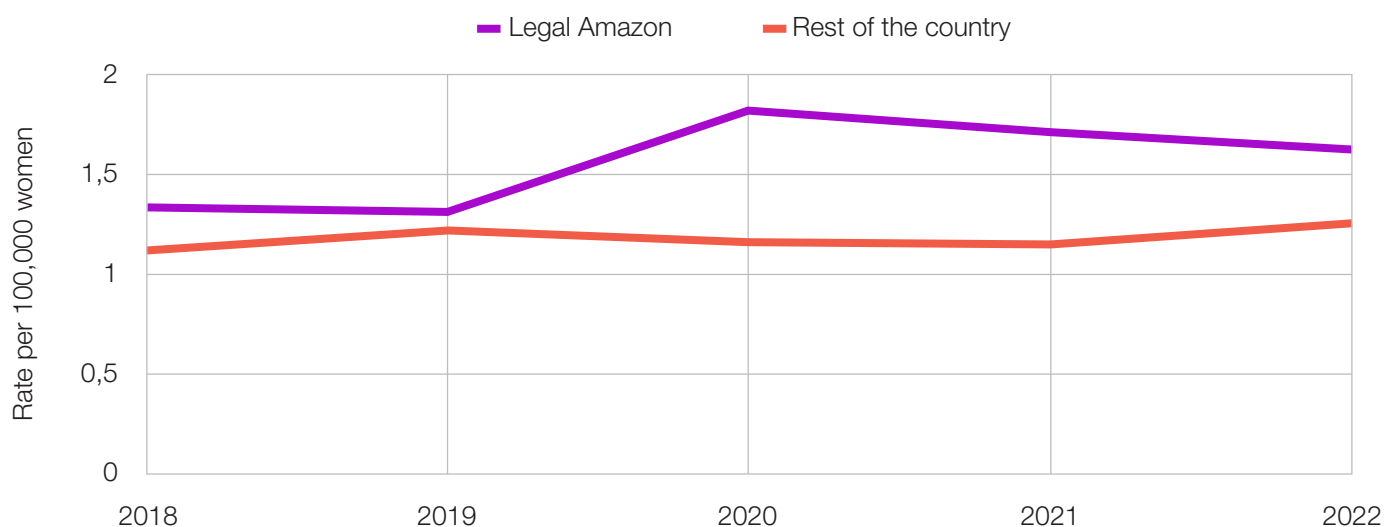
Figure 3. Rates and percentage variation<sup>15</sup> of intentional homicide of women by state of the Legal Amazon (2018-2022)

Rates and percentage variation in intentional homicide of women in the Legal Amazon (2018-2022)						
States	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	Variation 2018-2022
Acre	8.1	7.0	6.9	6.2	4.6	-43.3%
Amazonas	4.5	4.4	3.0	5.1	4.1	-9.0%
Amapá	4.1	9.0	4.4	5.0	3.1	-23.5%
Maranhão <sup>16</sup>	2.9	2.9	3.6	3.6	3.6	26.4%
Mato Grosso	4.0	5.1	6.0	4.8	5.7	41.4%
Pará	7.7	5.2	4.3	4.6	4.7	-38.2%
Rondônia	4.4	3.2	6.5	5.3	6.9	58.6%
Roraima	9.6	8.2	5.3	8.0	6.2	-35.5%
Tocantins	4.0	4.9	5.1	5.0	4.5	10.9%

Source: Igarapé Institute, based on information obtained through the Access to Information Law (LAI), public databases of the public security secretariats and civil police of the 27 federative units of Brazil, and additional data from the [Fórum Brasileiro de Segurança Pública](#).

It is important to note that cases of femicide,<sup>17</sup> a classification included in the definition of aggravated intentional homicide, recorded a 12% increase in their rates in the rest of the country over the last five years, moving from 1.1 per 100,000 women in 2018 to 1.3 per 100,000 women in 2022. Amazon followed this trend, presenting a 22% increase in the rates of this type of crime in the same period. In 2018, the femicide rate in the Amazon was 1.3 per 100,000 women, reaching its peak in 2020 – the most critical year of the Covid-19 pandemic – with a rate of 1.8, and marking a rate of 1.6 in 2022.

Figure 4. Femicide in the Amazon and in the rest of the country (2018-2022)



Source: Igarapé Institute, based on information obtained through the Access to Information Law (LAI) and public databases of the public security secretariats and civil police of the 27 federative units of Brazil, and additional data from the [Fórum Brasileiro de Segurança Pública](#).

Figure 5. Rates and percentage variation of femicide by state of the Legal Amazon (2018-2022)

Rates and percentage variation of femicide in the Legal Amazon (2018-2022)						
States	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	Variation 2018-2022
Acre	3.2	2.5	2.7	2.6	2.0	-39.3%
Amazonas	0.2	0.6	0.8	1.1	0.9	370.5%
Amapá	0.7	1.7	2.1	0.9	1.8	147.6%
Maranhão <sup>18</sup>	1.2	1.4	1.9	1.6	1.8	45.2%
Mato Grosso	2.5	2.3	3.6	2.5	2.6	6.5%
Pará	1.6	1.1	1.6	1.5	1.2	-21.6%
Rondônia	0.8	0.8	1.6	1.9	2.4	200.6%
Roraima	1.4	2.0	3.0	1.6	0.9	-34.6%
Tocantins	0.8	1.3	1.3	2.8	1.9	138.7%

Source: Igarapé Institute, based on information obtained through the Access to Information Law (LAI) and public databases of the public security secretariats and civil police of the 27 federative units of Brazil, and additional data from the [Fórum Brasileiro de Segurança Pública](#).

In 2018, femicide cases in the Legal Amazon accounted for approximately 26% of the total homicides against women. By 2022, this proportion rose to approximately 35%.

Femicide data may indicate an increase in the incidence of this qualification in the murders of women. However, they may also signal a change in the registration and classification methods adopted by public security systems, methods that, in addition, differ among Brazilian states.



The numbers referring to lethal violence represent only a part of the reality of violence faced by women. The specialized literature demonstrates that murders of women are often the final phase of a series of previous aggressions.<sup>19</sup> In the following section, we will present an overview of the last five years related to non-lethal violence against women in the Amazon.

## Non-lethal violence against women in the Legal Amazon from 2018 to 2022

All forms of non-lethal violence against women in the Legal Amazon have increased over the past five years, with a increase of:



Source: Igarapé Institute, based on data provided by the Brazilian health system for non-lethal violence (Violence and Accident Surveillance System – General Coordination of Surveillance of Non-Communicable Diseases and Health Promotion, Department of Surveillance of Non-Communicable Diseases and Health Promotion - Interpersonal Violence).

Among all types of non-lethal violence recorded by Brazilian health agencies, physical violence is the most prevalent in the Amazon, representing approximately 40% of the total cases of violence against women in the region over the last five years. In contrast, in the rest of the country, cases of physical violence accounted for approximately 55% of the total cases in that same period. However, despite the increase in absolute numbers – a pattern observed in all types of violence – physical violence had a smaller growth compared to the increases in economic violence (+71% in absolute numbers) and psychological violence (+91% in absolute numbers).

Figure 6. Proportion of types of violence against women in the Legal Amazon (2018-2022)

Years	Physical Violence	Economic Violence	Psychological Violence	Sexual Violence	Total
2018	8,537 (43%)	282 (1%)	4,908 (25%)	6,216 (31%)	19,943 (100%)
2019	9,461 (42%)	280 (1%)	6,087 (27%)	6,701 (30%)	22,529 (100%)
2020	9,246 (38%)	470 (2%)	8,444 (35%)	5,895 (25%)	24,055 (100%)
2021	9,396 (37%)	465 (2%)	8,116 (32%)	7,243 (29%)	25,220 (100%)
2022	12,211 (40%)	483 (2%)	9,362 (30%)	8,710 (28%)	30,766 (100%)

Source: Igarapé Institute, based on data provided by the Brazilian health system for non-lethal violence (Violence and Accidents Surveillance System - General Coordination of Non-Communicable Diseases and Health Promotion Surveillance, Department of Non-Communicable Diseases Surveillance and Health Promotion - Interpersonal Violence).

The section aims to detail data regarding female victims in the Legal Amazon from 2018 to 2022,<sup>20</sup> according to the classification established by the Maria da Penha Law, enacted in 2006.<sup>21</sup>

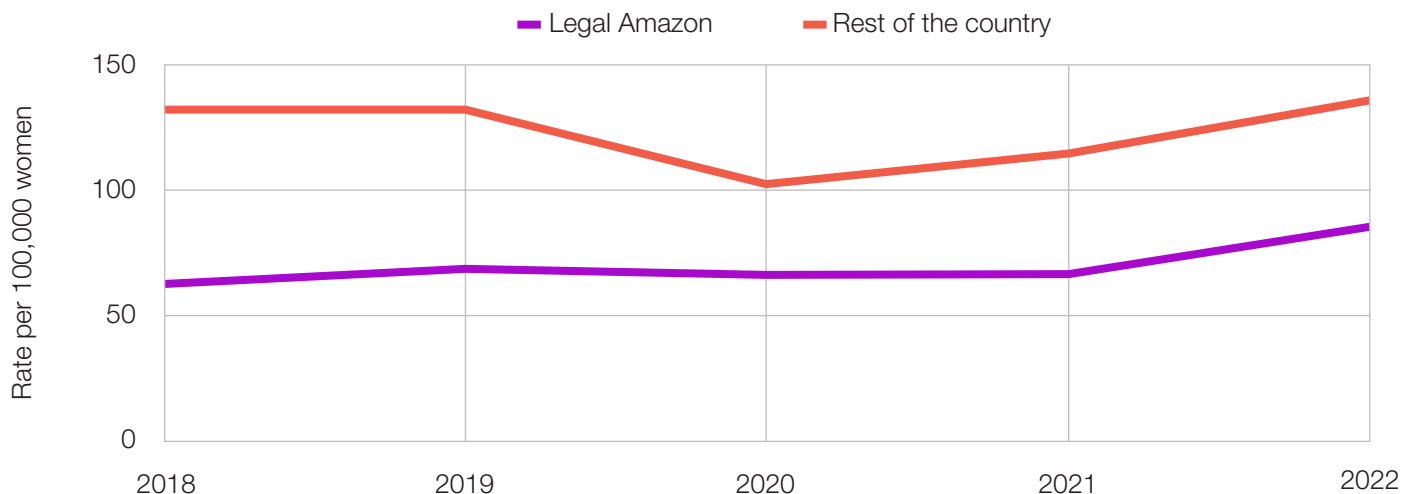
## Physical Violence

Physical violence is understood as “any behavior that offends the integrity or physical health of a woman.”<sup>22</sup>

In the last five years, the Legal Amazon has seen a 37% increase in the rates of this type of violence, a contrast with the increase of only 3% observed in the rest of the country, although the rates remain lower than the rest of the country. Between 2018 and 2021, the rates of physical violence in the Amazon varied between 62.4 and 66.3 per 100,000 women. In 2022, this rate reached 85.2 per 100,000 women, the highest rate recorded in the historical series of the database systematized by the Igarapé Institute, which aggregates information on non-lethal violence since 2009.

In the rest of the country, there was a significant drop in the rates of physical violence between 2019 and 2020, during the pandemic, from 131.7 to 102.4 per 100,000 women. From 2020, the rates began to grow again, reaching the same level as in 2019. Between 2021 and 2022, the growth in the Legal Amazon and the rest of the country was similar, presenting, in both cases, the highest rates within the period analyzed, reaching, respectively, 85.2 and 135.8 per 100,000 women in 2022.

Figure 7. Rates of physical violence against women in the Legal Amazon and in the rest of the country (2018-2022)



Source: Igarapé Institute, based on data provided by the Brazilian health system for non-lethal violence (Violence and Accidents Surveillance System - General Coordination of Non-Communicable Diseases and Health Promotion Surveillance, Department of Non-Communicable Diseases Surveillance and Health Promotion - Interpersonal Violence).

In 2022, 12,206 cases of physical violence against women were registered in the Amazon, which represents more than 33 women suffering from physical violence per day in the region.

In the same period, the states of the Legal Amazon with the highest rates of physical violence against women were Roraima (203.6), Acre (119.9), and Tocantins (117.8). Over the last five years, the state that showed the greatest increase in its rates for this type of violence was Pará, with 114.9%.

Figure 8. Rates and percentage variation of physical violence against women by state of the Legal Amazon (2018-2022)

Rates and percentage variation of physical violence against women by state of the Legal Amazon (2018-2022)							
States	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	Variation 2019-2020	Variation 2018-2022
Acre	126.7	104.8	95.5	112.9	119.9	-8.9%	-5.4%
Amazonas	78.5	97.0	65.8	68.3	90.4	-32.2%	15.2%
Amapá	75.1	73.4	45.6	48.4	63.7	-37.9%	-15.2%
Maranhão <sup>23</sup>	33.2	39.1	31.9	37.4	47.0	-18.4%	41.6%
Mato Grosso	63.1	64.0	55.9	56.5	88.8	-12.7%	40.7%
Pará	44.2	56.9	82.8	77.8	95.0	45.5%	114.9%
Rondônia	57.0	47.7	45.6	48.4	66.5	-4.4%	16.7%
Roraima	197.7	214.5	141.1	158.5	203.6	-34.2%	3.0%
Tocantins	144.3	120.9	113.9	94.2	117.8	-5.8%	-18.4%

Source: Igarapé Institute, based on data provided by Brazil's health system for non-lethal violence (System of Violence and Accidents Surveillance - General Coordination of Disease Surveillance and Non-Communicable Problems and Health Promotion, Department of Surveillance of Diseases and Non-Communicable Problems and Health Promotion - Interpersonal Violence).

Over the last five years in the Legal Amazon, approximately half of the cases of physical violence against women were committed by partners or ex-partners, while about 16% of the cases have no information about the aggressors. In the same period, the use of physical force was responsible for approximately 63% of the cases of physical violence in the region, and sharp objects were used in 14% of the occurrences.

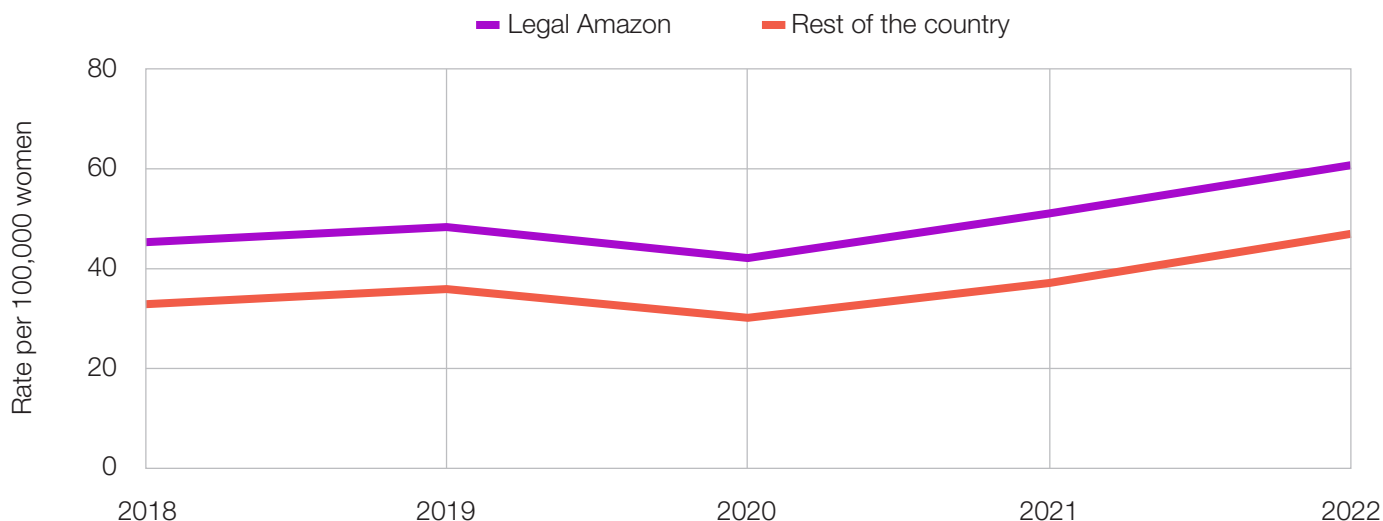
Girls from 0 to 14 years old accounted for approximately 15% of the victims of physical violence in the Amazon in the last five years, a proportion higher than that observed in the rest of the country, which is 9%.

## Sexual Violence

In Brazil, sexual violence is defined as “any behavior that coerces individuals to witness, maintain, or participate in unwanted sexual relationships, through intimidation, threat, coercion, or use of force; that induces individuals to commercialize or use their sexuality in any way; that prevents individuals from using any contraceptive method or that forces them into marriage, pregnancy, abortion, or prostitution, through coercion, blackmail, bribery, or manipulation; or that limits or nullifies the exercise of their sexual and reproductive rights.”

In the last five years, the rates of sexual violence against women in the Amazon increased by 34%, from 45.4 per 100,000 women in 2018 to 60.8 in 2022. In the rest of the country, the growth was 43% in the same period, from 32.9 per 100,000 women in 2018 to 47 in 2022.”<sup>24</sup>

Figure 9. Rates of sexual violence against women in the Legal Amazon and in the rest of the country (2018-2022)



Source: Igarapé Institute, based on data provided by Brazil's health system for non-lethal violence (Violence and Accidents Surveillance System - General Coordination for Disease Surveillance and Non-Communicable Problems and Health Promotion, Department of Surveillance of Diseases and Non-Communicable Problems and Health Promotion - Interpersonal Violence).

The rates of sexual violence against women in the Amazon observed over the last five years are significantly higher than those in the rest of the country, despite following similar patterns of increase and decrease over time.

In 2022, the Amazon recorded:

**8,710**

cases of sexual violence against women



Represents, on average

**24**

female victims of sexual violence per day in the region

Source: Igarapé Institute, based on data provided by Brazil's health system for non-lethal violence (Violence and Accidents Surveillance System - General Coordination for Disease Surveillance and Non-Communicable Problems and Health Promotion, Department of Surveillance of Diseases and Non-Communicable Problems and Health Promotion - Interpersonal Violence).

In the Legal Amazon, in 2022, the states of Roraima (125.8), Acre (104.9), and Tocantins (95.1) presented the highest rates of sexual violence per 100,000 women. Over the last five years, the state that showed the highest growth in this type of violence was Amapá, with 88.5%.



Figure 10. Rates and percentage variation of sexual violence against women by state in the Legal Amazon (2018-2022)

Rates and percentage variation of sexual violence against women by state in the Legal Amazon (2018-2022)							
States	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	Variation 2019-2020	Variation 2018-2022
Acre	155.2	99.4	89.7	111.1	104.9	-9.8%	-32.4%
Amazonas	77.4	74.2	50.6	76.4	88.7	-31.8%	14.6%
Amapá	35.7	41.0	24.6	53.9	67.3	-40.0%	88.5%
Maranhão <sup>25</sup>	16.0	17.9	19.1	21.7	24.0	6.7%	50.0%
Mato Grosso	30.0	34.9	33.9	32.7	45.4	-2.9%	51.3%
Pará	39.3	52.1	48.1	60.1	68.4	-7.7%	74.0%
Rondônia	25.6	20.6	22.4	22.0	30.2	8.7%	18.0%
Roraima	69.0	97.4	74.8	86.9	125.8	-23.2%	82.3%
Tocantins	99.1	94.3	83.5	67.5	95.1	-11.5%	-4.0%

Source: Igarapé Institute, based on data provided by Brazil's health system for non-lethal violence (Violence and Accidents Surveillance System - General Coordination for Disease Surveillance and Non-Communicable Problems and Health Promotion, Department of Surveillance of Diseases and Non-Communicable Problems and Health Promotion - Interpersonal Violence).

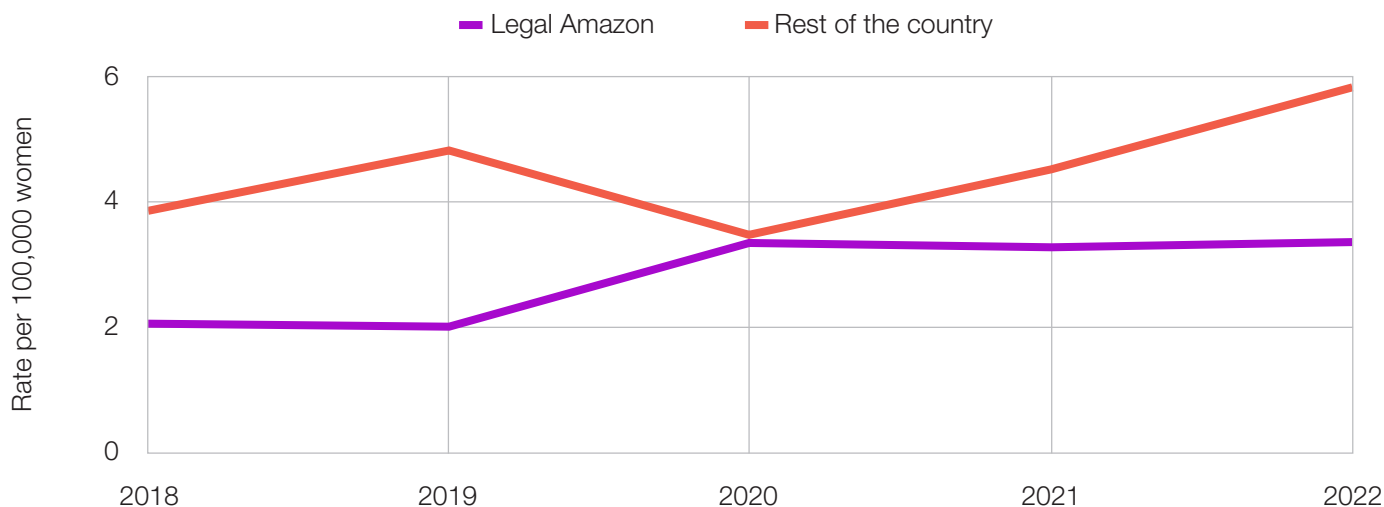
About 69% of sexual violence victims in the last five years were girls aged between 0 to 14 years, while in the rest of the country, that percentage is approximately 56%.

## Economic Violence

Economic violence is defined as “any behavior that constitutes retention, subtraction, partial or total destruction of their objects, work instruments, personal documents, economic, values, and rights or economic resources, including those intended to satisfy their needs.”<sup>26</sup>

In the last five years, rates of economic violence against women in the Amazon increased by 62%, while in the rest of the country, the increase was 51% (from a rate of 3.9 per 100,000 women in 2018 to 5.8 in 2022). The rates of this form of violence in the Amazon increased from 2.1 per 100,000 women in 2018 to 3.4 in 2022,<sup>27</sup> showing a more marked growth than in the rest of Brazil. There is a noticeable abrupt jump between 2019 and 2020, from a rate of 2.0 in 2019 to 3.4 in 2020, followed by stability in the following years.

Figure 11. Rates of economic violence against women in the Legal Amazon and in the rest of the country (2018-2022)



Source: Igarapé Institute, based on data provided by Brazil's health system for non-lethal violence (Violence and Accidents Surveillance System - General Coordination for Disease Surveillance and Non-Communicable Problems and Health Promotion, Department of Surveillance of Diseases and Non-Communicable Problems and Health Promotion - Interpersonal Violence).

A detailed analysis revealed that the jump between 2019 and 2020 was primarily driven by a significant increase in the rates recorded in Pará, which went from 3.5 per 100,000 women in 2019 to 8.2 in 2020 – corresponding to an increase of approximately 134% in its rates. In 2020, the cases recorded in Pará accounted for about 76% of the total cases of economic violence against women in the Legal Amazon. It is important to note that, although Amapá recorded an increase of 220% in its rates from 2019 to 2020, the absolute numbers of the state represented only 1.5% of the total cases in the Legal Amazon region. In 2022, the state of Pará maintained the highest rate of economic violence against women in the Amazon region, with 5.7 per 100,000 women.

Figure 12. Rates and percentage variation of economic violence against women by state of the Legal Amazon (2018-2022)

Rates and percentage variation of economic violence against women by state of the Legal Amazon (2018-2022)							
States	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	Variation 2019-2020	Variation 2018-2022
Acre	0.5	0.7	1.1	1.1	0.9	57.1%	80.0%
Amazonas	1.8	2.1	1.4	1.4	2.0	-33.3%	11.1%
Amapá	3.6	0.5	1.6	4.1	4.9	220.0%	36.1%
Maranhão <sup>28</sup>	1.2	1.0	0.8	1.4	0.8	-20.0%	-33.3%
Mato Grosso	1.2	0.9	1.6	1.3	4.0	77.8%	233.3%
Pará	3.3	3.5	8.2	7.5	5.7	134.3%	72.7%
Rondônia	0.6	0.7	0.3	1.0	4.2	-57.1%	600.0%
Roraima	3.9	6.5	2.3	2.2	4.6	-64.6%	17.9%
Tocantins	2.1	1.2	1.3	0.4	1.5	8.3%	-28.6%

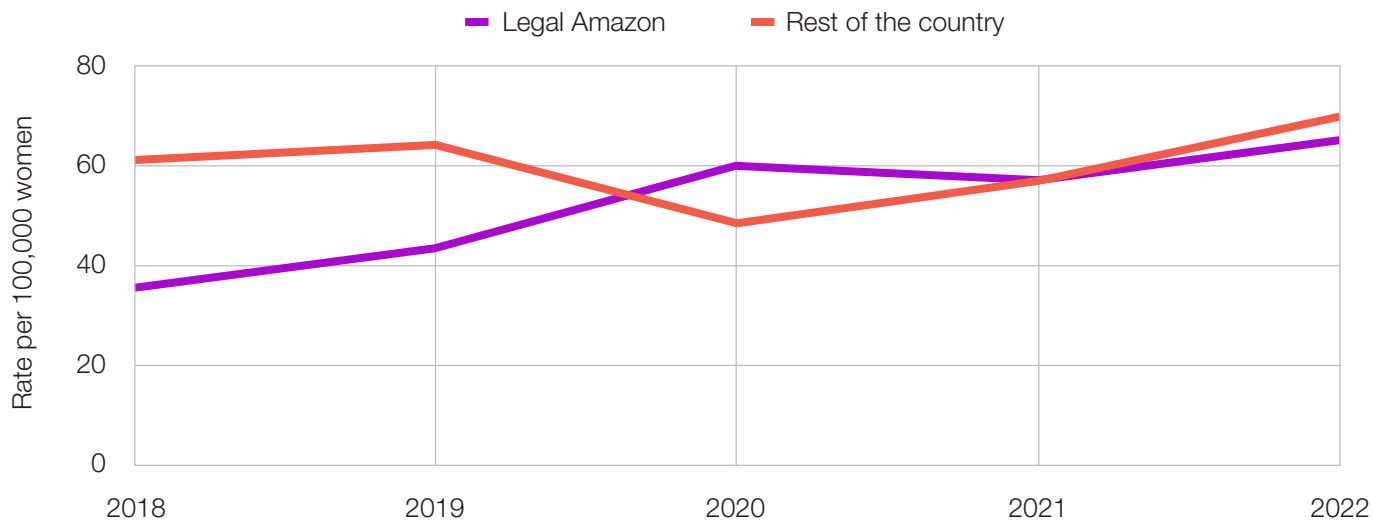
Source: Igarapé Institute, based on data provided by Brazil's health system for non-lethal violence (Violence and Accidents Surveillance System - General Coordination for Disease Surveillance and Non-Communicable Problems and Health Promotion, Department of Surveillance of Diseases and Non-Communicable Problems and Health Promotion - Interpersonal Violence).

## Psychological Violence

Psychological violence is defined as “any behavior that causes emotional harm and diminishes self-esteem or that harms and disturbs full development or aims to degrade or control one’s actions, behaviors, beliefs, and decisions, through threat, coercion, humiliation, manipulation, isolation, constant surveillance, persistent stalking, insult, blackmail, violation of privacy, ridicule, exploitation, and restriction of the right to come and go or any other means that causes harm to psychological health and self-determination.”<sup>29</sup>

In the last five years, there was an 82% increase in the rates of psychological violence against women in the Amazon, while in the rest of the country, the growth was 14% in the same period, from 61.1 in 2018 to 69.8 in 2022. In the Amazon, although the rates are lower compared to the rest of the country, they showed a significantly more accelerated growth, from 35.9 per 100,000 women in 2018 to 65.3 in 2022. Between 2018 and 2020, there was a significant jump in the rates of this type of violence – from 35.9 in 2018 to 43.9 in 2019, reaching 60.2 in 2020. In the following years, the rates remained relatively stable, with a new and significant increase between 2021 and 2022.

Figure 13. Rates of psychological violence against women in the Legal Amazon and the rest of the country (2018-2022)



Source: Igarapé Institute, based on data provided by Brazil's health system for non-lethal violence (Violence and Accidents Surveillance System - General Coordination for Disease Surveillance and Non-Communicable Problems and Health Promotion, Department of Surveillance of Diseases and Non-Communicable Problems and Health Promotion - Interpersonal Violence).

In 2022, there were

**9,362**

cases of psychological violence against women in the Legal Amazon

which equates to approximately

**26**

women victims of this type of violence in the region **every day**

Source: Igarapé Institute, based on data provided by Brazil's health system for non-lethal violence (Violence and Accidents Surveillance System - General Coordination for Disease Surveillance and Non-Communicable Problems and Health Promotion, Department of Surveillance of Diseases and Non-Communicable Problems and Health Promotion - Interpersonal Violence).

A more detailed analysis of the occurrences of psychological violence by state in the Legal Amazon revealed that the sudden increase in the rates of psychological violence between 2019 and 2020 was largely driven by a significant increase in the rates recorded in Pará, which went from 66.7 per 100,000 women in 2019 to 133.3 in 2020 — an approximate increase of 100% in their rates. In 2020, the cases recorded in Pará accounted for about 68% of the total cases of psychological violence against women in the Legal Amazon.



In 2022, Pará, along with Roraima, had the highest rates of psychological violence in the Amazon region, with 119.5 and 134.5 per 100,000 women, respectively. The states of Pará and Mato Grosso recorded the highest increases in rates of psychological violence over the last five years, with growths of 165.6% and 108.9%, respectively.

Figure 14. Rates and percentage variation of psychological violence against women by state of the Legal Amazon (2018-2022)

Rates and percentage variation of psychological violence against women by state of the Legal Amazon (2018-2022)							
States	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	Variation 2019-2020	Variation 2018-2022
Acre	52.0	46.1	46.1	44.5	52.9	0.0%	1.7%
Amazonas	37.7	41.2	22.5	31.9	34.9	-45.4%	-7.4%
Amapá	45.6	41.2	26.5	35.1	48.4	-35.7%	6.1%
Maranhão <sup>30</sup>	20.3	24.3	19.0	22.1	22.5	-21.8%	10.8%
Mato Grosso	31.6	36.9	36.3	33.7	66.0	-1.6%	108.9%
Pará	45.0	66.7	133.3	116.4	119.5	99.9%	165.6%
Rondônia	21.4	17.2	16.3	20.6	34.2	-5.2%	59.8%
Roraima	67.9	78.7	88.0	116.5	134.5	11.8%	98.1%
Tocantins	40.4	34.3	34.2	21.4	32.2	-0.3%	-20.3%

Source: Igarapé Institute, based on data provided by Brazil's health system for non-lethal violence (Violence and Accidents Surveillance System - General Coordination for Disease Surveillance and Non-Communicable Problems and Health Promotion, Department of Surveillance of Diseases and Non-Communicable Problems and Health Promotion - Interpersonal Violence).

It is crucial to highlight that between 2018 and 2022, about 41% of the cases of psychological violence against women involved the use of physical force. Additionally, during the same period, partners or ex-partners were responsible for about half of the records of these types of violence.

Girls aged 0 to 14 years accounted for about 24% of the victims of this type of violence in the Amazon in the last five years, a rate higher than that observed in the rest of the country, where the percentage was 13% during the same period.

## FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The data collected over the last five years present a worrying scenario for women and girls in the Brazilian Legal Amazon. In addition to the significant increase in rates of all forms of non-lethal violence against women, the homicide rate is considerably higher in the Amazon compared to the rest of the country. The region showed a less expressive reduction in the last five years – 12% in the Legal Amazon vs 14% in the rest of the country. Femicide rates are also higher in the Amazon than in the rest of the country, with 1.6 in the Amazon and 1.3 in the rest of the country in 2022.

This study shows that lethal violence disproportionately affects Amazonian women compared to women from other regions of Brazil. The report also highlights an alarming situation regarding non-lethal violence. The year 2022 recorded the highest numbers in the entire historical series that began in 2009, with a growth of 47% in the last five years.

It is worth noting the cases of sexual violence, which have significantly higher rates in the Amazon region than in the rest of the country. There is also a high incidence of this form of violence in girls aged 0 to 14 years – they accounted for about 69% of the victims of sexual violence in the last five years in the region, in contrast to 56% in the rest of the country.

Several Studies<sup>31</sup> indicate that the Legal Amazon is the most violent region in Brazil, with crimes ranging from illegal mining and logging to disputes related to drug trafficking. In a scenario of constant conflict, violence, and public insecurity, the numbers suggest that these dynamics are also affecting women. The data from the last five years are a significant alert: women in the Amazon suffer disproportionately more from lethal and sexual violence than women in other regions of Brazil. Moreover, the rates of physical, psychological, and patrimonial violence against women have grown more rapidly compared to the rest of the country.

# ENDNOTES

1. Igarapé Institute (2023). Evidence on Violence and Alternatives for Women and Girls - EVA platform. <https://eva.igarape.org.br/>.
2. Igarapé Institute (2023). The violence against women in Brazil in the last five years: reduction in homicides and increase in non-lethal violence. <https://igarape.org.br/en/>.
3. The rates of physical violence remained relatively stable in the period analyzed, showing small variations between the two years. On the other hand, the rates of sexual violence followed the trend observed in the rest of the country, registering a decline between 2019 and 2020.
4. Igarapé Institute, Soberania e Clima, Fórum Brasileiro de Segurança Pública, and Instituto Clima e Sociedade (2022). [Governar para não entregar: uma agenda de Segurança Multidimensional para a Amazônia brasileira](#).
5. Estadão (2022). <https://www.estadao.com.br/brasil/amazonia-ecossistema-de-crimes-favorece-do-desmatamento-ao-traffic>.
6. Igarapé Institute, Soberania e Clima, Fórum Brasileiro de Segurança Pública, and Instituto Clima e Sociedade (2022). [Governar para não entregar: uma agenda de Segurança Multidimensional para a Amazônia brasileira](#).
7. O Globo (2023): <https://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/noticia/2023/11/30/com-forte-presenca-do-narcotrafico-violencia-na-amazonia-explode-veja-ranking.ghtml>.
8. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2015). [Recommendations for action against gender-related killing](#).
9. Igarapé Institute (2023). Evidence on Violence and Alternatives for Women and Girls - EVA platform. <https://eva.igarape.org.br/>.
10. To obtain more details about the data used in the EVA platform, visit [https://eva.igarape.org.br/metodologia\\_eva\\_pt.pdf](https://eva.igarape.org.br/metodologia_eva_pt.pdf).
11. The data in this report has been updated with the responses received from all 27 states of Brazil as of April 5, 2024. For clarity, all rates have been rounded, although percentage calculations are based on the original, unrounded rates. Information is subject to review and modification.
12. Surveillance System of Violence and Accidents – General Coordination of Surveillance of Non-Communicable Diseases and Health Promotion, Department of Surveillance of Non-Communicable Diseases and Health Promotion - Interpersonal Violence. To download the open data, visit: <https://datasus.saude.gov.br/transferencia-de-arquivos/>.
13. Information obtained by the Igarapé Institute through the Access to Information Law (LAI) and from the database of the Public Security Secretariats and Civil Police of the 27 federative units of Brazil. In years when data was unavailable due to requests under the Access to Information Law (LAI), annual statistics from the [Fórum Brasileiro de Segurança Pública](#) were used.
14. To compile data on the murder of women, numbers of intentional homicide and femicide were added, the latter being a classification included in the definition of qualified intentional homicide.
15. Rate values have been rounded for clearer visualization in the report. However, percentage variations are calculated using the original figures.
16. The data from Maranhão corresponds to 75% of the state that is part of the Legal Amazon.
17. Brazilian Penal Code (1940). Art. 121. To kill someone: VI - Against a woman on grounds of gender condition. § 2-A It is considered that there are reasons for the gender condition when the crime involves: I - domestic and family violence; II - contempt or discrimination towards the condition of being a woman.
18. The data from Maranhão corresponds to 75% of the state that is part of the Legal Amazon.
19. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2015). [Recomendaciones para la acción contra los asesinatos relacionados con el género de mujeres y niñas](#).
20. In the Legal Amazon, the fluctuations of non-lethal violence rates were different compared to the rest of the country, where there was a drop in all rates of this violence from 2019 to 2020, the critical year of the Covid-19 pandemic. In the Amazon, the rates of physical violence remained, with a small variation from 68.3 in 2019 to 66.0 in 2020. On the other hand, the rates of sexual violence followed the pattern observed in the rest of the country, with a decrease from 48.4 in 2019 to 42.1 in 2020. In the cases of the rates of psychological and economic violence, the movement was the opposite, with an increase in their rates from 2019 to 2020. The rates of psychological violence increased from 43.9 per 100,000 women in 2019 to 60.2 in 2020, and the rates of economic violence increased from 2.0 in 2019 to 3.4 in 2020.
21. [Law 11.340](#), also known as the Maria da Penha Law, establishes mechanisms to combat domestic and family violence against women.
22. Maria da Penha Law (2006). [Law 11.340](#), article 7, section I.
23. The data from Maranhão corresponds to 75% of the state that is part of the Legal Amazon.
24. Maria da Penha Law (2006). [Law 11.340](#), article 7, section III.
25. The data from Maranhão corresponds to 75% of the state that is part of the Legal Amazon.
26. Maria da Penha Law (2006). [Law 11.340](#), article 7, section IV.
27. There were 282 cases of patrimonial violence recorded in 2018, with an increase to 483 cases in 2022. Despite the significant increase, it is important to note that, in absolute terms, the numbers are low.
28. The data from Maranhão corresponds to 75% of the state that is part of the Legal Amazon.
29. Maria da Penha Law (2006). [Law 11.340](#), article 7, section II.
30. The data from Maranhão corresponds to 75% of the state that is part of the Legal Amazon.
31. Veja (2023): <https://veja.abril.com.br/brasil/amazonia-legal-vira-regiao-mais-violenta-do-pais>.

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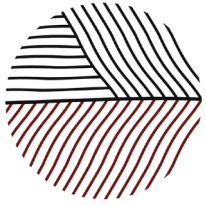
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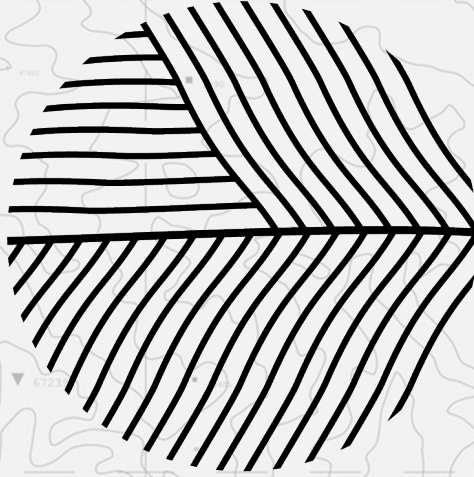
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