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**ANALYSIS OF THE CARE
NETWORK FOR MEN
AUTHORS OF DOMESTIC
VIOLENCE IN THE
BRAZILIAN CONTEXT**

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Abstract: The aim of this study is to map and describe the care network for male perpetrators of domestic violence. We propose to characterize care practices and scope of actions, evaluate the effectiveness of care and recognize the perception of professionals who work in the care network. Eleven care services for men who committed acts of domestic violence participated in the study: 7 located in municipalities in SP, 2 located in municipalities in SC and 2 in municipalities in RS. It found that all services provided assistance exclusively through reflective groups. As common characteristics of the services, the diversity of the theoretical basis of the groups and the voluntary work of professionals from different sectors was verified. Respondents reported that the public assisted is varied, however, there is a predominance of men with lower levels of education and economic power, aged between 20 and 30 years and ethnicity of brown and black. The interviews pointed little articulation between the services with the political and judicial systems and the lack of investment and instruments for assessing effectiveness. Among the main challenges reported by the services, there is a need for more public tenders and expansion of the articulation of projects with the Legal sphere. We conclude that the theme is incipient in Brazil and, therefore, the groups of men who are perpetrators of domestic violence are still in the process of development.

Keywords: Men Perpetrators of Domestic Violence; Assistance Network; Masculinity.

INTRODUCTION

The implementation of assistance services for men who are perpetrators of domestic violence is, even today, incipient in the Brazilian context. Added to this, we see that research and interventions with this public have received little attention both by governmental and non-governmental

bodies and by academia (LIMA, BUCHELE, CLIMACO, 2008, p.69 apud TONELI, BEIRAS, RIED, 2017). According to Dantas and Mélo (2008), “a very small number of titles refer directly to men, associating the concept of gender almost exclusively with women, reflecting little on issues related to the socialization of men and the processes of symbolic, cultural construction. and broader institutional” (p.80).

Attention to male perpetrators of domestic violence in the context of public confrontation of domestic and family violence has been progressively implemented since Law 11,340, known as the Maria da Penha Law (BRASIL, 2006). With this, it is understood that the Law works as a safeguard for the victim with a reparative device for the aggressor, since a single item of art. 35 mentions the creation and promotion of “education and rehabilitation centers” without discussing the structure and organization of centers for assistance to “aggressors”. That said, it still makes an understanding that assistance to the aggressor is managed by public security through: Women’s Police Stations, Courts of Domestic and Family Violence against Women; in addition to the recently created Services of Accountability and Education of the Aggressor (BRASIL, 2011), former “Education and rehabilitation centers for perpetrators of violence”, which are equipment responsible for monitoring the sentences and the decisions handed down by the court, and not for the health and quality of life of the male perpetrator.

In view of this, we can see important limitations and side effects in the interventions, since both interventions, educational and coercive, sanctioned and applied from the perspective of a single Legal Instance of the public sphere, make it impossible to improve the social problem. In other words, the focus on accountability for the violence committed,

as well as the conception of education that characterizes these legal services (MANKOWSKI et al., 2002; AUGUSTA-SCOTT, 1999; BROWN, 2002), force the adequacy of the individuals approached to a hegemonic diagnosis that is not necessarily a good prognosis (COWBURN, 2005; COWBURN, 2006). The coercive models, on the other hand, obtain adherence from the participants (MANKOWSKI et al., 2002; SCHROCK, PADAVIC, 2007), however, it is a passive technique of discredit, even by the technicians (BROWN, 2002). This endorses the view that punishment alone does not provide the opportunity for the perpetrator of domestic violence to repair his act (VICENTE, 2003 apud KULKA, LEONEL PEREIRA ROCHA, ERNANI RIGOTI, 2020). On the contrary, it can lead to recidivism, since the identity and stigma of the aggressor remain fixed, which minimizes the possibilities of change. Therefore, in a more pessimistic perspective, one can infer the idea that many men can improve their control over women, even making use of negotiation techniques and discursive skills taught within the scope of the programs, or worse, such men they would be reproducing against their partners the techniques of power and control exercised against them in the context of the intervention (MANKOWSKI et al., 2002; COWBURN, 2006).

According to Rifiotis (2008), studies point out that, to interrupt the cycle of violence, it is necessary to go beyond the social and legal conception. Since, when approaching the perspective of the author of domestic violence, the professional must pay attention to the intentionality and motivation of the practiced act. It is also important to observe the consequent damage caused by the act, the author's perception of the result of the violence, and whether, in fact, the author sees his action as violent (LIMA, 2004 apud

TONELI, BEIRAS, RIED, 2017). With such premises identified, it becomes possible to understand and also restore the life of the man who is the perpetrator of domestic violence. It is important to emphasize that, in domestic violence, there is no winner, the aggressor (man) also has his self-esteem and love destroyed, and may feel helpless (MUSZKAT, 2011 apud HOKAMA, 2015). That's why, the psychological treatment of male aggressors involved in domestic violence, along with other judicial and social measures, is a necessary action, as it can be a way to help them face their limitations, deal with their anguish, understand and control impulses, review and understand their beliefs and work on their self-esteem (ECHEBURUA & SANTIAGO, 2010 apud HOKAMA, 2015). The male author of domestic violence configures a cultural and historical problem, with roots in the sexist ideology that, even today, marks corporate organizations. Individualizing or pathologizing, pure and simple, does not seem to be the smartest and most effective strategy for coping with it. It is necessary to go beyond criminal punishment and the criminal label to interrupt the interactional context of the cycle of violence (VILLANUEVA, 2012; WALKER, 1979 apud KULKA, LEONEL PEREIRA ROCHA, ERNANI RIGOTI, 2020). It is worth highlighting the scarcity of research on the psychological functioning and behavior of the male aggressor who commits domestic violence. After all, studying this population demands effort from researchers due to the complexity of the factors involved, such as: access limitations, the consent of men who committed domestic violence to the research, in addition to the emotional mobilization that undoubtedly generates this theme. In this sense, an international study (FULU, JEWKES, ROSELLI & GARCIA-MORENO, 2013 apud STENZEL, 2019) points out that investigations with perpetrators of

domestic violence represent a methodological challenge, in addition to arousing less interest when compared to studies with victims of this type of violence. It is worth highlighting the scarcity of research on the psychological functioning and behavior of the male aggressor who commits domestic violence. After all, studying this population demands effort from researchers due to the complexity of the factors involved, such as: access limitations, the consent of men who committed domestic violence to the research, in addition to the emotional mobilization that undoubtedly generates this theme. In this sense, an international study (FULU, JEWKES, ROSELLI & GARCIA-MORENO, 2013 apud STENZEL, 2019) points out that investigations with perpetrators of domestic violence represent a methodological challenge, in addition to arousing less interest when compared to studies with victims of this type of violence. It is worth highlighting the scarcity of research on the psychological functioning and behavior of the male aggressor who commits domestic violence. After all, studying this population demands effort from researchers due to the complexity of the factors involved, such as: access limitations, the consent of men who committed domestic violence to the research, in addition to the emotional mobilization that undoubtedly generates this theme. In this sense, an international study (FULU, JEWKES, ROSELLI & GARCIA-MORENO, 2013 apud STENZEL, 2019) points out that investigations with perpetrators of domestic violence represent a methodological challenge, in addition to arousing less interest when compared to studies with victims of this type of violence.

That said, we can see the importance and urgency in producing scientific and academic knowledge to understand violence in all its facets, so that prevention and intervention alternatives can be thought of (STENZEL,

2014 apud STENZEL, 2019). Therefore, it is very important to invest in research with qualitative methods with perpetrators of domestic violence to deepen knowledge about this violent phenomenon.

THEORETICAL REFERENCE

Violence is a complex social phenomenon present in human history. It is also a public health problem that affects the most different sectors and social contexts. The causes and impacts of violence have been objects of study in several areas of knowledge and, as rightly pointed out by Krug et al. (2002), “along with violence, there have always been religious, philosophical, legal and community systems that were developed in order to prevent or limit it” (p.3).

As defined by the World Health Organization, violence can be defined as “the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, which results in or has a high possibility of resulting in injury, death, psychological damage, developmental disability or deprivation” (KRUG, 2002, p.5). We see, therefore, that there is, in this definition, an emphasis on the intentionality of the act and, in addition, the inclusion of acts resulting from intimidation and power relations as forms of violence.

It must be noted that violent relationships, according to Gregori (1993 apud BRASILINO, 2011), are understood as relationships between people involved in power asymmetries. That is, the focus would be on not differentiating between violent relationships, which are often treated as if they were all similar. Thus, the author proposes that it is not enough to treat the problem of violence as if it were something only related to the couple. The power relations between those involved must be considered.

Since the 1980s, the term violence against

women has been gaining prominence on the national scene. The actions of feminist movements have denounced, in recent decades, situations of oppression and violation of rights suffered as a result of gender relations. As well highlights Schraiber (2003),

“suffering aggression and abuse by close people makes violence against women a situation similar to that of children and the elderly: it is gender issues, linked to inequalities, which cover the aggressions and abuses perpetrated against women and girls that make the violence against women a specific event.” (p.42)

In other words, violence against women can be understood as “one in which the gender of the aggressor and the victim are closely linked to the explanation of this violence” (GONÇALES et al., 2021 p.4 apud CASIQUE, FUREGATO, 2006). We can observe that, mainly in the last two decades, the theme of domestic violence has been taking up space both in the media and the means of communication as well as in the academic field and assistance services. The 1990s were marked by the creation of the first protection policies for women victims of violence and also by the carrying out of the first works with male aggressors. However, only in 2006 was a specific law enacted in Brazil – Law nº 11,340 – which typifies this type of violence and structures the assistance network, with the creation of special courts, programs and actions.

The COVID-19 pandemic has resulted in an increase in cases of domestic violence in the Brazilian context. The fact that spouses (or other family members) remain confined in the domestic environment increased the chance and frequency of cases, as reported by international and national organizations (ALENCAR et al., 2020). Although “social isolation by itself does not cause violence” (BARBOSA et al., 2020 apud STUKER, MATIAS, ALENCAR, 2020), it is an

aggravating factor of incidences in this context.

As possible stressors for the aggressor, the triggers for the worsening of domestic violence in this period of social isolation stand out: the possibility of becoming ill and experiencing the illness of a family member/loved one, which generates fear of not having adequate access to health ; the impossibility of social interaction; economic problems related to job loss, or reduction in monthly family income due to being unable to work; work overload due to remote work; increased time spent with children and adolescents due to the closure of schools and leisure areas; the unpromising news in the media; uncertainty about the near future; in addition to the excessive consumption of alcoholic beverages, and/or the use of narcotics and/or the use of psychoactive substances. These aggressor stressors are associated with the victim's conditions, such as the woman's loss of socio-affective contact, the shaken financial condition, the use of isolation as a means of controlling the partner, the increase in alcohol use, the decrease in women's access to sources of help (MÉLLO et al., 2020 apud SANTOS, 2020). That is, in times of social distancing, families have become even more restricted to the domestic space, living with the uncertainties of a pandemic scenario that involves social, economic and psychological consequences (USHER et al., 2020 apud MENEGATTI, 2020). 2020). That is, in times of social distancing, families have become even more restricted to the domestic space, living with the uncertainties of a pandemic scenario that involves social,

economic and psychological consequences (USHER et al., 2020 apud MENEGATTI, 2020).

For this reason, the present study defends the need to carry out studies and research on the assistance network for victims and perpetrators of domestic violence. In addition to valuable data on the occurrence of new cases, it is essential that we also have information on the care practices developed today. Specifically, This research aims to investigate the assistance network for men who are perpetrators of domestic violence and to analyze the reach and effectiveness of the practices developed in this field. A The study methodology was developed with the aim of collecting information capable of characterizing care services for men who are perpetrators of domestic violence, HAVD, in order to understand: the institutional profile (the dynamics of care and the professional's profile); the profile of the public assisted (behavioral characteristics and rates of recurrence or permanence); and the operation of integration/networking (political articulation and relationship with the Judiciary).

METHODOLOGY

The study adopts a qualitative approach with the aim of investigating the phenomena, facts and particular processes that involve assistance to men who are perpetrators of domestic violence. According to Mynayo and Sanches (1993), qualitative research enables precisely the apprehension of values, representations, attitudes and opinions of the participants, which will be fundamental for us to understand how the workers of the assistance network evaluate the attention to the aggressors.

The research carried out semi-structured interviews with professionals who work in services or projects to assist men who are

perpetrators of domestic violence. The use of this instrument is justified because, as Fraser and Gondim (2004) point out, the interaction between interviewer and interviewee favors the understanding of the studied phenomenon and, moreover, enables the legitimation of data interpretation. In view of sanitary measures to combat COVID-19 and the need for social distancing, the interviews were carried out remotely. The meetings were recorded and later transcribed.

To analyze the information collected, we used the Content Analysis methodology. It is the application of a set of techniques for interpretation of collected data, aiming at the identification and analysis of meanings, explicit or not, of what is being communicated on a given subject, thus enriching the understanding of the data (MOZZATO and GRZYBOVSKI, 2011). To this end, the methodology describes three phases. The first is called "pre-analysis" and consists of the organization and systematization of the material, through floating reading by the researcher. The second moment is the "exploration of the material". In this phase, the researcher is dedicated to the classification and categorization of the information and, from this, it will be possible to trace the main thematic nuclei present in the participants' speech. The last stage, finally, consists of the analysis and interpretation of the results.

Based on the perception of professionals who work in services or assistance projects for male perpetrators of violence, the study found important characteristics regarding the practices and scope of assistance for male aggressors.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

The study interviewed 11 professionals working in different assistance programs for men who have committed domestic violence located in the cities of São Paulo/SP, Santo

André/SP, São José do Rio Preto/SP, Ribeirão Preto/SP, Diadema/SP, Butiá/RS, Caxias do Sul/RS, São Miguel do Oeste/SC and Lages/SC.

We could see that all services and programs exclusively carry out group consultations as a care practice. Below we will present differences and similarities between the programs and the way the groups work.

PROFILE OF PROFESSIONALS

The research found that the professionals who act as facilitators of reflective groups for male aggressors are volunteer workers, mostly trained in the areas of psychology, social work and law. Therefore, as the study by Beiras (2021) also points out, the groups adopt different theoretical and methodological references for holding the meetings, depending on the institutional reality of each location, the availability of professionals and the theories adopted by them. Furthermore, according to Lima (2011 apud LAING, 2002), the choice of the theoretical model adopted by the group “is intrinsically linked to how the programs understand the causes of violence against women. Among the different lenses that can be used for this understanding, the socio-political and the individual or psychological stand out” (p.725).

Regarding the gender of the coordinators, we saw that 6 groups have women as facilitators, and the other 5 groups have exclusively male professionals in charge. Beiras (2021) highlights that the use of male facilitators can contribute to the establishment of bonds and help in the debate of topics that cause discomfort, such as, for example, problems related to anxieties, sexuality, disorders or any other points of fragility. On the other hand, the presence of women in mixed coordination groups proves to be important for the deconstruction of gender representations. Therefore, we can observe that there is no

single recommendation in the field literature on the gender of facilitators.

All groups reported having two professionals responsible for group coordination, and only three groups responded that they did not have psychologists as facilitators or co-facilitators. Having two people acting as facilitators is in line with the literature published by Beiras (2021), which informs that it is important to rotate roles, by observing who performs the most active role, and generating other perceptions about the problematic points.

Finally, we saw that all the programs offer a training course for the professionals before they start working as facilitators. The participants of the study highlight the importance of implementing permanent training courses for the professionals who work with this population. This aspect is also advocated by Beiras (2021) when she states that “the provision of training and updates helps to keep alive the demand for theoretical and methodological soundness, important so that the initiatives are not based on common sense about what masculinities are and how they are built” (p.67). That is, it is necessary to know the theories that underpin the program and the themes worked on, and to have mastery of the techniques used (BEIRAS, INCROCCI, and NASCIMENTO, 2019). Therefore, the training of professionals is a fundamental prerogative for the development of care practices in this field.

PROFILE OF THE AUDIENCE ATTENDED

In all programs analyzed in the study, the men assisted were referred to the group by the judiciary, which, according to Beiras (2021), uses groups of men who are perpetrators of domestic violence as a protective measure and also as a penalty. Therefore, joining the groups can occur voluntarily, involuntarily by court order or spontaneously, that is, without the

need for a police report or protective measure.

Furthermore, we were able to verify that the groups 1 and 2 verbalized not handle cases of attempted femicide or sexual violence. Although the referral is made by the judiciary, Beiras (2021) points out as a possible argument for the exclusion of these subjects, the difficulty in conducting the groups due to the “non-acceptance of these by the perpetrators of other violence”, sustained by a false qualitative separation between violent behaviors. In view of this, the author suggests the creation of specific groups for perpetrators of femicide and sexual violence, as a way of guaranteeing care for this population as well.

Regarding the age of those assisted, we could see that the services provide care for men from 18 years old and do not establish age limits for participation in the groups. Despite this, the study participants point out that the age profile of those assisted is men aged between 20 and 30 years.

The research also found information about the social and economic context of those assisted. Only 2 participants described having assisted men belonging to all social classes. The other groups serve, predominantly, low-income and low-income men of schooling. O Group 7 describes that the most men in care are unemployed. In addition, five groups pointed out that the population served is mainly composed of manual workers and service providers.

The participants did not provide information about the predominance of marital status of the attended subjects. The problematic use of alcohol and other drugs was also pointed out as a recurrent characteristic in the public served.

GROUP OPERATION

The analyzed groups have a predetermined duration in terms of the number of meetings held, varying between 8 and 20 meetings. In

addition, we saw that, in most cases, meetings are held weekly, lasting up to 2 hours in the morning and evening periods. About this way of functioning, Beiras (2021) points out that the literature in this field is “practically unanimous in stating that the groups must work with a pre-established number of sessions”, since having the number of meetings is the basis for the division of themes to cover them, as broadly as possible, the dimensions of the life of the subjects that are related to the act of violence. Furthermore, the study by Beiras, Nascimento and Incrocci (2019) points out that groups must have a minimum number of 12 meetings.

In our study, we saw that most groups had a maximum capacity of 10 participants. This data is in line with what has been indicated in previous studies that point to ten to twenty men as the ideal number of participants, as this number allows all individuals to speak and be heard, without hiding among others and, also, without transform the meeting into a lecture or that the session be centered on a few individuals so that there is a reduction in the collective subjective implication for change (BEIRAS, 2021).

With regard to the themes worked on in the groups, the study found the following themes to be the most recurrent: Maria da Penha Law, non-violent communication, affective and sexual difficulties, sexism, family, self-esteem, prejudice, racial and sexual orientation issues. We could see, therefore, that there is no standardization of the content addressed in the studied groups. It must be noted here that there is not, in the legal norms, a forecast of minimum content to be worked on in the groups, since item III of art. 5, of Law 17.192/19, of the State of São Paulo, which provided for a minimum list of topics, was fully vetoed (Beiras, 2021).

The practice of individual welcoming interviews was verified in three groups that

stated that they held initial meetings aimed at listening to the user in their complaints, in the recognition of their role in the care process and in the responsibility for the resolution through the sharing of knowledge. Individualized care is an important practice in the perception of the interviewees, which contributes to the psychosocial assessment of those assisted and the understanding of the relationships between masculinities and different forms of violence and suffering. In line with Beiras (2021), such prerogatives are essential to “go beyond a vertical approach, in which the team “knows” and the man assisted “does not know”, assuming that, with the transmission of this knowledge, the man will no longer act violently”.

With regard to group dynamics, we found six open groups, in which the focus is the presentation of “[...] a series of themes that all participants must go through - but without a necessary order, with the subject it can enter at any point in the schedule and must remain until the exhaustion of the prepared themes” (BEIRAS, 2021). The other groups reported having opted for closed groups, in which “[...] the work starts with a pre-established number of meetings, and the same participants go from the beginning to the end of the meetings, going through all the themes prepared together” (BEIRAS, 2021). Finally, seven groups reported that, even after the end of the group, some participants continued to participate in the meetings.

It must be noted that all programs reported difficulties in carrying out care during the period of the COVID-19 pandemic, and, as a result, five groups had their activities suspended.

Regarding the effectiveness of the work developed and recidivism of program graduates, all groups reported that those assisted have low rates of recidivism, however, they did not present accurate data on this

topic. The participants mentioned that, in order to measure this index, it would be necessary to have access to the assisted persons’ information linked to different areas, such as, for example, any police reports and legal proceedings or notifications of violence from the assistance services. According to the interviewees, the programs have difficulty in exchanging technical information with other bodies and services in the network, which hinders the mapping of recidivism of assisted in crimes of domestic violence.

Regarding the monitoring of cases of program graduates, we could see that only two groups carried out follow-up practices for men after the end of the group. Research participants point out that the lack of monitoring of graduates is mainly due to the lack of funds for the programs to expand their actions and the lack of articulation with other services in the network.

After stating this, the study points out that it is essential to carry out research capable of measuring the effectiveness of assistance to male perpetrators of violence. In the words of Beiras (2021), it is essential and urgent to “develop measurement methods that can safely indicate the subjective transformations that take place over the course of meetings, as well as verify their permanence over time, based on a diversity of sources.”

ARTICULATION WITH NETWORK EQUIPMENT

The study found that, although some groups are linked to forums and police stations, most programs are managed by civil society groups or non-governmental organizations and have little articulation with other network equipment. Therefore, the financing of these services comes from the private sector or from public resources granted through public notices. It is also worth highlighting the important work of voluntary workers in this

field. Beiras research (2021) also points to a multiplicity in the ways these programs are financed. According to the author,

“What can be seen in longer works is that either there is a specific entity with fundraising systems (such as public notices) or it is possible for part of the staff of bodies such as CREAS, CAPS, Judiciary and Public Prosecutor’s Office to have a few hours assigned to the activities. initiatives, (...) or even the HAV program is part of the internship at some college, especially in Psychology and Law courses (...). There is also the possibility of using funds from the Community Councils, bodies that are accessory to the fulfillment of sentences and that need projects that justify their funding” (p.98).

Therefore, we can observe the absence of a single regulation for assistance services for men who commit domestic violence and the need to elaborate “a specific national policy that can guarantee public funding and a technical and professional structure” (Beiras, Incrocci and Nascimento, 2019, p.272).

In relation to the articulation with the judiciary, we saw that the referral to the groups occurs through the Center for Sentences and Alternative Measures of the Judiciary for men who are serving a protective measure. Beiras (2021, p.131) points out that Law 13,984 contributed to this flow by including in the list of protective measures the urgent possibility of “the aggressor attending recovery and re-education programs and (...) psychosocial monitoring of the aggressor, through individual assistance and/or in a support group”. In addition, we were able to verify that six groups forwarded the attendance list of the participants to the judiciary.

Furthermore, we could observe that five groups were held on the premises of the Forum, although the manual for the Management of Penal Alternatives (BRAZIL, 2020) recommends that such services be located outside the forensic environment; since the

work, in terms of accountability, demands neutrality, in order to make it possible for man to open himself up to dialogue of his own free will, and without the establishment of hierarchies.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

We conclude that, in general terms, the groups are an important psychosocial support space for the HAVD whose resources, reflective methodologies, qualified listening and analytical work corroborate for the promotion of health with broad subjective transformations. If, on the one hand, there are still manifestations whose roots are concentrated in the sexist ideology that makes the male perpetrator of domestic violence a cultural and historical problem, we also have “mobilization actions aimed at the ‘social agents’ who already act in situations of violence against women so that they change the perspective of their interventions, also paying attention to men” (DANTAS, MÉLLO, 2008, p.85).

Therefore, any event, whether characterized as violent or not, are, ultimately, affirmative ways for human beings to live and, therefore, dehumanizing human beings due to their violent behavior does not favor social transformation. Therefore, leaving the aggressor-victim dichotomy provides a symbolic way of dealing with the situation with a view to radical transformation.

However, to understand male perpetrators of domestic violence, it is necessary to include male socialization processes aimed at repressing emotions (DANTAS, MÉLLO, 2008, p.80 apud POTTER, WETHERELL, GILL & EDWARDS, 1990). That said, it is a “socialization model, what is perceived is that it encourages a destructive and often self-destructive attitude” (DANTAS, MÉLLO, 2008, p.80). Therefore, men become hostages of “hierarchical power relations that define

male domination over women” (DANTAS, MÉLLO, 2008, p.81), as they are placed in contexts of violence that impel them to repetition.

Reflective groups for men who are perpetrators of domestic violence are a viable way to change the perspective of these men and, more than that, of every violent relationship that permeates those involved. Exclusive work for the victim does not provide for the radical change in the violent relationship that afflicts society. It is necessary that both the victim and the aggressor receive true transforming aid in the relationship.

That said, the current reality shows potential for development for reflective groups for men who are perpetrators of domestic violence, since working with men in the sense of rescue and psychological and social development, until then little valued, becomes preponderant for understanding of the dynamics of violent relationships between couples.

However, it is necessary that such measures, reflective groups and other future public health measures, do not become strongholds of social stigmatization because they are based exclusively on the few and scarce precepts that Law 13,984 offers them. That is, recovery and psychosocial re-education of the aggressor can, depending on the approach of the professionals and the way in which the HAVD come to receive it, be a means of stigmatizing male perpetrators of domestic violence, as it occurs in penitentiary systems, as pointed out by Dantas & Mélo (2008, p.84). In other words, the HAVD who were socially execrated, booked at the police station and sentenced by the judiciary, can feel themselves in a false process of “recovery”, because, ultimately, they are being punished in a vindictive way.

It is up to the reflective groups for men who are perpetrators of domestic violence to carry out psychosocial care in reverse of the tools

for criminalizing violence so that, with this, there is an expansion of the dialogue between the situation of violence and the application of the Law, as highlighted by Dantas & Mélo (2008, p. 85). Therefore, public health services aimed at these men must be spaces for the treatment of all human relationships, whose qualified listening is the main instrument focus. For this, it is important to point out that the challenges are complex. Among the main ones reported by the interviewed groups, we highlight the need for more public tenders and expansion of the articulation between services and the legal sphere. What meets the incipient condition of the theme as public policy and, at the same time,

We consider that the present work makes a significant contribution to the groups of men who are perpetrators of domestic violence, providing visibility to a reality that is still little known on a broader scale, in order to consolidate the promotion of healthy masculinities, and the confrontation of violence against the women.

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