

System failure and gender-based lethality: text mining on social media

Fallo del sistema y letalidad de género: minería de texto en redes sociales

Falha de sistema e letalidade de gênero: mineração de textos em redes sociais

Allan Muniz Mello^{1*}

ORCID: 0000-0002-2643-1920

Athus Martins Salgado do Amaral¹

ORCID: 0009-0000-9910-7331

Fernando Salgado do Amaral²

ORCID: 0000-0003-4370-3198

Flaviane Santos da Costa³

ORCID: 0000-0002-6859-9852

Renata Maria Santos da Mota⁴

ORCID: 0009-0000-6615-5054

Hosana Cristina Moitinho Marques³

ORCID: 0009-0000-6327-1762

**Maria Cristina Silva de Souza
Mattos⁵**

ORCID: 0009-0000-4283-8168

Rosane de Mattos Vieira⁶

ORCID: 0009-0002-1211-7778

Rosilene dos Anjos de Carvalho⁶

ORCID: 0009-0001-3861-1902

Camilla Freitas da Cunha⁶

ORCID: 0000-0003-1148-8817

¹Centro Federal de Educação
Tecnológica Celso Suckow da Fonseca.
Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

²Universidade Iguaçu. Rio de Janeiro,
Brazil.

³Universidade Federal Fluminense. Rio
de Janeiro, Brazil.

⁴Instituto Nacional do Câncer. Rio de
Janeiro, Brazil.

⁵Universidade Federal do Estado do Rio
de Janeiro. Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

⁶Universidade Federal do Rio de
Janeiro. Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

How to cite this article:

Mello AM, Amaral AMS, Amaral FS,
Costa FS, Mota RMS, Marques HCM,
Mattos MCSS, Vieira RM, Carvalho RA,
Cunha CF. System failure and gender-
based lethality: text mining on social
media. Glob Acad Nurs.
2026;7(3):e590.
[https://dx.doi.org/10.5935/2675-
5602.20200590](https://dx.doi.org/10.5935/2675-5602.20200590)

*Corresponding author:

kronos.producao@gmail.com

Submission: 07-15-2026

Approval: 09-01-2026

Abstract

The present study aims to analyze the social discourse on femicide and the inefficiency of protection policies during the COVID-19 health crisis (2020-2021) and its persistence in the official indicators of 2025. The research adopts a qualitative and documentary design, which integrates critical sociology, black feminist studies, and data science technologies. The methodology is based on the extraction of Twitter publications, processed in the Google Colab environment using the Python language. The digital audit applied the BERTopic Natural Language Processing algorithm for topic modeling, grouping the data into thirteen thematic classes. The results provide evidence of the structural failure of the support flows and the consolidation of social networks as instances of political resistance. The analysis reveals the practical impact of the unconstitutionality of the legitimate defense of honor (ADPF 779) and the operation of racial selectivity that affects black women. It is concluded that penal hardening presents practical limits, requiring the strengthening of support networks and autonomy.

Descriptors: Femicide; Public Policy; Natural Language Processing; Intersectionality; Black Women.

Resumen

El presente estudio tiene como objetivo analizar el discurso social sobre el feminicidio y la ineficiencia de las políticas de protección durante la crisis sanitaria del Covid-19 (2020-2021) y su persistencia en los indicadores oficiales de 2025. La investigación adopta un diseño cualitativo y documental, el cual integra la sociología crítica, los estudios del feminismo negro y las tecnologías de ciencia de datos. La metodología se basa en la extracción de publicaciones de Twitter, procesadas en el entorno Google Colab a través del lenguaje Python. La auditoría digital aplicó el algoritmo de Procesamiento de Lenguaje Natural BERTopic para el modelado de temas, agrupando los datos en trece clases temáticas. Los resultados evidencian la quiebra estructural de los flujos de atención y la consolidación de las redes sociales como instancias de resistencia política. El análisis revela el impacto práctico de la inconstitucionalidad de la legítima defensa del honor (ADPF 779) y la actuación de una selectividad racial que afecta a las mujeres negras. Se concluye que el endurecimiento penal presenta límites prácticos, exigiendo el fortalecimiento de redes de apoyo y autonomía.

Descriptores: Femicidio; Políticas Públicas; Procesamiento de Lenguaje Natural; Interseccionalidad; Mujeres Negras.

Resumo

O presente estudo objetiva analisar o discurso social sobre o feminicídio e a ineficiência das políticas de proteção durante a crise sanitária da COVID-19 (2020-2021) e a sua persistência nos indicadores oficiais de 2025. A pesquisa adota um delineamento qualitativo e documental, o qual integra a sociologia crítica, os estudos do feminismo negro e as tecnologias de ciência de dados. A metodologia pauta-se na extração de publicações do Twitter, processadas no ambiente Google Colab através da linguagem Python. A auditoria digital aplicou o algoritmo de Processamento de Linguagem Natural BERTopic para a modelagem de tópicos, agrupando os dados em treze classes temáticas. Os resultados evidenciam a falência estrutural dos fluxos de atendimento e a consolidação das redes sociais como instâncias de resistência política. A análise revela o impacto prático da inconstitucionalidade da legítima defesa da honra (ADPF 779) e a atuação de uma seletividade racial que afeta as mulheres negras. Conclui-se que o endurecimento penal apresenta limites práticos, exigindo o fortalecimento de redes de apoio e autonomia.

Descritores: Feminicídio; Políticas Públicas; Processamento de Linguagem Natural; Interseccionalidade; Mulheres Negras.



Introduction

Lethal violence against women in Brazilian territory does not emerge as an episodic behavioral deviation but constitutes the direct manifestation of a secular power of possession grounded in colonial heritage and uninterruptedly endorsed by the State¹⁻³. The national legal system has historically operated as a technology of interdiction that confined the female population to the domestic space, depriving women of patrimonial autonomy and subjecting the body of Black women to a brutal objectification dictated by structural racism⁴⁻⁶. Although the approval of the femicide aggravating circumstance and the subsequent declaration of unconstitutionality of the legitimate defense of honor represent undeniable institutional victories, statistical indicators suggest that the isolated criminal norm lacks the capacity to reverse the culture of extermination⁷⁻⁹.

The genealogy of this power of possession dates to the colonial period, in which the legal order of the Philippine Ordinances of 1603 granted legal backing for the husband to murder his wife in situations of adultery. This punitive system operated in symbiosis with seigniorial domestic power, treating the female body and the enslaved body under analogous logics of domination and possession^{2,3,6}. The inquisitorial mentality used conduct manuals and ecclesiastical courts to classify and hierarchize the female population, consolidating male honor as a good superior to the woman's physical integrity^{2,10,11}.

In the Brazilian civil scenario, the *de facto* immobilization of women was consolidated through the Civil Code of 1916, which defined the married woman as civilly incapable and under the absolute headship of her husband^{1,12,13}. Professional practice and the management of one's own assets depended on marital or paternal consent, severely limiting financial autonomy and relegating women to material dependency^{1,13,14}. The advent of the Married Women's Statute in 1962 initiated the formal deconstruction of this tutelage, although daily practices and the justice system maintained structures of patrimonial exclusion in force for decades^{1,3,12}.

The restrictions extended to the intellectual and political sphere, operating what is defined as epistemicide, characterized by the erasure of female productive and cognitive capacity by the State^{4,6,15}. The law of first letters of 1827 segregated curricula for domestic skills, and access to higher education in 1879 contained severe social barriers^{1,10,16}. This exclusion culminated in the conquest of female suffrage in 1932, which, conditioned on literacy, operated as an intersectional exclusion filter that privileged women from white elites and invisibilized peripheral Black women under a device of raciality⁴⁻⁶.

In the criminal sphere, the deresponsibilization of the aggressor found historical shelter in the thesis of legitimate defense of honor. The Ângela Diniz case, which occurred in 1976, illustrates the use of this argument as a legitimate tool for acquittal in jury courts^{3,8}. The judicial discourse transferred blame to transgressive victims, erasing the lethality that asymmetrically affects Black and brown women⁴⁻⁶. The definitive unconstitutionality of this legal

aberration by the Federal Supreme Court occurred only in 2021, through ADPF 779, establishing that male honor is incompatible with the dignity of the human person^{1,7,17}. The typification of femicide by Law No. 13,104 of 2015 sought to confer technical visibility to this history of lethal violence, formally breaking with the archaic category of crimes of passion^{3,8,12}. The first trial under the aggravating circumstance in December 2015, in Riacho Fundo, Federal District, signaled the transition to the objective recognition of gender hatred in national jurisprudence¹⁸. However, statistical studies indicate the dramatic persistence of gender lethality: in 2025, Brazil recorded 1,568 victims of femicide, with a rate of 1.43 per 100,000 women, keeping the country at alarming levels of physical extermination^{19,20}.

This inoperativeness of the protection system worsened during the COVID-19 health crisis (2020-2021), which exacerbated gender lethality by confining victims with their aggressors and evidencing the logistical inefficiency of physical reception flows²¹⁻²³. The chronic persistence of this violence materialized recently in the official indicators of the Ligue 180 Channel (base year 2025), which recorded 155,111 complaints, a growth of 17.4% compared to the previous year, concentrating vulnerability among brown and Black women²⁴⁻²⁶. The "inverted efficacy of the penal system" reflects the State's inoperativeness in protecting women. This phenomenon is evidenced by two indirect state confessions: the typification of 'institutional violence' (admitting that the State revictimizes instead of protecting) and the criminalization of non-compliance with protective measures (assuming the inability to guarantee the victim's safety). Thus, penal rigor functions in a symbolic and illusory manner, masking female vulnerability without interrupting cycles of violence^{47:80}.

Given this historical scenario of physical exclusion, state inoperativeness, and institutional silencing, social networks, especially Twitter (currently X), have consolidated themselves as essential and alternative repositories for spontaneous denunciations and digital auditing of public policies^{27,28}. The monitoring of social discourses through Natural Language Processing algorithms enables the identification of urgent community demands and the mapping of organic support networks created by civil society itself²⁹⁻³¹.

Based on this panorama, the present study aims to analyze the social discourse on femicide and the inefficiency of protection policies during the COVID-19 health crisis and its persistence in official indicators. To respond to this problem, the research adopts a qualitative design focused on mining and modeling textual data from Twitter, demonstrating the preventive failures of support flows and the need to structure regional development policies focused on the civil and financial autonomy of women^{32,33}.

Methodology

Nature and Design of Research

The present investigation is characterized as a study of a qualitative nature and documentary basis, which integrates classical sociological analysis with advanced data



science technologies for the understanding of complex phenomena^{32,34}. The methodological design proposes the investigation of female lethality through systematic rigor in the treatment of large volumes of textual information, aiming to unveil the meanings and tensions present in contemporary social discourse^{33,35,36}. The research uses the support of Natural Language Processing tools to guarantee analytical precision and semantic categorization of data that would escape strictly manual screening^{29,37}.

Constitution of the Corpus and Data Extraction on Twitter

The digital environment has consolidated itself as a fundamental space for capturing spontaneous social reactions and political denunciations about the inoperativeness of state institutions^{27,38}. The Twitter platform, currently called X, acts as a dynamic repository of public debate, which enables the mining of civil society manifestations about femicide and the failures of regional care flows.

The investigation defined the 2020-2021 biennium as the temporal scope of the analyzed data, a period chosen because it represents the peak of the COVID-19 health crisis in Brazil. This scope was strategically selected because compulsory social isolation exacerbated gender violence by confining victims with their aggressors, while at the same time causing the physical collapse of institutional protection equipment (police stations, reference centers, shelters). Given this paralysis of physical reception flows, social outcry and spontaneous denunciations migrated massively to virtual networks, transforming Twitter into an essential repository of civil society manifestations about femicide and failures of regional care flows. The retrospective collection of these publications was carried out later, in the period from January 16 to February 8, 2026, using scraping techniques to capture the historical records of the 2020-2021 biennium preserved on the Platform^{21,22}.

The collection faced technical restrictions inherent to the access policies of the platform's Application Programming Interfaces, which limit the extraction of historical data on free accounts. The absence of funding or institutional sponsorship made it impossible to acquire commercial mining licenses, imposing a material obstacle to the volume of information captured. To circumvent this barrier and guarantee methodological reproducibility, the retrospective scraping of publications was carried out in the period from January 16 to February 8, 2026, with the use of the Zeeschuimer extension, developed by the Digital Methods Initiative (DMI)³⁹. Coupled with the Mozilla Firefox browser, the tool performs passive capture of network traffic (NDJSON format) directly from the platform's web interface during search scrolling, allowing systematic extraction of information.

Data Engineering in Python Language

The technical operationalization occurred in the Google Colab cloud computing environment, using the Python programming language and libraries specialized in mining and text processing^{28,40}. The procedures involved

System failure and gender-based lethality: text mining on social media
data cleaning and standardization, a step that encompassed the removal of special characters, normalization to lowercase, elimination of syntactic noise, and filtering of empty words in the Portuguese language⁴⁰.

The processing used dictionaries for excluding terms without semantic load to preserve exclusively the determining words for topic analysis. This algorithmic treatment resulted in the raw collection of 9,414 publications. From this amount, 145 records corresponding to duplicates and irreversible structural noise were excluded, consolidating a statistically valid sample of 9,269 unique textual records. The automation of this entire productive flow ensures the reproducibility of the study and mitigates subjective bias in the primary selection of processed contents^{32,34}.

Topic Modeling with the BERTopic Algorithm

The extraction of latent patterns in the large volume of data used the state-of-the-art BERTopic algorithm, a technology based on neural networks that performs topic modeling through dense vector representations²⁹⁻³¹. The processing followed three fundamental mathematical phases: the generation of bidirectional textual representations to capture the context of words, dimensionality reduction for the spatial grouping of texts, and the application of statistical relevance calculation to identify the most expressive terms of each class^{29,30}. This artificial intelligence technique organized the dataset into thirteen distinct thematic topics, which materialize social indignations and enable empirical cross-referencing with the historiography of possession discussed in the introduction.

Open Science and Transparency of Methodological Flow

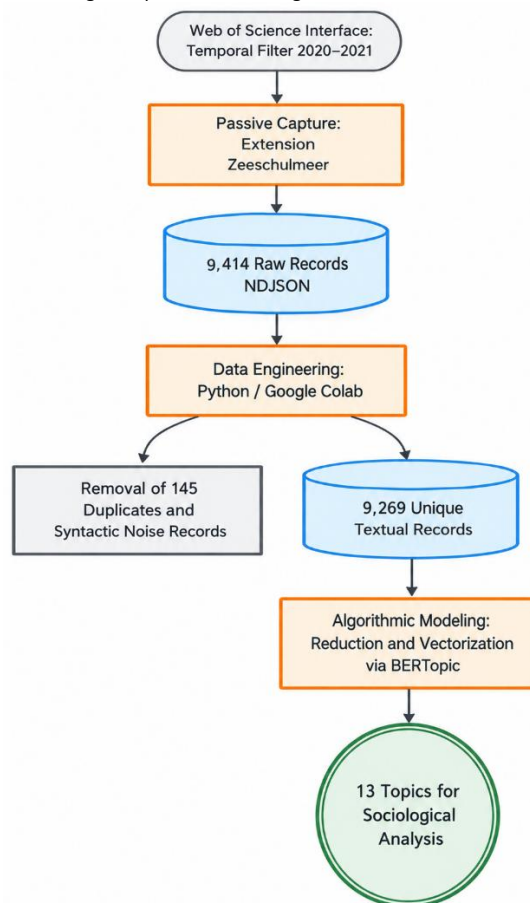
The adoption of the principles of Open Science guarantees the transparency of methods and the validity of sociological findings, submitting the investigation to the scrutiny and evaluation of the scientific community^{32,34}.

The anonymized database and the programming codes used for extraction and modeling are hosted in the institutional repository Open Science Framework, publicly accessible through the DOI link: <https://doi.org/10.17605/OSF.IO/5EK97>.

The structural design of this pathway is presented in Figure 1, which visually documents the volume of raw extraction, the technical screening criteria, and the final sample submitted to the algorithm, which dispenses with the use of exclusive protocols for literature reviews and legitimizes the digital audit of protection flows.

The consolidation of these methodological steps enabled the transition from a massive volume of raw data dispersed across the network to a structured analytical corpus. With the automated categorization of the 9,269 reports into thirteen thematic classes, it became possible to isolate the specific social outcry regarding state failures, whose repercussions and direct implications for public policies will be dissected in the following section.



Figure 1. Flowchart of mining and qualitative filtering of Twitter data. Rio de Janeiro, RJ, Brazil, 2026

Results and Discussion

The presentation of the qualitative results integrates direct transcriptions from the digital corpus, which receive the identification of "Anonymous Record" followed by sequential numbering to attest to algorithmic traceability. The suppression of original identities and social media profiles complies with the ethical precepts of research in virtual environments, protecting the integrity of victims and whistleblowers against possible retaliation or undue exposure^{41,42}. The insertion of these literal voices materializes the social outcry captured by the mathematical model, validating the critical analysis of institutional protection failures through the experience documented by civil society^{4,6,9}.

Overview of Topic Modeling and the Digital Echo of Violence

The algorithmic processing organized the massive volume of information into thirteen latent clusters, which reflect the different dimensions of violence and resistance captured in the virtual environment^{29,34}. The distribution of topics reveals that civil society uses the Twitter platform not only for the reproduction of news but for the construction of active surveillance over the structural failures of the regional protection system^{6,9,38}. The integral systematization of the lexical classes allows us to observe how the outcry for justice is fragmented among denunciations of impunity, legislative debates, and organic solidarity networks^{27,29}.

Chart 1 details the analysis provided by the BERTopic model, consolidating the themes that compose the empirical basis of this investigation^{29,30}.

It is demonstrated that topic modeling captured the complexity of the phenomenon of female lethality, evidencing the breadth of social outcry before structural violence⁶. Although the algorithm identified thirteen distinct semantic clusters, the investigation prioritizes the analytical deepening of the axes referring to the Federal Supreme Court decision, racial intersectionality, the limits of the Maria da Penha Law, systemic impunity, and digital resistance^{33,35,36}.

The selection of this qualitative scope obeys the criterion of theoretical saturation, dispensing with the detailing of strictly informative or journalistic categories to isolate the lexical classes that dialogue with the colonial patriarchal heritage^{29,32}.

The interpretative effort concentrates on the denunciations of the State's inverted efficacy and on the impact of racial selectivity on peripheral bodies, requiring a rigorous qualitative analysis of the institutional protection failure^{4,6,9}. This methodological strategy allows the discussion to advance toward the dissection of the power structures latent in the database, going beyond descriptive enumeration in favor of a deep sociological and governmental audit^{1,2,8}.

Chart 1. Synthesis of the thirteen topics generated by the BERTopic algorithm. Rio de Janeiro, RJ, Brazil, 2026

Topic	Central Theme	Dominant Keywords	Sociological Axis
0	General News on Violence	femicide, crime, death, arrested, murder	Accounts of everyday cases
1	Domestic Violence During the Pandemic	isolation, quarantine, home, assault, danger	Impact of the health crisis
2	Police Response (Police Stations)	report, police report, police station, police officer, delay	Failure in the protection framework
3	Maria da Penha Law	law, protection, protective measure, non-compliance	Legal framework
4	High-Profile Cases	justice, Angela Diniz, visibility, media	Memory and social impact
5	Institutional Support Networks	Call 180, channel, help, telephone, government	Official channels of assistance
6	Stigmatization and Victim-Blaming	victim, behavior, judgment, social	Moral and patriarchal control
7	Debate on Prevention and Education	culture, school, educate, men, change	Cultural reengineering
8	"Defense of Honor" (Legal Defense)	STF, honor, ADPF 779, unconstitutional, Toffoli	Break with colonial possession
9	Intersectionality and Race	Black woman, Black, marginalized areas, racism, mixed-race	Raciality mechanism
10	Impunity and Inverted Efficacy	freedom, impunity, delay, released, judge	Critique of the penal system
11	Legislative Updates	bill, Chamber of Deputies, Senate, amendment, sentence	Normative production
12	Digital Solidarity and Networks	together, support, network, help, Twitter	Disobedient citizenship

The Fall of the Myth of Male Honor and the STF Response

The eighth thematic cluster identifies the repercussions of the Arguing of Non-Compliance with a Fundamental Precept (ADPF) 779, whose preliminary injunction was granted in March 2021 before the definitive confirmation of unconstitutionality by the plenary in 2023⁷. The digital manifestations captured in the period coincide with the preliminary ruling, validating the thesis that honor does not constitute a legal value superior to life and cannot justify female extermination^{1,3,16}. The social monitoring of the Supreme Court's decision materializes in the Twitter discursive flow through direct qualitative evidence:

"The STF has finally struck down the legitimate defense of honor! ADPF 779 made history today, no more using a man's honor to justify femicide" (ANONYMOUS RECORD 825, 2021).

The convergence between legal chronology and virtual outcry indicates that the prohibition of the honor thesis represents the necessary rupture with the inquisitorial and colonial heritage that endorsed uxoricide for centuries^{8,11}. This normative advance requires constant vigilance to prevent the re-actualization of sexist stereotypes in the courts, consolidating the systemic reengineering necessary for the protection of female integrity^{6,15}.

The Denunciation of Impunity and the Persistence of Inverted Efficacy

The tenth thematic cluster reveals the profound disbelief of civil society before the flow of police and judicial care^{6,9,43}. The data captured on Twitter corroborate the thesis that the State acts with rigor only after the consummation of death, systematically failing in the

preventive phase of reception^{8,21,44}. This institutional inoperativeness is aggravated by the low rate of elucidation of crimes against women, consolidating a culture of impunity that feeds back into the cycle of lethal violence⁶. The perception that laws operate only in theory gains dramatic materiality in popular denunciations about the ineffectiveness of the penal system:

"Impunity in Brazil is the rule, the guy killed his wife, said it was a crime of passion and will answer at liberty, where is the Femicide Law working?" (ANONYMOUS RECORD 143, 2021).

The algorithm demonstrates that institutional slowness functions as a second violence, which ratifies the inverted efficacy of the State and perpetuates the cycle of aggressions^{15,43,45}. The digital records audit the engineering failure in public security flows, pointing out that the sanction of harsher criminal laws does not produce practical effects without massive investment in regional support infrastructure^{4,8,24}.

The failure of the justice apparatus in preventing femicide transpires tragically in the textual reports of victims who sought help repeatedly without institutional success^{6,15}. The database captures the collective indignation before cases of documented state negligence, a situation exemplified by the denunciation that the accumulation of police reports does not prevent the escalation of physical extermination^{11,26}:

"The 14 complaints of domestic violence that did not save Maria: she ended up beheaded in front of her youngest grandson [...] Justice failed her and the aggressor was only convicted afterwards" (ANONYMOUS RECORD 828, 2021).



This empirical finding materializes the lethal omission of public power, which transforms police stations and courts into mere spectators of a previously announced tragedy^{1,43,45}. Procedural inertia acts as an endorsement of the aggressor's conduct, signaling that the mere typification of the crime has null efficacy when the State refuses to apply energetic precautionary measures at the first sign of threat⁶.

The Digital Solidarity Network and Disobedient Citizenship

The twelfth thematic topic signals the emergence of a digital solidarity network that breaks with the historical interdictions of silencing imposed by patriarchy^{4,5,46}. The messages grouped in this lexical class represent disobedient subjectivity, in which women use virtual platforms to build alternative paths of reception before the collapse of physical flows⁴⁶. The political activation observed in the digital corpus confirms the urgency of community relief during the compulsory isolation of the pandemic:

"Does anyone know a support network for women in the north zone? The police station closed its doors during the lockdown and my neighbor is suffering domestic violence" (ANONYMOUS RECORD 312, 2021).

The integrated analysis demonstrates that the migration of the debate to social networks forges survival technologies that challenge the regional failures of public policies⁴⁴. This phenomenon indicates that the strengthening of support networks and the eradication of the device of raciality constitute non-negotiable precepts for equitable access to justice^{4,6,9}.

Intersectionality, Race, and Selective Invisibility

The ninth thematic cluster materializes the device of raciality by evidencing that female lethality asymmetrically affects Black bodies in Brazilian peripheries. The digital records reveal that the vulnerability of these women stems from a historical construction of non-being, which justifies the inaction of public security institutions^{4,6,9}. The operation of this ethnic-racial marker emerges unquestionably through algorithmic denunciation:

"Lélia Gonzalez already warned about how the body of the Black woman is treated, the pandemic only exposed the State's abandonment of the peripheries" (ANONYMOUS RECORD 671, 2021).

The empirical evidence ratifies the premise that structural racism determines the selectivity of state protection, biopolitically abandoning Black and brown women^{20,26}. Overcoming this scenario requires a social reengineering that considers intersectionality as the fundamental axis for the eradication of physical extermination^{6,21}.

The Maria da Penha Law and the Limits of Protective Efficacy

The third topic focuses on the application of the Maria da Penha Law and the systemic obstacles that prevent the full efficacy of urgent protective measures^{8,9,15}. The fragility of these instruments became more evident during

System failure and gender-based lethality: text mining on social media
the health crisis, since isolation paralyzed the channels of support and kept victims under the dominion of aggressors^{21,26}. The social discourse captured by the BERTopic model reveals the profound disbelief in the effectiveness of the isolated legal norm:

"The Civil Code changed, the Maria da Penha Law exists, but machismo and the mentality of possession remain the same in the minds of judges" (ANONYMOUS RECORD 904, 2021).

The critical analysis suggests that punitive criminal hardening does not produce practical effects without investment in reception policies and financial autonomy^{9,15,43}. The eradication of lethality requires the State to go beyond mere penal tutelage to guarantee the physical and civil integrity of all women in situations of risk^{13,43,45}.

Synthesis of Results and the Impact on Regional Development

The analytical compilation of the mined data demonstrates that lethal violence against women does not constitute an episodic dysfunction, but reflects the structural and historical collapse of regional development policies in Brazil^{6,8,9}. The processing of the 9,269 texts by the artificial intelligence algorithm ratifies the thesis that the State systematically fails at the preventive base, operating with inverted efficacy by acting punitively only after physical extermination^{10,43}. The social audit carried out on virtual networks exposes the device of raciality, evidencing that Black women remain in a situation of helplessness in the peripheries while public power concentrates protective efficacy in elite urban centers^{1,4,5}. The contemporary consolidation of 155,111 complaints proves that the eradication of femicide requires the definitive rupture of epistemicide and financial submission, establishing full autonomy as a non-negotiable condition for citizenship^{16,24,25}.

Final Considerations

The investigation suggests that female lethality reflects the structural collapse of protection policies and the inoperativeness of the Brazilian judicial system. The processing of the 9,269 textual records indicates the thesis of inverted efficacy, in which the State acts punitively only after the consummation of death. The algorithmic modeling signals structural racism, indicating that biopolitical abandonment asymmetrically affects Black women in the peripheries. Although the overthrow of the legitimate defense of honor represents a relevant milestone, the isolated norm does not guarantee the preservation of life without a profound cultural reengineering.

The study points to methodological limitations inherent to data capture on social networks. First, the Twitter scope does not encompass the totality of female experiences outside the digital environment, representing only the voices that chose to use this specific platform to express their social outcry. Second, the access policies of Twitter/X Application Programming Interfaces (APIs) imposed significant technical restrictions on the collection of



historical data on free accounts. The absence of institutional funding made it impossible to acquire commercial mining licenses, which have prohibitive costs for independent academic research in the current 2026 scenario. To circumvent this economic barrier and guarantee methodological reproducibility, the use of free retrospective scraping tools was chosen (Zeeschuimer extension), which, although scientifically valid, do not allow precise quantification of the proportion of publications excluded in relation to the total volume available in the analyzed period. These material restrictions impose limits on the statistical generalization of the findings about social behavior, although they do not compromise the qualitative validity of the digital audit carried out on institutional protection flows.

Given this sociotechnical diagnosis, the effectiveness of public policies requires reengineering of operational care flows at the frontline. The systemic integration of denunciations captured in virtual environments to reference centers and regional assistance and health units is recommended, decentralizing reception beyond the strictly police scope. The State, in its local spheres, must incorporate textual data mining as a continuous tool of territorial intelligence, mapping and

anticipating the peripheral zones of greatest vulnerability where institutional response chronically fails.

Furthermore, the institutionalization of the support networks mapped in the digital environment presupposes their direct articulation with regional development policies and fostering of local productive systems. As the analysis demonstrates, the physical protection of women is inexorably tied to their material autonomy. Therefore, government actions should connect denunciation channels to concrete projects of professional insertion, training, and microcredit, guaranteeing the financial viability of victims so that the rupture with the cycle of domination and possession is materially sustainable.

The urgency is evidenced for civil society to appropriate this digital audit to transform virtual indignation into effective government policies of reception and financial autonomy. Breaking the cycle of abuse requires active mobilization, summoning academia and legislators to act for the definitive eradication of colonial patriarchy. The analysis of these results suggests an invitation to reflection, stimulating integrated actions in defense of female existence and their health and quality of life.

References

1. Hogemann ER. Conquistas das mulheres no Brasil: a linha do tempo das leis e políticas públicas. *Rev Ministério Público Militar*. 2024;51(45):173-206.
2. Batista N. "Só Carolina não viu" – violência doméstica e políticas criminais no Brasil. In: Mello AR, organizadora. *Comentários à Lei de Violência Doméstica e Familiar contra a Mulher*. Rio de Janeiro: Lumen Juris; 2007. p. 1-20.
3. Ramos MD. Reflexões sobre o processo histórico-discursivo do uso da legítima defesa da honra no Brasil e a construção das mulheres. *Rev Estud Fem*. 2012;20(1):53-73. <https://doi.org/10.1590/S0104-026X2012000100004>
4. Carneiro S. Dispositivo de racialidade: a construção do outro como não ser como fundamento do ser. Rio de Janeiro: Zahar; 2023.
5. Gonzalez L. Por um feminismo afro-latino-americano. Rio de Janeiro: Zahar; 2020.
6. Borges J. Encarceramento em massa. São Paulo: Sueli Carneiro; Pólen; 2019. (Coleção Feminismos Plurais).
7. Brasil. Supremo Tribunal Federal. Arguição de Descumprimento de Preceito Fundamental (ADPF) 779. Relator: Ministro Dias Toffoli. Brasília: STF; 2021.
8. Pasinato W. "Femicídios" e as mortes de mulheres no Brasil. *Cad Pagu*. 2011;(37):219-46. <https://doi.org/10.1590/S0104-83332011000200008>
9. Dias K. *Criminologia feminista e seletividade penal*. Rio de Janeiro: Revan; 2021.
10. Zaghlout SAG. *Além das bruxas: um olhar crítico sobre o poder punitivo feminino*. 1ª ed. Quipá Editora; 2024.
11. Mendes SR. *Criminologia feminista: novos paradigmas*. São Paulo: Saraiva; 2014.
12. Barsted LL. A legislação civil sobre família no Brasil. In: Barsted LL, organizadora. *As mulheres e os direitos civis*. Rio de Janeiro: Cepia; 1999. p. 9-26.
13. Santiago RA, Coelho MTAD. A violência contra a mulher numa perspectiva histórica e cultural. In: *Anais do II Seminário Internacional Enlaçando Sexualidades*; 2011; Salvador. Salvador: UNEB; 2011.
14. Saffioti H. *Gênero, patriarcado, violência*. 2ª ed. São Paulo: Expressão Popular; 2015.
15. Carneiro S. A construção do outro como não-ser como fundamento do ser [tese]. São Paulo: Faculdade de Educação, Universidade de São Paulo; 2005.
16. Del Priore M. *A mulher na história do Brasil*. São Paulo: Contexto; 2013.
17. Barreto P, Santos IP. A legítima defesa da honra e o julgamento da ADPF 779. *Dom Helder Rev Direito*. 2021;4(8):102-20.
18. Campos CH. Criminologia feminista e a Lei Maria da Penha: novos rumos. *Rev Direito Práx*. 2021;12(1):450-75. <https://doi.org/10.1590/2179-8966/2021/53516>
19. Fórum Brasileiro de Segurança Pública (FBSP). *Retrato dos feminicídios no Brasil: nota técnica Dia Internacional da Mulher 2026*. São Paulo: FBSP; 2026.
20. Waiselfisz JJ. *Mapa da violência 2015: homicídio de mulheres no Brasil*. Brasília: ONU Mulheres; 2015.
21. Fórum Brasileiro de Segurança Pública (FBSP). *Anuário brasileiro de segurança pública*. São Paulo: FBSP; 2021.
22. Gaire SS. *Gender violence and Covid-19: global insights*. London: Palgrave Macmillan; 2023.
23. Engel CL. *Violência contra a mulher: retratos e dados nacionais*. Brasília: IPEA; 2023.
24. Brasil. Ministério das Mulheres. *Balanço anual do Ligue 180 - 2025*. Brasília: Ministério das Mulheres; 2026.
25. Fórum Brasileiro de Segurança Pública (FBSP). *19º Anuário brasileiro de segurança pública*. São Paulo: FBSP; 2025.



26. Engel CL. Violência contra a mulher: retratos da vulnerabilidade no Brasil. Rio de Janeiro: IPEA; 2024.
27. Lupton D. Digital sociology. London: Routledge; 2015.
28. Oliveira FB, et al. Investigating the emotional response to COVID-19 news on Twitter: a topic modeling and emotion classification approach. IEEE Access. 2022;10:16883-97. <https://doi.org/10.1109/ACCESS.2022.3150329>
29. Grootendorst M. BERTopic: neural topic modeling with a class-based TF-IDF procedure. arXiv preprint arXiv:2203.05794. 2022. <https://doi.org/10.48550/arXiv.2203.05794>
30. Bianchi F, et al. Pre-training is a hot topic: contextualized document embeddings improve topic coherence. arXiv preprint arXiv:2004.03974. 2020. <https://doi.org/10.48550/arXiv.2004.03974>
31. Arnaboldi V, et al. Online social networks: human cognitive constraints in Facebook and Twitter personal graphs. London: Academic Press; 2015.
32. Gil AC. Como elaborar projetos de pesquisa. 6ª ed. São Paulo: Atlas; 2021.
33. Minayo MCS. O desafio do conhecimento: pesquisa qualitativa em saúde. 14ª ed. São Paulo: Hucitec; 2014.
34. Minayo MCS. Pesquisa social: teoria, método e criatividade. 18ª ed. Petrópolis: Vozes; 2001.
35. Braun V, Clarke V. Using thematic analysis in psychology. Qual Res Psychol. 2006;3(2):77-101. <https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa>
36. Costa AP, Amado J. Análise de conteúdo suportada por software. 2ª ed. Aveiro: Ludomedia; 2018.
37. Cortes GRO. Do lugar discursivo ao efeito-leitor: a movimentação do sujeito no discurso em blogs de divulgação científica [tese]. Recife: Universidade Federal de Pernambuco; 2015.
38. Van Dijk TA. Discurso e poder. São Paulo: Contexto; 2012.
39. Digital Methods Initiative (DMI). Zeeschuimer: extensão para navegador (Repositório GitHub). Amsterdã: DMI; 2026. Disponível em: <https://github.com/digitalmethodsinitiative/zeeschuimer>
40. Zhao S. Digital sociology and social media analytics. New York: Routledge; 2022.
41. Andrade VRP. Pelas mãos da criminologia: o controle penal para além da (des)ilusão. Rio de Janeiro: Revan; 2012. (Coleção Pensamento Criminológico).
42. Cerqueira D, et al. Atlas da violência 2025. Rio de Janeiro: IPEA; Fórum Brasileiro de Segurança Pública; 2025.
43. Severi FC, Juzo ACS. Características das boas práticas na implementação das políticas judiciais de enfrentamento à violência contra as mulheres. Rev Bras Políticas Públicas. 2025;15(3):102-25. <https://doi.org/10.5102/rbpp.v15i3.8765>
44. Tiburi M. Ridículo político: uma investigação sobre o risível, a manipulação da imagem e o esteticamente correto. Rio de Janeiro: Record; 2017.
45. Blay EA. Assassinato de mulheres e direitos humanos. São Paulo: Editora 34; 2008.
46. Butler JP. Problemas de gênero: feminismo e subversão da identidade. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira; 2007.
47. Prado ARM, Oliveira Filho NM. Controle penal e violência: repensando os limites do poder punitivo no Brasil contemporâneo [Internet]. Salvador: EDUFBA; 2025 [citado em 16 set 2026]. <https://doi.org/10.7476/9786556309088>

