



# VIOLENCE AS AFFECTIVE EXPERIENCE IN ROMANTIC LOVE A VIOLÊNCIA COMO VIVÊNCIA AFETIVA NO AMOR ROMÂNTICO LA VIOLENCIA COMO EXPERIENCIA AFECTIVA EN EL AMOR ROMÁNTICO

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Maria Chaves JARDIM<sup>1</sup> e-mail: maria.jardim@unesp.br



Marcela MIWA<sup>2</sup> e-mail: marcelajmiwa@yahoo.com.br

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> São Paulo State University (UNESP), Araraquara – SP – Brazil. Full professor of Sociology at the São Paulo State University, Department of Social Sciences, Campus of Araraquara/SP. Editor-in-Chief of the Journal Estudos de Sociologia. Productivity scholarship holder at CNPq.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> University of São Paulo (USP), Ribeirão Preto – SP – Brazil. Sociologist graduated and licensed by UNICAMP; Master in Political Science from UNICAMP. PhD in Sciences from the Psychiatric Nursing and Human Sciences Program at the Ribeirão Preto School of Nursing - EERP/USP, where she has worked as a collaborative researcher since 2021.

**ABSTRACT**: This article seeks to relate two categories that are rarely associated in the social sciences: violence and love. To build the central argument, that romantic love is fertile ground for violence between couples of lovers, the research carried out a literature review on the subject and a virtual ethnography in the WhatsApp application, with women who seek help to get out of an abusive relationship. The data show that the love experienced by these women is romantic love and that the forms of violence experienced by these women go beyond physical violence, in addition to remaining in abusive relationships for belief in having the capacity to change their partner.

**KEYWORDS**: Love. Romantic love. Male domination. Love-addiction. Confluent Love.

**RESUMO**: O presente artigo busca relacionar duas categorias pouco associadas nas ciências sociais: violência e amor. Para construção do argumento central, de que o amor romântico é terreno fértil para a violência entre casais de amantes, a pesquisa realizou revisão bibliográfica sobre o tema e traz resultados exploratórios de uma etnografia virtual realizada no aplicativo WhatsApp, junto às mulheres que buscam ajuda para sair de um relacionamento abusivo. Os dados apontam que o amor vivenciado por essas mulheres é o amor romântico e que as formas de violência vivenciadas por elas ultrapassam a violência física, além de se manterem em relacionamentos abusivos pela crença em ter capacidade de mudar seu companheiro.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Amor. Amor romântico. Dominação masculina. Amor-Vício. Amor Confluente.

**RESUMEN**: Este artículo busca relacionar dos categorías poco asociadas en las ciencias sociales: la violencia y el amor. Para construir el argumento central, que el amor romántico es terreno fértil para la violencia entre parejas de enamorados, la investigación realizó una revisión bibliográfica sobre el tema y trae resultados exploratorios de una etnografía virtual realizada en la aplicación whatasapp, junto a mujeres que buscan ayuda, para salir de una relación abusiva. Los datos indican que el amor experimentado por estas mujeres es amor romántico y que las formas de violencia experimentadas por estas mujeres van más allá de la violencia física, además de permanecer en relaciones abusivas por la creencia de poder cambiar de pareja.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Amor. Amor romántico. Dominación masculina. Adicción al Amor. Amor Confluente.

#### Introduction

The phenomenon of violence is present in affective relationships and women are the main victims of this situation, which does not mean that men cannot suffer violence from their partners. According to data from the World Health Organization (WHO, 2021), throughout their lives, 1 out of 3 women in the world are victims of physical or sexual violence perpetrated by their intimate partners or sexual violence committed by non-partners, which is equivalent to around 736 million assaulted women.

In Brazil, the 2019 National Health Survey (PNS) (IBGE, 2021) estimated that 27.6 million people suffered some type of psychological violence, 6.6 million suffered physical violence and 1.2 million suffered sexual violence, with women being the majority of victims. Among physical aggressors of women, 52.4% were partners or ex-partners; among sexual aggressors of women, 53.3% were partners and ex-partners; and regarding psychological violence, the data showed that in 24.5% of cases this type of violence was committed by a spouse, partner or boyfriend or ex-spouse, ex-partner or ex-boyfriend.

In addition to physical, sexual or psychological violence against women, violence can also be property-related, which occurs through possession or damage to material goods, or moral violence, such as slander and defamation (ALBUQUERQUE NETTO *et al.*, 2015; CARNEIRO *et al.*, 2019).

Considering this context presented, the article seeks to identify what type of love ends up producing violence between couples, with special submission and victimization of women. We know that violence can happen between women in different forms of affective relationships, but, due to our data, we selected, for this article, violence in heterosexual affective relationships. Therefore, the originality of the article is to relate two categories that are little associated: violence and love. Our central argument is that abusive and violent relationships are sustained by romantic love. We justify that part of the literature cited is from the health area, precisely because this type of debate (love and violence) is not very advanced in social sciences.

Our theoretical-methodological inspiration is the book "Male Domination" by Pierre Bourdieu, in addition to receiving *insight* from the discussion about love addiction, by Giddens. In methodological terms, we carried out a bibliographical review on the topic and discussed

exploratory data, resulting from a virtual ethnography, in progress in a group on the *WhatsApp* application<sup>3</sup> with 240 women seeking help to leave an abusive relationship.

For our virtual ethnography in the application, we followed the assumptions of Leitão and Gomes (2017), who reviewed the literature on research in a virtual environment and stated that the new sociological phenomenon presupposes the displacement and resignification of participant observation and ethnography. In the virtual world, "[...] the researcher would be following the flow of socialities already existing in this environment, almost like an ethnographer- stalker, since this time he would be following the steps of profiles/people on the platform itself and outside it [in some cases], traveling together with their interlocutors" (LEITÃO; GOMES, 2017, p. 6, our translation). On the other hand, we were attentive to the necessary precautions for research in a virtual context, as stated by Miller and Slater (2004, p. 17, our translation), namely, "The problem, on the contrary, is the lack of attention to the ways in which the object and context need to be defined in relation to each other for specific ethnographic projects. Sometimes the use of the Internet seems to constitute virtuality, sometimes it does not."

In addition to this introduction and final remarks, the article is divided as follows: in the next section we present a reasoning about love in the social sciences – with emphasis on the concept of love in the classics of sociology and the idea of romantic love according to contemporary theories; then, we address how the ideal of romantic love combined with values of patriarchal domination can trigger interactions of submission to the feminine. Next, we will deal more specifically with the issue of violence in affective relationships based, at first, on elements of the bibliographical review and, subsequently, on exploratory data from our virtual ethnography, which indicated other types of violence in addition to those mentioned in the literature. Finally, before the final remarks, we will discuss the possibility of a love different from romantic love, the "confluent love" conceptualized by Giddens (1993) and which presumes greater equality in the giving and receiving of affection.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup>WhatsApp is an application created in 2009, which allows the exchange of instant messages and voice calls for smartphones. In addition to text messages, users can send images, videos and PDF documents, as well as make free calls through an internet connection.

# The concept of love in social sciences: from classics to contemporaries

Love is an interdisciplinary theme that has attracted the attention of different areas of knowledge, with emphasis on literature, philosophy, psychology and, more recently, according to Jardim and Rossi (2022), even neuroscience has sought to understand the role of human brain in the construction of passion. Furthermore, love is a topic of interest in people's daily lives, which, in addition to their practical experience, is propagated through television soap operas and also through cinema, which, according to Souza (2021) and Rossi (2013), reach homes in key to romantic love. We also cannot forget the presence of love in its romantic version in the lyrics of Brazilian songs, which influences the emotional experience of couples.

Despite the prominence that love receives in different areas, it was only in the 1940s that it began to be studied scientifically, when Llewellyn Gross published one of the first romanticism assessment scales (NEVES, 2007). In social sciences, the topic became a study agenda only in the 1970s (NEVES, 2007).

Jardim and Moura (2017) have pointed out the importance of Simmel, Weber, Sombart and Elias among the German classics who were concerned with love; Jardim and Souza (in press) have also highlighted the importance of the French, Comte and Durkheim, with Jardim and Moura (2017) pointing out that the German classics see love as Eros and the French classics as Ágape.

With regard to the Germans, we remember Simmel, who in his classic "Philosophy of Love" (1908) broke with the philosophy of his time, which treated love based on abstraction, and brought the theme to praxis. In Simmel, love escapes the notion of ideal and is framed as something concrete, experienced in relationship. Treating it as a category, Simmel sees love as an important element of social interaction and sociability and in the construction of individuals' subjectivity in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Love appears as part of the formation of human psychology, in coquetry, which Simmel defines as a game of seduction. This positioning differs from the conception of love that reminds us of Plato in the Symposium (1983), in which it deals with a love felt by the subject, but which does not occur in interaction with the "other"; in platonic love, the figure of the "other" is abstracted to achieve a transcendence that would be beauty in itself.

In Weber, love appears from eroticism. According to Schwentker (1996), for Weber, sexuality and eroticism escaped any rationalization strategy; therefore, they were opposed to any form of religious orientation focused on an ethics of conviction. The importance that Weber gives to affections is so great that the author defines the erotic sphere in his work, which would

be capable of giving meaning to life. Finally, Weber sees an undeniable tension in erotic-aesthetic conduct with the realities of our rational modern world. If we radicalize Weber's arguments a little, we could say that passion and love would be possible ways of blocking the rationalization of the world, since they would give meaning to life.

Sombart (1912) argued in the book "Luxury and Capitalism" that the secularization of love would have led to pleasure, luxury and the refinement of the senses. Sombart adds the active participation of the courtesan woman, who contributed to detaching the charms and enjoyments of love from the institution of marriage, placing them in illegality and concubinage. Surprising to this day, Sombart highlighted the pleasure provided by courtly women, from different origins, such as married women abandoned by their husbands and girls "deceived" by their fiancés.

Among the Germans, we cannot ignore the contribution of Elias, who, in the book "Civilizing Process", showed the role of self-control in the construction and complexification of emotions, as well as human subjectivity, relating them as parts of the development process of States and as increasingly intricate configurations of human relationships. Therefore, faced with a subjective universe that begins to demand an emotional game of self-control from people, Elias understands that love expressed in the arts, music and literature would be the idealized manifestation of emotions, giving an escape, even if temporary, to the individuals, fatigued by social relationships, who begin to demand an emotional performance never seen before.

Jardim and Souza (in press) state that the French can contribute to the discussion about love, based on the key to love as agape, understood by them as moral altruism. Thus, in Comte (1895), altruism involves the thesis that society is formed by families and social institutions, with the family being the place in which exchanges escape the mercantile world. The three components of altruism are: the child develops a veneration for his parents and especially his mother; spouses are bound by the union of marriage and, finally, parents assert their kindness in caring for their children. This would be possible, according to Comte (1895), because the human brain would be divided into a selfish and an altruistic part, with the social part reinforcing altruism, to the detriment of selfishness (COMTE, 1895).

In Durkheim (1893), the author denies the thesis of the utilitarian economists of the late 19th century, that the new morality of capitalist society would be selfish and individualistic morality. For the author, modern society would have a type of interdependent solidarity between anonymous people, organic solidarity. This solidarity would allow, despite individualism, society to remain cohesive and would be composed of something that Durkheim

called altruism, a type of moral brake, nourishing the social fabric. It is this nurturing between strangers that Jardim and Souza (in press) speak of the love present in French sociology, as agape, after all, for Durkheim (1893, p. 215, our translation), "Wherever there are societies, there is altruism, because there is solidarity." Durkheim, then, links social cohesion to the principle of altruism, which in turn would be the very force that unites the collective.

## Love in contemporaries: romantic love

In contemporary times, according to Frédéric Vandenberghe (2006), the most influential theories of love in the academic sociology market were formulated by Bauman ("Liquid Love"), Giddens ("The Transformation of Intimacy"), the Beck couple ("The Chaos of love"), Michel Mafessoli ("Postmodern love") and Eva Illouz ("Love in times of capitalism"). Jardim and Moura (2017) and Jardim (2019, 2021) add the following authors to this list: Pierre Bourdieu ("Male Domination", "The Singles Ball", "The Distinction"), Luhman ("Love as Passion"), Michel Bozin ("Pratique de l'amour: le plaisir et l'inquiétude) and Luc Bolstanski (The presence of absent people; L'amour et la justice comme competencies). In this article, we will highlight the book "Male Domination", by Pierre Bourdieu, as well as the idea of love-addiction, by Giddens, which also provides us with important clues for the development of our central argument.

In the work "Male Domination" (2002), Bourdieu deals with the construction of gender differences based on an androcentric vision, that is, the author discusses the social construction of dualities that place the masculine as predominant in relation to the feminine, using and, therefore, objective and cognitive structures for the maintenance, reproduction and naturalization of these values. The author classifies this domination as a form of symbolic violence, subtle and, often, invisible to the dominated who tend to recognize, reproduce and legitimize this situation.

The primacy universally granted to men is affirmed in the objectivity of social structures and productive and reproductive activities, based on a sexual division of production work and biological and social reproduction, which gives men the best part, as well as in the schemes inherent to all *habitus*: shaped by such conditions, therefore, objectively agreed, they function as matrices of perceptions, thoughts and actions of all members of society [...] (BOURDIEU, 2002, p. 45, our translation).

This type of love, which presupposes domination, Bourdieu classifies as romantic love, inscribed in androcentric culture and which becomes a burden for women, who begin to

conceive the emotional world based on this system of male domination. In the field of romance, male power games gain legitimacy and women are encouraged to appreciate those who play (cf. BOURDIEU, 2002). With strong inspiration from Bourdieu, Jardim and Moura (2017) and Jardim (2019, 2021) have highlighted the role of romantic love in culture. For example, they show the sacrifices made by women in their 40s – references in their careers – to achieve and maintain love, including purchasing courses in the self-help market to find their soulmate and purchasing high-value packages from marriage agencies. These women submit to all the rules of male conquest, as they feel that life is meaningless due to the absence of love, despite being well positioned professionally. Jardim's (2021) argument is that these women are victims of romantic love, the type of love described by Bourdieu in the book *Male Domination*.

With regard to Giddens' (1993) contribution, the author argues that in a post-traditional society, where traditions and parameters for ontological security have dissolved, the narrative of the self is in constant re-elaboration. This inconstancy and insecurity would trigger anxiety, and one of the ways to react to such a situation would be addiction. "Addiction is an inability to manage the future, and, as such, transgresses one of the main anxieties that individuals have to face reflexively" (GIDDENS, 1993, p. 88, our translation), affecting both men and women.

In the case of affective relationships, addiction causes some people to transfer the responsibility for providing the desired security to the relationship/intimacy, developing "addicted bonds". Treating love as an illness and codependency, Giddens reports that this type of bond:

> 1. does not admit control of self or other, so vital for a pure relationship; 2. submerges self-identity in others or in established routines; 3. avoids that openness to the other that is a prerequisite for intimacy; 4. tends to preserve gender differences and non-egalitarian sexual practices (GIDDENS, 1993, p. 102, our translation).

For Giddens, women who are in codependent relationships are protective of others and feel the need to take care of others almost unconsciously. Furthermore, the need for security turns into a desire for control over others and various forms of violence, from misappropriation of someone else's cell phone (LÍRIO et al., 2019), to persecution and threats to others (CAMPEIZ et al., 2020) to more serious forms, such as murder. Violated bonds, when added to the expectations of romantic love, produce violent relationships for both lovers.

Rev. Cadernos de Campo, Araraquara, v. 23, n. 00, e023012, 2023.

#### Romantic love and violence

In their empirical research, Jardim and Moura (2017) and Jardim (2019, 2021) have highlighted the centrality of romantic love as an element for producing rigid hierarchies and inequalities in love, with the submission of the feminine. Therefore, it is possible that violence finds fertile ground in romantic love - which was once revolutionary, in the sense of freedom to choose a partner, illustrated in the classic story of Romeo and Juliet - but was captured by marriage, becoming a social convention. In this sense, Duby (1998) states that in the 18th century the upper classes of the West carried out an affective revolution, in the sense that marriage became associated with love, previously restricted to lovers; Thus, through the front door of marriage, romantic, extramarital love entered bourgeois homes. In this sense, romantic love, marriage and patriarchal culture are elements that help us understand the relationship between love and violence.

In the meantime, the same patriarchal society that perpetuates disadvantages for the female gender, instills in men the belief that they must have control over women, developing a feeling of ownership over their partner (LÍRIO et al., 2019; SILVA et al., 2020), controlling the woman's behavior and being uncomfortable with the interference of children and family members in their relationship (LÍRIO et al., 2019). Such factors can lead to violent behavior and, often, aggressors have also experienced violence in their family of origin, contributing to the naturalization of this type of relationship, especially when it does not leave body marks (PAIXÃO et al., 2018b); generating misunderstanding and anger when women denounce these individuals (PAIXÃO et al., 2018a; MADUREIRA et al., 2020).

Another factor in disagreements between partners is sex. Some men, driven by the socially constructed belief of "male sexual need" (MOORE, 2006; SILVA *et al.*, 2020), fight with their partners due to the lack of sexual relations (LÍRIO *et al.*, 2019); sometimes, forcing sex with their partners (DANTAS-BERGER; GIFFIN, 2005) or looking for other women who satisfy them sexually, generating jealousy and fights due to infidelity (VIEIRA *et al.*, 2012; PAIXÃO *et al.*, 2014).

This alleged exacerbated male sexuality causes these men to seek intimacy largely driven by what Giddens called *amour passion*, namely, "a generic connection between love and sexual connection" (GIDDENS, 1993, p. 48, our translation). In this type of relationship, which is part of romantic love, women would be seen as a generality, that is, just as a means of sexual satisfaction; therefore, they would not be an "irreplaceable personality", to use a term from Simmel (2006, p. 143).

Among the classics of sociology, Simmel also discusses this issue of the social construction of male sexuality. According to the author, social conformation itself would trigger a gap between sexual maturity and male intellectual, economic and psychological maturity, a fact that would lead men to turn to sex professionals:

The need for prostitution in higher-level cultures is based on the time lag between the onset of sexual maturity and the intellectual, economic and psychological maturity of men. Because the latter, rightly so, is required before society authorizes man to found his own home. However, the fierce struggle for existence continues to postpone economic independence. The complicated demands of professional technique and the art of living increasingly provide for the full formation of the spirit later and later [...] Thus, the moment in which a man can legitimately possess a woman is increasingly delayed and, as the physical constitution has not yet adapted to this state of things, in fact awakening the sexual instinct like a very little changed precocity, it is fatal that an increase in culture leads to a greater need for prostitution (SIMMEL, 2006, p. 7-8, our translation).

In this case, prostitution would be just one of the ways to give vent to the male sexual impulse. Instead of paying for sex, some men may seek to satisfy their desires through forced sex with their partner or in extramarital sexual relations. By focusing too much on sexuality, relating to women as if they were just a general rule, some men lose the ability to develop intimacy. This loss, in turn, harms reflexivity and, consequently, self-identity, making it difficult to construct a coherent self-narrative.

Research shows that people who establish emotional relationships permeated by violence often experienced violence in their childhood. Studies on women who suffered aggression (physical, psychological, sexual, moral, etc.) from their intimate partner found that many of the victims had a history of violence in their family of origin (LIMA; WERLANG, 2011; PAIXÃO *et al.*, 2015; COUTO *et al.*, 2015; CARNEIRO *et al.*, 2019), as well as the aggressors (STENZEL; LISBOA, 2017; MADUREIRA *et al.*, 2020), a fact that may have contributed to a certain naturalization and difficulty in perceiving aggression. It is important to highlight that violence between intimate partners can also occur between people of the same gender, however, due to the data from the exploratory research, we selected violence in heterosexual relationships for this article.

When asked about the reasons for enduring violence from their partners, the participants reproduced discourses associated with romantic love, such as, for example, the idealization of marriage (DANTAS-BERGER; GIFFIN, 2005; DUTRA *et al.*, 2013), the idea of that the woman must be subjugated by the male figure (DANTAS-BERGER; GIFFIN, 2005; COUTO *et al.*, 2006; AUDI *et al.*, 2009; PAIXÃO *et al.*, 2014), even allowing the partner to determine

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which behaviors to woman must adopt (BATISTA et al., 2020), understanding this restriction of female freedom as a manifestation of affection (GUIMARÃES; DINIZ; ANGELIM, 2017; CARNEIRO, 2019) and establishing the distinction between the domestic/female sphere and the public/male sphere in that the man should be the provider of the family (DANTAS-BERGER, GIFFIN, 2005; COUTO et al., 2006), generating dependence, especially financial, of the woman on her partner. And even though they suffered violence from their partner, some women forgave their attackers, attributing the aggression to "involuntary acts" (GUIMARÃES; DINIZ; ANGELIM, 2017) or to external factors, such as the use of alcohol or drugs (LIMA; WERLANG 2011; MOURA; LEFEVRE; MOURA, 2012; PAIXÃO et al., 2014; GUIMARÃES; DINIZ; ANGELIM, 2017), making them remain with their partner for fear of breaking up with their idealized relationship (BATISTA et al., 2020). Failure to meet these romanticized expectations, therefore, would further fuel disagreements and aggression.

# Virtual ethnography in the "empowered women" group: love is romantic and violent

The literature review above dialogues with the findings of our exploratory research. The field research that supports this article was carried out in a *WhatsApp group*, made up of 240 Portuguese-speaking women. The data presented in this article are the result of research carried out by the first author of the article in the first half of 2021. It should be noted that the research is still ongoing.

We contacted this *WhatsApp* group, through the group Mulheres que Amam Demais (MADA)<sup>4</sup>, an anonymous collective that seeks to help women with abusive relationships, because, as a love researcher, we have participated in the MADA group since 2019.

One of the MADA participants took the initiative to create the *WhatsApp* group in October 2020, with the aim of more directly helping women overcome the problems of abusive relationships during the Covid-19 pandemic, which began in Brazil in March 2020 and still ongoing at the time of writing this article – October 2022. Therefore, the group is independent of MADA and does not correspond to its philosophy.

The *WhatsApp* group allows all participants to post video, text or audio messages, 24 hours a day, therefore, not only the group administrators have the ability to post. As the group is made up of Portuguese-speaking women, it includes not only Brazilians, but also Portuguese. From the cell phone numbers we can see that we have 200 Brazilian women and 40 Portuguese

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Available at: https://grupomadabrasil.com.br/sou-uma-mada/. Accessed on: 10 Jan. 2023.

women. To maintain the anonymity of research participants, the name of the group and participants were changed.

The group's creator, Ana Lúcia, is Brazilian, 22 years old, has no children and is dating. He has a rare genetic disease (he didn't want to say the name) and depression. All women experience the group without technical training in topics related to emotions. Therefore, we do not have mental health professionals among the participants, who approach all topics with a common-sense perspective. There is no organization or planning in the debates, which are carried out spontaneously, based on the questions raised by the participants on the day. On days considered "calm" by them, that is, those when there is no violence, the posts are about food, music, travel and they take the opportunity to exchange cultural information about Brazil and Portugal. In addition to advice and support, the group seeks to financially help women who need to purchase a ticket to another city, as a way to escape their partner.

The following table, published in the group, shows the three phases of the abusive relationship, written by Aline Munhoz and which became a manual for these women.

- 1. Psychological abuse: Irritability, frustration, need for control; constant episodes of humiliation, reprimand of the partner's freedom and identity, partiality in the couple's decision-making.
- 2. Explicit violence: Release of all tension, impossibility of communication; sudden explosion, physical and verbal aggression, public humiliation, throwing/taking objects, impulsive attitudes, threats, extreme control.
- 3. Honeymoon: reconciliation, demonstration of repentance, promises of change; compensatory actions, unexpected gifts, demonstration of affection, support, crying of regret.

This type of message is common in the group's daily life: "Good morning, I can't take it anymore, I'm going to kill myself". Suicidal sensitivity is common in the group, but also the fear of abandoning their relationships: "I put up with everything because I love him" or even, "I put up with it for my children". Fear, pain and love are part of these women's narratives. Furthermore, reports of the use of antidepressant medication are common. In general, there is a strong presence of religiosity in the participants' narrative: God, Oxalá and Jesus are constantly activated, as is Jehovah. Another characteristic present in these women's testimonies is the recurrence of abusive relationships in their lives, as well as the hope of healing this sick love with love. Therefore, they have a strong belief in love as something divine, magical and miraculous, which requires no social investment, as it works within itself. This idealized view of love is typical of romantic love, becoming responsible for abuse in romantic relationships.

Another characteristic of these women is that the majority claim to have suffered physical, psychological or sexual violence in childhood: "I was abused by a family friend when I was seven years old". "I was always beaten by my father." "I always felt rejected by my mother." "I never felt like part of my family; I'm the ugly duckling."

In addition to physical violence, other types of violence were noted in the statements:

**Indebtedness**: The man's use of the Individual Taxpayer Registry (CPF) or the woman's credit card for purchases and also cash loans, which will never be repaid, are constant complaints: "He uses my credit card without my permission, dirty my name. He didn't pay the invoices, more than 10 thousand in invoices" (...) "At Banco do Brasil I no longer have a limit, he's maxed it out" (...) "He borrows money from his sister and pays it correctly, not with me".

**Persecution:** Women feel persecuted by their partners or ex-partners, both in the "real" world and on social media. "He creates a different profile every day to follow me on social media"; "I have to hide that I'm dating, if he finds out, he'll kill him and me." "I'm afraid of leaving home and being surprised by him, I need to change cities."

Being filmed in an intimate act: Many women complain about having their sexual life filmed by their partners or ex-partners or with whom they had a casual encounter and that this filming serves as blackmail to remain linked to them: "I had a sexual relationship with He filmed it and now he threatens me if I break up with him." "He filmed me without authorization during sex, I don't know what I'm going to do"; "He filmed me having sex and threw it in the WhatsApp group." "He uses intimate photos to threaten me into staying with him."

Cell phones monitored by companions: Complaints of invasion of privacy via cell phone monitoring are common. "I need to leave this [self-help] group, he noticed that I was asking the group for help and said he would break my cell phone if I didn't leave the group." "He monitors me on my cell phone, he always knows where I am and who I'm with, I think he put a spy app on my cell phone". We asked whether women also monitor their partners' cell phones, and the answer we received was positive.

When we chatted *privately* with them, we learned that, despite their different age, social class, ethnic group, level of education, occupation and country, there is something in common between them: they all believed, at the beginning, that they could transform the abusive relationship, with prayer and love. Only after years, an average of 2 years, did they realize that they were in a relationship that was impossible to change with just these elements. In this sense, we can talk about the myth of the heroine in these women, who believed they had the power to transform something that is rooted in culture: the culture of romantic love that allows the

expression of violence. Furthermore, the myth of the heroine would be possible due to the culture of romantic love, which presupposes love as something magical, divine, miraculous, which does not require any social investment to be successful, as the meeting between couples would be facilitated by a cupid, by a God, who would allow the meeting between these "soulmates".

A point to be highlighted is the emotional codependency that these women feel in relation to the relationship. Most women say they no longer feel love for their partner, but they still feel anxious about him: "I stopped loving him a long time ago, but I can't leave"; "It seems like I've gotten used to suffering"; "I'm afraid of starting over, I'm already 39 years old." "Despite the outbursts of violence, when he doesn't drink or use drugs, he's a great husband and protects me."

Finally, we noticed that the women in the group radicalize their speeches with expressions of hatred towards men, fear of new relationships, rejection of new motherhoods and desire for suicide: "I will never want to have relationships with men again, I am traumatized"; "I hate men"; "look, don't have children, that's the best advice I give to a woman; son holds on too much"; "I just don't kill myself because I lack courage."

In the group analyzed, the myth of romantic love appears expressed in abusive and violent relationships and also in motherhood "I put up with everything for my children".

Therefore, the data above tells us about female submission to male abuse, in the name of the couple's love and children and is in dialogue with what the theory says, with emphasis on Pierre Bourdieu (2002), in Male *domination*. In general, the author shows that women, from a very young age, are socialized according to patterns of passivity, discretion, subjection, inferiority, etc., while men are constructed as a figure of strength, action, initiative, power, authority, etc. In this aspect, the male figure appears as an idealized entity, as the great provider or, as the salvation and resolution of female problems, and this would explain why many of these women, victims of violence, are only able to experience love in the form of romantic love.

In dialogue with the love-addiction theory proposed by Giddens, the insecurity brought by the relationship creates even more dependence and addiction, reproducing a cycle of abuse and violence.

In the group we analyzed we also found cases of women who overcame abuse and got their lives back on track. These women become positive references for women who still experience abuse in their lives.

# Beyond romantic love: the possibility of confluent love

Despite the scenario described above, the literature has pointed out that it is possible for women to free themselves from the violence brought by romantic love, even if many others remain in the relationship supported by the hope that one day their partner will change their behavior (BATISTA *et al.*, 2020), and even admitting that the situation has become unsustainable (VIEIRA *et al.*, 2012; BARAGATTI *et al.*, 2018; BATISTA *et al.*, 2020).

Women who decided to report their attackers say that it is not an easy process, because they still like them (ALBUQUERQUE NETTO *et al.*, 2015), they are afraid of the consequences (PACHECO; MEDEIROS; GARCIA, 2014) and they believe that violence is an experience solitary (AUDI *et al.*, 2009; ALBUQUERQUE NETTO *et al.*, 2015; BARAGATTI *et al.*, 2018; BATISTA *et al.*, 2020). That said, social/family support (COUTO *et al.*, 2015, BARAGATTI, 2018), financial support (DANTAS-BERGER; GIFFIN, 2005; ALBUQUERQUE NETTO *et al.*, 2015), as well as institutional-legal support (DUTRA *et al.*, 2013; ALBUQUERQUE NETTO *et al.*, 2015; CONCEIÇÃO; MORA, 2020) are essential for these women to break the cycle of aggression.

Literature has also shown that when they free themselves from the love-violence circuit, some women take the opportunity to invest in themselves, resuming their life plans such as studies or work (VIEIRA et al., 2012; ALBUQUERQUE NETTO et al., 2015), understanding the importance of men respecting them (ALBUQUERQUE NETTO et al., 2015). This does not mean that they cannot have new relationships permeated by violence (PARADA; MURTA, 2020), but this post-rupture movement allows these women to rebuild their lives based on other elements that favor their reflexivity (study, work, family, friends, etc.), there being no need to project the possibility of their self-identity onto an idealized intimate partner. By reclaiming their autonomy, these women become capable of establishing more egalitarian loving bonds, freeing themselves from the burdens of romantic love.

Furthermore, after the disillusionment with the ill-fated "happily ever after", so characteristic of fairy tales and romantic love, the consequent decrease in expectations regarding marriage and the release of the obligation to remain in a failed relationship, these women may, with professional and family support, establish a new format of loving relationship with each other. In literature, Giddens speaks of a form of pure relationship, which would be ideal:

A pure relationship has nothing to do with sexual purity [...] It refers to a situation in which one enters into a social relationship solely for the sake of

Violence as Affective Experience in Romantic Love

the relationship itself, which can be derived by each person from maintaining an association with another, and which only continues as long as both parties consider that they derive sufficient satisfaction from it, for each one individually, to remain in it (GIDDENS, 1993, p. 69, our translation).

Among aggressors there is also a possibility of transcending violent relationships. Some reported men, who experienced preventive detention, managed to become aware of their aggressive conduct, aiming for violence-free relationships (PAIXÃO *et al.*, 2018a), also opening themselves up to more egalitarian loving interactions with the same or a future partner.

In this sense, when two people free from idealizations and the need for control, aware that violence must be avoided, are willing to establish a more egalitarian relationship with each other, regardless of how long the relationship lasts, we can say that what emerges Giddens called it "confluent love".

"Confluent love presumes equality in emotional giving and receiving, and the more this is the case, any loving bond comes much closer to the prototype of a pure relationship" (GIDDENS, 1993, p. 73, our translation). Despite not having the initial intention of lasting forever, in the experience of this confluent love/pure relationship, if both partners, more aware of their biographies, manage to establish bonds of intimacy and trust, it is possible to build a new and different story of love.

On the other hand, with regard to romantic love, Bourdieu shows us that although domination exists in romantic love, it can become a form of symbolic revolution, when men are sensitized by more egalitarian relationships, and, therefore, without hierarchies.

### Final remarks

The originality of this article was to discuss two categories rarely associated in social sciences: love and violence. We sought to identify what type of love sustains affective relationships based on violence.

Taking inspiration especially from Bourdieu and Giddens, and after reviewing the literature, with emphasis on the area of health, which plays a leading role in the topic, it was considered that this type of love is supported by romantic love and also by love-addiction, as Some of these characteristics are highlighted in the literature as justification for maintaining this type of relationship.

We compared the literature review with exploratory data from field research carried out in a virtual group, when we identified the following beliefs among women who suffer abuse in relationships: belief in the ability to change their partner, with prayer and meditation; emotional codependency despite violence – often sustained by the belief that women should be submissive to men; financial codependency, by projecting the man as the family provider; as well as the idealization of motherhood, which makes women capable of enduring an abusive relationship for the sake of their children.

Androcentric culture, by making use of objective and cognitive structures for the maintenance, reproduction and naturalization of male domination, contributes to some women nurturing romantic love and, not infrequently, legitimizing this type of abusive relationship, making it difficult to recognize the violence they are submitted. The fact that some romantic partners, both men and women, have experienced violence in childhood also undermines this perception.

Both in the literature review and in the exploratory data, social support was identified as a positive reference for breaking the cycle of aggression. And, after the rupture, in cases where victims and aggressors achieve greater awareness about their behaviors and idealizations, the possibility of the emergence of a "confluent love" was recognized, that is, a type of relationship with more egalitarian emotional exchanges.

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