



Black women and Necropolitics: how they face the death of their children?

Mulheres negras e Necropolítica: como enfrentam a morte de seus filhos?

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ABSTRACT | OBJECTIVE: The death of young black people is the main result of urban violence. When these young people die they leave their families, especially black mothers who needs to deal with the pain. **OBJECTIVE:** To analyze ways of confronting black women in the face of the murder of their children in Salvador. **METHOD:** This is a qualitative documentary research carried out on websites that published reports of these women between 2014 and 2019. The data were analyzed from content analysis, based on Minayo. To carry out the research, public documents and free access were used. **RESULTS:** Eight reports of black mothers were mapped, seven from online newspapers and one from blog. These reports reveal much psychic suffering, and reveal contexts marked by racism, violence and violation of rights. In this scenario, some forms of confrontations emerged, such as religiosity, the search for justice and the perception of black mothers in the face of racism. **CONSIDERATIONS:** It was possible to know the walk of these women who were crossed by violence and and that from this they built ways of coping and care. The results point to a greater need for research that investigates more about this suffering and its consequences in the mental health of these mothers.

KEYWORDS: Racism. Necropolitics. Black women. Genocide. Mothers.

RESUMO | OBJETIVO: A morte de jovens negros é o principal resultado da violência urbana. Quando esses jovens morrem deixam os seus familiares, principalmente as mães negras, em um contexto de sofrimento causado por essa perda. Nesse contexto, as mulheres negras desenvolvem formas de enfrentamento para lidar com a dor. **OBJETIVO:** Analisar formas de enfrentamento de mulheres negras diante do assassinato de seus filhos na capital baiana. **MÉTODO:** Trata-se de uma pesquisa qualitativa, do tipo documental, realizada em sites que publicaram relatos dessas mulheres entre 2014 a 2019. Os dados foram analisados a partir da análise de conteúdo, com fundamento em Minayo. Para a realização da pesquisa, fez-se o uso de documentos públicos e de acesso livre. **RESULTADOS:** Foram mapeados oito relatos de mães negras, sendo sete oriundos de jornais online e um em blog. Seus relatos revelam muito sofrimento psíquico, e desvelam contextos marcados por racismo, violências e violação de direitos. Nesse cenário emergiram algumas formas de enfrentamentos como a religiosidade, a busca por justiça e a percepção das mães negras diante do racismo. **CONSIDERAÇÕES:** Foi possível conhecer a caminhada dessas mulheres que foram atravessadas pela violência e que a partir disso construíram formas de enfrentamento e cuidado. Os resultados apontam para maior necessidade de pesquisas que investiguem mais sobre esse sofrimento e seus desdobramentos na saúde mental dessas mães.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Racismo. Necropolítica. Mulheres negras. Genocídio. Mães.

Introduction

Urban violence in Brazil is growing. According to the Atlas of Violence (2019/2020), there was a significant increase in homicides among young black males, who were between 15 and 29 years old (Institute of Applied Economic Research, 2019; 2020).

According to Costa, Ndjaine & Sckenker (2017), the deaths of young people by murder have different characteristics from other types of deaths, bringing to the fore a violent, sudden and premature loss, which affects the responses concerning grief, generating feelings of incompleteness and anger. In this context, there are family members, especially mothers experiencing this process. The contact with the pain of loss causes psychological reactions of suffering and painful memories, as this death is the realization of an interruption of the family cycle. As social issues cross these deaths, support for families may be insufficient and even non-existent, causing isolation and greater suffering.

Two components appear within the loss process. The first being the media, which may have the role of potentiating pain and suffering based on what is disclosed or else helping in the search for justice. And the second being the religiosity that provides support and restructuring of these mothers (Alarcão, Carvalho & Pelloso, 2008).

Regarding the production of studies on this loss process in which black mothers' experience, Araújo and Argolo (2017) point out that there is a need to produce more about these women within this context. It is noticeable that there is a low production of research on this theme, mainly bringing the racial discussion articulated with motherhood, urban violence, and youth.

There is a context of invisibility for black women both in academic productions and in other spaces of discussion, such as feminism. Therefore, the exposure to violations and denial of rights reflect what Piedade (2017) discusses on how much racism

puts that woman in a place marked by historical absence, which continues to this day.

It is in these pains experienced by black women that Piedade (2017) presents the term *Dorority*, which comes from the word pain and links to the pain that unites black women, because they experience various sufferings in their trajectories. This pain is about the pain of loss, slavery, machismo, and racism (Piedade, 2017).

In Psychology, the production of research on black women is still insufficient, demonstrating how far scientific research is from discussing the intersection of race, gender, class, and generation. Taking these discussions beyond the individualization and pathologization of social phenomena is a path that Psychology has not yet followed. This insufficiency is demonstrated by the study led by the authors Damasceno and Zanella (2018), who discussed the small amount of research dealing with the mental health of the black population, and more directly of the black woman.

The low number of scientific productions results from the entire process of slavery and post-slavery that black women experienced in Brazil, in which a large part of academic investigations come from researchers who deny the role of racism as the structuring of subjectivity and that interferes on the mental health and life of the black population.

Santiago study (2019) identifies the extent to which urban violence affects black women in their territories, which turns these spaces into a war field. It is also in these places that resistance movements arise, mainly by mothers who have had their children murdered.

As seen, it is possible to relate the social tragedy of violence to Necropolitics, which works towards the registration of black bodies within the death process. Thus, Mbembe (2018) presents the concept of Necropolitics as ways of subjecting life to the power of death, that is, configurations that determine which body should die.

Women, Racism and Necropolitics

The State is one of the mechanisms that are part of the configuration of Necropolitics. It is a polymorphous and diffuse organization, proposing the right to kill. We have the war as an example, the discourse of fear and the construction of enemies as the main technologies that perpetuate the exercise of killing.

In this logic, Barros et al. (2019) address Mbembe's (2018) discussion within the Brazilian context, demonstrating that, for the black population in Brazil, there are configurations that inscribe their bodies within the discourse of terror and direct them towards death, which they feel and witness in life. This process can be illustrated with the constant exposure of the black population to wars that take place in the slums.

In this context, violence can be seen as a necropower that perpetuates the genocide of the black people (Damasceno & Zanella, 2018; Dupas & Romero, 2018), unveiling how far violence and racism go together. It is a relevant theme for the understanding of how these relationships interfere in intrapsychic aspects, allowing a performance of psychology aligned with historical and social aspects of the black population.

In dialogue with what Davis (2016) presents in his work *Women, Race, and Class*, it is possible to relate the position of black women and the legacy of slavery in Brazil. As a reinterpretation of slavery, violence arrives to separate these mothers from their children again. But there is resignification and resistance by these black women with their maternity wards.

Hence, going against the social structures that deny these processes of suffering, the mothers of these young people can develop ways to deal with the constant exposure to deaths. Sharing experiences about violence and violations are possible territories for reframing, care, and coping. This way, the present article analyzes what are the strategies used by these black women facing the murders of their children in the capital of Bahia.

The history of the Brazilian black population is marked by the great trail of violence, showing that these marks of the past are still present for these people. Thus, the repair of the social and historical debt of centuries of suffering is still slow compared to decades of exclusion and denial (Fernandes & Souza, 2016).

In this way, racism, which is configured as a constitutive phenomenon of historical, social, behavioral, and subjective experience, has the structuring function of reaffirming the white privilege at the expense of the black population, so, in this place of exclusion, few possibilities of belonging and ascension remain (Conselho Federal de Psicologia, 2017).

Besides an individual dimension that blames only people, it is important to recognize racism as something that extrapolates subjects' interpersonal relationships, in order not to reduce racism as just an individual, punctual, moralistic, and pathological phenomenon.

In such way, we follow the thought of Almeida (2018), who discusses racism beyond the issue of individual behavior. Conceptualizing racism in three dimensions, the first being individual racism, the second as institutional racism that has institutions as producers and maintainers of these individual behaviors, influencing political, economic, and social aspects. And structural racism, in which it attributes that a society develops a social order that privileges one group over another, building social practices that are repeated in the institutional dimension and also impacting on the individual. Thus, Structural and Institutional Racism are the drivers of the various types of violence against the black population. These diverse dimensions impact biopsychosocial aspects (Almeida, 2018).

Necropolitics and Racism go together, explicitly and lethally perpetuating the extermination of the black population, who for centuries have been excluded and marginalized within peripheries, living in precarious socioeconomic, health, and security conditions (Longo, 2012).

It is in these territories that black women survive, and their subjectivity is crossed by this constant experience with violence. Further aggravating this scenario, Akotirene (2019) reaffirms to us what other authors already point out, that racism goes hand in hand with machismo, which is also part of this process and enhances the silencing and discrediting of the suffering of black women, contributing to invalidating their search for help.

Since Brazil is a country with profound social and racial inequalities, it is possible to see that young black people have few possibilities for employment, housing, health, public safety. There are few possibilities of existence and social belonging, having as a more accessible alternative the link with drug trafficking (Faria, Barros & Andrade, 2011). This exposure to the performance of illicit activities is an enhancer of the approach of threatening and lethal situations.

As a result, the latest Atlas of Violence demonstrates the increase in homicides among young blacks and the reaffirmation of racial inequality. In this context of violence, the main reasons for these deaths revolve around confrontations for drug trafficking, fights, and other conduct. In this sense, black youths are 3.3% more likely to be murdered than non-black youth (IPEA, 2019; 2020).

Bahia currently occupies the fifth state with the most homicides in the country. The current scenario shows that the black population represents 75.7% of violent deaths in Brazil, while the rates for these same deaths in non-blacks have been decreasing exponentially (IPEA, 2020)

The result of so many homicides are crossed, mainly, by the speech of the War on Drugs, in which enemies are created that can be exterminated, and consequently, technologies are developed to contain and repress the traffic, and with that the body that suffers and dies the most directly or indirectly, it is the black body (Santiago, 2019)

Thus, the young black man is placed in a situation of vulnerability, being treated as just a body that produces urban danger (Machado & Noronha, 2002) and, for this reason, would need to be exterminated.

Police violence in the peripheries has always been present and has been growing deliberately. Massacres and operations that resulted in the execution and death of young people print in the mainstream media and announce the progressive genocide of these people. However, the data are underreported, and there is a gap concerning records of deaths caused by police interventions (IPEA, 2018; 2019).

Santiago (2019) discusses the naturalization of deaths in peripheral territories. This being made possible by the State and carried out through police violence with the potential for high lethality. Thus, the periphery that has always been the territory of the existence of the black population becomes an open space for their extermination. This organization of extermination mechanisms, which in Brazil takes shape through wars in the peripheries, is in line with the discourses and social stereotypes that naturalize and authorize extermination.

In this configuration, we have the concrete portrait of necropolitics proposed by Mbembe (2018) that affirms terror and fear as important characteristics for the construction of the killable enemy.

The black woman, who is socially enrolled in a place of subordination, oppression, rape, and devaluation (Madeira & Gomes, 2018), in addition to suffering from it, also suffers as a mother silenced by the State, media, and society in the face of the death of her son.

Thus, it is clear that death and grief are social and political phenomena (Alencar, 2011). For Gonçalves and Bittar (2016), mourning is a necessary process to accommodate the loss. But, for the same authors, the process of grieving is a very complex task within the context of violence.

Domingues, Fontoura, Dessen & Queiroz (2015), when carrying out studies on loss due to violent deaths, realized that in the case of the black population, there is evidence of greater contact with loss for homicide. However, few seek the mental health care network. For the authors, black people tend to resort to informal care networks, such as collectives or religious institutions, to elaborate the loss.

There is a historical context that gains new contours in contemporary times, as pointed out by Davis (2016) and Akotirene (2019) when discussing the black mother that was marked by a path of exposure to the processes of loss of her children, which comes from slavery, when these mothers were raped and used only as reproducers, being separated from their children so they could later be enslaved. Currently, violence fulfills the role of separating these mothers and children.

In the same sense, Kilomba (2019) highlights the social demarcations that cross the trajectory of black women. A direct example of this discussion is the reproductive right to be a mother, which is denied to black women, since this place of an ideal mother is given only to white women. Thus, when the black mother loses her child, there is unbelief in her suffering.

Recalling Sojourner Truth's speech in which she presented the emblematic phrase "And am I not a woman?" placing on the agenda the importance of black women in feminism, bringing the idea of freedom against racist and sexist ideals and reporting this phrase to our context, in addition to being genderless, black women also undergo the removal of motherhood (Davis, 2016).

Based on this analysis, motherhood is also a political space for black mothers (Santiago, 2019), mainly because they experience the interruption of their children's lives. Thus, besides being recognized as women, there is also a search for the social recognition of being mothers, without this maternity being interrupted.

Thus, the death of the young black man comes to give new contours to the struggle of black women. It is possible to correlate the maternity presented by Santiago (2019), with the concept of dorority, coined by Piedade (2020) as an important element that unites black mothers in the face of Necropolitics.

The authors Araújo and Argolo (2017) point to the coping initiatives, tracing a path towards transforming grief into the struggle. These authors highlight the campaigns, social movements, reports to the media about what happened, the insertion or creation of projects that aim to overcome, and the search for justice through their voice and visibility.

Within this process, we can identify as power the use of communication vehicles and also social movements, such as the Mothers of May Movement, which according to the Brazil Human Rights Fund (2011), emerged in 2006 after a wave of murders started in São Paulo and expanded to the country. Today, this movement has a representative in most states where mothers come together to share their experiences, discuss policies, and seek justice and resolve cases.

Method

It is a qualitative research of the exploratory documentary type. This type of documentary research encompasses several formats, such as films, videos, websites, slides, and images (Sá-Silva, Almeida & Guindani, 2009). Content analysis was used as a method for investigating the reports.

The content analysis of the research was based on the proposal of Minayo, Deslandes, Neto, and Gomes (2002). Through the women's reports, a survey of categories that had common characteristics was carried out, being subsequently grouped, based on the use of themes that appeared in the speeches, to be later categorized for analysis.

The reports of these women were identified by searching for materials on the Google Platform, using keywords to capture the data on websites and other online media.

The keywords used to search for reports published in the media and virtual media were: care strategy, group of mothers, mothers of May, coping, therapeutic group, support network, therapeutic resources, the social movement of mothers, murdered youth, mother of murdered youth and mourning. These words were combined with each other and used to identify posts, publications, and news on that topic.

As inclusion criteria, publications, news, or posts found in online media that contained the account of the mother who had her son murdered were considered.

Still, as an inclusion criterion, a time frame was taken, regarding 2014, the year before the slaughter in the neighborhood of Cabula, in the city of Salvador, which resulted in 12 deaths by the police and marked Bahia. That year was chosen to determine whether there were already reports of mothers who lost their children until 2019, the year in which the research took place.

Besides, Salvador was the territory chosen to compose the inclusion criteria, as it is the capital that has the largest black population outside Africa (Santana, 2004). Finally, repeated reports were excluded, either from the same people or from the time frame of this research. Along this route, 8 reports were found distributed in five online newspapers and a blog.

To care for the identity of these mothers, their names were replaced by fictitious names that belonged to black women who were important in the history of the black movement.

Initially, the reports were grouped in an Excel document for organizing the materials. In the second moment, these statements were read in more depth. Then, there was a descriptive survey on general characteristics of the material, such as the woman's name, year of the murder, authors of the murder, whether this woman belongs to the social movement, and the source where the report was collected.

Finally, after several readings of the reports, themes in common that appeared in each speech were unveiled. From these themes, categories were created to represent them, being grouped and analyzed.

In this way, the following categories were identified in the reports: Religiosity, that contained statements of a religious nature, Search for justice, in which mothers presented the need to monitor the outcome of the case and the accountability of the guilty and the perception of black women about racism, in which mothers refer to perceiving the racism that appears in every process of death and grief.

Materials for analysis were found in five digital newspapers, Bocão News, El País, Ponte Jornalismo, Correio da Bahia, Jornal Estado de Minas, which had the news about Salvador, and a mother's personal blog. Initially, eleven reports were identified, but only eight of them were within the inclusion criteria. As a result, one report was found in 2014, two in 2015, two in 2017, and three in 2019, with a total of eight reports, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Data Categorization

Name	Year of the murder	Authors of the murder	Social Movement	Means of communication
Dandara	2014	Cops	Yes	Ponte Jornalismo
Anastácia	2015	Cops	Not	El País
Vênus	2015	Unknown	Not	El País
Tereza	2017	Unknown	Not	Bocão News
Zeferina	2017	Unknown	Not	Estado de Minas
Acotirene	2019	Cops	Not	Blog
Mahim	2019	Cops	Not	Correio da Bahia
Lelia	2019	Cops	Not	Correio da Bahia

Results and discussions

Researching the Google Platform has limits in identifying documents for research. This platform provides publications according to sponsorship, the number of accesses, and several other parameters that interfere with searches within the platform, so it is possible to have left out other reports that could contribute to this research.

In this sense, the research is justified because it is qualitative and exploratory. And it did not intend to cover a universe of numerical representativeness, but to apprehend aspects of the subjective construction of discourses of mothers who lost their children, and other aspects and universes can be explored by other researches.

The scarcity of collected statements may be related, in addition to the aforementioned aspects, may also be associated with the pain of loss and fear of exposure, since, in most cases, the military police have some connection with the murder. This silence reaffirms how much black women go through processes of disbelief, lack of empathy and even blaming their suffering, directly interfering in the elaboration of this loss.

Concerning the mothers, only one of them belongs to the social movement, this being the Mothers of May movement, showing how much the union and welcome help her continue walking and seeking justice. Thus, taking part in social movements can function as a protective factor against the loss of a child by murder (Bouso, Frizzo, Santos & Bouso, 2014; Araújo & Argolo 2017; Costa, Njaine & Schenker, 2017; Domingues, Dessen & Queiroz, 2015).

In this context, it is possible to corroborate and support the idea that mourning is indeed a political and social phenomenon, considering that this process is not validated by both society and the State (Alencar, 2011; Araújo & Argolo, 2017; Madeira & Gomes, 2018), mainly because it is crossed by aspects of gender, race, and class, which are socially constructed and which mark the trajectory of peripheral black women, who differ from other women.

From the results, it is also possible to think that the mass media vehicles still have a considerable magnitude in the social sphere, even though there are other means of communication (Bouso, Frizzo, Santos & Bouso, 2014) since it was in the news that we found much of the material in this research.

All the materials collected refer to events that took place in the peripheral neighborhoods of the city of Salvador. The age group of the murdered youths is 15 to 26 years old, all of whom are male, corroborating the profile that also appears in the IPEA data (2019; 2020). This makes us reflect on the aspect of generation and gender as two important factors for genocide.

Thus, we have black youth being exposed to extreme violence, compromising their development, and having their stories crossed by racism. This generation faces a scenario of extermination that impairs the maintenance of their existence, making it impossible to continue their lineage, at the moment these young people are killed, and their lives are interrupted.

Regarding the gender aspect, this death of the black man reflects socio-historical aspects that contribute to the construction of the racist image of this man as a non-subject (Santiago, 2019), an animal, devoid of soul and that produces danger and violence in any space, making the subject liable to always being suspected of committing something illegal.

This configuration that places the young black man in this position is made to perpetuate the logic of the Necropolitics, in which Mbembe (2018) presents us with war and the discourse of fear and terror as important in this process of death, which can be perceived in the Brazilian context through the constant violence experienced within the periphery.

There are three reports in which those responsible for the deaths have not yet been identified. These cases reflect a possible lack of interest by the State in solving the murder, unveiling a context of denial of rights, silences, partiality in the solutions of the cases, leaving these mothers unanswered, potentiating the feeling of impunity and consequently increasing their psychological suffering.

Mbembe (2018) also discusses the different ways that the Necropolitics is organized, being able to realize the power of death through, for example, the State, private groups, mixed organizations. As drugs are criminalized, police interventions to combat drug trafficking and organized crime produce more violence and are the death sentence for young blacks.

The war context builds a subject considered dangerous, the enemy of society, increasing tensions, and producing fear. This fear is a psychosocial factor that Necropolitics uses to ensure effectiveness in the killing.

Thus, the black body is inscribed by speeches and representations that direct it to death as they are considered unimportant and dangerous (Mbembe, 2018; Santiago, 2019).

Analysis Categories

Religiosity

Religiosity is a preponderant factor in the subjects' lives because it has several social functions and contributes to the construction of meanings, values, modes of subjectivation, and behaviors, and it is important for the ordering of the subject's life (Murakami & Campos, 2012).

Thus, some mothers bring in their discourse the use of religiosity as a strategy to deal with the loss of this child, which leads us to corroborate the idea of Murakami and Campos (2012) when they affirm that religion is indeed an important element for the mental health, for being constituted of subjectivity and responsible for also giving meaning to human suffering.

It is possible to perceive religiosity being used as a possibility to support these women intrapsychically to move on, even though there is great pain (Domingues et al., 2015). Notably, religious figures are assigned the function of providing referrals and even outcomes, as identified in the statements: "Every night I cry, to relieve. And I pray a lot to have the strength to continue" (Venus, EL País newspaper) and "I believe that God's Justice takes time, but it does not fail" (Tereza, Bocão News).

It is important to highlight that even with religiosity being used, there is still suffering from the loss. The effects from the abrupt death and the lack of response in these mothers are different from other deaths, affecting the elaboration of the loss. Suffering occurs not only because of the death of the child but also due to the circumstance in which this young man was murdered, and also by a State that does not guarantee the search and accountability of the guilty, leaving these women to seek this right of response within the community (Costa, Ndjaine & Sckenker, 2017; Dalbosco, 2006)

The Search for justice

Searching for those responsible, seeing them being judged and the case being resolved was another category identified in the speech by most mothers. Being a strategy that can enable negotiations and changes in the meanings of this loss (Domingues, Dessen & Queiroz, 2015). The mothers' testimonies show a struggle for justice while minimally seeking reparation and outcome, with the judgment of those responsible, being illustrated by Lélia's speech: "I want justice and I will fight for it. My son's death will not pass in vain. I want answers" (Lélia, Correio da Bahia newspaper).

Thus, even in the face of a context that legitimizes the death of her child and the involvement of security devices in this murder, which can put her life at risk, this mother reaffirms the need to fight for justice and find the culprits so they answer for what they did. There is a need to obtain an end to what happened and consequently to know that the loss of your child will not be just statistical. As seen: "I will not give up. I want you to pay for what you did. They killed him" (Mahim, Correio da Bahia newspaper).

If the police say my son was a drug dealer, I will curse Dilma at the councilman. I will demand proof. Even if I take a shot. Even if they were doing the wrong thing, they had no right to do what they did. (Anastácia, EL País newspaper);

And after that, they [policemen] were awarded. Joining the Military Police of Bahia. I will continue to fight for justice in this case. There is a genocide, actually, here in Bahia. ED is another one of those who fell victim to this society, this Military Police (Dandara, Ponte Jornalismo newspaper).

Mahim, Anastácia, and Dandara, in their speeches, make us reflect that the military police operate within a genocidal logic, and therefore the need to reveal this illegal practice of incriminating the black body.

In the three speeches, the direct and indirect involvement of the State is repeated as a facilitator and even a rewarder of these practices of the military police, which, according to these mothers, work to maintain the genocide of the young black man. In this context, it is possible to see how the technologies conform to Necropolitics.

The black woman emerges with her motherhood, which is reframed as a strategy to negotiate political processes, especially the denunciation of the State. It is in this context that the black mother puts herself as a political subject, giving motherhood a new place of struggle and resistance.

Dandara is the only mother linked to the social movement Mãe de Maio. Being associated and active within a movement and always talking about this death also for the mothers of Maio in Bahia and other states can be analyzed as strategies used by her to be able to face not only the pain of loss but also the pain of impunity, as Dandara presents in her speech a great force that moves her.

This fight for justice, reparation is not current. Davis (2016) in its context pointed to the reflexes of the slave regime and its aspects for black American women, and Akotirene (2019) reaffirms these issues presented by Angela Davis already in the Brazilian context, demarcating how much the structure of Brazilian racism drowns subjectivity of the black woman reverberating in all dimensions of her life, including motherhood.

The lives of the sons of these women were interrupted by Necropolitics, which presents visible strategies on how it works. A clear example of this is the speech by the Governor of the State of Bahia about the slaughter of Cabula that took place in 2015 and victimized twelve young black men. The Governor compared the police to football players, saying:

It is like a top scorer in front of the goal who tries to decide, in a few seconds, how he is going to put the ball inside the goal to make the goal (...). After the play ends, if it was a great goal, all fans in the stands will clap, and the scene will be repeated several times on television. If the goal is lost, the scorer will be condemned because, if he had kicked like that or played that way, the ball would have entered (Fragment taken from the newspaper Correio da Bahia, 2015).

It is possible to see how much the black body is transformed into an object and devoid of subjectivity, so when there is no subjectivity, there is no subject, and if there is no subject, there will also be no existence. This denial of the other reflects the suffering in the face of the loss of her child and also in her own subjectivity as a black woman and mother, who, within this proposition of those who have subjectivity and suffering silenced.

The actions carried out in police operations generally involve less careful interventions and more disastrous results in peripheral places. Thus, according to Mbembe (2018), "(...) serial execution has become a purely technical, impersonal, silent and fast procedure" (p.21).

Black Mothers' Perceptions of Racism

In the reports, aspects related to indignation and frustration regarding the practices of the Bahian military police were highlighted, which are also important for analysis. The perversity practiced within the periphery (Santiago, 2019) is made explicit in the statements of these mothers. Thus, camouflaged by the speeches and strategies to suppress drug trafficking, the perpetrators of the murders forge scenarios so as not to be blamed (Machado & Noronha, 2002), as we can see in the following report: "Even if I take a shot. Even if they were doing the wrong thing, they had no right to do what they did. (...) cruelty is what hurts me the most" (Akotirene, taken from Blog).

It is noticeable in this report how much the black mother's maternity is perversely interrupted. This corroborates with the literature, which discusses this maternal right that has been denied since slavery and that currently has new configurations and, in this way, instead of this young man being enslaved, he is murdered (Araújo & Argolo 2017; Kilomba, 2019).

Their friends ran, but my boy didn't, because I always told him that when the police arrived, he shouldn't run. He did, but it didn't help. They killed him. They said to my son: "you are going to die, ... you are going to die, prepare to die" and they shot. Then we found his body in a ditch, close to where the policeman appears in the video. They killed a boy who was not involved in anything, who did not drink, did not smoke, never been to the police station (Mahim, newspaper Correio da Bahia);

My son stopped. He didn't run. Because we always taught him: if you see a car, don't run, ask to take you to your home. But no, they told my son to throw himself on the floor: "get on the ground...." That's what my son was told. Some people saw it. My son threw himself on the floor, his face is scratched" (Lélia, Correio da).

In these two statements, it is clear how racism expresses itself and crosses the history of these people (Damasceno & Zanillo, 2018; Dupas & Romero 2018), who even educating their children to protect them from the injustices that they may suffer, they fail to free them from the tricks of structural and institutional racism that is expressed in violence.

It is in this process, it is possible to visualize what Akotirene (2019) points out as crossings of gender, race, class, and territory in the experience of loss of these women, creating a context of guilt in which they bear failure to have lost their child. However, this failure is, in fact, public policy and the State, which creates a lethal scenario of war on drugs and which ends up victimizing black adolescents and young people.

That is why, although he develops family education practices on how to proceed in the face of a police approach, he does not shield the young black man from being murdered. Reflecting and taking away the individual blame of these mothers for themselves is important for the construction of self-care within this process of loss and racism.

Santiago (2019) already presents us with the collective place of being a mother that is socially constructed, showing that in the speeches of black mothers who lost their children, there is a sharing of common feeling, which is the pain of loss and also the idea of maternal love, these two elements being important for the formation of care and fight networks. These speeches of both maternal love and pain can be seen in the reports of the women in this research.

In all the speeches, it was possible to analyze how these mothers are not alienated in the face of racism, machismo, and classicism as conditioning factors for the silencing in the face of the death of their children. Presenting, even with great suffering, the will to confront the State and seek answers.

It is within this movement of the search for justice, and these historical sufferings that the dorority is inscribed in these black women as a pain that becomes the possibility of building unity, remembering that the rights of the black population were only conquered from a lot of struggles (Piedade, 2017).

Historically, black women seek space as women and mothers in society, building collective trajectories such as the black feminist movement. It is possible to perceive an alignment in the speech of these mothers with the history of the feminist movement, in which these mothers present us with the identity categories of race, gender and class, and the dorority through their speeches.

Final considerations

It was possible to learn about some forms of confrontation used by these black mothers after the death of their children. As well as identifying, through the reports, a context marked by extreme violence, violation of rights, and silencing, further enhancing social and health vulnerability.

It is noticeable how much these women still do not use the Psychosocial Care Network as a reference, which does not appear in their reports. Thus, some hypotheses can be raised, such as the need to strengthen and disseminate the Psychosocial Network for these women, as a care strategy. There may also be non-recognition, belonging, or even

difficulty in accessing this care technology, which can be important for the promotion of mental health care.

It was possible to have contact with aspects that reveal pain, revolt, frustration, but also resignification and unity within this reality, which is significant data for us to perceive these mothers beyond the stagnation after the loss of their child. And also, to recognize how much motherhood is still a space of struggle for these black women.

Black mothers constantly need to demarcate for the society that the young people who were murdered were subjects, had a life, had a family, and that this family was broken up with this abrupt death. These mothers denounce their suffering silenced by both society and the State, showing how far they are from living in a democratic country free from racism.

In this context, the media also contribute to the construction of narratives that discredit this suffering by associating the murdered youth with criminal activities, enhancing the lack of empathy in the face of the fact, in addition to reinforcing prejudiced stereotypes that make headlines, enhancing their responsibility in the maintenance of Brazilian racism.

As a limitation of this work, it is admitted the lack of direct contact with these mothers, being at the mercy of the material published by the media, responsible for showing this experience, with the cuts and editions carried out according to what is convenient for the vehicle outsource. Furthermore, the use of the Google platform is also another limitation of the work, considering that the search only in this space is limited to results that the platform itself, together with sponsors, is willing to disclose.

Also, there is a need to produce more research that promotes direct contact with these mothers, and that investigates more about this suffering and its consequences on their mental health.

In short, investigating the reports of these black mothers made it possible to learn about some strategies and also to bring up these women who were suppressed behind the statistical data on the death of their children, giving new contours to the discussion of the problem of urban violence.

Author contributions

Souza LG participated in the conception, design, research online data, analysis of research data, interpretation of results, and writing of the article. Castelar M participated in the conception, discussion of data, guidance for reviews. Santana KSO and Souto VS participated in the design, analysis, and revisions of the text. All authors actively participated in the elaboration of this article.

Competing interests

No financial, legal, or political conflicts involving third parties (government, companies and private foundations, etc.) have been declared for any aspect of the submitted work (including, but not limited to, grants and funding, participation in advisory council, study design, preparation of the manuscript, statistical analysis, etc.)

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