

Toxic Stress Arising from Racial Trauma And its Consequences For education

Valéria Oliveira dos Santos ^{1,2}, Claudia Cristina Hastenreiter da
Costa Nascimento², Gláucio Diré Feliciano^{1,2},

*Programa de Mestrado Profissional em Ciência e Tecnologia Ambiental da Fundação Centro
Universitário Estadual da Zona Oeste, UEZO.*

*Laboratório de Análise Química e Biológica da Fundação Centro Universitário Estadual da Zona
Oeste, LAQB/UEZO.*

*Professional Master's Program in Environmental Science and Technology of the Centro
Universitário Estadual da Zona Oeste, UEZO.*

*Laboratory of Chemical and Biological Analysis of the Centro Universitário Estadual da Zona Oeste, LAQB
/UEZO.*

ABSTRACT: Racism, prejudice, discrimination and violence that are a recurring part of the life experiences of children in situations of socio-environmental vulnerability, and can generate lasting impacts on their mental health. This study aimed to demonstrate that toxic stress, as a result of racial trauma, can offer implications for the education of these individuals. As well as contextualizing racism in our society, knowing the concept of racial trauma and its consequences for mental health and the educational context. For this purpose, bibliographic research was used as data collection, based on the theoretical framework, on racism, racial trauma and toxic stress, available on platforms such as *SciELO*, *Pubmed*, *CAPE*. From the data evaluation, it was possible to identify how racism is part of our society and how it brings suffering to black people, and how this suffering has been neglected and little understood by society. We conclude that presenting the theme, becomes relevant because the toxic stress generated by racial trauma, must be part of public policy guidelines aimed at this invisible and neglected population over the centuries.

KEYWORDS: Racism, Racial Trauma and Toxic Stress.

I. INTRODUCTION

Frequent, prolonged and psychosocial adverse situations of great emotional impact that affect children and adolescents, can trigger a toxic response in your body. We call this stress toxic toxicity, a phenomenon with the potential to cause physical and mental damage in the short and long term (Center On the Developing Child Harvard University, 2020)

“Racism has been considered as an adverse psychosocial situation to be faced by childhood and adolescence, such as neglect, domestic violence, poverty, among others. Being pointed out as one of the causes that justify the school dropout of thousands of children and adolescents annually.” (SHOLZ, et al. 2024, p.68,70)

In this way, racial trauma, caused by racism, imposes itself as a topic of relevance today, in which it is urgent to understand and identify mechanisms to protect the mental health of this population as well as possible pedagogical interventions in these cases. Racism is then the name given to the act of discrimination and direct or indirect prejudice towards individuals or groups due to their color or ethnicity.

“Racism operates structurally in capitalist social formation. It strategically works as a mechanism for defining social places. With the current offensive of conservatism, the old inequalities arising from the colonial slavery period are reissued and have resulted in profound human rights violations, which tear and de-potentialize these populations.” (MADEIRA; GOMES, 2018). Racism in Brazil is a social and historical problem that has negatively marked our society for centuries, legitimized by the lack of public policies and awareness of the rights of these people. This process contributes to social inequality and violence against mainly blacks who inhabit the peripheries. Being a remnant of a mentality of a slave society that still keeps in its collective unconscious the stereotype of the black as inferior and marginal. These concepts of pseudoscience were defended by men who contributed to the formation of scientific thought in our country, such as the Brazilian Doctor Nina Rodrigues who in the 20th century considered blacks

to be an inferior race. He opposed miscegenation, in the name of a purification of the race, believing that because he is biologically inferior he would succumb over time, which for many still makes sense (GUIMARÃES, 2004) "Racism, today, is based mainly on the idea that inequalities between human beings are founded on biological difference, nature and the very constitution of human beings." (SAVAZZONI, 2015). The way black people are seen by society still generates great psychological suffering that marks the existence of these people. Our society, despite experiencing the illusion of the myth of racial equality, has shown more accentuated how racism has been kept alive and strengthened in different instances (PINTO; FERREIRA, 2014). In history, many theorists and scientists approach blacks in Brazil as the population that suffers the most with a high rate of illiteracy, low wages and suicide, a fact proven in research by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics, IBGE in 2018. The subject is still little known and discussed, but it has aroused the interest of many scholars in recent years. Currently, there is a time when issues related to racism erupt all the time in different parts of the planet to the point that the mental health of these populations becomes a public health problem.

In 1978, UNESCO ensured that racism manifests itself through legal and / or normative determinations, triggering discriminatory acts. Consequently, it considers this phenomenon as capable of disturbing world peace and security, placing the problem on the same level as issues of global concern. These impacts are felt and reverberate worldwide, see the example of the death of George Floyd, a football player, murdered by police in Minnesota, in the United States, which caused worldwide commotion. In analysis, the trauma of racism has a cumulative effect, as in some cases episodes of racism are recurrent, such as the police approaching young blacks from poor communities, which makes this experience a phenomenon to be considered, not under the singularity point of view, but from the collective point of view, as it is a violence against the ethnic group to which the individual belongs, a group that has always suffered and suffers due to the inequalities imposed by society (LOPEZ, 2012).

The recurrence of the facts makes the individual relive more intensely, these experiences, whose effects on the already stressed organism, become cumulative and trigger toxic stress. The mental and physical impacts of toxic stress are present in symptoms that alter behavior, sleep, affect reasoning, self-regulation, mood changes, among other consequences, which may even limit the social and intellectual skills of these individuals. According to Shonkoff (2012), toxic stress is characterized by a strong reaction of the organism to a stressful situation of prolonged duration and strong intensity that activates the body's response system, reacting to this stressful event. Given the above, it is proposed to present concepts and definitions on the theme, offering necessary conditions for its understanding, based on bibliographic review.

II. METHODOLOGY

The searches were centered on *SciELO* and *Pepsi*, IBGE, INEP platforms. National and international authors were sought to present reference works on the theme. Among them, JP. Shonkoff and Achille Mbembe. Bringing current and relevant perspectives that are related to the theme with an emphasis on the social and educational context of Brazil and the reality in particular of students in conditions of socio-environmental vulnerability from slums in Rio de Janeiro. It was not stipulated a time frame for bibliographic research, as it is a theme that refers to historical research, it was necessary to consult data from various eras, to portray the Brazilian reality.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

RACISM, ITS DENIAL AND ITS STRUCTURE

"For the discussion to expand, it is essential to understand that we are in a different treatment place. Racism must be recognized." (MARIELLE FRANCO in PITASSI, 2017) Racism has its origins in the 16th and 17th centuries and its roots are in the trafficking and slavery of black Africans, commercialized by Europeans. In 1684, Francis Bernier defined the concept of race, since then the world was no longer the same, civilization became aware that there was a division that hierarchized human beings and established a superior race, which since then this idea started to serve, justifying the domination relations that blacks were subjected to all over the world (SANTOS, 2010). The idea of a racial supremacy that does not recognize diversity, has been perpetuated through the ages, and reaches the 21st century, with enough breath to survive for longer, because it feeds on selfishness, greed and intolerance that are still vivid in the spirit human. Brazil was the last country to abolish slavery, and it seems to resent the fact to this day, that could be one of the reasons that would explain why racism still flows naturally in a multiracial country, whose black helped to build it (NUNES, 2016). Brazil lives

under the myth of racial democracy, which was described by the sociologist Gilberto Freire in his most important book “Casa Grande e Senzala”, whose basis is in the cordial relations between dominant and dominated, whites and blacks, this thought spread in the century XX, even today it is still used to minimize racist acts that are perpetuated in our society. As if racism was something that only black people imagine and that is not actually consumed. “In Brazil, racism developed in a particular way, because the State never legitimized it, but it was and still is present in social practices and discourses. In other words, here we have a racism of attitudes, although not recognized by the legal system and also denied by the discourse of racial and non-racist harmony of the Brazilian nation” (GUIMARAES, 1999).

Porfirio (2020) claims that living in Brazil under the condition of structural racism in force, for the segregation of blacks and whites in divergent social contexts, which is a factor that hinders access to goods and services such as: health, security, jobs and education, essential for the recognition and full exercise of citizenship. Black children and young people live with manifestations of racism constantly, and are victimized by community violence, which is that committed by the public power, when it fails to ensure equal conditions for these people and the most serious: to guarantee their right to life. According to Camargo (2005), the violence that affects black children and adolescents cannot be considered a recent practice in Brazil, since the colonial period, there was no concern in ensuring that this part of the population is not neglected, oppressed, and protected from the consequences, that acts of violence against their physical and mental integrity could cause. Every day, violence permeates the path of these individuals and plagues the country, the fruit of the necropolitical term proposed by political scientist Achille Mbembe, which has spread nowadays and is expressed in different parts of the world, whose discourse is accepted and understood as fundamental for the maintenance of order and well-being for all, giving the State full power to decide who lives.

“I proposed the notion of necropolitics and necropower to explain the various ways in which, in our contemporary world, firearms are implanted in the interest of the maximum destruction of people and the creation of ‘worlds of death’, new and unique forms of social existence, in which vast populations are subjected to living conditions that give them the status of ‘undead’” (ACHILLE MBEMBE, 2016).

Faced with this scenario, black children and young people are more likely to be victims of homicide in Brazil, according to the 2017 Violence Map published by the Applied Economics Research Institute - IPEA, of the total number of homicides in Brazil in 2018, 75.7% of these victims were young blacks, the study shows that among them the murder rate per 100 thousand inhabitants registered a rate of 37.8 compared to non-blacks whose registered rate was 13.8%. Translating the rates a black person has 2.7 times more likely to be killed violently than a non-black person, these rates have grown by 11.5% in the past two years.

In 2020 alone, in Rio de Janeiro, 12 deaths of school-age children and adolescents, all black, have already been counted. The most recent victims were two girls, 5 and 7 years old, black and peripheral hit by stray bullets while playing on the sidewalk of their home in the community where they lived, relatives and neighbors, testified that the shots were fired by policemen at random into the street where the girls lived. In these cases, the state's power imposes itself on these children's right to life (El País, 2020).

What puts this population in a condition of mental suffering and constant stress, black children and young people living in favelas in Rio de Janeiro live in fear of being approached and being beaten or killed on the way to school, or from school to home, or even playing at the door of the house. Being the target of police violence or urban violence, when stray bullets encounter black bodies.

IV. TOXIC STRESS AND RACIAL TRAUMA

Disorders, traumas and stress are issues that have always deserved attention from psychology and medicine, but that are hardly associated with the experiences caused by episodes of racism. According to Diaz et. al., (2019), racial trauma is a type of stress that refers to the reactions of blacks and indigenous people to real or subliminal experiences of racism, with or against other individuals. According to Carter (2007), it is called racial trauma, the stressful experiences arising from racism and discrimination, which generate pain and emotional suffering. The understanding of racial trauma and its implications has been the subject of debates in entities involved in the studies of the mental health of neglected populations such as the black race, whose suffering has always been ignored and made invisible, treated as something that does not exist or victimism.

“The experiences of individual or institutional racism, single or recurring, blatant or subtle, regardless of degrees of insidiousness, should be considered as factors of suffering capable of promoting harm that interfere in the physical and psychological health of individuals, if we take into account the environment in which these people are immersed and not the event in isolation” (MATA; PELISOLI,2016).

Racial trauma can have a great impact on the lives of black children and young people who, on their own, are unable to develop mechanisms of self- esteem, self-care and resilience and need help to deal with the reactions they start to experience from the experience of racism which leads to trauma, which makes it insidious toxic stress in these cases and they need help to identify and be presented with tools that can minimize the damage. According to the Center on the Developing Child Harvard University (2020), toxic stress occurs when the child is subjected to constant stressful situations, of strong impact and for long periods, without an adult being able to appease them, any type of negligence, violence, abuse, bullying, extreme poverty and socio- environmental vulnerability, corroborate for a child to suffer from toxic stress. Harvard's studies indicate that children who experience long periods of stress have an impact on their developing brains, which can interfere with learning and behavior, in addition to reflections on their general health.

“Traumatic events can have a broad impact on the functioning of children and can cause increased anxiety, depression, symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder, difficulty managing relationships and, most importantly for educators, difficulty in school and learning” (National Center for Child Traumatic Stress,2017).

According to Santos (2018), Brazil is a country with a larger population of blacks and browns, where racism imposes itself as violence. Therefore, it is necessary that more studies on the subject and its implications for the mental health of these individuals be carried out, since racism is something real and present in the lives of these people. Harvard's research still suggests that experiences from systemic racism trigger the stress response. These studies also demonstrate that the effects are intergenerational, experiencing racism directly or indirectly on a recurring basis, modifies the brain architecture of these individuals which could affect possible future generations in their neurodevelopment.

In Brazil, the subject is rarely addressed and there are no public policies aimed at monitoring mental health aimed at marginalized groups and minorities, thus racism is denied and as a result it is denied that black people suffer from it.

RACISM, RACIAL TRAUMA AND ITS EDUCATIONAL IMPACTS:

UNICEF data shows the sad reality of black children and adolescents who escape from school banks, in Brazil there are about 57 million children and adolescents, of these 31 million are black children and a smaller number 140 thousand are indigenous, which represents 54.5% of total Brazilian children and adolescents. But despite representing the majority, black children and adolescents are the ones who are affected by racism and school dropout. What causes social impacts and compromises your future.

Racial prejudice helps these children to end up developing low self- esteem, learning difficulties, fear and insecurity, which leads to low academic performance, failures and, finally, dropout and most of the time child labor and marginality (FERREIRA; CAMARGO,2011). Black children are also discriminated against in school by some of their peers, and may suffer from their own teachers and some educational institutions, who deny vacancies, for example, claiming that their students must have a specific profile.

How many children and young people have already committed suicide because they are victims of Bullying, because they are black or of mixed race. The booklet *Deaths by Suicide among Adolescents and Young Blacks*, launched by the Ministry of Health (MS) in 2018 explains that racism significantly and adversely affects the psychological and psychosocial levels of individuals.

The school phase is a time to build your identity and recognize your strengths. Bringing challenges to constitute a subject in the face of the social negation of its existence, but the school often ends up serving as an instrument of ideological reproduction, which validates the characteristics of white people. (FERREIRA; CAMARGO,2011) Society teaches that black people are inferior, intellectually, physically, socially. This leaves a mark, causes pain and can lead to black suicide and such suffering cannot be made invisible by society. Not only is the racism that they suffer out of school enough, they find racism in these spaces, also poorly disguised, but felt by these children, the effects of racial trauma appear in the

short and medium term. Thus, the school, at this moment, fails in its role of educating for differences and promoting equity.

“Education is a sector of collective life essential to mitigate the reproduction of social inequalities, structural racism and forms of violence, above all lethal, which mostly affect the poor population and the black population, almost always young, in our country.” (KRENZINGER; SOARES, 2020)

Many children considered aggressive, undisciplined, inattentive and disinterested may be suffering from toxic stress due to constant exposure to episodes of racism and the educators and even the family itself were not aware of it. That is why the debate on the topic is so important. The fight against racism in society starts from a collective awareness whose basis is mainly educational, so the school must always try to have the pedagogical intention of promoting the acceptance and inclusion of all. Based on the development of socioemotional skills, which favor protagonism, the feeling of belonging and the construction of an identity, healthy and resilient. Thus contributing to the foundation of a more empathic, healthy and egalitarian society that respects differences.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS : The facts discussed before the analysis of the theoretical framework allowed the understanding of the mechanisms that in our society.

The evaluation of how racial trauma, has a strong impact on the mental health of children and young people, was important to identify that constant episodes of racism, which affect children daily, directly or indirectly, have a toxic effect on the organism and causing damage to health mental and generating learning disorders impacting educational achievement, which can lead to failure and school dropout. In general, this problem has been neglected, just as debates on issues with racial bias in our society have been neglected, but not talking does not make the problem disappear. The Health and Education areas are not yet prepared to identify and intervene assertively for the benefit of these children's mental health. Given the importance of the topic, we should not extinguish the debate, but seek ways to disseminate it mainly in educational circles.

REFERENCES

- [1]. SCHOLZ, Danielle Celi dos Santos; SILVEIRA, Marta Irís Carmargo Messia; SILVEIRA, Paulo Roberto. **As práticas racistas no espaço escolar: influência na saúde mental das crianças negras.** *Identidade!* | São Leopoldo | v. 19 n. 2 | p. 61-74 | jul.-dez. 2014. Available at: <<http://periodicos.est.edu.br/identidade> > Accessed on: dec 11th. 2020
- [2]. MADEIRA, Zelma; GOMES, Daiane Daine de Oliveira. **Persistentes desigualdades raciais e resistências negras no Brasil contemporâneo.** *Serv. Soc. Soc.*, São Paulo, n. 133, pág. 463-479, dezembro de 2018. Available at: <http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0101-66282018000300463&lng=en&nrm=iso>. Accessed on: dec 17th. 2020.
- [3]. GUIMARAES, Antonio Sérgio Alfredo. **Preconceito de cor e racismo no Brasil.** *Rev. Antropol.*, São Paulo, v. 47, n. 1, pág. 9-43, 2004. Available at: <http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0034-77012004000100001&lng=en&nrm=iso>. Accessed on: dec 12th. 2020.
- [4]. SAVAZZONI, Simone de Alcântara. **Preconceito, racismo e discriminação.** *Revista do Curso de Direito da Faculdade de Humanidades e Direito*, v. 12, n. 12, 2015.
- [5]. PINTO, Márcia Cristina Costa; FERREIRA, Ricardo Franklin. **Relações raciais no Brasil e a construção da identidade da pessoa negra.** *Pesqui. prá. psicossociais*, São João del-Rei, v. 9, n. 2, p. 257-266, dez. 2014. Available at: <http://pepsic.bvsalud.org/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S1809-89082014000200011&lng=pt&nrm=iso>. Accessed on: dec 12th. 2020.
- [6]. INSTITUTO BRASILEIRO DE GEOGRAFIA E ESTATÍSTICA, IBGE. **Som todos iguais? O que dizem as estatísticas.** Rio de Janeiro: IBGE, 2018. Available at: <https://agenciadenoticias.ibge.gov.br/media/com_media/ibge/arquivos/17eac9b7a875c68c1b2d1a98c80414c9.pdf> Accessed on: dec 7th. 2020.
- [7]. UNICEF. **Pobreza na infância e adolescência – 2018.** Brasília (DF). Available at:

- <<https://www.unicef.org/brazil/media/156/file/Pobreza%20na%20Inf%C3%A2ncia%20e%20na%20Adolesc%C3%A2ncia.pdf>> Accessed on: dec 6th.2020.
- [8]. LÓPEZ, L.C. **The concept of institutional racism: applications within the healthcare field.** Interface - Comunic., Saude, Educ., v.16, n.40, p.121-34, jan./mar.2012.
- [9]. SHONKOFF, J. P. **Leveraging the biology of adversity to address the roots of disparities in health and development.** Proceedings of the National Academy of Science of the United States of America, 109(2),17302-17307. 2012. Available at: <<http://dx.doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1121259109>> Accessed on: dec 10th. 2020.
- [10]. PITASSE, Mariana. Marielle Franco: **“Ser mulhernegra é resistir e sobreviver o tempo todo”.** Brasil de Fato, 15 de Março de 2018 às 08:51. 2018. Available at: <<https://www.brasildefato.com.br/2018/03/15/marielle-franco-or-ser-mulher-negra-e-resistir-e-sobreviver-o-tempo-todo>> Accessed on: dec 6th.2020.
- [11]. SANTOS, Diego Junior da Silva et al. **Raça versus etnia: diferenciar para melhor aplicar.** Dental Press J. Orthod., Maringá, v. 15, n. 3, p. 121- 124, June 2010. Available at: <http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S2176-94512010000300015&lng=en&nrm=iso>. Accessed on: dec 12th.2020.
- [12.]. NUNES, Sylvia da Silveira. **Racismo no Brasil: tentativas de disfarce de umaviolênciaexplícita.** Psicol. USP, São Paulo, v. 17, n. 1, p.89-98, mar.2006. Available at: <http://pepsic.bvsalud.org/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S1678-51772006000100007&lng=pt&nrm=iso>. Accessed on: dec 10th.2020.
- [13]. GUIMARAES, Antonio Sérgio Alfredo. **Preconceito de cor e racismo no Brasil.** Rev. Antropol., São Paulo, v. 47, n. 1, pág. 9-43, 2004. Available at: <http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0034-77012004000100001&lng=en&nrm=iso>. Accessed on: dec 12th.2020.
- [14]. PORFÍRIO, Francisco. **"Democracia racial";** Brasil Escola. Available at: <https://brasilescola.uol.com.br/historia/democracia-racial.htm>. Accessed on: dec 11th.2020.
- [15]. CAMARGO, Climene Laura de; ALVES, Eloina Santana; QUIRINO, Marinalva Dias. **Violência contra crianças e adolescentes negros: uma abordagem histórica.** Texto contexto - enferm., Florianópolis, v. 14, n. 4, p. 608-615, Dec. 2005. Available at: <http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S0104-07072005000400019&lng=en&nrm=iso>. Accessed on: dec 11th.2020.
- [16]. MBEMBE, A. **Necropolítica: biopoder soberania estado de exceção política da morte.** Arte&Ensaio, Revista do PPGAV/EBA/UFRJ, n. 32, dezembro, 2016. Available at: <<https://revistas.ufrj.br/index.php/ae/article/view/8993>> Accessed on: dec 12th.2020.
- [17]. INSTITUTO DE PESQUISA ECONÔMICA APLICADA, IPEA. **Mapada Violência 2017. Taxa de Homicídios Negros.** Atlas da violência. Available at: <<https://www.ipea.gov.br/atlasviolencia/dados-series/53>> Accessed on: dec 6th. 2020.
- [18]. BETIM, Felipe. **Reportagem :Assassinatos de crianças no Rio de Janeiro escancaram lentidão da Justiça nos casos de violência policial.** El País, Violência Policial, São Paulo - 09 DEZ 2020 - 14:42. Available at: < <https://brasil.elpais.com/brasil/2020-12-09/assassinatos-de-criancas-no-rio-de-janeiro-escancaram-lentidao-da-justica-nos-casos-de-violencia-policial.html>> Accessed on: dec 11th.2020.
- [19]. COMAS-DÍAZ, L.; HALL, GN; NEVILLE, HA. **Racial trauma: Theory, research, and healing: Introduction to the special issue.** American Psychologist. 2019;74(1):1-5.
- [20]. CARTER, RT. **Racismo e lesões psicológicas e emocionais: reconhecendo e avaliando o estresse traumático baseado na raça.** The Counseling Psychologist. 35(1),13-105.2007.
- [21]. MATA, Valdisia Pereira da; PELISOLI, Catula Luz. **Expressões do racismo como fator desencadeante de estresse agudo e pós-**

- traumático. **Revista Brasileira de Psicologia**, Salvador Bahia, v. 1, n. 3, p. 126-140, 2016.
- [22]. NATIONAL CENTER FOR CHILD TRAUMATIC STRESS, NCCTS. **Enfrentando a raça e o trauma na sala de aula**: um recurso para educadores. Rede Nacional de Estresse Traumático Infantil, Consórcio de Justiça, Comitê de Escolas e Consórcio de Cultura. (2017). Los Angeles, CA e Durham. 2017.
- [23]. SANTOS, Juciara Alves dos. **Sofrimento psíquico gerado pelas atrocidades do racismo**. Revista da ABPN. v.10, n.29, nov.2017-2018, p.148-165. Available at: <<http://www.abpnrevista.org.br/revista/index.php/revista-abpn1/article/download/578/563/>>. Accessed on: 7th.2020.
- [24]. UNICEF. **Pobreza na infância e adolescência – 2018**. Brasília (DF). Available at: <<https://www.unicef.org/brazil/media/156/file/Pobreza%20na%20Inf%C3%A2ncia%20e%20na%20Adolesc%C3%A2ncia.pdf>> Accessed on: dec 6th.2020.
- [25]. FERREIRA, Ricardo Franklin; CAMARGO, Amilton Carlos. **As relações cotidianas e a construção da identidade negra**. *Psicol. cienc. prof.*, Brasília, v. 31, n. 2, pág. 374-389, 2011. Available at: <http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S1414-98932011000200013&lng=en&nrm=iso>. Accessed on: dec 12th.2020.
- [26]. BRASIL. Ministério da Saúde. Secretaria de Gestão Estratégica e Participativa. Departamento de Apoio à Gestão Participativa e ao Controle Social. **Óbitos por suicídio entre adolescentes e jovens negros 2012 a 2016**. Ministério da Saúde, Secretaria de Gestão Estratégica e Participativa, Departamento de Apoio à Gestão Participativa e ao Controle Social. Universidade de Brasília, Observatório de Saúde de Populações em Vulnerabilidade – Brasília: Ministério da Saúde, 2018. Available at: <http://bvsm.sau.gov.br/bvs/publicacoes/obitos_suicidio_adolescentes_negros_2012_2016.pdf> Accessed on: dec 13th.2020.
- [27]. KRENZINGER, Miriam; SOARES, Luiz Eduardo. **Evasão escolar, violência e políticas intersetoriais**. *O Social em Questão - Ano XXIII - nº 46 - Jan a Abr/2020*, p. 21 - 46. 2020.