The impacts of state violence on mothers of Afro-Brazilian victims

Report submitted by **Conectas Direitos Humanos** and **Movimento Independente Mães de Maio** to the CERD Committee for the Review of Brazil in 2022.

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Founded in 2001 and based in Brazil, **Conectas Direitos Humanos**¹ looks at the international human rights agenda from a Global South perspective and has as its mission the realization of human rights and the fight against inequalities to build a fair, accessible, and democratic society.



Founded in 2006 in Brazil, the **Movimento Independente Mães de Maio²** is a network of mothers, family members, and friends of victims of state violence, active for over sixteen years at the national and international level, which seeks to hold the Brazilian state accountable for the human rights violations committed against the black, poor, and peripheral population in the country, as well as due reparation for these violations.

1. The context of police lethality in Brazil

Police violence remains a widespread practice in Brazil, despite long-standing knowledge of this policy. In a visit in 2000, the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Torture, Nigel Rodley, stated that: **"The period of the military regime from 1964 to 1985, characterized by torture, enforced disappearances and extra-judicial executions, still hangs over the present democratic regime."**.³

According to the Brazilian Federal Constitution of 1988, everyone has the right to life, due legal process, and a fair trial; and arbitrary or extrajudicial executions are inadmissible. Despite this, several studies denounce an opposite reality in the country, with escalating police violence and high lethality rates.

¹ contact: <u>violencia institucional@conectas.org</u> - <u>https://www.conectas.org/</u>

² contact: <u>debi1977@gmail.com</u>

³ UN, Commission on Human Rights. "Civil and Political Rights, including the questions of Torture and Detention." Report of the Special Rapporteur, Sir Nigel Rodley, submitted under Commission on Human Rights resolution 2000/43. Addendum Visit to Brazil. Document E/CN.4/2001/66/Add.2. Paragraph 158. Available at: <u>https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/437371</u>. Accessed on: 20 Oct.. 2022.

In 2021, more than 6,000 people were killed by police forces in Brazilian states, corresponding to 12.7% of all intentional violent deaths in the country. Of these victims, 84% were black people, 99.2% were men, and 74% of the victims were up to 29 years old. The same profile intersects if we consider the people deprived of freedom in the country, composed mostly of young black men in the same age group (equivalent to approximately 67.5% of the incarcerated population).⁴

After the 2000 report, the UN denounced the excessive number of deaths caused by the Brazilian police in 2009. The UN Special Rapporteur registered a series of illegalities concerning police actions on Extrajudicial, Summary, or Arbitrary Executions, Mr. Philip Alston, in report A/HRC/11/2/Add.2, from March 23 of that year.⁵ After inspecting the country and confirming data on the extremely high level of police lethality in Brazil, the Rapporteur concluded that **executions are carried out by the police not only on duty but also off-duty, through death squads.**⁶

In June 2020, the United Nations (UN) Human Rights Council passed Resolution $A/HRC/43/1^7$ as part of a historical debate on human rights violations, systemic racism, and police violence against black people. This Resolution is a product of global anti-racist mobilization, condemning "strongly the persistence among law enforcement agencies of violent racist and discriminatory practices against Africans and African descendants, in particular those that led to the death of George Floyd on May 25, 2020, in Minnesota [...] and the deaths of other African descendants, and also condemns the structural racism of the criminal justice system."

When dealing with human rights violations by the Brazilian government, the global report of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights⁸, mentioned two exemplary cases of systemic

⁴ Anuário Brasileiro de Segurança Pública, ano 16. "Letalidade policial cai, mas mortalidade de negros se acentua em 2021"; "as 820 mil vidas sob a tutela do Estado" Available at: <u>https://forumseguranca.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/anuario-2022.pdf?v=5</u>. Accessed on: 20 Oct. 2022. ⁵ Available at: <u>https://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/hrcouncil/docs/11session/A.HRC.11.2.Add.2 sp.pdf</u>. Accessed on: 20 Oct. 2022.

⁶ Report A/HRC/11/2/Add.2, ONU, p. 6: "In part, there is a significant problem with on-duty police using excessive force and committing extrajudicial executions in illegal and counterproductive efforts to combat crime. But there is also a problem with off-duty police themselves forming criminal organizations which also engage in killings". Available at https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G09/126/25/PDF/G0912625.pdf?OpenElement. Accessed on: 20 Oct. 2022.

⁷ Available at:

https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G20/011/10/PDF/G2001110.pdf?OpenElement . Accessed on: 20 Oct. 2022.

⁸ Available at:

https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G21/122/06/PDF/G2112206.pdf?OpenElement . Accessed on: 20 Oct. 2022.

racism perpetrated by the state security forces against people of African descent. They are the cases of the murder of Luana Barbosa dos Reis Santos, a black woman, lesbian, and peripheral, and João Pedro Mattos Pinto, a black child who also lived in the periphery. Other later cases could easily be framed in this exact resolution, such as the murder of Genivaldo de Jesus Santos, in Sergipe, northeast of the country, in June of this year or, still, the slaughter in Vila Cruzeiro, in May of this year that occurred in Rio de Janeiro.⁹ All the cases mentioned had significant media repercussions, including internationally, and are far from being isolated actions.

Among other obligations, the Resolution mentioned above 43.1 gives the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights the responsibility to, "with the assistance of the relevant special procedures mandate holders, prepare a report on systemic racism, violations of international human rights law committed by law enforcement forces against Africans and Afro-descendants, especially the incidents leading to the death of George Floyd and other Africans and Afro-descendants, to contribute to accountability and reparations for the victims."

The numbers reinforce what, unfortunately, is already known: a state policy of <u>genocide</u> <u>of the black population</u> is perpetuated, effected by direct action and by omission. What, unfortunately, still has little visibility and practically no effective policy to account for are the impacts of this lethal violence that affects first the bodies of young black men and immediately the mothers and families of these victims.

2. Crimes of May 2006 and the movements of mothers and family members of victims of the State

The action of the Movimento Independente Mães de Maio began in 2006, after the appalling sequence of at least 564 deaths caused by agents of the State in São Paulo and forced disappearances, which to this day have not been properly investigated. The crimes committed by the state in this period became known as the May Crimes, and, given the number of people killed, it is considered one of the country's largest massacres of the 21st century.¹⁰

⁹ Conectas denounces to the UN the death of Genivaldo and the operation in Vila Cruzeiro. Available at: <u>https://www.conectas.org/noticias/conectas-denuncia-a-onu-morte-de-genivaldo-e-operacao-na-vila-cruzeiro/</u>.

Accessed on: 20 Oct. 2022.

¹⁰ Mães de Maio: a reação contra a violência de Estado. Disponível em: https://www.brasildefato.com.br/2016/05/13/surgido-da-dor-maes-de-maio-se-tornam-referencia-no-combate-a-vi olencia-do-estado/. Accessed on: 20 Oct. 2022.

In 2022, the May Crimes and the work of the Movimento Independente Mães de Maio completed sixteen years. During this time, the Movement's articulation has gone beyond the limits of the State of São Paulo and the context of those crimes. According to the Movement, institutional violence is structural in Brazil since it is incessant and directed at a specific part of the population. It is structural, as is the racism revealed in the actions of the Brazilian State resulting in the ongoing genocide of the black population, just as it has guided it to produce the genocide of the indigenous population throughout its formation.

The structure of the State defines the different faces of genocide for black populations in the peripheries, suburbs, and favelas. Thus, the Movement seeks the right to truth, memory, justice, and freedom for populations marginalized and violated by the Brazilian State, which, based on a racial pact, places black and white people in differentiated concrete and symbolic spaces, deprived of the same rights.¹¹

The Movement also seeks to hold the State accountable for human rights violations, to duly repair and preserve the memory of the crimes already committed, and to prevent these violations by adopting concrete measures to prevent their repetition. Given the gravity of the facts, reparation for the damages caused naturally involves not only monetary compensation, but also public recognition of the violence caused, institutional support with the promotion of social protection and health care for victims and family members of victims of the State, humanely and integrally, taking into account the damage, including psychological damage caused by each action and omission of the State to these people.

As if all the violations suffered by the victims and their mothers and families were not enough, they are often criminalized by members of public institutions that must promote and enforce justice.¹² This criminalization - associating the mothers with a supposed inheritance of drug trafficking points - is not, however, recent, and it is urgent to analyze who are the victims that the State protects those who will have their rights ensured and who can count on

¹¹ FLAUZINA, Ana Luiza Pinheiro. Corpo negro caído no chão: o sistema penal e o projeto genocida do Estado Brasileiro. 2006. 145 f. Dissertation (Master of Laws)-University of Brasília, Brasília, 2006. "In Brazil, a country that forges an image of racial harmony so detached from the reality it takes as a reference, racism has always been a major variable. The racist discourse provided the bases of support for colonization, the exploitation of enslaved Africans' labor, the concentration of power in the hands of local white elites in the post-independence period, and the maintenance of a people overexploited by the intransigence of capital. In short, racism was the ideological support the country relied on to make itself viable. Viable, of course, in terms of a racially based social pact, which the elites never gave up."(simple translation)

¹² Mães de Maio denunciam promotora por criminalizar movimento. Available at: <u>https://ponte.org/maes-de-maio-denunciam-promotora-por-criminalizar-movimento/</u>. Accessed on: 20 Oct. 2022.

institutional support in their reparation, and who are the ones who, besides having been violated by the State itself through the actions and/or omissions of its agents, will be left to their own devices.

The social movements led by mothers and family members, such as the Movimento Independente Mães de Maio in São Paulo and many others in Brazil, survive without a State policy that offers psychological support and a humanized reception, besides the notable distancing of the technical health staff in relation to the experience of violence suffered³

Mothers and relatives attempt to survive while inserted in this web of pain, captured by the effects of poverty and racism. Their experiences update the reflections of Veena Das (2007) on the (im)possibilities of accessing the pain of others. According to this author, there are two registers of pain – one of them, cultural, and the other, subjective, bodily. Culturally, pain directly and indirectly affects the members of the captive community, with forced expulsions from shared living spaces, trauma, and silence.¹⁴

The social and psychological suffering inflicted by and resulting from state violence illnesses of mothers and concern for the health of those close to them, threats by the police or militia to silence them and make them give up denouncing, loss of employment, destructuring of the family nucleus, processes of readiness and waiting that are exhausting, torturous, and make life meaningless - becomes part of the subjectivity of the mothers of victims of African descent. In addition to these situations of pain and destabilization, there is the social isolation they experience since they are seen as a danger to those who are close by and may also be associated with a militant, a whistleblower, or a possible witness, and probably criminalized as well.

In this context, the importance of testimony becomes fundamental to the process of deconstructing the stigmatization of victims as suspects or criminals. It is not uncommon in the territories where they live, after being denounced, to be accused by the police officers who work there as "wombs for making criminals", "mother of vagrants", and other expressions of debauchery and humiliation. Listening to and accepting these accusations may constitute, in itself, to a certain extent, a form of recognition and reparation that has rarely happened on the part of the Brazilian State.¹⁵ This public recognition, that is, listening to the testimony, the voices, and the suffering that they bear is fundamental as a way

¹³ "Contribuições para a implementação dos núcleos especializados de atendimento integral às vítimas de violência estatal". Available at: <u>https://drive.google.com/drive/u/1/folders/1FVOv389vnMJyuUIizWZIcQviywuoTJ4-</u>. (PT-BR/EN-US versions). Accessed: 24 Oct. 2022.

¹⁴ Same.

¹⁵ One example occurred in 2022 with ADPF 635, which dealt with the issue of police lethality in Rio de Janeiro slums and was promoted by the Federal Supreme Court (STF), with testimonials from slum dwellers and leaders of the movement of mothers and family members, entities, researchers, and lawyers. Available at: <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rf3x9u6QQ5Y</u>. Accessed on: 20 Oct. 2022.

to combat the discrimination that mothers and family members go through when in front of state agents, especially in the judiciary and public security agencies and agents. Beginning with the very registration of the occurrence, when inspectors or delegates ask if they really intend to carry on with the denunciation. In many hearings, new violence is directed at the mothers. It is not uncommon to see questions, in a tone of suspicion, that question the education provided to their children, such as whether they were "involved" or "addicted", why they were there at that time and not at work, school or at home (in the case of children or adolescents), whether the mothers had allowed them to be at the place where the execution took place and if they were present and not careless in the moral formation of their children.¹⁶

It is in this sense that the movements of mothers and family members of victims of the State, not only in Brazil, do not limit their work to seeking a procedural resolution.¹⁷ They seek effective measures of reparation and non-repetition of these violations - extrajudicial executions, forced disappearances, torture, and other cruel, inhuman, and/or degrading treatment. The constant struggle is for the State to recognize, above all, the victims of police lethality, of deaths committed by extermination groups and militias, and also of mass incarceration as victims, and that, therefore, they have rights assured not only in the internal legislation, but also protected by international treaties and conventions, and that this protection must also be extended to their families, in the event of a human rights violation.¹⁸

¹⁶ The excerpt is part of the text directed to the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights in the request for a thematic hearing, which was granted and is scheduled to take place in October, privately, to preserve the security of the petitioning movements, according to the calendar published by the IACHR and available at <u>https://www.oas.org/es/cidh/sesiones/Calendario.asp?S=185</u>. Accessed on: 20 Oct. 2022.

¹⁷ Specifically about the crimes of May there are, today, some procedures that aim to ascertain the flaws in the first investigations, but none of them have been concluded yet. They are **Criminal Investigative Procedure No. 94.0563.000071/2010-8**, opened 12 years ago under the competence of the Special Action Group to Combat Organized Crime of the Public Prosecutor's Office of the State of São Paulo acting in the Baixada Santista; **Incident of Competence Shift No. 9**, judged by the Superior Court of Justice in August 2022, determining that the investigations on the crimes that occurred in Bristol Park, south zone of São Paulo, should pass to the competence of the federal scope. The investigations have not been resumed yet; Complaints in the Interamerican Commission on Human Rights about the crimes that occurred in 2006 also in Parque Bristol and Baixada Santista and about forced disappearances in Brazil (cases n° 14.629, n° 13.754 and petition n° 777/21, respectively); and Disciplinary **Complaint n° 1.00.746/2021-64** of competence of the National Council of the Public Ministry about the criminalization of the Mães de Maio movement. Still, on the subject of police lethality in São Paulo there is **public civil action no. 1062551-10.2018.8.26.0053**, currently under special appeal in the Superior Court of Justice, proceeding under no. 1773152.

¹⁸ The Brazilian State has at least two international condemnations at the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, whose theme is related. These are the cases of Gomes Lund and others, "Guerrilha do Araguaia" vs. Brazil (2010) and "Favela Nova Brasília" vs. Brazil (2017), in which reparation measures were determined, among others, such as providing free, immediate, adequate and effective psychological and psychiatric treatment that the victims need, through the State's specialized health institutions, after reasoned consent and for as long as necessary, including the provision of free medication; that these should also be provided at centers chosen by the victims and, to the extent possible, at the centers closest to their places of residence; and, further, that the specific circumstances and needs of each victim should also be considered, so that family and individual treatment may be offered to them, following what is appropriate for each one of them and after an individual assessment. Respectively available at: https://www.corteidh.or.cr/docs/casos/articulos/seriec_333_por.pdf. Accessed on: 20 Oct. 2022.

3. Connection of this report to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination

It is important to introduce this topic by pointing out that the Brazilian State internalized the UN Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination in the early years of the civil-military dictatorship that encompassed a period of more than two decades (1964-1985). During this period, the official state narrative still predominated that there were no racial conflicts and that the country was known as a "racial democracy." It happens that - as we have vast knowledge produced today on the subject - the dictatorial regime made extensive use of the image of racial democracy to minimize its authoritarianism and prohibit discussion or organization around racial inequality (ALBERTO, et al., 2018)¹⁹ so that since then it **cannot be said that since its internalization into Brazilian law, the Convention has been observed**.

On the contrary, State violence committed due to racial discrimination, that is, institutional racism, is still notable today, either by action, as demonstrated in the statistical data presented, or by omission, as exemplified by the actions of the mothers' and family members' movements that seek the resolution of court cases and also reparation policies since the State has not even judged many of these actions or implemented effective measures according to the demands of these movements.

In this sense, the revision to which the treaty discussed here to be submitted must consider the different socio-political contexts - among them, the very process of the formal abolition of slavery after almost 400 years since it was incomplete - and take into account that the mere internationalization of international conventions and treaties is not enough to guarantee that the rights of historically vulnerable populations will be guaranteed, as, it has not occurred with the black population in Brazil, but also with other non-black traditional peoples and communities, such as indigenous and Roma.

The internalization of international treaties and conventions, as well as the adaptation of domestic legislation to international parameters, whether they result from the human rights treaties themselves or international condemnations, is an essential process for the promotion and guarantee of more rights for the population. Thus, we now highlight urgent and necessary actions

¹⁹ Afro-Latin American studies: an introduction / Alejandro de la Fuente ... [et al.]; coordinación general de George Reid Andrews; Alejandro de la Fuente. "Racial democracy" and racial inclusion. Hemispheric histories - 1st ed . -Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires : CLACSO, 2018.

based on the articles of the International Convention against all forms of racial discrimination so that the Brazilian State is urged to create and implement, with the active participation of civil society, especially social movements, public policies that guarantee each of these rights and others.

• Article 1 - Definition of Racial Discrimination; Article 4 - Propaganda, hate speech and incitement to racial discrimination

Considering what was exposed in this report and the very definition of racial discrimination brought by the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, it is no exaggeration to state that Brazil, although signatory of this and other conventions for the elimination of racial and gender discrimination²⁰, has not fully complied with the commitment signed in these diplomas.

Concerning the specific topic of this report, it is necessary to say that, in addition to the Brazilian State's lack of real commitment to resolving and holding its agents accountable for the rights violations committed against the victims of the crimes of May and so many other cases of extrajudicial executions and forced disappearances, there has also been no implementation, to date, of specialized centers to attend to the victims of State violence, who, as has been presented, are mostly black, marginalized, and impoverished people. There is, however, the forecast and attempts to implement centers for the attendance of victims of violence in general.²¹ This does not consider the dimension of institutional racism to which many of these victims are treated equally, which does not occur in the country.

The criminalization of the movements of mothers and family members is a great example of this re-victimization done by the justice system and its apparatuses that claim to serve all victims. By not considering that the deaths and/or other violations committed by agents of the State generate a specific impact on the victims since these are the actors who should serve as support for the population, followed by the omission of concrete cases and the lack of reparation, the concept of "victim" is removed from all of these people.

²⁰ Inter-American Convention against Racism and Related Forms of Intolerance (2013) and Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (1979), for example.

²¹ Recommendation no. 386/21 of the National Council of Justice provides for the creation and implementation of centers of attention for victims of crimes and infractional acts within the Judiciary. Unfortunately, in addition to the low adherence of local courts to the Recommendation, there is great resistance in recognizing the specific demands of victims of state violence in the implementation of these centers and others when created. Recommendation available at: https://atos.cnj.jus.br/files/original123914202104146076e27264aad.pdf . Accessed on 20 Oct. 2022.

This is not a dispute about which situation victimizes more, but a recognition that each victim has a different profile and, therefore, needs specific care that does not generate even more exclusion based on discrimination which, in the Brazilian case, is predominantly racial.

Article 2 - Obligation to adopt all appropriate measures to eliminate racial discrimination; Article 5 - Equal civil and political rights. Article 5 - Equal economic, social, and cultural rights; Article 6 - Access to justice;

Considering the international treaties for the protection of human rights of which Brazil is a signatory, among the main ones: the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966)²², which commits itself in sub III of art. 2 to guarantee that everyone whose rights and freedoms recognized in the present Covenant have been violated may have an effective remedy, even if the violence has been perpetrated by persons acting in an official capacity; the American Convention on Human Rights, the Pact of San Jose da Costa Rica, (1969)²³, which guarantees in art. 5 that every person has the right to have his physical, psychological, and moral integrity respected; the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1969)²⁴, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (1979)²⁵; the Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (1984)²⁶, which in art. 14, agrees to ensure in its legal system to the victim of an act of torture the right to redress and to fair and adequate compensation, including the means necessary for the fullest possible rehabilitation and that in case of the death of the victim as a result of an act of torture, his or her dependents shall be entitled to compensation; the International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance (2007)²⁷, which in Art. 15 agrees to provide maximum assistance to assist victims of enforced disappearance and for the search, location and release of missing persons and, in the event of their death, to exhume, identify and return their remains; the Inter-American Convention against Racism, Racial Discrimination and Related Forms of Intolerance (2013)²⁸, in which Brazil commits in art. 10 to guarantee victims of racism, racial

²² Available at: <u>D0592 (planalto.gov.br)</u>. Accessed on: 20 Oct. 2022.

²³ Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/decreto/d0678.htm . Accessed on: 20 Oct. 2022.

²⁴ Available at: <u>http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/decreto/1950-1969/D65810.html</u> .Accessed on: 20 Oct. 2022.

²⁵ Available at: <u>http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/decreto/2002/d4377.htm</u>. Accessed on: 20 Oct. 2022.

 ²⁶ Available at: <u>http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/decreto/1990-1994/d0040.htm</u>. Accessed on: 20 Oct. 2022.
²⁷ Available at: <u>http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_ato2015-2018/2016/decreto/D8767.htm</u>. Accessed on: 20

Oct. 2022.

²⁸ Available at: <u>https://www.in.gov.br/en/web/dou/-/decreto-n-10.932-de-10-de-janeiro-de-2022-373305203</u>. Accessed on: 20 Oct. 2022.

discrimination and related forms of intolerance equitable and non-discriminatory treatment, equal access to the justice system, agile and effective proceedings, and fair reparation in the civil and criminal spheres.

Considering also the provisions of the Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power²⁹, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly (1985) which has as its principles, access to justice and fair treatment, the obligation of restitution and reparation compensation and provision of services to victims of abuse of power, and sets standards for the protection and care of victims, especially with regard to the application of measures in the fields of social welfare, health, including mental health, education and economics, as well as special criminal prevention measures to reduce victimization and promote aid to victims in need (art. 4, item "a"); and that States should provide care for victims of abuses of power and that such care should include restitution and/or compensation, material, medical, psychological and social assistance and support needed by victims; and further, that when services and assistance are provided to victims, attention should be paid to those with special needs due to the nature of the harm suffered.

• Article 7 - Educational Measures to Address Racial Discrimination

Considering that since the year 2013, at least 43,171 people have been victims of actions by civil or military police officers throughout the country and that the profile of victims of police interventions in the country has not shown significant changes over the years, with a prevalence of men, children, adolescents and young people, black and brown among the victims and that it is still necessary to create and implement public policies to combat institutional racism in a multidisciplinary way, especially within the justice system³⁰;

Considering, furthermore, the responsibility of the Brazilian State, by action or omission, in the face of human rights violations and that surviving victims of state violence are sickened not only by the effects of the violations suffered, but also by the lack of comprehensive and specialized assistance and reparatory measures and non-repetition, it is necessary to implement

²⁹ Available at: <u>Declaração dos Princípios Básicos de Justiça Relativos as Vitimas da Criminalidade e de Abuso do</u> <u>Poder ONU Direitos Humanos DHnet</u>. Accessed on: 20 Oct. 2022.

³⁰ Technical Note: "Contributions for the implementation of specialized centers of comprehensive care for victims of state violence", available at:

https://drive.google.com/drive/u/1/folders/1FVOv389vnMJyuUIizWZIcQviywuoTJ4- (PT-BR/EN-US versions).

specialized care centers for victims and family members of victims of state violence, as has already been demonstrated in this report.

However, it is recognized that there is an urgent need to invest in the training of professionals to be appropriately prepared to meet the proposed demand. The formative process, however, needs to count on the active participation of mothers' and family movements so that the policies formulated based on this listening can be strengthened.