

DECOLONIAL DESTINY OF SUBLIMATION: POPULAR MEDIA IN THE FIGHT AGAINST BRAZILIAN RACISM¹

The masses, mentioned by Ortega y Gasset, in the first half of the century (*La rebellion de las massa*, 1937), take on a new quality due to their exponential agglomeration and their diversification... add to these facts the emergence of a popular culture that makes use of technical means previously exclusive to mass culture, allowing it to exercise a true revenge on the latter.

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ABSTRACT: We present in this article the first results of a post-doctoral research developed in the Graduate Program in Psychoanalytic Theory at UFRJ, which has, as a field of intervention of the psychoanalyst, popular social movements. The working hypothesis is that the presence of the psychoanalyst with such movements favors sublimation, a destination of the drive different from repression and perversions and can serve as a means of decolonizing social ties and treating racist jouissance. Through the appropriation of new digital technologies, grassroots movements and social and political transformation build new modes of transmission of a particular use of language, culture and unique inventions to face colonialism and necropolitics. The subversion of the subject can be witnessed by the amplification of voices that find resonance in the polis, breaking the historical silencing imposed by the yoke of race, which reduces subjects to capital waste objects.

Keywords: Psychoanalysis; decolonization; racism; sublimation; popular media.

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We raise a hypothesis about the confrontation of racism in Brazil through cultural productions that establish a process of decolonization in the social bond, when oppressed minorities use alternative and popular media for the transmission and diffusion of a brand, a language and a version of the history prevented from propagating by the imperial apparatus represented by the hegemonic press that holds the mass communication power. Postcolonial and decolonial currents of thought criticize the effects of blindness and cruelty induced by a western conception of reason, humanism and universalism, which covers up colonial violence directed at historically enslaved subjects and which did not cease after the colonies gained independence. The political, military and economic enterprise established by the relations of coloniality is, above all, epistemological and subjective, but has today, as its main means of support, the manipulation of affections for the falsification of the truth, through control via digital technological networks controlled by large financial institutions, holders of the power of the globe.

Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2017) makes an opposition between the epistemologies of the North and the South. Those in the North, Europe and North America – countries that hold global financial power – are validated by university canons and obtain dividends from global scientific consumption. Southern productions are little considered and come from countries considered to be of the third world, underdeveloped or in development. Thamy Ayouch (2019) affirms the specificity of psychoanalysis through its production of historicity, which makes technologies of coercion and the coercion itself into a transformation of gender and cultural norms. We agree with the author's proposal to produce a hybrid of psychoanalysis, the entry of psychoanalysts into the post-colonial debate; through African, Arab, Indian, Latin American authors. Although created in the heart of Europe and having gained strength as a clinical practice of the German, English and French bourgeoisie, psychoanalysis, the author reminds us, was initially known as "Jewish science", at a time when Nazism quickly took power and made the Jew the target of persecution. Therefore, since its origin, psychoanalysis occupied a marginal, foreign place in the Viennese cultural movement at the end of the 19th century, considering that psychoanalysts were persecuted and psychoanalysis books were burned in the public square by Hitler's Nazi forces. From the public psychoanalysis clinics (DANTO, 2019), we witnessed a concern of Freud himself and of the first- and second-generation analysts, regarding the extension of psychoanalytic care to the low-income population, and the Freudian intention that psychoanalysis make a treatment accessible to the entire population, subsidized by the State, as explained in the conference on analytic therapy, published in 1916.

The diffusion of psychoanalysis became internationalized mainly due to the war, with the migration of many analysts, not only to the United States, but also to Latin America. Curiously, it did not succeed in North America, where the most violent face of contemporary economic and political imperialism was established, but it did in Latin America, in geopolitically subjected and exploited countries. The surprising expansion of psychoanalysis in countries such as Argentina, Mexico and Brazil took place both in societies and training schools, but also in university institutions and in the public health network, in an increasingly capillary mode. Currently, with the resurgence of conservatism and the increase of the fascist discourse in Brazil, added to the dismantling of the mental health network, we observe the growth of offers of care in the squares, on the streets and outskirts. Independent groups of psychologists, linked or not to a psychoanalytic or university institution, recently called "fringe clinics", further expand the access of psychoanalytic practice to the poor, victims of state violence, transsexuals and transvestites, homeless, landless and even some indigenous ethnicities. Such associations of professionals, guided by psychoanalysis, have been experiencing a way of operating with the unconscious from territories where structural racism prevails and relegates the subject to the place of object-waste, object beings, as Judith Butler calls it.

Black Brazilian authors who use psychoanalysis, psychoanalysts or not, generally women, such as Lélia Gonzales (1983), point to a racism denied in Brazil, therefore unconscious, that structures the Brazilian social bond and promotes extremely harmful and deleterious effects on the constitution of the subject, target of racism. But we could also say, for the entire Brazilian society founded and sustained under a farce of cordiality, which covers up a brutally perverse State and which structures other social relations.

Importantly, not only the authors who have their works published and read must be a source of consultation and public recognition. The so-called *organic intellectuals* today emerge with lives, podcasts, videos, poetry and texts published on the networks, allowing an extremely valuable ancestral or current oral knowledge to be disseminated and learned, serving as a consultation and as a sounding board interspersed and cited with academic works; as is the case of the militant Nego Bispo, the samba singer Rumba Gabriel, the quilombolas Selma Dealdina and Maria Aparecida Mendes, the chiefs Payaya and Pataxó Hahahãe, the transsexual and transvestite Sara York, among other protagonists of knowledge that have been validated by academics and researchers. In the 1980s, Milton Santos (2008) proposed the creation of "another globalization": the appropriation of new technologies in favor of cultural integration among the subaltern peoples of the world, so that unofficial epistemologies, often transmitted by orality, can reach each of the other poor regions and that, in this way, will change the capitalism power play and, with that, aiming to affect the racist logic. In this sense, Achille Mbembe (2019) affirms Afropolitanism as an artistic and multicultural movement, present in the African diaspora with such literary, cultural and ancestral transmission strength that it rescues the subject eliminated by colonization. Due to its sublimation potential, which carries a policy of the unconscious, it is capable of producing decolonization: "This literary act, if it does not serve as a pure and simple psychoanalytic act, at least serves as a symbolization system, whose first intention is healing" (MBEMBE, 2019, p. 81).

Throughout this article, we discuss how the psychoanalytic concept of sublimation, a destination of the drive different from repression (FREUD, 1915), can produce a conflict with structural racism and interfere with the objectification of bodies engendered by the capitalist discourse and the exclusion of the subject through the discourse of science. However, our emphasis is on the fact that capitalism was produced from colonization, and this point is often overlooked by the theories and practices of the global North.

Through the development of my postdoctoral research with social and political minorities, when listening to groups of popular movements, an unbearable aphonic cry echoed in unison in psychoanalytic ears so sensitive to human suffering: "We no longer accept the way the press, the institutions, the State, the representatives of whiteness talk about us!". The media's narrative about what happens to the population manipulates events and the reaction one has to them. This narrative is responsible for the effects of marginalization and, therefore, the annihilation of the subjectivity of Afro-descendant and indigenous populations. As Althusser would say in his reading of Marx: television is an ideological apparatus of the State that, together with its repressive machine, sustains an absolutely inert majority or even adhered to the capitalist discourse and a tiny minority that enjoys the advantages and gains of installed domination.

One demand stood out among the meetings of organizations inside the favela: from the meetings with such popular groups, it was possible to hear the *desire to register*. Registering State violence, counting and writing the mark on their bodies, of what has been done by the police, the militia and several different levels of government bodies. This writing, this speech, this song, this dance addressed to the general public could then be read or heard inside and outside the favela, which motivated the idea of building a very different media.

Portal Favelas¹ is an association of TVs, radios, websites and community newspapers – some already existing and others new or under construction – that aims to break a historical silencing by confronting the fear of the constant threat of death and the chance to embarrass police abuses with images and reports published by the population witnessing the scourging and that sensitized the silent society. To make news resound in the four corners, to show that the favela is a space for culture, art, memory, solidarity, a desire for life.

STATE VIOLENCE: IT ORIGINATES IN LANGUAGE AND BECOMES EFFECTIVE IN PROPAGANDA

According to communicators from TV Portal Favelas², just as the enslaved were responsible for agricultural production on the plantation, the inhabitants of the hills and outskirts today support the large metropolises. The bodies that built the avenues, buildings and factories coexist in urban spaces like new quilombos. If their inhabitants are, on the one hand, responsible for the production of wealth and services in the uber-globalized era, on the other hand, they are violated by the neo-great house of shareholders who multiply their figures without producing any "good" for the Other and that, still, they outsource the whip and the "pau de arara"³ for the rifle and the armored helicopters controlled by the State. If the working classes in Brazil are degraded, what is most striking is that, with black people, the police humiliate more, marginalize a priori and, preferably, kill⁴.

Since the implementation of the policy of "pacification of the favelas of Rio", the Public Defender's Office of the state of Rio de Janeiro has been registering a militarized management of the territory and its apex was the decree 9288, of February 16, 2018. In these operations, weapons of war (tanks, armored repressidriveson trucks and drones) and military strategies of combat (Troy, registration of people, home invasion, mass executions) are used. Recently, in 2018/2019, helicopters were used as a shooting platform, preventing the movement of people, causing the closure of daycare centers and schools, and leading to a generalized panic. But, mainly, being carried out the summary execution of many people, among them, countless children and adolescents.

In order to sustain a space of exception within the democratic State of law, where one coexists with real open-air concentration camps in the midst of cities, it is necessary to create in public opinion the idea, planted and reiterated daily, that such territories are extremely dangerous. It is not information, but a powerful technological propaganda machine. The power that institutes such perverse marketing is the press. A chain of newspapers, radio and television uses the power of the image and the production of alleged repeated truths as a way of producing factoids that guarantee society's

¹ These ideas appear in numerous programs. To watch, access <https://www.portalfavelas.com/>.

² See: <https://www.youtube.com/c/TVPortalFavelas>.

³ "Pau de arara" is a term used in Portuguese referring to workers in a farm being transported on the back of a truck, often in degrading conditions.

⁴ According to IBGE data, in 2018, homicide rates against the population indicate that 71.5% were black. "According to the 2016 Map of Violence, in Brazil, in 2014, almost 45,000 people were killed by firearms, which means that more people are murdered here than in some countries at war, in which the vast majority murdered in Brazil is black. While, between 2003 and 2014, there was a 26.1% drop in the number of whites killed by firearms, with regard to the black population, there was an increase of almost 47%. Black victimization, which in 2003 was 71.7%, increased to 158.9% in 2014, that is, in that year 158.9% more blacks than whites were murdered. Alagoas has been the state that most violently kills blacks, in 2014, 1,702 blacks and 60 whites were murdered, that is, the black victimization rate in that state was 1,028.2%. Data from the Ministry of Health systematized by Goes (2016) reveal that, in 2014, girls and adolescents (up to 19 years old) were the main victims of rape (72%), 40% had repeated rape experiences and 61% were black" (CFP Race Relations Report, 2017, p. 13-14).

support for this ostensible militarization. Although the violence was already excessive, with the election of Jair Bolsonaro, the perverse machine of death power greatly increased, which kept the population inert in the face of the barbarity of police operations in the favelas. In addition, the networks and fake news promoted by mass shootings via Whatsapp and other social networks fostered the intensification of hate speech and, consequently, the practice of extermination of the black, indigenous and peripheral population, as well as a vertiginous increase in rates of femicide, murder of LGBTQIA+ people and violence against children.

According to Kempler (2009), what allowed Hitler to dominate the mass to implant the certainty of the purity of the German race and persecution of the Jews and anyone who was a threat to his power, was the creation of a new use of the language, and the way to spread it was propaganda. The press was very important for the dissemination and support of Nazism.

According to psychoanalyst Betty Fuks (2020), the source of inspiration for Bolsonarism is not exactly Nazi ideology, but clearly the language of the Third Reich, which served as a guarantee for Hitler to occupy the locus of power. Translated from German, the aspiring Brazilian tyrant uses linguistic expressions, paraphrases, that maintain the destructive aesthetics and racist and militaristic themes of the Third Reich. Through an impoverished language, jargon and repeated lies are repeated to incite people's hatred of the Other and, above all, in an attempt to erase history. "This is the case of Bolsonaro's declaration, during his visit to the Holocaust Museum in Israel, of 'having no doubts' that Nazism was a leftist movement. Therein lies one of the most destructive keys to government: this is not an attempt to erase the marks of History in a similar way to what is done in a crime where, as Freud indicated in *Moses and Monotheism*, 'the difficulty is not in the execution of the act, but in the elimination of its traces'" (FREUD, 1939 *apud* FUKS, 2020, p. 76).

The other fundamental characteristic, marked by the author, which makes the Nazi-fascist and Bolsonarist strategies converge in the manipulation of the masses, is the control of sexuality through religious discourse, which does not tolerate other forms of sexuality that are not heterosexual and patriarchal. According to Doria (2020), the Brazilian Integralist movement of 1930 – which was strongly influenced by Mussolini's fascism, using the same mechanisms of power and which, according to the author, is a precursor of Bolsonarism – has a difference in relation to German Nazism and Italian fascism. He uses above all the religious component for the maintenance of power. Humberto Eco, in his 2018 book *Ur-fascism* (eternal fascism), states that the characteristics of fascism and Nazism, even with their historical dissolution as a regime after the Second World War, remain as traits in postmodern culture.

In the case of Brazil, fascism relies on evangelical fundamentalism for the purpose of imposing unquestionable truths that deny any scientific evidence capable of shaking the word tyrant. The fundamental aspect of fascism is that the fascist response to culture is always a war, as Eco observes quoting Goebbels, the person responsible for Nazi propaganda: "Every time I hear about culture, I want to draw my gun" (GOEBBELS *apud* ECO, 2018, p. 49).

But why is culture so threatening to fascist goals?

Certainly, because it has characteristics capable of subverting the authoritarian order, mainly through the subversion of language uses.

Freud (1932) attributes to specific factors the submission of the majority oppressed by a minority of power holders. Laws were created to replace physical violence, although they are still violent, as it passed into the hands of the State the right to punish and repress impulses. Often, however, the set of laws is not enough to move from real to symbolic violence. The press, religious influence and even coercion by violence are ways of controlling the possible outbursts of the oppressed population when it tries to get out of this submission. Often carried out by racial differences, coercion constitutes states close to war to maintain dominance. In addition to rebellion and the attempt to change laws through protests and political struggles, the third element capable of altering the power relations of an elite towards the people, says Freud, "consists of the cultural transformation of the members of a community" (FREUD, 1932, p. 200).

Fanon (2015), a psychiatrist and revolutionary in Algeria's independence struggles, started from reading Freud to think about the symptomatic destinies of colonization, pointing to revolutionary violence as a solution for a way out of the colonial yoke. If violence, for psychoanalysis, is in the act of founding culture, through the murder of a tyrannical father who could enjoy freely, it is in the revolt of the working classes and colonized nations that the possibility of recovering the condition of subjects can be established. Parricide in *Totem and Taboo* (FREUD, 1913), carried out collectively, is precisely what establishes the symbolic field, which is also the field of language and the foundation of culture. Mbembe seems to take the Fanonian proposition as an allegory and extracts from this knowledge a point to the liberating power not simply of language, but specifically of its polysemy, its equivocal and poetic dimension. In this sense, he makes a reservation about the impossibility of constituting the decolonization of a country based on abolition. For him, a second abolition is required, which would concern the subjective position of the oppressed themselves. It is necessary to free oneself from self-hatred and also produce a speech change operation.

Favela residents do not seek, according to our hearing, simply a quantitative survey on the number of rapes and killings, since the own state's public defender's officer does this survey. Denouncement is not the main motivation for an appeal to the Other. The subject of the favela wants to witness, wants to transmit what is prevented from passing from generation to generation. Why are their knowledge and their language interrupted?

Lélia Gonzales (1984) states that there are only three fixed places for black women in Brazil, but only two are accepted.

As a domestic (servile place) and as a mulatto, in Carnival, when the black woman's body is taken as a fetish. Categories imposed by the European. The two are condensed into a "mucama" (a pet woman who, in the history of Brazil, has always been the subject of rape by slaveholders). Gonzales' reading of the double phenomenon of Brazilian racism and sexism results in a symptom: racism as a Brazilian cultural neurosis.

The author shows that Gilberto Freyre presents the wet nurse as a figure of the good nanny, who only then "becomes people". In the next moment, in the text itself, the author, says Gonzales, "begins to discuss the difference between slave (thing) and black (people)" (GONZALES, 1984), and ends up devaluing both. Through the figure of the "black mother", truth emerges from equivocation (LACAN, 1979 *apud* GONZALES, 1984). The language that has crossed generations and has its origin denied received from black mothers the multicultural legacy between Africa and indigenous and northeastern populations, and spread throughout all spaces of Brazilian society, especially the white children of the Master.

[...] And when we talk about the maternal role, we are saying that the black mother, when exercising it, passed on all the values that concerned her to the Brazilian child, [...] This child, this infans, is the so-called Brazilian culture, whose language is "pretuguês". The maternal role concerns [...] the teaching of the mother tongue and a series of other things, including the father's name [...] She passes on to us this world of things that we will call language. (GONZALES, 1984, p. 343).

The "pretuguês" transmitted by the black mother is what the white person represses, says the author. There is a very important note here: the attempt to erase oppression in terms of gender appears as a fundamental element; the issue of racism is articulated with a question about sexual difference (MILLER, 2016).

According to Guerra (2020), the systemic violence engendered by the symbolic structures of exclusion in Brazil imprisons black bodies and makes them a disposable, killable body, and this is due to an ideology of whiteness, heir to the sectarian scientific theories that produced the human ideal as white color, with supremacist ideas. Theories of miscegenation, which produced the myth of the cordiality of races fueled by anthropological studies based on miscegenation as a symbol of national identity, deny blackness and black people as a victim. Miscegenation is a project, a movement towards whitening as a social and unconscious ideal. Lélia points out that the miscegenation project fails, since it is impossible to erase the mark of our "Amefricanity".

In opposition to the peripheral plural language, we have the monolingual language of the colonizing despot, which forces the colonized nation to forget its own language in order to speak the language of its oppressor. The Portal Favelas project aims to value popular expressions, their style of speaking.

Even after the abolition of institutional racism, the "spirit of racism moved and began to announce itself in other languages" (MBEMBE, 2019, p. 50). According to the African thinker, European immigration from the 17th century onwards, the importation of servile labor in the Cape region, the implantation of Indians in KwaZulu-Natal at the beginning of the sugar boom and also the Chinese at the beginning of the industrial era made South Africa a "transnational" country.

Post-apartheid politics requires leaving the logic of revenge and one of the ways is the artistic productivity of memory and also a poetics of the religious. The first condition to get out of this place of object-waste is the liberation from self-hatred and from the hatred of the Other, says Mbembe. Freeing from the addiction of remembering your own suffering as a victim. "Freeing from this addiction is the condition to relearn to speak a human language and, eventually, create a new world" (MBEMBE, 2019, p. 55). The monolingualism imposed by the language of the colonizer not only created the republic, the State, but created itself, under the ruins of other languages.

SUBLIMATION AND DECOLONIZATION

According to *Critique of Black Reason* (MBEMBE, 2018a), the enslavement of black Africans was the genesis of the taking of the human being as a commodity and, for this reason, colonialism gave rise to capitalism. The African was the only speaking being sold and exchanged and, at the same time, uprooted from their territory. The enslaved man became an object of exchange for the master, his property, and could be sold and bought as a thing, used as a good that brought profit to their owner. Colonialism, as the political scientist shows, was not a dated and surpassed event. It instituted a technology of power that exceeds what Foucault called biopolitics; make a part of society live and let those who are not of interest to the welfare state die. Biopower, according to Foucault (2008b), has undertaken devices capable of manipulating the species through the control of populations, whose argument is the preservation of life and, for that, the control of bodies, of their sexuality.

What Mbembe (2018b) advances in relation to Foucault is something much more radical, instituted and perpetuated by the colonial enterprise and intensified by neoliberalism. Necropolitics is a policy of death, which does not even promote life actions for the majority. Its maximum expression is the loss of people from a place of belonging - through a sovereign who undertakes the extermination of certain populations - not only in a historical and economic process, but through a logic of desubjectivation centered on racial domination. Mortification is not restricted to murder, but to an animalization of the human being, an attempt at death in life. Currently, there is a push towards what the author calls the *becoming black in the world*, which would lead to a tendency towards the black condition, for all those who are not interested in the objectives of market profits. This does not mean that racism has subsided— its main target continues to be Afro-

descendants – but it is spreading to the tendency to push towards the objectification of every subaltern human being.

Nonetheless, *becoming black* itself is a concept that points to the positivity of diasporic generations around the world, who found ways to defend themselves against colonial horrors and, with their cultural strength and revolutionary wisdom, have a lot to teach us about ways to face colonialism.

In order to understand the foundation of what we call *racist jouissance* (RIBEIRO, 2020) - a concept extracted from listening to subjects who suffer racism and are under analysis and from listening to the groups of the black movement and favela movements, through the devices of conversation – it is necessary to consider the twist that Lacan performs in the reading of the Freudian text of *Psychology of the masses* (FREUD, 1921), when constructing his logic of the social bond. In addition to identifying the leader as a major factor in unifying the masses, a more primitive tendency resides in the speaker, namely, a first drive rejection, the expulsion of a segregated object. The scapegoat, like the Jew in Nazi Germany, elected to elimination by a deformed crowd that would give group cohesion through hatred (FREUD, 1921). Hate would be directed at the one who enjoys in a different way from me, a foreigner, and this force would be as unifying or more unifying than identification with and love for the leader. The founding crime in the case of *racist jouissance*, a term that we have coined throughout this research, would not be, according to Laurent, “the crime of the father’s murder, but the will to murder the one who embodies the jouissance that I reject” (LAURENT, 2014, p. 3).

It is worth remembering that *Psychology of the Masses* (1921) was a work written by Freud shortly before his exile, when Germany was taken by Nazism. Therefore, we can consider that the adhesion of the mass to an ideal of the self represented by the leader is a model very specific to the churches and the army, which work by hierarchical levels, doctrines, centralizing power and mainly in the support of a *shared jouissance* by the members of the group, which are the result of the leader’s idealization. The power strategy manipulates this identification of the “brothers” with the totalitarian leader and chooses a hostile object to be eliminated, as in Nazi racism towards Jews. Nazism, however, took the group mind too far. The *Führer* embodies the father who is not dead and who can enjoy freely without totem or taboo; he is the law itself and his jouissance is unlimited. This jouissance without barriers is assumed by the whole group, which feels powerful, and their barriers of shame, disgust, fear and threat that prevent the act are reduced.

The subject reflects the group structure; the degraded object that is attributed to the Other – to be eliminated by execution or by subjective annulment – ultimately embodies a jouissance that was originally its own, a jouissance extracted from the ejection of the object itself. However, why, in the case of racism, is this jouissance that is taken as outside so unbearable for the racist, to the point that they practically need to create a delusion, a certainty that that jouissance has to be eliminated?

The experience of the *unheimlich*, uncanny, as developed by Freud (1919), is enlightening for research on racism, since the subject himself does not realize that the object he hates and wants to eliminate was produced by him. The uncanny is elucidated with the Lacanian *object a* through its appearance in the terrain of common objects and is experienced with the presence of the sinister, the bizarre, the disquieting. The most intimate is an object that, paradoxically, is found outside, it is the “extimacy” (LACAN, 1959-1960, p. 173). Hitler once formulated the structure present in the racist phenomenon of Nazism: every German has a Jew inside him, who must be eliminated.

For Freud, the familiar *heimlich* is the most intimate, domestic, it is what causes anguish. When faced with this object outside, making its appearance in reality or located in the Other, it presents itself in its dimension of presence, alien to the structural loss of the object of human desire. In the emergence of anguish, the self’s claim to autonomy fails, which no longer harmonizes with the image of dominion in which, until then, it was recognized. *Das Ding*, this first exterior, is something whose approach produces horror, since the lost object leaves its mark, as a form of representation of its absence. It is through language that we can approach the extimacy object as a lack. There, where the lack is filled, violence arises.

The hatred that falls on an unbearable point experienced by the racist phenomenon is the attempt to imaginatively extirpate, by the group, a jouissance of the Other that I do not recognize. It has a structural dimension and can be understood, according to Miller (2016), by the status that the immigrant has acquired in the contemporary world. The contempt for the African and indigenous signs must have as a question the enigma of the transmission of this foreign face in its familiar, close, domestic dimension. In the case of the black slave, they were also a currency, a cipher, a source of profit. They were not simply a foreigner, an enemy. They were kidnapped from their land, from their place of belonging, their became an object of possession and use, almost a part of the master’s body, who could enjoy that body as they pleased. The figure of the foreigner seems to immediately provoke repulsion and an attempt to withdraw. The black enslaved was a household, almost a member of the family. But, no, they were something more intimate, much more intimate.

Working with the paradox posed by the Freudian *unheimlich* to interrogate decolonization modes of production is the challenge presented by cultural, historical and aesthetic sensitivity. *Afropolitism*, as Mbembe teaches us, is a subjective work that involves the collective and, we could say, would operate the treatment of what we call “racist jouissance”.

Afropolitism has been growing in the world and is linked to the multicultural roots that resist a hegemony of phallogocentrism. There is a bridge between sexual pleasure and that resulting from the act of torturing enemies. “The phallus works,” “it is he who speaks, gives orders and acts”. Political struggle takes on the appearance of sexual struggle. If we want to understand the psychic life of power and the mechanisms of subordination in the post-colonial period, adept at voracious rape and the brutal affirmation of the desire for power, the phallic representation of the despot comprises

an original repression of patriarchal traditions of power in Africa: that of homosexuality. The anus was presented in the discourse as an object of aversion and dirt during colonization, as it represented the zenith of the anarchy of the body and of intimacy, of secrecy. Replacing the place of defecation, of excrement, as entirely another, entirely intimate, representative of a “hidden power”, was an undertaking of domination that is recovered by African art, it was also presented in sacred rituals.

The decline of the phallic force is a discourse that has been growing. If, in several countries, the war against homosexuals turned them into scum and human waste, in South Africa, the national constitution began to include their marriage rights. Here, the author takes the phallus as a synonym of phallic potency and not in the psychoanalytic sense of castration, as a reference to the lack, proper to the Lacanian conceptualization.

Therefore, it is worth taking the Mbembian arguments about the artistic production, poetics of *Afropolitism* from sublimation as worked by Lacan in *Seminar VII* ([1959-1960] /1997), to extract the breakdown of these effects in the field of jouissance, considering, above all, its subjective and political consequences. Sublimation is a satisfaction that produces a very particular operation with *das Ding* and that directly involves the *unheimlich* dimension of the unconscious. The point before the new from the subject is not recognized and, at the same time, it finds something absolutely familiar, it is reinvented. The extimacy object is given a very specific destination. Sublimation involves something that happens between a subject, their satisfaction and the production of a new object in the social bond. Freud goes so far as to say that the sublimation process would be capable of raising the barriers between each individual and the collective self, producing a certain satisfaction precisely where every subject loses something in the process of socialization of desire. In *Psychology of the masses* (1921), Freud even talks about parties of popular and cultural expression, of folklore as moments in which what is repressed in a group comes to the fore; it is the emergence of the unconscious, the difference that the mass tried to erase. In Lacanian terms, the destination for the drive defines the treatment of the real.

According to Safatle (2006), in Lacan, the experience of sublimation points to a certain aesthetic of the real as a formalization of decentering experiences. When dealing with psychoanalytic ethics, Lacan shows that all art is characterized by an organization around *das Ding's* emptiness. If, in racism, there is a massive jouissance of the object in its aspect of presence, a very interesting research hypothesis has been to think the work sublimation does with the object, which points to the void, can be a way of emptying the racist jouissance.

The best-known definition for sublimation – raising the *object* to the dignity of the Thing – offered by the Lacanian development on ethics, subverts the courtly love that presented the woman as an ideal. Always the same Venus, the same lady. Elevating the dignity of the thing would mean removing it from all attributive and qualitative determination. The female object carries a privation, an inaccessibility, says Lacan.

Freud develops the concept of *das Ding* from *Nebenmensch*, which is closest to the ambiguity of man, since it is in the face of helplessness that the bond with the Other is produced, but, as this is always unsatisfactory, the impossibility of relief throws the human baby to an inescapable malaise. The commandment “love your neighbor as yourself” shows the paradox. An ejaculatory exteriority that is identified within and that man attributes to something from outside; this is the precise point where the cry is produced.

In *Seminar XVI* (1968-1969), Lacan returns to the question of sublimation when referring to Munch's magnificent engraving called *The Scream*, “which can express precisely this paradoxical cry of the subject facing the complex of the other: it is a question of a calm landscape, where there is a road and a woman in the foreground”. She screams desperately, however, in complete silence. The neighbor here is not the Other, but the intolerable imminence of jouissance referred to the object. To the “vacuole”, in the closest and most intimate point that is experienced as external, Lacan tells us to use the term “extimate” (LACAN, 1968-1969, p. 219).

According to Safatle (2006), the production of the artistic object in the work of art can only be understood as sublimation when it shows, points, destroys the protocols of identity and representation. The denial of the object is something proper to the death drive. The death drive could be thought of as an engine of disalienation in the imaginary, insofar as sublimation reveals that the empirical object is, in principle, an imaginary pole of narcissistic projection. Sublimation “can present itself as satisfaction of the death drive by producing an object that is the destruction of its own identity” (SAFATLE, 2006, p. 284).

Therefore, we can start from the hypothesis that an identity fixed by the Nazi jouissance or by the colonial racist jouissance, promoted by the ideals of whiteness, encloses the “Jew” or the “black” as signs of jouissance, gluing the signifier to a signification, and that the sublimation drive operation can serve to provoke a detachment, a decentering in that fixity.

In the text *Salvation through waste* (2010), Miller highlights that sublimation would be a possibility to elevate, idealize waste. It is like psychoanalysis, which collects the remains – dreams, Freudian slips, symptoms – and makes them a category of truth.

Surrealism is a good example of the aestheticization of waste, says the author. It makes the waste go into the register of aesthetics, but without questioning the definition of the beautiful. The act of elevating the urinal to the category of artistic object highlights this possible subversion with the rest-object. Marcel Duchamp's gesture does not seem to be in any way distant from the subversive act of Lélia Gonzales, when he legitimizes the place of black women in Brazil as the one who transmits, through Brazilian *languagem*, the silenced culture of a people, when he utters a saying that was marked,

written in the history of the anti-racist movement: “Now the garbage will talk, and in a good way!”.

Macedo (2014) develops the importance of writing in the testimony of traumatized people from the Nazi state of exception, particularly that of Primo Levi, who started writing after being confined and tortured in Auschwitz. In the absolutely racist and murderous state constituted by Hitler, Levi (2010) shows how death was trivial and everyday, both death and dying; a factory of corpses, which made the difference between one body and another indiscernible.

Agamben (2008) asks about the remains of the concentration camp: who would be the subject of the survivors’ testimony? There are at least two subjects in the testimony: the survivor, who can speak, but has nothing to say since whoever would have to say has succumbed; and those who have become the “Muslim”, would have to say, but have been taken by such objectification that are prevented from speaking. For the Italian philosopher, what bears witness is the non-man in man. The second lends the voice to the first, since there is something that is completely desubjectivized and muted. Therefore, the subject of the testimony is the one who bears witness to a desubjectivation. What remains of Auschwitz is neither the dead, nor the survivors, nor the submerged, but what remains between them.

ANOTHER GLOBALIZATION AND THE PORTAL FAVELAS

Currently, the forms of influence and manipulation of digital media have intensified and become so complex, with the schemes of big data and internet algorithms, that it is very difficult to analyze the subjective repercussion of the *The Network Dilemma* (2020). Jeff Orlowski’s famous documentary portrays in a didactic and surprising way how the system created by the development of information technology has become a great eye that not only watches, films and notes, it particularizes each of its users, as occurred in Jeremy Bentham’s panopticon, read by the disciplinary society analyzed by Foucault, but it allows to group profiles of consumption interests, offering the user exactly what they think they want. It mobilizes a network of consumption and compulsion in place of desire. In other words, the influence of manipulation on the novelty of the moment began to serve to destroy the democracy of countries through electoral fraud, with fake news, manipulation of data and provocations, from the most ignorant and eschatological to the most criminal. They are strategies that mobilize pleasures and affections.

Two experiences of using the new communicative paradigm of the internet were, however, used differently for the election of progressive rulers. The new governments assumed the presidency to precisely reestablish the democratic space and promote the recovery of social equality; as an example, the elections in Spain and Portugal. According to Sabariego (2017), the so-called “technopolitics” allowed popular movements to respond to Portuguese and Spanish democracies, re-politicizing society, both for a new generation and acting intergenerationally. An unprecedented democratic pedagogy emerged from the networks, through the growth of social movements, which fight for water, for land, feminist and ecological struggles; political acts produced almost secretly by thousands of people. Plural collectives of horizontal organization were created according to the common interest. The Arab Spring, *Occupy* and major feminist demonstrations in Latin America point to issues related to sexuality and individual freedoms. Such technopolitical uses of networks challenge the dominant order. These phenomena seem to approach the definition of *ephemeral groups* that Freud (1921) coined to distinguish from artificial groups. He uses the multitude and contingency to suggest the possibility of ethical transformations impossible for a single individual. However, according to Sousa Santos (2017), it would still be necessary to overcome infoexclusion, but struggles for human rights, according to him, have been carried out through internet organizations, creating new political processes of participation.

We propose to think about the collectives gathered around a certain cause – black feminism, landless workers, favela residents, etc. – as different from the group that conveys a “group mind”, as Le Bon shows us, in the Freudian reading of *Psychology of the masses* (FREUD, 1921) and bring the paradigm of these ephemeral groups, organized around the *Common*, to understand their movements and effects. In the Freudian group, there was a pregnancy of identification as a basis for unifying similarities and erasing differences. In my experience as a researcher and as a psychoanalyst, participating in groups and embracing the questions that arise in the case of social movements of politicization of oppressed minorities in Brazil, the process seems, on the contrary, a strategy of decolonization and dis-identification of Eurocentric ideals and the universal knowledge that was used for submission.

Jorge Alemán (2012) analyzed the concept of *Common* (HARDT; NEGRI, 2011) and proposed to debate the new forms of collective through the proposal of post-Marxists articulated to psychoanalysis. The *Common*, according to the author, presupposes an empty place, from which it can be engendered in a contingent and retroactive way, promoting an invention as a political act and allowing the dimension of enunciation to emerge. The author brings this new form of collective closer to Lacan’s proposal for schools of psychoanalysis. While the IPA is structured by the logic of identification, a school against the flow of logic of the identity group would be inconsistent, not whole. A void of knowledge at the center would ideologically displace the fixity of a certain centralizing mastery: “Every invention worthy of that name arises from this constitutive hiatus” (ALEMÁN, 2012, p. 33). For the author of *The Lacanian Left* (ALEMÁN, 2010), social movements in Latin America are collectives in movement, whose cause points to a *becoming*; it is an open and undecidable set at the level of identifications, which represents the internal logic of a political transformation.

Warning that progressive utopias can be totalizing, Alemán points to Lacan’s contribution to an overcoming in the field of the left, beyond the logic of identification, through the construction of a “political poetics” (ALEMÁN, 2012, p. 38). The “experience of Latin American national and popular social movements can reach an unprecedented intelligibility that

can challenge the European panorama, in many cases, something dormant in its Eurocentrism” (ALEMÁN, 2012, p. 38).

In *Becoming black* (1983), Neusa Santos points to the psychoanalytic path of the subject who suffers racism in Brazil, which would imply giving up this identification with the ideal of the white self, this fixation of identity based on European standards. The subject would go through a process, as we understand it, of singularization based on the search for their own ancestry and the erased or repressed subjective marks, of a people submitted to the place of object-merchandise. However, to produce a step out of the racist structure, which in the future will allow us to overcome the idea of race, the singular process is not enough, even in the crossing of its unconscious by the analytical experience. It is necessary, as it becomes clear in listening to the collectives, a process of transmission that each one produced from the passage from object to subject; this is the key to decolonization as a process of the polis. In this sense, popular media strategies allow the dissemination and collectivization of this treatment given to racist jouissance to be inscribed in the social bond.

Milton Santos (2008) states that those excluded from the welfare state are subjected to an illusion promoted by the market through the hegemonic media, which he called *globalization as a sham*. They are deluded by the possibility of acquiring, through individual means, the sharing of the economic privileges of the global elite. We make use of Milton Santos’ thesis on another globalization – to be constructed by the use of new technologies by subjects segregated from the consumption of goods and the labor market, who inhabit peripheral territories –, to allow the possibility of subjective emancipation of oppression. This process takes place through the dis-identification of the significant colonizing masters who inscribe the colonial discourse that is the structural basis of Brazilian society.

We were able to hear from Rumba Gabriel, founder of Portal Favelas, about his idea of a technological tool that allows the recording of State violence in real time, throughout the city and not just in one or another favela, one or another isolated case, as the media deals with. A record of police violence that dehumanizes bodies. Rumba proposes an inversion: it is the police who will be filmed; in front of the panopticon, a mirror is provided.

Unlike the crimes of Nazism that were recorded, many of the murderers punished and the remains transformed into works in museums so that the historic mark could be transmitted to the whole world, in Brazil, there was no accountability either for colonial crimes or crimes committed during the post-64 military dictatorship. What is not symbolically inscribed, Freud had already stated, returns from the outside, as happened with the rise to power of a representative of slavery and the torture of the dictatorship, in the 21st century.

The Portal Favelas can be considered a way of promoting the project of Milton Santos, a black geographer and one of the greatest thinkers in Brazilian history, internationally recognized in the 1980s. It proposes a transformation in the global modes of management and agencying of capitalism, through of a change in the appropriation of new media technologies by peripheral populations, in order to modify the global scenario of economic and social inequalities. Santos (2008) analyzes globalization in its perverse dimension, which takes place in the economic perspective through the gain of wealth concentrated in the richest regions and in the hands of holders of established powers, who control the oscillations of the market through the power of the media to manipulate public opinion. There would be three forms of globalization: globalization as a fable, globalization as perversity and a new globalization.

The first consists of the world *as they make us see*, where an ideological machine determines that those are the news that really inform people, in order to homogenize the contents, stimulate consumption and standardize services and political actors. The second, *the world as it is*, is about capitalism with its illusions of free competition and meritocracy – it aims to strengthen the state to meet financial interests, to the detriment of life. Unemployment grows chronic, poverty, violence and hunger increase and the middle classes lose their quality of life.

Systemic perversity is at the root of this media farce due to the unbridled adherence to competitive behaviors that characterize hegemonic actions, which are directly or indirectly stimulated by globalization. According to Santos, a third form of globalization could only be established through the construction of an appropriation of new information technologies, in favor of the convergence of human interests at the service of new social and political foundations. The meeting of different cultures, races, peoples and tastes can favor a certain mixture of epistemologies and other knowledge to the detriment of European rationalist and colonial centralism, or the homogenization of the market promoted by North American imperialism. Build what he called a “new sociodiversity”.

Santos thus proposes the invention of a new discourse, through an empirical universality that is no longer in the abstraction of some philosophers and goes to the ordinary experience, which can be appropriated by each man in his concrete history. Inspired by Santos and listening to the innovative ideas of Rumba Gabriel, Patricia Felix, Nivia Raposo, Lourenço Cesar, Maurício Soca, Rute Sales and other popular leaders in Rio de Janeiro, we can say that Portal Favelas intends to bring about a transformation from the bottom up, in which political agendas, information and cultural productions come from underdeveloped countries and territories that receive little or no investment from the State, where the disinherited and the poor, exploited for their work or scourged by unemployment and violence, assume another place.

A participant in the collective talks about the beginnings of building a newspaper in her favela, which is now part of the Portal network. Claudia Rose, founder of CEASM (acronym in Portuguese for *Center for Solidarity Studies and Actions of Maré*) and of the Maré Museum, reports that the beginning of communication in the Maré favela complex took place during the dictatorship period – they filmed the daily lives of the residents, who, talking about the present, ended up telling their past and building a memory, a historicization of that abandoned place, where everyone was ashamed to say they lived there. A subversion was produced when they made the program enter channel 3 of television and, right

in the prime time of the soap opera, the residents turned off TV Globo and watched their own cultural production. A pirate intervention!

Through a printed newspaper called *The citizen*, they created the term *Maré*, which began to be used by the population of Maré to name their place of belonging to that territory, breaking with the stigma of degraded space that discriminated against each inhabitant. The process of creating the media produced a network throughout the favela, which resulted in the creation of the first museum maintained by residents in the world and a pre-university preparatory course from which Marielle Franco, Renata Souza and so many other community leaders became representatives of the democracy in times when it is strangled.

INITIAL CONSIDERATIONS FOR THE RECOVERY OF A COUNTRY

It cannot be said that all sublimation is a form of decolonization, much less anti-racist production, since we know that many renowned artistic works are performed by figures who inspired terribly cruel initiatives in history, such as Wagner's concerts, which inspired Hitler. The object appears as disturbing in perversion and as appeasing in creation. The work interposes itself between the subject and his fellow. While Leonardo da Vinci is loved by humanity, the Marquis de Sade, despite having accomplished a literary work, is rejected. He spent his whole life in institutions, whether in prisons or in asylums, since his unlimited jouissance had been interdicted by civilization.

Lacan goes further by using Sade's work, by asking himself how to interrogate the field of the Thing in terms of what is at stake in desire, when it is directed towards sublimation. *Das Ding* as a massive, monstrous and nameless figure, as we saw in the racist jouissance, is relative to an Other without a barrier. For the unspeakable to become a work of art, it is necessary to assume a certain domestication of the drive, but not without the death drive in its creationist subversion. For Freud, the condition for there to be sublimation is satisfaction and social recognition. For Lacan, the essential thing in transforming the bond produced by sublimation would not be public recognition, but a created object elevated to the dignity of the Thing. For Kant, dignity is that which cannot be exchanged, equivalent to another. Therefore, the object of sublimation is something unique, which produces dissimilarity, which digs a void where there was an ideal in place of the loss of the object.

Dignity is what capitalism really lacks, since the objects of consumption are a series that have exchange value; so far as its use-value is concerned, only that which can be replaced with money has value. Even the human being, in this case, the enslaved black, became a currency-object, for its dignification as a difference from the whole series of objects, the sublimation process and its subversion of jouissance, implies the provocation of a subjectivization that takes place through paradox. Sublimation presents an aspect of desubjectivation, a passage in which a new object appears, to the detriment of the subject. Where there was objectification, desubjectivation produces a work or a product that names its author. With that, it ends up producing a subject. The political characteristic of sublimation lies in the fact that, in order to elevate a disposable object, which would be a rest-object, it must produce both a transformation in the Other and a different kind of incidence in language.

The poetic experience, the production of videos, singing and dancing, touches to some extent on what is not expected and that produces a certain oscillation of common sense, of the phallic sense. Whether the not-all dimension of artistic expressions linked to homosexuality and which move from the centrality of the phallic organ to the orifice of the anus, or the ephemeral collectives that are produced in the new encounters of digital networks and popular media, it is through a process of dis-identification with Eurocentric ideals and the equivocation of language, instituted by authoritarian propaganda, which can produce a transmission that was once interrupted. It is about what is subsumed in language and which concerns the origins and marks of a people, a culture and its polysemic and multicultural heritage.

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