

"A gente combinamos de não morrer": necropolitics and artistic production

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Abstract | This article seeks to discuss how structured racism in Brazilian society works as a powerful cultural technology that underlies privileges and exclusions in the panorama of social life. Our interest is to understand the articulations developed by dominant groups in the elaboration of racial projects that are decisive for the consolidation of oppressions that are institutionalized. In addition, we intend to analyze aesthetic procedures that start from themes related to racial domination and necropolitics.

KEYWORDS: Racism. Necropolitics. Art.

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Resumo | Este artigo busca discutir como o racismo estruturado na sociedade brasileira funciona como poderosa tecnologia cultural que fundamenta privilégios e exclusões no panorama da vida social. Nosso interesse é compreender as articulações desenvolvidas por grupos dominantes na elaboração de projetos raciais determinantes para a consolidação das desigualdades institucionalizadas. Além disso, pretendemos analisar procedimentos estéticos que partam de temáticas relacionadas à dominação racial e à necropolítica.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Racismo. Necropolítica. Arte.

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Resumen | Este artículo busca discutir cómo el racismo estructurado en la sociedad brasileña funciona como una poderosa tecnología cultural que subyace a los privilegios y exclusiones en el panorama de la vida social. Nuestro interés es comprender las articulaciones desarrolladas por los grupos dominantes en la elaboración de proyectos raciales que son decisivos para la consolidación de las opresiones que se institucionalizan. Además, pretendemos analizar procedimientos estéticos que parten de temas relacionados con la dominación racial y la necropolítica.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Racismo. Necropolítica. Arte.

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Introduction

The short story *A gente combinamos de não morrer* [We agreed not to die], written by Conceição Evaristo (2015), is a complex narrative about the life stories of people living in the margins of society. The text is composed of everyday situations that relate to the social experience of black people and represents a way of denouncing violence strategies coordinated by the State as a mechanism to control and exterminate peripheral bodies.

The narrative reflects the situation of black people in the Brazilian context through scenes and characters that trigger the ways in which racism institutes the feeling of helplessness, the imminence of danger, and the selective genocide of the population. The text presents stories that evidence the quality of what is brutal and the consequence of the naturalization of death policies for minority groups.

They agreed to kill us, but we agreed not to die is the iconic representation of the colonial heritage and the social distortions that have created inequalities in Brazilian society. It is the synthesis of confrontation, transgression, disobedience, especially in this context in which we experience a movement of restoration of reactionary structures in the panorama of national policies and witness the implementation of authoritarian and violent social regulation strategies.

The act of agreeing not to die, summoned by Conceição Evaristo (2015), represents a gesture of resistance in favor of life, a policy that takes place in its own existence, despite the upsurge of inequalities, injustices and social oppression, the dismantling of public policies aimed at the most vulnerable and marginalized populations, and the ways in which the advancement of the far-right and conservatism in the country are aligned with a logic of predatory production that disregards the importance and dignity of life, especially of black and peripheral lives.

That is why we have chosen to title our text making a reference to this condition of lived resistance. In this article, we seek to discuss how structured racism in Brazilian society works as a powerful cultural technology that underlies privileges and exclusions in the panorama of social life. Our focus is to understand the articulations developed by dominant groups in the elaboration of racial projects that are decisive for the consolidation of oppressions that are normalized and institutionalized. In addition, we approach the issue of death policies as factors determined by racism and analyze aesthetic procedures that start from themes related to social exclusion and racial domination, investigating critical foundations about the consequences of racism in Brazilian society from different artistic perspectives.

Racism and social domination projects

In his book entitled *Black Skin, White Masks*, Fanon (2008) reflects on the living conditions of black people in society. According to the author, colonial invasions established different meanings for ethnic-racial groups and created privileges and exclusions in a context of social domination. Consequently, colonial exploitation resulted in a set of alienations and complexes, from which the dominant cultures imposed the insignia of abnormality upon minority ethnic groups.

Colonial practices spread the idea that the classifications and values of the

Western white culture were the only true ones. Thus, whiteness has established itself as a universal reference in the epistemic, aesthetic, artistic, philosophical, religious, political, economic, existential, and social context. The values of colonial exploitation established social-control strategies that attributed to black people a condition of subordination, inferiority, and invisibility.

Racism widespread with colonialism, therefore, operated with the construction of differences through racial origin in a social context in which whiteness was established as the norm and the other racially-identified groups were understood as deviations. These differences, according to Kilomba (2019), are still nowadays associated with hierarchical values that determine socially shared meanings and that can generate marginality, stigma, racial dishonor, and inferiority or centrality, racial honor, and superiority depending on the racial group to which individuals belong. Hence, this leads us to identify racism as a fundamentally political cultural engineering that does not dispense with the power to generate and establish differences, prejudices, and discrimination.

We understand, then, that race as a social construction seeks to validate domination projects based on hierarchization and classification of mechanisms from which cultural meanings are attributed to groups with physical characteristics distinct from normativity. According to Moreira (2019), racial projects coordinated by dominant groups allow the construction of narratives that organize people's perception of both themselves and other social agents and, therefore, promote the elaboration of meanings that corroborate hierarchical race relations.

These hierarchical race relations have historically been forged with the purpose of guaranteeing the submission and destruction of the populations of the Americas, Africa, Asia, and Oceania. After all, as Almeida (2019) points out, certain descriptions that indicate that Native Americans "have no history," are "unhappy," "degenerate," "irrational animals," or that Africans "have no history, are bestial and enveloped in ferocity and superstition" demonstrate that the association between human groups and animals is a common aspect of racism and, therefore, of the dehumanization process that precedes discriminatory practices or death policies.

The dehumanization of black people is a legacy of colonization. The slavery regime instituted the use of the black body as labor and as a commodity object in the colonial period, transforming black men, women, and children into a type of product devoid of rationality or humanity. Within this context, the black body started being objectified as person-object, person-merchandise, person-currency destined to generate profit in the colonial system: a body classified based on the emptying of meanings and the erasure of traces of their culture of origin.

These social relations based on racial perspectives created, according to Fanon (2008), both a set of complexes of authority that legitimized and justified colonial exploitation among the dominant group, and a collection of inferiority complexes that projected self-hatred and the desire for approximation of whiteness in the exploited subjectivities. This alienation condition has structured one of the most perverse effects of racism: the denial of the very culture of origin as a possibility for social insertion and ascension; and, therefore, as a possibility of preserving life.

Thus, according to Pessanha (2018), processes of denial of the black presence are socially operated: the past is denied, erasing what was produced in terms of knowledge on the African continent; the present is denied, nullifying the possibilities of social and economic ascension, either by the extermination of black bodies or by the denial of access to education; and the future is denied, once again due to the extermination of black bodies and the strategy of subjecting them to a culture and aesthetics imposed by whiteness, which determines as negative everything that refers to black culture and knowledge.

For this reason, in the world colonized by the engineering of white meanings, black people find it difficult to elaborate their own corporal schemes; after all, as emphasized by Fanon (2008), the knowledge of the body takes place as a denial activity, considering that in racially-determined social structures the body scheme of black people develops in relation to a historical-racial scheme that associates the black presence with mental retardation, ethnic-racial defects, fetishism, primitiveness, animality.

According to Souza (1983), this conjuncture creates an entropic cycle in which the black, willing to whiten, desires nothing other than their own extinction. This entropic cycle is one of the strategies of racism; after all, killing the self-esteem and generating self-hatred is fundamental to promote processes of dehumanization, subordination, and inferiorization of subjectivities. By imposing the insignia of race on black people and classifying them as nonhuman, processes derived from colonialism and racial exploitation created a categorization of beings devoid of rationality, ancestry, and memory in an attempt to erase stories, eliminate their presence, and make future prospects impossible.

In this sense, the analysis conducted by Nascimento (1978) of the ways in which the genocide of black populations has been deliberately produced in Brazilian society is quite coherent. In the work entitled *O Genocídio do Negro Brasileiro: Processo de um Racismo Mascarado* [The Genocide of the Black Brazilian: A Masked Racism Process], the author indicates that the genocide of black Brazilians has been promoted through the use of institutional forces whose purpose is the physical extermination of the racial group, and also through ideologies aiming at convincing black people that they will only be "people" upon the adoption of whiteness as an existential model, which induces a symbolic destruction of the black population through persecutions and refusals to the legitimacy of African languages, religions, and cultural aspects.

In short, racism as a power structure uses markers of difference and

stigmatization procedures to refuse the right to life of minority groups both for the corporal extermination of individuals and for the disintegration of minority institutions and for the persecution of cultural artifacts and representations. Thus, as William (2020) pinpoints, all black cultural manifestations were prohibited at some point in Brazil; *capoeira*, *samba*, and *candomblé* were not only criminalized, but also harshly persecuted even after abolition.

Therefore, we understand that destroying the symbolic representations of a people is the same as ending the existence of that people, as racial whitening is not limited to the elimination of black bodies through mass murders, rapes, or incarcerations, but it also concerns the extermination of the thoughts and practices of black culture. That is why we have witnessed Candomblecist girls being stoned at for wearing turbans and dressing in white; traditional dishes of Afro-Brazilian culture, such as acarajés, being appropriated by neo-Pentecostal movements and recognized as “anointed”; the creation of a network of Christ practitioners of capoeira who use capoeira to evangelize and demonize African cultures; the nonrecognition of Quilombo da Pedra do Sal as Intangible Cultural Heritage by the mayor of the municipality of Rio de Janeiro; among many other racist manifestations that aim to empty the senses and promote the erasure of black cultural traits in Brazilian society.

It is necessary to understand death policies in addition to the death of the physical body, but also as a social phenomenon related to the extermination of an entire complex of symbolic and cultural arrangements: worldviews that guarantee sustainability and existence for black corporealities.

Scenes from social life: markers of violence

The violations of African cultural representations in Brazil portray a death policy that disregards knowledge, promotes attacks, and pursues black bodies until extermination; these violations place us in a social panorama that understands that black cultures and lives do not matter, leading us to witness real cases of horror like the one that took place on May 25, 2020 and which has become the greatest representation of the fight against the genocide of the black population in the world: the suffocated cry of George Floyd, killed in the city of Minneapolis, in the United States of America. He stated: “I can’t breathe.”

Floyd had lost his job as a security guard due to the pandemic caused by the new coronavirus and was murdered after being arrested, allegedly, for using a counterfeit banknote to buy cigarettes. During the arrest, Derek Chauvin, a white policeman, knelt on his neck and on his back for eight minutes and forty-six seconds. His death and the actions of the police officers led to protests around the world by the anti-racist activist movement *Black Lives Matter*, claiming a police and law reform to address racial inequalities.

The scene of a black man being brutally murdered in the United States of America, by a representative of the State, caught the attention of the world. Nevertheless, it should be noted that this event is not an isolated incident; on the contrary, it is common and daily takes place in Brazil. In the city of São Paulo, in 2013, Martins Rodrigues, a student and attendant in a cafeteria in Pinheiros neighborhood, was with his 12-year-old brother one block from home. They were on their way to a kite

championship when a police car passed by them and pulled over. The policemen had been called due to a complaint of peace disturbance; but they got out of the car shooting at them. Douglas' last sentence "Why did you shoot me?" became a symbol of protests against police violence. Officer Luciano Pinheiro Bispo, who shot Douglas, declared in the Military Court System that the shooting was accidental. In 2016, he was acquitted by the Military Court System of the State of São Paulo for the death of Douglas – the judge considered that there was no evidence to determine whether the shot had been intentional or not, and the defense claimed that there was a defect in the weapon used by the police officer.

In 2014, in the city of Rio de Janeiro, Claudia Silva Ferreira was killed at the age of 38 and dragged for 350 meters by a Military Police vehicle in the northern region of the city. Claudia had gone out to do an errand when the Military Police started an operation at Morro da Congonha, in Madureira neighborhood. There was a cross-fire on the arrival of the policemen and Claudia was shot and hit in her lung and heart. Then, she was put inside a police car that would take her to the hospital. However, on the way to the hospital, Claudia fell from the trunk, being hanged by a garment attached to the bumper of the vehicle, and was dragged for about 350 meters. She arrived at the hospital dead, but none of the policemen accused of the murder and the removal of Claudia's body was punished for insufficient evidence for the conviction.

Also in Rio de Janeiro, in 2019, Evaldo Rosa dos Santos, a musician, was driving his family to a baby shower. In the car were he, his father-in-law, his wife, his seven-year-old son, and a friend of the family. That afternoon, militaries mistook the family car for that of a robber and fired 257 rifle and pistol shots. When Evaldo dos Santos was no longer able to drive the vehicle, his father-in-law, who was sitting next to him, drove until the car lost power. The people in the car took shelter in a building. On this occasion, Luciano Macedo, a trash collector, ran towards the car seeking to help the injured, but he was also killed. No weapons or other crime objects were found with the victims. Six days later, President Jair Bolsonaro said the Army had not killed anyone and that the case was an incident. "The Army did not kill anyone. The Army belongs to the people. We cannot accuse the people of being murderers. There was an incident. There was a death. We regret that it as a hardworking, honest citizen," he stated at the time. Nine of the militaries were preventively detained for a month and a half, but they were released by majority vote in the Superior Military Court.

Deaths caused by police or military action are tragic and represent a high degree of selectivity in police lethality in relation to certain groups; however, they are not new. According to Oliveira (2020), there is a strong relationship between these murders and the historical process of colonialism, considering that these events brutally synthesize the way in which race has become one of the key elements to the colonial process of transforming differences into inequalities. These inequalities create, in the context of contemporary societies, fields of values that determine, in turn, who can live and who can die, what we understand as necropolitics¹.

¹ According to Pessanha & Nascimento (2018), the fine line that separates the meaning between necropolitics and genocide may lie in its form of execution. For the authors, while Mbembe describes necropower as a modern colonial occupation, the concept of genocide was coined for the first time to refer to the extermination of Jews, Nomads, Poles,

According to the philosopher Achille Mbembe (2020), necropolitics is the death policy established based on parameters that demarcate groups and people that can be exposed, excluded, and exterminated by the State. In this perspective, racism is understood as a technology designed to regulate and distribute death; racism enables the murderous functions of the State because, in the context of necropolitics, people who belong to minority racial groups start suffering all the effects related to structured racial persecution in society.

According to Atlas (2020), one of the main expressions of racial inequalities in Brazil is the concentration of lethal violence rates in the black population. While young black people are the main homicide victims in the country and the death rates of blacks have increased over the years, among white people the mortality rates are significantly lower when compared with the first ones and, in many cases, there has been a reduction in recent years.

It is worth highlighting that the vast majority of people killed by police interventions in Brazil are black. There is, then, an unequal distribution of the opportunity to live and to die that is built through the body. Between 2017 and 2018, according to data compiled by the Brazilian Forum on Public Safety, of the 6,220 records of deaths from police interventions that year, 75.4% were black people, and, according to data of the Brazilian Institute for Geography and Statistics, this group represents 55% of the population. In addition, 99.3% were men and 77.9% victims were between 15 and 29 years of age. This is the objective datum: in Brazil, the State kills more blacks, men, and young people through public security forces.

Racism runs through the bodies of people in society, it is felt in corporealities and in the construction of subjectivities that compose ethnic minorities. Now, if thinking is only possible through the body (NOGUERA, 2011) and racism permeates the experience of men and women in the world based on corporeality, it is easy to assume that racism affects our thoughts, knowledge, presences, and coordinates the disappearance of the black body in society.

This perception leads us to realize that necropolitics is strictly related to the disappearance of black people in social life, but also to the weakening of their presence. Moreover, it makes us understand that we must develop actions and strategies for these bodies to live, strengthen, and become visible. One of the possible paths is the search and structuring of knowledge about our own stories, the enhancement of our relationships with ancestral traditions, and the identification of the reasons for our existence in African and Afrodiasporic memories. It is necessary to learn how to love blackness, as hooks (2019) teaches us, in order to carry out the agreement of not dying.

Artistic creation: critical approaches to necropolitics

In the work entitled *Black Looks: Race and Representation*, hooks (2019)

and other ethnic groups during World War II.

presents us with the idea that loving blackness is a fundamental act for the liberation of black subjectivities. In short, the author tells us that black people who learn to love blackness decolonize their own mentalities and break with the white supremacist thought that implies that we are inferior, inadequate, marked by victimization. On the other hand, hooks (2019) points out that loving blackness is a dangerous adventure because black people are socially punished for daring to break with the status quo, being seen as arrogant, threatening, unfriendly, and even racist.

The idea of loving blackness and operating with markers that value the presence and experience lived by black people is strangely understood by white people as a social manifestation of separatism, as an attempt to generate racial hostilities or as a sign of reverse racism. As much as we understand racism as a power structure that concretely expresses itself as political, economic, and legal inequality and that, hence, members of minority groups cannot impose disadvantages on members of other majority groups, these narratives of reverse racism are powerful and seek to underline the love of blackness as an incoherent process related to victimization.

Self-love is the representation of empowerment and a revolutionary intervention that disrupts domination practices. Loving blackness as a practice of political existence changes our ways of living in the world and creates conditions for us to organize actions to fight racism and oppressions. The idea is to love in order to engage, to create, to fight death policies, to exist, and to live. The promise to love blackness creates a resistance in the conscious interaction with dominant representations and the affective generation of opposition relations mobilized through a practice in favor of lives; after all, black lives matter.

In this sense, countless black artists have loved blackness by evoking a revolutionary and disobedient force in their creative processes to claim existence for those who have been persecuted, exposed, and killed by the State. These artists have been creating arenas of political struggle and generating artistic practices in order to expand speeches, images, creations, markers of the black presence in the world and, thus, increase their capacity to live deeply and fully.

Among these numerous artistic productions racially identified as arenas of black resistance, we highlight three works: *Xica*, by Francisco André (state of Bahia, Brazil); *Buraquinhos ou o vento é inimigo do picumã* [Little holes or the wind is the enemy of picumã], by Jhonny Salaberg (state of São Paulo, Brazil), and *Travessias ou travessuras?* [Crossings or tricks?], by Dendê Ma'at (state of Paraíba, Brazil). These works create sensible possibilities to claim the right to life from artistic aesthetics and poetics and to problematize the pain of loss splashed in official data on the increase in the genocide of the black population.

The *Xica* production, based on facts, tells the story of Francisco Manicongo, a black African, enslaved, Quimbanda believer, considered the first non-Indigenous transvestite from Brazil. The show is performed by *Coletivo Das Liliths*, which works in the city of Salvador, state of Bahia, fomenting debates concerning gender diversity and the breaking of paradigms in the scope of sexuality through Performing Arts.

The narrative about *Xica* is synonymous with resistance; after all, in a historical period where any questioning about biological sex was analyzed as

heresy, the protagonist refuses to wear men's clothes and to be called by her given name and is therefore denounced.

The play, then, represents the first visit of the Inquisition to Salvador, which accused Xica of the crime of sodomy due to her sexual practices with other slaves, her refusal to respond when called by her Christian name, and the use of women's clothing. Colonial legislation equated sodomy with the crime of *lèse-majesté*, attributing to defendants the condemnation of burning at the stake in the public square and, for this reason, the entire play reveals the conflicts, interests, and contradictions structured based on the investigation that evidences Xica as a black body dangerous to the white society.

This scenic venture points to the colonial context and the ways from which society legitimized uses and abuses of the domain of black corporeality by religious intervention. Certainly, the play demonstrates, through the staging of the historical process of colonialism, forms of oppression based on intersectional parameters that violently condense the death policies that have been implemented in the Brazilian society ever since.

In the play *Buraquinhos ou o vento é inimigo do picumã*, the work features the story of a twelve-year-old black boy, resident of the Guaianases neighborhood, located in the eastern region of the city of São Paulo who, after the New Year's celebrations, goes to the bakery to buy bread at the request of his mother. Upon returning home, the boy is approached by a police officer and hence begins a trajectory of struggle for survival.

The protagonist runs, building at every step a body without organs and going through countries in Latin America and Africa. Along the way, he meets several characters – social archetypes – who bind the events of the story. Moreover, the boy is hit by 111 gunshots from the policeman who pursues him, configuring himself as a body full of little holes and a metaphor for the State's discharge of hatred against the black population. The show, although bringing elements from the children's universe, creates a scenic-racial ambience whose main objective is to denounce the genocide of the young, black, and peripheral population through a narrative supported by fantastic realism.

Buraquinhos ou o vento é inimigo do picumã appropriates the dimension of lightness to deal with the density of the subtle projectiles that penetrates our bodies driven by the force of the wind. The production is elaborated by touching imaginary scenes: a boy who tries to get home with a bag full of bread that gradually gives way for the organs and senses lost during the race for life.

The play shows a process of reinventing African wisdom to tell the story: a way of telling our pain from the experience of pain itself within a diasporic context. The play dramatizes structured racism in Brazilian society and the institutionalization and instrumentalization of police forces in favor of a death policy that targets black subjectivities.

In turn, the video-dance *Travessias ou travessuras?*, conceived and performed by Dendê Ma'at, elaborates an emotional narrative through the testimonies of people who lost family members due to police forces. In the video,

the performer brings the body as the maximum expression of the African diaspora in Brazil and performs the dance as a cognitive action of the body, as pointed out by Silva (2020).

The video-dance is composed of images of the sea and images of the body of a black woman in overlap. The woman is lying on the ground trapped in a fishing net and performs arrhythmic and vibrating movements. The images are accompanied by statements that bring to the video cases of deaths of the young, poor, black, and peripheral population. There are countless sentences that cause pain and demonstrate the treatment given to these lives and which the Brazilian society has been witnessing: "it was a combat that came and took the life of our son, with the index finger of the State"; "Her right leg, it looked like the lard on the inside"; "If they dragged her further, we would see her bones"; "There was no hair on her right side too [...] they dragged Cacau, they mistreated her"; "They said she was involved, involved with what?"; "The only thing we know she was involved with was the broom, the floor cloth, and the shovel from Nova Rio"; "They killed the woman in the greatest cowardice, they dragged her body"; "This is the police that is said to protect us, but they send hundreds of people to the cemetery every day"; "He shot the girl and now he says it was the bad guy"; "This is Cabral's police, instructed by Cabral"; "Today I am an enemy of the State"; "The State came to kill, steal, and destroy"; "My son was in the right place at the right time"; "My son was never a drug dealer, he was a student"; "Mom, the armored car shot me, didn't they see me in the school uniform, mom?"; "He killed an innocent, an intelligent, studious girl, a girl with a future"; "A girl who speaks English, takes ballet classes"; "[She was] eight years old, I lost my granddaughter"; "I came across five teenagers sitting on the ground and one was missing"; "There [was] my son, he was dead, a fourteen-year-old boy."

These statements in the form of pain, cries, and disbelief presented by the families of victims murdered by police forces denounce that black lives have not mattered in a society structurally oriented by racism. The sentences draw an arena of hostility and point to the State as the enemy of the most vulnerable populations, in addition to denouncing a form of solidarity based on pain (PIEIDADE, 2019).

We understand that these productions and creative processes denounce, in different and varied ways, the abuses of power associated with necropolitics: bodies are pursued, condemned, and exterminated by the institutional forces that compose Brazilian society. The artistic works in question, based on facts, seek to create transgressive poetics and aesthetics based on nonnormative habits and references and, thus, form a new panorama of concepts and meanings for black lives.

Artistic ventures are racially structured and, therefore, invite us to reflect on the existential challenges of black people in an anti-black society; but they also invite us to love blackness. Love is understood as the performance of the revolution that dismantles the practices of domination and generates black fields for the understanding of life. In this sense, the scenic proposals are structured as acts to fight racism: they are acts of love favorable to the black presence in the world.

Final considerations

Throughout this article, we sought to identify points related to structural racism, necropolitics operations, and artistic productions developed from poetic perspectives and representations stating that black lives matter. The focus of our discussion was the violence committed against black, poor, peripheral people in order to provoke reflections on the ways in which Brazilian society has configured and executed genocidal projects for black and peripheral populations.

Therefore, the shared artistic works point out poetic processes that denounce racism, mark the serious crisis caused by death policies, and underline white supremacism as a force of violence against minority groups. Each of these artistic projects creates images that challenge and break with conventional representations of blackness and whiteness, associating black people with the target of a white, racist, genocidal State that holds a gun in its hand.

Hence, the poetic and artistic operations are not concerned with associating black people with positive expressions, but rather with the idea of the complexity of existence structured by persecution, pain, death, and mourning. There is an effort in each of the works to racialize whiteness and, thus, to indicate the traces and impacts of white institutions on black subjectivities.

These artistic productions invite us to reevaluate structured racism, to discuss the death policies developed by the State and, at the same time, point us to broken life projects, ruined families, and destroyed subjectivities. The aesthetic proposals racialize whiteness from a black perspective and present us with the need to claim the existence and value of black lives.

Indeed, what has been seen in the Brazilian social panorama is that there is a way not to raise awareness among the population about real issues, such as racism, but rather a search for the silencing of discussions. We realize, therefore, that instead of fighting a criminal policy against non-hegemonic racial groups, those who try to promote discussions are demonized and pursued: black people.

What is intended is to curtail every act of thinking, debating, creating, and fighting in favor of black lives. What is intended is the maintenance of a racist social structure and the guarantee of advantages and privileges for certain groups at the expense of others. What is planned is the conservation of the State as a murder weapon, not in the metaphorical sense, but in the truly ballistic sense

The hatred conceived by whiteness towards the other is the result of racism taken to the extreme with colonial conquests. This hatred has deprived black people of happiness, love, and freedom. At this moment, when they agreed to kill us and we agreed not to die, it is necessary to give back to people what has not been used to create environments of fear, hatred, and death: the love of black lives.

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