PUTTING INTO PERSPECTIVE RESISTANCE DISCURSIVE PRACTICES IN OUR CONTEMPORARY DEMOCRACIES: AN INTRODUCTION[1]

Luiz Paulo Moita-Lopes*
Joana Plaza Pinto**

> Why have the movements, which address the needs and desires of so many, not been able to achieve lasting change and create a new, more democratic and just society? This question becomes all the more urgent as right-wing political forces rise and take power in countries throughout the world, suspending normal legal procedures in order to attack political opponents, undermining the independence of the judiciary and the press, operating extensive surveillance operations, creating an atmosphere of fear among various subordinated populations, posing notions of racial or religious purity as conditions for social belonging, threatening migrants with mass expulsion, and much more
>
> Hardt e Negri, 2017: xiii

> In political life, it surely seems that first some injustice happens and then there is a response, but it may be that the response is happening as the injustice occurs, and this gives us another way to think about historical events, action, passion, and vulnerability in forms of resistance. It would seem that without being able to think about vulnerability, we cannot think about resistance, and that by thinking about resistance, we are already under way, dismantling the resistance to vulnerability in order precisely to resist.
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> Butler, 2016: 27

RESISTANCE IN THE MIDST OF 'PERFECT HORROR'

Just before we sat down to write this Introduction, the so-called bastion of democracy - the USA House of Congress — had been busted on January 6, 2021 by

* Full Professor at Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ), Rio de Janeiro, RJ, Brasil. Researcher of the Brazilian National Council for Scientific and Technological Development. moitalopes1@gmail.com.
  Orcid: http://orcid.org/0000-0002-3829-9824.
** Full Professor at Federal University of Goiás (UFG), Goiânia, GO, Brasil. Researcher of the Brazilian National Council for Scientific and Technological Development. joplazapinto@ufg.br.
  Orcid: http://orcid.org/0000-0001-8052-9390.
1. This Special Issue, a joint-invitation from TLA and ALAB (Associação de Linguística Aplicada do Brasil), celebrates ALAB's 30th anniversary.

rioters that did not approve of the 2020 presidential election results. The outgoing president, backed up by 75 million votes, encouraged this action on the part of his followers, as we have in fact seen in a speech of his, broadcast uninterruptedly on TVs. He understands that the results were defrauded, without evidence accepted in the more than 50 cases that his lawyers filed in the USA courts. The protesters provoked what has been called, at least by part of the media, 'an assault on democracy' or 'an attempted coup'.

This piece of news is ironic if one takes into account some historical events across the globe in the 20th and 21st centuries when the so-called 'American Empire' has dominated an important part of the world. It has shed light on the fragility of USA democracy even if this assault may be considered a well-planned performance, a mock coup or a 'propaganda coup' for the radical right in the USA (Sargent, 2021) - and elsewhere -, despite the fact that five people were killed. This nation has built a well-advertised history of supposedly acting in defense of democracy as a universal value beyond its own territory. With such justification, it has invaded several countries through countless wars and helped to promote coups d'état that overthrew democratically elected governments, as in Brazil in 1964 (Macedo, 2014), with the undeniable support of local elite forces. Now, however, the USA faces anti-democratic political problems on its own territory, which draws attention to the fragility of democracy, as we will discuss below. The alleged fraud accusations on the part of the incumbent president and his followers (including 147 legislators of his own party), in the last analysis, may raise doubts as regards the validity of the USA electoral system and of the USA democratic institutions across the globe.

As Senna (2021) points out, the 'staged performance', in the House of Congress may be understood as involving the participation of mostly white men who invaded the Capitol, carrying USA and Confederate flags, offending black populations, particularly in light of recent demonstrations by the Black Lives Matter movements. Others were wearing T-shirts alluding to Auschwitz concentration camps and others to Jesus. Participants evoked the masculinist, heterosexual, white, nationalist and Christian domination projects of the world, a mantra of a persistent colonialist Modernity (Mbembe, 2014; Bauman and Briggs, 2003; Venn, 2000). In fact, as we will clarify later, these characteristics have been pointed out as constitutive of ideals of the so-called extreme right, new right, alternative right (alt-right) or radical right - terms used here as synonyms. Such ideals have fed contemporary political projects in various parts of the globe (Teitelbaum, 2020; Sedgwick, 2019; Nagle, 2017).

Similar invasions have occurred in other countries, equally organized or stimulated by parties or groups of the extreme right: in Germany, the Netherlands, Hungary, for example. Parliaments and offices of congress members have been invaded by groups defending their agendas against Covid 19's immunization vaccine policies, in favor of farmers' interests, etc. (Mudde, 2021). Likewise, in Brazil, the Supreme Federal Court was threatened with invasion in 2019 by supporters of the extreme-right president who is in power, while he himself suggested the possibility of calling on the army to act against democratic institutions in a rally.

Surprisingly, these anti-democratic actions have often been reported in the media as not having received due attention from the security forces both in Brazil and in the recent case of the United States (Sargeant, 2021; Laborde, 2021), especially considering the fact that such actions were planned online publicly (Timberg, Harwell and Lang, 2021). As we will see later, it is known that the Internet is the home of the new right, as it were. The little attention on the part of the security forces has led to an association of these rioters with other extreme-right digital militias, tacitly supported by the police. The media in Brazil has also raised the issue of the support that the Brazilian president has sought and received emphatically from the military (Pereira, 2020; 2021), including his verbal attacks against democratic institutions.

We think it is first necessary to put these recent events into perspective by taking into account the movements for the expansion of democracy after the Second World War to which Lessa (2020) draws attention. Soon after, we will discuss what Santos (2016) has called recent social fascism as well as the international emergence of radical right-wing forces and parties. Finally, we will discuss the relationships between resistance, vulnerability, and power. This sociopolitical and historical scenario may contribute to the understanding of the articles that make up this TLA Special Issue: "Resistance in contesting discursive practices in fragile democracies". In these articles, various discursive practices of resistance to actions of various natures of the right or to anti-democratic movements in various parts of the world (Brazil, England, Italy, Greece, Poland, South Africa and Israel) are investigated. The fragility of these democracies as part of colonial historical processes and their engagement with racist violence is also considered.

Following Santos (2016), we understand that many of our societies are "politically democratic [although they are] socially fascist". These perspectives, of course, do not apply equally (or with the same intensity) to all countries whose discursive practices are studied in this Special Issue. We understand however that the need to broaden democratic horizons is a common factor in all of them as

well as in many others. Such discursive practices minimally point to societies that foster hatred of (and often annihilate) the bodies of immigrants, blacks, women, LGBTIQ+s, indigenous people, quilombolas[2], etc.

While Lessa (2020) draws attention to the various meanings that have been historically attached to the sign democracy, he differentiates one view normally given to the term by Political Science as a mode of government - an institutional perspective - and another emphasized by himself: the need to take into account democracy as a form of civilization or as a way of life. The researcher continues his argument based on what he calls democratic experiments after World War II. This position echoes Santos's vision (2016) above when he states that many democracies can be understood as such institutionally but are fascist in their social achievements, that is, they may fail from a civilizing perspective or as a way of life.

This understanding of democracy, as Lessa (2020) notes, is configured through expansive dimensions: values or fundamental beliefs of popular sovereignty but also dimensions related to the experience of individual, social and political rights, which resonate with the visions of 17th century liberalism. Such spheres, which can be expanded, highlight the fact that democracy does not have a limit that cannot be crossed, that is, it is characterized by mobility although it cannot be understood as eternally assured. It can be threatened, interrupted or even destroyed. This form of democracy, after the Second World War, gains a heterogeneous nature by bringing together parts that do not fit exactly once societies internally become more and more understood in their differences.

Such an understanding however enables us to operate with a concept of democracy as an invention or social pact that increasingly guarantees equal rights. For example, specific social groups have gradually been included as having the right to vote at different times and in different nations – working-class men, women, people over 16, etc. Likewise, protections concerning social rights were amplified in a modernity, which Beck, Giddens and Lash (1995) called reflexive. This means that democracy can be seen as an experiment in expansive rights even though it is characterized by what Lessa (2020) calls "constitutive instability", to which crises are inherent. Political freedom, the political environment in which democracy takes place, and the social safeguards of populations can be restricted or even destroyed, characterizing what Santos (2016) calls low-intensity democracies or even the end of democracy. We understand that the re-election of heads of government in the

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2. Quilombolas are Afro-Brazilian inhabitants of quilombos, first established by their ancestors who were runaway enslaved people who fought and obtained the legal right over the territory they occupied.

extreme-right wing Poland and Hungary, which did not occur in the USA with Trump, has led to a higher sedimentation of low-intensity democratic governments, as for example, the closure of a university in Hungary for political ideological reasons and the creation of LGBTIQ+ free cities in Poland. The crystallization of this process by means of a reelection process should alert those who have democracy as a way of life in their horizons.

The vicissitudes of contemporary democracies are, in recent decades, especially tensioned by social turbulence, instituted by so called neoliberal economic policies - which have nothing to do with the liberal ideals of the 17th century already mentioned -, which prevail in many parts of the globe. Such policies have flagrantly diminished job opportunities in the world and social security guarantees, implementing the deregulation of markets, giving prestige to fiscal austerity and the application of taxes in unjustly uniform ways, etc. (Brown, 2019; Dardot and Laval, 2009/2016). The uberization of 'jobs' reduces a large mass of the population to a kind of contemporary quasi-slavery. On the other hand, those few who engage in rentist practices make money fly from here to there for the pleasure of their pockets, so to speak, without worrying about the social devastation they unashamedly create locally. This is what Forrestier (1996) - already 25 years ago, therefore - called *The Economic Horror*. In our pandemic times, this neoliberal system has led to an increase in the suffering of black, poor and immigrant populations, in a devastating tanatopolitics[3].

Simultaneously, this destructive social life economic agenda has been accompanied by equally conservative and reactionary social policies. The second half of the 20th century can be classified, in many countries, as a time of great detraditionalization processes of socio-political life (Beck, Giddens and Lash, 1995), at the cost of much social struggle to guarantee the rights and civil liberties that expanded democracy exponentially. However, governments or political parties of the extreme right are now fiercely engaged in reversing the advances in social practices that led us to understand social life on other bases. We have been

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3. These so-called neoliberal policies are understood to have started in the Thatcher and Reagan governments in the 1980s. Picketty (2019/2020) however emphasizes that the proclaimed success of such policies has not been realized. This system is based on political-economic imaginations that seek to naturalize inequalities. The author points out that the future needs another outlook. He suggests that other successful 20th Century socio-political imaginations in some countries, besides guaranteeing opportunities for educational equality, should be considered. He indicates as alternatives, for example, the modification of the traditional shareholder logic of companies, which should contemplate employees; the formulation of progressive taxation; the creation of taxes on large inheritances and fortunes; and the need for reparation for historically disadvantaged populations. It is surprising that some countries, like Brazil, still insist on the neoliberal logic.

daily facing the effects of racist, misogynistic, LGBTIQ+phobic, anti-immigrant, contrary to religious diversity, anti-ecological, science negationism, etc. discourses in many countries.

In the same way, actions harmful to indigenous populations, Roma and quilombolas, and of nationalist glorification, often following religious fundamentalism (radical Christianism, for example), have increased their reach in many parliaments or orient governments worldwide. These setbacks, with different reaches and intensities, have been identified in Brazil, USA, Hungary, Poland, India, Turkey, Philippines, France, Germany, Italy, Greece, Portugal, etc. We can say that these forces, using the social networks that dominate the onlineOffline lives of many, have been infectious and are felt in our everyday life discursive social practices, impinging directly on many bodies. This is then what we can call, echoing Forrestier (1996) above, the contemporary Sociopolitical Horror. The discursive practices of resistance, reported in the texts of this volume, contest such sociopolitical and economic horror.

Although our times are not to be confused with the so-called historical fascism (Santos, 2016), they have been understood as times that have made us relive fascist ideals, previously characterized as social fascism. Amin (2014), Traverse (2016), Snyder (2018) and Stanley (2018/2019) draw attention to the return of fascist positions and, consequently, to the lack of freedom that has marked our social lives in many parts of the world. These authors seem to be pointing to what Eco (1995/2018) called eternal fascism or Ur-fascism, which has been recruding in recent decades. Eco, in a lecture at Columbia University in 1995, indicated that

> "in spite of [being a] fuzz[y concept], I think it is possible to outline a list of features that are typical of what I would like to call Ur-Fascism, or Eternal Fascism. These features cannot be organized into a system; many of them contradict each other, and are also typical of other kinds of despotism or fanaticism. But it is enough that one of them be present to allow fascism to coagulate around it."

Many of the traits that Eco (1995/2018) identifies as fascist speak to the chapters from Stanley's most recent book (2018), which explains how fascism works. The author lists among other features: the clamor for a return to a mythical national past when living conditions were supposedly much better; the use of political propaganda to hide the real objectives of the policies implemented, now in the form of the immediate and online exposure of the words of leaders in social media; anti-intellectual positions through scientific negationism and, consequently, the devaluation of the university; and the construction resulting from a parallel reality. Examples of this reality are: denial of the benefits of vaccines, the danger

of so-called 'gender ideology' in schools, the promotion of a fear of a communism as well as of a non-existent pedophile hegemony, the fight against what they call cultural Marxism, the projection of great sexual anxiety on populations, generating moral panic. This anxiety is based on the defense of the patriarchal family, on sick concerns with the so-called 'sexual deviation' as well as with the danger of racial mixture that can maculate 'the pure white race', among other features.

It is not difficult to trace similarities with these ideas and what has characterized the so-called extreme right, which is in power in some countries or which has attracted many supporters to its parties or groups, especially on social networks in many places around the globe. The president elected in Brazil in 2017, for example, did not hide his racist, misogynistic, homophobic, armamentist, and torture-mongering positions during his campaign. He was still elected perhaps because, contradictorily, he placed himself as an evangelical Christian, which attracted millions of religious fundamentalists.   It is not surprising then that "one of the most respected fascist gurus, [the Italian] Julius Evola", in the words of Eco (1995/2018), is still influencing what Sedgwick (2019) named key thinkers of the contemporary radical right[4].

Sedgwick (2019) estimates that radical right-wing thought has resumed with force in the 21st century as the terrible events of World War II and the concentration camps led to its temporary oblivion. Of course, there were right-wing parties in the 20th century (the so-called *Nouvelle Droite* in France in the 1960s is an important reference) as well as there were dictatorships during the 20th century and they exist until now, many of which marked by extreme right-wing thinking. Many of these have even been supported by the so-called liberal democracy of the USA. Latin America was and is an amusement park, as it were, for such a democracy, acting in conjunction with the so-called local elites, as mentioned earlier. But it is at the beginning of the 21st century that many radical right-wing parties are beginning to gain strength in many parts of the globe, as Sedgwick (2019) notes. Without a doubt, the election of Trump in the U.S. in 2016 presented and presents great challenges to domestic liberal democracy in the U.S. at the same time as it helped promote what has been called the extreme right around the world, in view of the economic (and therefore other types of) importance of this country as a 'model' to be copied.

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4. In the chapter on Evola in the book edited by Sedgwick (2019), Kahl (2019) says that it was Eco's rage (1995/2018) that made Evola famous. However, it is impressive how in the Introduction of the book, written by Sedgwick, the name of Evola is cited countless times. The same is true of Teitelbaum (2020), in which the role of Steve Bannon as an articulator of the new international right is discussed.

Below we report on the main ideologies, orienting the radical right, as suggested in Sedgwick (2019), especially those that are more easily identifiable in the speeches of politicians in party life or in onlineOffline communities. Although many of these older ideologists have published books, those that Sedgwick (2019) calls emergent ones disseminate their ideas on the Internet. It is worth mentioning the criticism made of the ideology of equality (the distinction between 'we' and 'them' is constitutive of radical right-wing thinking[5]); of immigration movements, especially of immigrants professing the Islamic religion in the USA and Europe[6]; and of uprooted globalist elites and the danger they pose to the disintegration of nations and, as a result, of what they understand as the West. There is also criticism to the ideologies of racial mixture (positions in defense of visions of eugenics are known in the history of the USA and Brazil - two countries that received large contingents of black people who were enslaved); and of ethnic mixture (some defend what they call a white ethnostate as, in fact, identified in the so-called white supremacist groups, advocating that blacks in the USA move to the south and Jews to Israel). Finally, Sedgwick (2019) problematizes ideologies of democracy (visions of social hierarchization are preferable) and of feminist movements (some advocate for totally masculinist societies in which women would serve reproduction, while others reach the point of equating feminism with anarchy and apocalypse, and others reject LGBTIQ+ lives)[7].

This ideological framework immediately makes us think about what, following Lessa (2020), we previously called "the constitutive instability" of democracy as well as the setbacks with which its expansion is confronted. In the same way, because this picture affects social and political rights that have expanded in democracy, it makes us repeat the extremely lucid question of Mbembe (2020) when discussing racism and colonialism: "Who are the owners of the Earth?" It also reminds us of Butler's inquiry (2009) about why some lives are more livable than others. We understand that these processes that challenge the growth of democracy or point

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5. This same distinction also echoes fascist values. See the subtitle of Stanley's book (2018/2029) on how fascism works: *The politics of "us" and "them"*. Also, see note 2 on economic inequality.
6. In the USA, Mexicans are also among the undesirable, just as Bolivians in Brazil are desirable for the exploitation of their cheap labor. In 2017 there were demonstrations in Rio de Janeiro against a Syrian peddler who took space from Brazilian street vendors, as well as against followers of the Islamic religion, accused of pedophiles and hostage-takers (Rodrigues, 2017).
7. Although we have not mentioned any of the so-called thinkers of the radical right other than the influential Julius Evola, we would like to highlight Jack Donovan (2006) for his peculiar association with radical right-wing masculinist positions. Donovan values the issue of gender and not race or ethnicity. He celebrates masculinity and sexual love between men, but rejects what he calls gay culture. As can be seen, some right wing views contradict others.

to its fragility need to be considered in the face of our contemporary, daily and institutional lives.

Another point in recent social life that has played a central role in the development of the radical right and affected democracy, as already mentioned, is the novelty of the use of digital platforms. Many researchers, now referred to by Nagle (2017: 25) as left-cyberutopians (Moita Lopes, 2012; Sádaba and Gordo, 2008; for example), saw the Internet as a place for the development of progressive policies of social movements in which everyone could participate in a world of infinite collaborations. They did not pay attention to how social networks could be used to algorithmize our lives as well as for political campaigns like those of Cambridge Analytica (Teiltelbaum, 2020). This algorithmization was carried out in the United States and Brazil in the election of extreme right wing leaders, and in the United Kingdom, in the defense of policies that led to BREXIT: part of a right wing project of the disintegration of Europe and, in fact, of the world (Teitelbaum, 2020: 74 and 194).

In addition, anonymous participants in the Internet (a public sphere in which anything goes), without clear leaders, have begun to use hate speech and threats to people's moral and physical integrity on a massive scale. Whoever they perceive to be at odds with their alternative right-wing projects is a target. Such discourses are indexed in memes, pranks and images, appealing to sexual outrage and defending masculinist, racist, LGBTIQ+phobic, misogynistic, anti-communist, etc. ideals (Nagle, 2017). What guides the new right both on and off the Internet is often the provocation of transgressions (many of a sexual nature) by means of trolls, lies and fake-news. These surprise many people by failing to believe what they see and/ or hear as they also create moral panic and make people pay no attention to the political tricks at play. These outrages actually produce a wall or smoke screen that hides what matters. As Nagle (2017: 17) points out, "the view of psychopathy and rejection of imposed morality runs through the ethos and aesthetic of the rightist trolling cultures". Brazil's extreme-right president continually operates within such ethos and aesthetic and he seems to do so to incite moral terror.

Many leaders lie and brazenly deny themselves, accusing the media of causing informational chaos by reporting events of their governments while claiming to be Christian followers of God's word. Social networks are used by them as places for great acts of trolling, which end up dictating what the traditional media will focus on. Such leaders emulate anonymous Internet participants in this way. They make recourse to a very well-rehearsed and stylized performance (Coupland, 2007) that differs from a traditional politician's standard. However, their speeches seem

to speak to those longings of racist, lgbtiq+phobic, misogynistic, anti-immigrant hate, etc., so resisted in the years of political correction or of social rights gains for the expansion of democracy in the recent past. Perhaps they closely reflect human pettiness and sordidness, characteristic of "us" against "them" policies, so present in social networks. Ultimately, they express pleasure in the suffering of others. In this sense, it is remarkable the total absence of the expression of compassion in the face of human suffering on the part of recent leaders of the extreme right in USA and Brazil. The large number of deaths caused by the pandemic in Brazil does not seem to have affected the Brazilian president, for example. We are facing the expression of necropolitical horror or 'Perfect Horror': the junction between Economic Horror and Sociopolitical Horror.

Even in the face of this sociohistorical picture, Foucault's now famous quote (1976/1988: 91) about the relational implication between power and resistance is inescapable from our thoughts: "where there is power there is resistance". This implies that power is exercised relationally, that is, it is an operation in which resistance is implicit. In such an operation, resistance acts from within power itself. As Hardt and Negri (2017/2018: 76) say, "the final word about power is that resistance comes first".

Taking a relational perspective as well, Butler, Gambetti and Sabsay (2016) assume that vulnerability is neither a space for victimization nor paternalism but is the condition for the action of resistance itself or, exactly, "a resource of resistance" (p. 1). This view, as the authors indicate, questions the understanding that some people are eternally positioned as vulnerable and without the possibility of agency or involvement in resistance struggles. As we saw with Foucault, resistance is within the practice of power. Similarly, vulnerability implies resistance in both individual and collective actions, as Butler, Gambetti and Sabsay (2016) point out.

This theoretical-political positioning repudiates "ontological claims" (Butler, Gambetti, and Sabsay, 2016: 2) which are carried as a burden of an intrinsic inferiority from which one cannot escape, by bodies of women, LGBTIQ+, blacks, immigrants, Roma, indigenous populations, etc. Such a perspective implies the need to understand sociopolitical scenarios, such as those outlined in this Introduction, in which vulnerabilities and resistances are jointly constructed. Although these bodies are essentialized in the political struggle, they are in fact intersectionalized and differently performatized here and now (Crenshaw, 1989; Sullivan, 2003; Barnard, 2004): a horizon that should not be lost sight of and that only reveals itself in the discursive practices, in which the predetermined ontologies are undone.

Finally, we are of the opinion that, when thinking about resistance in our times, we should evaluate the theoretical-political gains of the program outlined by Mouffe (2018), entitled *Towards a Left Populism*.[8] If the globalized political actions of the radical right have affected our social lives on the planet, the suggestion to use the translocalizations of globalization on onlineOffline social networks as an alternative to promote alliances among the poor, blacks, LGBTIQ+, women, immigrants etc., as Mouffe (2018) suggests, does not seem despicable or banal. What seems to be desired is the creation of political force based on these dissonances. As Sabsay (2016: 297) argues, "a radical vision of democracy, after all, seems to be less concerned with the realization of an ultimate ideal than with the ceaseless mobilization of permeable alliances that question its own limits". In this sense, one of the political possibilities offered by a Special Issue of research conducted in various parts of the world on discursive practices of resistance is to collaborate in the appraisal of transnational pervasive coalitions of resistance that can be thought of together and experienced or rehearsed in other spaces. These should be thought of as arenas for the continual imagination of democracy in its expansive dimension.

RESISTANCE IN DISCURSIVE PRACTICES: A LOOK INTO THE ARTICLES

With diverse theoretical approaches, the seventeen articles in this Special Issue (12 in English and 5 in Portuguese) can be located in the great field of discursive studies in contemporary Applied Linguistics. Some articles develop their arguments based on research in offline contexts (Araújo, Biar and Bastos; Archakis; Milani et al; Pakuła and Chojnicka; Ribeiro and Gomes; Sena; Silva and Resende; Stroud et al), others on research in diversified virtual environments, such as social media and websites (Borba and Silva); Cavalcanti and Bizon; De Fina; Fabrício and Melo; Marques and Camargo; Morgado; Palma; Sauntson; Silva and Rosado), which are often directly linked to institutional spaces, such as education (De Fina; Pakuła and Chojnicka; Ribeiro and Gomes; Sauntson) and health (Fabrício and Melo; Sena) networks.

The articles provide a broad overview of the discursive practices of resistance in countries affected by the strengthening of anti-democratic and/or extreme-right discourses (Archakis; De Fina; Milani et al; Pakuła and Chojnicka; Sauntson) or the persistence of unequal and violent colonial processes and discourses (Stroud

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8. Mouffe (2020) argues for the need to consider the political logic put into operation in populisms. Contrary to right wing populisms, a left wing populism aims to "extend democracy into many domains and deepen it".

et al), including Brazil, which experiences both extreme right-wing discourses and the persistence of structures of colonial violence (Borba and Silva; Cavalcanti and Bizon; Araújo, Biar and Bastos; Fabrício and Melo; Marques and Camargo; Morgado; Palma; Ribeiro and Gomes; Sena; Silva and Resende; Silva and Rosado).

Participants in the analyzed practices resist necropolitical projects of the extreme right and of colonialism, such as black populations and quilombolas (Fabrício and Melo; Silva and Resende; Stroud et al), LGBTQI+ (Borba and Silva; Marques and Camargo; Milani et al; Pakuła and Chojnicka; Ribeiro and Gomes; Sauntson; Sena), women (Silva and Rosado), diverse peripheral subjects (Araújo, Biar and Bastos; Morgado; Palma), historically on the margins of the promises of Modernity, including populations subject to more recent migratory processes (Archakis; Cavalcanti and Bizon; De Fina). Certainly, the recognition of racism as a central system in the structures of inequality that have pervasively spread throughout the world since the 15th century (BERNARDINO-COSTA et al, 2019) stands out. These structures now operate in the construction of what we previously called Perfect Horror.

In this context, resistance is conceived as a political action performed with diverse semiotic resources (Cavalcanti and Bizon; Fabrício andv Melo; Morgado; Palma), including the body (Marques and Camargo; Milani et al; Sena; Stroud et al), but also as contradictions in the face of exclusionary and violent hegemonic discourses. Both political action and contradiction operate in direct responses to these discourses (Borba and Silva; Araújo, Biar and Bastos; Archakis; Cavalcanti and Bizon; De Fina; Fabrício and Melo; Pakuła and Chojnicka; Ribeiro and Gomes; Sauntson; Silva and Resende; Silva and Rosado). Indirectly, however, they produce new discursive regimes for new political projects (Marques and Camargo; Milani et al; Palma; Sena; Stroud et al).

Below we present the articles organized according to the types of spaces in which the research was carried out. First, the offline investigations are introduced and then the online ones.

The article by Chris Stroud and collaborators, "Talking parts, talking back: fleshing out linguistic citizenship" discusses the theme of discursive practices of resistance in a context of persisting historical inequality in post-apartheid South Africa, but also of decolonial movements such as student protests against the fees of South African universities. In this context, the group of authors, rooted in South Africa, argue that despite its devastating and violent effect, the vulnerability to which "racialized, sexualized, generified and godless bodies" are subjected, constituted by coloniality-modernity, can also be a productive place for the articulation of

alternative voices usually silenced. To this end, linguistic citizenship is taken as an approach to voice and agency in scenarios of delegitimization or loss of linguistic rights - especially in admittedly multilingual contexts - but also of delegitimization or loss of voice in the political arena. The authors present seven short vignettes illustrating a variety of ways in which body parts are entangled in speech. Based on the potential of these vignettes to produce broader significant locations in public orders and spaces, Stroud and collaborators point out how these orders are challenged when body parts are "resemiotized". Bodies are thus places of resistance as they give rise to/are the theme of discourse processes and practices in public arenas and are therefore sociopolitical processes that bring out new subjectivities and socialities.

The article "When the checkpoint becomes a counterpoint: stasis as queer dissent", by Tommaso Milani and collaborators, seeks to confront the privilege of the metaphor of movement and mobility in critical approaches to the social sciences in general and in studies of language, sexuality and space in particular. To this end, the authors analyze three examples of sexual dissent in the context of Israel/Palestine - a protest against the Tel Aviv Pride parade decreed by a coalition of Israeli activists in 2017, pronouncements on the parade by different Palestinian activists and queer academics, and a concert. Milani and collaborators argue that all cases under scrutiny lead to the idea of stasis as a radical practice of queer rebellion, exposing immobility as a form of social action and resistance. They thus develop the idea that the checkpoint can become a bodily, discursive and material counterpoint, offering a potential for resistance to regimes of normality.

The article "Engagement in social movements and the fight for justice: a study on the narratives of black mothers", by Etyelle Araújo, Liana Biar, and Liliana Bastos, highlights the narrative practices of mothers and relatives of victims of police violence in the slums of Rio de Janeiro. They are all participants in the Network of Communities and Movements against Violence. These narratives, generated during public demonstrations, are analyzed as a conversion from mourning to political struggle. By focusing on how emotions and suffering are organized in their narratives and what discursive strategies are used in this narrative process, the authors argue that the Network promotes acts of resistance, understood as the ability to act collectively, disturb or alter power arrangements, and promote structural change. They show us that, when narrated in the context of the demonstrations, the events involving the murders are recontextualized and the experiences are collectivized, strongly resisting their invisibilization. In this sense, the Network's activists are challenging racist discourses and practices that historically structure the police

and judicial approach in the city of Rio de Janeiro. The authors conclude that this resistance pushes for effective and transformative state measures against police brutality and for judicial equality.

The article "Queer bodies, sexual health and the micro-biopolitics of resistance in the Brazilian amazon", by José Sena, focuses on metapragmatic disputes over sexual health care identified in ethnographic research with LGBTQI+ students in urban areas of the city of Bragança do Pará, and seeks to confront these practices with official discourses, such as the National Integral LGBT Health Plan. Ethnography was developed over the years 2016-2019, with young LGBTIQ+ students in the context of parties, afterparties and domestic coexistence in the city's student communities. Based on the Foucauldian discussion on biopolitics and the discussion on performativity, the author focuses on narrative performances by LGBTQI+ subjects about their sexual experiences that metapragmatically dispute the senses of the state's official discourse. In these performances, he identifies resistance to a policy of silencing and precariousness of the sexual health demands of this population in the local context. The author summons the Foucauldian notion by describing these performances as practices of microbiopolitical resistance that question the official discourse and the maintenance of an LGBT-phobic regime.

Rosimeire Silva and Viviane Resende, in their article "Rafael Braga campaign for freedom: allied bodies and the production of epistemic communities in response to antinegritude", analyze discursive aspects of the case of the Campaign for the Freedom of Rafael Braga. Braga is a young black man from the periphery, first convicted for suspiciously threatening public order in the street demonstrations known as Jornadas de Junho (June demonstrations), in 2013, in Brazil. As their empirical data, the authors choose some data from an ethnography about the discourses of members of the Campaign and of other social actors. They also make recourse to multimodal artifacts produced in this context of collective mobilization. Articulating ethnographic material, interviews and multimodal texts, Silva and Resende demonstrate nexus and meanings in the discourses that range from Rafael's call for freedom to the denouncing of the antinegritude core of 'the Brazilian project'.

The article "When the obligation to be neutral becomes the right to discriminate: discursive struggles over lgbt+ rights at Polish universities", by Łukasz Pakuła and Joanna Chojnicka, discusses the narratives of struggle, resistance and counter-resistance over the rights of the LGBT+ community in various Polish universities. The article draws attention to the urgent need to debate the advance of extreme right wing discourse in Eastern Europe and its relation to the loss of

LGBT+ rights, to the point that the universities are kept anonymous in the article to avoid local reprisals. The article is the fruit of broader research on LGBT+ discourses in the Polish academic arena and specifically focuses on the discourses of LGBT+ groups that struggle to establish or maintain organizations (from students to unions) within the university. With an empirical focus on semi-structured interviews conducted in 2020, the authors show a wide range of resistance strategies contextually employed by LGBT+ subjects to deal with systemic or individual discriminatory practices, responding as a group or individually. Calling for the notion of an "inter-agency matrix", the authors advocate the expansion of these strategies of partnerships between groups and institutions for the expansion and strengthening of LGBT+ rights in the Polish academic context.

In the article "Socio-discursive resistance practices motivated by the iterability of violence: a critical discourse analysis of transmen students' reports", Samuel Ribeiro and Maria Carmen Gomes analyze sociodiscursive practices of resistance constructed by such students. In the development of their ethnographic research, the authors identified representations of violent practices, including non-recognition and the trivialization of the particular needs of trans bodies. According to Ribeiro and Gomes, these practices promote combined oppressions in different axes of difference, such as gender and race, but are discursively challenged with discursive acts of resistance to cis-heteronormative and normalizing practices.

Argiris Archakis' article, "Immigrant narratives and hybrid identities: analyzing autobiographical narratives written by immigrant students in Greece", looks into autobiographical narratives written by migrant high- school students in Greece in the face of growing xenophobic and racist nationalist discourses since the 1990s. The author focuses on a model of identity narrative construction. He argues that there are attempts to balance the pressures of assimilation to which they are subjected in their daily migration experience on the one hand, and their desire to maintain their diversity on the other. All of this takes place in an ethnocentric (educational and social) environment. Archakis highlights how migrant students represent themselves as adjusted to national expectations as a result of their victimization by the majority, that is, when they reveal the racism they experience, they oppose the collective majority. These are subtle forms of resistance through discourse against the naturalized perpetuation of social inequality.

Anna De Fina, in her article "Migrant youth push back. Virtual friendships and everyday resistance in the digital sphere", assumes resistance as opposition to ideas, social situations, actions and institutional processes that result or can result in discrimination or stereotypes of specific social groups. The author analyses

the negotiation in the digital sphere between young migrants and non-migrants, belonging to a school-based community in Italy. Using a virtual ethnographic approach, the author selects exchanges that take place on a Facebook page of one of the participants from a school community. Drawing on this media's own semiotic resources, such as memes, and varied linguistic repertoires, resistance takes many forms among members of the group. These forms go from irony and jokes to raising serious issues, to disseminating information, and through different discursive genres: from storytelling to publishing images. De Fina highlights that spontaneous acts and discourses of resistance in the daily exchanges between participants were not born around a certain social or political agenda. However, these acts discursively operate against immigrant discrimination in Italy, especially towards Africans, in the context of the rise of the extreme right party in this country (2018-2019).

Daniela Palma, in her article "Everyday life, quebrada, and dreams: resistance through gaze in photo collective activism", discusses the experience of DiCampana Photo Collective, a collective of professional photographers living in the periphery of São Paulo, created in 2016. Their purpose is to form a collection of images from the periphery of São Paulo and also from other cities in Brazil and Latin America, against the pejorative stereotypes about these spaces that circulate in Brazilian (and also Latin American) visual media. Analyzing the Collective's website, the author draws attention to this photographic and activist practice as a means of individual and collective resistance. This practice acts politically to constitute a "periphery looked at by the periphery itself". It does so through the photographic documentation of leisure, affect and pleasure. With a phenomenological approach to time and space, Palma helps us understand the ways in which the collective proposes a poetics of everyday life from which the capacities of resistance emerge. She also argues that these capacities are also articulated with a poetics of survival, "linguistic, semiotic and media forms; forms that are made in the present time of confluences (past and future, time and space, poetry and narrative, multiple voices, many looks...), and impel people to transformation" (p. 1866).

The article by Branca Fabrício and Glenda Melo, "'Us for ourselves'": enregistering and de-escalating coronavirus under nervous conditions", analyzes very recent discursive practices in Brazil amidst the COVID-19 pandemic and under an extreme right-wing government. The authors focus on the pragmatic survival practices implemented by the Mare Favela Mobilization Front under "nervous conditions" (DANGAREMBGA, 1988), that is, under the legacy of colonialism persistently creating unequal and unjust social life. The analysis focuses on the production and dissemination of information material on Coronavirus in

accessible language (multisemiotic) as opposed to official information material in standard Portuguese. The authors argue that the use of strategic language and the discursive projection of de-escalation are information-building tactics against the COVID-19 pandemic that have also functioned as strategies of resistance and imagination about the future. Such discursive practices re-enact a trace of creative reinvention and resistance, showing that "The negotiation of adjustments in our daily interactions with texts may be the key to our survival in the midst of destructive ideologies" (p. 1911).

The article " Swings and scales of democracy: "transgender epidemic" and resistance to the (re)pathologization of trans identities", by Rodrigo Borba and Danillo Pereira Silva, analyzes the circulation of a poster. It publicizes a lecture on a "transgender epidemic" that would take place in Porto Alegre City Hall, in March 2020. The article also discusses the textual disputes surrounding this circulation. Using the concept of scale, the authors argue that these disputes reflect the current state of Brazilian democracy as produced in the tension between distinct scalar projects. The textual trajectories around the poster indicate that the recent illiberal retraction of Brazilian society coexists with values and gains conquered in periods of democratic expansion, which explains the cancellation of the lecture due to online and offline protests against it. The authors argue that this type of resistance contests " undemocratizing scalar projects", making new political collectivities emerge.

The article by Djankaw Matheus Marques and Mabia Camargo, "Studying Quilombola practices of resistance on Instagram", addresses Instagram as a potential space to carry out multisemiotic practices that can both enhance and restrict subjectivities. The authors focus on the processes of subjectivation performed in the social media Instagram by one of them, author Djankaw Marques, a black and trans quilombola. From a Foucauldian perspective of discourse analysis, through which power is action and its exercise involves resistance, the authors highlight how resistance is produced by a multisemiotic set of digital practices that impact the body, photographs, texts and the very limits of the social network in focus. The multiple semiotic resources mobilized by Djankaw in the Instagram indicate intersections of race, class, ethnicity, sexuality and religion, configuring resistance practices against colonial hegemonic narratives and instigating a productive debate on Afro-Brazilian quilombola identity. These multisemiotic practices reconfigure quilombola struggles in Web 2.0, especially resisting the historical erasure of quilombola cultures in Brazil.

In the article " Threads of a hashtag: entextualization of resistance in the face of political and sanitary challenges in Brazil", Marilda Cavalcanti and Ana Cecília Bizon also focus on the scenario of the COVID-19 pandemic in Brazil. They investigate a so-called direct resistance event led by a migrant of Haitian origin. When approaching the current president of Brazil and confronting him in his daily walk through the press area of the Palace where he works, the Haitian had his performance recorded on a cell phone and posted as a tweet. The authors focus on the viralization of this post, following the hashtag #itisoverbolsonaro. Considering the confrontation of the Haitian as a performance of resistance and its entextualization in social networks, Cavalcanti and Bizon discuss what they call "pragmatics of resistance" in the metareflexive tissue of the posts with the hashtag in two Twitter accounts and some of the reverberations in Instagram.

Helen Sauntson, in her article "Conflicting discourses of 'democracy' and 'equality': a discourse analysis of the language of pro- and anti-lgbtq+ inclusion in the relationships and sex education guidance for schools in England", analyses the discourse strategies used by protest groups against and in favor of the new Sexual Relations and Education (CSR) orientation. This includes issues related to LGBTQ+ identities and relationships for schools in England released in 2019. To compare the language of the two groups, the author selects public videos made available on the YouTube platform and examines how the language used by CSR groups seeks to resist the discriminatory discourse used by anti-LGBTQ+ groups, reframing the ideologies of the groups against CSR in the protests. These conflicting discourses dispute the meanings of "democracy" and "equality" since the same normative act in the UK protects religion, gender identity and sexual orientation, suggesting that these are fragile concepts in the current British political climate.

Marcos Morgado, in his article "Mediatising resistance to contemporary fascism on youtube: voicing dissent in Brazilian rap", seeks to investigate how resistance to contemporary fascism is built discursively in social media. To this end, the author analyzes as empirical material a particular rap video, "Fascist Spring", to present a multimodal analysis of how resistance to the discourse of the extreme right wing candidate for the presidency of Brazil in 2018 was built. The visual, sound, musical and linguistic resources show that the rap song is an exhaustive exercise of metapragmatic reflexivity on the performative effects of a series of fascist statements produced by the candidate. Morgado argues that rappers become agents of resistance in times of a collapsed democracy. With their use of language

and their interaction with other semiotic resources mixed with great dexterity, rappers open new possibilities for social criticism.

Marluce Silva and Cid Augusto Rosado, in their article "'The scoop at any price': discursive practices of power and resistance centered on male chauvinism as a sign of democratic fragility", focus on the socio-historical formation of discursive productions. They particularly center on the media controversy surrounding the male chauvinist offense against journalist Patrícia Campos Mello, of Folha de S.Paulo. The offense was made by Hans River do Rio Nascimento while speaking at the Joint Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry (CPMI) of Fake News. Around this polemic, many statements circulated and the authors focus on the will to truth, power relations and resistance between participants of the mediatized polemic. Silva and Rosado seek to discuss gender violence as symptoms of democratic fragility, but also highlight tactics of resistance and transformation.

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