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THE DISSEMINATION OF APOROPHOBIA AND THE NECROPOLITICS PRACTICE IN BRAZIL

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A DISSEMINAÇÃO DA APOROFOBIA E A PRÁTICA DA NECROPOLÍTICA NO BRASIL

SUMMARY:

1. Introduction; 2. Aporophobia: a version to the poor; 3. Discursive practices as a means of spreading aporophobia; 4. Necropolitics: a portrait of lethality caused by aversion to the poor people; 5. Final considerations; References.

ABSTRACT:

It is urgent to recognize the existence of social inequalities and to face the problems associated with poverty in Brazil. The speeches of political leaders, lacking a factual basis, propagate disinformation and denial in the social sphere, preventing the implementation of measures that allow the promotion of social inclusion and the eradication of poverty. One of its direct consequences is the necropolitics, which regimentalizes the power to kill and translates the ability to establish who matters and who does not matter in society. The research was guided by the hypothetical-deductive method, bibliographic review, focusing on the studies by Adela Cortina.

RESUMEN:

Es urgente reconocer la existencia de desigual-

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dades sociales y enfrentar los problemas asociados a la pobreza en Brasil. Los discursos de los líderes políticos, carentes de base fáctica, propagan la desinformación y la negación en el ámbito social, impidiendo la implementación de medidas que permitan promover la inclusión social y la erradicación de la pobreza. Una de sus consecuencias directas es la necropolítica, que regimenta el poder de matar y traduce la capacidad de establecer quién importa y quién no importa en la sociedad. La investigación se guió por el método hipotético-deductivo, revisión bibliográfica, centrándose en los estudios de Adela Cortina.

RESUMO:

É urgente reconhecer a existência de desigualdades sociais e enfrentar os problemas associados à pobreza no Brasil. Os discursos das lideranças políticas, sem base factual, disseminam desinformação e negação na esfera social, impedindo a implementação de medidas que promovam a inclusão social e a erradicação da pobreza. Uma de suas consequências diretas é a necropolítica, que regulamenta o poder de matar e traduz a capacidade de estabelecer quem importa e quem não importa na sociedade. A pesquisa foi norteada pelo método hipotético-deductivo, revisão bibliográfica, com foco nos estudos de Adela Cortina.

KEYWORDS:

Aporophobia; Adela Cortina; Vulnerable Groups; Negationism; Necropolitics.

PALABRAS LLAVE:

Aporofobia; Adela Cortina; Grupos Vulnerables; Negacionismo; Necropolíticas.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE:

Aporofobia; Adela Cortina; Grupos vulneráveis; Negação; Necropolítico.

1. INTRODUCTION

The identification and recognition of social pathologies (such as xenophobia, homophobia, racism, Islamophobia, among others), have al-

ways been essential and urgent elements worldwide so that, through an accurate diagnosis, the causes of the exclusion of vulnerable groups can be discovered and proposed effective interventions to combat them.

In this context, the study developed by Adela Cortina, who constructed the term "aporophobia", understood as "aversion to the poor", becomes fundamental, precisely with the aim of pointing out the root of all aversions to all vulnerable groups. For the author, the source of the problem is not race, it is not ethnicity or foreigner, but poverty.

In the Information Age and the "post-truth", false news, unproven information and disputes of opinion in the digital environment are disseminated quickly and, to a large extent, they are ignited by negative political speeches, which propagate the culture of hatred. These practices are consolidated as real violations of civil liberties, becoming challenges for democracy and for the development of minimum social justice in the Democratic Rule ofLaw.

The impact of these discursive practices by political leaders became even more evident during the pandemic of the new coronavirus in Brazil, when messages of encouragement were disclosed for people to practice anti-isolation, in contradiction to the recommendations of the Ministry of Health and Organizations Of Health. This situationdemonstrated that citizens are encouraged by the speeches and attitudes of denialists.

The spread of political speeches by world authorities promotes the culture of hatred and unveils the practice of a necropolitics that leads to the death, on a greater and incomparable scale, of black and poor people in Brazil. It is possible to infer, from this perspective, that the aporophobia is exponentially increased by the discursive practice devoid of the recognition of the dignity of the other and by the lack of an ethics of co-responsibility that triggers in the necropolitics and maintains inhuman discrimination.

Research, its object, and problematization, are based on factual and doctrinal research on aporophobia and its consequences, with an investigation guided by the matrix of Adela Cortina's thought and the analysis of political discourses that enable the disclosure of the culture of hatred and the practice of necropolitics.

2. APOROPHOBIA: AVERSION TO THE POOR

The Spanish philosopher Adela Cortina (2020, p. 26-27), 25 years ago, developed the term "aporophobia" from the word "áporos" (poor, without resources), by analogy to "xenophobia" and "homophobia", as he understands that "the rejection of the poor is more extensive and profound than the other types of aversion and is a blunt personal reality". According to the author, naming this social pathology was urgent in order to be able to diagnose it with greater precision, to try to discover its etiology and propose effective treatments. "

> The problem, then, is not race, ethnicity or even the foreigner. The problem is poverty. The most impressive thing regarding this case is that there are many racists and xenophobes, but almost all of them are aporophobes. It is the poor, the spores that bother, including that of the family itself, because the poor relative is considered a shame that must be left aside, while it is a pleasure to have the triumphant relative, well situated in the academic, political, artistic world or business. It is the phobia of the poor that leads to rejection of people, races and ethnicities that usually lack resources and, therefore, cannot offer anything or seem unable to do so. (CORTINA, 2020, p. 26).

At the root of all kinds of social phobias, such as: xenophobia, racism, misogyny, homophobia, Christianophobia, Islamophobia, among others, is aporophobia. Aversion to the poor, who are those who do not participate in the political-economic game but to demand, to demand from the State and the political contract, attention without the possibility of financial return. This condition represents a daily, universal, almost invisible attack on the dignity of concrete people to whom prejudice is directed and linked to the negative characteristics of a collective (SOARES, 2018, p. 2).

Aporophobia finds fertile ground when the fear of the different becomes the rejection of vulnerable groups and minorities, overcoming compassion and empathy. Ideologies - empty of scientificity and justification - direct the blame for poverty on the poor themselves, as if it were a result of indolence, individual error or personal guilt.

But in order for fear to turn into rejection, a mental process is needed that overcomes compassion and empathy. This process is provided

by ideology and is activated when it points to the poor as guilty of their poverty. When he affirms that poverty is not the result of structural conditions that leave many in the gap, but the result of indolence, individual error or personal guilt. In this ideology, the poor are seen as a threat. Blaming them cancels empathy and allows them to be ignored and even chased. And all of this happens at a time of strong increase in inequalities (free translation (OLIVA, 2018).

For Adela Cortina (2020, p. 3-62) the recognition of equal dignity and compassion are two keys to an ethics of cordial reason and are non-negotiable to overcome this world of inhuman discrimination. However, according to Hegel's idea, it is not enough to prescribe a duty to be, because morality has to be incorporated into the institutions, habits and customs ofa society; that is, there must be an ethics incorporated into the personal and institutional life ofa society.

It is essential that democracy be rebuilt so that it is based, concretely, on ourfundamental values of freedom and equality, capable of distributing the benefits fairly (Articles 1, 2, 3 and 5 of the Brazilian Federal Constitution of 1988). An economy founded onethics issues, with the goal of creating wealth with equity, eradicating poverty and reducing inequalities, in order to promote an economic citizenry, being the protagonists of decisions onor productive development (ZEIFERT, 2020, p. 114). This way, Cortina (2020, p. 63) asserts that "or cultivation of democratic ethics requires that freedom be considered sacred, but an equal *liberty*, that is obtained through dialogue and mutual recognition of dignity":

> Not because of atomized individuals, who come together on certain occasions to make common decisions, and simply raise the awareness of several people who relate to each other. For this reason, the supreme virtue and respect for the dignity, which assumes tolerance, more than goes beyond the, committing to tempt not harm others, not to break or bond with the people, who also have dignity and not a simple price.

The brain is something highly plastic and allows us to cultivate openness to the other,and it is based on compassionate recognition, which is the key to universal hospitality. The unconditional ethical demand arises from the recognition of the dignity of the other; as well asthe recognition of solidarity with those who are in a vulnerable situation

and; through the cordial recognition that everyone's lives are originally linked and, therefore, one must live them with compassion (CORTINA, 2020, p. 198).

With the goal to escape utopian idealism, a source of populism and resurgent totalitarianism worldwide, and to consider and recognize the dignity of concrete people, we have to reflect the balance and commitment to active, individual and collective citizenship, which allows us to overcome barriers of all kinds of prejudice. Education must recover the place of betting on the construction of democracy and active citizenship, and jurisprudence must ensure the protection of the rights of people and the community, ensuring the inscription in the way of the law of the aspects necessary for the configuration of human dignity. For the author, "ethical requirements precede legal obligations and rights", but in order not to be imprisoned in the realm of utopia, idealizations, mere compassion, and totalizations, hospitality must be embodied in law, therefore, that institutions and nations must combine invention and political responsibility to find the least harmful legislation possible. (SOARES, 2018, p. 11-12).

Therefore, Adela Cortina's proposal, on a first level, is the undertaking of strategies against trafficking in persons, legal and police reinforcement, with an agile exchange of information and greater cooperation between nations; adequate registration for those who demand asylum, and a decent return for those rejected; acceptance of expanded quotas of political refugees negotiated on the basis of variables such as population size, unemployment rate, and the possibility of resorting to proportional solidarity taxes between nations (SOARES, 2018, p. 11).

At the second level and in the long term, Cortina (2020, p. 197) proposes that the European Union should be involved in the task of building peace in the places of origin by all necessary means, while building a cosmopolitan society, promoting the United Nations 2030 Agenda[1], whether from global governance, from a democratic world state or from a federation of states, but with a central point, a universal hospitality that would make the world a home for all human beings as an obligation of justice.

Aporophobia is a global reality and Adela Cortina's proposals are current and solid, consistent with the objective of concretely facing the exclusion of vulnerable groups that have their genesis in aporophobia;

based on an ethics of co-responsibility, through the sharing of minimal justice (equal relationship) together with the legal and political conditions, seeks through compassionate recognition and effective dialogue, the construction of a cosmopolitansociety and without exclusions.

3. DISCURSIVE PRACTICES AS A MEANS OF SPREADING APOROPHOBIA

The channels of expression of civilization have been expanded, from rudimentary language to cybernetic language. This whole process serves to explain that political systems are not born out of nowhere, because there needs to be a means of preparation for their ideological, physical and social fermentation. (NEDER, 2001, p. 24).

The disclosure of false news (insinuations, assumptions, lack of context, inversion of relevance) and information transmitted without any factual data, in addition to the extremely negative speeches by relevant political figures, under the cover of the constitutional ensure of the principle of freedom of expression (article number 5, item IX, CRFB - Brazilian Federal Constitution / 1988), have multiplied in recent years. In the Information Age and the "post- truth" era, the digital environment became popular, with the rapid exchange of information and opinions, expanding the ways of social, cultural, political, behavioral and consumer relations.

The "post-truth" consists in relativizing the truth, trivializing the objectivity of the data and the supremacy of the emotional discourse (...). The populism of today, and always, handles more with emotional persuasions than with criteria of rationality and truthfulness. Rigor and populism are concepts that are contradictory (ZARZALEJOS, 2017, p. 11-15).

Political speeches based on false news (*fake news*) or in non-existent data they have been purposely propagated for centuries all over the world. American historian and professor emeritus at Harvard University Robert Darnton (2017, *online*) claims that fake news has always existed. Procopius of Caesarea, an 11th-century Byzantine historian, famous for writing the history of the Justinian empire, is reported to have also written a secret text called "Anekdota", with the aim of spreading fake news, completely ruining the reputation of Emperor Justinian and others.

In this line of reasoning, false and denialist political speeches or even

without any factual basis, are often contained in ideological speeches and become a lethal weapon in the hands of politicians and institutions of power. The world has experienced increasingly masked and "perfected" ways of exercising power through manipulations and untruths. According to Mattelart (1996, p. 41), the 1914-1918 war was the first total war, and had as a fundamental norm the so-called "mobilization of consciences", which for others was simply "brainwashing" or "manipulation".

Fake news and the propagation of opinions based on untrue facts were also tools of crucial maneuver for the Nazi regime, with the goal of censoring the free thinking and expression of German citizens by all media, preventing free and political debate. plural,access to culture and information, with the removal of content (from the journalistic channels of the time), based on the ideals of only one political party, masked by an (fantasized) ideology of protection of the "public interest" and the " german people".

Thus, the "post-truth" in the political sector is nothing but a fallacy. In the globalizedand interconnected world, according Matthew D´ancona[2] "emotion recovered its primacy, andthe truth was withdrawn". In addition, he says that "the novelty is not the politicians' begging, but the public's response". The author comments that "we no longer expect them to speak the truth. What matters is not rational deliberation, but the established conviction. " Certainty predominates over facts, the "visceral over the rational", the "deceptively simple over the honestly complex" (GUROVITZ, 2017, *online*).

Politicians and their parties use speeches with untrue or biased content, even though they grossly violate civil rights and freedoms to accomplish their campaigns and fabricate their justifications after the adoption of controversial measures, and it is absolutely surprising that they can reach and hold positions of power in democratic regimes.

> Do politicians lie more than ever? There is no doubt that politicians have alwayshad a peculiar relationship with the truth. But it is one thing to exaggerate or hide, and another to blatantly and continuously lie about the facts. Political figures like Donald Trump or some of the protagonists of the Brexit campaign have not beenvery frequent in the history of democracies or, at least, they have not reached such great positions of responsibility. More and more politicians are joi-

ning the post- truth era, without the media having been able to stop this advance or public opinion being able to punish this attitude, perhaps as a consequence of the above. Politicians abound who do not care whether what they say is related to reality (GALLEGO-DÍAZ, 2016, online).

Political speeches, permeated with Information that are not true, denials and fallacies, act as true propagators of hatred for society, mainly in the digital environment. In addition to encouraging polarization between groups, these speeches reveal the perverseintention of practicing violence and segregation by their interlocutors, which certainly affect vulnerable groups. In other words, the speeches of politicians and, especially, of authorities and Heads of Government, can potentiate aporophobia, directly hampering civil liberties.

Specifically about the increase in poverty and malnutrition in the country, there was a recent response from the President of the Republic stating that "hunger in Brazil is a big lie (...)"and, it reverberated that "it feels bad (...). Now, not starving, no ". This is a perfect example of a political and negationist discourse, which leads citizens to believe that extreme poverty has been eradicated. It turns out that the resilience of the economic crisis and unemployment are factors that pressure the indices of hunger and misery Less than 2.5% of the population is still in a serious food situation, according to the report that was elaborated on the State of Food Security and Nutrition in the World, presented in 2019 by the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) (JIMÉNEZ, 2019, *online*).

In a recent study, called *"More Than Words: Leaders' Speech and Risky Behavior during a Pandemic"* (AJZENMAN; CAVALCANTI; DA MATA, 2020, p. 16), Brazil had a focus as a country where the president publicly released an anti-isolation message (contrary toguidance for controlling the new coronavirus), as he encouraged people to leave home, go to stores and even acted in public service on the streets, in contradiction to his own Minister Thestudy, analyzing the effect of this type of speech and actions of a political leader of strong persuasion on the behavior of his followers, demonstrated a scenario in which citizens can be urged to ignore the best practices from the medical point of view, as well as like negative externalities.

Discourse, for the Theory of Communicative Action (APEL *apud* CORTINA, p. 65), must be a type of communicative action in which the interlocutors have to try to understand each other because, otherwise, there is no communication; talking is meaningless if a minimum of understanding is not sought. This is exactly what happens when there are negative political speeches and inciting popular actions contrary to those recommended by health agencies, which disregard the voices of vulnerable groups and minorities. To deny the listener the ability to speak, to treat him as an object and not as a subject, supposes to break the inter-subjectivity bond that makes human language possible and to admit that the speech lacks meaning.

These speeches incite hate and are widely propagated in the digital environment. By denying that hunger exists in Brazil or stating that recommendations for isolation due to the Covid-19 pandemic are unnecessary, greater risks are directly imposed on the poor and groups that are already vulnerable. By following anti-isolation suggestions, for example, the poor working class suffers social inequality, exposes themselves to risks, such as agglomerations in public transport and, automatically, are the sure victims of contamination by the disease, which causes even more prejudice and feelings of disgust on the part of other social groups that tend to blame the poor for the spread of the disease.

It is interesting to check the study by Getúlio Vargas Foundation (F.G.V.) on the impact of Bolsonaro's pronouncements on sharing messages about governors and experimental medicine. "(...) as of April 8th, the day when the president criticized the governors and the social isolation measures, messages of support for a military intervention with Bolsonaro ahead gained a meaningful disclosure according to the survey, claiming that the confinement   was   part   of a communist domination plan."

For Adela Cortina (2020, p. 65), the monological character of hate speech is evident. It is a monologue with an apparent way of dialogue, and it is precisely this monological character that is present in hate speech. Whoever utters them does not recognize in the group that is the target of his words, subjects with whom he establishes or could establish a dialogue, but as *objects* that only deserve contempt, stigmatization or manipulation and, rejection.

About hate speech, Jeremy Waldron (2010, p. 1601-1613)[3] states that they must be faced because they are not related to the act of thinking (freely); but in the most tangible way of communication. The issue, for the author, is the publication and the damage caused to individuals and groups through the disfiguration of the social environment by public and semi-permanent announcements; where in the opinion of one community group, members of another group are not worthy of equality.

> So it is with the phenomenon that we call in America "hate speech," which cancover things as diverse as cross-burnings, racial epithets, insults to religion, bestial and other offensive depictions of vulnerable minorities in leaflets, posters, or on the internet, broad-brush ascriptions of criminality or dangerousness, calls to unite against the members of a hated group, and neo-Nazis marching in American suburbs with swastikas and placards saying "Hitler should have finished the job." (WALDRON, 2010, p. 1600).

Isaac de Paz Gonzales (2016, p. 32-32) corroborates Waldron's understanding, when he says that hate speech pollutes the social and community environment, because it makes the environment more complex for those who live in it:

> Likewise, it expresses that I believe that the repetition of the speech could become in cultural acceptance as part of its medium environment thanks to its insistence on demonizing the minorities. Against this acceptance - which is tolerated by the sector that supports Trump - takes on the role of Law as a policy guideline, seeing that the objective elements of the speech can generate social tensions, Law must act to limit and eliminate this speech.

The misery of hate speech, for Cortina, is already explained in the substantiveinadequacy that composes it, seeing that the expression is also referred to less radical ways of aversion and contempt, but no less harmful for those who suffer them. Three deficiencies of hate speech are presented by the author: a) the monological character, which does not recognize the other, but as a means and object of contempt, stigmatization and manipulation;

b) the speech itself, which can offend the people to whom it is directed, without the need for other actions (communicative action); c) establishes relations of asymmetry and radical inequality, expressing the

absence of recognition, hurting the democratic *ethos*. And at theroot of this discourse is aporophobia, which expresses itself against those at a disadvantaged social position (CORTINA apud SOARES, 2018, p. 5).

> One of the most disturbing cases of hate speech on a global scale is that of politician-magnate Donald J. Trump. His way of negative expression has gone from the irreverent to the xenophobic less than a year after the presidential renewal in the United States in 2016. The statements of the aforementioned character are notoriously harmful to minorities, even discriminatory and in some cases frankly apologies for crimes, this speech shows a new face of global fascism that seeks confrontation, political violence and the justification of the State to depart from legal values and public ethics in its universal sense. (GONZALES, 2016, p. 28)

In this context, Adela Cortina adds that the hate speech intends to express and incite the sharing of contempt. The path to be built by formal and informal education to overcome crimes and hate speech, institutionally resorting to criminal and civil law for punishment and rehabilitation, but also for its communicative function, of intolerance to certain actions that violate values that give meaning and identity to society. For this reason, civil society also has its role in the eradication of poverty and inequality, and in the cultivation of values and feelings of equal dignity for all. (SOARES, 2018, p. 4).

Active respect as a virtue of not causing damage to a good as well as self-esteem, in the words of Adela Cortina (2020, p. 60), would be the key to an ethics capable of neutralizing hate speech that intensifies the aversion to vulnerable groups. As a complementary idea, Isaac Gonzales asserts that:

> With the goal to prevent the polarization of discourse and seek new ways of (global) dialogue to bring groups closer together instead of confronting them, I consider it very essential that criticism of the discourse of hate must be articulated from the dogmatics of human rights and democracy. The rejection of demagogic discourses must start from the voice and rational proposals of civil society, as it is a way of fighting for the prevalence of the culture of human rights that overshadows the verbiage of the enemies of the rule of law.

It is important to emphasize the need for recognition and preserva-

tion of fundamentalrights related to the so-called rights to freedom, opinion, expression of opinions, assembly andassociation. For Bobbio (1986, critical thinking 63), for a minimum definition of democracy, as it is accepted, neither the attribution to a high number of citizens of the right to participate directly or indirectly in collective decision-making, nor the existence procedural rules such as that of the majority (or, at the limit, unanimity).

> (...) it is necessary that those who are called to decide or to elect those who will have to decide are faced with real alternatives and put in a position to be able to choose between one and the other. For this condition to be fulfilled, it is necessary that those called to decide are ensured the so--called rights of freedom, opinion, expression of their own opinions, assembly, association, etc. - the rights on the basis of which the liberal state was born and the doctrine of the constitutional state was built in a strong sense, that is, of the state that not only exercises sub lege power, but exercises it within limits derived from the constitutional recognition of "inviolable rights" "of the individual. Whatever the philosophical foundation of these rights, they are the necessary assumption for the correct functioning of the predominantly procedural mechanisms that characterize a democratic regime. The constitutional rules that grant these rights are not exactly rules of the game: they are preliminary rules that allow the game to be started.

Starting from Bobbio's premise, the inviolability of guarantees to the rights of freedom are preliminary rules that allow the development of the game (and the achievement of democracy). However, the rights to freedom of expression (in all its applications) cannot serve as a justification for the violation of rights and for the withdrawal of the autonomy of individuals and collectivities, mainly from minorities and vulnerable groups, who do not have the same chances of representation and, for the most part, are not considered or accepted as valid interlocutors.

Therefore, while it is true that freedom of expression is a value of individual autonomy, it is no less true that "it must exist within a general context of equal opportunities to influence public debate and the fundamental value of collective self- determination proper to the first amendment" (Post, 2013: 1668). The hateful, intolerant and retrograde ways of

expression are not part of the scale of democratic values of the society or the State, it is something special because it is a country that was forged with immigrants from all over the world. However, what is happening in the fight for the presidency of the United States is a process of involution of humanistic thought that is inseparable from civilized life that, on the other hand, tries to deform (to the point that the protagonists openly manifest) freedoms public in group privileges. This social damage, according to Waldron (2012: 66) is part of the depredation of the dignity of the groups to whom the discourse is directed and this is reflected in the type of social order that a society has and that allows this situation. (GONZALES, 2016, p. 35).

The Democratic constitutional state in Brazil must be fortified. Every day, you reportcases that are examples of the emergency of an exceptional state. The support that the current government demonstrates the manifestations of hatred and preconceit against the plot of the Brazilian population "undesirable", it is one more evidence that the country has become a "democratization" - democracy with style of dictatorship (WERMUTH; MARCHT; MELLO, 2020, p. 146).

This way, the consequences are two political speeches that contain false and denialistinformation, many times of violence, disclosure or hate, not contributing to democracy orwith the constitutional state, the political language encourages an open confrontation, potentiates discourses of obviously segregationist hate, giving rise to a violation of universal values that are constituted on the basis of fundamental directives.

4. NECROPOLITICS: A PORTRAIT OF LETHALITY CAUSED BY AVERSION TO THE POOR PEOPLE

It is possible to state that by aporophobia and clearly potentiated, political discourses endowed with false, non-existent or denialist information, which incite or speedily share and disclose the culture of non-digital media and tend to concretize the practice of a necropoliticalway.

The Cameroonian citizen: Achille Mbembe (2018, p. 10-11, 41) affirms that the "ways of sovereignty whose central project is not entirely autonomous", culminates in the "generalized instrumentalization of human existence and the material destruction of human bodies and populations."

It happens because, according to his thinking, these ways of sovereignty "they constitute the *law* of the political space in which we still live." Sovereignty, in this case, "is the ability to define who matters and who does not matter, who is 'disposable' and who is not."

The term necropolitics has the goal to elucidate, in this line of thinking, how the regimentalization of the power to kill in modern societies works as a policy of social control. The unequal distribution of life and death opportunities that are the basis of the capitalist model of production imposes a hierarchy in which some are worth more than others and those that have no value, they are simply discarded. It is a radicalization and reinterpretation of Foucault's biopolitics, in which the administration of life shares space with the administration of death (ESTÉVEZ *apud* OLIVEIRA, 2020, *online*).

If socialization in the capitalist framework occurs through the exchange of goods, the purchase and sale of labor at its most fundamental level, it means that this superfluous subject is out, it was expelled from this place. The "naked life", devoid of any exchange value, in which the greatest example was the situation of the Jews in the concentration camps, stripped of all their use values (personal goods such as clothes and jewelry), "marks the point at which biopolitics necessarily becomes tanatopolitics"[4] (AGAMBEN, 2010, p. 138).

The pandemic of the new coronavirus in Brazil highlighted the political discourses and revealed aspects of the biopolitics that were addressed by Michel Foucault, understood as the power that organizes the policies of life, that is, they are tactics that regulate which bodies must live and which are disposable. The whole biopolitics becomes necropolitics, when inequality regimes determine which bodies are at risk. To think about the necropolitics is to think about how the State exercises social political power, managing the life and death of marginalized groups, thus promoting even more oppression and effecting the project of genocide of Brazilian groups already vulnerable (NAVARRO *et al*, 2020, p. 9).

Necropolitics is not focused on the production of life, but on the contrary, it aims at large-scale annihilation. The trend towards "dead work" in the production of value meets the "death work" of politics. Individuals start to be left in the face of the current social way, seeing that they are no longer profitable for society, they are no longer required to spend their

workforce within a broad productive process, they are thrown into the informal and precariousmarket, on the banks of the city, as slums (HILÁRIO, 2016, p. 194-210).

The necropolitical perspective breaks the borders of countries that have gone throughthe processes of colonization and neocolonization and assumes an analytical importance in a global agenda, one can think of a black becoming of the world where the precariousness oflife includes not only black populations, but also non-black populations impoverished and increasingly in precarious conditions (LIMA, 2018, p. 23).

It is a fact that the disease caused by the new coronavirus in Brazil kills more specifically the black and poor people. The sanitary doctor and professor of public health at the University of São Paulo Gonzalo Vecina Neto says that "the poor are hit in a" very violent "wayin relation to the" remedied and the rich people ". And he adds, explaining that this is a worldwidephenomenon and that "this virus kills more specifically the poor and black people - not because they are black, but because they are poor". Even with the help of the federal government of R $ 600 per month for informal workers, "people have to go out to get food, and when they go out, they get contaminated more easily." The reality is completely different to the situation of those who can be isolated or working from home. (GRAGNANI, 2020, *online*).

The consequences of the Covid-19 pandemic will be severe for children and adolescents, mainly those who live in poor families. Monetary poverty has a much greater weight and impact among children and adolescents than among young people, adults and the elderly. Measures to combat the new coronavirus pandemic have an impact on the lives of girls and boys, from the domestic environment of their families and communities to the institutions and public spaces that are attended by this population. Among the most urgent issues are protection against the consequences of poverty and hunger, the risk of which has increased in the period, due to the increase in unemployment that affects the families of thousands of children and adolescents (IPEA - Institute of Applied Economic Research, 2021, *online*).

The report of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, UNTACD - "Impact of the Covid-19 Pandemic on Trade and Development: Transition to a New Normal" shows that the level of shared

prosperity will decrease. This means that the average income of the poorest 40% in the world will be lower. Without political actions to promote an inclusive economic recovery, the pandemic can trigger cycles of greater income inequality and less social mobility among the vulnerable people (United Nations, 2020).

The General Secretary of UNTACD (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development), called Mukhisa Kituyi said that "the spread of the virus has benefited from the interconnectedness and weaknesses of globalization, making a global health crisis an economic shock that hit the most vulnerable more strongly". According to the report of the department of the United Nations, UN, Covid-19 affected all areas of the world economy, such as investment, production, employment and livelihoods. Among the most affected groups are migrants, informal workers and women (UNTACD, 2021).

Considering that aporophobia, intensified by hate speech, mainly propagated by authorities and world leaders, makes the practice of necropolitics possible, one must think, as Melchior`s comments (2006, p. 144) in the establishment of a minimum of justice that is solidified through public policies aimed at sustainable development at a global level, so that it is possible to envision the reduction or even the elimination of the existing distance between the rich and poor poles, so that they arrive at a satisfactory intermediate level.

What must be emphasized is that public policies, understood as decisions that were formally adopted within the scope of public institutions (VALLÉS, 2002, p. 377), they are mandatory to their recipients, seeing that they do not deal with voluntary agreements between the subjects who decide and those to whom the policies are addressed, becoming true impositions that apply to the community, based on the political legitimacy of those.

5. FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Aporophobia is a reality understood as "rejection", or "aversion to the poor people", it is a term that was created by Adela Cortina, in order to identify and recognize the problems that are directly linked to the segregation of groups already vulnerable and rejected, such as those who suffer xenophobia, racism, Islamophobia, among others. The idea is that

the aversion (and exclusion) to these groups, already identified, has in its genesis, poverty, which causes evils such as, social and racial discrimination, prejudice and inequalities, which must be directly addressed through an ethics of co-responsibility.

The 21st century is known for some milestones, such as the "Information Age" and the "post-truth", in which the popularization of the digital medium has expanded the ways in which social, cultural, political, behavioral and consumer relations take shape. If, on the one hand, there is the evolution of technology, on the other, globalization is shown to be asymmetrical, showing a world crisis, mainly regarding the poor people (immigrants and refugees).

Political speeches, endowed with false information, often devoid of any factual data, in addition to absurdly negative speeches, promote the massive sharing of opinions masked as "facts" and spread the culture of hatred in the social environment, revealing segregation and the aversion to the poor people, by the institutions themselves of power. What happens is that the rights of freedom (mainly those that are linked to expression) can not serve as a justification for maintaining a relationship of domination and constant violations of the dignity of the human person and a threat to democracy.

The reflexes of these negative political speeches produce direct and more lethal consequences for vulnerable groups, mainly the poor ones, because if there is a minimization of the effects of the pandemic and the claim that there is no hunger in Brazil, then the government encourages anti-isolation and prevents measures to tackle the social ills associated to poverty.

To allow this kind of violation of rights makes the frequent promotion of hate speeches by power institutions common and acceptable, causing a practice of necropolitics (invisible, in the negationist view) that, based on the capitalist model of production, imposes a hierarchy in which some are worth more than others and that those who are worthless are rejected, segregated and discarded. The practice of necropolitics became very known with the pandemic of the new coronavirus in Brazil, making it clear that the disease kills black and poor people more, in addition to causing serious consequences for children and adolescents living in poor families.

Therefore, aporophobia, intensified by the spread of speeches by authorities and world leaders, which encourage the culture of hatred and enable the practice of necropolitics, must be properly recognized and combated. It is urgent that, through the implementation ofthe dialogue, there is the recognition of an ethics of co-responsibility that enables the concretization of active citizenship, with the intensification of the adoption of public policies and integration at a global level, in order to provide the reduction of social inequalities andthe construction of a fairer and more inclusive society.

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'Notas de fim'

1   Available on the website: <http://www.agenda2030.org.br/sobre/>. Accessed in February 10th, 2021.

2   English journalist and author of the book "Post-Truth: The New War on Truth and How to Fight Back" da editora Ebury Press, Published on May 11th, 2017.

3   Hate speech does not just seek to undermine the public good of implicit assurance. It also seeks to establish a rival public good as the wolves call to one another across the peace of a decent society. The publication of hate speech, the appearance of these symbols and scrawls in places for all to see, is a way of providing a focal point for the proliferation and coordination of the attitudes that these actions express, a public manifestation of hatred by some people to indicate to others that they are not alone in their racism or bigotry. Frank Collin, the leader of the Nazis who sought to march through Skokie, said, "We want to reach the good people — get the fierce anti- Semites who have to live among the Jews to come out of the woodwork and stand up for themselves."137 Accordingly, hate speech regulation aims not only to protect the public good of dignity-based assurance, but also to block the construction of this rival public good (WALDRON, 2010, p. 1631).

4   A political paradigm for Foucault (in History of sexuality I: the will to know. 11. ed. Rio de Janeiro: Graal, 1993), was Germany, during the Nazi regime: in a rigidly disciplinary society, politics took on the biological , procreation, the heredity of the population as one of the immediate objectives of the regime; and, at the same time, he developed a detestable and intoxicating power to kill, to confiscate, to violate, to denounce, which was distributed throughout the Nazi social department, to a considerable number of people and institutions: secret police, paramilitaries, doctors, jurists, teachers, among others. The Nazi model illustrates well the Thanatopolitical device for granting death by exposing its own population to life; since then, according to the French thinker, massacres have become something vital. It is available on the site: https://www.crimlab.com/dicionario-criminologico/tanatopolitica/59. Accessed in February 1st, 2021.