(Contra)visualidad y protesta.
Projetemos en Brasil[1]

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Resumen

En este artículo se analiza el caso del colectivo brasileño Projetemos. Este, a partir de proyecciones visuales y textuales en el espacio público y su consiguiente circulación en redes sociales, expone diferentes demandas y críticas al gobierno de Jair Bolsonaro desde 2020. Se abordan tres de los tópicos que este colectivo desarrolla: la gestión de la pandemia causada por el COVID-19; el accionar del presidente frente a los incendios intencionales en el Amazonas; la postura machista que su gestión avala y la necesidad de visibilizar problemáticas relacionadas con la violencia hacia las mujeres. En el artículo se analiza cómo el colectivo conjuga las formas de presentación en las calles con las virtuales y se interpreta que estas acciones suponen un modo de externalizar el conflicto con prácticas (contra)visuales. La metodología es transdisciplinar y cualitativa. Se realizó un relevamiento online para armar un corpus de Sources digitales, análisis de imágenes y entrevistas.

Palabras clave: Pandemia. Visualidad. Bolsonaro. Urbanidad.

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Resumo

Neste artigo analisa-se o caso do coletivo brasileiro Projetemos. A partir de projeções visuais e textuais no espaço público e a circulação nas redes sociais, Projetemos expõe diferentes demandas e críticas ao governo de Jair Bolsonaro desde 2020. Abordam-se três dos tópicos que o grupo desenvolve: a gestão da pandemia causada pelo COVID-19; a ação do presidente diante dos incêndios intencionais no Amazonas; a postura machista que a gestão dele apoia e a necessidade de visibilizar problemáticas relacionadas à violência contra as mulheres. Portanto, no artigo se analisa como o coletivo combina as formas de apresentação nas ruas com as virtuais e se interpreta que essas ações são um modo de exteriorizar o conflito com práticas (contra)visuais. A metodologia usada é transdisciplinar e qualitativa, a partir da coleta online para reunir um corpus de fontes digitais, análise de Images e entrevistas.

Palavras-chave: Pandemia. Visualidade. Bolsonaro. Urbanidade.

Projetemos in Brazil
(Counter)visuality and protest

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Abstract

This paper analyzes the Brazilian collective Protejemos. This collective, through textual and visual projections in the public space and their consequent circulation in social media, exposes claims and criticism against Jair Bolsonaro's administration since 2020. This paper deals with three of the topics that this group addresses: COVID-19 pandemic management, the president's response to the intentional fires in the Amazon rain forest, the male chauvinist attitude his administration supports and the need to raise awareness of the issues related to the violence against women. This article analyzes the way in which Protejemos combines the presentations in the streets with the virtual presentations, and these actions are understood to be a way to externalize the conflict with (counter)visual practices. The methodology is transdisciplinary and qualitative. An online study was conducted to build a corpus of digital sources, image analysis and interviews.

Keywords: Pandemic. Visuality. Bolsonaro. Urbanity.

Introduction

Since the beginning of 2020, the world has been experiencing the impact of the pandemic caused by COVID-19, and each country managed the situation differently. In the specific case of Brazil, the government of Jair Bolsonaro opposed implementing measures to counteract daily infections and deaths from the moment the virus arrived. He downplayed the problem and considered death to be a natural part of life, among other denialist actions and statements. In this health context, and amid various demands being staged in public spaces by those opposing Bolsonaro's government, the collective Projetemos emerged. It defines itself as a global network of independent projectionists concerned about the pandemic, protesting and demanding actions from the government, as well as educating about care protocols (FELIPE SPENCER, personal interview, April 26, 2021).

During the pandemic, when access to urban public spaces was more or less restricted—often by the citizens themselves when the government refused to establish a lockdown—projections became an alternative for being seen and heard. Thus, Projetemos launched various demands and criticisms onto the walls of buildings in cities such as Minas Gerais, São Paulo, Recife, and Rio de Janeiro. Although the collective initially began projecting messages directly related to the government's management of the pandemic, it quickly incorporated other topics into its agenda, addressing "the issue of health, the issue of corruption, and some other issues like those concerning women, LGBT, indigenous peoples, and the black population" (FELIPE SPENCER, personal interview, April 26, 2021). We understand that, in this way, in addition to proposing a dissident visibility with the status quo and presenting demands through this form of protest, the actions of this collective can be understood as a non-formal pedagogical process[4], in the sense that it provides images, ideas, and values that aim to inform and educate in an unconventional manner in the specific context of the pandemic and within the framework of contemporary visual culture.

This pedagogical aspect arises from the fact that, as Dussel (2019) states,

> painting, cinema, photography, television, and all other genres that we might consider "visual" always involve other senses, but above all, they engage creators and receivers, producers and consumers, and bring into play a series of knowledge and dispositions that far exceed the image in question (p. 280)

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[4] According to Rivero Herrera, "non-formal education is generally that which takes place outside the framework of such institutions [specialized educational institutions] to provide learning to particular subgroups of the population, learning that can be offered in many circumstances and through different institutions and people. The framework of reference for non-formal education is practically every social activity, and not just school (...). Non-formal education would then include all other forms of learning that occur in society outside specialized educational institutions" (RIVERO HERRERA, 1979, p. 13).

Likewise, the author adds that the culture of the image contributes to the imagination we have of society and nature (DUSSEL, 2019), so that images "are forms of representation of experience, they are forms of knowledge" (p. 284). In the same vein, Gruzinski (2013) analyzed and documented the value of images in communication and in the teaching of ideas during the Spanish conquest in Mexico. While our case occurs in a different context, we draw from this author the thesis of the centrality of images in the transmission of knowledge.

Projetemos is also characterized by articulating its actions in physical spaces offline with social networks, as in seeking to amplify the reach of its messages, it has incorporated other means of communication and circulation. In this sense, on its Instagram profile, it disseminates each projection it makes, shares photographs sent by passersby, and accompanies most images with an informative hashtag, combining offline and online activism.

The projections rely on the use of direct, short, and impactful visual and textual messages that invade urban and virtual spaces and engage in polemics with the Government, as will be seen in the development of the article. Thus, certain evaluations about various contextual situations are shared with the community. In some cases, rhetorical figures such as metonymy and irony are played with, humor is used, and some elements of popular culture are appealed to. In this sense, the projections and their replication via social networks support a pedagogical opportunity: as we will see, ideas are disseminated, a collaborative project is consolidated, and a sense of belonging to a "we" with common social and political interests is constructed.

In this work, we will analyze three of the topics that this group develops in its projections: 1) the management of the COVID-19 pandemic by the national government, 2) the actions of President Jair Bolsonaro in light of the intentional fires in the Amazon during the year 2020, and 3) the machismo that his administration endorses along with the need to highlight issues related to violence against women and dissidents. Our objective is to account for how these actions represent a way to externalize demands and publicly stage the conflict, and also to analyze how the forms of presentation in the streets are combined with the virtual ones. In that process, we use a key concept to interpret the group's actions: contravisuality (MIRZOEFF, 2016).

Contravisuality is based on the "right to look," which implies producing a gaze toward the other and claims "a political subjectivity and a sense of collectivity" (MIRZOEFF, 2016, p. 31). This means that "the recognition of otherness is positioned from which to claim both a right and a decision about what is right" (MIRZOEFF, 2016, p. 31). While visuality, according to the author, is linked to the authority of the one who visualizes, having the power to reach a certain consensus about what is

"normal," and allows for the control of bodies, the right to look is its opposite.

In this sense, visuality can be characterized as patriarchal, slave-holding, and counterinsurgent, supporting the authority of those who exercise it. This is because, according to Mirzoeff (2016), visuality implies, first and foremost, a classification and organization of bodies to make effective their control, an aspect that we also see in the conceptual division of the sensible by Rancière. In this way, we find that visuality has a parallel with the concept of police order (RANCIÈRE, 2002), where there is a certain distribution of the sensible that allocates bodies, voices, and functions. According to Rancière (2002), there are two logics of being together:

> On one hand, there is the logic that accounts for the parts of mere parts, which distributes bodies in the space of their visibility or invisibility and aligns the modes of being, the modes of doing, and the modes of speaking that are suitable for each one. And there is the other logic, which suspends this harmony simply by actualizing the contingency of equality, neither arithmetic nor geometric, of any speaking beings (p. 42)

Thus, the first of these logics, which represents the order of bodies and their visibility —which the French philosopher calls "police"— relates to what Mirzoeff (2016) conceives as visuality, while the second, characterized by being based on equality —referred to as "politics"— is linked to contravisuality.

As Aderaldo (2013) points out in a study he conducted on the Coletivo de Vídeo Popular network in São Paulo, these practices, which are favored by the possibilities offered by the Internet, have transformed into significant communicational bridges that allow people and spaces to connect and appear as an alternative to traditional media.[5]

This research adopted a transdisciplinary perspective, incorporating conceptual frameworks from Sociology and Visual Studies. Regarding the methodology, it was based on non-participant observation and online surveys on the Instagram social network to create a corpus of digital sources. Interviews were also conducted with one of the members of Projetemos.

The observations took place in virtual environments for two main reasons: first, because data collection was conducted during the years 2020 and 2021, a period in which in-person activities could not take place due to the pandemic context and social isolation to prevent infections; and second, because a central aspect of the object under investigation develops in virtual environments, specifically on the Instagram social network. Furthermore, the records that the Projetemos group

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[5] Aderaldo (2013, 2017, 2018) investigated cultural collectives that work with audiovisuals in precarious urban spaces, focusing, from an ethnographic perspective, on processes of segregation and symbolic intervention while emphasizing the urban spaces as focal points of analysis. Unlike the author's investigations, from the standpoint of Visual Studies, we are interested in focusing on the analysis of images in visual culture and understanding how they propose new forms of visuality against the *status quo*.

made of the projections in physical spaces and published on the social network served as a basis for visualizing what was projected on the walls. The videos facilitated the observation and analysis of what occurred in public spaces and even allowed for multiple viewings of the same situations (LÓPEZ Y GÓMEZ, 2006)

The analysis categories used on Projetemos' Instagram were:

- Type and date of the published posts

 -Topics addressed

  - Hashtags used

- Texts accompanying the posts

In addition, a semi-structured interview was conducted with one of the key actors in the investigated group. The interview was based on a series of axes presented to the interviewee, around which the conversation developed, allowing for follow-up questions and exchanges. The modality was conducted through the WhatsApp messaging service, via voice messages, as the interviewee requested this method. It is noted that this type of interview has two relevant aspects that differentiate it from traditional interviews: the temporal (there is no synchronization) and the spatial (the same space is not inhabited) (BAMPTON and COWTON in LÓPEZ and GÓMEZ, 2006). However, it is considered that, for the purposes of the research, the data collected meets the objectives of adding information to that obtained through observation. We also note that it would have been impossible, in the context of the pandemic, to travel to Brazil for a face-to-face interview.

 Throughout the interview, according to the script, questions were asked about:

- General characteristics of the group

 - Origin and motivations

- Methodology of work

- Objectives

- Results

- Evaluation of the process

In the article, we provide a detailed description of the actions surveyed, which is an essential input for the analysis. In this regard, we maintain that, as Nietzsche (2018) stated, there are no facts, only interpretations; that is to say, a description of a process already implies elaboration. We start from the idea that there is always a relationship of mediation with reality since, as subjects, we exist in a world of objects and practices laden with meaning. Additionally, we analyze the actions as visual productions, "objects that promote processes of communication and production of symbolic meaning supported by a predominantly visual social circulation" (BREA, 2005, p. 4). Thus, considering visual

culture, we focus on iconographic and thematic aspects, as these productions serve as gateways to webs of meaning understandable within their sociohistorical context. In this way, visuality is always associated with specific social situations. It is because of this centrality of context for understanding images that we have developed the policies of the Brazilian government and certain specific actions, without which the projections would lack meaning. Thus, these policies and actions are essential for the analysis, as it is the sociohistorical and political context that allows us to understand the images and their meanings.

Regarding the content analysis of supplementary materials, we referred to texts disseminated by the collective on their social media, articles published on websites, newspapers, and videos, elements that provided us with sufficient information to complement what we had obtained through observation and the interview.

Projections and Offline and Online Activism

Projections are visual productions that result from the intersection of technology, urban art, and design, constituting a potentially massive communicational and visual instance. This type of practice involves the prior generation of images on an electronic platform that are then projected, with the idea of "seeking the capture of a mass audience (...), an integration of the senses through an intervention at the level of perception" (BARBER AND LAFLUF, 2015, p. 283). They are large-scale, performed live, and for a variable period over different spaces and architectural constructions that serve as a canvas or screen, exposing certain ideas or discourses with the intention of being visible to a large number of passersby. Projecting in the urban public space at night as a means of denouncing different situations is not new. One of the most resonant examples in Latin America is the group Delight Lab, which participated in the social uprising of 2019 in Chile.

The analyzed projections took place in urban public space or offline. We conceive of urban space as a historical, social, and relational construct that possesses a political character, being permeated by different power relations (LEFEBVRE, 2013; MASSEY, 2007). It implies a web of different times and histories that configure it and is the product of negotiation and conflict between different social and political positions. Furthermore, from the understanding of the urban as part of the human experience, we consider it relevant to account for the term urbanity. This refers to the set of relationships between actors, acts, and spaces that should be guided by the premise of coexistence among different forms of life and otherness to become a fully open urbanity (NETTO, 2013). There are different possibilities for experiencing urban conditions, and struggles between different social groups can jeopardize urbanity as an experience of diversity. Thus, there could exist a hostile and

repressive urbanity, which could also be referred to as "low urbanity" (AGUIAR, 2012, p. 61), which would clash with the common definition of urbanity as "civility of coexistence" (NETTO, 2013, p. 237). We will see in the article how Projetemos' proposal points to an urbanity that respects plural coexistence, in opposition to the one proposed by Bolsonaro's administration.

The type of visual productions analyzed, the night projections, are also typically disseminated via social media. In our case study, the actions are offline but are replicated online, coordinating both spheres complementarily (HINE, 2005) and reinforcing each other since offline activists are also active online and vice versa (SOLER-I-MARTÍ et al., 2020). During the pandemic, there were changes in collective action strategies as street action was retracted. Thus, in many cases, it was necessary to adapt them to keep the demands alive and promote them publicly. Once the group projected the image onto a wall, which only required the file, a computer, and a common projector (image 1), dissemination on social media was carried out. Projetemos does this, as do other collectives or individuals interested in circulating these images, who only need to request them from the group. The collective, positioned from the idea of collaborative work, shares them and explains how to carry out the process in virtual meetings and through pamphlets published on Instagram

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Image 1

Source: Projetemos. Captura de pantalla, *Instagram*, 2020

Projetemos aspires to interaction on social media, both through the views and responses it receives, as well as through the use of hashtags intended to be replicated by users. Thus, the collective uses the tag #elenão, which originated in the campaign against Bolsonaro's candidacy, and also includes #forabolsonaro since he became president. These hashtags facilitate the circulation of their productions on social media, as a large number of users appeal to them to reject the ruler.

Next, we will develop three topics that appear within the themes and demands of Projetemos. This selection is based on the recurrence observed from the analysis of the different projections made by the group during the years 2020 and 2021.

Pandemic, Ecocide, and Machismo

The Management of the Pandemic Caused by COVID-19

The neoliberal economic policy implemented by Bolsonaro since he assumed the presidency of Brazil led to a reduction in the state's participation in the public sphere. Thus, his government did not invest in the prevention of COVID-19 and denied the disease, a situation further aggravated by the promotion and public spending on ineffective medications against the virus, such as ivermectin and hydroxychloroquine. Regarding the latter, it is important to note that its use was criticized by scientists worldwide (PORTINARI, June 26, 2020) and its consumption is not recommended by the World Health Organization. Moreover, Bolsonaro not only failed to take the necessary measures to combat the virus and its consequences but also deliberately acted against the protective measures taken by mayors and governors (BRUM, January 21, 2021).

As we mentioned earlier, Projetemos originated as a response to the management of the pandemic caused by COVID-19, which is why this is one of the most important themes in the collective's projections. On one hand, the group provided information about care and compliance with protocols (and in this sense, contributed a strong component of public health education and other areas, as we will see later); on the other hand, it informed about the real numbers of those affected by the pandemic in the country, especially the number of deaths (image 2). The display of data, both the daily death toll and the total number, aims to raise awareness among potential passersby and social media users about the catastrophic state of the health situation in the country.

Image 2

Source: Projetemos. Screenshot, Instagram, April 26, 2020

In response to the government's policy of not implementing a quarantine that would involve closing activities to prevent mass contagion, Projetemos encouraged voluntary confinement and dedicated several projections to the issue of vaccines, expressing both the need for mass vaccination and rejection of the government's management regarding them. Thus, the projection "queremos vacina" ("we want vaccine") (Instagram, 10/03/2021) reminds us of the demands in street demonstrations, where the people ask the government for "bread" or "work." This sentiment is reinforced by the projection of the phrase "Vida, pão, vacina e educação" ("Life, bread, vaccine, and education") with the aesthetic of a street poster featuring black letters on a yellow background (Instagram, 31/03/2021), taken from the slogan proposed in the Jornada de Lutas da Juventude (Youth Struggles Day), held in March 2021. In this way, Projetemos articulated its demands with other social actors, such as student organizations, in a context where the search for unity among various sectors and opposition organizations to the official government seems central.

Projetemos also addressed the defense of the Sistema Único de Saúde (SUS) (image 3) and the Butantan Institute, a state vaccine producer. Phrases like "O SUS salva as vidas que o Jair quer matar" ("The SUS saves the lives that Jair wants to kill"), featuring the SUS logo and a promotional-style

drawing of a child's face (Instagram, 17/05/2021), mark a demand for state health institutions and their struggle to save lives, while placing the president in the opposing position. It is worth adding that regarding the health policy of Bolsonaro's government, while unprecedented spending on ineffective medications occurred, the Butantan Institute was not paid for producing millions of doses of the CoronaVac vaccine (SHALDERS, January 21, 2021).

Image 3. First projection of the collective

Source: Projetemos. Screenshot, Instagram, March 19, 2020

To support the production of the COVID-19 vaccine by the Butantan Institute, Projetemos associated the sound emitted when pronouncing "Butantan" with the name of a funk song, "Bum bum tam tam," by Brazilian rapper and producer MC Fioti, who released the hit in 2017. Thus, the collective projected a text that emulated the original lyrics of the song but referenced vaccination. In this way, Projetemos utilized an element of popular culture, and through metonymy and alliteration, the group achieved significant popularity with this projection and its publication on social media. From there, the musician became excited about the message that Projetemos was conveying, and a few days later, he recorded the song again, but with different lyrics related to the vaccine. The

Butantan Institute even invited him to shoot the music video for the song, which further increased its circulation and his celebrity.

Other publications that allude to the musical theme and the Institute display the text "Vacina do SUS. Butantã é SUS," along with an image of a simplified drawing of buttocks being vaccinated, with a small heart where the injection would take place (Image 4, Instagram, 01/07/2021). The reference to the original musical theme emerges as "bum bum" not only serves as an onomatopoeia but also as a way to mention the buttocks. Moreover, in this composition, Projetemos employs another analogy, this time regarding the SUS, playing with words and humor

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Image 4

Source: Projetemos. Screenshot, Instagram, January 7, 2021.

On the other hand, the group projected the request for an investigation into the government's management of the pandemic through one of the tools available to the Legislative Power, the Comissão Parlamentar de Inquérito (CPI). The function of this commission is to supervise and investigate public administration, including the Executive Power. Thus, Projetemos displayed the text

"CPI da COVID - Millions in chloroquine - Refusal of vaccines - Hospital collapse - Ineffective medications - Almost 400,000 deaths" (Instagram, April 12, 2021). In this projection, the collective not only makes a request for an investigation but also argues about the failures in management. It is interesting to note here the non-formal educational function that, as we mentioned earlier, the group proposes. In this case, the way it combines concrete information in an accessible format with images as producers of knowledge would fulfill that purpose.

Finally, labeling Bolsonaro as a genocidal is an idea that circulated in various protest spaces, both virtual and physical, in direct relation to the pandemic, a representation we can associate with necropolitics. This concept, coined by Mbembe (2016) based on Michel Foucault's (1986) biopolitics, refers to the right to kill, let live, or expose to death. The collective began to project phrases like "Bolsonaro genocida" (Instagram, April 14, 2021), "Genocidal government" (Instagram, March 16, 2021), "genocidal" with a photograph of his smiling face and the phrase "vaccination now" that flashes intermittently (Instagram, January 16, 2021), as well as "raise your hand if you called the president a genocidal today" (Instagram, March 16, 2021). In this last case, in a playful tone, it remains critical. The association with genocide is based on various facts, such as the lack and even rejection of vaccines, the failure to impose quarantine to reduce contagion, the promotion of scientifically unrecognized medications as valid to combat the virus, and even Bolsonaro's own gestures, such as not wearing a mask, shaking hands at public events, and minimizing the severity of the disease, calling it "uma gripezinha ou resfriadinho" (BBC News, YouTube). Regarding this last point, in May 2020, while deaths from Coronavirus were increasing daily, Projetemos showed "The little flu has already killed 28,843 people in Brazil. They were someone's love" (Instagram, May 31, 2020). This projection, on one hand, disproves that the virus was merely a cold, showing the number of deceased individuals. On the other hand, it humanizes the victims and speaks to the emotional ties that are lost with them. Thus, we can observe here, as in other projections by the group, a form of contravisuality, by revealing what is hidden or denied by the police order (RANCIÈRE, 2007), in this case, represented by the State.

The concept of necropolitics (MBEMBE, 2016) helps us understand what politics Projetemos opposes. Initially, it is the group itself that uses this concept and circulates it in both offline and online spaces, even characterizing Bolsonaro with three adjectives: genocidal, an advocate of necropolitics, and psychopathic (Instagram, November 10, 2020).

To better interpret this use of necropolitics, we must add the president's statements, in which he asserted, "Some will die? Yes, I regret it. That's life," demonstrating a complete lack of empathy for those who could die and advocating for the need to continue economic activity. Furthermore,

Bolsonaro added that, in any case, elderly people and those with preexisting conditions would die (MOTA, March 28, 2020).

The studied group also projected the request for impeachment of Bolsonaro on the walls through a projection featuring the word "impeachment" repeated several times, side by side, in pink on a blue background, except for one line where the letters stand out in white (Image 5, Instagram, January 26, 2021). In the style of an advertisement, Projetemos joined a campaign calling for Bolsonaro's removal due to his handling of the pandemic, but also due to his insanity. This request is frequently observed in opposition protests against the government that take place in both public and virtual spaces, with which Projetemos also articulates this demand.

Image 5

Source: Projetemos. Screenshot, Instagram, January 26, 2021.

On the other hand, Projetemos showcases another figure that marks a counterpoint to Bolsonaro: that of former president Luiz Inácio "Lula" da Silva, who appears as a potential solution to the crisis facing the country. Thus, the phrase "O Lula vai conseguir a vacina que o Brasil precisa" (Instagram, March 13, 2021) directly appeals to his figure as a savior, while simultaneously making

a direct bet on a name within a political discourse. Positioned at the ideological antipodes of Bolsonaro, it could be assumed that his health, social, and economic policies would resolve some issues.

It is important to note that all the projections analyzed were carried out in public urban spaces, as mentioned earlier. The power these projections gain by being made in a space of free circulation is amplified. Furthermore, both the criticisms of the government and its ideology of death, as well as the references to Lula as a future savior, contested that space and co-constructed it socially and politically (MASSEY, 2007).

Ecocide: The Intentional Fires in the Amazonas

As Merlinsky and Serafini (2020) argue, extractivism, the appropriation of nature, and the intensive use of common goods at a pace incompatible with ecosystem recovery have seen extraordinary expansion in Latin America. In this way, new legislation may emerge in extractive territories that curtail the rights of the local community and even "lower the levels of environmental protection" (p. 13). In this context, one of the most prominent public issues in Brazil—and in the world—in 2020 was the fires in the Amazon, linked to deforestation processes to make way for livestock, agriculture, and mining. Both during his candidacy and after being elected president, Bolsonaro advocated for reducing the enforcement of environmental laws, which he sees as an obstacle to the country's economic growth. Additionally, he has publicly expressed his desire to open the jungle to various extractive activities. This has also meant encroachments on lands inhabited by indigenous peoples, protected by the Constitution. As a result, "between March and May, there were 195 measures for deregulation and reduction of indigenous rights in the Amazon" (ACRE, August 4, 2020).

Under public pressure and from leaders of other countries, Bolsonaro prohibited the so-called "burning" in the region, although his actions did not entail a comprehensive plan against the destruction of the jungle. In response to this situation, the collective carried out several projections. Some of the images were composed of hashtags like #amazôniaresiste and #agroéfogo, which were later replicated on social media. In the case of #agroéfogo, the words were projected in both white and orange-yellow tones that simulated the texture of fire, against a green background that alludes to the jungle (Image 6, Instagram, 10/14/2020).

Image 6

Source: Projetemos. Screenshot, Instagram, October 14, 2020

Projetemos also shared only texts with short phrases related to the burning, such as "Agro é fogo" (meaning, the same text as the hashtag), in orange, projected over the treetops (Instagram, 14/10/2020) and "A luta pela mãe terra é a luta de todas as lutas," against a black background (Instagram, 21/09/2020). This last phrase was spoken by Sonia Guajajara, coordinator of the Articulação dos Povos Indígenas do Brasil, in 2019 during her speech at the United Nations Climate Change Conference. There, she denounced the fires in the Amazon that year and called for reflection and collective action for environmental protection (CONFIRA…, 2019). Other phrases projected by the collective included "Nossa casa está em chamas" (Instagram, 26/09/2020), "Se nossos biomas estão em chamas, nosso futuro está em cinzas" (Instagram, 26/09/2020), and "O desmatamento na Amazônia é assunto de todos nós" (Instagram, 06/09/2020). We identified in these phrases a recurrence of the idea of "us," that is, a fact that involves all of us: "nossa casa" (our home), "nossos biomas" (our biomes), "nosso futuro" (our future). We believe that this emphasizes that the fires are a public issue that involves society as a whole and that the destruction of the Amazon has consequences for everyone, without distinction.

Another significant phrase is "Bolsonaro is burning the Amazon again. Meet the hottest vice president in the world. Meet Ricardo Salles. Your worst enemy you've never heard of. Amazon or Bolsonaro?" (Instagram, 03/09/2020), in which both President Bolsonaro and Brazil's former Minister of the Environment, Ricardo Salles (Image 7), are mentioned. Salles is also in favor of the economic exploitation of the Amazon and indigenous lands. Both agree that it is necessary to reduce regulatory bodies and environmental protection standards. The phrase, in English, refers to the

conflict with actor Leonardo DiCaprio, who in September 2020 launched the campaign "Amazon or Bolsonaro?" and "Defund Bolsonaro," aimed at boycotting products and rejecting governments benefiting from the deforestation of the Amazon rainforest. Additionally, by using English, Projetemos helps to expand the denunciation to other countries through dissemination via social media.

Image 7

Source: Projetemos. Screenshot, Instagram, September 3, 2020

Another one of the projections that draws attention is about Salles, in which there is an ironic critique of the government's actions. In it, the group displayed a text that reads "Mistério do meio-ambiente," playing on the words with "Ministério de meio ambiente" (Instagram, 12/10/2020), rendered in handwritten letters on a dripped green background, a typical visual resource of horror or suspense movies (Image 8). This aims to highlight the danger and horror of this management regarding the environment, as well as the lack of public policies and concrete actions by the state in response to the situation of the fires.

Image 8

Source: Projetemos. Screenshot, Instagram, October 12, 2020

Additionally, through the projections, the collective shared relevant information about the Amazon, such as the deforested area to date: "Amazon 3,069.57 KM² of deforested area" (Instagram, 09/05/2020) and "Deforestation in the Amazon increased by more than 34%" (Instagram, 09/06/2020). Here, the large text, which emphasizes scientific information about the effects caused by human encroachment on the jungle, is striking, in white and green, with red underlining on specific information like "deforested" and "34%" to highlight it. In all cases, and as part of the background of the image, there is a literal reference to fire.

In the projections, we also found other links to the fires, such as the impact on the population and wildlife. Thus, images of native animals affected by the fires and the expansion of the agricultural frontier were projected, such as toucans (Instagram, 09/18/2020), parrots (Instagram, 09/21/2020), jaguars (Instagram, 09/24/2020), and turtles (Instagram, 09/26/2020). In these projections, the collective prioritized figurative imagery without textual references.

Additionally, photographs of Indigenous faces were shown (Instagram, 09/05/2020). This means that the reference to native populations appears not only through certain phrases but also through different photographs of members of Amazonian communities (Image 9).

Image 9

Source: Projetemos. Screenshot, Instagram, September 5, 2020.

About these populations, it is important to mention that the label of genocidal for Bolsonaro is not only a result of his management regarding COVID-19 and vaccines but also pertains to the Indigenous peoples who inhabit the Amazon and live in danger due to the fire hotspots in the area that are deliberately not extinguished. In this sense, it can also be viewed as a necropolitics because it involves the power to decide who will die, and even because that decision is based on a classification of those who do not deserve to be saved: the Indigenous people. Inaction, in this case, responds, more than to negligence, to a scheme of valuing and hierarchizing population groups that deserve to live, namely those who drive the capitalist economy, which again links the president's actions to necropolitics (MBEMBE, 2016). In this regard, the "right to look" (MIRZOEFF, 2016) appears here in direct reference to those who seem to have no voice, the flora and fauna, while also highlighting the suffering of Indigenous peoples, whose voices are not heard, at least not at the ministerial and presidential levels. Thus, showing is, in this case, making silenced demands appear in the public space.

Finally, considering that the projections took place in public space, the discursive and visual opposition to the neoliberal politics of ecocide and necropolitics expands its dimension, as it involves a certain distribution of power and social conflict (MASSEY, 2007), making public space a field of forces, appropriated, but also constructed from questions and challenges to the prevailing order (even if it is a temporarily brief or fleeting experience).

Machismo and Violence Against Women

Jair Bolsonaro's thinking has been characterized, both before he became president and during his actual tenure, as racist, sexist, and homophobic. In relation to women, he has maintained a discourse centered on violence and stigmatization, considering that the "natural" place for women is at home. As a congressman, he verbally attacked female colleagues, and during a debate with Maria do Rosário in the Chamber of Deputies in 2014, Bolsonaro stated, "I don't rape you because you don't deserve it" (Revista ISTOE, YouTube), meaning that he would not violate her because he deemed her unattractive.

Projetemos has several interventions in which women's rights, struggles, and issues are highlighted. Shortly after starting its activities, the collective projected, "We are being governed by machistas" (Instagram, 25/04/2020), clearly identifying the government with this stance that it was denouncing.

The group has made projections for International Women's Day, rejecting patriarchy and machismo, such as the imperative "Women fight against patriarchy" (Instagram, 08/03/2021), the slogan stating "Every day is a day to end structural machismo" (Instagram, 18/08/2020), and the demand "For the end of gender-based violence" (Instagram, 18/08/2020). This advocacy for women's rights is complemented by another related to gender relations, such as "We need to talk about lesbian visibility," featuring a photograph of two women in a loving embrace (Instagram, 29/08/2020) and "Respect every form of love," in white letters against a background reminiscent of the LGBTQ+ pride flag (Instagram, 17/05/2021).
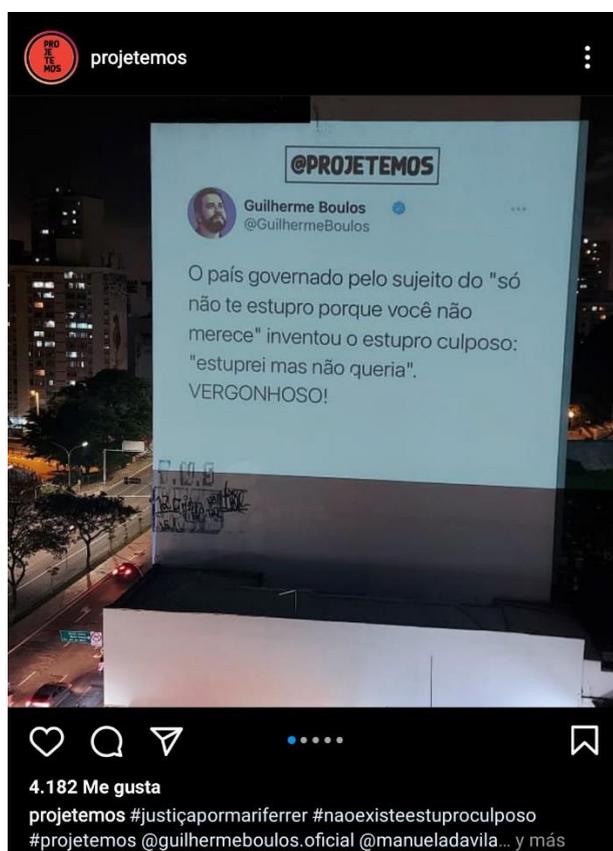
This insistence on recognizing women and their struggles, while not directly opposing Bolsonaro's figure, aims to establish a feminist direction in the group's discourse, contrasting with that of the president. These actions are pedagogical linked to feminist and gender activism. In this way, the atmosphere of machismo and sexism promoted by the current president is the backdrop for the opposing claims made in public urban spaces to achieve greater accessibility and to contest the meanings of what is being shown and said.

The projection of texts such as "Listening to a woman. This simple act can be revolutionary" (Instagram, 13/08/2020) and "Women united against fascism," with a comic-style aesthetic depicting three heroic women (possibly, a Black woman, an Indigenous woman, and a working-class woman) kicking Bolsonaro away, set against a red background with women protesting (Instagram, 08/03/2020), reflects this. This positioning of Projetemos aligns with other forms of activism, such as feminist and LGBTQ+ movements, which were among the first to publicly oppose Bolsonaro when he was a candidate.

Some of the resonant cases in the media that Projetemos adopted as their own were that of São Paulo legislator Isa Penna, who denounced her colleague Fernando Cury for sexual harassment, and that of influencer Mariana Ferrer, whose rapist, businessman André de Camargo Aranha, was released under the legal concept of "culpable violation." Regarding this case, Projetemos shared a tweet linking Bolsonaro's comments about deputy Maria do Rosário to what happened with Mariana Ferrer, where, according to the defense and the judge in the case, the accused did not have "intent" to rape (Image 10).

Image 10

O país governado pelo sujeito do "só não te estupro porque você não merece" inventou o estupro culposo: "estuprei mas não queria". VERGONHOSO!

4.182 Me gusta
projetemos #justiçapormariferrer #naoexisteestuproculposo #projetemos @guilhermeboulos.oficial @manueladavila... y más

Source: Projetemos. Screenshot, Instagram, November 3, 2020

What is interesting about this projection is that, like others, it starts from a capture made on the Twitter social network (an online space) to make it known in the offline space. In these cases, Projetemos, unlike most projections where the image in the urban space transitions to virtual dissemination, took the opposite path by showing what was published on social media to make it visible in the physical public space. This operation is interesting precisely because it makes a tweet visible on the wall of a building, allowing the collective not only to adhere to the words of its sender but also to disseminate them to a passing audience who may not know it. Additionally, this procedure

of transposing from online to offline returns as an image to the online space when shared on Projetemos' Instagram. In this way, this visual construction articulates three communication spaces (Twitter-street-Instagram), where social networks function as a source of input for the projection and as a means of circulation for it. On this same topic, the group projected references to the case and expressions of support, such as "Mariana Ferrer, we are with you #justicapormariferrer" (Instagram, 11/09/2020) and "Mari Ferrer. We are many against the culture of rape" (Image 11, Instagram, 18/09/2020).

Image 11

Source: Projetemos. Screenshot, Instagram, September 18, 2020

The group also focused on the figure of Marielle Franco, an activist for minority rights and councilor for Rio de Janeiro, who was murdered in 2018. Currently, three "militants" are in prison for their alleged involvement in the murder (BENICIO, July 2, 2020), and while it has not been proven, many link the crime to the current president of Brazil, Jair Bolsonaro. Photos of Marielle were projected accompanied by phrases such as "Marielle presente. Hoje e sempre" (Instagram, March 14, 2021) and "Marielle vive" (Instagram, March 14, 2021). In one of the projections, when it was circulated on social media, the following phrase was added: "Quem mandou o vizinho de

Bolsonaro matar Marielle?" (Instagram, March 14, 2021), linking the murder to the president (Image 12).

Image 12

Source: Projetemos. Screenshot, Instagram, March 14, 2021

On the other hand, the president and his officials opposed the approval of abortion legalization in Argentina in December 2020. From a position opposite to that of the government, Projetemos displayed texts asserting: "Right to free, safe, legal abortion," with bold typography, alongside the image of a woman with her fist raised (Instagram, 03/06/2020); "Children are not mothers. Down with the culture of rape," accompanied by images of children seemingly playing (Instagram, 20/08/2020); "9 girls suffered obstetric deaths" (Instagram, 18/08/2020); and "Pregnancy at 10 kills" (Instagram, 18/08/2020). Regarding the latter, the Minister of Women, Family, and Human Rights and evangelical pastor, Damares Alves, was one of the most fervent opponents of allowing an abortion for a 10-year-old girl who had been raped by a relative, despite the risks of continuing with her pregnancy and the psychological harm it would entail.

Based on what we observed in this section, we also identify a necropolitical exercise by the government concerning the treatment of women's rights and the adoption of a sexist position. The

threat of rape, the disdain for women—destined for the home—the refusal to allow abortion for girls within the framework of current laws, and the rejection of abortion legalization are actions linked to the exercise of the power to kill, as well as a classification of bodies and genders according to a sexist perspective. The staging in both physical and virtual public spaces by Projetemos was a way to demonstrate opposition to these actions and discourses, representing a contravisuality, as we will detail in the next section.

Necropolitics and (Counter)Visuality

To understand how Projetemos can configure a contravisuality, it is necessary to specify against what status quo it opposes. The government of Bolsonaro, as we have analyzed, has exercised a special power that grants him the position he occupies in the State: necropolitics. In managing the pandemic, in ecocide, and in relation to women's struggles, his decisions have been characterized by a contempt for life, inaction in the face of death, and even a promotion of it.

In relation to the first of the themes, the pandemic, the necropolitics of the Brazilian president is observed, on one hand, in allowing thousands of people to die: he constructed a discourse that denied the disease and its severity, failed to implement procedures to prevent contagion quarantine, vaccines encouraged gatherings of people, and the non-use of masks. All this, despite recommendations from scientists and international health organizations. We understand this as a deliberate action. Furthermore, although he claimed that COVID-19 was not a serious illness, Bolsonaro acknowledged the possibility of death but asserted that it would not occur in individuals under 40 years old, stating that it would only affect the elderly and those with pre-existing conditions. In other words, he made a classification based on necropolitics that divides the groups that should die and those that should live, in line with Mbembe's (2016) arguments. This coincides with the conception of hegemonic visuality, according to Mirzoeff (2016), supported by Rancière (2002). The problem is not asserting that COVID-19 attacks the elderly and individuals with health conditions more severely, as specialists have stated, but rather the refusal to implement preventive measures to prevent those vulnerable groups from dying, that is, to underestimate the importance of their lives.

Ecocide is the second theme in which we observed necropolitical action from the government. The decisions to avoid the implementation of regulations that would limit the burning of the Amazon, with the consequent deaths of people, flora, and fauna, are also framed within contempt for life. It is about Indigenous populations and their territories, their means of livelihood, and their environment, which, in the eyes of the president, do not hold the same importance as the enormous profits produced by the exploitation of the Amazon. His administration aimed to enable ecocide until national and

international pressures set limits resulting in harm to its inhabitants. The decision to abandon those inhabitants, whose ethnic condition is predominantly Indigenous, as opposed to those under 40 who sustain the economy, entails a biopolitical classification of people and bodies.

Thirdly, machismo and the propensity to adopt measures that facilitate the death of women, specifically regarding abortion, have been another characteristic of the presidential management in necropolitical terms. Similarly, the defense of rape, so closely associated with the experience of death, and the disdain for women in general, with macho discourses, signify, like the previous cases, the classification of another group susceptible to death.

The information provided by Projetemos and the calls for reflection on the different situations made visible return pedagogical images and the presentation of "a civic attitude" (FELIPE SPENCER, personal interview, April 26, 2021), that is, they become both a means of conducting ideas from a certain ideological orientation and a way of teaching for the passerby/social media user within the context of visual culture. As we noted earlier, we observe that in the actions of this collective, there is a form of non-formal education (RIVERO HERRERA, 1979), as it occurs outside the educational system, and within the possible forms of non-formal education, it refers to "the organized or spontaneous education received through mass media such as cinema, television, radio, or newspapers" (RIVERO HERRERA, 1979, p. 14). In this way, we recognize a pedagogical aspect in the projected images when, for example, they teach the necessary protocols to care for oneself from COVID-19 and inform about the severe damage suffered by the Amazon rainforest and its inhabitants, as well as when they show rejection of the violence exercised against women and dissidents.

In the same vein, we identify a democratization of speech, as Projetemos offers an alternative, critical discourse, exposed through images and hashtags. In this sense, "the image can be considered a place of resistance and reaction for a specific audience" (HERNÁNDEZ, 2005, p. 28), for a sector of civil society that expresses other ideas, that brings to light other data and concrete situations of vulnerability while confronting the factual power.

From the above, we interpret that the projected images and texts construct what Mirzoeff (2016) calls a contravisuality, based on "the right to look." On one hand, the order imposed by Bolsonaro participates in a model of the division of the sensible (RANCIÈRE, 2002) that hierarchizes and establishes a certain visuality according to a neoliberal paradigm, focused on economic growth and extractivism, and that scorns not only visibility and voice but also the lives of vast sectors of society. In this sense, it operates from a hegemonic visuality (MIRZOEFF, 2016). On the other hand, expressions like those of Projetemos locate themselves in the claim for the right to look, to think of a different visuality, that is, a contravisuality. This means that as an offline and online collective, they

refuse to engage in the exercise of visuality as segregation and in the actions that accompany it as necropolitics. Contravisuality implies opposing a (classifying and concealing) reality by proposing another visuality (MIRZOEFF, 2016). Thus, the right to look is associated with the right to exist, which can be seen in the analyzed projections as part of the same process that ranges from the educational and informative to the articulation of demands with a critical stance towards the management and ideology of the current ruler.

Thus, the right to look, which relates to the right to be seen and combines education and democracy (MIRZOEFF, 2016), is exercised by Projetemos. Through this, those who are excluded from the classifications and decisions of the government regarding the right to life meaning the right to exist and to be seen (the elderly, the sick, Indigenous people, women) are reclaimed as subjects by the collective studied. Projetemos positions itself from a contravisuality that, through education and the recognition of those who have no part (RANCIÈRE, 2007), questions necropolitics.

Finally, if we understand urbanity as the set of experiences and rules that shape life in the city and establish a certain order within it, in this case, and in connection with (contra)visuality, critical dynamics are configured that challenge the meaning of urbanity by generating resistance to the conservative order. In this sense, this article shows that Projetemos' approach, through what we consider pedagogical acts, aims at the formation of an inclusive urbanity, which implies caring for the most vulnerable community in the face of the pandemic, respecting others, and adopting a non-macho and non-patriarchal stance. The visibility of these issues in a critical manner in the urban space advocates for a truly tolerant and plural urbanity, which, as we have seen, was not fostered under Bolsonaro's administration

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Final considerations

According to what we have seen throughout the article, the actions of Projetemos configure a mode of protest, a pedagogical opportunity, and the public manifestation of dissent against the Bolsonaro government. The images that the collective uses to express its stance serve as means to present its demands in urban and virtual spaces. Specifically, among the images shown, we can distinguish figurative images (a photograph or drawing without textual anchoring), text images (short phrases, data, hashtags), and those that combine figurative images and text. All of them engage with visual culture in both the physical and virtual public space.

The urban public space (offline), understood as the product of diverse actions, power relations, and social practices (MASSEY, 2007), including visual practices, enables the images and texts presented by Projetemos to contest the meanings of what is seen and stated by the State. The discourse and ideological positioning of the collective which also includes, as we have seen, a pedagogy arising from the production of images gains strength in spaces of public circulation, where visual accessibility is provided.

Regarding the images circulated online, we recognize some characteristics of e-Image (BREA, 2010), in the sense that it is autonomous and ubiquitous, meaning it can be everywhere, circulating across different devices or platforms walls and social networks accessed through computers and smartphones. Therefore, the image is not unique, given its capacity for multiplication. Furthermore, in relation to the circulation of images, Projetemos forms an offline and online community by generating identification and recognition (BREA, 2010) with others who adhere to the same causes and oppose the Bolsonaro government. Here we also see that the use of hashtags serves as a unifying element for particular demands related to the topics analyzed—but also for a general demand: the end of the Bolsonaro government. This format, which appears in the images projected in urban space but refers back to social networks, acts as a multiplier for circulation when uploaded to these virtual spaces.

We understand that the mode of working in both physical and virtual spaces implies a democratizing aspect. On one hand, it is projected in the urban public space that, as we said, is constructed sociohistorically and is traversed by political disputes, as well as by various discourses that also produce it. Additionally, projecting in public space allows anyone to see and read what is projected from their home or the street. On the other hand, it is democratizing in that anyone who wishes to do so and has the technical resources can make a projection from their home.

In summary, we have observed that, in the face of necropolitics as a state policy, the actions of Projetemos construct a contravisuality, which is simultaneously an act of protest and a pedagogical act. This is because "there is a pedagogical value in the image because it teaches us things, transmits something to us, fixes a memory, and structures a common reference" (DUSSEL, 2010, p. 6). At the same time, the analyzed actions aim at the formation of a community that confronts the visible and sayable aspects of power, enabling a socio-political critique of the present.

This research opens up new questions about the use of these techniques and media in other countries, the ways they confront or do not confront the local status quo, and how they can also be understood as pedagogical practices. Thus, we consider it relevant to advance in comparative studies on the use of projections in offline and online public spaces, for example, in Argentina related to

environmental themes, especially concerning the burning of wetlands, an issue that has been worked

on by artists and cultural collectives in recent years, or in Chile, linked first to the social uprising of

2019 and then to the process of drafting a new Constitution.

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