EXPERIENCES OF PREJUDICE EXPERIENCED BY SELF-DECLARED GAY BLACK UNIVERSITY STUDENT[1] [2]

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ABSTRACT. This study analyzes practices of racism and prejudice against sexual diversity, experienced by a self-declared black and gay university student. This is a qualitative study, guided by feminist epistemological presumptions, which used the concept of intersectionality as a tool to capture the oppressions experienced around two axes of subordination: race and sexuality. Narrative interview was used as a technique, characterized as an unstructured and in-depth methodological research strategy, with the data discussed based on the Critical Discourse Analysis based on the structures of discourse and power relations as fundamentally producers of subjects. Was found the presence of spatial segregation, production and maintenance of negative images associated with the black population, was also racial and sexual ranking (hirarquization) and inferiorization in the establishment of affective relationships. We propose, as an ethical-political tool, the destabilization of the multiple oppressions produced by the paradigms of universal modernity – male, white and heterosexual – as a possibility of fighting for higher levels of social justice and equal rights.

Keywords: Systemic racism; sexism; intersectional framework.

EXPERIÊNCIAS DE PRECONCEITO VIVENCIADAS POR UNIVERSITÁRIO NEGRO AUTODECLARADO GAY

RESUMO. Este estudo analisa práticas de racismo e de preconceito contra a diversidade sexual, vivenciadas por um universitário autodeclarado negro e *gay*. Trata-se de um estudo qualitativo, orientado por pressupostos epistemológicos feministas, que utilizou o conceito de interseccionalidade como ferramenta para capturar as opressões vivenciadas em torno de dois eixos de subordinação: raça e sexualidade. Utilizou-se como técnica a entrevista narrativa, caracterizada como uma estratégia metodológica de pesquisa não estruturada e em profundidade, sendo os dados discutidos com base na Análise Crítica do Discurso, que se pauta nas estruturas do discurso e nas relações de poder como fundamentalmente produtores de sujeitos. Constatou-se a presença de segregação espacial, produção e manutenção de imagens negativas associadas à população negra, e hierarquização e

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inferiorização racial e sexual no estabelecimento das relações afetivas. Propomos, enquanto ferramenta ético-política, a desestabilização das múltiplas opressões produzidas pelos paradigmas da modernidade universal — masculina, branca e heterossexual — como possibilidade de luta por patamares mais elevados de justiça social e igualdade de direitos.

Palavras-chave: Racismo sistêmico; sexismo; enquadramento interseccional.

EXPERIENCIAS DE PREJUICIO VIVIDAS POR ESTUDIANTE UNIVERSITÁRIO NEGRO AUTODECLARADO HOMOSEXUAL

RESUMEN. Este estudio analiza las prácticas de racismo y prejuicio contra la diversidad sexual, vividas por un estudiante universitario negro y gay autodeclarado. Se trata de um estudio cualitativo, guiado por presupuestos epistemológicos feministas, que utilizó el concepto de interseccionalidad como herramienta para captar las opresiones vividas en torno a dos ejes de subordinación: raza y sexualidad. Se utilizó como técnica la entrevista narrativa, caracterizada como una estrategia de investigación metodológica no estructurada y en profundidad, con los datos discutidos con base en el Análisis Crítico del Discurso basado en las estructuras del discurso y las relaciones de poder como productores fundamentalmente de sujetos. Se encontró la presencia de segregación espacial, producción y mantenimiento de imágenes negativas asociadas a la población negra, y jerarquización e inferiorización racial y sexual en el establecimiento de relaciones afectivas. Proponemos, como herramienta ético-política, la desestabilización de las múltiples opresiones que producen los paradigmas de la modernidad universal – masculina, blanca y heterosexual – como posibilidad de luchar por mayores niveles de justicia social e igualdad de derechos.

Palabras clave: Racismo sistemático; sexismo; marco interseccional.

Introduction

This article analyzes the experiences of a Black, gay undergraduate student and integrates the research from a Master's thesis in psychology titled "*Prejudice And Violence Against Gay Male Undergraduates: Analysis Of Processes Of Hierarchization And Social Inferiorization*" (Magno-Silva, 2020), which aimed to understand how prejudice acts as a mechanism for maintaining power relations, hierarchization, and social inferiorization within the context of a public university and the reality faced by gay male undergraduate students. The study concluded that consolidating democratic practices requires reflecting on injustices historically produced at the intersection of social categories such as race, gender, class, and sexuality.

The mechanisms for maintaining social inequalities and the multiple practices of oppression are assumed to be intertwined and must be considered from the perspective of Western logic, which has historically constructed a patriarchal, White, and heteronormative social and political regime (Akotirene, 2019). In this way, oppression is understood from a perspective that considers the violation of specific rights and bodies, prohibiting the possibility of experiencing a dignified life, acting through a logic that imposes subordinate levels of human experience, based on the colonial hierarchization that conceives certain lives as being more valuable than others (Curiel, 2017).

The modern world understands reality based on the establishment of dichotomized, homogeneous, and hierarchical categories, according to the principles of capitalism and colonial logic, which constructed the notions of 'being a man' and 'being a woman' from social impositions of the binary construction of gender and the ideal of Whiteness as power devices for the control and surveillance of colonized bodies (Lugones, 2014). Thus, people with specific physical attributes: White, bourgeois, heterosexual, etc., were considered civilized and recognized by the colonizers as human; enslaved African peoples, Indigenous communities in the Americas, and any subject outside the normative models were categorized as "[...] non-human species–like animals, uncontrollably sexual and savage" (p. 936).

In this study, colonialism, Whiteness, heteronormativity, and intersectionality comprise the theoretical-analytical framework. The knowledge of Black feminism and Chicano feminism allows for broader analyses of the marks and dictates of colonialism perpetuated to the present day, characterizing this study as being based on "[...] materialist, anti-racist, and anti-sexist" principles (Curiel, 2019, p. 239), and striving to destabilize the colonial logic, maintained through patriarchal and racist systems, and which permeates all institutions, social instances, and networks of sociability.

According to Kilomba (2019), colonialism refers to the exercise of domination by one nation over another and is not restricted to territorial borders. In this sense, the historical practices of racism are maintained through the hegemonic exercise of Whiteness as racial supremacy in different cultures. In Brazil, Almeida (2018) considers that the maintenance of the capitalist structural system requires the updating of racism, made possible by the discursive production of the myth of racial democracy and by the silencing resulting from "[...] narcissistic pacts between   Whites" (Bento, 2002, p. 1) in the face of racial inequality.

Curiel (2019) argues that the idea of racial democracy, employed by intellectuals as early as the 1930s, has since strengthened the ideals of White, heterosexual male domination by leading to a simplified understanding of reality. This ensures the maintenance of asymmetrical power relations between different ethnic groups and masks the ideological character of miscegenation, which was built upon the rape and exploitation of Black and Indigenous women and the ideals of Whitening policies. Thus, racial democracy is a fallacious idea because it denies the existence of racism.

Whiteness is understood as the racial identity traits of White individuals who, in their subjective, psychological, symbolic, concrete, and objective dimensions, conceive of White racial belonging as a universal ideal of humanity (Bento, 2002). This concept is crucial for reflecting on race relations in Brazil and investigating everyday practices of racism, as this social category has been rendered invisible by the consensus present in the myth of racial democracy, debates about miscegenation, the silencing of racial thought, and the construction of the subjectivity of White people by not including the role of their group in the mechanisms for maintaining racial inequalities.

Therefore, we believe that investigating practices of violence against non-heterosexual people without addressing racial debate is insufficient to understand the complex power mechanisms that one aims to destabilize, since the constructions surrounding the categories of gender and sexuality are traversed by dynamics based on colonial processes, systems of enslavement, and racialization (Marques Junior, 2016). In this direction, Black feminist thought teaches us to think about the system of domination not in a separate and hierarchical way, but in the interconnection between multiple oppressions and what they produce, and what structural conditions mark and produce subjective

meanings about Black and non-heterosexual bodies, in order to break with the divisions constructed in a given system of social inequality (Akotirene, 2019). Finally, the concept of intersectionality highlights that the functioning of oppression refers to diverse identity affiliations, such as the categories woman, Black, lesbian, with disability (functional difference), and gay.

Similarly, Curiel (2017) treats identity affiliations in a way that does not conceive of these markers as autonomous and separate identities that at some point interconnect, and that such categories, which mark social differences, are not innate and essentialist but rather produced by the processes of the modern colonial gender system. In other words, intersectionality removes the autonomous emergence of the markers of differentiation.

According to the *2019 Violence Atlas*, 75.5% of murder victims in Brazil are Black (Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada [IPEA], 2019). When considering ethnic-racial belonging and sexual and gender orientation, the latest report published by the Brazilian State on violence against sexual diversity reveals a significant discrepancy between non-heterosexual Whites and Blacks, since 39.9% of homicide victims due to sexual prejudice are Black (Black and mixed-race), 27.5% belong to the White group, 0.6% to the Asian and Indigenous groups, and 32% have an unreported sociodemographic profile (Secretaria de Direitos Humanos da Presidência da República [SDH/PR], 2014).

Corroborating this reality, studies on the experience of being Black LGBT+ (Oliveira, 2018; Veiga, 2018; Caetano et al., 2019; Júnior & Coutinho, 2019) portray a scenario that legitimizes the ideals of Whitening (Veiga, 2018) and the reproduction of prejudices based on heteronormative logic (Prado & Machado, 2008). Thus, recognizing that the social dynamics of racial and sexual oppression operate in the processes of subjectivation, the experiences of the participant in our research point to the emergence of White racial consciousness in the antiracist struggle and the politicization of different subjects in the antisexist struggle.

Based on these theoretical and methodological assumptions, the study conducted by Magno-Silva (2020) found that the university, although enabling access to critical and counter-hegemonic knowledge to some extent, still (re)produces and guarantees the maintenance of structures regulated by colonial and sexist logic that, through heteronormative and Whiteness practices, continue to produce experiences of subalternity (Grosfoguel, 2016). Therefore, we sought possible articulations between the student's experiences and the aforementioned theoretical-conceptual debate, working towards the construction of critical knowledge as a possibility to create tensions within the mechanisms that maintain racist and sexually prejudiced logics, that is, reclaiming experiences of race and sexuality.

Method

This qualitative investigation was grounded in feminist epistemological and methodological assumptions. We employed the narrative interview to explore the experiences of gay men. This unstructured, in-depth research methodological strategy allows us to position different subjects historically (Jovchelovitch & Bauer, 2003).

Aiming to fill a gap in the study that originated this work (Magno-Silva, 2020), since it did not satisfactorily address reflections in the field of ethnic-racial relations, the use of intersectionality broadens the analyses carried out on the experiences of prejudice lived by a self-declared gay Black undergraduate student. The initial study involved seven students, only one of whom was Black, and his experience is now considered. They studied at a

federal university in the interior of Minas Gerais, and the student considered for this study was 19 years old and in the sixth semester of his course when the data were collected.

All students were contacted using the snowball sampling technique, a non-probabilistic tool that uses chains or networks of references for its configuration (Vinuto, 2014). This tool is effective in locating hard-to-reach subjects, especially those willing to discuss their personal experiences of discrimination, violence, and oppression. However, we point to a weakness of the technique: the failure to reach the individual and/or collective specificities of people who, in their subjectivation process, are crossed by different social markers of difference. For example, in our study, we obtained the participation of only one Black student.

The analytical use of intersectionality is therefore justified by the fact that studying experiences of prejudice against sexual orientation and/or gender identity without considering the implications and intersections of historical hierarchies of race, class, and other social markers of differentiation within these groups limits the understanding of the reality of the non-heterosexual population in its diversity, including racial diversity (Nogueira & Oliveira, 2010). Thus, we consider that this snowball effect carries the risk of producing knowledge that does not grasp the specificities of vulnerable groups, reproducing the very structures and social power relations that we seek to destabilize.

In order to promote the narratives of the interviewees, a script was developed containing two trigger questions: "Could you tell me about your experiences as a gay man throughout your life?" and "Could you tell me about your experiences as a gay man at university?". We considered that adopting more generic questions could capture the experiences of prejudice more comprehensively.

The interviews were recorded, transcribed in full, and analyzed based on the assumptions of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Feminist authors and queer theorists have historically pointed to the importance of producing knowledge that takes into account power structures in institutions and interpersonal relationships. Foucault (1971) understood that discursive production stems from social power relations; therefore, CDA seeks to account for the historicity of concrete relations and practices found in discourse (Fischer, 2001), using strategies that consider the structures of discourse and power as fundamentally producers of subjects.

This study was conducted in accordance with resolutions 466/12 and 510/16 of the National Health Council (CNS) and was approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the Educational Units of São João del-Rei (CEPSJ) under protocol number CAAE: 11694119.8.1001.5151. The participant signed an Informed Consent Form (ICF), acknowledging the study's objectives and procedures. To preserve anonymity and confidentiality, we concealed any information that could identify the participant.

Results and discussion

One of the structural mechanisms for maintaining racist practices is discrimination in daily relationships and urban territories. The territorial division between Black and White people, in which certain localities take on a segregationist spatial character on the part of hegemonic racial groups, is part of a project of racial domination. A legacy of a historical process of structural racism, Black people are rarely born outside of pockets of poverty and social vulnerability, as evidenced by the following account:

For example, the neighborhood where I live has only White people. Here in [city name], you have a spatialization of prejudice, a spatialization of racism. The geographical

issue of neighborhoods also interferes with this, and you have a person of color entering a predominantly White, upper-middle-class neighborhood. Then, there is also a shock; for example, if you do not arrive by car, you experience very strange stares. You feel people quickening their pace in another direction, and then you also avoid getting close to those people. I think several problems arise from that, for example, the individualism of people stemming from racism, right? In terms of stares, they wondered, Is he really an undergraduate student? Can you understand?

Underlying structural racism, a form of social apartheid, is applied in the distribution of social spaces, allowing the White population to ascend to prominent positions in society—managing companies, living in better neighborhoods, accessing better universities, etc.—while the Black population continues to occupy subordinate social positions: peripheral neighborhoods, prisons, headlines about police violence, etc. (Luz, 2011), which reverberates in the social imagination a misguided and stereotypical perception of the Black population. Subordinated to the logic of structural racism, the interviewee's neighborhood is configured as a place where coexistence with Black people does not occur without practices of racial prejudice—explicit or veiled—and without their own social status (undergraduate student) being questioned.

We can perceive the fragmentation of social relations and collectivities through geographical segregation and the maintenance of mechanisms that shape the experiences of subalternity among historically vulnerable ethnic-racial groups. This strengthens systems of domination and, consequently, maintains racial and sexual hierarchies in social dynamics, hindering the construction of counter-hegemonic networks of resistance. Considering the concept of intersectionality, we identified the delegitimization of the sexual orientation of a Black and gay person as a possibility of existence in social dynamics.

From a heteronormative system, Black sexuality is generally denied and associated with ideologies of male virility and sexual potency (Luz, 2011). An excerpt from the interviewee's narrative expresses this:

You have this idea that he [a Black homosexual] has to be active, for example. Several issues are intertwined. You have the issue of the Black man being strong, both physically and psychologically. [...] You have this whole stereotype of being Black, and that he has to be active and he has to be strong. [...] The understanding that no one will perceive you as a sensitive person.

Historically, there has been a Western heteronormative construction that establishes the White, heterosexual man as a superior subject and, therefore, worthy of legitimacy, and conceives of the Black man in an animalistic, exotic, and fetishized way (Veiga, 2018). The interviewee evokes the hypersexualization of the Black body which, based on the Western social construction – heteronormative, masculine, and White – reduces the humanity of Black men to the dimension of the body and sexual performances, corroborating the maintenance of certain modes of neglect in the affective-sexual field that are related to the maxim: "[...] White woman to marry, Mulatto woman to f***, and Black woman to work" (Freyre, 2003, p. 36).

You come with all this baggage from your childhood. Then, you automatically internalize the idea that to feel fulfilled, you have to be with a White person. In the case of gay people, it was a White gay man. This is evident. [...] What people do, what White men do, including White gay men, [...] After being with a guy, he does not admit to being with you. Maybe because you are Black; I cannot say for sure; you know? Therefore, it is

something very subtle, but you do not realize it. You are absolutely certain of it because you felt it. Then, the person simply does not admit to being with you.

If, in systems of male domination, the maintenance of the aforementioned maxim legitimizes the inferiority of Black women in relation to White women, in the affective-sexual field of gay men, the same occurs with the hypersexualization, fetishization, and denial of the Black body. These practices delegitimize the sensitivity and subjectivity of the Black subject, maintaining the stereotypes associated with sexual potency, male virility, and the sensuality of the Black body, subservient to heteronormative logic.

Prado and Machado (2008) argue that prejudice is an important mechanism for maintaining social/sexual hierarchies, one of its functions being the perceptual distortion of reality by concealing the historical conditions under which it was constructed and by naturalizing processes of social inequality, "[...] ranging from human annihilation and social violence to forms of subaltern inclusion" (p. 68). From this, we understand that practices of recreational racism – humor that reinforces racial hostility (Moreira, 2019), for example – demonstrate dynamics of prejudice that, through the masking of our everyday language, jokes of a humiliating nature, embarrassment, etc., divide and position the 'other' as an inferior, abnormal, and non-human being. The interviewee's statement illustrates this reality:

Continuous jokes about skin color or, for example, about people's origins. [...] Then, you ask them to stop, first, and the person simply does not listen. You have this block because the person is your friend in many ways, but they talk about this, and it hurts you deeply. Therefore, you need to work against it, right? Talking until they do not listen. And then you have to talk to them in a more drastic way, asking them to stop because they are being racist. Inside a University! The person stops talking.

Recreational racism is one of the mechanisms that make up the project of racial domination, consolidating the social identity of White people as morally superior, and is one of the means of their psychological gratification through the inferiorization of racial minorities. The White racial group justifies its hostile practices through humor, (re)producing the myth of racial democracy as these narratives attempt to employ an ideal of harmony between ethnic-racial groups. It is in this fallacious cordiality that structural racism acts as a pedagogy that (re)produces racial hierarchies, maintaining asymmetrical relations ensured by different social devices of power (Moreira, 2019).

The experiences of the undergraduate student demonstrate that the social construction of stereotypes associated with race and their reproduction through humor practices has a political and ideological function that enables the collective circulation of these stereotypes to transform into concrete reality the ideal of White humanity, agreed upon at some level among those who accept its superiority, in what Bento (2002) calls the narcissistic pact of Whiteness. In this dynamic, characteristics related to race are conceived and appropriated by society as parameters for consolidating discriminatory practices (Moreira, 2019). It is no coincidence that the interviewee uses language tools that express, in a more incisive way, the racist character of the jokes, and as a way of destabilizing the systems of censorship to which the Black population has been historically subjected.

The use of humor as an instrument of racial hostility possesses symbolic power in the materialization of racism, as it (re)produces narratives that render the magnitude of the meaning of race invisible, thereby strengthening the social discourse that racism does not exist (Moreira, 2019). The denial of racism is yet another strategy for legitimizing structures of racial exclusion and maintaining prejudice, as the silencing, consensus, and denial by the dominant racial group regarding racist practices represent distancing from the racial debate.

Conversely, making public historical experiences of oppression (slavery, colonialism, etc.) that are denied, repressed, and kept in spaces of non-naming can have the direct consequence of destabilizing hegemonic systems that produce subaltern experiences (Kilomba, 2019).

Furthermore, it is essential to point out that recreational racism is not interpreted as a crime by the Brazilian justice system, under the premise that there is 'no' intent to offend and because its institutions are predominantly dominated by White people. This configuration enhances the social and institutional dimensions of racism (Moreira, 2019).

Subjects who escape normative regimes, such as homosexual people, are constantly summoned to offer explanations about their experiences, unlike those who socially occupy the place of the norm: heterosexuals (Seffner, 2013). Along the same lines, it is no coincidence that a range of studies on Brazilian racial relations have been one-sided: they silence the material and symbolic 'legacies' of Whiteness from the system of enslavement and the role of this racial group in the current control of social privileges (Bento, 2002). Given this, it is essential to reflect on the place of Whiteness in the construction of subjective, concrete, and objective instances in the (re)production and potentiation of racist practices, and to point out that in Brazil, racism is a phenomenon frequently presented as a debate that focuses only on Black people (Moreira, 2019).

The silencing and omission of the role of Whiteness in discussions about race relations are strategies used to mask and preserve the exercise of power and its practices of subordination in relation to racialized subjects. In this dynamic, hegemonic Whiteness operates through different racist ideologies, establishing its social identity as a cultural model possessing intellectual, moral, aesthetic, sexual, and class superiority, thus imposing a universal parameter that violates all other ethnic-racial groups (Moreira, 2019).

One of the paradoxes of Brazilian reality concerns the recognition, by the vast majority of the population, of the existence of racism, while at the same time, there is a high number of people who do not admit to being racist. However, understanding racism in its structural dimension allows us to perceive the non-existence of institutional and social spaces free from the dynamics of racial prejudice. Let us consider the following passage:

Being on the street, when you do not have a direct view of sexual orientation, but rather of skin color. And then you have a Black guy, and then you have very clear prejudices: movements of hiding bags, movements of people following you, thinking you are going to rob the store. It is very clear that if there is a seat next to you, the person will not sit down. It's crazy! Wow, so much so! You cannot really notice it because it is something very everyday, very subtle.

The student reported that the discrimination he suffered was commonplace and subtle. The implicit nature of prejudice functions as a strategy for maintaining norms and ensuring the invisibility of asymmetries. Within denialist discourses, forms of social organization anchored in the logic of White supremacy function as a tool for imposing the mask of silence (Kilomba, 2019). Conversely, by denouncing the existence of such asymmetries through publicizing their experiences of racial prejudice, Black people question the norm and promote awareness of what it means, destabilizing and confronting the power structures that produce historical exclusions and privileges stemming from the modern colonial system (Ribeiro, 2019).

We emphasize that 'victimhood' – symbolized by 'whining', as has been said in the current context by dominant groups – masks the delegitimization of the experiences of the Black population. We understand that evoked victimhood aims to disqualify the struggle for

equal rights among ethnic-racial groups and naturalizes violence against the other. In this sense, 'whining' refers to the prejudice that the White population does not suffer, the pain it does not feel, the shooting it does not experience, the institutional and police violence, the vulnerability, stigmatization, and marginalization it does not live through, in short, a position of subalternity that it never occupied but always allowed to exist.

Racism in human relations refers to the entire network of meanings manifested in discursive production, images, gestures, behaviors, and gazes that position Black people in places of vulnerability and marginalization (Kilomba, 2019), constantly associating them with criminal practices. It is no coincidence that we observe people hiding their bags because 'Black people will steal them,' episodes that demonstrate the maintenance of the dictates of the colonial past and the attempt to ensure White supremacy through discriminatory practices, preventing the achievement of higher levels of racial equality and the reduction of social inequality.

Another aspect is the incidence of social institutions in the process of subjectivation itself. The construction of our way of being occurs from our encounter with the other and involves the cultural and socio-historical dimensions of discursive productions. From this perspective, subjectivity is constituted by the exercise of "[...] institutions, language, technology, science, media, work, capital, information" (Mansano, 2009, p. 111).

Recognizing racism as structural, historical, and political leads to the understanding that the construction of difference is linked to a societal project, constituted by the production of hierarchies that subordinate some to ensure the domination of others. Kilomba (2019, p. 75, author's emphasis) explains that the hierarchical construction of difference between Blacks and Whites occurs from the process of discrimination: the Black person "[...] 'only becomes different' because they 'define themselves' from a group that has the power to define itself as the norm – the White norm."

The next narrative focuses on media institutions, which operate in the construction of subjectivities and the social imaginary to reinforce, from the earliest stages of child development (both White and Black), the processes of Whitening:

The world we live in is completely fueled by a White bias and a White ideal. You do not have Black role models for a Black boy, for example. You will open a cartoon—this might be changing in the last three years, but throughout my childhood, you did not have a goal or an idealization of anything other than a White guy [...]. Then, you have an adolescent phase, right? Yes, I am talking about myself now: you have that goal of finding a White guy, from trading cards to porn movies, even in heterosexual films. You visualize your entire understanding through White people. Your entire experience! And that's terrible. You do not identify with anyone.

Cultural, educational, media, and legal institutions constitute systems that (re)produce a specific social imaginary based on the ideals of Whiteness that underpin their practices. This highlights the ideological character of racism, since all ideologies require concrete social practices to be consolidated. It is not a mirror of concrete reality; on the contrary, it functions as a device for falsifying reality, which, through representations in soap operas, television programs, and comedy shows, for example, produces a social imaginary about Black people associated with criminality, vulnerability, and marginalization (Almeida, 2018).

According to Veiga (2018), media outlets are one of the main tools for shaping desire, perpetuating a stereotypical image of the Black subject through consumerism. Television dramas, superhero cartoons, advertisements, and magazines are always protagonized by White individuals. It is no coincidence that the interviewee's statement explicitly reveals their

lack of identification with what is produced and presented in these media. This identification is compromised when Black characters are associated with invisibility, non-existence, or even inferiority.

In this scenario, the practices of media institutions contribute to the perpetuation of mechanisms of oppression, using capitalist means of production as an ideological tool that ensures the maintenance of the ideal and desire for Whiteness and, consequently, the subordination and the inferiorization of the Black population. Not detached from consumption patterns, the effects of colonialism and the practices of Whiteness are also present in the realm of emotions, as the interviewee reported:

In a nightclub, you go in and there is a predominantly gay crowd, but you have preferences clearly in place. It is not a crime, it is not racism, or perhaps it is entrenched racism. Cisgender men have preferences, right? And then, you clearly see that you cannot be a target for flirting because of your skin color or skin tone. It is something very powerful: colorism. You have skin tone indices that define the prejudice you will experience. Traits that will make you suffer more or less prejudice, even if you are in a class fighting for rights, for example, Black people. An example is not being a target of something, and it is very subtle. I do not think I can describe it in words because it is so subtle: it's looks, it's attitudes!

More than offering interpretations of racial oppression systems and their intersection with issues of sexuality, we aim to produce discomfort and, perhaps, destabilize the invisibility of the asymmetries discussed thus far. We then ask: How can one be the target of flirting in a society that ridicules Black people through toothless, criminal, drunk, and/or drugged caricatures who are always vulnerable and/or marginalized? How can one adhere to the aesthetic standards of a classist, elitist, and racist society that has historically associated Black people with inferiority? This can only be done by maintaining the caricature of the 'Black gay man' and promiscuous woman, who tries to seduce all men, mostly White, but is usually rejected.

The interviewee's experiences and reflections demonstrate that in the dynamics of social relations, there is a denial of recognition and the legitimacy of the experience of others, exercised through racism, indicating that the further a person is from the ideal imposed by the cis-heteropatriarchal structure, the more prejudice and discrimination they will be subjected to (Veiga, 2018). The capitalist, racist, and heteronormative system articulates rigid and powerful structures that coexist and establish subjectivities through a logic that ensures experiences of subalternity. Given this, we believe that the anti-racist struggle, which enables the destabilization of this hegemony, involves challenging the culture we consume, which reinforces systems of domination and produces social disparities between ethnic-racial groups.

Non-heterosexual individuals from the White racial group end up reproducing racism in social relations with Black LGBT+ people, since the LGBT+ community is also marked by the hegemonic logic of the dominant group. Thus, plural social spaces, which in principle would be welcoming to all people who differ from the heteronormative norm, end up strengthening experiences of exclusion because White LGBT+ people have not confronted their social and material privileges, nor have they engaged in the struggle for rights that consider the intersectionality of oppressions in contemporary society (Veiga, 2018).

Not including the fight against racial inequalities in LGBT+ demands is a way of maintaining the norm as a power device, making the fight for the right to sexual diversity counterproductive. Not discussing experiences of exclusion based on sexuality and gender articulated with other social markers of differentiation once again prohibits the place

occupied by the 'other' in their social, affective, sexual, etc. dimensions, fragmenting society, potentiating the dispute between different ethnic-racial and sexual groups in everyday life, and constructing new forms of hegemony and domination (Veiga, 2018; Akotirene, 2019). Thus, we consider another excerpt from the interviewee's narrative:

There is the LGBT struggle, but then these hopes, goals, and objectifications are shaped within the gay community. It is something that exists within the gay community. In the male context, there is a very strong desire for a body. We know that everyone has, I do not know, maybe a strong desire for bodies. The physical aspect is linked to that. Then you have the Black person or the Black man, and you are going to place all this racist baggage on top of this Black man. He must have all the Black stereotypes; he has to meet all my expectations, and he has to be like this. I will treat him in this manner. [...] If I am going to talk about gay LGBT people, I have to bring up the history of slavery because it is bigger: this is a very important fact! Before I am gay, I am Black. The Black girl, before being a girl, is Black [...]. People's first perception will be that I am Black before I am gay, you understand?

Racism is inscribed on the body as an indicator of moral and aesthetic particularity. The production of subjectivities – structured from parameters of Whiteness – focuses on the search to fit in and/or achieve socially legitimized standards of Whiteness through excessive consumption, appeal to the body, and relationships established by the culture of objectification and commodification of the body, enabling the inscription of non-heterosexual Black people in power and inferiority relations (Luz, 2011). If good taste and refinement are valued elements in the LGBT+ community in the choice of friendships and affective-sexual relationships, a result of a historically materialistic, classist, and elitist production, it becomes essential to deconstruct the forms of neglect of hegemonic affective and sexual desire, re-signifying an entire historical baggage that associated the Black subject with 'bad taste,' the exotic, sexual potency, virility, and the 'non-human.'

Another aspect of the interviewee's speech refers to the production of a hierarchy of oppressions, that is, the fact that racial oppression overlaps with other types of oppression—class, sexuality, and gender—in the life of a Black person. Without delegitimizing this perception, we use the concept of intersectionality to understand the experiences of multiple oppressions in a horizontal way (Crenshaw, 2002). Adopting this position does not legitimize the denial, segregation, and/or hierarchization of one or another experience of exclusion; on the contrary, it considers the joint operation of oppressions that, analyzed in interaction, broaden the understanding of subaltern experiences that inscribe different subjects in a common position: inequality.

Regarding the interviewee's emotional experiences, the system of White oppression and the power dynamics in interracial relationships are highlighted in another part of his narrative:

About my ex-boyfriend, there were his friends and all that stuff. He says: I am dating someone! These friends have not yet seen me. Then I arrive. Man: It's amazing! You see the faces of people; they exude prejudice. It's incredible! Incredible! [...]. Interracial relationships have these things, and there are perceptions even within the LGBT community that, when you are dating, you have a feeling that the best person in that relationship, the privileged one in that relationship, is me, a Black person, for having behaved well, for having dressed well, for having obscured all my Black characteristics as much as possible to be with a White guy, to be accepted by him. So, the one being privileged would be me, right? In a way that, like: "[...] he is the lucky one to have found a White person." Then, it comes

down to knowing the person, right? From the perspective of the guy you are dating, he might understand that it is perhaps a favor, even unconsciously. I am a Black man dating him, and I have this understanding that at any moment, I am in a crazy competition with thousands of White guys to keep my White boyfriend.

The marks of the atrocities of the enslavement system, the mechanisms for perpetuating the politics of Whiteness, and the ideals of Whitening cause Black people to reject their Blackness and experience self-deprecation. The interviewee's experiences make explicit the perception of not having a place within their own affective experience, corroborating a distortion of their self-love (Veiga, 2018).

Regarding interracial relationships, Ribeiro (2019) highlights the crucial need for White individuals to recognize the mechanisms of oppression through which racism operates, as they can (re)produce it "[...] believing they are immune simply because they have a Black husband, wife, or child" (p. 90). The lack of (re)cognition of these systems can reinforce the belief that they are not racist simply because they are in an intimate relationship with Black individuals, which can lead to using their partners as a protective network. Therefore, it is essential to legitimize the voices of Black individuals who denounce the concrete reality of racism. It is important to understand that White individuals' empathy towards those who experience oppression must be based on intellectual, ethical, and political considerations, which are applied in affective bonds with individuals belonging to historically marginalized groups. In other words, White individuals must criticize and question their own group's conduct and listen to the experiences of others to take practical action against the oppression their partners experience.

As Ribeiro (2019) points out, all people must engage in critical self-perception, considering their life trajectory and social position in relation to the system of racial oppression. This allows them to recognize their privileges and the violations of rights experienced by certain racial groups. "White people must critically take responsibility for the system of oppression that historically privileges them and produces inequalities. Black people can become aware of historical processes so as not to reproduce them" (Ribeiro, 2019, p. 108). These processes of accountability and awareness are powerful tools for fostering anti-racist attitudes and transforming contexts of violence that would otherwise go unnoticed.

Building anti-racist and anti-sexist networks enables the sharing of experiences and fosters understanding, self-awareness, and ways of resisting different systems of oppression. Ultimately, recognizing and legitimizing Blackness, as well as fighting against modes of exclusion, empowers the collective and/or individual dimensions of confronting racial and sexual prejudice.

Final considerations

The experiences of prejudice expressed by the interviewee, discussed from feminist perspectives in which intersectionality is a central concept, allow us to capture multiple oppressions experienced around two axes of subordination: race and sexuality. We start from Whiteness to problematize, within the context of university experiences, the violence and oppression perpetrated against the Black LGBT+ population, stemming from a social structure built on the dictates of the modern White, male, heterosexual, bourgeois world.

The student's life trajectory reveals geographical segregation, reinforcing the perception of the impossibility of social ascension for Black people. Access to urban spaces predominantly occupied by White people occurs from a 'non-place' that denies the existence

and legitimacy of their experiences, placing them in everyday positions of subalternity through social regulatory mechanisms that ensure the invisibility of asymmetries in social dynamics, which also occurs in higher education institutions.

These institutions not only fulfill the role of transmitting knowledge and providing training for professional practice but also participate in the (re)production of networks of sociability that circumscribe subjective experiences. In this study, we found that although the university setting asserts and positions itself from the place of 'reason,' by not questioning the violence produced by 'rationality' itself, it presents itself as a place (supposedly) protected from numerous types of violence, 'ignorance,' and 'irrationality,' which ends up potentiating structurally racist and heteronormative spaces. Thus, racial and sexual discrimination and related forms of violence, ensured by the hegemony of spaces fundamentally structured by the universal paradigms of modernity, (re)produce and (re)affirm the supremacy, hierarchization, and inferiorization of Whites over Blacks and heterosexuals over non-heterosexuals.

Practices of recreational racism, the commodification and objectification of the Black body, the (re)production of racist ideologies of sexual potency and male virility, and distorted and stereotyped representations in the media inscribe the Black population in spaces of disqualified naming, reverberating in the social imaginary the maintenance of negative images that associate Blackness with vulnerability, marginalization, and subservience. Thus, understanding racism as structural to society and structuring our relationships proves to be a tool for destabilizing the social order and these fundamentally racist representations that maintain experiences of subalternity in the social, educational, affective, sexual, etc. fields.

We believe in spaces where the plurality of ideas is valued as a structuring element of anti-racist and anti-sexist networks, producers of ethical-political strategies, social, cultural, and pedagogical practices, etc., to confront the historical injustices produced by systems of White, patriarchal, heterosexual, and class oppression. Utopia here is not considered unattainable, because if we are capable of reflecting on the historical reality of oppression, we can materialize the struggle for higher levels of social justice and equal rights, collectively building practices of transgression!

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