

BRAZIL DOES NOT NEED HUMAN AND SOCIAL SCIENCES: a possible reading of government advertising about Enem

O BRASIL NÃO PRECISA DAS CIÊNCIAS HUMANAS E SOCIAIS: uma leitura possível da publicidade governamental sobre o Enem

EL BRASIL NO NECESITA CIENCIAS HUMANAS Y SOCIALES: una posible lectura de la publicidad del gobierno sobre el Enem


Bianca Zanella Ribeiro

PhD student in Communication Sciences (University of Minho, Portugal). Federal University of Tocantins (UFT). b.zanella@gmail.com.

 0000-0002-0183-8417

Daniella Lisieux de Oliveira Navarro

PhD student in Communication Sciences (University of Minho, Portugal). Administrative Technician in Education at the Federal University of Juiz de Fora (UFJF). daniella.ufjf@gmail.com.

 0000-0001-5235-6402

Helena Zanella Prates

PhD student in Education, Art and History of Culture (Mackenzie Presbyterian University). Researcher in the project LabCine - Laboratório de Artes Cinemáticas e Visualização at Mackenzie Presbyterian University. helena.prates@gmail.com.

 0000-0003-0250-124X

Teresa Ruão

PhD in Communication Sciences (University of Minho, Portugal). Associate Professor at the Department of Communication Sciences at the Institute of Social Sciences and Deputy Director of the Center for Communication and Society Studies at this institution. truao@ics.uminho.pt.

 0000-0002-9723-8044

1

Introduction

The joining of efforts is a recurring prerogative when thinking about solutions to complex problems. Experience usually prove as true the idea that adding up different views and skills, in a holistic approach to the issues that affect society, is positive and favors better results.

Mailing address: Universidade Federal do Tocantins, Reitoria, DIRETORIA DE COMUNICAÇÃO. Quadra 109 Norte Avenida NS 15, Plano Diretor Norte, 77001090 - Palmas, TO – Brasil.

Received: 02.16.2020
Accepted: 03.20.2020.
Published: 04.01.2020.

ABSTRACT:

This text presents a critical analysis of Enem's official dissemination campaigns in the years 2019 and 2020 amidst a scenario of political tensions between government and federal universities, also marked by the coronavirus pandemic. The study shows a partial representation, in the scope of Brazilian government advertising, sciences and higher education, characterized mainly by the overvaluation of courses in Health Sciences and courses traditionally valued by the labor market, such as Law and Engineering, in contrast to the relative invisibility of Human, Social Sciences and other areas of knowledge.

KEYWORDS: Communication; Science; Higher Education; Advertising; Government Advertising.

¹ The authors would like to thank Professor Monique Buzatto for revising the version in English of this paper.

In the midst of an unprecedented global crisis caused by the coronavirus pandemic (COVID-19), declared by the World Health Organization on March 11, 2020, many calls have been made for solidarity, and all individuals, in general, have been called upon to “do their part” as citizens, even if it means only staying at home so that those who work in activities considered as essential, which need to be carried out in person, could move around and work without major agglomerations, in order to reduce the spread of the virus.

As so-called “essential” professionals, people normally think of those who work on the metaphorical “front line” to fight coronavirus, namely doctors and nurses, followed by several others who, even in functions that do not require higher education, as cleaning professionals, delivery personnel and truck drivers, have proved to be absolutely important at this time.

However, drawing a parallel beyond the operational level and thinking in terms of specific higher education qualifications, except for the fact that new times have shown that innumerable activities can be adapted and carried out satisfactorily in a remote way, and noting the fact that the Brazilian federal government has repeatedly defended the resumption of economic activities, with an emphasis on the reopening of industry and commerce, which professionals of the highest levels of qualification are being required to actively contribute to the elaboration of strategies that enable the reversal of the current crisis and which professionals are being asked to “just stay at home”, or simply to return to routine work without being involved with these issues?

In order to answer this question, and based on the hypothesis that Human and Social Sciences are not usually invoked or valued in multidisciplinary teams when it comes to finding practical solutions for critical situations, we propose an analysis on government advertising that deals with the main form of access to Higher Education in Brazil - the National High School Exam (Enem²), which therefore constitutes one of the main showcases for the image of public universities in the country.

The study aims to identify, in the Brazilian context, which discourses are present and are institutionalized through pieces of public communication, especially with regard to the representation of different areas of scientific knowledge and higher education.

² Enem is carried through by the Ministry of the Education by means of the National Institute of Educational Research Anísio Teixeira (Inep), and annually mobilizes millions of students interested in concurring the vacant in public universities through the System of Unified Selection (Sisu), the scholarships in private universities through the Program University for All (Prouni), the credits of student financing, for Fies, and even vacancy in foreign institutions that use the Examination mark as an admission criterion.

Contextualization

Philosophy and mathematics are perhaps the oldest sciences in the world, studied since the beginning of the development of humanity in the search for answers to questions that have always troubled human beings. However, despite having the same noble origins in classical knowledge, the advance of capitalism, with its evaluative processes and pressures for performance and results, associated with the Cartesian imposition on the scientific method, ended up generating, among many side effects, the idea that Human and Social Sciences are not “true” sciences, and the idea that they are not useful, given that their influence on societies is usually not immediate, besides being difficult to measure.

Thus, a notion was created that the world, in general, does not need the humanities, the arts or social sciences, as if such knowledge represented superfluous luxuries for peace times and tranquility. In fact, this notion is more present and, therefore, is important to be addressed, precisely in moments like now, when a series of urgent and crucial issues demand our attention.

In times of pandemic and disinformation, we have seen science, scientists and scientific institutions being represented in many contradictory ways, at times as heroic entities and hope for a cure for the ills that afflict us, other times as enemies and conspirators, when they present research results that seem “inconvenient” for certain purposes, such as those that support the importance of social isolation for the control of COVID-19 and the ineffectiveness of treatments advertised as “miraculous” by the *lobby* in the market.

In Brazil this ambiguity seems to be felt more deeply, in view of the fierce political polarization and the positioning of the current federal government, which since the beginning has waged an ideological war against universities and scientific institutions, pitting itself against science in different situations, especially against the human and social sciences.

Long before President Bolsonaro confronted the technical staff of the Ministry of Health during the coronavirus crisis, replaced doctors and health professionals with military personnel in strategic functions to fight the epidemic, defended the use of drugs that had not yet proven their effectiveness (GARCIA & GOMES, 2020), transgressed the rules of social isolation considered fundamental in the fight against COVID-19 (O GLOBO, 2020) or imposed compromising changes on the transparency in the disclosure of data related to COVID-19 in the country (G1, 2020) , among many other measures and speeches that could be classified as anti-scientific, the federal government and

universities have been waging a symbolic war, whose main weapon is the discourse with which they dispute the support of public opinion.

According to the current Brazilian government, public universities are characterized as unproductive centers (GRANDELLE & KAPA, 2018), foci of "turmoil" (AGOSTINI, 2019), indoctrination and drugs (G1, 2019), in addition to *habitat* of "fat zebras" and "parasites", according to the denomination attributed by ministers to teachers and civil servants (SAKAMOTO, 2020). A good part of them would be, according to the president, "money thrown away" (GRANDELLE & KAPA, 2018) for not conducting research (BOLSONARO, 2019) - even though more than 90% of the country's research is carried out in these institutions (CLARIVATE ANALYTICS, 2017).

But of all the scientific areas they reject, it is Human and Social Sciences that Bolsonaro and his team seem to like less. In April 2019, the Minister of Education, Abraham Weintraub, stated that he intended to reallocate resources from the faculties of Philosophy and Sociology to faculties that generate actual returns, "such as *nursing, veterinary, engineering and medicine* (REVISTA FÓRUM, 2019, *emphasis added*). The speech was endorsed by the president who, on Twitter, stated that the Ministry of Education (MEC) was studying "decentralizing investment in faculties of *philosophy and sociology (humanities)*" with the aim of focusing "on areas that manage *immediate return* to the taxpayer, such as: *veterinary, engineering and medicine*" (BOLSONARO, 2019, *emphasis added*). The measure was more intended to make a statement rather than effectively generating a relevant impact in the areas that would supposedly be benefitted. This is because, at that time, the expenses of the main national research promotion agency, CNPq³, with scholarships for Human Sciences represented only 1.4% of the total amount, while Engineering, one of the areas highlighted as a priority, was already receiving about 20% of the value (ILHÉU, 2019).

In a note, the National Association of Graduate Studies in Philosophy (ANPOF) repudiated the government's statements and stressed the importance of humanities courses to provoke reflections that are "indispensable to cultural and social development and the construction of more just and creative societies" (ANPOF, 2019). For the Association, when presenting such proposal, Weintraub and Bolsonaro:

[...] ignore the nature of knowledge in the humanities field and show a narrow view of training by assuming that nurses, veterinarians, engineers and doctors do not have to learn about their own social context or ethics,

³ Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento Científico e Tecnológico.

for example, to make appropriate and morally justified decisions in their field. (ANPOF, 2019)

Proving that devaluating the Human and Social Sciences is not the case only in Brazil, the referred strategic redirection of resources was inspired by the case of Japan, a country that has promoted cuts in investments in these areas after the Second World War and in 2015, when the government tried to boost Japanese universities in the international education rankings. The Brazilian government, however, ignored that the Japanese government itself later admitted that the results of such a policy were not as expressive as expected and decided to take a step back starting in 2020, recognizing the need to foster “human resources that can connect science to politics, administrations and many other sectors [...], with historical and international perspectives and geopolitical knowledge ” (JAPAN, 2018). For the Japanese government, it seems clear they need to “work, mainly, with interdisciplinarity and bring together specialists from different areas, including humanities and social sciences, to promote innovation and development” (ILHÉU, 2019, np).

Even so, the position of the Bolsonaro government, with the ministry of education under the management of Weintraub, ended up being ratified in an announcement of the Institutional Program for Scientific Initiation Scholarships (Pibic) published by CNPq in April 2020, which stipulated that scholarships should be linked to at least one of the so-called “Priority Technology Areas” of the Ministry of Science, Technology, Innovations and Communications (MCTIC), thus excluding most research in the arts and humanities (CRUZ, 2020 np).

Still on this matter, it is interesting to notice that a decree published by the government on April 02, 2020, established a compulsory register of professionals of numerous categories to work, in special character, for the national health system (SUS) in the battle against the new coronavirus (HEALTH DEPARTMENT, 2020). The 14 training courses included in the summon were: social work, biology, biomedicine, physical education, nursing, pharmacy, physiotherapy and occupational therapy, speech therapy, medicine, veterinary medicine, nutrition, dentistry, psychology, and radiology technicians. Other areas apart from health, however, have not received reinforcements from the Federal Government.

Theoretical Reference

The organization of knowledge

In order to provide a systematic way to organize information related to science and the academic environment, it is customary to group trainings, courses, research projects, human resources and others, according to affinity criteria, in the so-called areas of knowledge.

In Brazil, the main references regarding this categorization are Capes (Coordination for higher Education Staff Development) and CNPq (National Council for Scientific and Technological Development).

Capes classifies its 49 assessment areas into nine major areas within three colleges: the College of Life Sciences encompasses Agrarian Sciences, Biological Sciences and Health Sciences - including Medicine and Nursing, among others. The College of Humanities covers the area defined as Linguistics, Letters and Arts, the Human Sciences - which include, among others, the areas of Sociology and Philosophy -, and Applied Social Sciences - which include Communication, Economics and Law, for example. Finally, the College of Exact, Technological and Multidisciplinary Sciences comprises Exact and Earth Sciences, such as Mathematics and Physics, Engineering and Multidisciplinary Sciences, such as Education and Environmental Sciences (FOUNDATION COORDINATION FOR HIGHER EDUCATION STAFF DEVELOPMENT [sd]).

CNPq, on the other hand, considers eight areas - which correspond to all Capes "major areas" except the Multidisciplinary Area, and 75 subareas, in addition to hundreds of other subdivisions that are even more specific (NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT [sd]).

Table 1 offers a comparative panorama between these two classifications and demonstrate the diversity comprised in the context of higher education.

Table 1 Areas of knowledge according to CNPq classification.

Major Areas / Areas of Knowledge	Subareas (75, according to CNPq)	Areas (49, according to Capes)
Agrarian sciences	Agronomy; Food science and technology; Agrarian engineering; Veterinarian medicine; Forest resources and Forest engineering; Fishing resources and Fishing engineering; Zootechnics	Food Science; Agrarian Sciences; Veterinary Medicine; Zootechnics
Biological sciences	Biophysics; General Biology; Biochemistry; Botany; Ecology; Pharmacology; Physiology; Genetics;	Biodiversity; Biological Sciences (I, II and III)

	Immunology; Microbiology; Morphology; Parasitology; Zoology	
Health sciences	Physical education; Nursing; Pharmacy; Physiotherapy and Occupational Therapy; Speech therapy; Medicine; Nutrition; Dentistry; Collective Health	Physical education; Nursing; Pharmacy; Medicine (I, II and III); Nutrition; Dentistry; Collective Health
Exact and Earth sciences	Astronomy; Computer science; Physics; Geosciences; Mathematics; Oceanography; Probability and statistics; Chemistry	Astronomy; Computer science; Physics; Geosciences; Mathematics; Oceanography; Probability and statistics; Chemistry
Humanities	Anthropology; Archeology; Political science; Education; Philosophy; Geography; History; Psychology; Sociology; Theology	Anthropology / Archeology; Political Science and International Relations; Sciences of Religion and Theology; Education; Philosophy; Geography; History; Psychology; Sociology
Applied Social sciences	Administration; Architecture and Urbanism; Information Science; Communication; Demographics; Industrial Design; Law; Economy; Domestic Economy; Museology; Urban and Regional Planning; Tourism	Public and Business Administration, Accounting and Tourism; Architecture, Urbanism and Design; Communication and Information; Law; Economy; Urban and Regional Planning / Demography; Social service
Engineering	Aerospace Engineering; Biomedical Engineering; Civil Engineering; Materials Engineering and Metallurgical; Mining Engineering; Production Engineering; Transport Engineering; Electrical Engineering; Mechanical Engineering; Naval and Oceanic Engineering; Nuclear Engineering; Chemical Engineering; Sanitary Engineering	Engineering (I, II, III and IV)
Linguistics/Languages/Arts	Linguistics/Languages/Arts	Arts; Linguistics and Literature
Multidisciplinary	<i>[There is nothing]</i>	Biotechnology; Environmental Sciences; Teaching; Interdisciplinary; Materials

Source: Authors elaboration based on Capes and CNPq data.

Although the structures made by Capes and CNPq are not absolutely corresponding, they have a considerable level of similarity and allow us to understand, in general, how academic and scientific knowledge is organized. In this study, we chose to consider especially the CNPq classification because we understand that it has greater adherence to the idea of higher formations existing by areas of knowledge, even though the subareas do not correspond exactly to undergraduate courses, which are even more

numerous and specific. In any case, it offers a sufficiently reasonable correspondence to support our analysis, as we will show below.

Content and Discourse Analysis

Established as a diverse set of techniques for the analysis of communications, Content Analysis (CA) aims to obtain, through systematic procedures for describing the content of messages, indicators – quantitative or qualitative – "that allow the inference of knowledge related to the conditions of production/reception (inferred variables) of these messages" (BARDIN, 1977, p. 42). The use, according to Bardin (idem), is proper to answer two types of questions: "what has led to certain utterance" and "which consequences said utterance will probably provoke" (BARDIN, 1977, p. 39) -, which concerns possible effects of the messages, as an advertising campaign, for example.

Combining quantitative data with an attitude of "critical surveillance" (BARDIN, 1977, p. 28), CA rejects the simple and lay reading of reality, considered as naïve, and seeks to go beyond what Berelson (*in* BARDIN, 1977) called "manifested content of the messages", allowing, by double reading – that of evidence and appearances –, the search for the "latent , the non-apparent, unprecedented potential (of the unsaid) retained by any message" (BARDIN, 1977, p. 9).

It is clear, therefore, that a constant in the CA is "the idea of an 'apparent discourse' that needs to be unveiled" (ROCHA & DEUSDARÁ, 2006, p. 32), and this "unveiling" should be guided technical processes that are scientifically validated by deduction and inference, as it occurs in other sciences, the same way that "a doctor makes deductions about the health of his client based on the symptoms" (BARDIN, 1977, p. 41).

From the perspective of Content Analysis, Discourse Analysis (DA) and, consequently, Automatic Discourse Analysis (ADA) recommended by Michel Pêcheux (1969), constitute one of the different techniques of the tool framework encompassed in the CA, which, however, Bardin (1977) considers as an almost utopian proposal, theoretically ambitious, but impractical as an analytical instrument.

On the other hand, the Discourse Analysis (AD) recommended, among others, by Pêcheux (1990) and Teun A. Van Dijk (2005), tries to detach itself from the CA as a proper linguistics methodology, seeking to establish a relation between language and ideology, and deepen the notion of discourse as an instrument of political practice, necessarily linked to a socio-historical context and relations of power between subjects endowed with intentionality. In this sense, for Pêcheux (1990), the problem of CA would be trying

to be practical through the appropriation of quantitative instruments without being theoretical enough to support itself conceptually (ROCHA & DEUSDARÁ, 2006).

According to Maingueneau (1997, p. 11), "all language production [whether textual, imagery or otherwise] can be considered 'discourse'", since it cannot be understood dissociatedly from the worldview of the subjects involved in communication and historical conjunctures.

With regard to the key concept of ideology, Wodak and Meyer (2001) recall that this terminology was already loaded with pejorative connotations during the era of fascism, communism and the Cold War, periods when democracy and ideology were confronted as good versus evil. It is interesting to note that the very government of Jair Bolsonaro, as previously mentioned, produces a negative connotation of ideology by defending a "neutral" teaching, free from the supposed indoctrination imposed by professors and universities (LIMA, 2019), as if the denial of ideology was not, also, essentially ideological.

Despite this possibility of misrepresentation of the concept, "the core definition of ideology as a coherent and relatively stable set of beliefs or values has remained the same in political science over time" (WODAK & MEYER, 2001, p. 8).

On the assimilation of the meanings proposed by the discourse, Pêcheux (1990) explains that within the discursive spaces are those senses that are logically stabilized. For example, the sense of marriage excludes the sense of single, the sense of great excludes the sense of small, and so on:

In these discursive spaces (previously called "logically stabilized") one assumes that every speaking subject knows what is spoken, because every utterance produced in these spaces reflects structural properties independent of their enunciation (PÊCHEUX, 1990, p. 31).

As Orlandi (2015, p. 67) notes, "words reflect meanings of discourses already made, imagined or possible." Thus, no message can be considered an objective and finished product, since it can constantly be reinterpreted. Nor can it be considered as something absolutely transparent or literal, since a number of subjectivities and opacities that influence its construction and reading, that is, influence the discourse and its own analysis, lies between its codification and its decoding.

Another useful point in this analysis, present both in the idea of absences of CA and DA, is the observation of what is excluded from the text or visual discourse, assuming that what is no longer said also has meaning. According to Van Dijk (2005, p. 44), when it is

possible to demonstrate that information omitted by a discourse is part of the mental model proposed by him or by the shared general knowledge on that subject, this omission also becomes a relevant property of the discourse and should be observed by the analyst.

Finally, whether by a bias of CA or DA, the importance of not being subject to the language and messages to which we are exposed, but rather to position ourselves critically in the communication process, is more than clear.

Methodology

As Dijk (2005) acknowledges, "CDA (critical discourse analysis) does not offer a method of discursive analysis that is ready to be applied", and "for each study it is necessary to perform an exhaustive theoretical analysis of a social subject in order to enable the selection of discursive and social structures that will be analyzed and related" (DIJK, 2005, p. 38).

In view of the utility, both of CA and DA but, on the other hand, the theoretical limitations of one and the other previously pointed, in this work we opt for a mixing methodology that mixes categorizing elements proper of the CA with the method of analysis of macrostructures developed in the DA ones. In such a way, we gathered more comprehensive data, quantitative and qualitative, in order to answer our initial question on which professionals or areas of knowledge in higher education are being requested to contribute actively before the pandemic scene of the new coronavirus, through an interpretation of the governmental advertising concerning Enem.

CA, in general, including DA as an integral part of this methodological set, foresees the phases of pre-analysis, exploration of the material and inference (BARDIN, 1977).

In the pre-analysis, from the preliminary observation of advertising pieces ("initial reading") and the initial perception that mentioning certain professions was a central element of the presented discourse, we try to gather all the pieces – static and audiovisual – related to the official dissemination campaign of Enem 2020, promoted by MEC. Additionally, we opted to extrapolate this sample and include the pieces of the dissemination campaign of the previous edition of the Exam (ENEM, 2019), in order to check if there were significant changes in the speech broadcasted during the pandemic period, comparing to the previous moment.

Thus, to compose the analytical corpus, all static images published in posts about the deadline and the registration process to the Exam with hashtags #Enem2019 and

#Enem2020 on the official MEC page (@ministeriodaeducacao) on Facebook⁴ were compiled and classified. Among the posts retrieved in the automatic search, reposts (identical images republished) and publications that referred to various issues were discarded, such as guidance on procedures during the test or information about the security scheme for the exam, keeping the focus on publications that were configured as calls to action. This search resulted in a total of 60 (sixty) static images, 46 (forty-six) referring to Enem 2019 and 14 (fourteen) referring to Enem 2020, in addition to three videos (originally published by MEC on YouTube, shared in other platforms and also broadcasted on television), one referring to the 2019 edition and two referring to the 2020 edition, as summarized in Table 2.

Table 2 Composition of the research corpus.

Specifications	Enem 2019	Enem 2020
Sources of collection	Facebook @ministeriodaeducacao	
Filters	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. #Enem2019 or #Enem2020 2. Posts with static images or videos 3. Publications stating deadlines and registration procedures 4. Not a <i>repost</i> (image repost identical to another previously published) 	
Period of publication of images collected on Facebook	From 27/02/2019 to 16/05/2019 (78 days)	From 31/03/2020 to 26/05/2020 (56 days)
Static images	46	14
Videos	1	2
Total of Analyzed Pieces	60 still images + 03 videos = 63	

Source: Elaboration of the authors.

In the exploration part of the material, referring to the administration of techniques on corpus we performed two stages – quantitative and qualitative.

First, we categorized the analyzed pieces, seeking to identify, in the selected set of governmental advertising, elements that characterized social representations or, more

⁴ Facebook was chosen as the source to collect the pieces because it is the most widely used social media platform with the highest penetration in Brazil (We Are Social; Hootsuite, 2019), despite the growth and relevance of others – such as Twitter and Instagram. Regarding these, it was observed that, despite their particular characteristics, except for reasons of format adequacy, the publications made by MEC that are relevant to this study are practically identical to those that appear on Facebook, where the Ministry of Education has a greater number of followers. In addition, another reason for choosing Facebook was its more refined search functionality that allows simultaneous search of content by *hashtag* and author of publications, which is not possible on other platforms (which displayed *posts* of all users who mentioned the *hashtags* #Enem2019 or #Enem2020 as a result).

specifically, that made direct references (textual mentions) and/or indirect references (imagery allusions) to professions, higher education or areas of knowledge. The images were thus classified according to the presence or absence of these references, according to the type of perceived reference (textual, textual and imagery, or only imagery) and according to profession, training, or referenced area, as summarized in Table 3.

The quantitative data were structured according to the professions or referenced areas of knowledge, the frequency and type of references, and compared graphically to the areas of knowledge established by CNPq.

Table 3 Model of Quantitative Analysis.

Phenomenon in Analysis	Analysis Dimensions	Units of Analysis	Categories
Government Advertising	Social representations institutionalized in the advertising messages	Representations of professions or sciences	1. Textual mentions of profession names, training or areas of knowledge 2. Imagery allusions to professions, training or areas of knowledge

Source: Elaboration of the Authors.

In a second moment, we carried out an exercise of Critical Discourse Analysis focusing on the central idea manifested in the two main parts of the Enem 2020 campaign, disseminated precisely in the midst of the coronavirus pandemic. To this end, we apply the macrostructure analysis model proposed by Van Dijk to the textual fragment that is repeated in the two videos of the campaign, understanding that manifestations of power, dominance and inequality are at the macro level (ALEXANDER, B., MUNCH, & SMELSER, 1987).

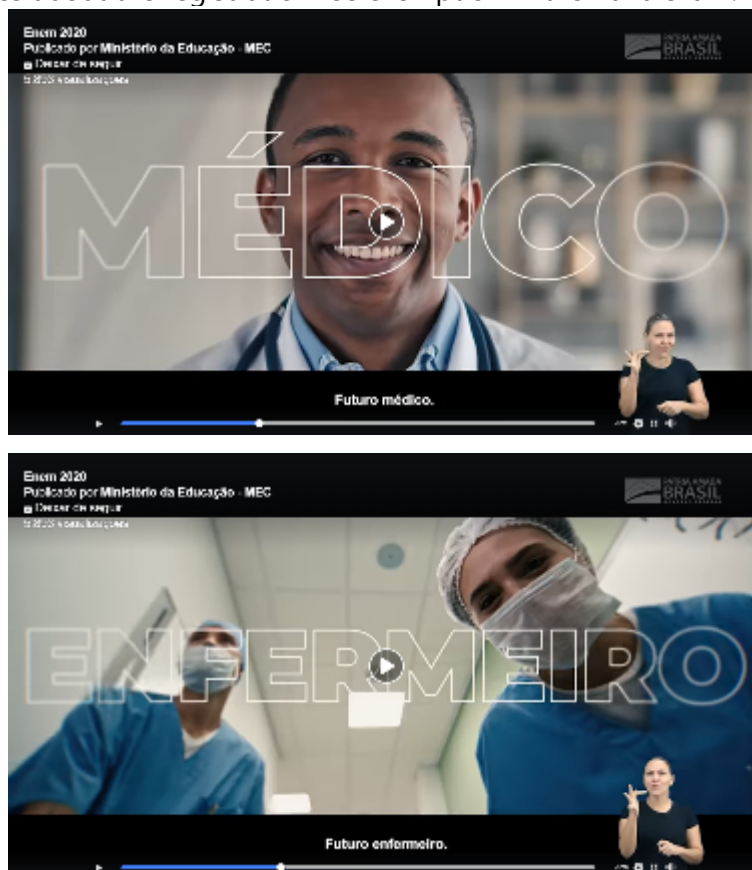
According to Anabela Carvalho, such analysis guarantees to the investigator a similar image to that offered by an X-ray machine, by through “rules or transformations of semantic mapping, that link proposals of inferior level to macro-proposals of superior level” (OAK, 2000, p. 147).

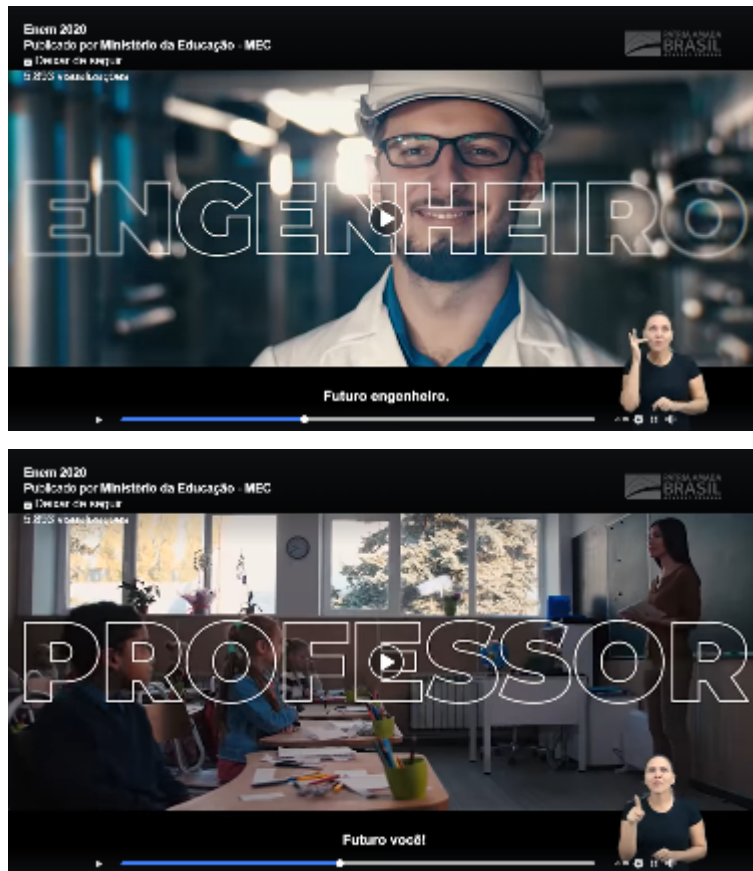
Thus, we seek to carry out and in-depth reading of the messages in the Enem advertising, confronting them with the governmental speech presented in other situations, that is resumed mainly through news published in the media, according to the previous contextualization.

Results

"Brazil needs you: future *doctor*, future *nurse*, future *engineer*, future *teacher*..." (MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, 2020b, n.p., *our emphasis*) says the video in a tone of urgency and optimism, launched in the midst of the coronavirus pandemic, to announce the 2020 edition of Enem would be maintained, and to inform the application deadline for the registration fee exemption. With uppercase texts on images that depict scenes of professionals working in a hospital, a building and a school (Figure 1), the video does not directly mention the crisis caused by COVID-19, but makes an indirect reference to the quarantine moment and the resumption of economic activities advocated by the government in several situations by emphasizing that "life cannot stop. Nor can your dream of entering higher education"(idem, *emphasis added*).

Figure 1 Frames about the registration fee exemption in the 2020 exam.



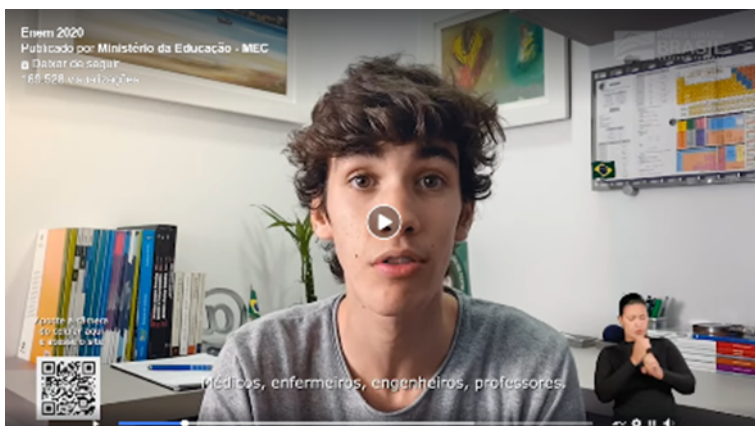


Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IQMSrxLzLLk> . Accessed on: 17th May 2020.

Days later, a new video, this one announcing the opening of the registration period, insisted on the same point - that "life cannot stop" - to support the maintenance of the schedule that was already in course. In an indirect response to students and political leaders who, outside of propaganda, were already mobilizing in favor of postponing the tests due to the impacts of the pandemic, the video (Figure 2) reinforced, once again, the importance of certain professions when questioning:

What if a generation of new professionals was lost? *Doctors, nurses, engineers, teachers...* Would it be the best for our country? *Life cannot stop.* We must put up a fight, reinvent ourselves, overcome. Better days will come. (MINISTRY OF THE EDUCATION, 2020, np, *our emphasis*).

Figure 2 Video frame on Enem 2020 registration.



Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=apufjiGIIY0> . Accessed on: 17th May 2020.

These two audiovisual pieces are quite emblematic in this pandemic moment, and precisely because they are presented in this context, at first glance, it may seem that the mention of medicine and nursing is only an occasional reference to those professionals who work in the so-called “front line” combating the coronavirus, complemented by the mention of engineering, which could be a reference to the importance attributed to civil construction for the resumption of the economy, and by the figure of teachers, also referring to one of the activities most impacted during the crisis.

However, without broadening our view, extending it to a previous period, we observe that the mention of certain professions, even outside this context, is equally restricted and selective.

In the Enem 2019 disclosure video, for example, the narrative revolves around a young man who enrolls in the exam motivated by the dream of becoming a surgeon. Thus, again, the figure of the health professional and the hospital environment are brought to the scene with prominence (Figure 3).

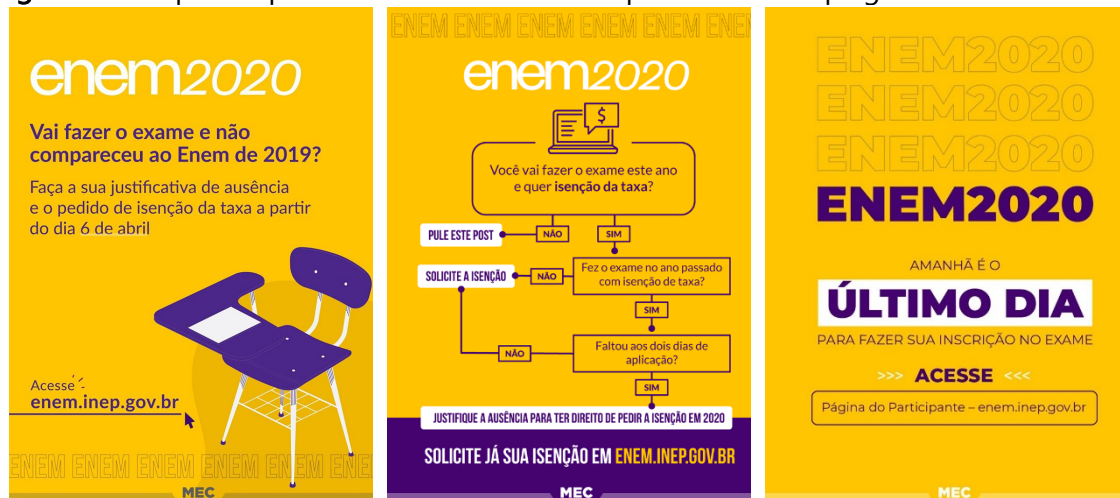
Figure 3 Opening scene of the Enem 2019 promotion video.



Source: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WM9A4XvpIKU>. Accessed on: 12th May 2020.

In terms of static images, publications made during the Enem 2020 registration period, in a minimalist style, have almost no figurative elements other than a few icons and the uppercase texts themselves, following the style used in audiovisual pieces, and don't mention any courses, professions or areas of knowledge (Figure 4).

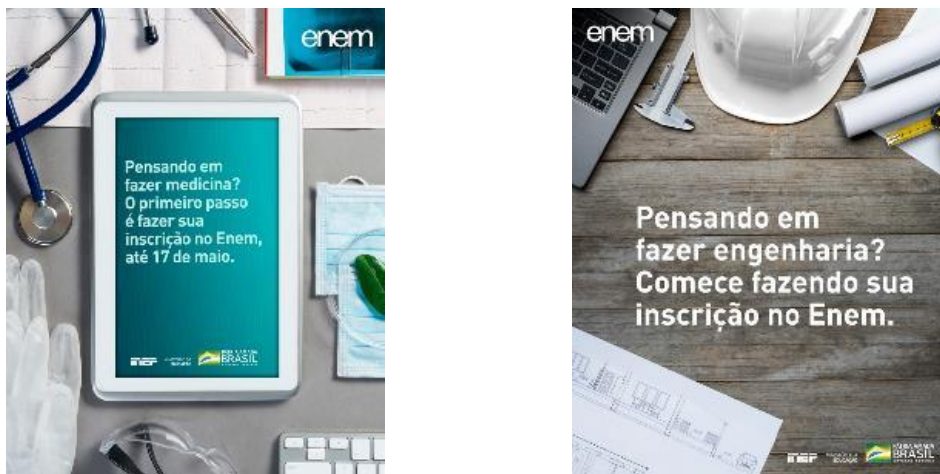
Figure 4 Examples of pieces from the Enem 2020 promotion campaign.



Source: www.facebook.com/ministeriodaeducacao. Accessed on: 26th May 2020.

We cannot see the same in the static pieces of the Enem 2019 campaign. In these pieces, among the 49 cataloged images, we find references to professions in five of them. Two textually mention the courses of medicine and engineering amid compositions of objects that complement these references (Figure 5).

Figure 5 Static pieces with textual references to professions.



Source: www.facebook.com/ministeriodaeducacao. Accessed on: 20th May 2020.

The other three allude to professions only through images (figure 6). The gavel (hammer symbol of Justice) on an office table is a clear reference to law (a), while a toothbrush next to surgical objects references dentistry (b). In the third piece (c), there is a repetition of the image used when medicine was cited without the same textual reference, but we highlight, in addition to the gloves, goggles and stethoscope, the presence of a small laboratory container with a vegetable leaf (in the right part of the table), which could be an allusion to biological sciences in general.

Figure 6 Pieces that allude to professions through images.



Source: www.facebook.com/ministeriodaeducacao. Accessed on: 20th May 2020.

Thus, we have a total of three videos and five still images (13% analyzed universe) that allude to certain professions or areas of knowledge, with a total of five specific training courses mentioned and two generic references (to undergraduate degrees, encompassed by the term "teachers", and to "biological sciences", assuming the laboratory container with a leaf as a reference).

One observes that medicine is the most referenced profession (in five pieces), followed by engineering (three mentions) and nursing (two mentions). Dentistry and law are referenced once each - only indirectly, through images, as summarized in table 4.

Table 4 Professions or areas of higher education referenced in government advertising about Enem.

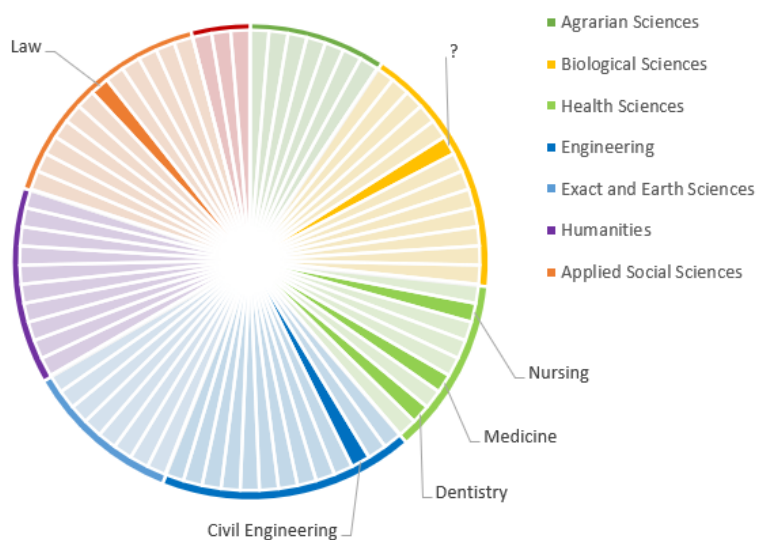
Formation/Area	Number of times it is referenced simultaneously in text and images	Number of times referenced only by images	Total
Medicine	4	1	5

Engineering	3	0	3
Nursing	2	0	2
Dentistry	0	1	1
Law	0	1	1
Teaching degrees in general	2	0	2
Biological sciences in general	0	1	1
Total	11	4	15

Source: Elaboration of the authors.

Looking at the graph below, based on the areas of knowledge defined by CNPq, we can see clearly that only a tiny part of all the plurality of scientific knowledge and existing higher education is shown in government advertising. Precisely, the analyzed pieces represent only 8% of all 75 subdivisions given to science, and in this percentage, 50% is concentrated in health sciences⁵.

Figure 7 Subdivisions of higher level scientific/academic knowledge mentioned in Enem's institutional advertisements.



Source: Elaboration of the authors.

⁵ In the graph, we consider the generic reference to biological sciences as any slice of this vast area of knowledge (which could be pharmacology, ecology, botany or genetics, for example). Moreover, considering the scene that seems to be a construction in one of the videos, and the presence of what seems to be the floor plan of a property in the static image, we consider them as references to engineering, specifically civil engineering. Finally, we disregard the generalist mention of "teachers" in the Enem 2020 videos, since, due to the context of the images representing a school environment, they could suggest degrees in either the exact sciences (mathematics, physics, chemistry), or the human sciences (geography and history), letters and arts (languages and arts), or even health sciences (physical education), taking into account the subjects taught in elementary school.

One notes that human sciences, the area of linguistics, letters and arts, and the agricultural sciences are completely overshadowed, as well as practically the whole area of applied social sciences (reduced to law) and practically the whole area of biological sciences (simplified into a leaf in a laboratory). It could be said that exact sciences do not appear either, except for the fact that, as common sense, engineering integrates this area of knowledge, despite constituting a specific area (with undeniable affinity with exact sciences).

Analysis and Discussion

Many things could be said about government advertising in this case and about the role attributed to science and higher education in this pandemic moment. On our part, we present a possible reading concerning the professions or social functions represented in the analyzed parts, which are sewn by a recurrent idea - that "life cannot stop".

When analyzing the global context where this slogan is inserted, one verifies that the advertising appropriates the "interrupted life" feeling due to Covid-19, since the population, in general, misses their freedom and routine, besides the fact that many people had their financial gains interrupted by social isolation. "Can't stop" works as a kind of suggestion that the choice to move forward (or not) is up to the individual. Thus, it relates to the idea of meritocracy, distinguishing the most hardworking and deserving of results (those who do not stop) from those who supposedly chose to stay home at this time.

If we apply this slogan to the models of analysis advocated by Van Dijk and taken up by Carvalho (2000), and thus expand its implicit meanings (as shown in Table 5), we see how ideologies manifest themselves in subtle way.

Table 5 Analysis of macrostructures in the slogan "life cannot stop".

Life	not	can	stop
Vitality	Imposing		Interrupting
Freedom		Possibility	Losing
Work		Choice	Waiting
Entertainment		Decision	
Socialization			

Source: Elaboration of the authors.

Thus, in addition to situating the cited professions exclusively among those which the country needs, and among the categories that are more difficult and “choose” not to stop, government advertising also uses its space to combat the WHO recommendation to carry out social isolation in order to prevent the rapid proliferation of the disease. As Van Dijk explains (2005), the fact that the government has a prominent space and ease to reach the population through the media, they end up excluding the speech of hundreds of agencies and specialists who contradict them.

Observing the situation, despite not being antiscientific, the advertising seconds the government discourse that over values those areas of knowledge that would supposedly have greater practical value for the country. This idea, institutionalized by governmental discourse, in a way reflects and reinforces a thought that is manifested in society in different forms. Not by chance, the courses that receive the most visibility are precisely those that, historically, tend to be the most targeted in the selection processes and are valued, to a large extent, by the expectation to provide greater social status and higher financial profits.

Furthermore, it is interesting to notice that social representations about higher education are limited to professionals who are working in the job market in non-academic roles, and almost completely omit research activity (except for mere details⁶), which is also a role of higher education and deals precisely with the development of knowledge and technological innovation necessary to deal with problems that still have no solution, in line with the new social demands.

Concerning the Enem 2020 campaign specifically, which has the coronavirus pandemic as a background, one can infer that Brazil needs nurses and doctors to treat patients, but not to research vaccines and medicine or to discuss ways to combat the disease, as if these formulae and protocols already existed. Teachers are needed to teach classes, face-to-face in schools or online, but not to discuss proposals for education before the circumstances of the pandemic. Finally, Brazil needs engineers to build the country and continue to move the economy, regardless if this also means, at the expense of non-compliance with social isolation, constructing more cemeteries.

Thinking of the “front line” in combating the pandemic, and considering that quality information is currently the best vaccine available for the prevention of coronavirus, why aren't journalists, who have also been working incessantly and are often exposed to

⁶ This “detail” would be the allusion *en passant* through the image of the laboratory container with a leaf that is apparently in the process of analysis (in the static pieces of Enem 2019 that refer to medicine).

contamination while fact-checking, mentioned among those that Brazil needs at the moment? This omission would have to do with the president's antipathy and contempt for the press (BBC 2020; FOLHA DE S. PAULO, 2020).

What to say, then, of the arts and letters? Culture may never have been, in recent history, so present in the lives of Brazilian citizens. By live streaming⁷ music, theater plays, readings, film festivals with new languages, book sharing and so much content in different formats, created and/or shared via the internet, professionals in this area have shown to be absolutely essential to make social isolation minimally bearable and to assist in understanding this moment that is so complex and new for everyone. Art, however, is critical, sometimes uncomfortable. Would it be the reason we need advertising to remind us that Brazil needs musicians, writers, filmmakers?

According to the advertising, it is implied that the list of needs in the country is restricted, and it does not include sociologists, philosophers, communicators, or even professionals of biological and agrarian sciences - who, by the way, have guaranteed the uninterrupted production of food -, and all other omitted areas.

One must recognize, without a doubt, the limitations imposed to the advertising language, which, because it needs to adjust to small formats - a poster or a few seconds of audio/video - is often based on clichés and preconceived ideas from the public to fulfill its goal of meaning a lot by saying little. On the other hand, advertising can and should also play a leading role in the sense of questioning established values, instigating reflections and new behaviors, as it has been done on many occasions.

Furthermore, we recognize that, given the level of abstraction and the lack of knowledge about the work of certain professionals, representing a sociologist, a geographer or an intellectual in the broad sense is not an easy task, especially in spaces with little descriptive margin. This is, however, just another creative challenge to which professionals in the field (also essential at this time when there is so much to be informed and disclosed) should not shy away in the name of a media that seeks to truly dialog with society.

Final Considerations

At a time when there is so much discussion about "essential activities" in the face of the global crisis, our analysis, more than a conclusive study, is an invitation to reflection.

⁷ Live performances broadcast by *streaming* technology.

If our findings are not surprising, since they were never hidden, they emphasize what has already been discussed about the anti-scientific stance adopted by the current Brazilian government, which insists on ignoring the need for interdisciplinarity to understand a phenomenon as complex as the COVID-19 pandemic.

Among so many contributions that social and human sciences have to offer, one of them is precisely to reflect on how the government establishes their relations with society in the midst of the crisis, and to draw attention to the uses of communication of public service, which also becomes, through discourse, an ideological instrument.

References

- AGOSTINI, R. (2019, abril 30). MEC cortará verba de universidade por “balbúrdia” e já enquadra UnB, UFF e UFBA. O Estado de S. Paulo [online]. Recovered from: <<https://bit.ly/3cD663e>>.
- ALEXANDER, J. C., GIESEN, B., MUNCH, R., & SMELSER, N. J. (1987). The micro-macro link. (J. C. Alexander, B. Giesen, R. Munch, & N. J. Smelser, Orgs.). Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- ANPOF. (2019). Nota de repúdio a declarações do ministro da educação e do presidente da república [...]. Recovered in 10 June, 2019, of: <<http://bit.ly/2IA7hul>>.
- BARDIN, L. (1977). Análise de Conteúdo. Lisboa: Edições 70.
- BBC. (2020, maio 5). 6 momentos dos ataques de Bolsonaro contra a imprensa – BBC News Brasil. Recovered in 8 June, 2020, of: <<https://bbc.in/3h7VE6H>>.
- BOLSONARO, J. (2019a, abril 8). Entrevista concedida à Rádio Jovem Pan sobre os primeiros 100 dias de governo. Recovered in 24 April, 2019, of: <<http://bit.ly/2jVuibb>>.
- BOLSONARO, J. (2019b, abril 26). Post no Twitter @jairbolsonaro. Twitter. Recovered from: <<https://bit.ly/3cD4ID3>>.
- CARVALHO, A. (2000). Opções metodológicas em análise de discurso: instrumentos, pressupostos e implicações. Comunicação e Sociedade 2, Cadernos d(14), 143–156.
- CLARIVATE ANALYTICS. (2017). Research in Brazil – A report for Capes by Clarivate Analytics (2011-2016). Recovered from: <<https://bit.ly/30uocRY>>.
- CONSELHO NACIONAL DE DESENVOLVIMENTO CIENTÍFICO E TECNOLÓGICO. ([s.d.]). Tabela de Áreas do Conhecimento. Recovered from: <<https://bit.ly/2YifSlz>>.

- CRUZ, A. (2020). Pró-reitores divulgam carta aberta sobre programa de bolsas de Iniciação Científica do CNPq. Recovered in 30 april, 2020, of: <<https://bit.ly/3cJVG1a>>.
- DIJK, T. A. van. (2005). Discurso, Notícia e Ideologia. Estudos na Análise Crítica do Discurso. (Z. Pinto-Coelho, Trad.). Porto: Campo das Letras.
- FOLHA DE S. PAULO. (2020, abril 16). Bolsonaro ataca jornalistas uma vez a cada 3 dias, aponta entidade de imprensa – 16/04/2020 – Poder – Folha. Recovered in 8 june, 2020, of: <<https://bit.ly/2YdiAsF>>.
- FUNDAÇÃO COORDENAÇÃO DE APERFEIÇOAMENTO DE PESSOAL DE NÍVEL SUPERIOR. ([s.d.]). Tabela de Áreas de Conhecimento. Capes. Recovered from: <<https://bit.ly/3haySuZ>>.
- G1. (2019, novembro 22). Ministro diz que há plantações de maconha em universidades. Recovered in 29 may, 2020, of: <<https://glo.bo/3gBWSH6>>.
- G1. (2020, junho 8). Veículos de comunicação formam parceria para dar transparência a dados de Covid-19 | Política | G1. Recovered in 8 june, 2020, of: <<https://glo.bo/2XKzAax>>.
- GARCIA, G., & GOMES, P. H. (2020, maio 19). Bolsonaro anuncia novo protocolo para uso da cloroquina. Recovered in 7 june, 2020, of: <<https://glo.bo/3f1nTSL>>.
- GRANDELLE, R., & KAPA, R. (2018, novembro 9). Bolsonaro afirma que tentará “apapar” universidades e critica centros acadêmicos. Recovered in 4 december, 2018, of: <<https://glo.bo/2RX7Tbe>>.
- ILHÉU, T. (2019, abril 29). Por que reduzir investimento na área de Humanas não faz sentido no Brasil. Guia do Estudante. Recovered from: <<https://bit.ly/3f1rbp4>>.
- JAPÃO. (2018). Basic Policy on Promotion of Science, Technology and Innovation for Sustainable Development Goals (STI for SDGs). Recovered from: <<https://bit.ly/2XHELbs>>.
- LIMA, D. (2019, maio 1). Ministro também quer cortar bolsa que financia pesquisa com ‘viés ideológico’’. Folha de S. Paulo – Blog Painel. Recovered from: <<https://bit.ly/2Utx3Qi>>.
- MINISTÉRIO DA SAÚDE. (2020, abril 2). Cerca de 5 milhões de profissionais de saúde serão cadastrados. Recovered in 9 june, 2020, of: <<https://bit.ly/2YiUcWH>>.
- O GLOBO. (2020, maio 7). Relembre algumas vezes que Bolsonaro ignorou o isolamento social. Recovered in 7 june, 2020, of: <<https://glo.bo/3f7unj9>>.
- ORLANDI, E. P. (2015). Análise do discurso: princípios & procedimentos. Campinas: Pontes.

- PÊCHEUX, M. (1969). *Analyse automatique du discours*. Paris: Dunod.
- PÊCHEUX, M. (1990). *O Discurso: estrutura ou acontecimento*. (E. P. Orlandi, Trad.). Campinas: Pontes.
- REVISTA FÓRUM. (2019, abril 26). "Pode estudar Filosofia? Pode. Com dinheiro próprio". Recovered in 8 June, 2020, of: <<https://bit.ly/2XJz0Kl>>.
- ROCHA, D., & DEUSDARÁ, B. (2006). Análise de conteúdo e análise do discurso: o lingüístico e seu entorno. *Delta* [online], 22(1), 29–52.
- SAKAMOTO, L. (2020, fevereiro 7). De "parasita" a "zebra gorda", servidor público é alvo do governo Bolsonaro. Recovered in 29 May, 2020, of: <<https://bit.ly/3dSfElo>>.
- WODAK, R., & MEYER, M. (2001). *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*. Londres: Sage Publications.

RESUMO:

O presente texto apresenta uma análise crítica das campanhas oficiais de divulgação do Enem nos anos de 2019 e 2020 em meio a um cenário de tensões políticas entre governo e universidades federais, mercado, também, pela pandemia de coronavírus. O estudo demonstra uma representação parcial, no âmbito da publicidade governamental brasileira, das ciências e da educação superior, caracterizada, principalmente, pela sobrevalorização de cursos das Ciências da Saúde e formações tradicionalmente valorizadas pelo mercado de trabalho, como Direito e Engenharia, em contraste com a relativa invisibilidade das Ciências Humanas, Sociais e demais áreas do conhecimento.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Comunicação; Ciência; Educação Superior; Propaganda; Publicidade Governamental.

RESUMEN:

Este texto presenta un análisis crítica de las campañas oficiales de difusión de Enem en los años 2019 y 2020 en medio de un escenario de tensiones políticas entre el gobierno y las universidades federales, también marcado por la pandemia de coronavirus. El estudio muestra una representación parcial, en el ámbito de la publicidad gubernamental brasileña, las ciencias y la educación superior, caracterizada principalmente por la sobrevaloración de los cursos en Ciencias de la Salud y cursos tradicionalmente valorados por el mercado laboral, como Derecho e Ingeniería, en contraste con la relativa invisibilidad de las ciencias humanas, sociales y otras áreas del conocimiento.

PALABRAS-CLAVES: Comunicación; Ciencias; Educación universitaria; Publicidad; Publicidad gubernamental.