THE IMAGE OF THE UNIVERSITY THROUGH ENEM DISSEMINATION: reflections on public communication, representativeness and stereotypes

A IMAGEM DA UNIVERSIDADE ATRAVÉS DA DIVULGAÇÃO DO ENEM: reflexões sobre comunicação pública, representatividade e estereótipos

LA IMAGEN DE LA UNIVERSIDAD A TRAVÉS DE LA DIFUSIÓN DEL ENEM: reflexiones sobre la comunicación pública, la representatividad y los estereotipos

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ABSTRACT:
The present study consists of a visual analysis of the official Enem advertising campaigns for 2019 and 2020. This highlights the unequivocal preponderance of white people in advertising representation and demonstrates subjectivities such as the recurrent association of black individuals with the stereotype of poverty and exceptionality. Based on these insights, the role of government advertising in the (de) construction of the image of Higher Education and Brazilian public universities is discussed, and attention is drawn to the possible use of public communication as a political and ideological mechanism.

KEYWORDS: Organizational image; Public Communication; Racial diversity; Universities; Visual analysis.

Introduction

The image of Higher Education Institutions (IES), particularly Brazilian public universities, has been the target of recurring attacks, which resulted in successive attempts at deconstruction, maintenance, and reconstruction.

In the last decades, with the radical changes in the political scenario, from 13 years of a left-wing government to a right-wing government, we have seen a change in Brazil that is both sudden and polarized with regard to the official view of public institutions of higher education.

By sticking to the government discourse and refraining from discussing the merits and effectiveness of adopted public policies, we observe that the country went from a rhetoric that was openly favorable to the democratization of access to higher education, marked by a significant expansion of the education network – public and private –, by the consolidation of affirmative actions with the enactment of the Quota Law[1] (Law No. 12,711/2012), and by the motto "University for All"[2], to a rhetoric that ignores the important contribution of public universities in the development of research (BOLSONARO, 2019), which considers such institutions as hotspots of "rampage" (AGOSTINI, 2019), of indoctrination and drugs (minister affirms there are marijuana plantations in universities, 2019), and accuses teachers and public servants of being "parasites" (SAKAMOTO , 2020). A rhetoric that openly devalues the role of human and social sciences ("Bolsonaro says MEC studies the 'decentralization' of investment in courses of philosophy and sociology", 2019), which states that "universities should be secured to an intellectual elite" (PASSARELLI, 2019 n.p.) and, on the other hand, considers as privileged, among others, black and indigenous peoples, being reportedly averse to policies of positive discrimination and affirmative actions (SIMON , 2020).

This narrative is bolstered when we consider the deep social inequalities that characterize the Brazilian scenario, where higher education, despite not offering a guarantee of employability, is widely recognized as "the main variable of access to the distinct opportunities of democratic societies, unequivocally participating in the determination of income from work, occupation *status*, and social mobility" (BRAZILIAN INSTITUTE OF GEOGRAPHY AND STATISTICS , 2018). Moreover, the racial issue is extremely present both in culture and social indicators, where the cutouts by color/race

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[1] Law establishing the reservation of vacancies in public universities for low-income students coming from public schools, black, brown, and indigenous people, and people with disabilities.

[2] Name of the program that grants scholarships in private institutions of higher education to low-income students launched in 2004 (Prouni) that become a kind of slogan for President Lula's administration (2003-2011).

reiterates the contrasts between Brazil experienced by blacks and Brazil experienced by whites.

In this context, knowing that government discourse is a relevant element in the process of forming the image of public institutions and considering that advertising can be characterized as a form of manifestation of this discourse, we propose an analytical/critical exercise on how public universities and higher education are presented through advertising to their potential entrants, who also constitute their target audience from the perspective of this communication. In other words, we seek to decipher, from the governmental advertising language, how universities are and to whom higher education is intended, keeping the stereotypes and messages in mind. In addition, we propose a discussion on the possibility or not of untying public communication and, specifically, public utility advertising practiced by the government, from a political, ideological, and governmental bias.

Within a research project that also intends to expand and deepen this analysis for other selection processes and for the advertising formulated by the educational institutions themselves, in this preliminary study we address the official publicity of the Ministry of Education on the latest editions of the National High School Exam (Enem 2019 and 2020), which became the "largest entrance exam in the country" and the main gateway to higher education for Brazilians[3] since its reformulation and the implementation of The Unified Selection System (SiSU) in 2010. The Exam is held annually by the Ministry of Education through the National Institute of Educational Studies and Research Anísio Teixeira (Inep), and mobilizes millions of participants in each edition (in 2020 there were more than 6 million applicants).

The hypothesis we tested in this paper is that government advertising presents low representativeness of blacks, and these are represented in a stereotypical way when they appear, which generally occurs in a great part of the media, despite positive advances, as demonstrated by studies developed by Martins (2009) and Heads agency (HEADS PROPAGANDA, 2018), among others. In the present case, we believe that stereotyping resides in the recurrent and exclusive association of the black person to the poor and dependent character, incapable of entering higher education and developing by their own means, without extra incentives.

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[3] According to a survey conducted by the authors in 2019, only 1 out of 63 public universities in the country does not use Enem as a criterion to select students, either through SiSU or own their edicts. Enem also serves as a selection criterion to grant scholarships in private institutions through Prouni, and student financing through the Fies program. Furthermore, the Exam score is accepted in several foreign institutions and many private institutions in Brazil as a substitute for the admission exam.

Theoretical References

According to official data, more than half (56%) of the Brazilian population is black, a percentage that represents more than 115 million people[4] (BRAZILIAN INSTITUTE OF GEOGRAPHY AND STATISTICS (IBGE), 2019a).

According to Andifes, as with the Brazilian population in recent years[5], since 2018 blacks have become the majority of students enrolled in federal public universities in the country, having reached a percentage of 51.2% (NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF DIRECTORS OF THE FEDERAL HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS, 2019). However, this number is considered an optimistic representation, even if the growing advances towards the popularization of higher education are recognized, since it opposes to broader research indicating that the country is still far from a level of equality in the most diverse indicators.

According to IBGE, even with social quotas, blacks still have much lower rates of access to higher education. Between 2016 and 2018, the proportion of black students aged 18 to 24 on this level went from 50.5% to 55.6%. It was still, however, below 78.8% of white students in the same age group at this educational level in 2018 (IBGE, 2019b).

The panorama of inequalities is also revealed in the distribution of income and access to information and communication technologies. About 33% of the black population in Brazil lives below the poverty line (the rate is 15% among the white population) and it is estimated that 7 out of 10 poor people in Brazil are black. Regarding internet access, in 2017, considering young people between 15 and 19 years old, the percentage of whites who accessed the network was 92.5%, while for blacks it was 84.3%. Most of the access by blacks, however, occurs exclusively by cell phone: only 39.6% of young blacks accessed the internet via computer this year, while among whites this percentage was 61.4% (IBGE, 2019b).

It is also known that about 38% of Brazilian households in classes D and E, and 39% of households in class C have internet access at home, but no computer, and 28% of all households do not have internet access. In classes D and E, this percentage reaches

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[4] By convention, we consider the sum of people who self-declare as black or brown as the group of blacks.
[5] With the growth of the black population and the shrinking of the white population, according to IBGE, the white population, which was the majority until then, has become inferior to the group of black and brown populations since 2006.

50% (REGIONAL STUDY CENTER FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE INFORMATION SOCIETY, 2020).

These data are especially important considering that to take part in Enem, interested parties need to register - exclusively via the internet - and also pay a fee, which in 2019 and 2020 was fixed at R$85. Additionally, students from public and low-income schools may be exempt from this payment, but they need to make an inquiry, also via internet.

In addition, in 2020, because schools were closed due to the coronavirus pandemic, face-to-face classes were replaced with online activities, often for students in private education. The lack of infrastructure, however, prevented it from happening among many students in less privileged classes.

Like social indicators, advertising seems to be a picture of inequalities more accurate than of diversity of the Brazilian population. As several studies demonstrate (see CARRERA, 2020; CORRÊA, 2006; HEADS PROPAGANDA, 2018; MARTINS, 2009 and others), advertising, in general, makes blacks invisible or represents them through stereotypes that reinforce prejudice and corroborate with established inequalities.

This is a controversial issue that has been in debate for a long time. Since the time of drafting the new Republic's Constitution, in 1988, numerous federal, state, and municipal initiatives can be observed in the legislative scope trying to correct the "achromatopsia" (color blindness) of Brazilian advertising. In 1989, for example, the Constitution of Bahia (a Brazilian state) established the proportionality of black presence in government institutional advertising on the state's television. In Rio De Janeiro, on the other hand, the law that establishes minimum quota for representation of Afro-descendants in the governmental advertising (RIO DE JANEIRO, 2019) dates back to 2019, and we must highlight both the delay, so to speak, to approve such measure (in relation to other similar initiatives that had been precursory), and the fact that it is still current.

On the federal level, in 1995, a bill by Senator Benedita da Silva proposed the mandatory participation of 40% of blacks in government commercials and national television productions. In 1998, federal deputy Paulo Paim reaffirmed this initiative by proposing Bill No. 4,370, which establishes racial/ethnic representation in films, programs, and advertising pieces broadcast by television stations. The Statute of the Racial Equality (Law 12,288/2010), approved in 2010, was not specific on this topic. Thus, two bills are currently being processed together in the National Congress - one by Benedita da Silva (Bill 4,802/2016) and another by deputy Ossesio Silva (Bill 1,179/2019) - which propose to amend the statute to establish the mandatory nature of black

participation in government advertising campaigns. Benedita's suggests that racial ethnic representation should be proportional to the diversity of the population as measured by the census.

In view of these contrasts, advertising can be thought of in several aspects that go beyond its most immediate and ephemeral function of dissemination. We can see it both as a historical register of a time - a medium that reflects habits, costumes, and values of its society, although it does not have the same compromise to the truth as journalism - and a cultural vanguard product or a representation of an ideal model - a medium that projects new values and encourages social and behavioral changes through an idealized - often times romanticized - image of reality.

In any case, the advertising message has great potential to cause psychological effects (GADE, 1998), especially through visual stimuli. The connotative and persuasive power of images has been long seen and reaffirmed since Barthes (1964, apud JOLY, 2005) conceived over the rhetoric of images. Thus, we know that the images created by advertising can either act as a stimulus to consumption or the adoption of certain behaviors, or as a factor of frustration and rejection of representations of the presented reality, as they create, "a clearer awareness of class differences and social injustice in the wealth distribution", as Hamburger (1964, p 66) observes.

Advertising on universities, considered as fiction rather than a social portrait, can represent both a utopian reality of inclusion, social diversity, and interdisciplinarity, appraising all areas of knowledge, as well as a dystopian reality of exclusion, over valuating certain courses and scientific areas, and meritocracy.

For such representations, advertising uses particular languages, where the use of the human figure is a recurring resource, used to humanize brands and organizations that aim to bring their audiences closer together. Another resource used both in advertising and marketing is the creation of personas, which consists of archetypes of potential customers/users of a certain business or organization, based in real data on behavior and demographic traits of people they intend to reach in a given action (COOPER, 2008; REVELLA, 2015). Expanding the generic notion of "target audience", these fictitious representations of individuals strive to emphasize particular characteristics of possible users/consumers so that more personalized and assertive messages and solutions can be developed.

In this regard, it seems essential to think of blacks and young people from the suburbs as relevant personas within the scope of creation and development of campaigns to promote opportunities in public education, keeping in mind a possible *deficit*, not only in education and economics, but also in information within the poorest communities. This issue is addressed by Delgado (2018) in a *blog* directed to the public in the suburbs. According to a news article, many young people who are part of the most vulnerable layers of the population - with a majority of blacks - also lack information and knowledge on the possibilities of entering the public higher education, as reported by interviewees:

> Nobody at public school has told me: if you do a prep course, you'll pass. Go to a prep course. I studied in the evening, I didn't even know there was a popular course, for example (Santos, quoted in Delgado, 2018, np).

> When I was in high school, I had a teacher who was very dedicated [...] and showed me the possibility of going to public college. Until then, I had always thought I would do ProUni, I would have to go to a private college, I didn't even know about the existence of public universities [...] (CARDOSO, quoted by DELGADO, 2018, np).

Under the normative scope of the Federal Executive Branch, advertising falls within the scope of public communication actions, which is understood as

> that carried through exclusively in favor of public interest, with the goal to guarantee the citizenship, the right to information, the freedom of thought and the participation in the debate of relevant political, economic and social subjects, related to the human condition and life in society. (SECRETARIAT OF SOCIAL COMMUNICATION OF THE REPUBLIC PRESIDENCY, 2017)

Many authors, however, have discussed and deepened this concept, observing several aspects the term "public communication" assumes. According to Duarte, the field of public communication encompasses, among other types of communication, both *government communication* and *political communication*, the first of which refers to "information flows and relationship patterns involving the Executive and society ", while the second "concerns the discourse and action to win over public opinion regarding ideas or activities that relate to power" (DUARTE, 2011, p. 126). Regarding government communication, the author observes that the Executive is part of the State and should not be confused with government - responsible for the administrative and political management of the State apparatus - that is only a transitory manager.

According to Decree No. 7,379/2010, advertising can be classified as a) public utility advertising; b) institutional advertising; c) marketing advertising; and d) legal advertising (PRESIDENCY OF THE REPUBLIC, 2010), noting that public utility advertising must

> disclose topics of social interest and present an objective, clear, and easy-to-understand action command, with the aim to inform, educate, guiding, mobilize, prevent, or alert the population to the adoption of behaviors that generate individual and/or collective benefits. (BRAZIL, 2018 n.p.)

The Federal Constitution, in turn, states in article 37, paragraph 1, that

> publicity of the acts, programs, works, services and campaigns of public agencies should be educational, informative or socially-oriented, and they cannot contain names, symbols or images that characterize the personal promotion of authorities or public servants. (BRAZIL, 1988)

Decree No. 6,555/2008, however, establishes that among other guidelines, during the development of communication actions by the Federal Executive Branch, one must observe: "attention to the educational, informative and socially oriented character" and the "promotion of cultural and *ethnic diversity* and *respect for equality and racial*, generational, gender and sexual orientation issues" (BRASIL, 2008 n.p., our emphasis).

Methodology

In this study, in perspective with the context and the theoretical reference, we carry through a visual analysis of the main advertising pieces in the official campaigns promoted by the Brazilian federal government to promote the 2019 and 2020 editions of Enem.

We base our analysis on Joly's (2005, p. 47) semiotic interpretive thought, which is based on Barthes's semiology, to whom "an image always means something other than what it represents in the first degree, that is, at the level of denotation " (apud JOLY, 2005, p. 96). According to Joly, it is precisely the analyst's task to decode the "meanings implied by the natural simplicity of visual messages". Therefore, we sought possible interpretations that go beyond the superficial reading restricted to natural impressions of what is seen, regardless of whether these interpretations were intentionally induced or not by those who created or disseminated the visual message.

To compose the analytical *corpus*, all static images published in *posts* to promote the deadline and registration process of the Exam were compiled and classified with the

hashtags #Enem2019 and #Enem2020 at MEC's official page (@ministeriodaeducacao) on Facebook[6].

Among the *posts* retrieved in the automatic search, we discarded *reposts* (identical republished images) and publications that referenced diverse topics, such as guidelines about procedures during the test, or information on the security scheme for the exam, focusing on publications that were considered as calls for participation. This search resulted in a total of 60 (sixty) images, where 46 (forty-six) referred to Enem 2019 and 14 (fourteen) referred to Enem 2020.

In addition to these images, three advertising videos on the same theme - Enem's registration - joined the collection, released by the Ministry of Education on digital social media (published on YouTube and shared on other platforms) and broadcast on television, one of which for the 2019 edition and two for the 2020 edition.

Additionally, we analyzed three images that appeared in *billboards* and in digital social media, just before the 2019 test in November, and a video calling for participants in this same edition. These pieces composed a stage of dissemination after the applications, but were included for their symbolic value, which contributed to the enrichment of the analysis.

Finally, the *corpus* of this study also comprises the main image that illustrates the top of Enem's permanent official *website*, which is the same in both editions, and was similarly gathered to the sample to complement the discussions.

Except for these last pieces, all other analyses were published between February 27, 2019 and May 16, 2019, and between March 31, 2020 and May 26, 2020, covering the preliminary stage of the campaign, which begins with the publication of the guidelines and the schedule, from the period to inquire the exemption from the registration fee (which precedes it) until the end of the deadline and closing period of this stage[7].

Table 1 shows a summary of the *corpus* construction.

Table 1: Corpus of analysis

Specifications	Enem 2019	Enem 2020

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[6] Facebook was chosen as the source for the collection of images because it is the most used and most popular social media platform in Brazil (WE ARE SOCIAL; HOOTSUITE, 2019), despite the growth and relevance of others - such as Twitter and Instagram. Regarding these, we observed that despite their particular characteristics, except for format adequacy issues, the publications by MEC pertinent to this study are practically identical to those that appear on Facebook, where the Ministry of Education has a greater number of followers. Another reason to choose Facebook was their more refined search functionality that allows simultaneous search of content by *hashtag* and author of publications, which is not possible on other platforms (which would display *posts* from all users who mentioned the *hashtags* #Enem2019 or #Enem2020 as a result).

[7] Later on, the promotion efforts normally continue with guidance to the successful applicants, information on dates, schedules, and procedures to sit the tests, until the publication of answer sheets and results.

Sources	Facebook @ministeriodaeducacao https://enem.inep.gov.br	
Filters	1. #Enem2019 or #Enem2020 2. Posts with still images or videos 3. Posts about deadlines and registration procedures 4. Cannot be a *repost* (republication identical to another one previously published) OR 5. Main image of Enem's official website OR 6. Pieces that call students to the registration.	
Period of publication of images collected on Facebook	From 27/02/2019 to 16/05/2019 (78 days) + final stage (just before sitting the tests)	From 31/03/2020 to 26/05/2020 (56 days)
Number of static images collected on Facebook	49	14
Number of videos	2	2
Number of images from the website	1	
Total of Analyzed Images	63 still images + 04 videos + 01 image from the *website* = 68	

Source: Drafted by the authors.

Seeking to identify the social representations institutionalized through government advertising about higher education, the pieces were categorized according to two aspects: (1) the presence of human figures by color/race (white, black or unidentified), and (2) textual references to the exemption from the registration fee or other social support policies, as summarized on Table 2[8].

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[8] For this classification, only images in the posts were considered, including the textual part inserted in the images, disregarding subtitles published separately.

Table 2: Model of Analysis

Phenomenon in Analysis	Dimensions of Analysis	Units of Analysis	Categories
Government Communication	Social representations institutionalized in the advertising messages	Human Representations	1. Presence of human figures by color/race (number); 2. References to social support policies (yes or no).

Source: Drafted by the authors

This approach, however, could not refrain from observing the context represented in the images, especially in those where human figures are present. The reason is, during the analysis, some environmental elements that did not fit properly in any previously stipulated unit or category emerged with such an impact, especially in audiovisual pieces, that it seemed interesting to include them in the description and discussion of results.

Regarding the definition of color/race of the represented individuals, like other researchers who address this theme (see CORRÊA, 2006; D'ADESKY, 2001; MARTINS, 2009), we chose to polarize the classification among blacks – a group that by statistical convention includes blacks and browns[9] – and whites. The difficulties imposed by the duality of this categorization are evident in view of the miscegenation of the Brazilian population, as well as the subjectivity of this criterion - since the identification of people by color or race is a relative social construction that depends on the referential of the observed. (PETRUCCELLI, 2011).

It is known that such perception can be influenced by various issues, whether cultural, social, or even technical, such as lighting effects, photographic editing, or the settings of the monitor where digital images are displayed.

Thus, even assuming possible flaws in this criterion, we bear in mind that it is no more subjective or arbitrary than the mechanisms of discrimination and (re)production of inequalities that take place on a daily basis in our society, which we believe should be fought by all possible means, including and especially by critical action of the media and communication professionals, preferably with the example of public and governmental communication.

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[9] For more details on this, see Guimarães (2003).

Results

Anyone who directly accesses Enem's official website searching for information about the Exam will find an image that clearly highlights the diversity involved in its context: the main image on the page (Image 1), a colored illustration, depicts nine people side by side, in a relaxed way, among whom two blacks are identified, one is physically disabled, one is a pregnant woman and one person appears to be well above the average age group of students who are the most obvious target audience of Enem.

Image 1: Top of Enem's official website

Source: https://enem.inep.gov.br. Access: 2019, May, 12th and 2020, May, 17th

On television and social media, the official video to promote Enem 2019 registrations started in an operating room, with a doctor on the scene. Afterwards, the doctor is revealed to be a young white man dreaming with that profession. Alerted by his mother about Enem's registration deadline, he then appears in a home environment that seems to be middle/upper class, making his registration on a computer (Image 2).

Image 2: Final scene of the official Enem 2019 promotion video

Source: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WM9A4XvpIKU. Access: 2019, May, 12th

Following the same narrative format that transits between dream and reality, the video of the campaign's second phase shows a young white woman on an imponent corporate scene, with characteristic executive attire. In the scene, she is in a meeting taking over the presidency of a company, as seen in the sequence of frames reproduced below (Image 3). She thanks other high-level members: the legal director, the financial director, and the marketing director - all of them also represented by white people (frames marked as "c", "d" and "e"). In the sequence, the main character leaves this dream environment and we see a transition to reality as soon as the protagonist's father appears, reminding her of the test ("g"). The protagonist is thus transferred from the corporate environment to a domestic middle-class scenario and is finally placed among other candidates sitting the test ("h").

Not even in the final scene, where several students appear in a classroom sitting the exam, there is greater representation in terms of color/race: from 8 individuals that can be identified, the presence of a single black person is noted, framed in an almost imperceptible third plane (marked by a red arrow, in the "h" box).

**Image 3:** Video sequence of the second phase of Enem 2019's promotion

a)

b)

c)

d)
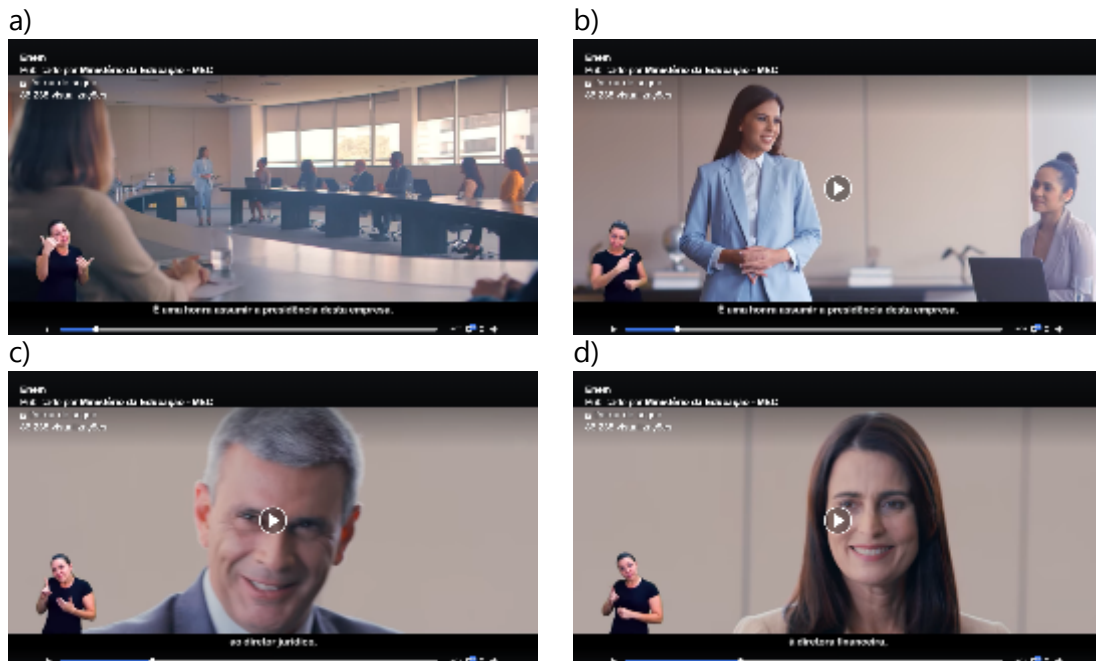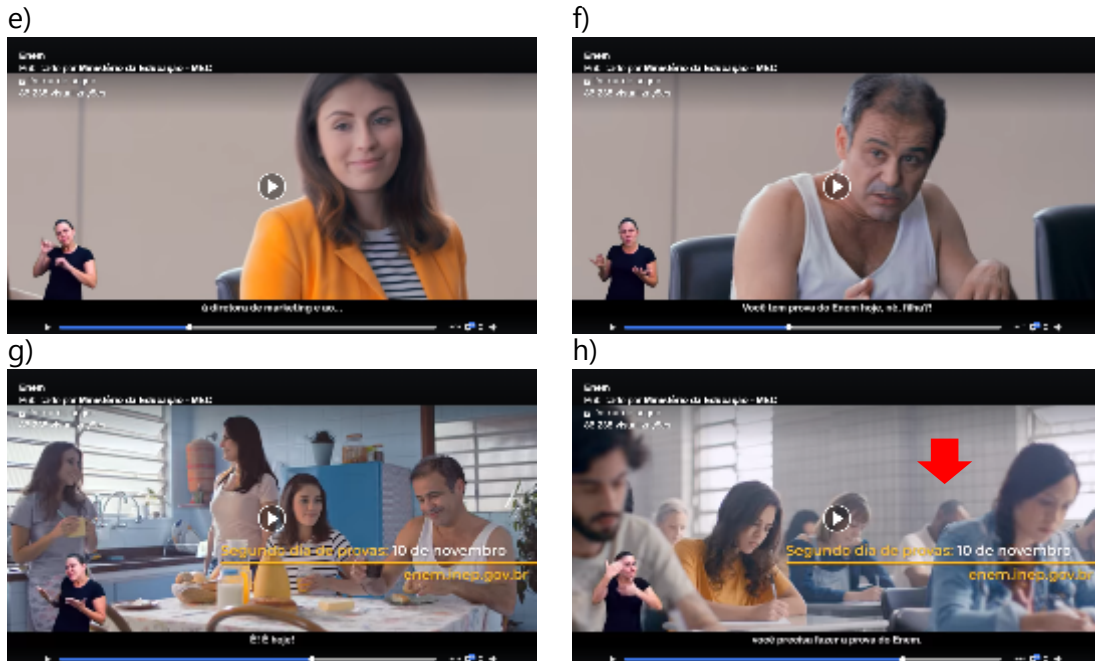
Source: https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=450041552300937. Access: 2019, Nov. 11th

Released in the midst of a coronavirus pandemic, amid uncertainty and debates about whether to carry out the Exam (which ended up being postponed, with no new date set yet), the Enem 2020 videos carry an urgency tone - related to the world crisis moment, even without a direct citation - and optimism at the same time.

Entitled "Enem 2020 is maintained!", the first video (Image 4), about the deadline to inquire exemption from the registration fee, shows a panorama of Rio de Janeiro city, followed by scenes with references to some professions (doctors and nurses - perhaps, due to the context, in reference to the most requested professionals at the time of the pandemic -, as well as engineers and teachers). In the last scenes, white hands take notes in a notebook and use a computer - an essential item in the candidates' registration process, which is done exclusively *online*. In upper case, the text, which is also read out loud and is translated into Brazilian Sign Language, says: "Life cannot stop. Your dream to enter Higher Education cannot, either. After all, Brazil needs you. [...]" (MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, 2020a).

Image 4: Scenes from the video about Enem 2020 registration fee exemption
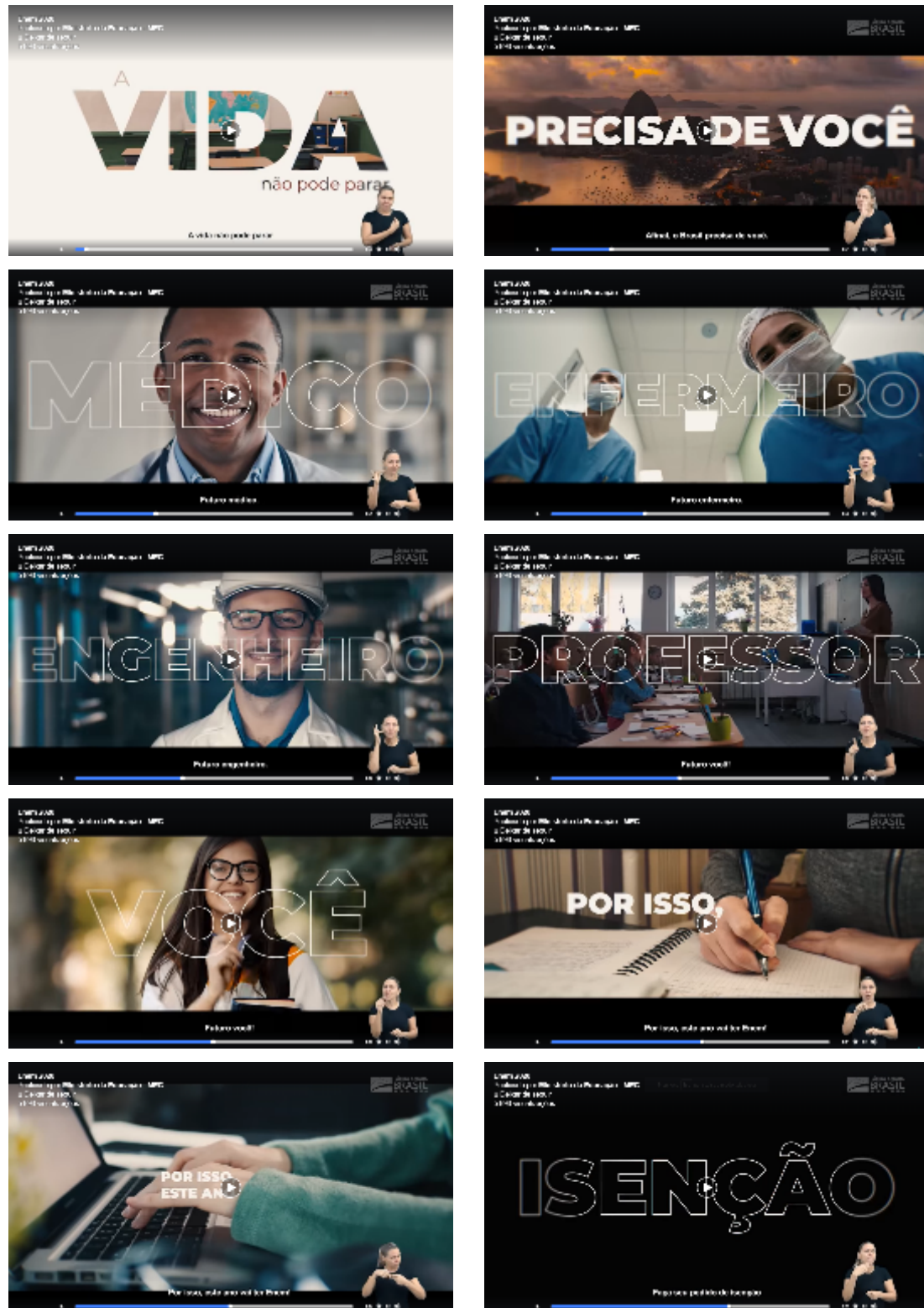
Source: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IQMSrxLzLLk Access: 2020, May 5th

In the second video of the 2020 campaign (Image 5), which reproduces the format of homemade first-person recordings, once again without a direct mention to the

coronavirus pandemic or quarantine, four young people send a motivational message from their homes. "[...] Life cannot stop. We must fight, reinvent ourselves, overcome this! Better days will come", says one of them. "And that's why I want to sit Enem this year. To enter a University. Study! From anywhere, in different ways, with books, the internet, with the help of teachers online", the second character continues (MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, 2020b np).

Image 5: Scenes from the video of Enem 2020 registration


Source: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=apufjiGlIY0 Access: 2020, May 20th

The piece, starring young people with high-end cell phones connected to the internet in their rooms full of books, was severely criticized, as was the initial insistence of the Ministry of Education to keep the exam dates, ignoring the situation of most young Brazilians, especially students from public schools and the poorest sections of the population who, with schools closed due to the pandemic, were unable to continue with online learning activities, as easily happened with students from higher classes and private schools.

Looking at the *corpus* as a whole, we found that the majority (70%) of the pieces referring to the 2019 Enem included imagery representations of people, whether they were faces, hands or other parts of the human body. Thus, at least 43 individuals could be identified in 35[10] of the 49 static images analyzed this year, and 19 other people in the videos to promote the registrations and call for participants on the eve of the tests.

The Enem 2020 campaign, on the other hand, adopted a minimalist visual language, based on color contrasts reinforced by uppercase texts, with virtually no illustrations, except for a few icons, as we can see in the following examples (Image 6).

**Image 6:** Pieces of the Enem 2020 advertising campaign
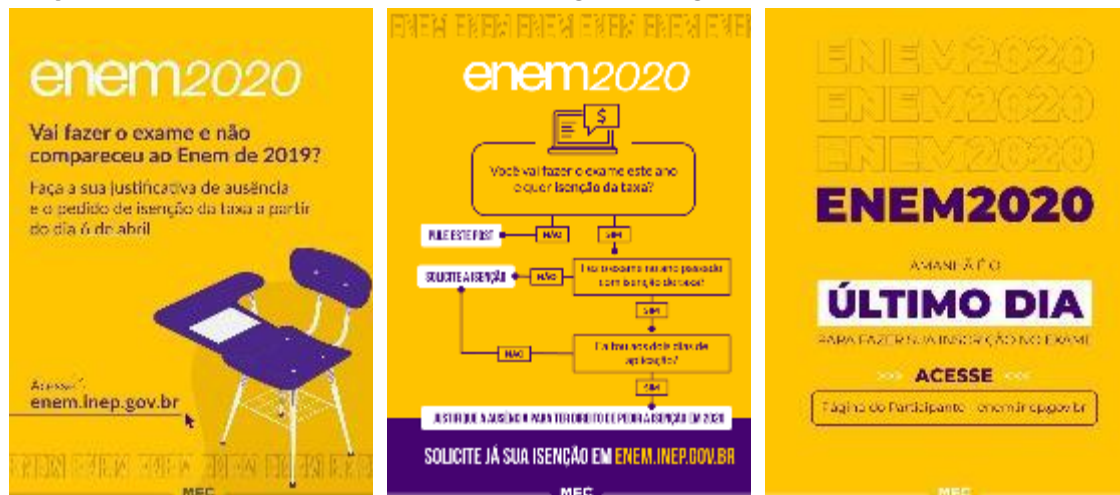
Source: www.facebook.com/ministeriodaeducacao. Access: 2020, May 26th

In both videos, although the prominence of the texts as visual elements is kept, there is an image of people in many scenes, where we could count 21 personas.

Thus, including the 9 characters in the illustration from the website, a total of 98 individuals were represented in the pieces of both campaigns. From these, 76 (78%) were white, 13 (13%) were black, and 9 (9%) were not identified according to color/race (Image 7).

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[10] In two of these pieces, countless people appeared, representing a multitude. In these cases, individuals were not counted or classified.

Image 7: Personas in Enem's campaigns by color/race
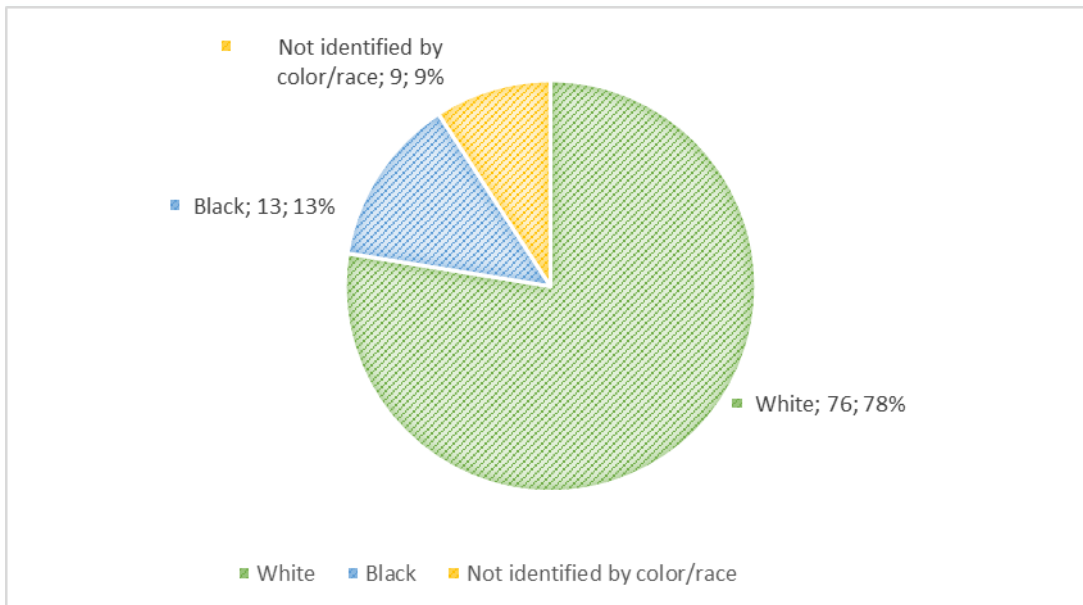
Source: Drafted by the authors

Among the 6 images with blacks in the registration phase of the 2019 campaign, the same photo appears in 3 of them with the same individual, which is repeated with a simple variation on the color of clothes (Image 8), totaling only 11 different black people portrayed in the entire analyzed collection.

Image 8: Pieces of Enem 2019 campaign with a black model

Source: www.facebook.com/ministeriodaeducacao. Access: 2019, May, 20th

A white model is repeatedly present (Image 9), but only in pieces of the second phase, when it focused on information of dates and times of the test, in addition to other practical guidelines for candidates. In this case, however, the repetition seems to be

justified because the same character stars in the video and the posters, which does not happen in the previous stage, which features a wide variety of characters without any prominence that represents the main face of the campaign.

Image 9: Pieces launched in the final phase of Enem 2019 campaign

Source: www.facebook.com/ministeriodaeducacao. Access: 2019, Nov. 20

In that way, one observes that whites, in addition to being the majority, have greater diversity among themselves. Furthermore, blacks are always represented as aspiring to higher education, never wearing a gown, with a diploma, already graduated, as in some cases with white personas. In addition, they are always isolated, never in pairs or groups, unlike what is seen in pieces where whites are protagonists (Image 10).

Image 10: Enem 2019 campaign pieces with white models


Source: www.facebook.com/ministeriodaeducacao. Access: 2019, May, 20th

Another fact that draws attention is that, among the 6 static pieces published on social media in which black people appear, all of them deal with deadlines and

procedures for the registration fee exemption: 5 of them address this topic exclusively and one mentions the exemption among other topics of the schedule. In addition, from the 3 videos where black people appear, one is about the registration fee exemption and the others only address the registration deadline[11].

On the other hand, from the 41 individuals in the 34 pieces, including a video and 33 static images, which deal with deadlines and procedures related to the registration fee exemption (31 are exclusively on this theme), only eight (20%) are black, five (12%) were not identified by color/race and twenty-eight (68%) are white, so even considering only this part of the sample regarding social protection policies for low-income people, blacks are also a minority (Image 11).

Image 11: Personas from Enem's campaigns by color/race in pieces that deal with the registration fee exemption
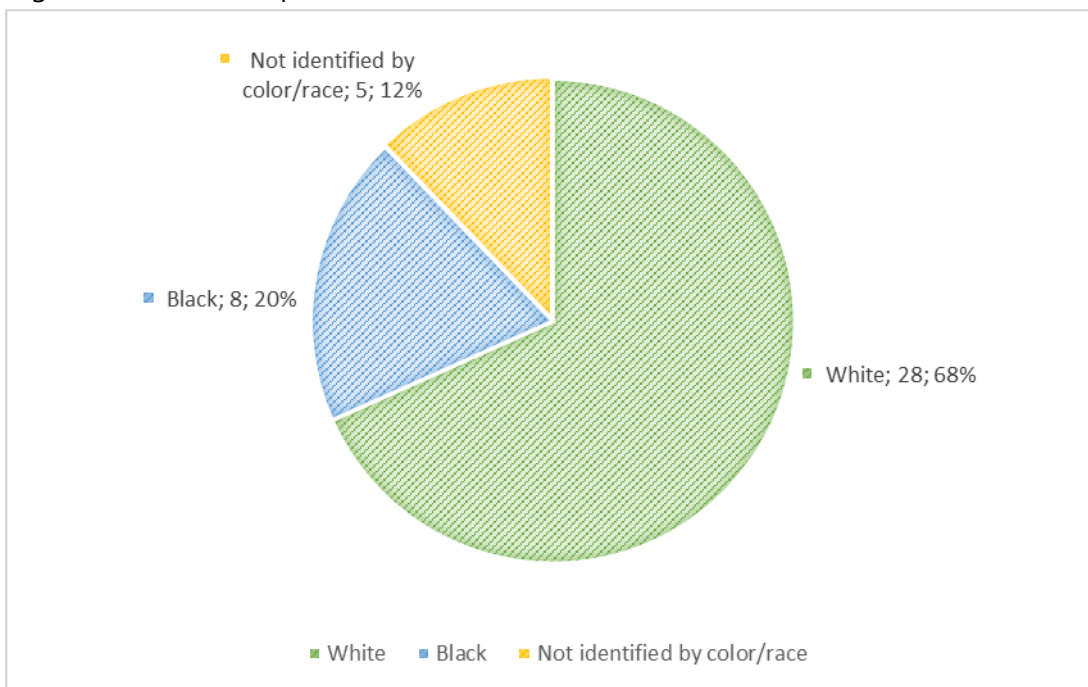
Source: Drafted by the authors

Analysis and Quarrel

Based on what the observations, Enem's 2019 and 2020 campaigns seem to portray the public university as a natural path for young whites, where blacks are called to enter only through the system's exceptionality. If we think in terms of personas, it seems the archetypes of potential students in Higher Education that inspire the analyzed

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[11] The image at the top of the site does not apply to this classification because it does not deal with a specific topic, but refers to the Exam in general.

campaigns are mainly white and middle/upper class people, while black profiles are only of greater relevance among those potentially in need of social protection policies, in this case, exemption from the registration fee. Thus, Enem's calls to participation are configured as an invitation addressed to a strict audience, which excludes a large part of young Brazilians.

It is noted that, in general, the perceived advertising image does not represent the reality of the diversity in the Brazilian population (mostly black, according to IBGE) and in the universe of federal public universities (mainly formed by black students, according to Andifes), nor does it represent the utopian image of a fair and egalitarian society that advertising could propose, which necessarily involves the construction of an accessible and democratic Higher Education.

Even though the estimate of blacks in federal universities is overestimated by Andifes and higher education is still a restricted and significantly unequal environment, the campaigns on screen seem to ignore the changes in the profile of young people who have entered and sought to enter universities in recent years.

Judging by the visual identity on Enem's official website, it was expected that diversity would be repeated in other advertising pieces, as a common element that could grant a unity of meaning to the campaigns. However, as it turned out, such expectation did not materialize.

The significant and unequivocal preponderance of white models in the analyzed campaigns and the almost absolute limitation of black appearances in communications on exemption from the registration fee seem to reinforce the stereotype of black people as poor and dependent on social protection policies and the stigma of exceptional access in contrast to the white as an autonomous subject who naturally follows a personal progression to a socially established path, where entering the university is, as a rule, the step that marks the beginning of adult life.

Although the choice of black models to illustrate pieces on exemption from the registration fee may even make sense from the point of view of the characteristics of the public to which this policy is aimed at (bearing in mind that most of the poor people in the country are black) , campaigns can induce possible racist interpretations, not so much for the presence of blacks in these specific pieces, but, above all, for their notable absence in pieces that do not deal specifically with the exemption theme, as if the participation of blacks in the context represented in advertising does not occur, as if it was unthinkable in another way.

By highlighting the protagonist's relatively humble origin, the second video of the 2019 campaign highlights the differential character of Higher Education in the population's living conditions and reflects the reality of expanding access to this level of education that has been occurring in recent decades in Brazil. In fact, according to data from 2018, 5 out of 10 students from federal universities come from families where neither the father nor the mother had got a degree (NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF DIRECTORS OF FEDERAL HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS, 2019).

However, like other pieces, this one does not dialogue with the reality of millions of young Brazilians who live in a much more precarious situation than the ideal scenario of the "picture-perfect family".

Whether through an image made up of poverty, established as a synonym for simplicity especially in the videos of 2019, or through the discourse that young people need to "fight", "reinvent themselves", and study "in any way" in the video about the registration to Enem 2020, the campaigns seem to try to validate the meritocratic thinking that any individual who makes an effort, no matter how "simple", is able to achieve success (which in this case means entering Higher Education), regardless of the social context.

All of this corroborates to reinforce Enem's selective character. This selection, however, seems to start even before the tests and takes place not only in the educational/social scope, but also in the scope of advertising representation, both in the idealization of the personas and the selection of the campaign cast, which reproduce the historical exclusion of blacks from the University education.

Thus, we cannot ignore that government advertising pieces, more than practical information, subjectively carry a political and ideological content that seems to be impregnated, and at all times echo the statement that "Enem was not made to correct injustices", but to select candidates (LEMOS, 2020).

Final Considerations

By revealing the significant preponderance of white models and the almost exclusivity of black appearances associated with public policies aimed at low-income people, this analysis confirms the hypotheses initially considered, that is, the limited representation of the university in government advertising, or the sub - representativeness of the existing diversity in Higher Education.

If, on the one hand, it would be an exaggeration to say that advertising restricts the participation of more blacks at Enem, and consequently the access of this population

group to universities, in view of the various other factors involved in this issue, on the other hand, one cannot underestimate the role and power of communication and advertising. In view of the findings presented here, it is plausible to suppose that, to some extent, by "normalizing" the scenario of inequalities, government advertising discourages participation of blacks in Enem and contributes to the weakening of public policies that seek to promote greater equity of access to higher education.

Many factors may be behind these campaigns and could help to explain or justify the choices made in these communication actions. Would the current government be using public utility advertising in a covert way as a political instrument in defense of an elitist and meritocratic ideology? Or is this "conspiratorial" hypothesis exaggerated and fanciful, and the low representativeness observed in Enem's campaigns is nothing more than intentional, the result of a common process of creation carried out without greater social reflection, which only inadvertently reflects the countless inequalities between blacks and whites that take place in the most diverse social spheres?

In any case, it is highly recommended to review the precepts of public and governmental communication, as well as to reaffirm the importance of the social and human sciences, sometimes so neglected, for the foundation of public administration actions. Such problematization is necessary, especially among communication professionals, who need to be attentive not only to objective information, but also to subjective messages between the lines of the content they create and help to perpetuate.

Like a scientific article or a report, even when elaborated with methodological and journalistic rigor, a piece of government communication, although strictly observing the principles of public communication, may never be able to completely abstain from an essentially interpretive ideological bias. Still, for the sake of science, society and democracy, neutrality is a utopia that scientists, journalists, and communication professionals in general should never stop pursuing.

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RESUMO:
O presente estudo consiste em uma análise visual das campanhas oficiais de divulgação do Enem de 2019 e 2020. Tal evidencia a inequívoca preponderância de pessoas brancas na representação publicitária e demonstra subjetividades como a recorrente associação de indivíduos negros ao estereótipo de pobreza e de excepcionalidade. A partir desses *insights*, discute-se o papel da publicidade governamental na (des)construção da imagem do Ensino Superior e das universidades públicas brasileiras, e chama-se a atenção para o possível uso da comunicação pública como mecanismo político e ideológico.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Análise visual; Comunicação Pública; Diversidade racial; Imagem organizacional; Universidades.

RESUMEN:
El presente estudio consiste en un análisis visual de las campañas publicitarias oficiales de Enem para 2019 y 2020. Esto resalta la preponderancia inequívoca de las personas blancas en la representación publicitaria y demuestra subjetividades como la asociación recurrente de individuos negros con el estereotipo de pobreza y excepcionalidad. Con base en estas ideas, se discute el papel de la publicidad gubernamental en la (des) construcción de la imagen de la Educación Superior y las universidades públicas brasileñas, y se llama la atención sobre el uso posible de la comunicación pública como mecanismo político e ideológico.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Análisis visual; Comunicación publica; Diversidad racial; Imagen organizacional; Universidades.