

ENEM: TOOL FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF THE LAW 10639/2003 - SKILLS FOR SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION?

Marco Antonio Bettine de Almeida*
Universidade de São Paulo (USP)

Lívia Pizauro Sanchez**
Assembleia Legislativa (ALSP)

ABSTRACT: This article seeks to analyze how ENEM questions address the Law 10.639/2003's content. We adopted content analysis to evaluate National High School Exam's tests. 1.098 questions were analyzed (tests from years 2003 to 2012). We concluded that there were 69 questions addressing the content from Law 10.639/2003: 14 questions have content that reproduce stereotypes about Africa and/or black people; 4 show content based on the idea of racial democracy; 20 show content that explicitly values African or African-Brazilian culture, Africa and/or black people; 8 questions have positive and negative views on Africa and/or black people, offering elements that allow the contrast between them and reflection about race; 23 of the test's questions have no explicit value judgment on Africa and/or black people.

Keywords: Brazil. Law 10.639/2003. ESMS. Education.

ENEM: FERRAMENTA DE IMPLEMENTAÇÃO DA LEI 10.639/2003 – COMPETÊNCIAS PARA A TRANSFORMAÇÃO SOCIAL?

RESUMO: Neste artigo busca-se analisar como as questões do ENEM abordam os conteúdos da Lei 10.639/2003. Adotamos a análise de conteúdos para avaliar as provas do ENEM. Foram analisadas 1.098 questões (provas entre os anos de 2003 a 2012), sendo que ao todo houve 69 questões abordando a temática e destas: 14 questões apresentam conteúdo que reproduz estereótipos sobre a África e/ou os negros/as; 4 apresentam conteúdo baseado na ideia de democracia racial; 20 apresentam conteúdo que valoriza explicitamente a cultura africana ou afro-brasileira, a África e/ou os negros/as; 8 questões apresentam visões positivas e negativas sobre a África e/ou os negros/as, oferecendo elementos que permitem a contraposição entre elas e a reflexão a seu respeito; 23 colocam conteúdos que não apresentam juízos de valor explícitos sobre a África e/ou os negros/as.

Palavras-chave: Brasil. Lei 10.639/2003. ENEM. Educação.

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* Doctor Professor. Lecturing Professor. Associated Professor at Universidade de São Paulo. Professor at Postgraduate Studies in Social Change and Political Participation. E-mail: marcobettine@usp.br

** Master in Sciences. Postgraduate Studies in Social Change and Political Participation. E-mail: livia.pizauro@gmail.com

INTRODUCTION

One of the main campaign fields for Education in Brazil has been the one of laws formulation. Legal texts are products of processes, and confrontations and disputes, sometimes accomplished in the course of lengthy periods, by many organized groups of society, around multiple interests. Their approval, therefore, means at the same time the apex of a campaign process for the establishment of certain ideas - since declaring something as a right is recognizing it politically -, and the indispensable continuity of the search course for their full fulfillment in daily events of institutions and human relations, including its questioning and revision¹.

In this context, the research had the goal of identifying, mapping and analyzing the questions of National High School Exam (ENEM), in the perspective of article 26-A of Law of Educational Guidelines and Bases (LDB), modified by Law 10.639/2003, which made the teaching of Afro-Brazilian and African History and Culture in public and private Elementary and High schools of the country obligatory (BRASIL, 2003). Article 26-A of LDB (modified by Law 10.639/2003 and lately by Law 11.645/08), the Resolution of National Council of Education/Plenary Council (CNE/CP) 1/2004, which approved the National Curricular Guidelines for Ethnic and Racial Relations' Education and for Afro-Brazilian and African History and Culture's Teaching (BRASIL, 2009) and the Opinion CNE/CP 03/2004, which substantiates curricular guidelines, according to the presentation of the Dossier "Ethnic and Racial Relations and Pedagogic Practices"² (SILVA; GOMES; ARAÚJO, 2013),

compose a group of legal apparatus considered as inductors of an educational policy turned to the affirmation of cultural diversity and to the substantiation of an Ethnic and Racial Relations' Education in schools, unleashed since 2000 years. Both the legislation and its apparatus adduce the imperative of a structural and symbolic change, including the adoption of affirmative principles by educational institutions, such as the recognition of cultural diversity and of the unequal distribution of social opportunities between several segments and groups of population, the positive inclination to democratic living together between groups and cultures and the effectuation of social rights parity (SILVA; GOMES; ARAÚJO, 2013, p. 15).

The approval and implementation of this Law, the production of social pressures and the propositions from Brazilian Black Movement, indicate advances in the effectuation of educational social rights and implicate the recognized necessity of overcoming racial imaginaries, social representations, discourses and practices in scholar education.

It implicates, also, a state attitude of intervention and construction of an educational policy which takes into account the diversity and which opposes to the presence of racism and its effects, either in widest educational policy, in organization and running of scholar education, in the curriculums of initial and continued studies to teachers, in pedagogic practices and social relations in school (GOMES; JESUS, 2013, p. 22).

This article seeks to understand how the questions of ENEM approach ethnic and racial relations from legal apparatus of educational policy turned to affirmation of cultural diversity and ethnic and racial relations' education.

ENEM was created in 1998 “[...] with the goal of self-evaluation, of turning into national reference to egresses of High School and of providing subsidies to admission in Superior and post-medium Professional Education” (ROTHEN; BARREYRO, 2011, p. 12). The test has slowly obtained new social means. Cerri (2004) indicates it as a factor for High School curriculum organization, which happens because it has become a reference to selective processes for admission in superior courses and available employment spaces, replacing or complementing them (SOUSA, 2011). In the year 2005, with the institutionalization, by Federal Government, of Program University for All, the selection to obtain partial or integral scholarships in private institutions of Superior Education mediated by such program has started to use ENEM results as a selection criterion. In 2008, ENEM has also been adopted as selection mode to admission in Federal Universities (SOUSA, 2011).

Until the year of 2008, ENEM was compound by one composition and sixty-three objective questions, which were not classified by knowledge field. In 2009, the called New ENEM was installed, maintaining the composition, and introducing a hundred eight questions equally divided into four knowledge fields: Languages, Codes and its Technologies, Mathematics and its Technologies, Nature Sciences and its Technologies, Human Sciences and its Technologies. National Plan of Implementation for National Curriculum Guidelines of Ethnic and Racial Relations' Education and for Afro-Brazilian and African History and Culture, by 2009 (BRASIL, 2009), forecasts, between the actions turned to High School, the inclusion of the theme African, Afro-Brazilian and Indigenous History and Culture between contents measured by ENEM.

This evaluation contents are lined into established instrumental abilities and cognitive competences, by Ministerial Ordinance nr. 318 from 22/92/2001 (BRASIL, 2001) as referential mold to ENEM.

Those items do not approach African and Afro-Brazilian History and Culture, but do refer directly to contents related to Ethnic and Racial Education in three moments: when they stipulate that cultural diversity must be considered in intervention on reality's proposals elaboration and in solutions to presented problems; in Second article, 1st paragraph, item V, and Third paragraph, item V; and when they determinate admeasurement of the following ability (second article, second paragraph, item XVIII): "To value the diversity of ethnic's cultural and artistic property, by identifying it in their expressions and representation in different societies, times and places" (BRASIL, 2001).

Besides this, it is possible to identify different items in which African and Afro-Brazilian History and Culture shall be contemplated, although such reference is not explicit. Just for illustrating this information, we cite second article, second paragraph, item VI, which, between other questions, profess the ability of "identifying brands of variable linguistic with social and cultural nature [...]" (BRASIL, 2001).

By evaluating this document, we suppose that ENEM provides a space for the approach of themes inserted into official curriculum by Law 10.639/2003, for the coverage of competences and abilities listed to that evaluation, for the presence of contents which do not be limited to the fields of Portuguese Language and Mathematics, as innumerable large scale evaluations done in Brazil happens to be, and for contemplating the elaboration of a composition. We believe that what has been determining the presence or absence of such contents and its approach mode are the politics' ideas and wishes that move their organizers and articulators (SANCHEZ, 2014).

Through this view, we pretend to understand in which intensity and in which mode the Law 10.639/2002 (BRASIL, 2003) is linked to the policy of Basic Education evaluation in Brazil, influencing mutually, considering that we identify cohesion between different public policies as a factor which can bring positive consequences to the quality of implementation of certain policy and can put in evidence its effective grade of integration to the educational system.

Law 10.639/2003 is representative as a democratic achievement because it is the result of a long history of combat by black population for equality of rights, and for it represents the recognizing – at least by legal point of view – of the contribution of African and afro-descendent population to Brazil formation.

This law questions one of the fields of major political and ideological contest in educational field – official curriculum (CERRI, 2006; GONSALVES, 2008). We understand curriculum as

a politic construction sphere of officially accepted representations of world, of society, of people, of contents that each Brazilian citizen is supposed to appropriate. Therefore, we understand that the law we are presently studying represents a tensioning movement towards curriculum democratization and the democratization of school itself, because it turns possible that less visible and valued populations at this institution and in its social practices should be recognized with their histories, take a voice, actively participate on constant build and rebuild of scholar daily.

We adopted content analysis' technics, by we analyzed the tests applied by ENEM in the first ten years of Law 10.639/2003 existence. The categories delimited to that analysis were presence, relevance and coverage of contents, overcoming of the idea of racial democracy and of stereotypes about black population, interdisciplinary discussion of contents.

CONTENT ANALYSIS – TECHNICS FOR GATHERING AND DATA REVIEW

With the goal of looking into ENEM tests under perspective of Law 10.639/2003 and its latterly regulations, we opted to use content analysis' technics, for it allows to select and interpret data of our interest so they can help us to understand the questions raised by previous study of themes as by the observation itself of structure and content of the reviewed text.

We have followed steps defined by Bardin (2009). We describe hereafter the course trodden in this analysis, which, in reality, was not so linear, for along its development the execution of different steps happens to mix to one another, allowing recoveries and improvements. We have just ordinated it in a way that allows us to understand the choices in reviews process, the motivations and implications in the way data were interpreted. Other many views should have been adopted, pointing different analysis perspectives.

Initially, we have determined our questions, what we intend to discuss and perhaps answer with the evaluations analysis. The questions are: Do the tests treat themes introduced by the Law? If positive, what is the relevance of that treatment regarding emphasis given to the other contents? In which way the themes on Ethnical and Racial Relations' Education are approached? Are that approaches able to overcome ideas of racial democracy and stereotypes about black population? Which knowledge fields are they related to? Is there an interdisciplinary discussion about those contents, not limited to the fields of Literacy, History and Arts?

Next, we have selected the texts that were going to be object of our analysis. As previously pointed, we have searched the large-scale evaluations of Basic Education in Brazil. We opted for ENEM, for it is the broadest and embracing evaluation of this type, contemplating all periods of Basic Education, as it is realized in its final stage. ENEM is realized in federal scope, at all Brazilian territory, maintaining the standard adopted in this research for delimitate scope for investigation. The period considered was between the years 2003 and 2012.

Our initial sample was composed by sixteen ENEM evaluations. Six of them, referring to the years from 2003 to 2008, had sixty-three questions each, with no separation by knowledge field. Other ten tests of ENEM, four related to the year of 2010, and two related to each of the years of 2009, 2011 e 2012, completed the frame³.

Thus, final sample of tests resulted in ten evaluations of ENEM, in which 1.098 questions were analyzed.

To define context unit, in which one delimitates which context the released message is part of, we have analyzed the tests historical and their characteristics. We emphasize that our main concerns were that the universe considered in our analyzes were inserted in context of effectiveness of Law 10.639/2003 and that it was embracing and representative, in what respects to contemplate all Basic Education as relatively to the universe of students reached by them.

In pre-analysis step of that determined material, we have read them some times, searching for their significant parts, that is, we have made some readings with the goal of selecting objective questions and composition proposes which concerned to contents of African and Afro-Brazilian Culture and History and to ethnical and racial relations specifically related to black population.

According to the research question and to the scope of questions selected, we have established some standards to direct our analysis and, from them, we have determined categories in which we could group elements with mutual characteristics or related between them. Those standards and categories are presented at Frame 1, with notations and initials created to sub serve, posteriorly, their record.

We have used Frame 1 as basis to categorize each question related to themes of Law 10.639/2003. Such categorization, added to the presentation of quantitative information regarding that question, was registered and organized at Frame 2, to make it easiest to observe it and lately interpret it.

FRAME 1 – Standards and categories – questions related to African and Afro-Brazilian Culture and History and to ethnical and racial relations – black population – ENEM 2003 to 2012

CATEGORIES		
Criteria	Topic	1 - Physical Geography
		2 - Ideas and conceptions
		3 - Compared politic
		4 - Energetic resources
		5 - Ethnic questions
		6 - Social and economic aspects
		7 - Cultural aspects
		8 - International conflicts
		9 - Environmental questions
		10 - Slavery
		11 - Health
		12 - Popular and revolutionary movements in Brazil
		13 - Portuguese Language
	Knowledge fields	LING - Language, Codes and its Technologies
		MAT - Mathematics and its Technologies
		NAT - Natural Sciences and its Technologies
		HUM - Human Sciences and its Technologies
	Centrality	Main, central topic, and/or knowledge required to solve the question - PRINC
		Secondary, indirect, illustrative topic, not required to solve the question - SEC
	Judgement	Reproduces stereotypes about Africa and/or Black people - EST
Bases itself in racial democracy idea - DR		
Explicitly values the African and Afro-Brazilian culture, Africa and/or Black people - POS		
Shows positive and negative views about Africa and/or black people, offering elements which enable one to compare them and think about them - POS/NEG		
Does not show value judgements about Africa and/or black people - NÃO		

Source: Prepared by the authors of this article.

FRAME 2 – Categories – questions related to African and Afro-Brazilian Culture and History and to ethnical and racial relations – black population – ENEM 2003 to 2012

Year	Amount	Question	Topic	Knowledge Field	Centrality	Judgement
2003	5	47	1	LING	SEC	NÃO
		48	2	LING	SEC	ESTER
		53	3	HUM	SEC	NÃO
		56	4	HUM	SEC	NÃO
		63	6	LING	SEC	DR
2004	5	20	5	LING	PRINC	ESTER
		21	5	LING	PRINC	DR
		24	7	LING	PRINC	POS
		54	5	HUM	PRINC	POS/NEG
		63	4	NAT	SEC	NÃO
2005	5	5	5	HUM	PRINC	POS/NEG
		16	3	HUM	SEC	NÃO
		23	3	HUM	PRINC	POS/NEG
		39	1	HUM	SEC	NÃO
		40	4	NAT	SEC	NÃO
2006	4	8	13	LING	SEC	ESTER
		13	8	HUM	PRINC	POS/NEG
		29	9	NAT	SEC	NÃO
		48	6	HUM	SEC	POS
2007	8	Composing	2	LING	PRINC	POS/NEG
		16	8	HUM	PRINC	POS/NEG
		17	6	HUM	PRINC	ESTER
		18	10	HUM	PRINC	ESTER
		19	6	HUM	SEC	NÃO
		22	8	HUM	SEC	ESTER
		45	11	NAT	SEC	NÃO
		46	11	NAT	SEC	NÃO
2008	4	38	7	LING	SEC	ESTER
		39	10	HUM	PRINC	ESTER
		41	1	HUM	SEC	NÃO
		57	9	NAT	SEC	NÃO
2009	10	3	11	NAT	SEC	ESTER
		46	7	HUM	PRINC	ESTER
		64	3	HUM	PRINC	POS/NEG
		65	10	HUM	PRINC	POS
		83	4	HUM	SEC	NÃO
		91	7	LING	PRINC	POS
		98	13	LING	SEC	POS
		121	5	LING	SEC	NÃO
		122	5	LING	SEC	NÃO
131	13	LING	PRINC	POS/NEG		

FRAME 2 – (continuation) - Categories – questions related to African and Afro-Brazilian Culture and History and to ethnical and racial relations – black population – ENEM 2003 to 2012

Year	Amount	Question	Topic	Knowledge Field	Centrality	Judgement
2010	12	19	10	HUM	PRINC	ESTER
		23	10	HUM	PRINC	ESTER
		24	12	HUM	SEC	NÃO
		31	12	HUM	PRINC	POS
		43	7	HUM	SEC	POS
		93 – English	7	LING	PRINC	POS
		91 – Spanish	7	LING	SEC	NÃO
		118	7	LING	SEC	POS
		120	7	LING	PRINC	NÃO
		124	2	LING	PRINC	POS
		157	7	MAT	SEC	NÃO
		178	6	MAT	SEC	POS
2011	9	3	8	HUM	PRINC	POS
		27	10	HUM	PRINC	DR
		32	2	HUM	PRINC	POS
		34	7	HUM	SEC	NÃO
		35	12	HUM	PRINC	POS
		37	6	HUM	PRINC	ESTER
		38	6	HUM	SEC	NÃO
		94 – English	2	LING	PRINC	POS
		118	13	LING	SEC	DR
2012	7	4	10	HUM	PRINC	ESTER
		9	7	HUM	PRINC	POS
		18	12	HUM	SEC	NÃO
		24	8	HUM	PRINC	POS
		94 – English	2	LING	PRINC	POS
		128	13	LING	PRINC	POS
		131	7	LING	PRINC	POS
TOTAL	69	-	1 – 3 2 – 6 3 – 4 4 – 4 5 – 6 6 – 7 7 – 13 8 – 5 9 – 2 10 – 7 11 – 3 12 – 4 13 – 5	LING – 24 MAT – 2 NAT – 7 HUM – 36	PRINC – 35 SEC – 34	ESTER – 14 DR – 4 POS – 20 POS/NEG – 8 NÃO – 23

Source: Prepared by the authors of this article.

Hereafter, we present and interpret the results of this analysis, searching to answer, or at least to discuss, the questions initially proposed. Data was treated, therefore, so it could subsidize such discussion.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

From sixty-three questions which have some relation to the theme, 14 questions present content which reproduces stereotypes about Africa and/or black people; 4 present content based on the idea of racial democracy, 20 present content which values African or Afro-Brazilian culture, Africa and/or black people, 8 questions present positive and negative views about Africa and/or black people, offering elements which enable one to compare them and think about them; 23 do not present explicit value judgements about Africa and/or black people. From that universe, we have chosen the questions about content in analysis that affected us more, for posterior analysis and discussions about the adopted approach⁴.

ENEM introduced themes related to black culture and history in its tests, improving slowly the quality of such introduction. We can observe that images – draws, photos, illustrations, paintings, sculptures, etc., picture mostly white creatures, and that those regarding to black people bring constantly the theme of slavery labor.

We understand that slavery is, in fact, an important theme of Brazilian history, for its large length and for all implications it has in our social reality, until nowadays. Talking about it makes it possible, even, to expose the reality of exploitation and disrespect for human being subjugated to it, evidencing social inequalities as effects of this century violence, with racial implications, and, this way, making it possible to understand the need of repairing such injustices. However, we believe that violence and racism that branded slavery relations, as the resistance of slavered black population to them, are not being properly exploited by the tests. We understand, also, that another images and references to black people shall be introduced in the evaluations.

Hereafter, we present excerpts of two questions from ENEM, which illustrate our thoughts.

The first of them is a painting made by French painter Jean-Baptiste Debret, portraying slavery. The content of the question does not bring any questioning regard the image or the theme.

IMAGE 1 – Painting of Jean-Baptiste Debret



Source: ENEM 2010 – Question 19 (BRASIL, 2010)

The second excerpt was taken from Question 48 of evaluation of the year 2003. Another time, slavery is mentioned, by bringing quotes of French philosopher Montesquieu that picture it as mere consequence of economic needs, assigning the degradation of the enslaver to the bad influence of slavered people, incapable of moral progress.

Not this question, neither the others present in the evaluation of that year, offer any counterpoint to such view.

Is this the way the selected excerpt appears:

Slavery is not naturally good; it is not useful either to the master or to the slaver: to this one, because it can do nothing for his virtue; to that, because he gets from his slavers all sort of bad habits, and gets insensitively used to violate all moral virtues: he becomes proud, blunt, tough, choleric, voluptuous, ruthless.

If I had to advocate the right we had to make black people slavers, that is what I would say: as people from Europe has annihilated those from America, they had to slave the ones from Africa to use them for opening so many lands. Sugar would be too expensive if they had not made the slavery cultivate the plant that produces it (BRASIL, 2003, p. 16).

Thus, we judge that the tests have failed, as they contemplate in precarious ways “[...] learnings which guide the students to take notice of their status on society and to realize the possibility of deconstructing racial inequalities historically constructed” (OLIVEIRA, 2003, p. 113).

We identify that this characteristic begins to be modified since the evaluation applied in the year 2009. At this and at the following tests, we verify an increase of positive treatment to Black History and Culture, to their cultural and intellectual production, to the presence of some black voices, of the possibility of problematizing themes as slavery, racial democracy, racism. Lastly, we verify the important presence – before lifted out – of questions referring to black fights and movements of resistance in Brazil and in the world.

It is publicized, in this very year, the National Plan for Implementation of National Curricular Guidelines Ethnic and Racial Relations' Education and to Afro-Brazilian and African History and Culture's Teaching, which stipulate the inclusion of the theme African, Afro-Brazilian and Indigenous History and Culture in the contents evaluated by ENEM. We believe that this happening has also encouraged the enlargement of the attention, by the tests makers, to such questions.

Another factor that made us a point of, was the presence of themes related to ethnic and racial relations and black culture in all English Language tests, knowledge field which started to be taken on account in ENEM in the year of 2010 and which contains, each year, only five questions.

In 2010, one question approached Hip Hop in its North-American origin, also contemplating its approach on Brazil⁵. In 2011 and 2012, racism was represented as a problem; in the first of those two years, a lyric from Bob Marley, a Jamaican artist, has been used, relating the existence of wars to racist practices and, in the second year, a poem from Langston Hughes, black poetry from the United States⁶.

There is, therefore, a much larger proportion of questions related to themes implanted on curriculum by Law 10.639/2003 in English Language evaluation than in any other knowledge fields. The three named questions bring positive and reviewed views about black people and Africa, and in all of them, the racial theme is central and/or its comprehension is necessary to answer the question correctly.

Considered on general context of evaluations, we understand that those questions can be an intensification of the idea of racial democracy's existence at Brazil; and this, because they demonstrate clearly racism and racial conflicts' reality in other countries, especially the United States, and also point to the mobilization of such nations' black population around criticism and fight against such positions. That explicitness does not occur with the same frequency and emphasis when it refers to the recognition of racism and the

existence of combat against it in Brazilian context. Questions that refer to those conflicts appear in evaluations, but they do not show the racial implications that they were or are part of. Examples of that can be found in Question 24, from 2010 Exam, which treats about Baiana Conjuring or Revolt of Tailors, which claims included a proposal of slavery abolition and of the participation of popular statements, which is not listed on ENEM; and Question 18 from 2012 Exam, which explores Coco-babaçu Breakers Movement without mentioning the racial meaning of their combats.

Inferring from the commentaries made upon, ENEM tests treat, therefore, about themes introduced by Law 10.639/2003. We do not understand, however, that this treatment covers, in the tests set, all nuance of the themes, already presented in the Law itself, in its depth and coverage – the study of African and Africans History, of the black people combat in Brazil, of the black Brazilian culture, of the black people in the formation of national society, rescuing their contribution to social, economic and political areas concerning to Brazil History.

Only 35 question (of 69) approach contents of the themes of Law 10.639/2003 making them central on the questions and/or necessary to its resolution. Example: question 31 from 2010 brings as basis-text the lyric of “The mestre-sala of seas”, from João Bosco, which treats about Whip Revolt and, in a positive way, the leadership of the black sailor João Cândido in that revolutionary movement. In this question, it is asked which was the content of such movement, and the correct alternative is “D. black and mulatto sailor’s rebellion, in 1910, against punishment and labor conditions in Navy (BRASIL, 2010, p. 9).

The other 34 questions present information about Culture, History and ethnic and racial black relations only in an illustrative meaning. Four of those questions refer, for example, to energetic resources, especially petroleum, citing their African origins. Those are: Question 56, from 2003, Question 63, from 2004, Question 40, from 2005 and Question 83, from 2009. Their resolutions implicate knowledge extrinsic to the contents of African and Afro-Brazilian Culture and History and of ethnic and racial relations referred to black population, involving abilities on graphics, charts and texts interpretation.

Frame 3, following, shows in a detailed manner which themes were included in each of the analyzed categories. Thus, the frame allows a general view of the evaluation content, in which refers to Law 10.639/2003.

FRAME 3 – Themes, according to their categories – questions related to African and Afro-Brazilian Culture and History and to ethnic and racial relations – black population – ENEM 2003 to 2012

Categories	Themes
Physical Geography	Earth dating, desert and wet areas distribution on the world, river Nilo's flood
Ideas and conceptions	Moral foundation of Rights, living together with difference, racism (2 appears), Law 10.639/2003, war and racial differences, equality/difference and diversity
Compared politic	States of United Nations Security Council, age distribution of population, distribution of misery around the world, formation of National States of the world
Energetic resources	Origins of petroleum consumed in Brazil, energy consume, energetic sources, energetic reserves (petroleum)
Ethnic questions	Ethnic formation of Brazil (2 appears), black conscience and miscegenation, political and ethnic frontiers of Africa, Brazilian indigenous (2 appears)
Social and economic aspects	Labor (2 appears), urban tolls, exportation economy on post-independence Brazil, stadium costs, stranger investments on Africa, coffee production
Cultural aspects	Hip hop movement (2 appears), art work analyze (frame), Egyptiac architecture, black-African born Brazilian art, Afro-Brazilian culture, poem, Chilean dance, Brazilian dances, samba school, musical styles, religions in Brazil, baroque sculpture in Brazil
International conflicts	Mediaeval crusades, Palestine conflicts, movements for overthrow of Egyptiac president, lands possession on Africa, European colonization and Africa exploitation
Environmental questions	CO2 emission, plants development (acacia)
Slavery	Slavery abolition in Brazil (3 appears), slavery revolt of Haiti, slavery system, freed black people in Brazil on XIX century, slavery labor
Health	Sunlight and skin protection, HIV.
Popular and revolutionary movements in Brazil	Baiana Conjuring, Whip Revolt, São Domingos Revolt, Coco-babaçu breakers Movement
Portuguese Language	Linguistic resources, regionalism/colloquialism, composition of Portuguese Language (3 appears)

Source: Prepared by the authors of this article.

Hereafter, we present how those themes are distributed between the questions that approach contents previewed to curriculum by Law 10.639/2003 as central topics and/or necessary knowledge to their resolution, and those in which such contents are secondary.

When it comes to Africa and Brazil and the black in ENEM, slavery is never a secondary topic, but it is the second more recurrent theme on the tests. In total occurrences, the biggest category is the one of cultural aspects, with thirteen questions.

It can be seen that eight questions do not present any kind of appreciation, positive or negative, respecting Africa and black people. This absence is strongly noticed, however, in the questions that bring themes referred to Law 10.639/2003 in a secondary mode, considering that only one of them does not follow such rule. It is the question number 120 from 2010 exam. This question approaches samba schools, which are part of black culture repertory in Brazil. In eighteen questions we identify only negative judgement respecting black Culture, History and ethnic and racial relations, considering that four of them bring, underlying, the idea of racial democracy, and other fourteen present some stereotype related to black population.

Respecting to the presence of racial democracy notion, however there are few occurrences, we consider them as meaningful ones, as it is an idea that has been bringing incomprehension about our racial conflicts and inequalities and, consequently, bringing also several damages to black Brazilian population. Besides that, it is a publically established task to Education the one of deconstruct such ideal, and not to emphasize it even more, especially after the promulgation of laws like Law 10.639/2003 and its regimentations. It makes a worst frame if we consider the fact that two of those questions are in recent evaluation, from the year 2011. The other two questions of such content are in the evaluations of 2003 and 2004. For their relevance, we describe them individually, following.

Question 63, from 2003 exam, brings a group of elements that can lead the student to dilute racial question into class question, when it approaches the problem of workforce exploitation in the capitalist context. Racial differences would be related to an identity trait only, considering all people equal as workforce. Racial conflicts that permeate labor relations, potentiating the exploitation of black workers when compared to other workers, are overlooked. Nádia Gotib's text, which makes a commentary to the frame *Workers*, from Tarsila do Amaral, in which black people are showed mixed up with those from other ethnicities, asserts: "Unequal in the countenance, in the color and in the race, what assures them a peculiar identity, they are equal as work

front (BRASIL, 2003, p. 23). Such idea is re-asserted at the excerpt of the poem from João Cabral de Melo Neto, which goes through the alternative that should be signed as the correct one: “We are many severinos/In everything and in destiny equal” (BRASIL, 2003, p. 23).

The next year, Question 21 approaches Brazil’s ethnic formation. It is about a text interpretation activity, in which the correct alternative points to the polyphony between the groups composed by poetry, colonizer, indian and black elements. They would have achieved together, despite a little confusion born in the estrangement between different elements (and not from conflict and power relations between them), the creation of Brazil, resulting in a harmonic production. The text, however, when characterizing in a stereotypical way the elements considered in that, presents negative traits only for one of them, the black one.

In 2011, the following picture shows the free black people as owners of elements that represent social *status* in European culture:

IMAGE 2 – Free Black People at Brazil in 1879



Source: ENEM 2011 – Question 27 (BRASIL, 2011)

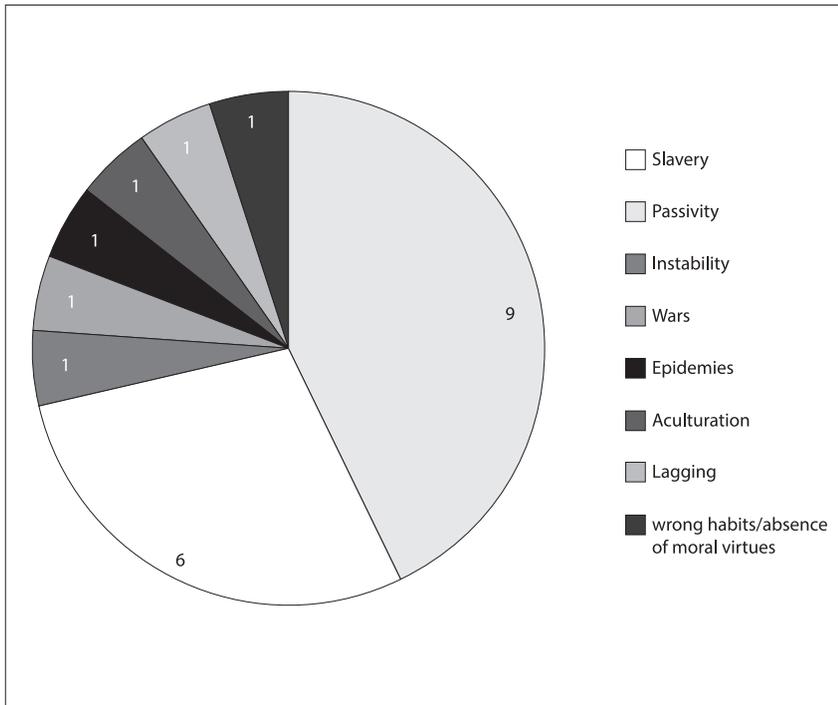
Which takes us to link such question to the idea of racial democracy is the fact that social rise of black people is presented like a consequence of freedom given by the master and of an acquisition of typical elements of such master's culture. Additionally, there is no explicit information about the fact that, even when occupying a favorable social situation in comparison to those who were still slavered, free blacks continued to be victims of racism, and to be subordinated in society, not owning the same rights of other citizens and being stigmatized because of their ethnical linking. Thus, it leaves the impression that black people should reach bigger economic and social levels and equality whit white people without the existence of conflicts, as a natural consequence of slavery's end – the illness would be brought from the work system itself, only, and not from racism, which is an ideological and fundamental part of it.

Question number 118, from the same year, is about the composition of Portuguese Language by the pacific interaction between indian, black and portuguese people while using portuguese and tupi languages. Besides pointing to a supposed peacefulness that has not occurred in the appropriation, by colonizers, of colonizes people's oral communication means, the text simply overlooks the presence of languages from African origins taking part on Portuguese Language composition. Besides, it asserts that “in what it refers to culture, the contribution of Portuguese was, aloof, the most noticed one” (BRASIL, 2011, p. 13), proposing, thus, that the harmony in all ethnicities contribution to Brazilian culture was broken, not because of the existence of violence and Eurocentric ideas, but yet by Portuguese culture's superiority in relation to the other ones.

There are another questions in 2011 exam that bring views respect racial questions in Brazil that oppose to racial democracy idea, which are: Question 32, which explicit Law 10.639/2003 contents, and Question 35, which mentions not-white population movements for social equality, showing the racial characteristic of such conflicts.

We consider as stereotypes the contents that link Africa and/ or black people to one of the elements presented on Image 3, without presenting contraposition to such ideas:

IMAGE 3 – Stereotypes⁷ linked to Africa and/or black people – questions related to African and Afro-Brazilian Culture and History and ethnic and racial relations – black population – ENEM 2003 to 2012



Source: Prepared by the authors of this article.

Near 43% of the stereotypes related to Africa and/or black people, and near 13% of the amount of questions related to Law 10.639/2003 in ENEM do associate them with slavery, without offering contraposition to such idea, it means, without showing other roles played by those populations and countries, and without contextualizing slavery as a social, political and economic production. That seems to us like a contribution to the naturalization of black and African people's image as subordinate, inferior, especially when we associate such data with the fact that sort of 29% of occurrences related to stereotypes put Africa and/or black people in passivity position. One example of that would be "the dizzy black one gone out of the oven", which deny his religious beliefs to accept those of white colonizer, not by coercion, but by superiority of his ideas, according to Question 21 from 2004 exam, which theme is the ethnic formation of Brazil.

Thus, such questions represent a denying of the educative role to explicit the conflict between different ideas, so the student can develop the critical capacity of constructing and deconstructing his own worldview, based in a big scale of knowledges about reality, by problematizing and questioning them (SANCHEZ, 2014).

Twenty questions related to African and Afro-Brazilian Culture and History and ethnical and racial relations related to black population present on ENEM bring positive views about Africa and/or black people, and other eight questions show as negative as positive opinions about them. They allow to comprehending the perversity and the violence from slavery and racism, and also that they were never natural occurrences, not even needed to life in society maintenance, but social occurrences with economic and political grounding, related to the exercise of power and domination. They allow the understanding, still, that Africans and black people living in earth and in Brazil have stood up and combated against such kinds of violence, as timidly the questions from 2009 on start to demonstrate.

It is the case of Question 9 from year 2012, which approaches Afro-Brazilian culture by showing that the protagonists in the formation of such culture were the Africans themselves, and not the Europeans that had appropriated it in a violent as destructive manner, turned to control and power relations, which demonstrates that those people were “brought as slavers” (BRASIL, 2012, p.4), which means they are made slaver, so that condition is denaturalized.

The same thing can be noticed on Question 131 from 2009 exam, in which the composition of Portuguese Language is approached, knowing that one of the texts associate the languages spoken at Africa and Guiné to barbarism, and the other shows the conflict occurred in the contact between languages, in which some were abashed by the power and the violence exercise.

About what concerns to the questions bringing explicit positive views about black people and Africa, it is important to indicate that two of them are in the exams occurred before 2008, and the other eighteen are there since 2009, which makes it strong our finding about the improvement in themes of Law 10.639/2003 approaches by ENEM after that year.

We consider important, yet, to explicit which aspects were approached in a positive way in analyzed evaluations, which is indicated on the following frame.

FRAME 4 – Positive judgement – questions related to African and Afro-Brazilian Culture and History and ethnic and racial relations – black population – ENEM 2003 to 2012

Theme category	Topics	Positive points
Cultural aspects	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Hip hop movement (2 appears) - Brazilian painting from black-african origin - Poem interpretation - Brazilian dances - Afro-Brazilian culture - Baroque sculpture at Brazil 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - black Brazilian culture elements (samba and samba schools, capoeira, painting, pagode); - black groups' political resistance aspects - association of black Brazilian culture to: smiles, peace, pleasure, sweetness, dream, dengo; - black/African as author, protagonist and critic; - explicit of the slavered conditions as socially and not naturalized born; - appreciation of African people's cultural diversity and richness.
Ideas and conceptions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Racism (2 appears) - Law 10.639/2003 - War and social differences 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - combat to racist expressions and attitudes, explicating its consequences; - appreciation of ethnic and racial plurality at Brazil.
Social and economic aspects	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Urban tolls - stadiums costs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - experience of public management with good results on an African country; - appreciation of an element of African architecture.
Portuguese Language	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Linguistic resources - Formal Portuguese 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - banto baiano and linguistic elements used in African countries as an expression possibility as valued as the others.
Popular and revolutionary movements in Brazil	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Whip Revolt - São Domingos Revolt 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Black people as protagonists in conflict against punishment and improperly conditions of labor and social inequality; - appreciation of proportion and representativeness of black population at Brazil.
International conflicts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - movements for overthrow of Egyptian president - land property on Africa 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - popular mobilization; - appreciation of racial feature of social inequalities.
Slavery	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Slavery revolt at Haiti 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - active slavers and mestizos, wishing for changes.

Source: Prepared by the authors of this article.

We believe it is necessary to problematize, yet, the prevalence of the occurrence of positive aspects related to African and Afro-Brazilian Culture and History and ethnic and racial relations related to black population into cultural theme, with seven appearances, with no counterpart in the indications of appreciation of such elements in other sectors as economy, politics, and science. One can mistake by turning black and Africa into folklore ideas. This way, our scholar contents would appear to be including knowledges about them without, however, effectively valorizing their active participation into historical and cultural construction, with contributions as important as the others.

In this research, we have included an essay question, the Composing of the 2007 ENEM evaluation, which proposed the theme “The challenge of living together with difference”, and brought texts and images that explored the relations between equality, difference and diversity: photos showing people of some ethnicities, all of them represented in a positive manner, one quote from the Universal Declaration about Cultural Diversity, and two lyrics, noticing that in one of them we could find the only explicit mention to racial question: “No matter the color one inherit [...] Every men are equal” (BRASIL, 2007, p. 1). Such view about equality is opposed by the other texts, which signalize to differences valorization and to respect to diversity.

We understand that the presence of ethnic and racial relations as a theme, though implied, in the Composing propose, is relevant, as we see the essay question as owner of an additional visibility, its search as result of conflicts for putting certain topic in evidence, and its development as a larger space for argumentation possibilities, criticism and for exploitation of a larger scale of contents than the other questions.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

We consider that Law 10.639/2003 implementation presupposes its ideal integration to all the educational politic. Ideological and instrumental cohesion between all public policies turned to education, favor the effectiveness of all of them, and of the production of a more coherent educative praxis.

We identify Basic Education large scale evaluation policy as a privileged space to such construction, given that it has been being one of the priorities for Public Power actuation in Brazil, revealing what It consider as essential contents for scholar formation of a Brazilian citizen, besides having the potential to influence what is effectively being taught on the schools.

By analyzing ENEM exam into the limits we have chosen, we verify that the theme is yet incipient. We assert that by making a comparison to the theme Environment/hydric resources at the same period: there are 116 questions about this theme versus 69 questions related to ethnic and racial questions (SANCHEZ, 2014).

We understand that ENEM has to be more and better integrated to the presupposes of Law 10.639/2003, so it can act as a meaningful contribution to its implementation, which is possible, since its contents have the potential to put in visibility the topics they approach and to influence what is effectiveness tough in classroom, diversifying and problematizing curriculum in what it concerns to the theme of African and Afro-Brazilian Culture and History and ethnic and racial relations related to black population.

Such potential is limited, as the one of school itself, because of the insertion of evaluation in State's institutional display, but it can contribute for tensioning and deconstructing such ideological basis from their internal contradictions, by producing a counter discourse.

Finally, there are some topics we judge to be worth of more deepening, in the universe taken by this research, and we would like to indicate them here. They are: the monitoring of ENEM evolution in its approach about African and Afro-Brazilian Culture and History and ethnic and racial relations related to black population in the following years; the more detailed exploitation about whom the exams were made by and in which larger social, political and economic contexts they were realized, as well as the acting of Black Movement in such processes; the investigation about the compositions made by students in the year 2007, in which something related too racial relations was proposed as theme, in order to verify and problematize the approaches taken by them when writing about the theme.

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NOTES

¹ In this article, the discussion is about Law 10.639/2003, the Reports of I National Conference on Racial Equality Promotion (BRASIL, 2005) and National Plan for Implementation of National Curricular Guidelines for Ethnic and Racial Relations' Education and for Afro-Brazilian and African History and Culture's Teaching (BRASIL, 2009). About each public policy and their history and implementation process in Brazil, search Sanchez (2014).

² This dossier from the journal *Educar em Revista*, nr.47 from 2013, presents results of the national research "Pedagogical Practices on ethnic and racial relations on school in perspective of Law 10.639/2003".

³ The existence of a major number of evaluations in 2010 is explained by the reapplication of tests which occurred in that occasion, due to operational fails in exam execution that turned to result in the illegal revelation of answers to the test questions and its consequential cancellation. We choose to analyze, in this case, only tests used on second application, as the results of those were the ones officially considered for all purposes. It yet fits to point that the existence of two tests in each one of the years 2009 to 2012 is explained by the increase of the number of questions and the consequential need to divide evaluation execution in two days of application. For this research, we considered both tests as one, which makes it one evaluation a year, therefore. They are composed by 180 questions, which are divided into 45 questions for each of those knowledge fields: Languages, Codes and its Technologies, Mathematics and its Technologies, Nature Sciences and its Technologies, Human Sciences and its Technologies.

⁴ From Frame 2, lector can consult the complete question on INEP site: <<http://portal.inep.gov.br/web/enem/conteudo-das-provas>>. Access in: January 22 2016.

⁵ 2010 Exam, Question 93 – English Language (BRASIL, 2010).

⁶ 2011 Exam, Question 94 – English Language; 2012 Exam, Question 94 – English Language. (BRASIL, 2011, 2012)

⁷ There is a larger number of occurrences of stereotypes than the number of questions in which they appear because some questions have more than one type of stereotype about Africa and/or black people in their contents.

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Mailing:

Universidade de São Paulo
Escola de Artes, Ciências e Humanidades
Av. Arlindo Bértio, 1000, Ermelino Matarazzo
São Paulo | SP | Brasil
CEP 03.828-000