



**“TAKE CARE”: THE MANAGERIAL DOMINATION OF EDUARDO LEITE’S
GOVERNMENT IN FACE OF THE PANDEMIC IN RS**

**“TE CUIDA”: A DOMINAÇÃO GESTIONÁRIA DO GOVERNO EDUARDO LEITE
FRENTE À PANDEMIA NO RS**

**“CUÍDESE”: LA DOMINACIÓN GERENCIAL DEL GOBIERNO DE EDUARDO
LEITE FRENTE A LA PANDEMIA EN RS**



Pedro Schlee SOLER¹
e-mail: pschleesoler@gmail.com



Elaine da Silveira LEITE²
e-mail: elaineleite10@gmail.com

How to reference this article:

SOLER, P. S.; LEITE, E. S. “Take care”: The managerial domination of Eduardo Leite’s government in face of the pandemic in RS. *Estudos de Sociologia*, Araraquara, v. 28, n. 00, e023025, 2023. e-ISSN: 1982-4718. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.52780/res.v28i00.17519>



| Submitted: 28/11/2022
| Required revisions: 04/03/2023
| Approved: 13/09/2023
| Published: 30/12/2023

Editor: Profa. Dra. Maria Chaves Jardim
Deputy Executive Editor: Prof. Dr. José Anderson Santos Cruz

¹ Federal University of Pelotas (UFPEL), Pelotas – RS – Brazil. PhD student in the Postgraduate Program in Sociology (PPGS). Social Scientist (UFPEL) and Master in Sociology (UFPEL).

² Federal University of Pelotas (UFPEL), Pelotas – RS – Brazil. PhD in Sociology (UFSCar). Professor in the Postgraduate Program in Sociology and the Department of Sociology and Politics.

ABSTRACT: This paper aims to reflect on the performance of the State of Rio Grande do Sul (RS) during COVID-19 pandemic. As a methodological and analytical particularity, it pursued to understand the reproduction of neoliberal logic by the government of RS, by analyzing the livestreams, carried out by the Governor Eduardo Leite. As it was a period of health crisis, the State was at the forefront of a conjuncture of political-economic tension – critical moments (cf. BOLTANSKI; THÉVENOT, 1999) –, thus revealing moral grammars (BOLTANSKI; THEVÉNOT, 1999) that guided the governor's management during the pandemic, pointing to the incorporation of principles that sought to emphasize efficiency (no budget waste for health), the focus on maintaining economic activities (flags policy), which characterize mechanisms of "managerial domination" (BOLTANSKI, 2013), marked by the attempt to depoliticize the pandemic and shaped by individualizing and business values.

KEYWORDS: RS government. Pandemic. Covid-19. Managerial domination. Neoliberalism. Symbolic capital.

RESUMO: *O presente artigo visa a refletir sobre a atuação do estado do Rio Grande do Sul em face da pandemia de COVID-19. Como particularidade metodológica e analítica, buscou-se compreender a reprodução da lógica neoliberal por parte do governo do RS, através da análise temática das lives de combate à pandemia da Covid-19, protagonizadas pelo então Governador Eduardo Leite. Por tratar-se de um período de crise sanitária, o Estado esteve à frente de uma conjuntura de tensão político-econômica – momentos críticos (cf. BOLTANSKI; THÉVENOT, 1999) –, revelando, portanto, a gramática moral (BOLTANSKI; THEVÉNOT, 1999) que norteou a gestão do governador na pandemia, apontando a incorporação de princípios que buscaram enfatizar a eficiência (sem desperdício orçamentário para a saúde), o foco na manutenção das atividades econômicas (política das bandeiras), que caracterizam mecanismos de "dominação gestonária" (BOLTANSKI, 2013), marcada pela tentativa de depoliticizar a pandemia e moldada por valores individualizantes e empresariais.*

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: *Governo do RS. Pandemia. Covid-19. Dominação gestonária. Neoliberalismo. Capital simbólico.*

RESUMEN: *Este artículo tiene como objetivo reflexionar sobre las acciones del estado de Rio Grande do Sul frente a la pandemia del COVID-19. Como particularidad metodológica y analítica, buscamos comprender la reproducción de la lógica neoliberal por parte del gobierno de Rio Grande do Sul, a través de un análisis temático de las acciones de combate a la pandemia de Covid-19, lideradas por el entonces gobernador Eduardo Leite. Por tratarse de un período de crisis sanitaria, el Estado estaba al frente de una situación de tensión política y económica - momentos críticos (cf. BOLTANSKI; THÉVENOT, 1999) - revelando así la gramática moral (BOLTANSKI; THEVÉNOT, 1999) que guió la gestión de la pandemia por parte del gobernador, señalando la incorporación de principios que buscaban enfatizar la eficiencia (sin despilfarrar el presupuesto sanitario), el enfoque en el mantenimiento de las actividades económicas (política de banderas), que caracterizan mecanismos de "dominación gerencial" (BOLTANSKI, 2013), marcados por el intento de depoliticizar la pandemia y moldeados por valores individualizantes y empresariales.*

PALABRAS CLAVE: *Gobierno de RS. Pandemia. Covid-19. Dominación empresarial. Neoliberalismo. Capital simbólico.*

Introduction

This article³ aims to reflect on the role of the State⁴ in the face of the COVID-19 pandemic. As a methodological and analytical particularity, it seeks to understand the reproduction of neoliberal logic by the government of the state of Rio Grande do Sul (RS) through a thematic analysis of the lives to combat the Covid-19 pandemic, led by the then Governor Eduardo Leite - EL⁵ ⁶ (Brazilian Social Democracy Party - PSDB), referring to the years from 2020 to the end of the first quarter of 2021. As this was a period of health crisis, the state was at the forefront of a politically and economically tense situation, considered a critical moment (CM)⁷ (see BOLTANSKI; THÉVENOT, 1999), providing ample material for observing and analyzing the nature of the RS government's narratives and policies.

It is worth remembering that the coronavirus pandemic that originated in 2019 evoked debates about the limits of neoliberalism by questioning, in particular, the capacity of the country's health system (public and private) and social security, strengthening the controversial discussion between health and economics, especially regarding the preventive and combat measures that marked Brazil during the COVID-19 pandemic.

In this way, neoliberalism has been understood in different ways, whether from a Marxist perspective (ANDERSON, 1995) or from an approach that takes Foucault's thinking as its starting point, which conceives neoliberalism beyond changes in the economic system,

³ This article is the result of the dissertation "*Colapso Iminente: Uma análise da reprodução da racionalidade neoliberal no governo do RS frente à Covid-19*" (Imminent Collapse: An analysis of the reproduction of neoliberal rationality in the RS government in the face of Covid-19), carried out at the PPGS - Postgraduate Program in Sociology at the Federal University of Pelotas (UFPEL): under the guidance of Professor Elaine da Silveira Leite (CNPq Productivity Fellow), defended on 03/24/2022 with the support of the Capes scholarship.

⁴ We stress that the distinction between the words "State" and "state" refers to their conceptual distinction. When we refer to the State, we are dealing in the sense of the historical organizational category of societies, which we look at Bourdieu's (2014) concept as explained on pages 4 and 5 of this article. When we use state, we are dealing with federal units, which, for the most part throughout this work, will refer to the state of Rio Grande do Sul.

⁵ Eduardo Leite was born in 1985 in the city of Pelotas, in the interior of Rio Grande do Sul. He began his political career at a very young age, in 2001, joining the PSDB, the party he is still a member of (2023). Leite has considered himself a liberal since his entry into institutional politics (FOLHA, 2020). The current governor of the state of Rio Grande do Sul was a city councillor for the city of Pelotas, a state deputy for the state of Rio Grande do Sul (his term was interrupted to take over as mayor of Pelotas), mayor of Pelotas and is currently the governor of the state. Leite's political career has always been associated with youth.

⁶ Throughout the article we will use EL as a reference to Eduardo Leite.

⁷ "critical moments (*moments critiques*), which refers at the same time to people's critical activity and the rarity of a moment of crisis" (BOLTANSKI; THÉVENOT, 1999, our translation). According to the aforementioned authors, these moments of crisis are moments of rupture, of realizing that situations, political and social conjunctures are malfunctioning. At this juncture, social problems become even more apparent, so that individuals can no longer live with their presence and/or overcome them, causing them to externalize their frustration in various ways. This is because, from the moment that social problems can be perceived by society, it becomes clear that social structures are malfunctioning and need to be criticized. The tendency is therefore for malfunctions to be communicated, shared and externalized among individuals. It is therefore critical from the point of view of the crisis and its critique.

considering it a new "principle and method of rationalizing the exercise of government" (FOUCAULT, 2008, p. 142, our translation), among other perspectives that seek to understand neoliberalism from the bottom up (for example, GAGO, 2016).

For the purposes of this paper, we would stress that neoliberalism is about externalizing liberal economic rationality to all other spheres of the social world, i.e. the logic of the market encompasses the other social spheres and requires the state to meet the necessary requirements; a kind of facilitating agent for the economic order that should govern the social order. In this sense, Dardot and Laval (2016a) state that

It must therefore be assumed that neoliberal rationality is characterized precisely by the expansion and strengthening of "market logic" outside the mercantile sphere. This means that neoliberalism must be characterized by the transformation of competition into a general form of production activities, especially those that produce non-market services and even social activities outside the productive sphere (DARDOT; LAVAL, 2016a, p. 2, our translation).

These neoliberal government practices materialize a new rationality, which internalizes neoliberal conception behaviors in subjectivation processes (DARDOT; LAVAL, 2016a, p. 2) that come to shape reality.

It is worth noting that, as a way of propagating neoliberal thinking, there are think tanks, which, according to Gros (2008), are institutes that have developed via "networks of articulation between intellectuals, academics and their publications, journalistic companies, business organizations and a new type of private research institutes on public policies" (GROS, 2008, p. 3, our translation). Some academic works that were developed throughout the 1990s and 2000s, such as Gros (2008), Dickel (2010), Cadoná (2012) and Bolzan (2010), demonstrate the peculiar relationship of neoliberal rationality in Rio Grande do Sul, especially through think tanks and the prevalence of the market over the public sphere in matters of economic policy⁸. Thus, Rio Grande do Sul is marked as the cradle of several liberal/neoliberal institutes in the country.

More specifically in relation to the links between neoliberalism and the pandemic, we saw that in Brazil, without a universal protocol at the federal level, it was left to the states and municipalities to manage the health crisis in their own way. According to Lazzarato (2020), health in the capitalist system, especially in peripheral capitalism, works just in time, with zero unoccupied beds and no need for storage, stock or preparation to save lives. The economic

⁸ This article does not aim to deal with think tanks in order to understand this dynamic - for that, see Soler's dissertation (2022).

calculation of health is based on the minimum cost and not on the minimum impact on human lives; in this way, public health is a source of State biopolitics⁹ (FOUCAULT, 2001), a process of capital accumulation based on the exploitation of human suffering (MBEMBE, 2018; SANTOS *et al.*, 2020; ARAÚJO, 2020). This relationship between the corporate way of thinking and its expansion as a hegemonic rationality is the result of the neoliberal mentality, which seems to have prevailed in the management of the pandemic, in this case in Rio Grande do Sul.

To do this, we analyzed the content of the governor's lives published on the official Facebook/Youtube page of the Rio Grande do Sul state government focused on combating the pandemic¹⁰, which proved to be an important analytical source, considering state informational capital, which, according to Bourdieu (1993), is a means of power that forms intellectual structures and constructions, capable of shaping, transforming or maintaining social orders; Thus, this capital functions merely as a form of information for citizens, but also as a way of modulating narratives about the pandemic as a process of legitimizing the management of the government under analysis. This concept of state informational capital draws on Bourdieu's own definition of the State (2014, p. 33, our translation), in which the state would be "a principle of production, of legitimate representation of the social world", and furthermore

The State can be defined as a principle of orthodoxy, that is, a hidden principle that can only be captured in the manifestations of public order, understood both as physical order and as the opposite of disorder, anarchy, civil war, for example. A hidden principle perceptible in the manifestations of public order, understood simultaneously in the physical and symbolic sense [...] I would say that the State is the name we give to the hidden, invisible principles - to designate a kind of *deus absconditus* - of social order, and at the same time of both physical and symbolic domination as well as physical and symbolic violence (BOURDIEU, 2014, p. 30-34, our translation).

⁹ "Biopolitics: "I understood this to mean the way in which, since the 18th century, an attempt has been made to rationalize the problems posed to government practice by the phenomena specific to a group of living people constituted into a population: health, hygiene, birth rates, longevity, races..." (FOUCAULT, 2008, p. 431, our translation).

¹⁰ We used the content analysis method (BARDIN, 1997) on the lives of Governor EL in order to interpret and categorize them. To do this, we screened the videos on Governor EL's page according to the four critical moments, formulated as ideal types (WEBER, 2004): Arrival of the pandemic in the state (March, 2020); Beginning of the flag policy (May, 2020); End of the year 2020 and preparation for the holidays (December, 2020) and the peak of the pandemic in RS (March, 2021). We first carried out a thematic analysis and, in order to be able to do this, three stages were stipulated: "pre-analysis, exploration of the material and treatment of the results obtained" (MENDES, 2018, p. 12, our translation). Thus, the lives analyzed here were: 1^a live – 1^o MC - 16/03/2020; 2^a live - 1^o MC - 03/04/2020; 3^a live – 2^o MC - 09/05/2020; 4^a live – 3^o MC- 08/12/2020; 5^a live - 4^o MC - 22/02/2021; and, 6^a live – 4^o MC - 05/03/2021. For a description of the full methodology, see Soler (2022) which led to this article.

In this way, we understand that the lives represent an important part of the State's attempt at symbolic domination, that is, a way of dominating the "legitimate representation" of the social order in the face of the pandemic.

Allied to this theoretical assumption, the lives also reveal the moral grammar (BOLTANSKI; THEVÉNOT, 1998) mobilized in this management. In this sense, it was possible to verify the existence of four critical moments, which involved the meanings and senses of justice - that is, moral repertoires that represent the moral grammar of the EL government's management during the COVID-19 pandemic.

Thus, we base the construction of moral grammar and critical moments on French pragmatic sociology. In this way, moral grammar (BOLTANSKI; THEVÉNOT, 1998) denotes the cognitive capacity and mechanisms of action and justification shared by the actors in the production of meanings and senses of justice in the management of the health crisis. In other words, this grammar revealed by the informational capital of the lives allowed the actors to coordinate their actions and justifications, outlining the repertoires that make up the moral grammar that underpins the sense of justice of this management based on the mechanisms of "managerial domination" (BOLTANSKI, 2013). Therefore, as we have seen, the moral grammar here corresponds to the repertoires of the four critical moments that exemplify the order of magnitude of the *cit * par projects that characterize the connectionist world (BOLTANSKI; CHIAPELLO, 2009), which reveal the ability of the actors to coordinate and justify their actions at a time of crisis, which overshadow the civic and common good grammars (BOLTANSKI; THEV NOT, 1998) as a normative reference in the conduct of public management of the pandemic crisis.

For our investigation, therefore, the period of analysis was divided into four critical moments (BOLTANSKI; TH VENOT, 1999) relating to the pandemic in the state of RS, namely: I) The arrival of the virus (03/2020); II) The implementation of the flag policy (05/2020); III) The preparation for the 2020 holiday season; and IV) The period in which the state had several municipalities under black flag (03/2021). We consider these critical moments, according to Boltanski and Th venot (1999, p. 359, our translation), to be those moments that "refer at the same time to people's critical activity and to the rarity of a moment of crisis". These moments of crisis are moments of rupture, of perception of situations at extraordinary times, or rather, economic, political and social conjunctures. Thus, we intend to analyze the possible influence of the neoliberal agenda on the EL management of the fight against the Covid-19 pandemic, based on the lives of the Rio Grande do Sul state government (informational capital).

The evidence of this research shows that the lives, which make up the analytical body, evidence the incorporation of principles that sought to emphasize efficiency (no budget waste for health) and the focus on maintaining economic activities (flag policy), which characterize mechanisms of "managerial domination" (BOLTANSKI, 2013) in an attempt to contain the health crisis, as well as the lack of public policies for the population, which reveal how the common good is permeated by values that shape the individualizing and business ideology.

According to Boltanski (2013, p. 454)¹¹, these moments of crisis "exonerate the ruling class" and base their orientations on "experts", who, in turn, present us with reality "as it is", with no possibility of change in any direction other than that proposed by the managers themselves. In view of this, we can see that the meanings and senses of the repertoires that emerge from the moral grammar of EL management have been marked by neoliberal rationality (GROS, 2008; DARDOT; LAVAL, 2016; ANDERSON, 1995).

This article is divided into four chapters, including this introduction. Chapter two gives a chronological account of the critical moments through the analysis of the lives that make up the analytical corpus of the research. This is followed by a chapter on the depoliticization present in the neoliberal discourse regarding the management of the pandemic and, finally, brief concluding remarks.

TAKE CARE RS¹² - critical moments and their repertoires

First critical moment

There is no expectation that it will be contained, that we won't have the virus spreading; the issue is to **spread** this contagion **within the limits of the capacity of our health infrastructure**, to deal with the most serious cases (LEITE, 2020a, authors' emphasis, our translation).

The excerpt above refers to the speech by Governor EL that characterizes the first critical moment. This speech refers to the live broadcast on 16 March 2020, the week of the first confirmed case of Covid-19 in Rio Grande do Sul. The live was attended by Governor EL, as well as most of the government's secretaries. In the very third minute of the video, the governor states that "there is no reason to panic"; that is, the narrative of chaos control, associated with the emphasis in the excerpt above, points out that, since the beginning of the

¹¹ Boltanski (2013, p. 454, our translation) states that: "a regime of managerial domination, based on valuing and exploiting change, moments of *panic*, of *disorganization*, of *moral helplessness*, of *save yourself if you can*, in other words, also of frantic individualism, play an important role" (BOLTANSKI, 2013).

¹² "Te cuida RS" was the name of the RS state government's program to raise awareness about the coronavirus.

pandemic in RS, the state government has acted in a similar way to that described by Lazzarato (2020) in the just-in-time model, that is, a health system that works with "zero unoccupied beds". Therefore, he justifies that panic is not necessary because serious cases will not exceed the number of beds.

Towards the end of this live, EL states once again: "during this period, we will maintain habits that **allow the virus not to spread beyond the capacity of our health system**" (EDUARDO LEITE, 2020a, authors' emphasis, our translation). Thus, the governor recommends that the population keep their rooms ventilated, avoid crowds and, in the event of symptoms, advises everyone to stay at home. During this period, there were no proposals for effective public and social policies, that is, policies for the common good stemming from a civic grammar (BOLTANSKI; CHIAPELLO, 2009).

Reconstituting the management of EL through the lives that form the analytical body of this research, it is worth noting that on 03 April 2020, the governor begins with the report that there have been 365 confirmed cases in RS and 5 deaths from the coronavirus. The situation has worsened compared to the previous live; thus, the increase and implementation of several beds in different cities is announced, in view of the need to expand hospital capacity, especially in the metropolitan region of Porto Alegre and the north/northeast of RS. At the same time, EL has shown himself to be sensitive to the economy and small business owners (for example, in the aforementioned live, the governor tells those included in the Simples¹³ modality that the payment quota for national taxes will be extended for the next three months).

Afterwards, EL explained that he was going to talk to the then planning secretary of RS, Leany Lemos, and to the rector at the time of the Federal University of Pelotas (UFPEl) and epidemiologist Pedro Hallal¹⁴, who presented the Epicovid-RS research, an unprecedented epidemiological study on the Covid-19 pandemic in the country. Thus, EL seeks to show the population that its management is concerned about the economy, as well as being supported by scientific principles and guided by efficiency in guaranteeing the opening of beds according to demand (increase in serious cases), giving justification and legitimacy to its actions and inactions.

¹³ National taxation system for micro and medium-sized enterprises.

¹⁴ University professor, former rector of UFPEl, physical educator and epidemiologist. He was and is a leading figure in research involving Covid-19 in Brazil, having even participated in the CPI on the pandemic, carried out by the Federal Senate in search of possible corruption scandals, omission and default by the public machine in dealing with the pandemic. Hallal was invited, as an epidemiologist, to give his view of the pandemic in Brazil.

Critical moment 2

We moved on to the live in which EL launched the controlled distancing program, on 09 May 2020, marking the beginning of the second critical moment. This live was attended by a large part of the state government's technical team, including, again, planning secretary Leany Lemos, health secretary Arita Bergman, state attorney general Eduardo Costa, and Pedro Tonon Zuanazzi, director of the Department of Economics and Statistics (DEE), a body that was created after the demise of the Economics and Statistics Foundation (FEE).

At this point, we were introduced to the controlled distancing model that would be adopted in Rio Grande do Sul, which used the logic of flags (yellow, orange, red and black)¹⁵ to differentiate regions and consequently their policies for dealing with the pandemic, aiming to contain the advance of the pandemic without wasting the state budget, as well as avoiding the (total) paralysis of economic activities. In other words, according to the state's website: "education, commerce, services, industry, transportation and agriculture, among others, will have restrictions proportional to **the level of safety of Covid-19 contagion** and the respective economic impact" (RIO GRANDE DO SUL, 2020a, authors' emphasis, our translation).

In other words, we can see that the repertoires of moral grammar sought to characterize a controlled management of the pandemic that allowed economic activities to function, via regionalization, according to the intensity of the spread of the virus. In this way, the model controlled by flags was justified in relation to concerns about an economic crisis: "[...] Are we going to keep everything closed everywhere all the time? We can't, it's not possible, we have to have a more rational model" (LEITE, 2020b, our translation). This means a just-in-time management model, in which, in the event of high dissemination and increased bed occupancy, the aim is to meet population demand, reducing budget waste (with health), but ensuring the smooth functioning of the economy.

Exemplifying the construction of such a moment, EL, in this live, informs us that he met with companies such as Brasil Foods S.A. (BRF)¹⁶ and José Batista Sobrinho (JBS)¹⁷ to decide on ways of reopening the slaughterhouses - which were closed because they were hotbeds of the spread of the virus - since there were no effective means of ensuring that workers

¹⁵ The flags were part of the controlled distancing model generated by the RS state government. Their colors represented the risk of Covid-19 in certain regions of the state. The flags darkened the higher the risk, i.e. yellow (low risk), orange (medium risk), red (high risk) and black (critical risk) (RIO GRANDE DO SUL, 2020a).

¹⁶ BRF: one of the largest agro-industrial complexes in the world, resulting from the merger of Perdigão and Sadia (BRF, 2020).

¹⁷ JBS: Brazilian multinational food company (JBS, 2021). In May 2022, it became the largest food company in the world, overtaking Nestlé.

were protected from the virus¹⁸. EL went on to say that closing them would involve the sacrifice of animals, due to health concerns. This focus reinforced the concern about the continuity of the economic activities of large conglomerates in Rio Grande do Sul; with this, they sought to reduce the impact of the private sector, reinforced by the justification that they couldn't risk losing jobs, pointing to the role of Rio Grande do Sul's big business community in making decisions regarding the management of the pandemic. In this sense, the alliances between the public authorities and business marked the political direction in promoting the common good, as we will see in the next chapter.

At this point, EL and his team ratified the need to control deaths and care for lives to avoid the collapse of the state health system; however, it is interesting to note how the risk of exposure to the virus was always affirmed as necessary to avoid deepening the economic crisis. EL states at one point in the live that

it's not an option here between releasing everything to keep the economy growing, because if we release everything and lose control of the situation and **there will be a large number of contaminated people and deaths, the pressure to close is going to be great**; and then we're going to close with no prospects, losing control of the situation, and that's bad for everyone. Because lives will have already been lost and are irrecoverable, and on the other hand the economy will also be lost (LEITE, 2020b, authors' emphasis, our translation).

It is worth noting that the governor himself states that it would be difficult to ensure that the population uses the mask in public places - a policy endorsed in RS, after more than a month of the Ministry of Health's official recommendation for its use (MARTINS, 2020); at the same time, EL asks the population itself to monitor the use of masks just as it already monitors "smokers in public places"¹⁹.

¹⁸ According to news published by G1 RS (2020): "According to the MPT, the measure is maintained until the company proves "strict and full compliance with the measures set by the Regional Labor Management (GRT)", in this case referring to the JBS Passo Fundo Poultry slaughterhouse. "The site was already closed between April and May due to the spread of the coronavirus in the plant. According to the Labor Prosecutor's Office, 287 employees tested positive for the disease." According to the MPT, at that time, one in four people infected in RS was a slaughterhouse worker (G1 RS, 2020). There have also been numerous cases of Covid-19 outbreaks in various meatpacking plants in the state throughout the pandemic. The MPT (2020a; 2020b) even considered that 30% of the cases in RS came from meatpacking plants. As the judge in the case stated in June: "[...] JBS Aves Ltda. is acting freely in choosing the measures it deems appropriate to prevent and combat the new Coronavirus, exposing its employees to inadequate working conditions [...]" (MPT, 2020a, our translation).

¹⁹ The Federal Government has had strong programs and actions against smoking since 1989, which include factors that help reduce tobacco consumption in public places, such as: "Reducing the social acceptance of smoking; Reducing stimuli for initiation; Reducing access to tobacco products; Protecting against the risks of passive smoking; Reducing social barriers that hinder smoking cessation; [...]" (CAVALCANTE, 2005, our translation). This process took years of re-education through various means, which did not work simply by asking people without material means to educate themselves and protect themselves.

At this point, it is worth noting that the flags policy adopted was built on different motivations. Apparently, an attempt was made to mitigate contagion with the least possible economic "losses"²⁰, according to Pedro Hallal, who already stated that he "was critical of the model from the first moment" (RUSCHEL, 2021, our translation).

It is worth noting that Pedro Tonon Zuanazzi, director of the DEE, was present at the time, providing technical support on economic issues relating to the state government's action plans. The director did not take part in the press conference and made specific comments mainly related to logistics and the dynamics of the flags, commenting on issues related to the number of beds available and deaths in some cities in RS.

This shows the importance of "technical", "scientific" and "rational" knowledge in the repertoires of EL. However, this moral grammar overshadows the lack of planning to meet social demands, such as hunger, the need to buy supplies and Personal Protective Equipment (PPE) to meet the increase in occupied beds (even if on demand). In this way, the logic focused on economic liberation prevailed, mediated by calculation in health, placing the individual actions of the population as the guarantor of the common good (BOLTANSKI; CHIAPELLO, 2009), guided by meanings that emphasize trust in individual and private initiative rather than in the actions of the State. The second critical moment ended with 407,000 confirmed cases (CORONAVÍRUS - RS, 2022) and 7,235 deaths (CSSEGISANDDATA, 2022) in RS.

Critical moment 3

The live on 8 December 2020, which marks the third critical moment, began with the announcement of the meeting between the forum of Brazilian governors and the then Minister of Health, Eduardo Pazuello. EL, accompanied by health secretary Arita Bergmann, did not mince words in praising the partnership with the federal government in fighting the pandemic:

it's important to make it clear here first of all, I made this point at the meeting and I'll make it again here publicly: there was no lack of support from the Ministry of Health for the government of the state of Rio Grande do Sul, as well as for the other states. [...] Different political positions, ideologies and different ideas and understandings about distancing, we're not going to polemicize here, but from the point of view of technical support, resource support and support in materials and equipment, the partnership with the Ministry of Health has been effective and has been very successful in

²⁰ "Losses", in quotation marks, because the notion of economic loss applied by EL management constantly referred to economic logic only as a machine that could not stop; if it stopped, there would be significant losses, in other words, different economic forms of state action that could mitigate possible losses, reallocate forms of production, protect workers effectively or guarantee state support of a greater magnitude were not considered (SOLER, 2022).

supporting the state, the states and also the municipalities (LEITE, 2020c, our translation).

EL then laments the politicization of the vaccination issue and says that it is a situation that should be analyzed from a "technical and non-political" point of view. Here, we can see the characteristics of neoliberal rationality referred to by Brown (2020), such as an attempt to depoliticize politics itself, what the author calls "post-ideological" statements (authors' emphasis), in other words, a stage in technocracy²¹ of dismissing any moral and political order other than that established as technical, neutral and pure in neoliberal rationality. An order that, as a rule, is also averse to the democratic State and the common good, since it is originated and oriented in the individualizing, depoliticizing and market-disciplined sense, according to Brown (2020).

At the end of the live, the governor once again stressed the need for the population to protect itself and drew attention to the "Take Care" program. EL reaffirms that hospitals in RS have more than doubled the capacity of SUS ICUs, but states that they are at 80% occupancy, and in the private network, almost 100%, so the system was almost collapsing. Thus, the same strategy was followed to combat the pandemic, reinforcing the "request" to the population to take responsibility for caring for and controlling the spread of the virus.

"Take Care", according to managerial domination (BOLTANSKI, 2013), refers to combating the crisis as an intangible situation, reinforcing the idea that the ruler can do little in terms of the common good. In reality, the governor repeatedly asks for the population's contribution to taking care of themselves, especially with the arrival of the end-of-year festivities:

the state government is undertaking a series of measures, in all areas, to ensure the safety of holidaymakers. We need you to buy into this idea and take the necessary precautions to prevent the spread of the virus and to get through this summer with the minimum of complications: wear a mask, wash your hands, keep your physical distance (RIO GRANDE DO SUL, 2020b, our translation).

In this sense, moral grammar points to the use of political strategies to sensitize actors/citizens at the individual level about the health and economic crisis. Here, it is worth emphasizing that we are not exempting the population from responsibility for their conduct, but seeking to draw attention to the relationship between responsibility for individual conduct and, in a way, the overshadowing of the public issue (civic grammar) and/or the inaction of the state

²¹ In EL's own speech, which we are discussing in the aforementioned paragraph, the governor states that we should value "technique and not politics".

government. This critical moment ends on 21 February 2021²², with a total of 11,771 deaths (CSSEGISANDDATA, 2022) and 677,156 confirmed cases (SECRETARIA DA SAÚDE DO RIO GRANDE DO SUL, 2022) in Rio Grande do Sul.

Critical moment 4

Marking the fourth critical moment, the live on 22 February 2021 recorded the peak of the pandemic in Rio Grande do Sul. EL affirms the seriousness of the moment, reinforcing that the health system is on the verge of collapse. The ICU occupancy rate in the state was 86%, the highest level since the beginning of the pandemic, and the curve continued to rise, as stated by health secretary Arita Bergmann:

it is very important that the population understands that this is not about the government alone solving the issue of the pandemic, because everything within the government's reach is being done in terms of structuring health, but its structuring is absolutely insufficient if there is no collaboration on the part of everyone so that the virus circulates less and until there is large-scale immunization of the population [...] (LEITE, 2021a, our translation).

The governor says that he took part in a meeting with the mayors of RS, and that he was asked about the possibility of returning to the model of controlled distancing²³ ordered by the state, since controlled distancing had undergone changes that allowed greater autonomy for the mayors, and it was not necessary to follow state regulations. Despite the calamity, EL says that he is governor, but that the choices of the population in the municipalities must be taken into account, and that it is important for the mayors to be involved. In this way, the majority of municipalities opted to maintain co-management, in other words, they opted for the municipal/local decision to define the protocols; thus, the state government's decision was once again an "appeal" to the municipalities to adopt the necessary measures.

At that point, the situation was already collapsing, but, according to the health secretary:

²² The case data is from 20 February 2021, as 21 February 2021 is not available on the platform used.

²³ The flags program had begun in a way in which the flags defined by the state government corresponded to obligations involving health issues determined by decree, which had to be fulfilled by the municipalities. As the pandemic wore on, the state government acceded to the demands of the municipalities and made the classification of flags just a suggestion to the municipalities, which had already been appealing against the decree in the courts. What was an obligation became a negotiation, and then a suggestion. This moment of suggestion was called "co-management". Therefore, in the live of 22 February 2021, EL suggests that the delimitation of the rules via the flags stipulated by the state government should return. However, he only suggests such a change, even on the verge of the collapse of the state health system. Hallal *et al.* (2021, p. 1548, our translation) put it this way: "The pressure from entrepreneurs and the federal government to reopen the economy; [...] The government began to release the appeal of cities against the colors determined by the model for their region as some of the reasons why the positive points of the fight against the pandemic at the beginning of the crisis were lost in the course of 2020".

"You can't lose hope, the citizen is also the inspector". EL also ratifies this comment: "Arita's statement is very important here, it brings some of what we have seen from the hospitals, reports of a dramatic situation, **reports of imminent chaos, imminent collapse**" (LEITE, 2021a, authors' emphasis, our translation).

The 05 March 2021 live was made in the context of information about waiting lists of 25 people for each ICU bed, i.e. the height of the pandemic, the most critical period in the state. The just-in-time model collapsed and economic activities went on, to a certain extent, as normal under the co-management of the regions and their municipalities, without the proper support and determination of more effective control policies on the part of the State. Although EL claims that

by 14 of February, 0.72 free for each occupied bed. On 14 of February, there were 628 free beds in the state, which means that we could not understand that there was a greater risk there, as has now been observed, and that there is this situation of beds being exhausted (LEITE, 2021b, our translation).

We should point out that 21 February 2021 was the peak of the pandemic in Rio Grande do Sul, both in terms of the growth in the number of beds used daily (new people being hospitalized) and the number of total beds used (all people hospitalized) (LEITE, 2021b). However, in the live broadcast held the following day (22), the governor made no explicit reference to this situation, i.e. there were no alarms about the worst moment of the pandemic, and thus the imminent collapse.

Finally, the governor reaffirms that ICU beds have been doubled since the beginning of the pandemic, but there was no way to increase the number of ICUs according to the speed of the pandemic curve. He states that the resources coming from the federal government are much smaller than those claimed by then-president Jair Bolsonaro, and says: "No country in the world has solved the coronavirus just by expanding the hospital structure because it is absolutely limited [...] the expansion that has been done here, and that we are working to continue doing, does not sustain the level of increase" (LEITE, 2021b, our translation). The live ends on a melancholy note and with a request for the population "not to crowd in". To stay at home - "Take care RS". He also states that the number of deaths/hospitalizations will rise in the coming days.

In this way, it can be seen that, during a year of the pandemic in the country at the federal level and, in the case of RS, at the height of the crisis (with vaccination already underway, but at a slow pace), the moral grammar continued - "Take care of yourself" -

characterizing the crisis as an external factor about which little can be done by the public authorities, leaving the (unassisted) population to control the health and economic crises - marking a depoliticized management, but justified as efficient, without wasting public resources, conducted by the just-in-time logic, rationalized (flag policy and co-management), using short-term and emergency assistance policies and low capillarity.

Thus, the peak of the pandemic is the final stage of the four critical moments of the analysis, accounting for 27,286 deaths (CSSEGISANDDATA, 2022) and 1,163,314 cases in RS (SECRETARIA DA SAÚDE DO RIO GRANDE DO SUL, 2022).

Moral grammar: the crisis as depoliticization of the pandemic

The proposal to select the lives that characterize the critical moments of this study takes us back to Weber (2004), being the "ideal type" of methodological resource for analysis to present the management of the RS government, allowing us to define an analytical corpus to understand the moral grammar that composed the repertoires of the pandemic. Thus, the lives reduced to critical moments revealed the State's informational capital (see BOURDIEU, 1993), reproducing, multiplying, modifying and producing rationalities.

The moral grammar of EL management has revealed the logic of the just-in-time model in the management of the pandemic, when it comes to health: beds are guaranteed on demand, i.e. hospital capacity is determined based on the demand for new infected people. In this way, it is calculated in an effective way - "spending" only what is necessary, thus calculating a certain "acceptable" or "expected" amount of sick people and even deaths.

This management format also came into force in the policy of distancing controlled by the flags, which characterizes the second critical moment. During this period, the importance of the positions of the economic elite, i.e. the business community of Rio Grande do Sul, became clear when it came to proposing policies for managing the health crisis. It is worth noting that the flags policy ended up working in a regionalized way, which "threw" responsibility and control to the municipalities - a model that was criticized by epidemiologist Pedro Hallal. This model considered economic calculation as the norm for the State's (in)actions.

The moral grammar, therefore, reveals that the State managed the pandemic by calculating dead/infected, assessing the circulation of the virus by considering the economic needs of each region and having a unilateral debate only with the parties that the State

considered "technical" and politically neutral.

More specifically, critical moment three, marked by the promotion of the "Te Cuida" (Take Care) program, which makes individuals explicitly responsible, prioritized dialogue with the private sector. Thus, it was left to the citizens themselves to "take care of themselves" at a time of great risk and contagion, such as the end-of-year festivities, which culminated in the height of the pandemic in the state.

Thus, the critical moment IV consolidated and demonstrated the result of what we consider neoliberal management of the pandemic - when the health system was collapsing, no intensive measures were taken to combat it. Somehow, the management of the crisis appealed to the individual responsibility of the people of Rio Grande do Sul, thus guaranteeing the end-of-year festivities and, consequently, the collapse of the health system in the first quarter of 2021.

These notes strongly suggest a relationship with neoliberalism, as exposed by Dardot and Laval (2016a; 2016b) and Foucault (2001; 2008), since the state administration sought to equate the cost of the pandemic, calculating health so as not to interfere with the smooth functioning of the economy. It was possible to notice that the moral grammar was based on scientific debate; however, despite the governor repeatedly referring to science in the material analyzed, political decisions emerged to the detriment of epidemiology, as we can assume from Pedro Hallal's statements to Zero Hora (RUSCHEL, 2021) or in his own article referring to EPICOVID-RS data (HALLAL *et al.*, 2021).

In the case of our research, we concluded that the repertoires that constituted the moral grammar reinforce that the decisions were made politically and in a way that benefited economic functionality according to a neoliberal agenda. The expression "Take care" sums up the RS government's management of the pandemic, a logic that flirts with "save yourself if you can", which exemplifies what we call a regime of managerial domination (BOLTANSKI, 2013), since the repertoires of critical moments shaped the crisis as an external factor, thus judging the ills of the pandemic context as a process of individual accountability.

The moral grammar, therefore, is based on a depoliticized management of the pandemic, appealing to the technical (BROWN, 2020), but backed by repertoires explicitly anchored in the discourse of efficient management, that is, without wasting public resources, driven by just-in-time logic (beds/flags/economy), rationalization (flag policy, co-management), as well as the good intentions of the business sector, which propagated the fear of an economic crisis being more serious than the health crisis.

As Brown (2020) warns us, the inequalities arising from the current economic and social model are inherent to humanity. There's No Alternative (TINA) is used by the same author as a reflection of the rationality behind neoliberalism - there's nothing that can be done to change the current situation, just "Take care". Thus, the narrative and political (in)action of EL management, according to the aforementioned author, does not propose democratic debate, but rather reinforces market logic as natural and without many alternatives, legitimizing the debate that the State can do nothing, and that if it does, it could generate an economic crisis (unemployment, company closures, etc.) that is more serious than the health crisis. Thus, public and social policies during this period were assistance-based and ad hoc, leaving the population to survive their own lives - "Take care". That said, this moral grammar is in line with the *cit e par projects* (BOLTANSKI; CHIAPELLO, 2009) which overshadowed the grammars of civic order and the promotion of the common good as the normative order of public management.

The critical moments of this study exemplify the logic of managerial domination (BOLTANSKI, 2013) that supports the legitimacy of the absence of the State in the promotion of life, in which, in Brazil, we can say that, socio-historically, the accountability of individuals for their condition is recurrent, concretizing a subjectivity that justifies and legitimizes neoliberal management in the face of a civic management of the order of the common good.

Brief final considerations

This article sought to present the managerial domination marked by the neoliberal rationality of EL management, more specifically with regard to combating the pandemic and Covid-19. Thus, it was possible to understand the construction of the moral grammar, specified by the critical moments that characterized the meanings and senses of this management, marked by managerial domination (BOLTANSKI, 2013). The position of the RS government was analyzed as informational capital (see BOURDIEU, 1993), as a direct tool of biopower, which acted in a calculating manner, backed by the just-in-time model.

Thus, the critical moments (BOLTANSKI; TH EVENOT, 1999) revealed repertoires that summarized the (in)actions and justifications that characterized the positions and decisions adopted by the RS government, pointing to the moral grammar that led EL management during the pandemic in the state of RS, culminating in the incorporation of principles that sought to emphasize the efficiency of economic calculation (without budgetary waste for health), the focus on maintaining economic activities (flag policy), which characterize mechanisms of

"managerial domination" (BOLTANSKI, 2013) in an attempt to contain the health crisis, as well as the absence of public policy proposals (common good), and the reinforcement of individualizing policies to combat the pandemic - "Take care".

Therefore, as we have seen, the moral grammar here corresponds to the order of magnitude of the *cit * par projects, which characterizes the connectionist world (BOLTANSKI; CHIAPELLO, 2009), which, based on the four critical moments, reveals the ability of the actors in this management to justify their actions at a time of crisis based on magnitudes that overshadow civic grammar as a normative reference in the conduct of public management of the health crisis.

In this sense, this grammar, marked by neoliberal rationality (GROS, 2008; DARDOT; LAVAL, 2016; ANDERSON, 1995) constituted the normative order that characterized the management of EL in the pandemic, which gave meanings and senses to the government's technical measures, thus depoliticizing the pandemic (BROWN, 2020).

Given the lack of effective public policies, both at federal and state level, the pandemic still leaves a huge number of victims in 2022, emphasizing that the majority of those susceptible to exposure and death were (and are) groups with greater social and economic fragility. Little has been debated as a public issue (common good) about the human, labor, psychological and income consequences for the population - science seemed not to be called upon in this regard.

REFERENCES

ANDERSON, P. Balanço do neoliberalismo. *In*: SADER, E.; GENTILI, P. (org.). **P s-neoliberalismo**: as pol ticas sociais e o Estado democr tico. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1995. p. 9-23.

ARA JO, M. O que necropol tica tem a ver com a pandemia e com falas de Bolsonaro. **TAB Uol**, [S. l.], 03 Apr. 2020. Available: <https://tab.uol.com.br/noticias/redacao/2020/04/03/o-que-necropolitica-tem-a-ver-com-a-pandemia-e-com-falas-de-bolsonaro.htm?>. Access: 10 July 2020.

BARDIN, L. **An lise de conte do**. Lisboa: Edi es 70, 1977.

BENATOU L, T. Critique et pragmatique en sociologie. Quelques principes de lecture. **Annales HSS**, [S. l.], v. 54, n. 2, p. 281-317, 1999.

BOLTANSKI, L.; CHIAPELLO,  . **O novo esp rito do capitalismo**. S o Paulo: Martins Fontes, 2009.

BOLTANSKI, L.; TH VENOT, L. The Sociology of Critical Capacity. **European Journal**

of **Social Theory**, [S. l.], v. 2, n. 3, p. 359-377, 1999.

BOLTANSKI, L. Sociologia da crítica, instituições e o novo modo de dominação gestonária. **Sociologia & Antropologia**, [S. l.], v. 3, n. 6, p. 441-463, 2013.

BOLZAN, L. C. **Ajuste fiscal e o Sistema Único de Saúde na gestão estadual do Rio Grande do Sul**: a política de saúde esvaziada pela ideologia neoliberal. 2010. 101 f. Dissertação (Mestrado Profissional em Saúde Pública) – Centro de Pesquisas Aggeu Magalhães da Fundação Oswaldo Cruz, Recife, 2010.

BOURDIEU, P. Esprits d'Etat. Genèse et structure du champ bureaucratique. **Actes de la Recherche en Sciences Sociales**, [S. l.], n. 96-97, p. 49-62, 1993.

BOURDIEU, P. **Sobre o Estado**: Cursos no Collège de France (1989-92). São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2014.

BRF. Nossa História. **BRF Global**, [S. l.], 2020. Available: <https://www.brf-global.com/sobre/a-brf/nossa-historia/>. Access: 01 Mar. 2022.

BROWN, W. **Nas ruínas do neoliberalismo**: A ascensão da política antidemocrática no ocidente. São Paulo: Editora Filosófica Politeia, 2019.

CADONÁ, M. A. **A inserção neoliberal**: burguesia industrial e a inserção econômica do Rio Grande do Sul no processo de reestruturação do capitalismo durante os anos 1990. 2009. 386 f. Tese (Doutorado em Sociologia Política) – Programa de Pós-Graduação em Sociologia Política da Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, Florianópolis, 2009.

CAVALCANTE, T. M. O controle do tabagismo no Brasil: avanços e desafios. **Revista Psiquiátrica Clínica**, [S. l.], v. 32, n. 5, p. 283-300, 2005.

CSSEGISANDDATA/COVID-19. **GitHub**, 2022. Available: <https://github.com/CSSEGISandData/COVID-19>. Access: 01 Mar. 2022.

DARDOT, P.; LAVAL, C. Neoliberalismo e subjetivação capitalista. **Revista o Olho da História**, [S. l.], n. 22, p. 1-15, 2016a.

DARDOT, P.; LAVAL, C. **Uma nova razão do mundo**: ensaio sobre a sociedade neoliberal. São Paulo: Boitempo, 2016b.

DICKEL, M. E. G. **O papel do terceiro setor nas políticas ambientais do estado neoliberal**: uma análise a partir do Corede centro do Rio Grande do Sul. 2010. 134 f. Dissertação (Mestrado em Geografia) – Programa de Pós-Graduação em Geografia e Geociências, Universidade Federal de Santa Maria, Santa Maria, 2010.

FOUCAULT, M. **O nascimento da biopolítica**. São Paulo: Martins Fontes, 2008.

FOUCAULT, M. **Microfísica do poder**. 16. ed. Rio de Janeiro: Graal, 2001.

GAGO, V. **A razão neoliberal**: economias barrocas e pragmática popular. Trad. Igor Peres. São Paulo: Elefante, 2018.

GAGO, V. O neoliberalismo é, hoje, um paradoxo que dilui a fronteira entre em cima e embaixo, exploração e resistência. Entrevista com Verónica Gago. Entrevistadores: Amador Fernández-Savater, Marta Malo e Débora Ávila. **Máquina Crítica**, [S. l.], 21 jul. 2016. Available: <https://maquinacritica.org/2016/07/21/o-neoliberalismo-e-hoje-um-paradoxo-que-dilui-a-fronteira-entre-em-cima-e-embaixo-exploracao-e-resistencia-entrevista-com-veronica-gago/>. Access: 07 Nov. 2022.

GROS, D. Considerações sobre o neoliberalismo como movimento ideológico internacional. **Ensaio FEE**, [S. l.], v. 29, n. 2, p. 565-590, 2008.

G1 RS. Tribunal Regional do Trabalho interdita novamente JBS de Passo Fundo. **G1**, [S. l.], 25 jun. 2020. Available: <https://g1.globo.com/rs/rio-grande-do-sul/noticia/2020/06/25/tribunal-regional-do-trabalho-interdita-novamente-jbs-de-passo-fundo.ghtml>. Access: 07 Nov. 2022.

HALLAL, P. C. *et al.* Slow Spread of SARS-CoV-2 in Southern Brazil Over a 6-Month Period: Report on 8 Sequential Statewide Serological Surveys Including 35 611 Participants. **American Journal of Public Health**, [S. l.], v. 111, n. 8, p. 1542-1550, 2021.

JBS. Quem Somos. **A JBS**, [S. l.], 2021. Available: <https://jbs.com.br/sobre/jbs/>. Access: 01 Mar. 2022.

LAZZARATO, M. A vida dos humanos sujeita à lógica contável que organiza a saúde pública. Entrevista com Maurizio Lazzarato. Entrevistador: Fernando Bogado. Tradução: CEPAT. **Página12**, Argentina, 12 Apr. 2020. Available: <https://www.ihu.unisinos.br/categorias/598086-a-vida-dos-humanos-sujeita-a-logica-contavel-que-organiza-a-saude-publica-entrevista-com-maurizio-lazzarato>. Access: 07 Nov. 2022.

LEITE, E. **Governador Eduardo Leite faz pronunciamento sobre o Corona Vírus**. 2020a. 1 vídeo (15 minutos). Publicado pelo canal do Governo do Rio Grande do Sul. Available: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tbRA5dfaczQ>. Access: 05 Mar. 2022.

LEITE, E. **Coletiva Coronavírus 09/05**. 2020b. 1 vídeo (1 hora e 54 minutos). Publicado pelo canal do Governo do Rio Grande do Sul. Available: https://www.facebook.com/watch/live/?ref=watch_permalink&v=318450345790075. Access: 05 Mar. 2022.

LEITE, E. **Plano para vacinação Covid-19 (08/12)**. 2020c. 1 vídeo (47 minutos). Publicado pelo canal do Governo do Rio Grande do Sul. Available: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ONdpMlcxjnI>. Access: 05 Mar. 2022.

LEITE, E. **Live de atualizações coronavírus (22/02)**. 2021a. 1 vídeo (46 minutos). Publicado pelo canal do Governo do Rio Grande do Sul. Available: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X5SxRpbhMxM>. Access: 05 Mar. 2022.

LEITE, E. **Coletiva governador Eduardo Leite (05/03)**. 2021b. 1 vídeo (60 minutos). Publicado pelo canal do Governo do Rio Grande do Sul. Available: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hBhCJTBMk4>. Access: 05 Mar. 2022.

MARTINS, P. Ministério da Saúde recomenda o uso de máscaras caseiras. Veja as orientações. **Congresso em Foco**, Brasília, 04 Apr. 2020. Available: <https://congressoemfoco.uol.com.br/temas/saude/ministerio-da-saude-recomenda-o-uso-de-mascaras-caseiras-veja-as-orientacoes/>. Access: 07 Jan. 2020.

MBEMBE, A. **Necropolítica**. São Paulo: n-1 edições, 2018.

MENDES, D. C. B. Considerações elementares da metodologia de análise de conteúdo em pesquisa qualitativa no âmbito das ciências sociais. **Faculdade Sant'Ana em Revista**, [S. l.], v. 2, n. 1, p. 4-15, 2018.

MPT. Coronavírus: Liminar obtida pelo MPT obriga frigorífico JBS Aves (Passo Fundo) ao cumprimento integral de medidas de prevenção. **MPT-RS**, [S. l.], 10 jun. 2020a. Available: <https://www.prt4.mpt.mp.br/procuradorias/ptm-passo-fundo/10834-coronavirus-liminar-obtida-pelo-mpt-obriga-frigorifico-jbs-aves-passo-fundo-ao-cumprimento-integral-de-medidas-de-prevencao>. Access: 03 Apr. 2023.

MPT. Coronavírus: 30% dos casos confirmados no RS são de trabalhadores de frigoríficos. **MPT-RS**, 01 jun. 2020b. Available: <https://www.prt4.mpt.mp.br/procuradorias/prt-porto-alegre/10646-coronavirus-30-dos-casos-confirmados-no-rs-sao-de-trabalhadores-de-frigorificos>. Access: 07 Nov. 2022.

RIO GRANDE DO SUL. Governo do Estado do Rio Grande Do Sul. **Bandeiras e protocolos**: entenda o modelo de distanciamento controlado. [Porto Alegre]: Executivo, 30 Apr. 2020a. Available: <https://estado.rs.gov.br/bandeiras-e-protocolos-entenda-o-modelo-de-distanciamento-controlado>. Access: 07 Nov. 2022.

RIO GRANDE DO SUL. Governo do Estado do Rio Grande Do Sul. **Te Cuida RS no Verão**: campanha reforça cuidados contra o coronavírus no veraneio. [Porto Alegre]: Comunicação, 2020b. Available: <https://estado.rs.gov.br/te-cuida-rs-no-verao-campanha-reforca-cuidados-contra-o-coronavirus-no-veraneio>. Access: 07 Nov. 2022.

RUSCHEL, R. "Foi politizado e degradingolou", diz Hallal sobre modelo de bandeiras adotado no RS. **Gaúcha ZH**, [S. l.], 24 jun. 2021. Available: <https://gauchazh.clicrbs.com.br/politica/noticia/2021/06/foi-politizado-e-degradingolou-diz-hallal-sobre-modelo-de-bandeiras-adotado-no-rs-ckqbd28e7002c0180f02ff2nt.html>. Access: 07 Nov. 2021.

SANTOS, H. L. P. C. *et al.* Necropolítica e reflexões acerca da população negra no contexto da pandemia da COVID-19 no Brasil: uma revisão bibliográfica. **Ciência & Saúde Coletiva**, [S. l.], v. 25, n. 0, sup. 2, p. 4211-4224, 2020.

SECRETARIA DA SAÚDE DO ESTADO DO RIO GRANDE DO SUL. Painel coronavírus RS. **SES/RS**, Porto Alegre, 2022. Available: <https://ti.saude.rs.gov.br/covid19/>. Access: 07 Nov. 2022.

SOLER, P. **Colapso iminente**: Uma análise da reprodução da racionalidade neoliberal no governo do RS frente a Covid-19. 2022. 141 f. Dissertação (Mestrado em Sociologia) –

Programa de Pós-Graduação em Sociologia da Universidade Federal de Pelotas, Pelotas, 2022.

WEBER, M. A "objetividade" do conhecimento nas Ciências Sociais. *In*: COHN, G. (org.). **Weber**: Sociologia. São Paulo: Ática, 2004. p. 79-127.

CRediT Author Statement

Acknowledgements: PPGSociologia of the Federal University of Pelotas and Capes.

Financing: Capes scholarship

Conflict of Interest: No.

Ethical approval: Yes, the work followed research ethics, but did not go through a specific ethics committee.

Availability of data and material: Yes, they are available because they are the fruit of the master's thesis of the second author, Pedro Schlee Soler, available at: <https://wp.ufpel.edu.br/ppgs/files/2022/05/Dissertacao-Final-Pedro-Soler-PPGS.pdf>.

Authors contributions: This article is the result of second author Pedro Schlee Soler's master's thesis, defended at the Federal University of Pelotas' Sociology Postgraduate Program in 2022. He conducted the research under the guidance of Prof. Elaine Leite, who supervised the research and adapted it to article format, which is the result of the general research project: "*Ressignificando a economia: produção, consumo e mercados locais*" (Ressignifying the economy: production, consumption and local markets), developed within the scope of the Federal University of Pelotas' Sociology Postgraduate Program.

Processing and editing: Editora Ibero-Americana de Educação.
Proofreading, formatting, normalization and translation.

