

THE UNIVERSITY FOR ALL PROGRAM (PROUNI): FROM STATISTICS UP TO THE LAW AND DEVELOPMENT APPROACH

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The University for All Program (Prouni) is a Brazilian public policy developed in order to increase the access to higher education. This program offers scholarships in private institutions for people who have low income. In so doing, the Government offers tax exemptions for these Universities. The Program has distributed over than 1.4 million scholarships for people with low income from 2005 to 2010. This work investigated the effectiveness of the Program by analyzing quantitative data through the Program own database and qualitative data from selected bibliography. Furthermore, it is also included in the context of other public policies that give access to higher education and follows the perspective of Law and Development based on Sen and North's approach. The quantitative data suggests that Prouni has been effective. However, the qualitative evidences indicate some contradictory conclusions. They demand a better approach due to the large amount of variables.

Keywords: Prouni; public educational policy; law and development; access to higher education.

O PROGRAMA UNIVERSIDADE PARA TODOS (PROUNI): DAS ESTATÍSTICAS À ABORDAGEM DO DIREITO E DESENVOLVIMENTO

O Programa Universidade para Todos (Prouni) é uma política pública brasileira desenvolvida com o propósito de promover acesso ao ensino superior oferecendo bolsas em Instituições de Ensino privadas para estudantes de baixa renda. Como compensação, o Governo oferece isenções de impostos às Universidades participantes, de modo que, desde 2005 até 2010, o Programa distribuiu mais de 1.4 milhões de bolsas. Este trabalho se propõe a investigar a efetividade do Programa através da análise de dados quantitativos da sua própria base de informações e qualitativos provenientes da bibliografia selecionada. Tal análise foi inserida no contexto das demais políticas públicas de acesso ao ensino superior e da perspectiva do Direito e Desenvolvimento de Amartya Sen e Douglas North. A partir dos dados quantitativos é possível observar que o Programa tem se mostrado efetivo. No entanto, os dados qualitativos indicam conclusões contraditórias e demonstram a necessidade de melhor abordagem diante da quantidade de variáveis.

Palavras-chave: Prouni; política pública educacional; direito e desenvolvimento; acesso ao ensino superior.

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EL PROGRAMA UNIVERSIDAD PARA TODOS (PROUNI): DE LA ESTADÍSTICA HASTA LA LEY Y DESARROLLO

El Programa Universidad para Todos (Prouni) es una política pública desarrollada con el propósito de promover el acceso al aprendizaje superior. Como compensación, o gobierno ofrece isenciones de impuestos a las universidades participantes, de modo que, desde 2005 hasta 2010, o Programa ha distribuido más de 1,4 millones de bolsas. Este trabajo investiga la eficacia del programa por la evaluación de datos cuantitativos provenientes de su base de datos y datos cualitativos de la bibliografía seleccionada. Tal análisis se ha incluido en el contexto de las políticas públicas de acceso al aprendizaje superior y en la perspectiva del desarrollo de Amartya Sen y Douglas North. Los datos cuantitativos sugieren que el Prouni ha sido eficaz. No obstante, los datos cualitativos indicados concluyen contradictorios entre los trabajos y el demonstam una necesidad de mejor entendimiento de la cantidad de variables que influyen los resultados.

Palabras clave: Prouni; política pública educativa; derecho y desarrollo; acceso a la educación superior.

LE PROGRAMME UNIVERSITÉ POUR TOUS (PROUNI): DE STATISTIQUES À LA LOI ET AU DÉVELOPPEMENT

Le Prouni (Programme Université pour Tous) s'agit d'une politique publique brésilienne développé pour encourager l'accès à l'enseignement supérieur avec l'offre de bourses pour les étudiants à faible revenu dans les institutions privées d'enseignement. À titre de compensation, le gouvernement offre des exonérations fiscales aux institutions et ainsi, le Programme a offert plus de 1.4 millions de bourses entre 2005 et 2010. Cette étude vise à évaluer l'efficacité du Programme à partir de l'analyse des données quantitatives d'une base d'informations et des données qualitatives de la littérature. Le contexte d'autres politiques d'accès à l'enseignement supérieur a été considéré, ainsi que la perspective du Droit et Développement. À partir des données quantitatives, on observe que le programme est efficace par rapport à ses objectives. Cependant, les données qualitatives indiquent des résultats contradictoires et suggèrent la nécessité d'une approche plus précise du nombre de variables.

Mots-clés: Prouni; politique de l'éducation publique; droit et développement; accès à l'enseignement supérieur.

JEL: I22; I23; I28.

1 INTRODUCTION

In the recent years, access to higher education has led the genesis of different Programs in order to increase the capacity of public institutions or provide it in the private ones. While some initiatives are designed for federal universities, like the Restructuring and Expanding Program of Federal Universities (Reuni), the "University for All Program" (Prouni) has the purpose of expanding the access for undergraduate courses through scholarships in private institutions. Furthermore, the context, which has originated the Program, can be appointed as the immediate necessity to reach the National Plan of Education (PNE) goals and the lack

of capability in improving the access in a faster way than investing only in the public institutions. At the same time, it provides tax exemptions for the private universities in exchange for scholarships.

The main objective of this article is to analyze the effectiveness of the Program related to the quantitative dimension of vacancies proportionated between 2005 and 2014. However, in order to improve this investigation, the qualitative aspect was also observed as a manner to examine the recent positioning of other scholars and reach the qualitative dimension associated to the result of interview techniques applied for some of them. Exactly for this reason, the relevance of this research can be attributed to the approach of the extensive data present in the Program database and its relation to the recent conclusions made by other researches and the recent scenario of the access to higher education in Brazil.

This work has applied the empirical methodology and the bibliography analysis taking two steps. Firstly, quantitative data from the “University for All Program” (Prouni) from 2005 to 2014 were analyzed in order to verify the effectiveness of the program towards the inclusion of people with low income in the higher education. Secondly, five scientific articles from 2010 to 2015 were evaluated. These articles represent all the bibliography that, in the mentioned period, has applied the interview technique in order to verify the qualitative aspect. The articles were selected taking into consideration the chosen sample of each one. Therefore, the interview technique was preferred as a determinant element for the chosen bibliography once it brings the qualitative aspects of the effectiveness of the Program. They allow the evaluation of students’ impressions related to inclusion, the impact of having higher education, expectations, performance, and other elements that will be better approached in the topic number “5”. Despite the deep analysis of these articles, recent bibliography was also considered. After the qualitative and quantitative investigation, the Program was analyzed in conjunction with other education policies. Finally, the Program was addressed in the context of the right to education and the Law and Development approach.

2 PUBLIC POLICY FOR ACCESS TO HIGHER EDUCATION: THE UNIVERSITY FOR ALL PROGRAM (PROUNI)

A public policy represents the Government in action and it reveals the project of society to be implemented; many of them are determined in order to answer a question raised by the society, pleading for a solution. For this reason, the community demands the action from the State (Azevedo, 1997, p. 61). A public policy can also be understood as “a normative framework of an action that mixes elements of the public force and other competence elements and creates a local order” (free translation) (Muller and Surel, 2002, p. 14).

Taking into consideration Azevedo's contribution as well as the contribution of Muller and Surel, it is possible to comprehend the creation of a Brazilian public police designated to face the access to higher education problem. Due to the immediate necessity and demand of increasing the capacity of the Brazilian higher educational system, the Federal Government created a public policy called "University For All Program" (Prouni – Programa Universidade para Todos) in 2004. The Program was established during Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva's government because increasing the admission in the higher education became one of the priorities (Arruda, 2011, p. 503). However, the Program officially started in 2005 when it was enacted by the law number 11,096. The purpose of the program, according to the Ministry of Education, is to reduce the social inequality by including Brazilians in the Higher Education and at the same time, to reduce the discrepancy in the offer of vacancies in the Public Universities (Saraiva and Nunes, 2011, p. 943).

This program was followed by the Restructuring and Expansion Program of Federal Universities (Reuni – Programa de Reestruturação e Expansão das Universidades Federais), which was established in 2007 by the Decree number 6,096. The aim of the two programs was to achieve the goal of the Nacional Plan of Education (PNE – Plano Nacional de Educação de 2001) approved by the Law number 10,172 in 2001, which was offering Higher Education for at least 30% of the population between 18 and 24 years old until 2010.

3 HOW DOES THE PROGRAM WORK FOR THE CANDIDATE?

The Program consists in an arrangement of full or partial scholarships for Brazilian people with low income and teachers from the public educational system who want to have their graduation in private institutions. First of all, non-graduated candidates must apply for the National Exam of High School (Exame Nacional do Ensino Médio – Enem) and they must achieve at least 450 points in the objective part and more than zero in the writing test which is similar to an essay.

Secondly, after taking the test, the candidates may apply for the scholarships in the internet website of the Program. So, they can choose two courses in order of preference and must fulfill all the requisites. In order to receive the full scholarship, the candidates must earn a gross monthly household income amount not greater than a minimum wage and a half per person (R\$1,405.50, approximately U\$439.00). On the other hand, for receiving the partial scholarship, the candidates must earn a gross monthly household income amount not greater than three minimum wages per person (R\$2,811.00, approximately U\$878.43). Despite the wage requisites, the students who apply for the scholarships must come from a Public High School or from a private one, if the person was studying there through scholarship.

Thirdly, the system of Prouni will classify the candidates for one vacancy and it takes into account the order of the options and the scores in relation to each of them. In this moment, some institutions may have a process to select students pre-classified by the Prouni system; in this case, the candidates receive an advisory explaining of the process and the requisites that will be evaluated when they choose the options. Finally, once they are selected, they must attend to the institution with their documents proving the evaluated requisites of wage and schooling.

The Program is not only aimed at non-graduated students, but it also allows teachers from the public educational system to apply for other licentiate courses (superior or normal) and Pedagogy. Besides these special situations, the program also supports candidates with disabilities and has a quota system for black, *pardo* and indigenous people based on the proportion of these populations in each State (Brasil, 2016).

4 HOW DOES THE PROGRAM WORK FOR THE PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS?

According to the 2013 census, Brazil had 2,391 higher education institutions, from this number, 2,000 are private institutions and 301 are public. In 2003, there were 1,652 private universities and 1,135 of them were part of the program, what corresponds for almost 70% of the total number (Andrade, 2007, p. 664). This number increased to 1,232 in 2005 and 1,304 in 2010; these participating institutions must offer 10 percent of their vacancies for entering students supported by Prouni (Somers et al., 2013, p. 208).

In relation to the private institutions, the Program works as a public-private partnership, in which the private colleges are free to decide to participate or not. The Government offers a tax rebate over the net profit, the social security, the income tax and the integration program in exchange for the monthly fee of the courses (Saraiva and Nunes, 2011, p. 943). From this perspective, the Program promotes access to higher education with lower cost for the Government and it balances the popular impact, adjusts the public account and finally, it also attends the private sector demand. (Catani and Hey, 2007, p. 421).

Recently, the educational field has been consolidated as one of the most profitable in Brazil. In 2004, the gross revenue amounted R\$35,483 billion; from this value, R\$19,132 billion generated by the private sector and R\$16,351 generated by the public sector (Nunes, 2007, p. 135). However, this value has exceptionally increased. While the private institutions amount of circulating money was estimated in R\$10 billion in 2001, in 2008 it reached R\$90 billion, so it has grown 800% (Avancini, 2011). In the same line, the revenue of private

institutions raised to R\$24.7 billion in 2011, with an estimation to grow 30% more in 2013, reaching R\$32 billion as it can be seen in the table 1 (Guilherme and Glenia, 2013). Nowadays, not even the Brazilian crisis was enough to stop the growth of the private institutions, which have been involved in mergers, acquisitions, private equity, stock exchange at BM&FBOVESPA and have been increasing the investment in Brazil through foreign direct investment (Terra, 2013; Forbes Brasil, 2015).

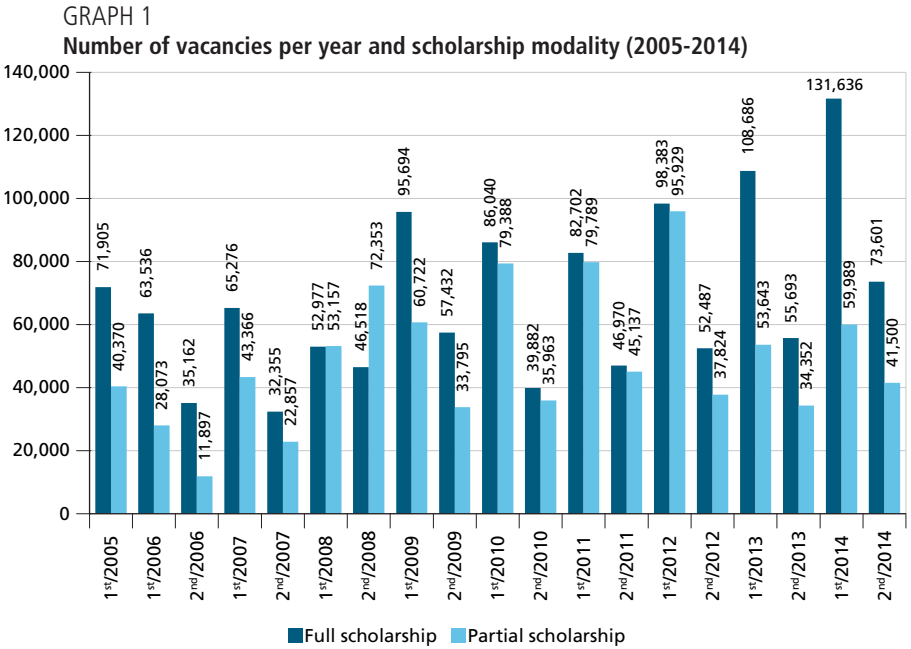
TABLE 1
Revenue from the higher education market

Billing private (<i>Faturamento</i>) from the undergraduate market (classroom and EAD)						
Year	2011		2012		2013	
Segment	Registration (<i>Matriculas</i>)	Revenue	Registration (<i>Matriculas</i>)	Revenue	Registration (<i>Matriculas</i>)	Revenue
Classroom courses	3.76 million	R\$22.58 billion	3.98 million	R\$25.72 billion	4.15 million	R\$29.28 billion
EAD	0.67 million	R\$2.18 billion	0.74 million	R\$2.71 billion	0.81 million	R\$2.75 billion
Total	4.43 million	R\$24.7 billion	4.72 million	R\$28.3 billion	4.96 million	R\$32 billion

Source: Hoper Educação (2013).

5 QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS: STATISTICAL DATA

According to the Brazilian Ministry of Education, in the 2014 census (Educação), there were 49,771,371 students registered in the basic education. From this number, 7,855,991 were registered in the early childhood education (*educação infantil*), 28,449,667 in the basic education (*educação fundamental* – from the 1st to 9th grade) and finally, with a drastic reduction, 8,300,189 students were registered in the high school, which is not mandatory in the Brazilian system of education (Inep, 2014). At the same time, during these nine years, from 2005 to 2014, the Prouni was responsible for attending almost 1.5 million students, 70% of them supported by full scholarships (1,049,645) and 30% by partial scholarships (447,580) (Prouni, 2015). As a result, if we consider that 1% of the vacancies are for teachers from the public system, the Program has proportionated vacancies for approximately 18% of the students from high school. Of course, it is important to mention that not all of the students fulfill the requisites to apply for Prouni like students from private schools. Thus, it means that the Program is able to reach an even bigger percentage of students that rely upon the program in order to graduate.

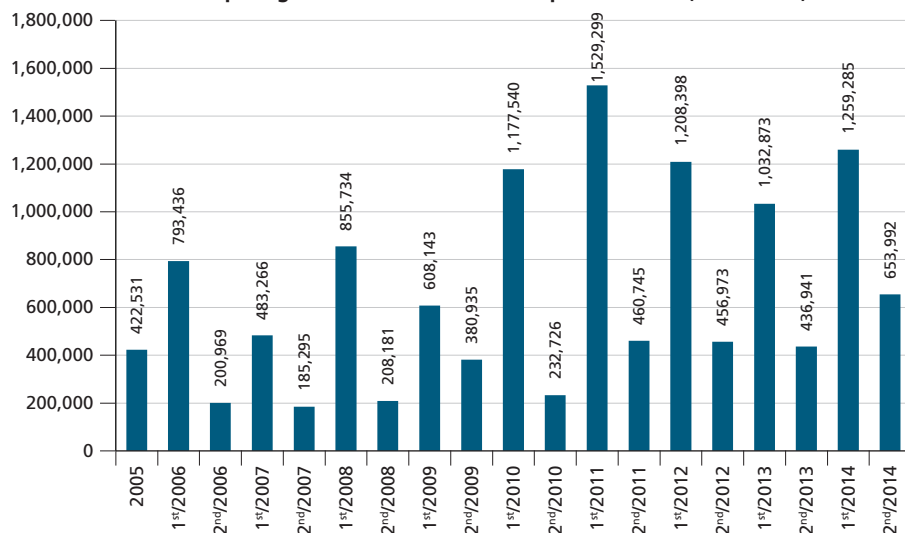


Source: Prouni (2015).

In the same view, from 2005 to 2014, the Program offered 2.227.038 vacancies in the Private Institutions as it is possible to see in the graph 1 (Prouni, 2015). It amounts approximately to 27% of the students registered in high school at this year. Since its beginning, the number of offered vacancies varied but it used to raise, the only exceptional years were 2010 and 2013 when the number of available vacancies was reduced. While in 2005 the Program offered 112,275 scholarships (full and partial), this number increased more than 2.7 times in 2014, when it offered 306,726. Almost the same happened with the availability of full and partial scholarships, In the last two years of the data series the full scholarships represent almost the double of partial scholarships, retaking a similar possible approach to be verified in the graph on the first years.

GRAPH 2

Number of competing candidates for vacancies per semester (2005-2014)



Source: Prouni (2015).

Despite the amount of available vacancies offered by the private institutions, the places were not enough to attend the number of registered candidates. As it is possible to verify in the figure above (graph 2), which represents the number of candidates who applied for the Program in each semester. The vacancies are not sufficient to attend at least one entire semester of applicants and, in order to illustrate this situation, it is possible to consider the years of 2005 and 2014. While in the first one, the institutions offered 112,275 scholarships, there were 422,531 applicants, which is almost 4 times the number of places. In the second, the institutions offered 306,726 scholarships and there were 1,913,277 applicants, more than 6 times the number of places (Prouni, 2015).

TABLE 2

Percentage variation per year in the amount of candidates pursuing the scholarship

Year	No. of candidates	Percentage
2005	422,531	-
2006	994,405	+135%
2007	668,561	-33%
2008	1,063,915	+59%
2009	989,078	-7%
2010	1,410,266	+42%
2011	1,985,044	+40%

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Year	No. of candidates	Percentage
2012	1,665,371	-18%
2013	1,469,814	-12%
2014	1,913,277	+30%

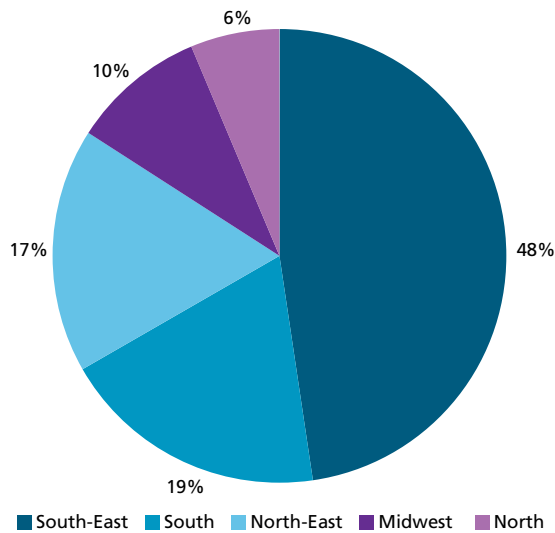
Authors' elaboration.

This data show the increasing and considerable volume of Brazilians pursuing higher education. However, in contrast to the previous available vacancies graph, there is a clear fluctuation on the number of candidates applying for scholarships, what can be noticed in the table. Furthermore, the number of the applicants reduced in 2007, 2009, 2012 and 2013 in relation to the previous years. This is one of the most severe reductions from 2011 to 2012 and 2013, at the same time when the high school students number decreased for 87,874. It shows what could have influenced this variable, but it does not define the entire change.

From the total amount of candidates attended by the Program, 85% of them study in-person courses, while only 15% study correspondence course (EAD). Additionally, from this percentage of students from in-person courses, the vast majority study in the evening, which is the equivalent of 74% of them. From the remaining number of people supported by the scholarships, 19% study in the morning, 4% study in the morning and in the afternoon and 3% only in the afternoon (Prouni, 2015). This data must be analyzed considering the requisite of low income of one minimum wage and a half per person for full scholarship, which implies the necessity of the candidates implement their families' own income working during the day.

In relation to color and disabilities, one of the purposes of the Program is to increase the number of minorities in the higher education. For this reason, there is a special quota for students with special needs, which until 2014 attended 10,400 people. This is approximately 1% of the total number of supported students. In addition, according to the last census of IBGE (2010), 59.6% of the population is considered *pardo* (brown), 31.75% of the people are white, 7.15% are black, 1.09% are yellow and 0.41% are indigenous. However, despite the bigger part of populations is self-declared brown, the majority of the scholarship supported students are white (45.8%), followed by *pardo* (38.2%), black (12.6%), yellow (1.8%), non-informed (1.6%) and indigenous (0.1%) (Prouni, 2015). This data emphasize that Brazil still faces problems related to the equality of opportunities among people of different colors. Despite the enormous difference between the populations of *pardo*/black and white people, the last one has still achieved more scholarships than the first one. In relation to gender at least, a bigger number of women can be observed, who represent 53%, while men represent 47%. However, it must be considered that there are also more women than men in the Brazilian population, in which women represent 51.4%.

GRAPH 3
Distribution per region



Source: Prouni (2015).

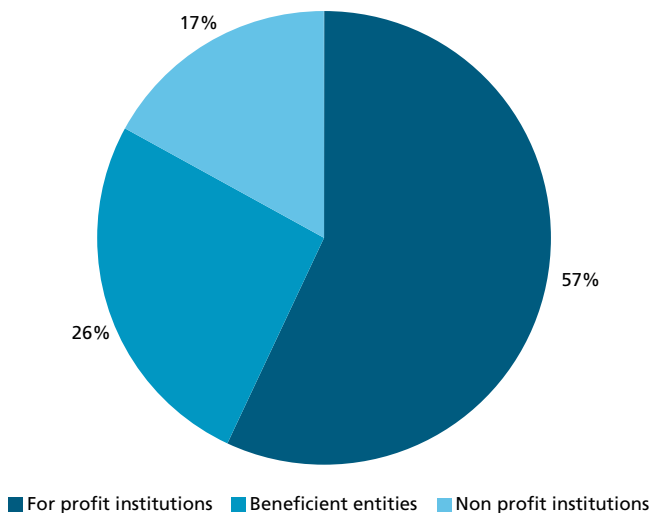
TABLE 3
Distribution per region in higher education

Region/Institution	Offered vacancies		Total
	Classroom graduation	EAD graduation	
Brazil	956,741	1,224,760	2,181,501
North	22,146	1,185	23,331
South-East	153,715	33,821	187,536
South	137,529	282,047	419,576
Midwest	61,456	54,201	115,657

Source: Brasil (2012).

The distribution of the students supported by Prouni around the country is centered in the south-west, which embraces the states of São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais and Espírito Santo. Among these states, São Paulo has the biggest number of scholarships, which represent 60% of the total. As it is possible to see in the table above, there is no incoherence in the data, once they follow the same distributions of available vacancies offered by higher education institutions from each region. For this reason, even though this is the second smallest region of Brazil, São Paulo is the most populous state and also explains the biggest number of scholarships in the south-west. In relation to the distribution of students granted by scholarships among the private institution, the majority of them are placed in for-profit universities as it is illustrated in the graph below.

GRAPH 4

Modalities of private institutions

Source: Prouni (2015).

Moreover, it is already possible to compare some of the results of the Program, in relation to the evasion and the conclusion, with students from the higher educational system not included in the Program. From 2005 to 2011, Prouni supported 893,102 students, from this number, 175,215 (19.6%) graduated, 488,819 (54.7%) were still studying, and 229,068 had the scholarships canceled. However, it is essential to take into consideration that from this number 126,562 (14%) students remain registered as higher education students but they are not part of the program anymore. Therefore, only 102,506 (11.5%) left the program and they are not studying anymore. At the same, in 2009 and 2010 the rate of evasion in higher education was 15.6% while among the students supported, the rate was 4% in the same period (Terra, 2011). This information is also supported by the conclusions achieved by Felicetti and Fossatti (2014, p. 265). They analyzed the licentiate courses in 2012, considering students from 2007, 2008 and 2009 of a private institution with philanthropic purposes, and found that Prouni students had a lower rate of evasion (30%) than the others who were not supported by the scholarship (41.3%) in this major modality. Through this perspective, it is possible to conclude that, speaking in quantitative terms, the program has been effective.

The Program has presented some results since the beginning, surpassing the Government expectations. In 2005, there was the expectation of approximately 70 to 80 thousand vacancies. However, it offered 112 thousand. When it comes to this first result, the goal for the next year, which was estimated to 300 thousand students, was increased to 760 thousand. This figure was also overcome, once it

reached 887,445 students in 2009. In relation to the academic performance of the students, the data are scarce but it is possible to take the case of the Pontifícia Universidade Católica de Minas Gerais as an example. There are 77.2% participating students of the Program approved in all subjects, while the general index in the University was 70.3%. Furthermore, the evasion index was similar to the general average of the Institution (Catani, Hey and Gilioli, 2006, p. 134).

6 CONSIDERATIONS ABOUT THE QUALITATIVE ANALYSES

Five scientific articles reviewing the bibliography from 2010 to 2015 were found. These articles were dedicated to evaluate the effectiveness of the program based in the qualitative analysis applying the interview technique. For this reason, the selected works will be observed by the applied methodology and technique in a similar approach made by Epstein and King (2002) in the book “Rules of Inference”. Furthermore, in order to understand, it can be used in the future for applying a properly qualitative approach to evaluate the outcomes of the program.

At first, there is the Saraiva and Nunes’ work (2011) who analyzed specifically the effectiveness of Prouni. At second, Amaral and Oliveira (2011) interviewed former students about their perceptions in relation to the outcome of the Program after graduation. At third, Mello Neto, Medeiros and Catani (2014) observed the experiences of Prouni students during the graduation. At fourth, the work of Silva and Silva (2015) is related to the inclusion of students supported by the Program. Finally, Almeida (2012), who has the most extent sample and has also analyzed the differences among the students of each modality of higher level of education.

From the beginning, it is important to make some notes about the works that have been already done. Firstly, in none of them there is a comparative population of students non-supported by scholarships. At the first sight, it could be considered not necessary, once many of the questions are specifically addressed to Prouni students and could not be answered or at least not in the same way by the participants of the Program. However, there is some compared information among the sample of the populations that could not be isolated evaluated. Among the articles there is a present concern and criticism related to the socioeconomic condition of the students, the future possibility of social mobility and the market engagement. Taking these issues into consideration, it is necessary to establish some grounds of comparison with the rest of the students who do not have scholarships. It is possible that based on the chosen course both students would face the same conditions to ingress in the market, which could have an overload of professionals in this field. Despite of this aspect, it is also important to keep in mind that Prouni is not the only educational public policy that allows students to have access to higher education. There is the National Fund for Financial Aid (Fies – Fundo Nacional de Financiamento Estudantil), which offers support for students with

low income through a loan that will be paid after the graduation. During this process the participant will only pay R\$150,00 related to the interest of the loan. Lastly, like the difficulties in relation to ingress in the market, the social mobility could be shown as a similar concern and obstacle for both groups of Prouni and non-supported students.

Secondly, the sample must be observed in order to discuss the results of the previous researches. Amaral and Oliveira selected 6 former Prouni students from private institutions where 29 have concluded the graduation. Almost all of them were from different courses and started their studies in different times in the mentioned University. In a similar way Silva and Silva (2015) proceeded, selecting seven students from different courses. Saraiva and Nunes (2011) selected 11 students from Business Management (*Administração*), from 246 Prouni students from the private university. Mello Neto, Medeiros and Catani (2014) selected 22 Prouni students from different courses in the last year, using the Snowball Sampling technique. Finally, Almeida selected 45 Prouni students from different courses taking into consideration the modality of it (degree, bachelor and technologist).

There is no doubt that the choosing process of the sampling in such an extensive number of variables influencing the results of the analyses is a challenge. However, once the researcher gets into the empirical analysis, there is a compromise in constructing knowledge and achieving the most reliable results. For this reason, some notes have to be made about the previous researches.

Considering that we are talking about more than 1300 private institutions of higher education there is a huge gap between them, which can be represented by quality, number of students, number of courses, budget, etc. All of these aspects will have some degree of influence in the research in many different ways. For example, a simple characteristic as the distance of the university from the more urbanized or rich part of the city could limit the choice of the applicant, or the economic situation of the rest of students. The same can be said in relation to the fee of the university and even the chosen course. In both cases, in the most expensive universities or in courses like Medicine, Law and Engineering, which usually have the highest fees, it could increase the chances of Prouni students to be victim of bullying. Once they have a low income of one minimum wage and a half or three minimum wages, while the fee of a course like Medicine is between R\$4,000.00 to R\$10,000.00.

For this reason, it would be important to make a comparison as it was suggested above, in relation to Prouni and non-Prouni students, between at least two universities. Thus it would be possible to create a double check and also make the outcome more reliable. This kind of comparison could be made through different approaches. It could be put in practice comparing the same course in two different universities; the contrast in one aspect between a bigger and a smaller university

could be analyzed; the impact of the more or less expensive university in the daily routine of a student supported by the Program could be observed; etc. The relevance of making a comparison would remain even applying the Snowballing Sampling, where the saturation point could not be the same in different institutions. There are many possibilities of doing this analogy, but the most important aspect of this technique would be the proportionated double check, which reduces the possibility of conclusions based only on an exceptional case, for example.

However, if the purpose of the researcher is to analyze a specific institution, it could be made in a broader and complete way. Once the aim of the research is only based on a reduced universe of samples, all of them come from the same place that might apply the same conditions for any of the candidates. The supposed homogeneity should be put in test by comparing students from different courses, different years, different modalities, etc. As it was mentioned above, it is possible to verify distinct conditions in different courses, which can be a result of the own fee of this course. As a result, it will impose particular circumstances to the Prouni student, that must be approached.

Besides this, the researchers analyze some aspects like social mobility and salary expectation after graduation and it would be drastically different comparing students from Medicine, Law, Engineering and from Degree Courses. The base wage of a public teacher in the State System will vary from R\$962.00 to R\$3,994.25. On the other hand, Physicians in Brazil have the highest medium salary, reaching R\$8,400.00. The Lawyer's wage (after taking the association test) can vary, however the Brazilian Association of Lawyers of each state (OAB – Ordem dos Advogados do Brasil) establishes a base which is around R\$2,800.00. Lastly, Engineers have a base wage of six minimum wages, approximately R\$5,600.00. Thus, it shows a huge gap between the salaries, which impacts in the prospected career of the Prouni student and also for the student's career not supported by the scholarship.

It is also relevant to take into consideration that the year that each candidate initiates the graduation and the prevision of finishing the course will influence the perspectives of the interviewed sample. That data has not been normally approached by many of the authors. The point of view of each participant of the Program is not solely influenced by his or her own conditions, but by the external reality as well. Consequently, it is necessary to name this data for the readers in order to allow them to recognize if the perspectives of the candidates are influenced by political, economic or sociological circumstances that in fact involve everybody else. In the same way, the empirical research has the concern of being able to be further used by other authors. Therefore, it is also relevant to address the age, sex and color of the interviewed sample. By doing this, the author will be able or will allow other authors to verify the impact of the Program in minorities, in the quota system or even in other politics of inclusion of women in the work force, for example.

When it comes to the conclusions of each researcher, there are some contrasting results and other outcomes that can be analyzed together. In relation to discrimination and bullying it is possible to verify different results coming from Silva and Silva (2015, p. 90), Saraiva and Nunes (2011, p. 957) and Mello Neto, Medeiros and Catani (2014, p. 595). In the last one, some of the students revealed that they were victim of reverse bullying. On the other hand, in the first two, the authors observed the opposite in the interview, a 42-year-old student emphasizes that he has never been victim of discrimination for Silva and Silva. Besides, other three students also showed a positive reception and only one reported some jokes about his conditions as a Prouni student in the work of Saraiva and Nunes. Talking about the expectations in the job market, the interviews in the previous works showed very similar results, in which almost unanimously the candidates answered that achieving the high education through the program increases their opportunities (Amaral and Oliveira, 2011, p. 876-878; Saraiva and Nunes, 2011, p. 959; Mello Neto, Medeiros and Catani, 2014, p. 597; Almeida, 2012, p. 233; Silva and Silva, 2015, p. 90).

There are also other similar data supporting the indirect positive effects of the Program. As an example, Amaral and Oliveira (2011, p. 880-881) and Silva and Silva (2015, p. 90) mention the interest of relatives in ingressing in the higher education after the access of students through the Program. Besides, in the same line, they manifest interest in helping their families to achieve a better economic condition once they get into the market. Furthermore, they showed interest in continuing studying after the graduation and even one of them, once a former student supported by the Program, had already concluded postgraduation.

There are some results of the previous researches that were together when it comes to the related performance of the students. Saraiva and Nunes (2011, p. 958) affirm:

In relation to the differences in the inclusion of students from the public school in a private institution of higher education, the depositions do not reveal bigger problems, only the usual ones which were observed in a changing environment situation. Although the interviewed people confirmed some difficulties in the beginning, they were less linked with the quality than the adaptation to the routine of the higher education. In the cases of specific difficulties from the students, there was institutional support [...]. The students with difficulties were supported in a similar way, and the Institution provided leveling classes not designed only for the Prouni students [...].⁴

4. Free translation from the authors.

Additionally, in Mello Neto, Medeiros and Catani (2014, p. 594), the interviews support the good performance of Prouni students. According to one of the interviewed student from a class of 60 students, 10 of them were supported by the scholarship and they were the best students of the class. During the rest of the authors' work, the students also emphasized their efforts for having good grades and results as something necessary to achieve a better life condition. Almeida (2012, p. 217) addressed some difficulties of the students. However, by reading the interview excerpts these adversities did not seem to go beyond the difficulties of any normal students, supported or not supported by a scholarship. So, it would demand a comparison with the classmates of these students in order to be better evaluated.

Among the authors, the results in relation to the differences between the Prouni students are remarkable. Almeida (2012, p. 250) discusses the heterogeneous life trajectories of the students of each modality and their expression in the distribution of the students along the courses as a result of their previous social and economic condition:

Therefore, when we follow the investigated questions in reference to the family conditions – obtained through the cross reference of place where the parents were born, the parents' schooling level as well as the brothers' and sisters' and the occupational trajectory of relatives. We have, for the subgroups of technicians and degree, the predominance of migrant parents; most of them came from the rural area with low level of schooling. The students and their parents experienced and they have still been experiencing an undervalued professional path [...]. On the other hand, in the subgroup of bachelor degree, we only find parents who were born at the capital of São Paulo, who have higher education or have finished the high school. In other words, parents with better schooling, and the only subgroup without illiterate parents.⁵

Finally, it is relevant to include some of the outcomes that have already been achieved by the previous researchers. For Amaral and Oliveira (2011, p. 887), the Program has reached public students with low income and few chances to get in a public high education institution. However, the authors emphasize the lack of opportunities for the students in choosing the course what may influence them for not pursuing what they really want, but only accepting what is offered. Saraiva and Nunes (2011, p. 961) also affirm that the main results suggest that the Program reaches its objectives of proportionating higher education for excluded segments of the society, and it has satisfied the supported students' expectations. Moreover, they also affirm that Prouni stimulates the increasing number of private institutions by exempting them from some tax. They also mention some lack of performance in order to improve the access to higher education as it is defined by the Federal Constitution.

5. Free translation from the author.

Silva and Silva (2015, p. 98) concluded that Prouni students believe in their social ascension thanks to the program and they have realized an improvement in their personal and familiar life. Meantime, they also question such inclusion, if it is a real one or only a relative one, and emphasize the need of continued examination of the Program, once it creates contradictory transformations. Mello Neto, Medeiros and Catani (2014, p. 598-599) emphasize the strong idea of belonging from the Prouni students based on meritocratic criteria that would make them think that they are more deserving and capable than the students not supported by these scholarships. Almeida (2012, p. 253-254), as it was mentioned before, wrote important conclusions in relation to the heterogeneity of the students' conditions which influenced in the results and in the evaluation of the Program. Besides, the author also raised the concern about the quality and lack of control of the private institutions that participate in the Program.

7 THE REUNI PROGRAM, THE QUOTA SYSTEM AND THE NATIONAL PLAN OF EDUCATION

The three next topics are not the main objective of the present work, however, they need to be addressed in order to understand the policies that follow or even motivated the creation of Prouni. The Restructuring and Expansion Program of Federal Universities (Reuni) is another public policy which followed the Prouni in 2007. The quota system became a present concern in the expansion of vacancies in the higher education in order to attend excluded minorities. Finally, the National Plan of Education (PNE) was one of the reasons for the implementation of Prouni. Each of them will be shortly approached below.

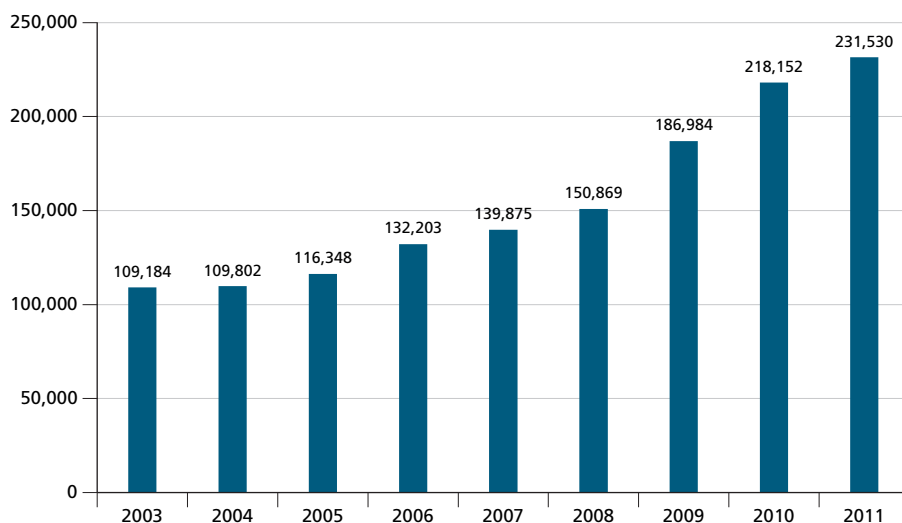
At first, the Restructuring and Expansion Program of Federal Universities (Reuni) was adopted in 2007 and its purpose is the expansion and permanency of students in the higher education. The Program intends to increase the number of vacancies in graduation courses of Federal Universities, increasing the offer for evening courses, promoting pedagogical innovations and reducing the evasion, which comes along with other goals of reducing the social inequality in Brazil (Brasil, 2010). Reuni is an answer to the UNESCO recommendation to Brazil when it comes to the need of democratizing the access to higher education (Somers et al., 2013, p. 207). While from 2003 to 2007 there was only an expansion of 30,019 vacancies in graduation, from 2007 to 2011 this number had grown up to 91,655 vacancies as it is possible to see in the graph below. In the same way, the medium growth from 2007 to 2011 (12.04%) was almost the double of the medium growth from 2003 to 2007 (6.45%), which is in the table below.

TABLE 4
Increasing in the percentage of vacancies through Reuni

Year	Percentage
2003	-
2004	+0.5%
2005	+5.9%
2006	+13.6%
2007	+5.8%
2008	+7.8%
2009	+23.9%
2010	+16.6%
2011	+6.1%

Authors' elaboration.

GRAPH 5
Number of vacancies per year in the public institutions of higher education (2003-2011)



Source: Inep (2011).

At second, the quota system is one of the affirmative policies of the places reserved for black/*pardo* and indigenous students from the public system. This is a widespread concern, as it is possible to see in the work of Somers and Jones (2009, p. 246) where the authors entitle the connection of higher education with the improvement of life quality and the effects of it in the minorities' next generations. This kind of measure intends to include them in the higher education

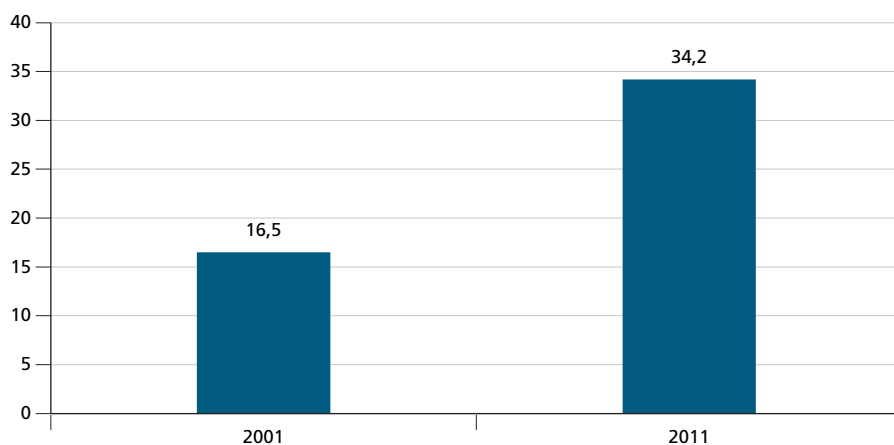
in view of the concerning data about the exclusion of minorities. “Of the total of white students aged between 18 and 24 in 2003, 46.4% were in higher education compared to only 14.1% of all black and mixed race students in this age group” (Neves, Raizer and Fachinetto, 2007, p. 20). However, this problem has been a concern since 2001, when the United Nation Conference against Racism, in Durban, South Africa, condemned Brazil for racism. Furthermore, Brazil has one of the lowest participation in the rates of students in higher education in Latin America. This condition moved the Brazilian agencies to establish the National Affirmative Action Program (PNAA), (Somers et al., 2013, p. 203-204). Because of some of these policies, it is possible to important changes. While in 2004 only 16.7% of the black and *pardo* population between 18 and 24 years old were in the higher education, in 2014 this proportion increased to 45.5%. However, there is still a considerable gap between that figure and the white population of the same age, whose proportion increased from 47.2% to 71.4% (IBGE, 2015). In relation to the “University for All Program”, as it was analyzed in the mentioned proportion by color, the majority of the students are white (45.8%), but the sum of black and *pardo* surpass the amount of white students supported by the scholarship, reaching 50.8% of the Prouni participants.

Lastly, Prouni was a program organized in the view of the necessity to fulfill the goals of the National Plan of Education (PNE), whose purpose was to increase to 30% the proportion of people from 18 to 24 years old in the higher education until the end of 2010. However, the goal was not achieved, as it is possible to see in the graphs below. The percentage in 2011 was 29.6%, therefore, the goal was accomplished only in 2012 (30.4%). Altogether, both programs, Prouni and Reuni, were responsible to create approximately 1.6 million vacancies in the higher education. Taking into consideration that the former was responsible to create almost 1.5 million vacancies, it corresponds to 8.6% of the population between 20 to 24 years old,⁶ which is equivalent to 17,245,190 students (IBGE, 2010). This data shows the relevance of the program in order to fulfill the objectives of the PNE.

6. The last Brazilian census of the population does not have the reference of population between 18-24, but only 15 to 19 and 20 to 24.

GRAPH 6

Percentage of the registered population between 18 to 24 in the higher education (2001 and 2011)

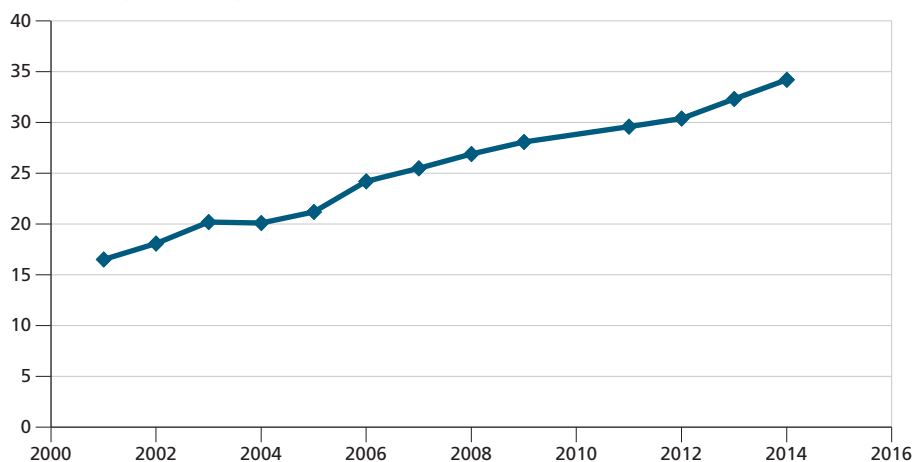


Source: IBGE/PNAD.

Preparation: Todos pela Educação.

GRAPH 7

Percentage of the registered population between 18 to 24 in the higher education from (2001-2014)



Source: IBGE/PNAD.

Preparation: Todos pela Educação.

8 THE LAW AND DEVELOPMENT APPROACHED IN THE RIGHT FOR EDUCATION AND PROUNI

In order to comprehend the effectiveness and importance of Prouni, it is necessary to understand the role of this Program in the right to education. This right is widespread in the Federal Constitution and it is a federal, state and municipal competence in accordance to the articles 23, V, 24, IX, and 30, VI. However, it is well established in the article 205: "Education, which is the right of all and duty of the State and of the family, shall be promoted and fostered with the cooperation of society, with a view to the full development of the person, his preparation for the exercise of citizenship and his qualification for work". In order to be put in practice, the Federal Constitution also defines in its article 212 that the Federal Government will apply not less than 18% and the States, Distrito Federal and Municipalities, at least 25% of their revenue from tax in education. In spite of it, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, approved by the legislative Decree No. 226 (Brasil, 1991), in its article 13, recognizes the right to education for everyone (Tavares, 2008, p. 775). Finally, in relation to the higher education, the Brazilian Constitution defined a large autonomy for institution and establishes in its article 208, V, that it will be accessed in accordance to the merits and capability of each one.

The relevance of education relies upon its potential in promoting social mobility, once it offers the necessary conditions for the personal development and the citizenship exercise, what means that education will ensure the individual autonomy (Maliska, 2008, p. 789). From this perspective, education can be understood as a power of reflection, self-determination and non-participation, and for this reason it is capable to go against the principle of Auschwitz (Adorno, 1986, p. 37). According to Tavares (2008, p. 790-793), education promotes the worldview of people and endorse the responsibility of them in relation to their environment. Furthermore education also creates the consciousness of their rights and liabilities by living in society. It allows the internalization of options made in the Constitution constructing the base for a democratic society where people respect diversity. Finally, it has a fundamental role in social mobility, as it should proportionate the same starting point for everyone.

The autonomy promoted by education can be seen as the intersection between the public policy and the Law and Development approach in accordance to the development concept elaborated by Sen and North. The contribution of both authors is relevant once it goes beyond the conservative comprehension of development only based on some index like the gross domestic product per capita, for example.

At first, Amartya Sen (Sen, 2000) defines development as the expansion of real freedom, which means the improvement of individuals' capabilities (op. cit., p. 17). For this author, there are five distinct kinds of freedom: political, economic facilities, social opportunities, transparency guarantee, and protective security. The adequate social opportunities allow the individuals to effectively forge their own destiny and help each others, they are represented by education, health basic care, for example. Therefore, the individuals do not need to be seen as merely passive beneficiaries of development programs (op. cit., p. 25-26). The expansion of capabilities allows people to lead the kind of life they value; they can be increased by public policies, but in the same way, they can influence the next public policy once the citizens become more active in the political life. In this way, they acquire the agency aspect, which means they are able to act and change society in accordance to their values and objectives (op. cit., p. 34-35).

At second, Douglas North defines development as the transition from a "limited access order" to an "open access order" that results in the improvement of productivity and income. In the first one, violence is presented as an applied technique by elites in order to avoid the entrance by non-elites in activities with better income and it maintains their privileges. On the other side, in the second violence is centralized by the state, there are strong institutions supported by the State and the political stability and economic prosperity is attributed to intense competition (Salamana, 2011, p. 23-25).

The "University for All Program" has an important role in the promotion of development in both cases. From Sen's perspective, the program allows the expansion of capabilities to which a specific group of low income would not have access or would have a high costly access affecting their quality of life. By proportionating the access to higher education, it enhances the Prouni students' autonomy and increases their chance of having social mobility, as it is possible to identify in the mentioned interviews and quantitatively speaking. Additionally, it includes the aim established in article 205 of the Federal Constitution by furthering the citizenship and improving the labor force.

In the same way, the Program also challenges the comprehension of a "limited order of access" which definitely is the case of Brazil. From this point of view, Prouni includes students in an environment previously closed to them. Access was only achieved by people with better economic conditions and would be almost impossible to be imagined for someone with an income of less than two minimum wages. Therefore, it defies the established order of privileges by increasing the opportunities to reach better-remunerated activities through the improvement of human capital. This perspective is supported by the contribution of Kerry Rittich (Rittich, 2015, p. 235): "Social goals are themselves being reranked: those that

appear to most directly enhance the extent and quality of market participation, for example investments in human capital, such as education and worker training, are preferred over those that do not”.

9 CONCLUSION

The “University for All Program” awake contradictory aspects from the public policies designated to increase the access to higher education. For this reason, it needs to be analyzed in conjunction with the “Restructuring and Expansion Program of Federal Universities” (Reuni) and the National Plan of Education (PNE) in order to understand their purposes. Additionally, the Program also needs to be observed in the Brazilian context in relation to its own capabilities of creating new vacancies and the necessity of increasing the participation of minorities in the higher education.

At first, the results show an undeniable growth in the expansion of places on universities through partial and full scholarships supported by Prouni. As it was mentioned, there is an expressive amount of vacancies created once it is compared to Reuni. Considering the same period, from 2007 to 2011, while Reuni has possibly created 91,655 vacancies, Prouni has created 1,162,823 vacancies. In the same way, Prouni total number of proportionated scholarships could reach almost 8.6% of the population between 20 to 24 years old in Brazil. The Program has also a bigger number of scholarships attending black and *pardo* students compared to the number of white supported students. However, these differences can be questionable, once they are only of 5%, while the differences between these populations are significantly larger to relativize this result. From a similar perspective, the Program has included women and men in a similar proportion. Therefore, when it comes to quantitatively speaking, up to the moment the data shown has supported the conclusion that Prouni has been able to include vulnerable populations with low income in the higher education.

At second, qualitatively speaking by analyzing the bibliography and interviews made by other authors, there are evidences supporting contradictory data. Thus, it puts to the test if the Program is promoting a real or “partial” inclusion by offering what the students have to accept or what they want. Besides this, there is a huge concern in relation to the quality of education they are receiving. The Brazilian Court of Auditors (Tribunal de Contas), in 2009, noticed that 77.9 thousand students were in courses which have never been evaluated by the Students’ Performance National Exam (ENADE – Exame Nacional de Desempenho dos Estudantes) and a group of 20.9 thousand were in courses that have scored less than 3 points in the general index of courses (IGC – Índice Geral de Cursos).⁷ However, it is

7. The index varies from 1 to 5.

important to highlight that until that year, the program created 887,445 vacancies, what means that only 8.7% of the students were not evaluated and 2.3% of the students were in institutions with lower scores. Despite of it, it is questionable to affirm that there is no controlling in relation to institutions with low IGC, once, the Ministry of Education sued 79 institutions for unsatisfying results in 2014 (Terra, 2014). In addition, other 756 courses with scores lower than 3 points could not be able to have new contracts with the Government program in 2015, like Prouni and Fies as it is one of the requisites to participate (Nascimento, 2015).

At third, in almost all bibliography, there is a lot of criticism related to the exemption of taxes from private institutions instead of investing in the public ones, creating more vacancies. However, according to Almeida (2006, p. 86), to create the same number of vacancies by exempting R\$50 million, it would be necessary to invest R\$350 million. On the other side, it would be impossible to include the same number of students in the higher education with the same time due to simple and mere physical conditions. Building new structures to receive more students in old universities or even new entire universities is something that takes time and would make even more difficult to reach the goals of PNE. At the same time, this number of students could have been joying the higher education. For this reason, the Program could be seem as a measure to follow Reuni until it will be able to solely increase the number of places in public institutions. However, it is well-known that most of the public institutions in Brazil are the most disputed and they have students who found better opportunities. So, it means that despite the increase in the number of vacancies greater improvements are still necessary in the basic public education in order to proportionate equal opportunities for these students in relation to the students from private schools.

Moreover, the exemption of taxes must be closely watched in order to do not become a naive pragmatism as it is stated by Schapiro and Trubek (2012, p. 55). It cannot be a simple import of institutional arrangements from developed countries at the same time they only attend to the interest of private institutions of higher education. The own State has admitted the responsibility of improving the access to education, and it must not be permanently “privatized” unless the Government changes its position in a clear and transparent way. The mentioned authors have also emphasized the need of escaping to the paralyzing skepticism, according to which the institutions are understood as they are inside a social context and therefore do not come to any alternative to change it. For this reason, the “University for All Program” has to be horizontally debated to understand its effectiveness and possibility of improvement.

Lastly, the access to higher education symbolizes the possibility of changing the condition of individual freedom privation due to the lack of opportunities and expansion of capabilities in a context of a “limited access order”. Therefore,

the essentiality of this right is clear, taking into consideration its impact in the effectiveness of the other fundamental rights and the exercise of citizenship. For this reason, there is still a continuous need of public policies in all the levels of the Brazilian education once it will “bind the juridical-constitutional regime of the citizens’ positive status” (Canotilho, 2003, p. 473).

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