






The Affirmative Actions on the Basis of the Democratization of Brazilian Higher Education: Irradiations of Córdoba's University Reform

Schirlei Russi von Dentz¹ , Silvana R. Souza Sato² , Ione Ribeiro Valle³ 
^{1,2,3} Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina

ABSTRACT

Córdoba's University Reform of 1918 completes its one hundred years and its radiations can still be felt in the complex and disputed Brazilian university field, especially with regard to public institutions. Among the Reform proposals, the democratization of access to higher education is the highlight of this work. The present article aims to present the results of recent research on the Affirmative Action Policy implemented at the Federal University of Santa Catarina. In order to do so, it contextualizes the proposal of the Córdoba Reform to then conceptualize Affirmative Action and historicize the question and, in the sequence, show how the affirmative action policies were being constituted and being adopted in the Brazilian universities, particularly in the UFSC. Data analysis is based on documental and quantitative research, which allowed us to verify the access movement of black students after the implementation of the quota program in Brazilian universities. Finally, we present specific data obtained through research developed at the Master's and Doctoral level at the University itself, which show advances in the access of black students to the university, but also the limits to be known and remedied.

KEYWORDS

Higher education. Democratization of access. Affirmative actions. Racial quotas. Cordoba Reform

Corresponding to Author

¹ Schirlei Russi von Dentz

E-mail: schirleirussi@gmail.com

Universidade Federal de de Santa Catarina, Brasil

CV Lattes

<http://lattes.cnpq.br/9797662752702698>

Submitted: 11 out. 2018

Accepted: 25 jan. 2019

Published: 16 fev. 2018

 10.20396/riesup.v5i0.8653659

e-location: e019034

ISSN 2446-9424

Anti-plagiarism Check



Distributed under



As Ações Afirmativas na Base da Democratização da Educação Superior Brasileira: Irradiações da Reforma Universitária de Córdoba

RESUMO

A Reforma Universitária de Córdoba de 1918 completa seus cem anos e suas irradiações podem ainda ser sentidas no complexo e disputado campo universitário brasileiro, especialmente no que diz respeito às instituições públicas. Dentre as propostas da Reforma, a democratização do acesso à educação superior é o destaque dado por este trabalho. O presente artigo tem por objetivo apresentar os resultados de pesquisas recentes acerca da Política de Ações Afirmativas implementada na Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina. Para tanto, contextualiza a proposta da Reforma de Córdoba para, em seguida, conceituar Ação Afirmativa e historicizar a questão e, na sequência, mostrar como as políticas de ações afirmativas foram se constituindo e sendo adotadas nas universidades brasileiras, particularmente na UFSC. A análise de dados parte de pesquisa documental e quantitativa, o que permitiu averiguar o movimento de acesso de estudantes negros(as) após a implementação do programa de cotas em universidades brasileiras. Por fim, são apresentados dados específicos obtidos por meio de pesquisas desenvolvidas em nível de Mestrado e Doutorado na própria Universidade, as quais evidenciam avanços no acesso de estudantes negros à universidade, mas também os limites a serem conhecidos e sanados.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

Educação superior. Democratização do acesso. Ações afirmativas. Cotas raciais. Reforma de Córdoba

Las Acciones Afirmativas en la Base de la Democratización de la Educación Superior Brasileña: Irradiaciones de la Reforma Universitaria de Córdoba

RESUMEN

La Reforma Universitaria de Córdoba de 1918 completa cien años y sus irradiaciones pueden sentirse en el complejo y disputado campo universitario brasileño, especialmente en el ámbito de las instituciones públicas. Entre las diferentes propuestas de la Reforma, la democratización del acceso a la educación superior es central para este trabajo. Así, el presente artículo tiene por objetivo presentar los resultados de recientes investigaciones sobre Políticas de Acciones Afirmativas implementadas en la Universidad Federal de Santa Catarina (UFSC). Para ello, contextualiza la propuesta de la Reforma de Córdoba y, en seguida, conceptualiza y sitúa históricamente las acciones afirmativas. Luego, muestra como las políticas de acciones afirmativas fueron constituidas e implementadas en las universidades de Brasil, en particular en la UFSC. El análisis de los datos se apoya en una investigación documental y cuantitativa, que permitió conocer el movimiento de acceso de estudiantes negras (os), después de la implementación del programa de cuotas raciales en las universidades brasileñas. Para concluir, son presentados datos específicos construidos en trabajos de maestría y doctorado de la propia UFSC, que muestran avances en el acceso de estudiantes negros a la universidad, aunque también muestran los límites y falencias, para ser reconocidos y subsanados.

PALABRAS CLAVE

Eucación superior. Democratización del acceso. Acciones afirmativas. Cuotas Raciales. Reforma de Córdoba.

Introductory Elements

The University Reform of Córdoba of 1918 completes its one hundred years. According to Azevedo, Braggio and Catani (2018), Brazilian higher education began to be influenced by Reform in the late 1920s, when discussing a program of university reforms. The program presented discussions on "university autonomy, election of university leaders, teaching competition, free teaching, free attendance, gratuity of teaching, teaching methods, student assistance, democratization of access, university extension and Latin American integration" (AZEVEDO; BRAGGIO; CATANI, 2018). Since its publication in 1918, the Reform has not only meant changes in Argentine universities, radiating transformations in other countries of Latin America and the Caribbean.

Analyzing more deeply the reasons of the movement of Cordova of 1918, Mariátegui notes that the Spanish inheritance extended to the ex-Latin American colonies, giving a sense

[...] aristocratic and an ecclesiastical and literary concept to the teaching that closed the universities to the mestizos. Culture was like this, a privilege of castes. The economic and political regime, determined by the predominance of colonial aristocracies, has for a long time placed the universities of Latin America under the tutelage of these oligarchies and their clientele, which has made universities a tendency to academic bureaucratization. The people had no right to education, the university was in the service of forming clerics and doctors. (MARIÁTEGUI, 2008 *apud* OLIVEIRA; AZEVEDO, 2008, p 71).

In Brazil, until recently, access to higher education was the privilege of a few, and the efforts of the elites were observed to remain so, as will be seen later in the text. The reflexes of the struggle of the Argentine student movement at the beginning of the last century still have a very current character in the Brazilian reality, especially with regard to the democratization of the access of the less favored social strata to higher education. These layers, especially those excluded by ethnic / racial issues, such as blacks and indigenous people. Many Brazilians and Brazilians find it difficult to enter higher levels of education, a situation that persists in the Brazilian social and educational scenario. The demands for everyone to extend their years of study are on the agenda of black movements, on the part of civil society and, more recently, on affirmative action programs.

These demands and struggles resulted in Law no. 12.711/2012, a policy that currently reserves a certain percentage of vacancies in higher education for the underprivileged. This work intends to reflect on the advances and challenges that are imposed on Brazilian higher education, since, after a century of the Reform of Cordoba in Argentina, in Brazil, the search for a more democratic and open university is still insoluble and under great struggles to all.

Thus, the present article aims to present the results of recent research on the Affirmative Action Policy (PAA) implemented at the Federal University of Santa Catarina (UFSC). From a brief introduction on the Reform of Cordoba, we will try to build an approximation between its proposals, especially regarding the democratization of higher education in Latin America, the demands for access to the university and its developments in

the Brazilian educational system. Then, a conceptualization of what becomes Affirmative Action will be presented, as well as a history of the issue, based on documentary research. In the sequence, it will be shown how the Affirmative Action Policies were being constituted and being adopted in the Brazilian universities, particularly in UFSC. Data analysis is based on documental and quantitative research, which allowed us to verify the access movement of black students after the implementation of the quota program in Brazilian universities. Finally, specific data will be presented through research developed at the master's and doctoral level at the University itself, which show advances in the access of black students to UFSC, but also the limits of the PAA, to be known and remedied.

Affirmative Action Policy in Higher Education: Irradiations of the Córdoba Reform in Brazil

In 1918 the Reform of Córdoba was written, incited by the Argentine student movement, that pleaded political-university¹ transformations, extending its agenda to other countries like Mexico, Cuba, Colombia, Peru, Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay and Bolivia. At that time Brazil was still

Lived under the Old Republic, a political period that is marked by the proclamation of the Republic (1889) until the Revolution of 1930). [...] in Brazil the idea of university reform gained momentum in the early 1960s as a reflection of a broad reform movement in Latin America. (AZEVEDO; BRAGGIO; CATANI, 2018, p. 40-41).

The influence of the Reformation in Brazil was felt at that moment in a restricted way, because institutions of university character had not yet been created. What existed were isolated colleges and schools of higher education. But the student movement started in Argentina

Brazilian students, who were inspired to fight for the foundation of university institutions, since the end of the 1920s. They created, in 1938, the UNE, its maximum student representation entity, with a broad national and permanent character and, in the 1960s, managed to articulate social force in the defense of their demands on university reform. [...] The first indication of the movement of Brazilian students in the claim for a democratic university appeared ten years after the publication of the Manifesto. In August of 1928, following the example practiced by the Argentine students, they created in the University of Rio de Janeiro the Central Pro-Reform University Committee, as a result of an assembly that had the participation of about 800 students, sponsored by two prestigious academic centers in the university environment of the time. One of the objectives was to point out the situation of the Brazilian university regime, considered by students to be retrograde, obsolete, anachronistic and loaded with imperfections since its inception. (AZEVEDO; BRAGGIO; CATANI, 2018, p. 42).

One of the points that establishes relations between both "manifestos", the Argentinean and the Brazilian, is in the questioning of the status quo, the anachronism of the university regime and the authoritarianism of the teachers, based, above all, on religious

¹ The Manifesto of Cordoba was a document signed by the university student leaderships of the Argentine city of the same name on June 21, 1918.

issues that had nothing to do with scientific activity. If, however, at that moment the demands were based, above all, on the freedom of expression of students, until very recently the Brazilian public universities were configured as a space composed mostly of white and economically privileged students, who fought for their ideals and privileges of class, in internal disputes, circumscribed to the university field. From the 1960s onwards

the three main purposes of the university are now research, teaching and service delivery. It is also for this decade that the world witnesses the university's explosion, translated into a significant increase in the number of courses, students, teachers and institutions. [...] Such an explosion, if on the one hand resulted in the expansion of teaching, on the other it greatly expanded academic research, extending it to new areas of knowledge. [...] the compatibility between the different functions of the university will reflect in contradictions between itself and in the very notion of university, founded on free and disinterested research. These contradictions have created tension points both in the relationship between the university and the state and society, and within its own institutions and organizations, which has motivated the reforms proposed throughout the world in recent decades. (OLIVEIRA; AZÉVEDO, 2008, p.74).

However, the echoes of the Cordoba Manifesto of 1918 today are no longer directly related to "internal" university reforms. After a century, one can see the expansion of Brazilian higher education in the public and private spheres, the emergence of new courses and the complexity of the issues related to this level of education, so that today, the demands and struggles around of Brazilian public universities are others. No more a cadre of students from within the university, but of those outside it. In this sense, there are movements of black intellectuals who, engaged in the educational cause, began to claim rights and, among these rights, to access higher education.

In this way, there is no doubt that the struggle of such movements for the democratization of higher education seeks to reaffirm and conquer some university autonomy for young blacks and indigenous people. To this we add, in particular, the claim of these groups by conditions of student stay. Here we can see a resemblance to some points of the Córdoba Manifesto of 1918. If for a portion of the Brazilian students such demands were already met or even for the elites, they were not even necessary, for blacks and Indians, access to the university did not even configure a possible horizon.

In the struggle for access of politically minority groups to higher public education, a new pattern of demands and disputes in the Brazilian university field is observed. Discussing such a scenario and these disputes are seeking to make the Brazilian public university more democratic will be the subject of the following topics.

What is an Affirmative Action

Before advancing the discussions that have taken place in Brazil regarding the implementation of Affirmative Action Policies, it is necessary to conceptualize Affirmative Action (AA). According to Guimarães (2009, p.169), Jones (s/d) defines Affirmative Actions

as "public or private actions, or programs that provide or seek to provide opportunities or other benefits to people, based, among other things, on their belonging to one or more specific groups ". The expression as it is used and known today is oriented in the repair of the social inequalities as far as the access to the education, the employment, the health, the equality between the sexes, among other situations.

According to Carneiro (2011, 27), affirmative action "has been practiced to serve different segments of the population that, due to historical, cultural, or racism and discrimination issues, have been prejudiced in their social insertion and equal participation in the development of countries."

Carvalho (2014, p.8), citing Gomes (s/d), also presents a perspective of affirmative action through legal constitutionality, which ensures rights guaranteed by law to the less favored.

Affirmative actions are defined as public (and private) policies aimed at achieving the constitutional principle of material equality and neutralizing the effects of racial, gender, age, national origin and physical complexion. In its understanding, equality ceases to be simply a legal principle to be respected by all and becomes a constitutional objective to be achieved by the State and by society.

In this way, AA can be understood as public policies aimed at rewarding, at least in part, the historical inequalities of populations discriminated, both by society and by the State. It is seen that in the history of the West social and racial inequalities derive mainly from the enslavement or colonization of other peoples, still by the taking and invasion of foreign lands and, in our time, by the migration of individuals of other nationalities to financially stabilized states from the point of view of work (GUIMARÃES, 2009).

In the Brazilian case, the consequences of the inequalities mentioned above are traced by more than 500 years of oppression and social and racial discrimination, branching out in all spheres of society. There are, in Brazil, two countries: "white Brazil, not racially discriminated, and black Brazil, racially discriminated, which accumulates disadvantages in practically all social spheres, especially in education and in the labor market" (SANTOS, 2007, p. 15). In this regard, several have been the claims of Brazilian black movements. It is worth mentioning the representative "Zumbi dos Palmares march against racism, for citizenship and life", held on November 20, 1995, in Brasília (SANTOS, 2015). This demonstration pressured the government, and the following year it hosted a seminar promoted by the

[...] Ministry of Justice that called Brasilia several researchers, Brazilians and Americans, as well as a large number of black leaders of the country, for an international seminar on "Multiculturalism and racism: the role of Affirmative Action in contemporary democratic states". It was the first time that a Brazilian government admitted discussing specific public policies aimed at the rise of blacks in Brazil. (GUIMARÃES, 2009, p.165).

This seminar, whose theme was Multiculturalism and racism, was significant to advance in the discussions, since it made it possible to broaden the debate on the problem of

race relations in Brazil and admitted, for the first time in Brazilian history, the existence of racial discrimination. In a statement, the then head of state, Fernando Henrique Cardoso said:

We in Brazil actually live with discrimination and live with prejudice [...], discrimination seems to consolidate with something that repeats itself, which reproduces itself. One can not fade into hypocrisy and say that our way is not this. No, our way is wrong indeed, there is a repetition of discrimination and there is the unacceptability of prejudice. This has to be unmasked, it must really be attacked, not only verbally, but also in terms of mechanisms and processes that can lead to a transformation, in the sense of a more democratic relationship, between races, between social groups and between classes. (SANTOS, 2015, p.37).

In this way, gradually, the myth of Brazilian racial democracy became fragile, being put in check as the theoretical and social debates advanced. In a way, the recognition of inequality as an effect of racial discrimination "has led to the elaboration of legislation and internal and external commitments of Brazil, in the sense of developing concrete actions, with a view to changing the status quo" (BENTO, 2007, p.105). In this sense, it is worth noting that the Brazilian Constitution of 1988 recognizes the condition of inequality experienced by some and stresses that the measures that should be taken would imply the direct presence of the State in reparations.

According to Scherer-Warren and Santos (2014), the then president Fernando Henrique Cardoso, in response to the demands presented by the Black Movement after the mentioned Zumbi Palmares March, "established the creation of an Interministerial Working Group (IWG) for the Valorization of the Black Population, linked to the National Human Rights Secretariat (SNDH)" (SCHERER-WARREN; SANTOS, 2014, p.125). The National Human Rights Program established the development of

Affirmations for the access of blacks to vocational courses, universities and areas of advanced technology, as official recognition of policies to combat racial discrimination by the Brazilian government. And it points to the International Conventions, of which Brazil is a signatory (on Discrimination in Employment, Discrimination in Education and on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination) as possible legal justifications for the constitutionality of positive discrimination (MARTINS *apud* GUIMARÃES, 2009, p. 186).

Brazil's participation in international conventions through the convening of the United Nations (UN) in 1997 enabled another important step of commitment that was established in an integrated manner to the "international conjuncture of renewal of the anti-racism agenda manifested in the Third Conference World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance in Durban, South Africa, in the year 2001²" (SANTOS, 2015, p.21). According to Santos,

in September 2000, and in compliance with resolution 2000/14 of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, (that) the Brazilian government once again officially and publicly expressed its views on Brazilian race relations. The then President of the Republic, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, through the Decree of September 8, 2000, created the National Committee for the Preparation of Brazilian

² This conference took place from August 31 to September 8, 2001.

Participation in the Third World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance. (SANTOS, 2007, p.18)

The various pre-conferences organized in several Brazilian states by this committee have enabled the construction of a thematic basis for the National Conference against Racism and Intolerance, held between July 6 and 8, 2001 in the state of Rio de Janeiro. The result of this meeting provided "the formulation of the Brazilian document that was forwarded to the Durban conference" (SANTOS, 2007, p.18).

It is no coincidence that members of the Black Movement at the national level played a significant role in the Durban Conference when the Durban Agenda for Action was drawn up. According to Passos (2013, p. 15), it was from the active participation

[...] of the Brazilian delegation, especially the black movements, at the III International Conference on Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, held in Durban, South Africa, in 2001, the main determinant so that the discussions and initiatives would be assumed as State policies. The Program of Action of that conference not only recognized racism and the fight against racial discrimination, xenophobia and intolerance as the primary responsibility of states, but also encouraged the elaboration of national action plans for the promotion of diversity, equal opportunities, participation and justice and urged States to implement affirmative action programs to promote access for groups of individuals who are or may be victims of racial discrimination in basic services.

According to Passos (2013), the commitments made in Durban led to a series of other achievements, as well as the implementation of the quota policy, starting in 2003 when the government of President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva began. Among the achievements are Law 10.639, which amends the Law of Guidelines and Bases of National Education (LDB) making it compulsory to teach Afro-Brazilian and African history and culture in school curricula, the institution of November 20 as National Black Consciousness Day, and the creation of the Special Secretariat for Policies to Promote Racial Equality (SEPPPIR) in the sphere of the Presidency of the Republic. Also, in the year 2004

[...] the Secretariat for Continuing Education, Literacy and Diversity (SECAD) is created within the structure of the Ministry of Education. In the context of racial inequalities in education, SECAD aimed to elaborate and implement public policies for the access and permanence of blacks and blacks in school education at all levels. (STEPS, 2013, p. 15-16).

Thus, acceptance of affirmative action as a strategy to achieve equality and integration of the racially and socially discriminated population has become possible from the "Durban Declaration". From this Declaration,

[...] the need to design, promote and implement strategies, programs and policies at national, regional and international level, as well as appropriate legislation, which may include special and positive measures to promote equitable social development and realization of rights civil and political, economic, social and cultural rights of all victims of racism, racial discrimination [...] xenophobia and related intolerance to promote their full integration into society. (VIEIRA JÚNIOR, 2007, p.95).

From the Durban Declaration, the State began to include social measures aimed at correcting and helping to reduce inequalities, introducing norms that allow equal participation for all racial, cultural, linguistic and religious groups in all sectors of society. Through the application of this distributive social policy action program, space is opened in the spheres of "education, housing, political parties, parliaments, the labor market, judicial organs, police, army, agrarian reform and fair participation" (VIEIRA JÚNIOR, 2007, p.96). As can be seen, the agenda that makes up the Affirmative Action Policy, constituted from the said statement, is very broad. For the purposes of this work, we will focus on Affirmative Action policies aimed at access to higher education.

History of Affirmative Actions

Affirmative Action Policies (PAA) in federal and state Brazilian universities can be understood as policies of educational inclusion in higher education aimed at the population most affected by social inequality. Their assumptions aim to equate those who have fewer opportunities to those who have more.

Its history goes back to its implementation in other countries for purposes other than higher education. In 1935 the US labor legislation brought elements that allow us to approach the objective of Brazilian affirmative actions with what was undertaken in that country at the time in order to alert employers / entrepreneurs about discrimination. This involved the imposition of "**affirmative action** to place the victims in the positions where they would have been if they had not been discriminated against" (GUIMARÃES, 2009, p.170, **emphasis added**).

In the late 1970s, also in the United States, studies of racial conflict allowed affirmative action to gain a definition, based on the conclusions reached by the National Commission on Civil Rights. These studies already pointed to the indispensable creation of special programs that would aid the rise of the black population, due to the decision of *Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*. These programs have been developed in the sense of verticalizing the relations between the Union and the states of that country on the field of civil rights, which gradually have been extended to other spheres of social life, such as public vehicles, airport restaurants, municipal auditoriums, beaches and public health resorts, proposing to put an end to racial restrictions (MEDEIROS, 2007). In addition to the quoted achievements, the *Brown* case provided for aggregating foreign policy interests to civil rights constrictions, "leading to the existence of incentives that gave the Supreme Court greater freedom to declare the unconstitutionality of racial segregation in public schools." (ROMANELLI; TOMIO, 2017, p. 205). Thus, the transition from one meaning to another of Affirmative Action was made possible because "the initial civil rights legislation, enacted in the Kennedy-Johnson administration, was made up of laws that restrain racial segregation and discrimination, create the conditions of equal educational, life and work opportunities among all Americans" (GUIMARÃES, 2009, p 171).

Although the US context is cited as the first to employ affirmative action, it must be borne in mind that in other countries similar policies have been put into practice. Carvalho (2014, p. 7) refers to the article "Affirmative Actions and Equal Opportunities", by Adesky (s/d), on public policies noting that they

are not limited to Western countries nor were they invented *stricto sensu* in the United States. In India in 1919 and 1935, the British developed two electoral reforms that established a system of parliamentary representation to promote certain castes as well as Christian, Muslim and Sikh women and minorities. In 1948, at the time of its independence, India introduced a system of quotas that supports the "backward classes" to guarantee them access to public jobs and universities. [...] In Britain, for example, from the outset, public policies are obliged to take into account the real and specific needs of different social and cultural groups. In Canada, affirmative action should seek, in a comprehensive manner, to achieve levels of representation and participation of persons with disabilities and ethnic minorities in the labor market that are equitable compared to the existing levels of the population at large.

In South America, Affirmative Action policies were also implemented, so that in Peru, policies were developed specifically for indigenous people, and in Colombia Afro-Colombians reserved seats in the parliament. Affirmative action policies can also be found in other countries such as Australia, New Zealand, Malaysia (the majority ethnic group, *bumiputra*), the Soviet Union (4% of Moscow University vacancies for Siberians), Israel (Falashas, Ethiopian Jews), Germany (women), Nigeria (women), Sri Lanka, South Africa, Norway, Belgium (immigrants), Lebanon (political participation of different religious sects) (CARNEIRO, 2011, p. 27).

In Brazil, the "Two Thirds Law", instituted in the 1930s, although it did not have the connotation of "affirmative action", guaranteed the employability of the majority of native workers to the detriment of immigrant workers (GUIMARÃES, 2009). Years later new legislation was created, the so-called "*Lei do Boi*" (Law no. 5,465, July 3, 1968), repealed in 1985. This

The agricultural and veterinary higher education establishments maintained by the Union shall, on an annual basis, preferably reserve 50% (fifty percent) of their vacancies to candidate farmers or their children, whether or not they own land, who live with their families in the countryside and 30% (thirty percent) to farmers or their children, owners or not of land, who live in cities or towns that do not have high schools³.

This law, which would at first be to help the disadvantaged, ended up benefiting especially the children of farmers, staying in force for a period of 17 years. Thus, it can be noted that affirmative action policies do not always provide for the elevation or equalization of the less favored to the more privileged strata of society. But, in general, such policies propose different perspectives of reparative action, attending to groups of the population according to the existing needs. Among these different perspectives of "restorative" action, the most well-known, today, is the policy of quotas in higher education.

³ Law no. 5,465, of July 3, 1968, available at: <http://www2.camara.leg.br/legin/fed/lei/1960-1969/lei-5465-3-julho-1968-358564-publicacaooriginal-1-pl.html>. Accessed on: 25 May. 2016.

Affirmative Action in Universities

The implementation of Affirmative Actions in universities has generated many debates and controversies in the Brazilian social milieu, especially when the issues turn to ethnic-racial inclusion. According to Guimarães (2009) the arguments against affirmative action in Brazil follow in three directions:

First, for some, affirmative actions mean the recognition of ethnic and racial differences among Brazilians, which runs counter to the national belief that we are one people, one race. Secondly, there are those who see in positive discriminations a rejection of the universalist and individualistic principle of merit, a principle that must be the main weapon against particularism and personalism, which still guide Brazilian public life; finally, for others, there are no real practical possibilities for implementing these policies in Brazil. (GUIMARÃES, 2009, p. 182-183).

The first argument, that of the racial miscegenation that makes us, as Brazilians, a single race, part of those who oppose the recognition of ethnic and racial differences, being expressed not only in popular discourses, but also among social scientists. According to Guimarães (2009, p. 184) it has become very common "since the post-war period, the banishment of the word 'race' from scientific or even scholarly texts, replaced by the term 'ethnicity' as a way of denying any existence to the races, and prevent their employment from being a racist reality". This is because, as the author explains, the anti-racism of the 1968 era sought to end "racism" by denying the empirical reality of races. To exemplify this discourse, Guimarães (2009, p. 84) uses the words of the writer Rachel de Queiroz.

How do we distinguish between us who is black and who is not? In the United States, in South Africa, there is a rigid line of color: in these places it is considered black who is not one hundred percent white. Here, the tendency is to regard any person who is not ostensibly colored. The overwhelming majority of our population are mestizos: we are really a mestizo country. And all these mestizos, how would they be framed?

Still according to Guimarães, "everything is happening, in this romantic version of anti-racism, as if it wanted to deny a reality in which, in the deep, it is believed: it is stated that races do not exist, but the classification of blacks and whites "(GUIMARÃES, 2009, 184), that is, when someone declares himself to be" white "it is because he recognizes that there is a" negro." How can one deny races when one makes such classifications? Carneiro corroborates this reflection when he points out that "science has been revealing the fallacy of the concept of race from the biological point of view. This scientific evidence is used to undermine specific policy claims for groups discriminated on the basis of 'race' or skin color (CARNEIRO, 2011, p.69).

As for the second argument, which is justified on the merits, the discussions are more intense because of the proposal to implement the reservation of places for black people in higher education. In order to exemplify the contrary positions, we highlight some discussions aimed at the non-implementation of affirmative action policies. It is observed in the widely spread attitudes on the subject the racist discourses that permeate the most respected spheres

of society. Paulo Renato de Souza, former Minister of Education of the Government Fernando Henrique Cardoso was one of the authorities that most published articles contrary to quotas in the university. Antônio Macdowell de Figueiredo, Secretary of Higher Education, said that the Constitution prevented any kind of positive discrimination that would benefit minorities. The former minister of the Superior Court of Justice, Paulo Costa Leite, said it was "an absurd measure [declaring that] there was no rule in the Constitution or in the law providing for this 20% quota in a public tender" (SANTOS, 2007, p. 22-23).

The objection to the implementation of affirmative action policies at the time was also manifested by the position of the then head of the University of the State of Rio de Janeiro (UERJ) Nilcéa Freire, who similarly said:

According to data from the MEC, the evasion reaches more brutally poor, black and northeastern, since elementary school. In high school, the phenomenon repeats itself and impedes the entrance of new students in the university. It is questionable, therefore, that the simple reserve of vacancies can democratize the access to higher education for groups that, historically, have been left out of this process. [...] Instruments to promote citizenship and intellectual resources are always welcome, but there is no consensus, even among countries that have taken affirmative action, on the efficiency of such quota policy. [...] Nothing can replace the merit scheme. It is necessary to select the best ones, chosen from all the contingents. (FREIRE *apud* SANTOS, 2007, p. 24).

The dean's remarks that nothing can replace the "merit regime" is emphatic. His argument against the democratization of higher education rests on the fact that failure to observe "merit" would be a threat to the quality of education.

Actors in the journalism field also positioned themselves, exerted pressure and were against the implementation of affirmative action policies for black people. Santos (2007) transcribes, for example, the opinion issued by the 'Folha de São Paulo' newspaper on August 30, 2001:

the Brazilian government, for example, takes to Durban the proposal to create quotas for blacks and their descendants in public universities. This newspaper is opposed to the quota system. This does not mean, however, that any kind of affirmative action, of positive discrimination, should be discarded. The idea of instituting pre-college courses for blacks, for example, seems timely. [...] Brazil must undoubtedly strive to promote racial integration. Affirmative actions should be considered and implemented. The limit must be that of justice. Admitting that one injustice should be repaired with the creation of another, a variation of "ends justify the means," is a philosophically trite and historically complicated argument. (SANTOS, 2007, p. 20-21).

Carneiro comments on the "philosophical" argument issued by the newspaper. The author points out that this position has no basis, since it does not cite under which principles and under what "philosophy" it is justified. She regrets the publication and states that "when an executive director of the largest communications vehicle tries to establish the 'competent discourse' on national identity and its contradictions, this act operates as a perfectly understood password in the country where" who can command, and those who have judgment obey "(CARNEIRO, 2011, p. 34).

In the same controversial perspective, the newspaper 'O Globo' also demonstrated its position in the face of the implementation of affirmative actions. The publication of 24 August 2001 found the following:

It is not easy to find who denies to the black community the right to compensation for injustices. On the other hand, it is not a matter of peace that this reparation should be made, as many militants maintain, by artificial advantages, such as a quota system in the labor market and in the university. Ensuring the universal character of the right to education and qualification for the labor market are costly and complicated paths; on the other hand, eliminating shortcomings will be fairer and more effective than pretending they do not exist. (SANTOS, 2007, p. 19-20).

These were some discourses contrary to Affirmative Actions in higher education at the beginning of its implementation and which were based on scarce and hesitant pluralities in the media when the plan contained in the Durban Declaration was set forth. In the university environment, the controversy was also established due to the implementation of quotas for black students. According to Goss (2008), the debate on the question of "racial and correlates, such as *mestizaje*", also entered the academy and social scientists were positioned between two theoretical perspectives, one

[...] Freyre's interpretation and other authors (who) see Brazil as the result of a deep and authentic process of miscegenation, which leads to the formation of a society with cordial characteristics and an ideal of racial democracy. And at the same time, there are authors who follow an inverse line, resulting from an explicit break with that type of interpretation (GOSS, 2008, p.59).

Although these positions have aroused much debate at the time of the unconstitutionality of the racial criteria, the tendency some years later was to demonstrate the results obtained after the implementation by some universities, even before it became law in the year of 2012. As Santos (2015) points out:

In December 2008, that is, in five years of President Lula's administration, there were already 84 public higher education institutions in Brazil - such as municipal, state and federal colleges and universities, as well as federal institutes of education, science and technology - that had implemented the quota system with racial, ethnic, social, or some form of affirmative action for black and indigenous students, people with physical disabilities, low income and/or public schools (SANTOS , 2015, p.51).

In fact, the *ISTOÉ* magazine's inflection on April 10, 2013, in its issue no. 2664, considering the various opposing discourses that had been produced "in their peers" means of communication, carries in its cover the following call: "Because racial quotas have worked out in Brazil." The article explores the theme: "Inclusion policy for blacks in universities has improved the quality of teaching and reduced dropout rates. Above all, it is transforming the lives of thousands of Brazilians. " It is observed that, first, the discourses revolved around the racial question as problematic. After ten years, the University of Brasília, the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, the Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro and the Federal University of Santa Catarina, among others, adopted the quota system for black students. with testimonials from students of these universities. From the testimonies, the vehicle constitutes a "symbolic" frame, reacting favorably to the Affirmative Action Policy,

demystifying the discourses that have been raised, such as: "quota students would drop the course", "quotas would stimulate racial hatred" and thus against. The above is not simply a glance at the past lightly. What it is tried to demonstrate is that, after great resistance and struggle of the black Brazilian social movements, a project was managed that approve a project that, despite the opposite forces, the results have denied its "critics".

In view of the above, it is important to emphasize that the fundamental objective of the Affirmative Actions is to guarantee and provide access to "discriminated groups, increasing their participation in different sectors of economic, political, institutional, cultural and social life. They are characterized by being temporary and focused on the discriminated group "(JACCOUD; THEODORO, 2007, p 118).

These public policies aimed primarily at the black population are about fundamental rights whose guarantee is necessary to ensure the possibility of equality. In 2010, Law 12,288⁴ is sanctioned, the subject of which deals with another frame of this discussion, namely, the "Statute of Racial Equality", which in its Article 1 proposes: "guaranteeing the black population the realization of equal opportunities, individual, collective and diffuse ethnic rights and the fight against discrimination and other forms of ethnic intolerance "(BRAZIL, 2010). Equal opportunities and rights must therefore be distributed in all spheres, guaranteeing the black population access to education, leisure, health, culture, sports, land, housing, work, the media of communication etc.

Public policies aimed at the education and integration of the black person, such as the "education" section of the 1993 National Human Rights Program (PNDH), point out that "affirmative action should be developed for blacks' access to vocational courses, the university and the areas of advanced technology [...]. Formulate compensatory policies that promote socially and economically the black community [...] and support the actions of the private initiative that carry out positive discrimination "(HENRIQUES; CAVALLEIRO, 2007, p.23).

Affirmative action is in line with constitutional reforms that make it possible to repair the so-called "discriminations", especially with regard to the implementation of university policies as a means of redressing inequalities. Constitutional reforms were presented in the sense of "accepting" positive discrimination in order to grant rights to those citizens previously discriminated against. The Affirmative Action therefore corresponds to a reparation that, at the moment,

[...] responds to a need; [it] is temporary, obligatory and legal; it is not an end in itself nor should it harm third parties; is a mechanism to neutralize imbalances derived from ethnicity, gender or socioeconomic condition, among other causes of discrimination, so that, in the face of an opportunity [...] in a situation of parity, a person belonging to a discriminated population (ZEGARRA, 2007, p. 336).

⁴ Available at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_Ato2007-2010/2010/Lei/L12288.htm. Accessed on: 31 May. 2016.

According to Piovesan (2007), affirmative action policies seek measures that can encourage both groups and individuals,

[...] with a view to promoting their rise in society to a level of equality with others. Affirmative actions are temporary and special measures that seek to remedy a discriminatory past, aim to accelerate the process of equality, with the achievement of substantive equality by socially vulnerable groups such as ethnic and racial minorities, among other groups (PIOVESAN, 2007, p. 41)

That said, the legal guiding principle that establishes the opportunities of access to higher education of historically discriminated groups is based on the recognition of the racial and social discriminations attributed mainly to the black majority population. According to Gomes (2007),

In addition to the ideal of achieving equality of opportunity, it would be one of the objectives pursued by affirmative policies to induce cultural, pedagogical and psychological transformations capable of subtracting from the collective imagination the idea of supremacy and subordination of a race in relation to the other (GOMES, 2007, p. 57).

In addition, according to Gomes (2007), redressing the inequalities of groups or individuals is a strategy that aims to combat discrimination not only by prohibition, but also by promoting equalization through laws. For the author, affirmative actions also allow for plurality, diversity in which the black population was previously underrepresented. Like this,

[...] on the premise that such groups are not usually represented in certain areas or are underrepresented either in positions of command and prestige in the labor market and in state activities, or in training institutions that open the doors to success, and individual achievements, affirmative policies play the important role of covering these gaps, making the occupation of state and labor market positions as much as possible in greater harmony with the plurality of society. (GOMES, 2007, p. 58).

The sub-representation of the black population in the spaces of social prestige is undoubtedly a reflection of the unequal and unjust formation process of our Country. The proposal of Affirmative Action, therefore, is to establish the important role of equating the historically constituted gaps in Brazilian society.

Affirmative Actions at UFSC

One of these gaps to be equated is the access and permanence in higher education. In this sense, while on the national level, affirmative action proposals were still in progress, other mobilizations were being articulated in several Brazilian universities, including the Federal University of Santa Catarina (UFSC). We highlight here the joint articulation with the Black Movement of Santa Catarina aiming to implement the Program of Affirmative Action. As Scherer-Warren and Santo (2014, p. 130) explain,

During the process of elaborating the PAA of UFSC, the organizations of the Black State Movement organized three plenary sessions. The first constituted the Forum of

Entities of the Black Movement in Defense of the Education of the Negro in Higher Education. The second plenary session took place at an intermediate stage, with the purpose of conducting an evaluation of the process. The third and last plenary session was held with the purpose of deciding what position the Organizations had in relation to the Affirmative Action Program, in the manner in which it was being set up to submit to the University Council (CU) for approval.

In 2001, the "I Colloquium on Black Thought in Education" was held by the Núcleo de Estudos Negros (NEN)⁵, whose opening theme was "Racial and Political Relations in Education in Brazil".

The participation in the elaboration of this proposal, still in 2006, counted actively with militants of the Black Movement of Santa Catarina. They participated in a plenary entitled "Higher Education and Affirmative Action", which enabled the creation of the "Black Movement Entities Forum in Defense of Black Education in Higher Education". This was constituted as the institutional space through which the Black Movement started discussing and developing proposals that helped in the formation process of the PAF of the UFSC. In this plenary, two representatives were elected for the Forum, who were charged with "studying access with socioeconomic and ethnic-racial diversity to UFSC" (SCHERER-WARREN; SANTOS, 2014, p. 131).

On April 3, 2006, professors and representatives of civil society were invited by the then Rector of UFSC, Lúcio José Botelho, to compose the aforementioned Commission, in order to make available the "Preliminary Proposal for a Policy on Expansion of Socioeconomic Access Opportunities and Ethnic-Racial Diversity, "whose entry into the UFSC should occur through the vestibular (SCHERER-WARREN; SANTOS, 2014, p. 131-132).

According to Tragtenberg (2012, p. 239-249), the Union of Teachers of the Federal University of Santa Catarina (APUFSC)

[...] published several articles in the APUFSC bulletin, prepared several proposals for resolutions for the ANDES-SN⁶ congresses, organized several seminars from 2002 to 2006 to discuss quotas for blacks and indigenous people, calling for professors from the State University of Rio de Janeiro (UERJ), University of Brasília (UnB), militants of the black movement and representatives of indigenous peoples, fomenting the discussion about ethnic-racial inclusion in higher education. During this period, he was supported by the APUFSC board to promote this discussion in the middle of the university community of UFSC.

⁵ Headquartered at UFSC, Campus Florianópolis, from February 15 to 17, 2001, the. The event was attended by black thinkers such as Marcelo Paixão, IPEA and the Afro-Brazilian Observatory, Elisa Larkin Nascimento, a researcher at the Institute for Research and Afro-Brazilian Studies, José Jorge de Carvalho, author of the project that instituted quotas in University of Brasília (UnB), Petronilha Beatriz Gonçalves e Silva, Dora Lúcia Bertúlio, and Frei David "(SCHERER-WARREN; SANTOS, page 129), as well as the pro-rector of Undergraduate Education at UFSC, who the constitution of a committee to prepare a proposal for affirmative action for this University.

⁶ Union of Teachers of Higher Education Institutions.

After several meetings and discussions, the approval occurred on July 10, 2007, and the quota policy program was implemented as of 2008, through Normative Resolution No. 008/Cun/2007⁷, which created the PAA at UFSC.

According to the Resolution, the program includes actions (a) to prepare for access to the University's Undergraduate Courses, (b) access to undergraduate courses at the University, (c) d) to monitor the socio-occupational insertion of university graduates, (e) to increase vacancies in undergraduate courses and (f) to create undergraduate courses at night. With regard to the access to undergraduate courses, it provides a reserve of 30% of the posts in each course, 20% of which are for *candidates who have completed primary and secondary education in public education institutions and 10% for candidates self-declared black, who have completed primary and secondary education in public educational institutions*. In addition, five additional vacancies were created to be filled by the best-ranked indigenous candidates in the vestibular (BERNI, 2010, p. 134).

Finally, after the approval of the "Quota Law" (Law No. 12,711, August 29, 2012), by the President of the Republic Dilma Rousseff, new results in the data related to university access can be found, as shown below. This law expanded the possibilities for inclusion in higher education of historically excluded groups, in federal universities and in federal institutes of education and technology (SANTOS, 2015).

What the Surveys Pointed Out

The Oxfam Brazil report (2017), dealing relationally with the issue of education in the country together with the focus on race and income distribution, states that

[...] in general, poor and black youth are most affected by educational barriers. Low number of years of schooling, school dropout and difficulty in accessing the university are major problems for these groups, which happen to be at the bottom of the Brazilian income pyramid. (GEORGES, 2017, p. 60)

This portrayal of social and racial inequality in Brazil is confirmed by what was referred to as the "predominance of white ethnicity" to describe the greater demand and classification of candidates who declared themselves white in the UFSC competitions in the 15 years surveyed⁸. The existing discrepancies⁹ are portrayed among students of different ethnicities when seeking and, perhaps, to enter the university environment.

⁷ On September 17, 2013, the CUn (University Council) approved Normative Resolution No. 33 / CUn / 2013, which provides for the PAA of the UFSC, for the 2014 entrance exam. This resolution promoted changes in the previous resolution. Among them, it excluded the need for successful candidates for admission to the vacancies reserved for blacks if they presented themselves to the Validation Commission, whose purpose was to evaluate and decide if the candidate fulfilled the requirement for joining the UFSC through the PAA, which is: to have a phenotype that characterizes it in society as belonging to the black racial group. Thus, from the 2014 college entrance examination, it will be sufficient for the candidate to present a self-declaration of belonging to the black racial group, without the need for the document to be validated by a commission appointed by the Rector, as occurred in previous years, when the PAA of the UFSC began. SCHERER-WARREN, SANTOS, 2014, p.136).

⁸ The data were mapped on the set of socioeconomic questionnaires filled out by the candidates for the UFSC selection competitions. The quantitative approach was present throughout the longitudinal study (2001-2015).

In Brazil, in relation to the ethnicity variable, comparisons of census data over the last six decades have shown that the proportion of people who self-declared themselves to have declined, and that of black people has increased, which may indicate changes in the way Brazilian women and men declare their color. In the period between 2000 and 2010, the high representativeness of whites also decreased from 63.5% to 51.6%. But Ristoff's (2016) study demonstrated the disparity of enrollment of students of different ethnicities in the national graduate.

[...] white students have, in the third cycle, an average of 10 percentage points higher than their representation in Brazilian society. Black students, with 6% of campus representation, are 2% less than they represent in Brazilian society and pardos, who represent 43% of the Brazilian population, have an average representation of only 24% in undergraduate education, which means that is the least well represented group. The yellow students represent 2% on campus - the equivalent of twice as much as they represent in the Brazilian population. The same is true for the Indians, who have a representation of a half percent in the Brazilian population and about 1% in the Brazilian graduation. (RISTOTO, 2016, p.42).

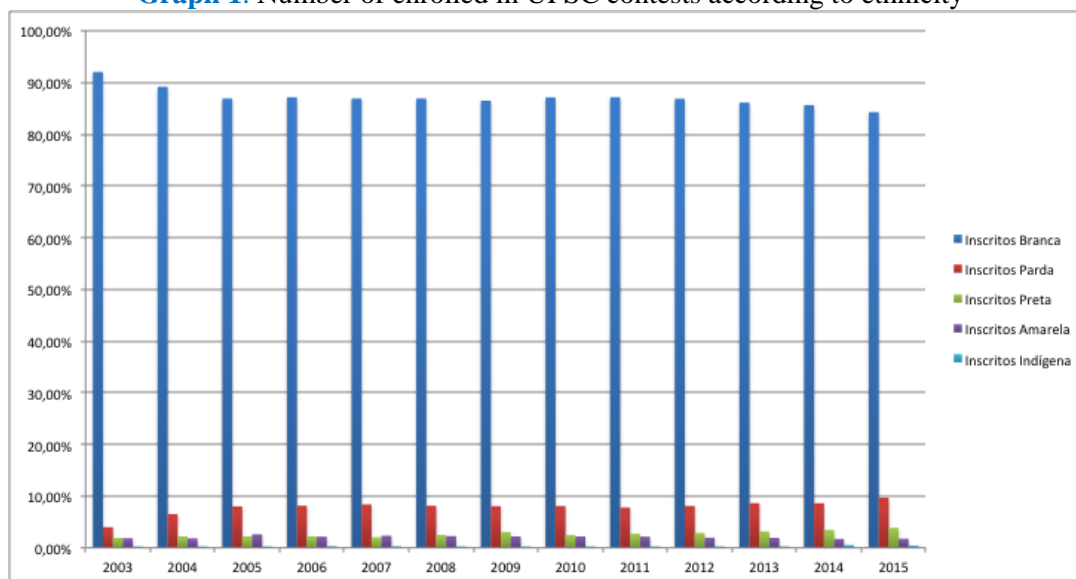
The state of Santa Catarina, in the year 2000, was formed by 89.3%¹⁰ of people who declared themselves white. And, even though in 2010 this percentage dropped slightly (83.8%), it can be said that it is a unit of the federation that most people have declared themselves white¹¹. In this treadmill, it is understood that the predominance of those enrolled and classified in the UFSC competitions are, for the most part, white. Between 2001 and 2015 there were 506,214 entries in the UFSC selection competitions. From this total, we obtained information regarding the color classification of 432,613 registered candidates, sum that percentage is divided as follows: 87.25% of the participants declared themselves to be white; 7.77% pardos; 2.64% black; 2.07% yellow and 0.26% indigenous.

The applications to the UFSC, during the period studied, were carried out by a predominant group of white people. But also, in recent years there has been some movement of growth of participation in the inscriptions made by brown and black self-declared candidates, even if it is very low. These percentages are even lower when it comes to those who declare themselves "yellow" and indigenous.

⁹ The school paths are traced differently according to the color classification that the student declares. Data from the Institute for Economic and Applied Research (IPEA) point out that "the distance between black and white schooling has been reduced by slow steps. In 1995, whites had, on average, 6.7 years of study, while in the case of blacks this average was 4.5. After twenty years [1995-2015], whites have an average of 9 years of study, against 7.4 of blacks (GEORGES, 2017, p.60).

¹⁰ For more information cf. <https://cidades.ibge.gov.br/brasil/sc/panorama>.

¹¹ According to resolution 19 / CGRAD / 2012, of October 22, 2012, the proportion of the percentage of blacks, pardos and indigenous people in the population of Santa Catarina, according to IBGE data, in the year 2012, totaled 16% and so this is the percentage used to reserve seats for these ethnic-racial groups at the Federal University of Santa Catarina.

Graph 1. Number of enrolled in UFSC contests according to ethnicity

Source: Ethnic data of the candidates collected in the socioeconomic questionnaires COPERVE / UFSC (2003 to 2015), organized by the authors.

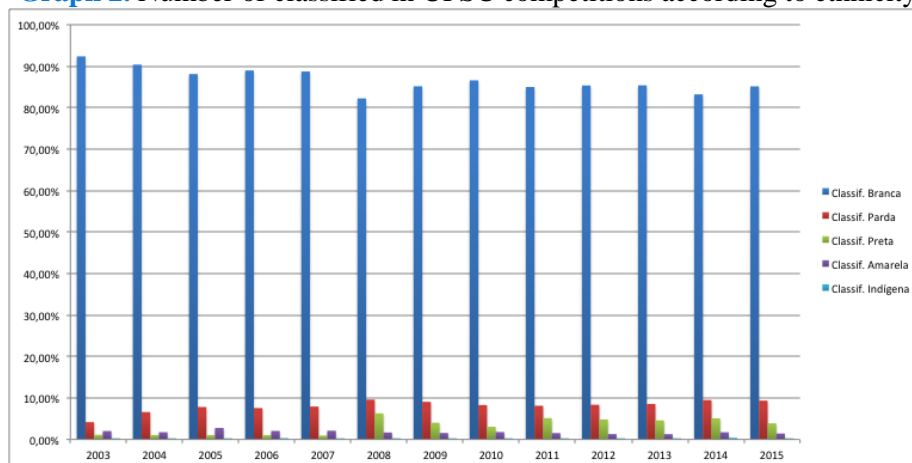
These dynamics also occurs with regard to classifications: the predominance of self-declared white whites is evident. At the time interval of this study, 85-92% of the candidates classified were white. The drop in the percentage (seven percentage points) of the white student classifications will again reflect the increase of the candidates approved and classified as pardos (5%) and black (3% to 4%). In relation to the blacks, the highlight is in the year 2008, which registers the highest percentage of students classified as black: 6%. Obviously, the increase in this percentage is related to the implementation of the quota program that year. The effect of this device has an impact on the year 2008. In the following years (2009 to 2015) there is stability in the indices of classifications of black people, around 3 to 5%. In the first seven years of the period, the percentage of black classifications did not exceed 1% per year, which can be seen in figure 2. The self-declared "yellow" people have little representativeness in the classification rates in UFSC competitions: in average 1.73%. This fact also occurred with the indigenous candidates (average of 0.22% of classification between 2003 and 2015).

The social determinant "defined" at birth as ethnicity, category of analysis of this research, refers directly to a biological designation of agents and, in this study, was self-declared by the candidates. The database created from the information provided by COPERVE / UFSC did not provide records regarding the ethnicity of those enrolled and classified in the vestibular competitions of the years 2001 and 2002. This led to concentrate the analysis in subsequent years (2003-2015). As of 2003, there is information about the white, brown, black, yellow and indigenous ethnicity of the candidates.

The analysis has shown that, in fact, candidates from some ethnic groups are enrolled and classified in very small quantities. It should be emphasized that black candidates are

getting access to university banks in greater numbers only after the implementation of the Program and Affirmative Action Policies.

Graph 2. Number of classified in UFSC competitions according to ethnicity



Source: Ethnic data of the candidates collected in the socioeconomic questionnaires COPERVE / UFSC (2003 to 2015), organized by the authors.

Thus, it is worth mentioning that the articulation of the goals of the Resolution that standardized the Affirmative Action Program can generate positive effects on the access of different publics to UFSC. On the contrary, the lack of connections between them puts at risk the continuity of studies for many Brazilians and Brazilians. Two objectives of the program that directly or indirectly influence the results of the program are highlighted: the "expansion of vacancies in undergraduate courses" and the "creation of evening courses". As for the expansion of vacancies in UFSC undergraduate courses, Sato's (2018) survey found that, between 2001 and 2015, the oldest federal university in Santa Catarina expanded the number of university courses in the capital. However, the researcher noticed a growth of vacancies in the graduations of the institution's new campuses, in the interior of the State. It is believed that with the expansion of the vacancies, that is, with demographics (LANGOUËT, 2002) of university chairs, the increase in the chances of attending a degree is more evident.

During the investigation period, there were different movements regarding the supply and occupation of vacancies at UFSC. These movements are not similar between 2001 and 2015, and for this reason we chose to order information in three phases, namely: 1) Stability of supply and occupation of university positions (2001 to 2007); 2) Expansion and new modalities for the distribution of vacancies (2008 to 2012) and 3) Increased number of vacancies and refinement in Affirmative Action Policies (2013 to 2015). It should be noted that the delimitation of these phases is directly related to the creation of new university units, undergraduate courses, as well as the way the institution distributed the university chairs considering affirmative actions, put into effect as of 2008.

Therefore, it can be stated that the institution, in the first phase surveyed (2001 to 2007), was very stable regarding vacancies. The figures show 7.71% increase in the number

of places in the first four years investigated. Stagnation was total between 2005 and 2007 (3,920 vacancies). The number of courses offered did not increase either, and the criteria for selection, classification and distribution of vacancies are directly linked to the tests of the university entrance examination. These criteria of selection, classification, and distribution presented characteristic legitimacy supported by meritocratic ideology. However, from 2008 the institution starts to attend prerogatives of the Affirmative Action Program, but despite some progress in relation to the democratization of access, it should be noted that these actions also follow criteria of school merit. It is noteworthy that during the entire period surveyed (2001 to 2015) one of the largest job openings was between the years 2009 and 2010, 31.72% growth. It should be noted that in 2010, of the 1,430 vacancies created, 1,040 were in the new university units, in the interior of the state, in the cities of Curitiba, Joinville and Araranguá. In the headquarters of Florianópolis, seven courses were created, with emphasis on the following Centers: Education, Health Sciences and Technology, which for the first time in 10 years opened new courses. This expansion of vacancies and courses, which was verified between 2009 and 2010, does not happen in the last two years of this second moment. In 2011, there is a slight decrease in the overall number of vacancies, and in 2012 a modest increase. Few courses are opened, and once again a small movement is observed in the university units of the interior of the State.

Despite this, the availability of vacancies and courses is indisputable in the year 2013. The same is not verified when it comes to the distribution of vacancies, which is why the third moment of analysis starts this year. If, at the end of the first stage (2001-2007), the normative resolution regarding the implementation of the Affirmative Action Program outlines new ways of distributing university vacancies to different audiences, another milestone is found at the end of the second phase (2008 to 2012) Law No. 12,711, which regulates new forms and percentages of vacancies in federal institutions of higher education. These two legal dispositions changed the scenario of the occupation of the university vacancies to different publics of students. What can be affirmed is that the expansion of vacancies at the UFSC, from 2001 to 2015, was strongly moderate, highlighting only the years 2010 and 2014, in which there were considerable percentages of vacancies in the institution. Therefore, the demographic process was also limited by the lack of university vacancies and, consequently, by the rare increase of objective chances of access to UFSC.

The second goal of the Affirmative Action Program, which refers to the creation of night courses to assist working students, still stands out. Nevertheless, it is significant to emphasize that the data obtained for this group of students in the UFSC shows that in addition to being low the growth of the general number of vacancies, the number of night undergraduate courses is also low. Allied to these findings is a high rate of non-working income, especially in the last five years. In the case of the UFSC, although many of the variables related to the profile of the enrolled and classified are showing transformations, when it comes to the world of work few modifications were observed. Most of the registered candidates did not work at the moment of filling out the socioeconomic questionnaires. In 2001, the number of those who did not work and those who worked were practically the

same, respectively 46% and 45%. Some stability in these data continues in the years 2002 and 2003 but, as of 2004, the two groups are beginning to drift away. This gap is very evident between the years 2009 and 2015, when the enrollments of the group of non-working students increase approximately six percentage points while those of the working class fall by eight points. In the last year of the period surveyed, 2015, there are 20 percentage points difference in the number of registrations between the two sets.

It is also noted in relation to those who were classified and who were workers and those who did not work that the phenomenon is invariable. Between the years 2001 and 2011, that is, in ten years, approximately a little more than 50% of the classified candidates did not work and a little less than 40% worked. From 2011 to 2015 the difference between the groups increases, there are more candidates who did not work classified (from 51% to 58%). By the year 2015 the percentage difference between them was 26 percentage points. Also noteworthy is the average of slightly more than 10% of unemployed students who enrolled and were classified in the competitions of the institution. What is observed, from this statement, is that the courses that were created to capture the demand of student workers, at night, ended up being disputed by those who do not work.

Final Considerations

One of the most prominent claims of the Cordoba Reform that completed one hundred years recently was the democratization of access to higher education. In the Brazilian case, many aspects have advanced and others not so much during this century when the greater entrance of different publics to the university is discussed. But certainly, the implementation of Affirmative Action Programs and Policies was the most prominent event and discussion in different sectors of society and contributed greatly to the entry of young people from excluded social groups into the framework of Brazilian public universities.

It is important to retake and analyze some assumptions of the Brazilian education system as a whole. It should be noted that, although access to the elementary level has been universalized in the country, the extension of studies following the levels of secondary education - final stage of basic education - and higher education, is still a huge challenge, and access to it is seen as an achievement. The great disparities in educational networks, in the physical structures of schools, in the formation of the professorial body and in the supply of vacancies are some of the factors that influence (positively or negatively) the democratization of access and extension of studies in the Brazilian higher education system. This is corroborated by Dubet (2015) when he emphasizes that the greater the democratization of the education system as a whole, the greater the democratization of access to the university level. From this reflection, it is pointed out the importance of researches that subsidize more in-depth discussions about the democratization of the Brazilian education system as a whole, since it is unfair that Brazilians and Brazilians who have visited and attended school experience teaching-learning processes so disparate within the same educational system.

In this work we tried to demonstrate a historical panorama of the emergence of affirmative actions in different countries and for various purposes, the path taken by the agents in the construction of these proposals until they reach the university and then, as it was given its implementation at the Federal University of Santa Catarina. It was shown that, regardless of the opinions, for or against, exemplified in this study, the programs became legal provisions aimed at guaranteeing the inclusion of Brazilians excluded by economic, social and ethnic-racial issues.

It was emphasized that the force of the implementation of the PAAs legally instituted by Federal Law allowed an openness to the democratization of the access to higher education, which, as demonstrated in the data analysis, besides having made possible a movement of access by people of different ethnics to UFSC, also fostered discussions in society and within the academy itself. If, on the one hand, positive results as a result of the implemented public policies are registered, in other aspects, however, it is necessary to underline the lack of agility of the public power and the institutions in issues such as the low creation of courses in the night shift, of vacancies in the existing and most sought-after graduations (high demand courses) and few programs that foster the access of student workers, as well as permanence programs for all who enter public universities.

However, even if we statistically affirm that we live in a highly unequal society with an exclusive educational system, we can verify the existence of a movement toward democratization of access, thanks to affirmative action policies. The "school destiny" does not have to continue reproducing the "social destiny" of its agents. In this sense, the greater university openness allows what Dubet (2015) evidences as a social advance, since holders of diplomas tend to defend more democratic and human principles.

References

AZEVEDO, Mário Luiz Neves de; BRAGGIO, Ana Karine; CATANI, Afrânio Mendes. A Reforma Universitária de Córdoba de 1918 e sua Influência no Brasil: um foco no movimento estudantil antes do golpe de 1964. **Revista Latinoamericana de Educación Comparada**, ano 9, n. 13, p. 37-51, 2018. ISSN 1853-3744.

AZEVEDO, Mário Luiz Neves de; OLIVEIRA, Dalila Andrade. A atualidade dos ensinamentos da Reforma de Córdoba (1918). Ou qual a herança de Córdoba nas reformas atuais? *In*: SADER, Emir.; GENTILI, Pablo; ABOITES, Hugo (Compiladores). **La reforma universitaria: desafíos y perspectivas noventa años después**. Buenos Aires: CLACSO, v.1, p. 66-78, 2008. Disponível em: <http://biblioteca.clacso.edu.ar/clacso/gt/20101109075530/08oliaze.pdf>. Acesso em: 1 fev. 2019.

BENTO, Maria Aparecida Silva. Branquitude e poder: a questão das cotas para negros. *In*: SANTOS, Sales Augusto dos (Org.). **Ações afirmativas e combate ao racismo nas Américas**. Edição eletrônica. Brasília: SECAD/MEC :UNESCO, 2007. 394 p. ISBN 978-85-60731-10-7. Disponível em: <http://etnicoracial.mec.gov.br/images/pdf/publicacoes/acoes>

[_afirm_combate_racismo_americanas.pdf](#). Acesso em: 20 abr. 2015.

BERNI, Paulo Eduardo de Oliveira. **Igualdade e Ação Afirmativa**: políticas de cotas rígidas nos processos seletivos de acesso ao ensino superior. 2010. Dissertação (Mestrado em Direito) – Centro de Ciências Jurídicas, Programa de Pós-Graduação em Direito, Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, Florianópolis, 2010.

BRASIL. Lei n. 12.288, de 20 de julho de 2010. **Estatuto da Igualdade Racial**. Poder Executivo, Brasília, DF, 2010. Disponível em: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/_Ato_2007-2010/2010/Lei/L12288.htm. Acesso em: 1 fev. 2019.

CARNEIRO, Sueli. **Racismo, sexismo e desigualdade no Brasil**. São Paulo: Selo Negro, 2011.

CARVALHO, Emanuel Manguiera de. **Ações afirmativas no ensino superior**: a produção acadêmica nas universidades estaduais paulistas de 1990 a 2012. 2014. Dissertação (Mestrado) – Faculdade de Educação, Universidade Estadual de Campinas, Campinas, SP, 2014.

DENTZ, Schirlei Russi von. **Vozes das Mulheres cotistas negras da Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina 2010-2014**. 2016. Dissertação (Mestrado em Educação) – Centro de Ciências da Educação, Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação, Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, Florianópolis, 2016.

DUBET, François. Qual democratização do ensino superior? **Caderno CRH**, Salvador, v. 28, n. 74, p. 255-266, maio/ago. 2015. ISSN 0103-4979. Disponível em: http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?pid=S0103-49792015000200255&script=sci_abstract&tlng=pt. Acesso em: 1 mar. 2017.

GEORGES, Rafael. **A distância que nos une**: um retrato das desigualdades brasileiras. Relatório da OXFAM Brasil. Coordenado por Katia Maia. São Paulo: Brief Comunicação, 2017. Disponível em: https://www.oxfam.org.br/sites/default/files/arquivos/Relatorio_A_distancia_que_nos_une.pdf. Acesso: 01 set. 2018.

GOMES, Joaquim Barbosa. A recepção do instituto da Ação Afirmativa pelo Direito Constitucional Brasileiro. In: SANTOS, Sales Augusto dos (Org.). **Ações afirmativas e combate ao racismo nas Américas**. Edição eletrônica. Brasília: SECAD/MEC : UNESCO, 2007. 394 p. ISBN 978-85-60731-10-7. Disponível em: http://etnicoracial.mec.gov.br/images/pdf/publicacoes/acoes_afirm_combate_racismo_americanas.pdf. Acesso em: 20 abr. 2015.

GOSS, Karine Pereira. **Retóricas em disputa**: o debate entre intelectuais em relação às políticas de Ação Afirmativa para estudantes negros no Brasil. 2008. Tese (Doutorado em Sociologia Política), Centro de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas, Programa de Pós-Graduação em Sociologia Política, Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, Florianópolis, 2008.

GUIMARÃES, Antonio Sérgio Alfredo. **Racismo e Antirracismo no Brasil**. São Paulo, Editora 34, 2009.

HENRIQUES, Ricardo; CAVALLEIRO, Eliane. Educação e Políticas Públicas Afirmativas: elementos da agenda do Ministério da Educação. In: SANTOS, Sales Augusto dos (Org.). **Ações afirmativas e combate ao racismo nas Américas**. Edição eletrônica. Brasília: SECAD/MEC : UNESCO, 2007. 394 p. ISBN 978-85-60731-10-7. Disponível em: http://etnicoracial.mec.gov.br/images/pdf/publicacoes/acoes_afirm_combate_racismo_americanas.pdf. Acesso em: 20 abr. 2015.

JACCOUD, Luciana; THEODORO, Mário. Raça e Educação: os limites das políticas universalistas. In: SANTOS, Sales Augusto dos (Org.). **Ações afirmativas e combate ao racismo nas Américas**. Edição eletrônica. Brasília: SECAD/MEC : UNESCO, 2007. 394 p. ISBN 978-85-60731-10-7. Disponível em: http://etnicoracial.mec.gov.br/images/pdf/publicacoes/acoes_afirm_combate_racismo_americanas.pdf. Acesso em: 20 abr. 2015.

LANGOUËT, Gabriel. A escola francesa se democratiza, mas a inserção social torna-se cada vez mais difícil. **Revista Perspectiva**. Florianópolis, v. 20, n. esp., p. 85-106, jul./dez.2002.

MEDEIROS, Carlos Alberto. Ação Afirmativa no Brasil: um debate em curso. In: SANTOS, Sales Augusto dos (Org.). **Ações afirmativas e combate ao racismo nas Américas**. Edição eletrônica. Brasília: SECAD/MEC : UNESCO, 2007. 394 p. ISBN 978-85-60731-10-7. Disponível em: http://etnicoracial.mec.gov.br/images/pdf/publicacoes/acoes_afirm_combate_racismo_americanas.pdf. Acesso em: 20 abr. 2015.

PASSOS, Joana Célia dos. **As ações afirmativas na cultura acadêmica curricular da UFSC: resistências e desafios**. Relatório de Pós-Doutorado em Sociologia Política – Centro de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas, Programa de Pós-Graduação em Sociologia Política, Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, Florianópolis. 2013.

PIOVESAN, Flávia. Ações Afirmativas sob a Perspectiva dos Direitos Humanos. In: SANTOS, Sales Augusto dos (Org.). **Ações afirmativas e combate ao racismo nas Américas**. Edição eletrônica. Brasília: SECAD/MEC : UNESCO, 2007. 394 p. ISBN 978-85-60731-10-7. Disponível em: http://etnicoracial.mec.gov.br/images/pdf/publicacoes/acoes_afirm_combate_racismo_americanas.pdf. Acesso em: 20 abr. 2015.

RISTOFF, Dilvo. **Democratização do Campus: impacto dos programas de inclusão sobre o perfil da graduação**. Cadernos do GEA, n. 9, jan./jun. 2016. Rio de Janeiro: FLACSO, GEA, UERJ, LPP, 2016. Disponível em: http://flacso.org.br/files/2017/03/Caderno_GEA_N9_Democratiza%C3%A7%C3%A3o-do-campus.pdf. Acesso em: 1 set. 2018.

ROMANELLI, Sandro Luís Tomás Ballande; TOMIO, Fabrício Ricardo de Limas. Suprema Corte e segregação racial nos moinhos da Guerra Fria. **Revista Direito GV**, São Paulo, v. 13 n. 1, p. 204-235, jan./abr. 2017. ISSN 2317-6172. Disponível em: http://www.scielo.br/scielo.php?pid=S1808-24322017000100204&script=sci_abstract&tlng=pt. Acesso em: 1 set. 2018.

SANTOS, Sales Augusto dos (Org.). **Ações afirmativas e combate ao racismo nas Américas**. Edição eletrônica. Brasília: SECAD/MEC : UNESCO, 2007. 394 p. ISBN 978-85-60731-10-7. Disponível em: http://etnicoracial.mec.gov.br/images/pdf/publicacoes/acoes_afirm_combate_racismo_americanas.pdf. Acesso em: 20 abr. 2015.

SANTOS, Sales Augusto dos. **O sistema de cotas para negros da UnB: um balanço da primeira geração.** Jundiaí: Paco Editorial, 2015.

SATO, Silvana Rodrigues de Souza. **Movimentos de democratização do acesso: análise do perfil dos inscritos e classificados à Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina em perspectiva longitudinal (2001-2015).** Tese (Doutorado em Educação) – Centro de Ciências da Educação, Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação, Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, Florianópolis, 2018.

SCHERER-WARREN, Ilse; SANTO, Ana Carolina Machado do Espírito. Movimento negro e implantação das ações afirmativas na UFSC. *In:* SCHERER-WARREN, Ilse; PASSOS, Joana Célia dos (Org.). **Relações étnico-raciais nas universidades: os controversos caminhos da inclusão.** Florianópolis: Atilênde, 2014. p. 121-142.

TRAGTENBERG, Marcelo Henrique Romano. O processo de elaboração e aprovação do Programa de Ações Afirmativas da Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina (2002-2007). *In:* **COTAS nas universidades: análises dos processos de decisão.** Salvador, Ed. CEAO, 2012.

VIEIRA JÚNIOR, Ronaldo Jorge Araújo. Rumo ao Multiculturalismo: a adoção compulsória de ações afirmativas pelo Estado brasileiro como reparação dos danos atuais sofridos pela população negra. *In:* SANTOS, Sales Augusto dos (Org.). **Ações afirmativas e combate ao racismo nas Américas.** Edição eletrônica. Brasília: SECAD/MEC : UNESCO, 2007. 394 p. ISBN 978-85-60731-10-7. Disponível em: http://etnicoracial.mec.gov.br/images/pdf/publicacoes/acoes_afirm_combate_racismo_americas.pdf. Acesso em: 20 abr. 2015.

ZEGARRA, Mónica Carrillo. Ações Afirmativas e Afro-Descendentes na América Latina: análise de discursos, contra-discursos e estratégias. *In:* SANTOS, Sales Augusto dos (Org.). **Ações afirmativas e combate ao racismo nas Américas.** Edição eletrônica. Brasília: SECAD/MEC : UNESCO, 2007. 394 p. ISBN 978-85-60731-10-7. Disponível em: http://etnicoracial.mec.gov.br/images/pdf/publicacoes/acoes_afirm_combate_racismo_americas.pdf. Acesso em: 20 abr. 2015.