




Corresponding to Authors

Fabricio Gobetti Leonardi
E-mail: fabricio.leonardi@unifesp.br
Universidade Federal de São Paulo
CV Lattes
<http://lattes.cnpq.br/3004028271204597>

Anderson da Silva Rosa
E-mail: anderson.rosa@unifesp.br
Universidade Federal de São Paulo
CV Lattes
<http://lattes.cnpq.br/0916786723350340>

Rosemarie Andreazza
E-mail: rbac48@gmail.com
Universidade Federal de São Paulo
CV Lattes
<http://lattes.cnpq.br/1447772258702244>

Submitted: 28 aug. 2023
Accepted: 07 nov. 2023
Published: 02 feb. 2024

 [10.20396/riesup.v11i00.8674402](https://doi.org/10.20396/riesup.v11i00.8674402)
e-location: e025034
ISSN 2446-9424

Antiplagiarism Check



Distributed under



The Nacional Plan for Student Assistance (PNAES) em federal public higher education: political disputes and socio-historical effects

Fabricio Gobetti Leonardi  <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-3854-5957>

Anderson da Silva Rosa  <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4683-3107>

Rosemarie Andreazza  <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3332-2183>

ABSTRACT

Introduction: Amidst the precarization and contention within higher education institutions, student support policies emerge as a subject of debate. They aim to ensure conditions for students to continue and complete their studies, thereby reducing socio-economic inequalities and democratizing higher education, in parallel with other affirmative actions. However, their implementation faces challenges and exposes weaknesses in their legal-institutional framework. **Objectives:** To analyze the evolution of the National Student Assistance Plan (PNAES) in the context of Brazilian federal universities, seeking to comprehend the underlying contradictions within its political-institutional dynamics, and the interactions of major projects and political groups in contention within the social and political context. **Methodology:** We will conduct a historical and bibliographical analysis encompassing the background, origin, and development of the PNAES, as well as its social and economic implications. **Results/conclusion:** The PNAES, as a resource allocation strategy for processes affecting student retention, which effectively supports other affirmative policies implemented during the expansion of vacancies via REUNI, presents itself as legally fragile but remarkably resilient, largely due to the spontaneous or coordinated actions of political groups that comprise the Pro-Student Retention Forces.

KEYWORDS

Higher education. Student support. Student assistance. PNAES.

O Plano Nacional de Assistência Estudantil (PNAES) do ensino superior público federal: disputas políticas e efeitos sócio-históricos

RESUMO

Introdução: Em meio à precarização e disputa nas instituições de ensino superior, as políticas de permanência estudantil emergem como tema em debate. Elas buscam garantir condições para que os alunos prossigam e completem seus estudos, reduzindo desigualdades socioeconômicas e democratizando o ensino superior, em paralelo com outras ações afirmativas. Contudo, sua implementação enfrenta desafios e expõe as fragilidades em seu aporte jurídico-institucional. **Objetivos:** analisar a evolução do Plano Nacional de Assistência Estudantil (PNAES) no contexto das universidades federais brasileiras buscando compreender as contradições subjacentes à dinâmica político-institucional do mesmo e as interações dos principais projetos e grupos políticos em disputa na conjuntura social e política. **Metodologia:** Trata-se de uma análise histórica e bibliográfica abrangendo os antecedentes, a origem e o desenvolvimento do PNAES, bem como suas implicações sociais e econômicas. **Resultados/conclusão:** o PNAES, como uma estratégia de destinação de recursos para processos que incidam sobre a permanência estudantil e na efetivação das outras políticas afirmativas implementadas por ocasião da expansão de vagas via REUNI (Programa de Apoio a Planos de Reestruturação e Expansão das Universidades Federais), caracteriza-se como uma política frágil do ponto de vista jurídico, mas extremamente resiliente, principalmente pela ação espontânea ou coordenada dos grupos políticos que compõe as Forças Pró-Permanência Estudantil.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

Ensino superior. Permanência estudantil. Assistência estudantil. PNAES.

El Plan Nacional de Asistencia Estudiantil (PNAES) em la educación superior pública federal: disputas políticas y efectos sociohistóricos

RESUMEN

Introducción: En medio de la precarización y la disputa en las instituciones de educación superior, las políticas de permanencia estudiantil emergen como tema de debate. Estas buscan asegurar condiciones para que los estudiantes continúen y completen sus estudios, reduciendo desigualdades socioeconómicas y democratizando la educación superior, en paralelo con otras acciones afirmativas. Sin embargo, su implementación enfrenta desafíos y expone las fragilidades en su base jurídica e institucional. **Objetivos:** Analizar la evolución del Plan Nacional de Asistencia Estudiantil (PNAES) en el contexto de las universidades federales brasileñas, buscando comprender las contradicciones subyacentes a la dinámica político-institucional del mismo, así como las interacciones de los principales proyectos y grupos políticos en disputa en la coyuntura social y política. **Metodología:** Realizaremos un análisis histórico y bibliográfico que abarcará los antecedentes, el origen y el desarrollo del PNAES, así como sus implicaciones sociales y económicas. **Resultados/conclusión:** El PNAES, como una estrategia de asignación de recursos para procesos que inciden en la permanencia estudiantil y que contribuyen a la efectivización de otras políticas afirmativas implementadas durante la expansión de cupos a través de REUNI, se caracteriza por ser frágil desde el punto de vista jurídico, pero extremadamente resiliente, principalmente debido a la acción espontánea o coordinada de los grupos políticos que conforman las Fuerzas Pro-Permanencia Estudiantil.

PALABRAS CLAVE

Educación superior. Pemanencia estudiantil. Asistencia estudiantil. PNAES.

CRedit

- **Acknowledgments:** The authors would like to thank Professor Héider Aurélio Pinto for his encouragement and support for the project.
- **Funding:** Not applicable.
- **Conflicts of interest:** Authors certify that they have no commercial or associational interest that represents a conflict of interest with respect to the manuscript.
- **Ethical approval:** Not applicable.
- **Availability of data and material:** Not applicable.
- **Authors' contributions:** Conceptualization, Formal Analysis, Investigation, Methodology, Supervision, Validation, Visualization, Writing and Revision - original draft: Leonardi, F. G.; Rosa, A. S.; Andrezza, R.
- **Translation:** Carlos Eduardo Chiba [Tikinet Edição Ltda. – EPP].

1 Introduction

Brazilian society and, in particular, Brazilian federal public universities have been part of a very complex scenario over the last decade. Despite the changes occurring in the field of public higher education, in science and in technology, especially due to the expansion of federal public universities from 2003 to 2015, Brazilian society has witnessed, especially since the institutional coup against Dilma Rousseff in 2016, conservative attitudes from the two most recent governments, especially the far-right Jair Bolsonaro government (2016-2020). These governments have systematically defamed and discredited public higher education institutions, making them precarious.

The government's proposal of structural and internal reforms, interference in the choice of rectors, direct attacks via public pronouncements, privatization attempts, and cuts in financial resources were the main strategies aimed at undermining federal public universities (Leher, 2021; Amaral, 2019). The basic premise defended by those who led the government's actions in the economic field is that the private sector should assume more prominence and the state should only play a regulatory role in higher education policies. In the sphere of "habits", or the "culture war", an attempt was made to depict universities as spaces of depravity, communist formation of "cultural Marxism", drug use, and even denialism to scientific discourse (Leher, 2021; Cislighi, *et. al.*, 2019).

Before this scenario, universities were already going through a crisis in terms of their ability to perform their *sui generis* function. Involved in the contradiction that turns them, on the one hand, into reproducers of hegemony on the part of the elites (Assumpção; Leonardi, 2016) and, on the other hand, into those who effective the principle of "education as a right" (Brazil, 1988; Brazil, 1996), universities were already being questioned about their ability to fulfill their role as institutions responsible for the production of academic-scientific knowledge. "What and for whom is the knowledge produced by universities useful? Why do we need public universities?" According to Assumpção and Leonardi (2016, p. 439):

The traditional purpose of producing scientific and humanistic knowledge, when committed to the education and social model of the elite, is replaced by a function that responds to the emerging demands of the twentieth century, such as the production of instrumental knowledge that can be useful for training a qualified workforce, which is required by capitalist development and also results from the conquests of social rights, democratization policies and the demand for equal opportunities for the working class. However, it can be seen that the change in its function does not imply a change in the social role that university has historically played: a space in dispute, but which has assumed a position that corresponds to the hegemonic project of society (...) However, it is important to consider that within universities too, at different times in history, there were groups of a progressive, libertarian nature and groups committed to socio-economic changes from a popular perspective.

In this sense, we start from the idea that Brazilian federal universities are contradictory spaces because they are historically "disputed" by different societal projects (Netto, 2006; Assumption; Assumpção, 2016). Societal projects are collective perspectives

guided by actions and practices aimed at meeting certain interests, aspirations and positions. This conception, however, does not imply the supremacy of actions and practices over the construction of ideas and aspirations. The “practical-material” movement, which materializes actions and their objective consequences, constantly interacts with the “practical-ideal” movement, which promotes different aspirations, logic systems, and rationales. The forms of objectification that emerge from this amalgamation, which become increasingly complex in human societies, are called praxis (Teixeira; Braz, 2009).

As Lukács (1978, p.6) points out, “praxis is a decision between alternatives, since every single individual, when doing something, must decide whether to do it or not. Every social act, therefore, arises from a decision between alternatives for future teleological positions.” Guided by this notion of the teleological and dialectical meaning of social actions and practices, and of work as a category that privileges the understanding of social relations, we can understand how the exchange between man and nature occurs. This process occurs mainly in the realization of objective and subjective processes that carry the possibility of “novelty”, of what may be coming or will come. Thus, social life carries meanings of notions and readings of the world that mobilize choices, positions, and values, and that imply the teleological capacity and projection of the future, of the unprecedented.

Within this context of precariousness and disputes for higher education institutions, the issues of student permanence gain prominence, bringing about a series of measures and strategies for policies and practices aimed at ensuring that students have adequate conditions to attend university, and to continue and complete their studies. By mitigating the socioeconomic inequalities that can obstruct the continuity of higher education, such policies aim to contribute directly to democratizing higher education, along with affirmative action policies.

It should be noted that the effective implementation of these policies has faced substantial challenges and expresses significant weaknesses in their legal and institutional support. This study aims to examine the trajectory of the National Plan for Student Assistance (PNAES) in Brazilian federal universities by analyzing its history and briefly exploring its precedents, origin, development, and social and economic implications. This will help to develop an understanding of the contradictions inherent to the political-institutional dynamics of the PNAES in the face of the actions of the main political groups on the social and political scene.

The article seeks to emphasize the influences of the political factors at play, the underlying power relations, and the changes that have occurred over time. Based on the mediations presented, it is hoped that future research can delve into other aspects of higher education policy.

2 Precedents, privatist impetus and entities as political forces

Access to university for individuals with low-income, individuals who are black, transgender, indigenous, disabled, *quilombolas*, students from public schools, and other groups has only been facilitated in the last three decades. In the first decade of this period, access was made easier through a project strategically linked to the expansion of places at private universities. In the following two decades, this expansion took place in both public and private universities. (Graph 1).

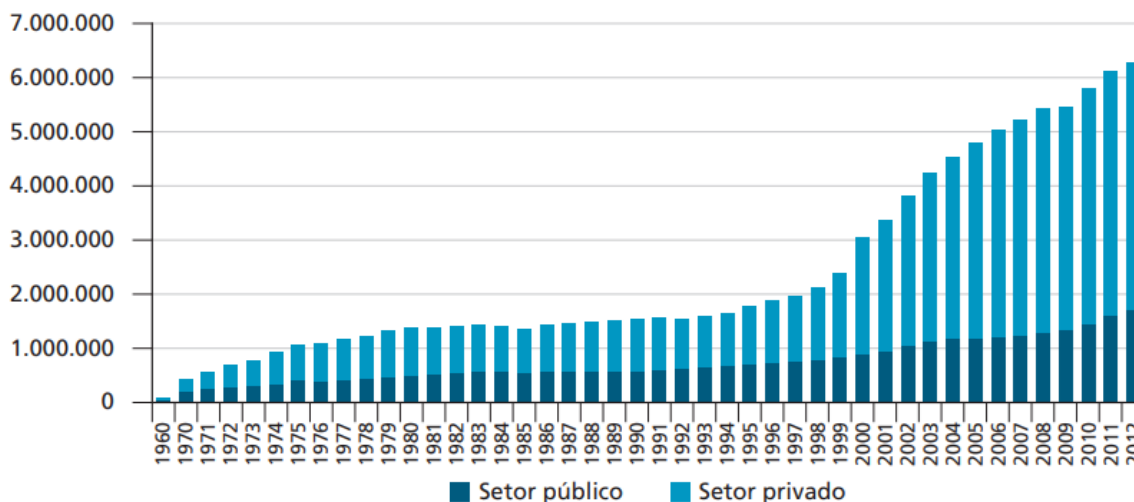
To understand this context and the projects in dispute, it is necessary to briefly summarize the scenario that preceded the democratic period. In 1968, during the civil-military dictatorship, policies for public higher education, strongly influenced by the Cold War and the United States of America, implemented a university reform. The political and institutional orientation that came into force aimed to modernize universities, taking into account the consequences of the industrialization process and the growth of urban areas. This orientation also sought to align higher education with the interests of the market and the broader needs of capitalism in Brazil. It included, among other things, the privatization of education (Saviani, 2008).

During that same time, there was a need to train qualified staff for the labor market. The emergence of elite-cultivated leaderships who shared their agendas was essential for maintaining the existing socio-economic order and promoting the process of internal social “cohesion”, as sought by the ongoing development project. One of the changes brought about in this university reform (Law 5.540/1968) was the extinction of professorships, which were replaced by the departmental structure. It marked the beginning of what would later be called “productivist conception of education”—a notion based on the principles of rationality, efficiency, and productivity. This approach aimed to allow for the “maximum result with the minimum expenditure” and the “non-duplication of means for identical ends” (Saviani, 2008, p. 297). According to Leher (1999, p. 20), who analyzed the international context parallel to this approach:

As pointed out by Berle, one of Nelson Rockefeller’s closest collaborators and an important adviser to Kennedy and Johnson, “in Latin America the battlefield is for the control of the minds of the small nucleus of intellectuals, educated and semi-educated people. The strategy is to dominate through educational processes.” As far as universities are concerned, given the conveniently proclaimed risk of the proliferation of “Marxist doctrine in the educational system and economic thought in Latin America”, control, Berle continues, will have to be clandestine, established in private institutions (Ford Foundation, Rockefeller, Olin, etc.) and making use of exchanges at universities in the United States, especially Georgetown, Los Angeles, Berkeley, Columbia, and Stanford. All this social engineering aims to prevent communist influence and the emergence of a new Cuba in the region. During the 1950s and 1960s, the president of the Ford Foundation, McGeorge Bundy, took pride in the fact that Ford was more agile than the government in identifying and solving the United States’ problems.

Graph 1 shows the evolution of enrollments by sector, whether public or private, systematized with IPEA data by researchers Neves and Martins (2016). It is worth noting that in 1960 the private sector accounted for 41% of enrollments. In 2010, it accounted for 73% of enrollments. In 2022, it accounts for 75% (OECD, 2022).

Graph 1. Evolution of enrollment in face-to-face undergraduate courses, by Administrative category



Source: Neves and Martins, 2016.

Despite the implementation of this university reform with a privatist bias, public universities, attended by a select group of young people, had, since the 1930s, been going through social processes that led to left- and right-wing student politicization, as exemplified by the Integralist Youth and the Communist Youth. The National Union of Students (UNE) dates back to 1937 (Fávero, 1980).

It is worth mentioning that the first student assistance initiative took place during this period, specifically in 1928, with the creation of the “Brazilian Student House” in Paris by Washington Luís. Other actions were also institutionalized with the publication of the “Statute of Brazilian Universities” in 1931. In 1934 and 1946, student assistance was included in the constitution. However, its institutionalization until the 2000s was fragmented, gradual, and disjointed (Fávero, 1980; Crosara, 2020).

Over the years, the universities have become more complex, reproducing, internally, the dilemmas experienced in the political and social sphere. During the so-called “years of lead”, universities played a role in resisting the military regime, with students who organized themselves clandestinely. However, these institutions were severely persecuted by the regime.

The organized students played a fundamental political role in the struggle against the military dictatorship. They took to the streets to protest and participate in marches, joined armed struggle movements, distributed pamphlets, and fought against the repressive system in force at that time. The participation of students was significant: they make up a large proportion of the victims of enforced disappearances and political killings in Brazil. According to a study carried out by the Truth Commission of the State of São Paulo “Rubens Paiva”, 125 out of the 436 people included in the Dossier of Political Deaths and Disappearances, prepared by the Commission on Political Deaths and Disappearances, were students. From the

first moment of the military dictatorship, the student movement was persecuted (Comissão Nacional da Verdade, 2014).

In the midst of the redemocratization process, specifically in 1987, Fonaprace (the National Forum of Pro-Rectors of Student Affairs) was created. This forum would later become one of the bodies linked to Andifes (the National Association of Directors of Federal Institutions of Higher Education) and to this day it aims to officially represent federal universities in their dialogue with the federal government, as well as associations of professors, of technical-administrative staff, of students, and society in general¹.

These two entities, together with the organized Student Movement (ME), represent political forces of different natures. Andifes, for example, has significant political and institutional capacity: it is present in institutional spaces of the federal government, as well as in parliamentary committees and others. Despite its name, which seems to denote an organization focused on leaders, Fonaprace has become, over the years, a crucial space for the articulation between teachers, technicians and students in the defense of public universities and student assistance. The ME, in turn, reveals the political capacity of the youth, expressed by mobilizations, strikes, and acts in which student agendas are defended in a very vocal way. The student movement brings together several political formations—such as the UNE—that encompass a wide variety of theoretical and political strands. These three distinct organizational spaces, each with its own specific characteristics, are complementary forces in the defense of student assistance, uniting in a political front called Pro-Permanence Forces (FPP).

Although an unified debate on the broader and more formal concept of Student Assistance has not yet taken place, it can be understood that the components of the FPP started from the idea that the implementation of political and assistance actions aimed at ensuring that students can access universities and complete their studies there, with the provision of financial subsidies, academic assistance, housing, food, transportation, and access to health and cultural services minimizing barriers that may cause them to drop out, was the ideal approach. In this sense, the concept of student permanence addresses socioeconomic, cultural and structural issues that impact students' performances and the completion of studies in higher education, aiming to guarantee equal opportunities and inclusivity for all students, regardless of their origins or conditions.

3 The public-private dispute, PNAES and pro-permanence forces

The political regimes that took place after the redemocratization process were marked by the neoliberal projects of presidents Fernando Collor and Fernando Henrique Cardoso. During this period, the problems within the Brazilian state began to be seen as the central causes of the deep economic and social crisis the country had been experiencing since the

¹ Information obtained from the ANDIFES website. Available at: https://www.Andifes.org.br/?page_id=261. Accessed Aug 31, 2023.

1980s. In view of this, it would be necessary to reform the state, adjusting it to new requirements, correcting distortions, and reducing costs. A strong campaign around (counter)reforms, with an emphasis on privatization and social security, aimed to place the country within a new “modernity project” using three pillars of neoliberalism: privatization, targeting/selectivity, and decentralization (Behring; Boschetti, 2007).

The student movement, especially the representation of the UNE, was put in the background, facing difficulties in establishing meaningful dialogues. Underlying this campaign was a country project based on fiscal austerity and incentives for privatizations or private initiatives. However, even in the face of this scenario, the mobilizations in favor of student agendas did not cease. For public universities, this period was marked by budget cuts and structural precariousness. Leher exhibits, in his own words, the view of the Minister of Education at the time (1999, p. 28):

The Minister of Education, Paulo Renato de Souza, states that “Brazilian society does not want to give more resources to universities”, echoing the words of Backer: “governments that maintain free higher education are subsidizing the wrong people.” In the minister’s interpretation, “university education was a characteristic of a self-sustaining development model that required the creation of its own research and technologies (...) and today this model is in terminal agony.” The ideology of globalization (with its passive acceptance of forced disconnection) provided the minister with arguments to defend that “the access to knowledge is facilitated, associations and joint ventures are in charge of providing companies in countries like Brazil with the know-how they need. Outsourcing universities, as Korea has done, would make more sense from an economic point of view,” the minister emphasizes.

Up to this point, student assistance funds came from the general resources of universities. Allocation resulted from the competition between local priorities and gave specific institutional scopes to student assistance policies, which were organized internally based on the relationship between management, collegiate bodies and the academic community in the dispute over the use of resources. This situation meant that many initiatives were one-off, fragmentary, discontinuous and isolated.

The National Education Plan (PNE) 2001-2010 stated that actions to expand higher education were needed. In the constitution, the PNE is considered the document that should be the master guide for the development of educational policy. In 2007, the program entitled Education Development Plan (PDE), which was linked to the PAC (Growth Acceleration Program), already announced that

REUNI (Program to Support Restructuring and Expansion Plans of Federal Universities), by massively investing in higher education, aimed to improve the indicators of federal higher education institutions, planning to reach one million undergraduate enrollments. REUNI allows for a democratic expansion of access to higher education, which will significantly increase the number of students from lower-income social strata in public universities. This democratization would inevitably result in the need for a national student assistance policy that supports the adoption of affirmative action policies. The National Plan for Student Assistance (PNAES) consolidates REUNI (PAC, 2007, p. 27).

The expansion of the federal university network was intense during the Lula administration (2002-2010) and part of the Dilma administration (2010-2016). It is worth noting that this process took place in parallel with the intense expansion of the private network, as shown by Graph 1. Below is an excerpt from the minutes of the April 2007 Andifes meeting that shows the articulation of the rectors in the face of the debate on the expansion of higher education.

The executive secretary of Andifes, Gustavo Balduino, presented the Proposal for the Expansion and Modernization of the Federal Public System of Higher Education, delivered it to President Lula in 2003 and debated it in the Education Committees of the Chamber of Deputies and the Federal Senate in the same year. The president informed that the expansion is underway and that the formal announcement of the Education Development Plan proposed by the MEC will take place on April 24. The president also pointed out that this plan presents a new perspective for the expansion of Federal Institutions of Higher Education (IFES), but also made it clear that the liabilities accumulated before the new policy must be tackled. Subsequently, the president and the rectors Oswaldo Baptista Duarte Filho (UFSCar) and José Ivonildo do Rêgo (UFRN) presented the “History of the Expansion”. The president emphasized the importance of Andifes in expanding the federal public higher education system and ensuring its continuity. Rector Ivonildo reported that: 1) Andifes has been debating this issue since 1998, when it formalized the Protocol for the Expansion of the Federal Public System of Higher Education with the then Minister of Education, Paulo Renato; 2) the proposal was prepared by a group of rectors assisted by the advisors of Andifes and by the then Secretary of Higher Education; 3) the IFES had undergone four years of resource restraint, since the federal government understood that the cost of a student enrolled in these institutions was extremely high; 4) a week before the protocol was presented, the World Bank held a meeting, which Andifes attended, in which the main focus point was the unfeasibility of basing the expansion of higher education in Brazil on public systems, because this would be extremely expensive; 5) the previous point was a strong argument for the private system expansion that took place during this period and for the attack made on the expansion of the Federal Public System of Higher Education; 6) the 1998 project foresaw a 50% increase in enrollment at all levels, an expansion and modernization of libraries, and a staff of administrative technicians equal to that of 1996; 7) the project resulted in an awareness among the IFES, which committed to the expansion².

It is noticeable that Andifes was already working systematically to allow for an expansion of higher education based on public institutions. The association’s participation in meetings with the World Bank highlights the direct confrontations it engaged in while these different societal projects were in dispute. One side argued about the high costs of public higher education while the other defended that the expansion needed to take place via public institutions. The conciliation government apparently favored both projects. The private sector was favored by the availability of public funds enabled by the University for All Program (PROUNI) and the Student Financing Fund (FIES), which provided large education corporations with privileged access to education resources.

In the context of public higher education, due to the expansion promoted by REUNI, the number of federal universities and campi grew from 45 and 148, respectively, in 2003, to

² Information obtained from the ANDIFES website. Available at: https://www.Andifes.org.br/wp-content/files_flutter/1362495195AtaCPLXord.pdf. Accessed Aug 28, 2023.

63 and 321, respectively, in 2014. While in 2002 there were 2,047 (113,263 enrollments) face-to-face undergraduate courses in Brazil, in 2014, there were 4,867 (245,983 enrollments) of these courses (Brazil, 2014). It is clear that this expansion would also require mechanisms supporting student permanence. This was not only necessary for the realization of the government's project, but also an important agenda for the FPP.

From 2008 onwards, this systematic action resulted in a series of gradual changes in the general profile of the university population. The implementation of the REUNI Program, the PNAES, the Unified Selection System (SISu) in 2010, and the Quota Law, which established, in 2013, that 50% of the spots in the IFES must be reserved for public school graduates, black people, indigenous people, *quilombolas*, and low-income people, and included people with disabilities into this quota in 2018, made the university acquire a more complex student profile. This new profile introduces new requirements and challenges for higher education institutions.

According to data from the V National Survey of the Socioeconomic and Cultural Profile of IFES Undergraduates - 2018 (Andifes, 2019), the percentage of students graduating from public schools grew from 37.5% in 2003 to 60.4% in 2018. In 2010, only 0.5% of IFES students came from families earning up to half a minimum wage per capita. This percentage rose to 31.9% in 2014 and 26.6% in 2018—which means that more than ¼ of IFES students come from families in high socioeconomic vulnerability. In addition, currently, 70.2% of IFES students come from families earning up to 1 or ½ minimum wages per capita. In 15 years, affirmative action has increased the presence of black and mixed-race students in IFES by 282%. There has also been a substantial increase in the number of indigenous students, *quilombolas*, LGBTQIA+ students, and, more recently, students with disabilities. According to the introduction of the report, “the results presented unequivocally demonstrate that the policies adopted had a decisive impact on changing the profile of students enrolled in IFES, which now better represents the heterogeneity of Brazilian society”.

The PNAES takes, therefore, the form of a device that was established on a provisional basis, but which reflects decades of efforts to organize processes and to accumulate local student assistance experiences. It faces the challenge of ensuring the permanence of entirely new student groups in universities. Article 2 of the decree, for example, recognizes inequality in general and inequality of opportunity as issues that the PNAES should minimize. (Brazil, 2010).

However, it cannot be assumed that the actions for permanence materialized by the PNAES are engendered in a facilitating historical moment. Together with the FPP, it represents, in fact, the possibility of guaranteeing the permanence and quality of university life, as well as the institutionalization of the historical struggles and demands of the ME. Student policies will move from a more welfare-based, isolated, fragmented scope to materializing student assistance as a right. The resource will not only revolve around the classic actions ensuring housing, via student accommodations, food supplies, university restaurants, and the actions ensuring maintenance resources, via scholarships and aids: it will

also focus on cultural and sporting activities, transportation to events, digital inclusion, and other factors enriching the academic experience, expanding the notion of permanence from material issues to symbolic issues of belonging and learning.

On the other hand, for the federal government, investing in the permanence of students and their academic success is a strategy to strengthen the expansion policy adopted, ensuring that it works as planned, fulfills its objectives and is supported by society, by publishing result indicators that can be promoted as both immediate and future political gains. In addition, it “pacifies” the struggles of the FPP, which understands the movement as a result of its action and will continue to actively defend it if it faces challenges from other spheres.

In this way, the PNAES becomes strategic, uniting different actors with common interests. The fact that the PNAES was implemented as a decree and the institutional fragility inherent in this condition can be interpreted as a result of the pragmatic nature it represented. This allowed it not only to serve as an immediate response to the programmatic offensive of the Workers’ Party’s government plan for Education, but also to prevent the presentation of a bill in the National Congress, which could mobilize political forces to alter the original text. If the PNAES were to be processed as a bill, it would require the allocation of systematic resources and political negotiation, and could jeopardize other priority agendas of the government’s program that were already under discussion.

It is worth adding that although the PNAES is a federal plan, its implementation is decentralized. Each university has management autonomy to use the available resources according to its needs and local particularities (BRASIL, 2010). The processes of university autonomy, guaranteed by the Federal Constitution, mean that the PNAES act primarily as an allocator of resources in thematic areas with prerogatives that are contemplated in its legal text (such as housing, food, transportation, among others), leaving the educational institutions with the task of developing policies and programs. This design is a generous political gain, which can be “captured” by the government and by leaders, local managers, and members representing the collegiate bodies (teachers, technical-administrative staff in education and students), who contribute to the creation and approval of the proposals.

Thus, it is not a centralization movement, in which the driving force would act centripetally. On the contrary: it is driven by the dissemination of specific and decentralized experiences of the IFES, which maintained programs and guidelines for student assistance. It also creates opportunities for the formulation of new policies based on local realities, creativity, and the political influence of the proponents involved in implementation.

The PNAES brought to the fore the idea of quality student permanence as a right and practically eliminated, although with some complaints from local managers, the modalities of scholarships that required counterparts from students, such as working hours. This type of work grant meant that low-income students with financial needs had to work long hours, losing time to devote to their studies, while students who afford to live without the grants had the privilege of dedicating more time to fulfilling their university obligations.

An important addition was the implementation of the Permanence Scholarship Program (PSP) as an integral part of the National Student Assistance Policy launched in 2013. With this program, scholarships of BRL 400, which could be combined with other grants, began to be provided to socioeconomically vulnerable students in undergraduate courses with an average workload of five hours a day or more, as well as to indigenous students and *quilombolas*. In the document “Manual for the Management of the Permanence Scholarship Program” (Brasil, 2013, p. 08), the government justifies the program based on the argument that the PNAES is insufficient:

the program (PNAES) will not be able to meet all the demands for permanence scholarships on its own. This would happen because the PNAES also supports other assistance actions linked to student housing, food, transportation, health, digital inclusion, culture, sports, daycare, pedagogical support, and access for students with disabilities. That is, its resources are spread over a series of important and necessary actions that prevent a greater number of permanence scholarships from being granted.

At the time, the program was seen as interfering with university autonomy and as an attempt by the government to gradually centralize student permanence actions, since grant payments are made directly from the Ministry of Education to students. Why create a centralized program instead of increasing the resources of the PNAES? Even with the strong criticism mobilized by the FPP, the government implemented the PSP with marketing actions and extensive media exploitation. As will be seen below, it was the easiest program for the far-right government to attack.

A problem with the the PNAES, at least according to some managers, concerned its article 5, which stated that “priority will be given to students from the public basic education system and with a per capita family income of up to one and a half minimum wages, without prejudice to other locally created criteria” (Brasil, 2010). This meant the income criterion was preponderant, taking away the possibility of the universal character of the policy, or of deviations for particular groups.

University restaurants, for example, could be affected by this article: they traditionally set the same meal prices for the entire student community—universities such as UFRJ, Unifesp, and UFPE follow this system. The legal prerogative of the PNAES to prioritize socioeconomically vulnerable groups has generated debates and conflicts over how to manage resources, since in practice there is a restriction on who will benefit from them. Some managers have chosen to maintain permanence policies on a universal basis, even in the face of the risk of legal implications with supervisory bodies such as the Federal Court of Accounts (TCU) and the Office of the Comptroller General of the Union (CGU), especially with regard to food policies in university restaurants.

Legal uncertainty can significantly affect higher education managers, making medium- to long-term planning difficult due to political costs, pressure from the student movement, and/or implication in personal criminal proceedings. The decrease in the budget

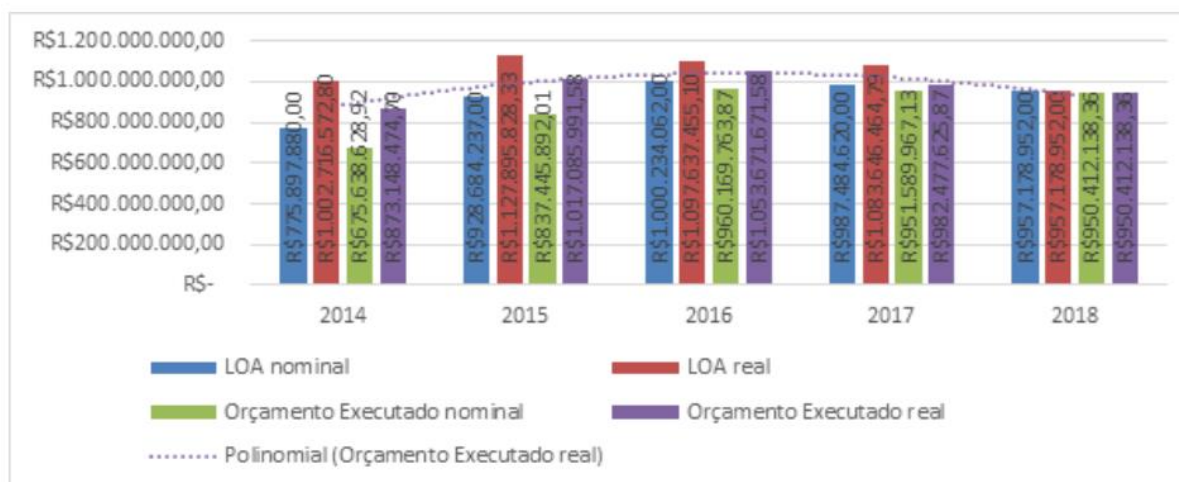
for universities in recent years, manifested by factors such as the drastic cuts made in CAPES and CNPq during the Bolsonaro administration³, the loss of purchasing power due to inflation, and the outsourcing model in the hiring of companies, with precarious labor relations, places university restaurants at the center of the debate on student permanence. At the current level of funding, the operating model of university restaurants is on its way to becoming unviable.

This rationale for universalist actions to prioritize the most vulnerable, which is based on the “short blanket syndrome”, is not only problematic in the political field, but also due to the amount of resources in relation to the new student profile. According to the fourth survey on the socioeconomic profile of undergraduate students, conducted by FONAPRACE in 2014, about 66% of IFES students are included in the target audience of student assistance policies: “66.19% of these students live on an average per capita family income of up to 1.5 minimum wages, 21.96% live on an income between 0.5 and 1 minimum wage, and 31.97% live on up to 0.5 minimum wages” (ANDIFES, 2016, p. 244). In addition, under this “half-open door” logic, many students still have to work or are looking for a job to supplement the income they need to stay in university, which significantly impacts the way they experience university life (Vieira, 2023).

The PNAES resource began to be allocated to universities in 2007, but was only effectively regulated in 2010 by Decree No. 7234 of July 19, 2010. The interesting and tragic thing about this decree is that it does not establish budgetary linkages. There is no organization of allocation via public funds, which can generate numerous weaknesses depending on political moods, the correlation of party forces and economic circumstances. By not proposing and passing a specific student assistance law, the government did not consolidate mechanisms to secure resources when the Annual Budget Law was passed by the National Congress. This means that the resources allocated to the PNAES are subject to the country’s political and economic contexts, which causes more legal and financial insecurity for higher education institutions and their managers, and hinders the predictability and long-term planning of student assistance policies. It is worth noting that funding for federal universities has also been subject to the same logic in recent years.

³ See the “Note of repudiation against the illegal cuts in Brazilian science” at: <http://portal.sbpcnet.org.br/noticias/nota-de-repudio-contras-os-cortes-ilegais-na-ciencia-brasileira/>. Accessed October 24, 2023.

Figure 2. PNAES Annual Budget Law (LOA) and implemented budget (Nominal and Real) of all Higher Education Institutions for the period from 2014 to 2018



Source: Silva and Crosara, 2020.

It is worth noting that the direct financial transfer to the IFES, under a specific heading, goes into budget codes intended exclusively for student assistance, which prevents it from being used as a capital resource (for the construction of buildings, for example). This strategy of allocating and committing resources has strengthened the idea that they should be invested in actions that directly impact student life.

Before REUNI, resources for universities incremented programs that already existed, or were directed towards the creation of new programs or those that were already being conceived but were not economically viable, based on accumulated experience. New Universities have no references or previous experiences aside from those implemented in other universities, which serve as an example. Most professors have had institutional experiences with permanence programs in their own university training, which could influence how these programs will work in new universities.

In terms of effects on learning, for students who entered university in 2010, for example, the PNAES, materialized in the programs it finances, has become a constituent part of university relations. Although the ME will always carry the historical memory of its struggles in the formation of political cadres, the naturalization of the effects that PNAES funding produced has altered the correlation of forces between students of most recent generations and the university. Because the Plan directly impacts the objective conditions of students (both legitimate beneficiaries and those who benefit from more universal policies), any decrease or retraction in the volume of its resources generates an immediate commotion that brings about political mobilizations.

Several moves had to occur to effectively transform the PNAES into a law. Over ten bills on the subject are currently before Congress. However, only two projects express the proposal endorsed by Fonaprace: PL 1270/2015, by Deputy Orlando Silva, and PL 3474/2015, by Deputy Reginaldo Lopes (Silva, 2020). A very difficult discussion was

recently held within Fonaprace because most of the deputies in the congressional configuration of the Bolsonaro administration (2019-2022) were pro-government and would vote against the bills, consequently lowering the expectation for regulation or, even worse, changing the project to a proposal very different from the one presented.

On August 16, 2023, the new Lula government approved that the bill on the PNAES be voted on an urgency regime. On October 31 of the same year, the Chamber of Deputies approved a proposal for a National Student Assistance Policy, which, to the surprise of part of the FPP, was not the text that has been improved and defended for years. The approved substitute bill represents progress since it broadens the scope of the current PNAES decree, incorporating graduate students and the Permanence Scholarship Program for indigenous people and *quilombolas*, and creating a link with the Quota Law. However, a set of segmented and standardized programs were also included in the bill, which generated doubts and discussions that will be taken to the Senate in the second phase of the process.

It is also worth noting that Brazilian public higher education underwent two massive strikes, one in 2012 and the other in 2015. In these occasions, strikers questioned the projects and programs underway, denouncing the precariousness of the expansions and of the national student assistance policy, as well as its banking and financialized character, which prioritized the granting of scholarships. In addition, it is important to note that financial cuts have intensified since Dilma Rousseff's second term, with the appointment of Minister Joaquim Levy.

4 By way of neoliberal reforms: conflicts after the political-institutional coup of 2016, bolsonarism and lulopetista setback

After the institutional coup against the Dilma Rousseff government in 2016, the entirety of Higher Education Policy went into another level of alert. The Temer (2016-2018) and Bolsonaro (2018-2022) governments, besides not explicitly wanting to continue the expansion process, had a negative view of this type of policy.

The institution of the "Expenditure Ceiling" in 2017 led to the freezing of public spending for 20 years and to the emergence of a notion of the university as a space for critical thinking, a "center of leftist culture" in Brazil. It led, especially in the Bolsonaro government, to an explicit and declared war against public universities, in which it was proposed that they be handed over to the private sector during an attempt to implement the Future-se Program. After this initial proposal failed, its precariousness was still instituted in the cutting of resources from both the MEC and the Ministry of Science and Technology.

With regard to the PNAES, in 2019, its funds began to be made available using a "dropper" modality, that is, the federal government makes a deposit of 40% at the beginning of the year and leaves the rest to be approved by the national congress in the second semester,

usually in August. This situation has directly impacted the process for planning the use of PNAES funds and, consequently, the student assistance programs as a whole. The resource, in addition to becoming insufficient since the annual budget law (LOA) was proposed, began to have an irregular cash flow, compromised the planning for contracts and aid payment, and created legal uncertainty for higher education institutions and managers. The entire university community plunged into deep political, social, and academic instabilities, and into mental health issues that were aggravated by the COVID-19 pandemic and its impacts on education, which are not yet fully known.

However, the surprising thing about this process is the relative systematic failure that the government suffered when directly attacking universities (which does not mean that the university came through unscathed). There seems to be a certain social foundation associated with universities and their potential for innovation, scientific and technological advancement—public universities are responsible for almost all of the national scientific output. Moral discourses that try to associate young university students with drug use and to depict universities as spaces of “depravity” did not generate the impact they intended—which does not mean that universities were not shaken by them. In the first two years, when the attack on public universities was more direct and aggressive, students and civil servants made worthy counterpoints during demonstrations and caused several setbacks to the official strategy.

It is important to recognize and value the resistance of the students and the FPP in the face of the attacks they have suffered since 2016. This political mobilization and resistance helped make the cuts to the National Student Assistance Program less drastic compared to those made by the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Science and Technology. In addition, it is important to remember that the decree could have been overturned at the stroke of a pen.

To date, there are no news of any manager being punished for the use of resources intended for the priority public earning up to 1 and ½ minimum wages. This is positive information, because this type of punishment could have been used as a form of retaliation by the far-right government authorities responsible for overseeing public resources.

In current times, cases such as that of Rector Cancellier of the Federal University of Santa Catarina, generate intimidation and panic for those who sign documents on public education funds. Investigations are not always conducted rigorously and with respect for due legal process⁴. The federal government seems to have understood that it needs to resort to other strategies to weaken the defenses put in place by the FPP.

⁴ Information obtained from: <https://noticias.ufsc.br/2022/10/cinco-anos-sem-cancellier-o-legado-de-uma-vida-interrompida/>. Accessed Aug 28, 2023.

In fact, from 2018 until recently, when various changes of education ministers were being made⁵, it seemed that whoever came into office was instructed not to enter into direct conflict with students and to leave the “budgetary terrorism” system in the hands of the Ministry of Economy, which seemed to be the tactic for a possible window of opportunity: the government could systematically announce various budget cuts and wait for the public reaction to understand if the strength to enforce the decision and scale the operationalization was enough.

This tactic seemed to succeed in directing part of the conflict and political energy into universities, as it compelled administrators and students to find ways to reconcile the need to cut or reduce scholarships with the increase in prices of university restaurants, the impact of inflation on contracts and living costs, etc. In addition, the student profile continues to change, generating more pressure, tension, and an increasing demand for permanence resources, but also bringing about new mobilization processes.

With the recent election of President Luís Inácio Lula da Silva, the federal government’s strategy is likely to change, since the FPP’s pressure may help justify the increased spending on student permanence and revive the university expansion plan, which is already included in the recently launched Growth Acceleration Program (PAC 3). However, a climate of apprehension is beginning to emerge due to the lack of prospect for restoring and expanding the budget for federal universities for 2024, including the part earmarked for student permanence measures. The ruling front, created to defeat the extreme right, has been taking on an agenda of fiscal austerity and dispersing public resources in parliamentary amendments to ensure support in congress, to the detriment of a more robust social agenda, at least in the area of education, science, and technology. The difference between the expectations of the FPP and the actions of the current government may generate tensions in the near future.

5 Final considerations

The mission of universities is to build, systematize, and socialize new and accumulated knowledge through formative processes with students. The interaction with the community, with the social reality marked by socioeconomic and cultural inequality, in interrelation with academic training, generates new professional frameworks and revives questions and answers to the main dilemmas facing society.

The prospect is that this process can be used to combat inequalities and bring about a better reality for all individuals, not for a selected portion of them. However, public

⁵ Over the course of the government, between 2019 and 2022, five different individuals held the position of education minister: Ricardo Vélez Rodrigues (January 2019 to April 2019), Abrahan Wentraub (April 2019 to June 2020), Carlos Alberto Decotelli (did not take office), Milton Ribeiro (July 2020 to June 2022), and Anderson Correia (June 2022 to September 2022).

universities, marked by different societal projects that result in internal and external disputes, an expression of Brazilian society itself, has been situated in recent Brazilian history as a promise of democratization that was driven by the governments of the Workers' Party while its members held the presidency of the republic.

There are still not enough places at public schools, considering a reality where about 6.6 million Brazilians are still illiterate, and more than half of young people have not even completed high school. This situation reveals the immense social abyss between those who reach or not the university benches. In addition, the fact that an effectively popular direction does not predominate in university education results in privatizing, meritocratic and instrumental perspectives, which focus on the mission of training specialized workers for specific positions in the social division of labor.

The PNAES, as a strategy for allocating resources to processes that have an impact on student permanence and help effect other affirmative policies that were implemented during the expansion of vacancies via REUNI, is both a fragile policy, from a legal point of view, and an extremely resilient one, mainly due to the spontaneous or coordinated action of the FPP.

The Temer and Bolsonaro governments, which came to power after the 2016 institutional coup against President Dilma Rousseff, attacked Student Assistance several times, but did not achieve the intended results. The set of policies and forces that took hold between 2008 and 2016 generated the right conditions for the FPP to organize a resistance movement with some social support. The effects of this movement reversed the strategy of these governments, especially that of the Bolsonaro government, which used a budgetary “terrorism” strategy aiming to unbalance and demobilize resistance forces, but achieved the opposite effect. In this perspective, with the return of *lulopetismo*, the coming years will be marked by a dispute of forces more favorable to the FPP—but these forces must remain vigilant so that the commitment to fiscal austerity does not compromise the promises of social and educational advances in the country.

It is essential to reinforce the need to implement a student permanence policy that is in fact a State policy, with legal, institutional, and budgetary guarantees. The defense of university autonomy must be guaranteed by continuing to develop actions based on local needs. This does not hinder the creation of guiding principles/axes that act as theoretical-practical contributions for effective permanence actions, preventing distortions and advancing in relation to the PNAES decree. With regard to the allocation of resources, it is essential to take into account the social inequalities that mark the Brazilian reality, without losing sight of the fact that universalist policies are counterpoints to the selectivity of neoliberal (counter)reforms. Thus, the continuity of the political articulation and pressure carried out by the FPP are extremely important in order to put pressure on political forces and build an agenda that seeks, in fact, to create a democratic, popular, quality public university that guarantees student permanence in objective and symbolic terms.

To conclude and draw on the work of Assumpção and Leonardi (2016), it is necessary to deepen the reflection on the role of universities: what type of knowledge are they capable of generating (how and for whom has knowledge been produced)? Are university productions (the systematization of knowledge and professional training) guided by the questions posed by environmental and social reality without submitting to it, articulating knowledge based on a critical, fruitful and purposeful dialogue? Is the political-institutional and didactic-pedagogical dynamic of universities sustained by the principles of the autonomy of knowledge, freedom of expression and public commitment? Have universities preserved their secular and democratic nature? Reality is still in motion.

References

ASSOCIAÇÃO NACIONAL DOS DIRIGENTES DAS INSTITUIÇÕES FEDERAIS DE ENSINO SUPERIOR (ANDIFES). **V Pesquisa Nacional de Perfil Socioeconômico e Cultural dos (as) Graduandos (as) das IFES. 2019.** Disponível em <https://www.Andifes.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/V-Pesquisa-Nacional-de-Perfil-Socioeconomico-e-Cultural-dos-as-Graduandos-as-das-IFES-2018.pdf>. Acesso em: 28 ago. 2023.

ASSOCIAÇÃO NACIONAL DOS DIRIGENTES DAS INSTITUIÇÕES FEDERAIS DE ENSINO SUPERIOR (ANDIFES). **IV Pesquisa Nacional de Perfil Socioeconômico e Cultural dos (as) Graduandos (as) das IFES. 2016.** Disponível em: <https://www.andifes.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/IV-Pesquisa-Nacional-de-Perfil-Socioeconomico-e-Cultural-dos-as-Graduandos-as-das-IFES.pdf>. Acesso em: 28 ago. 2023.

AMARAL, Nelson Cardoso. As Universidades Federais brasileiras sob ataque do Governo Bolsonaro. **Propuesta Educativa**, v. 2, n. 52, p. 127-138, 2019.

ARAÚJO, Luísa; RODRIGUES, Maria de Lurdes. Modelos de análise das políticas públicas. **Sociologia, problemas e práticas**, n. 83, p. 11-35, 2017.

ASSUMPÇÃO, Raiane Patrícia Severino; LEONARDI, Fabricio Gobetti. Educação popular na universidade – uma construção a partir das contradições reflexões e vivências a partir do PET Educação Popular da UNIFESP-Baixada Santista. *Revista e-Curriculum*, v. 14, n. 2, p. 437-462, 2016.

BEHRING, Elaine Rosseti; BOSCHETTI, Ivanete. **Política social: fundamentos e história.** Cortez editora, 2017.

BRASIL. Balanço Social Seseu 2003-2014. **Ministério da Educação**, 2014. Disponível em: http://portal.mec.gov.br/index.php?option=com_docman&view=download&alias=16762-balanco-social-sesu-2003-2014&category_slug=dezembro-2014-pdf&Itemid=30192. Acesso em: 28 ago. 2023.

BRASIL. **Constituição da República Federativa do Brasil 1988**. Disponível em: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/constituicao/constituicaocompilado.htm. Acesso em: 19 abr. 2017. Acesso em: 28 ago. 2023.

BRASIL. **Lei no 9.394, de 20 de dezembro de 1996**. Estabelece as diretrizes e bases da educação nacional. Brasília, Brasil, 1996. Disponível em: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/leis/L9394.htm. Acesso em: 28 ago. 2023.

BRASIL. **Decreto nº 7.234 de 19 de julho de 2010**. Dispõe sobre o Programa Nacional de Assistência Estudantil – PNAES. Brasília, 2010. Acesso em: 28 out. 2022

CISLAGH, J. F.; CRUZ, J. B.; SANTOS, M. C. C.; MENDONÇA, T. S.; FERREIRA, F. G. Não é uma crise, é um projeto: a política de educação do governo Bolsonaro. **Congresso Brasileiro de Assistentes Sociais**. Vol. 16, Nº1, 2019.

CISLAGH, J. F.; CRUZ, J. B.; SANTOS, M. C. C.; MENDONÇA, T. S.; FERREIRA, F. G. Manual de Gestão do Programa Bolsa Permanência. Brasília, 2013. Disponível em http://portal.mec.gov.br/index.php?option=com_docman&view=download&alias=68871-manual-gestao-pbp&category_slug=programa-bolsa-permanencia&Itemid=30192%20class=doclink. Acesso em: 28 ago. 2023

COMISSÃO NACIONAL DA VERDADE (CNV). Relatório da Comissão Nacional da Verdade. Brasília, 2014. Disponível em: <http://comissaoдавerdade.al.sp.gov.br/relatorio/tomo-i/parte-ii-cap6.html>. Acesso em: 28 ago. 2023

FÓRUM NACIONAL DE PRÓ-REITORES DE ASSUNTOS COMUNITÁRIOS E ESTUDANTIS (FONAPRACE). **Revista comemorativa 25 anos: histórias, memórias e múltiplos olhares**. Uberlândia: Associação Nacional dos Dirigentes das Instituições Nacionais de Ensino Superior (Andifes), Universidade Federal de Uberlândia, 2012.

CORTES, Soraya Vargas; LIMA, Luciana Leite. A contribuição da sociologia para a análise de políticas públicas. **Lua Nova: Revista de Cultura e Política**, p. 32-62, 2012.

CROSARA, Daniela; SILVA, Leonardo Barbosa. **Assistência estudantil em debate: análise dos projetos de lei em tramitação no congresso nacional brasileiro**. Curitiba: Brazil Publishing, 2020.

FÁVERO, Maria de Lourdes de A. Universidade & poder. **Análise crítica/fundamentos históricos: 1930-45**. Rio de Janeiro: Ed. Achiamé, 1980.

JESUS, Luciano Nascimento de; MAYER, André Luiz Monteiro; CAMARGO, Pedro Luiz Teixeira. Programa Nacional de Assistência Estudantil: do protagonismo da une aos avanços da luta por direitos, promovidos pelo FONAPRACE (PNAES: da UNE a FONAPRACE). **Acta Scientiarum. Education**, v. 38, n. 3, p. 247-257, 2016.

LEHER, Roberto. Universidade pública federal brasileira: future-se e “guerra cultural” como expressões da autocracia burguesa. **Educação & Sociedade**, v. 42, 2021.

- LEHER, Roberto. Um novo senhor da educação? A política educacional do Banco Mundial para a periferia do capitalismo. **Outubro**, v. 1, n. 3, p. 19-30, 1999.
- LUKÁCS, Georg. **As bases ontológicas da atividade humana**. Temas de ciências humanas. São Paulo: Livraria Editora Ciências Humanas LTDA, p.1-18., 1978.
- NETTO, José Paulo. A construção do projeto ético-político do Serviço Social. **Serviço Social e Saúde**, v. 4, p. 141-160, 2006.
- NEVES, Clarissa Baeta; MARTINS, Carlos Benedito. Ensino superior no Brasil: uma visão abrangente. In: DWYER, Tom.; ZEN, Eduardo Luis.; WELLER, Wivian; SHUGUANG, Jiu; KAIYUAN, Guo (org.). **Jovens universitários em um mundo em transformação: uma pesquisa sino-brasileira**. Brasília: Ipea; Pequim: SSAP, 2016. p. 95-124.
- OECD, **Education at a Glance 2022: OECD Indicators**, OECD Publishing, Paris, 2022. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1787/3197152b-en>
- SAVIANI, Dermeval. O legado educacional do regime militar. **Cadernos Cedes**, v. 28, p. 291-312, 2008.
- SENKEVICS, Adriano Souza. **O acesso, ao inverso: desigualdades à sombra da expansão do ensino superior brasileiro, 1991-2020**. 2021 (2021). Orientador: Marília Pinto de Carvalho. 437 p. Tese (Doutorado em Educação e Ciências Sociais: Desigualdades e Diferenças) - Faculdade de Educação, Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, 2021.
- SILVA, Leonardo B; CROSARA, Daniela Melo. **Assistência Estudantil em Debate: análise da Lei em tramitação no congresso nacional brasileiro**. Curitiba: Brazil Publishing, 2020.
- TEIXEIRA, Joaquim Barata; BRAZ, Marcelo. O projeto ético-político do Serviço Social. In: **Serviço Social: direitos sociais e competências profissionais**. CFESS/ABEPSS/CEAD/Unb. 2009.
- VIEIRA, Evaldo Amaro. **Estado e miséria social no Brasil: de Getúlio a Geisel: 1951 a 1978**. São Paulo: Cortez, 1995.