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Inequalities in Higher Education Access and Completion in Brazil

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Introduction to Working Papers on Universities and Social Inequalities in the Global South

This paper is part of a project which explores what role universities play in overcoming persistent and rising inequalities. Participation in tertiary education has increased significantly across the globe, in parallel with heightened social aspirations and the expectation of better labour market opportunities stemming from a university degree. However, these assumptions rely on certain economic and social conditions being fulfilled, some of which have worsened in the age of jobless growth. The project asks: What potential does higher education have today to increase social mobility, reduce inequality and contribute to the advancement of society through the production of knowledge and skills? Are institutions of higher education contributing to inequality rather than equality, and if so, through what specific actions and mechanisms? How can the transformative potential of such institutions be fully harnessed for overcoming inequality?

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List of Acronyms

ABED Brazilian Association for Distance Education (Associação

Brasileira de Educação a Distância)

BRL Brazilian real (currency)

DAAD German Academic Exchange Service

ENADE National Assessment of Student Achievement (*Exame*

Nacional de Desempenho dos Estudantes)

ENEM High School National Exam (Exame Nacional do Ensino

Médio)

F2F Face-to-face learning modality

FIES Student Financing Fund (Fundo de Financiamento

Estudantil)

GER Gross Enrolment Ratio

HEIs Higher education institutions

IBGE Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (*Instituto*

Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística)

ILO International Labour Organization

INEP National Institute for Educational Studies and Research

Anísio Teixeira (Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisas

Educacionais Anísio Teixeira)

IPEA Institute for Applied Economic Research (Instituto de

Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada)

NER Net enrolment ratio

OECD Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development PNAD National Household Sample Survey (*Pesquisa Nacional por*

Amostra de Domicílios)

PROUNI University for All Programme (*Programa Universidade para*

Todos)

PT Workers' Party (Partido dos Trabalhadores)

REUNI Support Programme for the Restructuring and Expansion of

Federal Universities (*Programa de Apoio a Planos de Reestruturação e Expansão das Universidades Federais*)

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Semesp Union of Private Higher Education Institutions in the State of

São Paulo (Sindicato das Entidades Mantenedoras de Estabelecimentos de Ensino Superior no Estado de São

Paulo)

UIS UNESCO Institute for Statistics

UNICAMP University of Campinas (*Universidade de Campinas*)

USD United States dollar (currency)

USP University of São Paulo (*Universidade de São Paulo*)

Abstract

While there are rapidly increasing enrolments worldwide, higher education systems are still characterized by continuing inequalities in access. Brazil is a case in point in this regard, with highly restricted admissions for those from low-income families, African descendants, and those with low parental level of education, despite the system tripling in size between 2000 and 2018. This study analyses trends in access and completion in higher education in Brazil in this period, assessing variation between federal and for-profit sectors, face-to-face and distance modes, and different degree courses, drawing on three national datasets (Higher Education Census, Enade and National Household Sample Survey). The data is analysed using the frame of availability (number and distribution of places), accessibility (ability of prospective students to take up opportunities) and horizontality (non-stratified system, avoiding hierarchies of prestige and quality). Brazil shows evidence of a rapid increase in availability of places since the late 1990s, as well as some improvements in accessibility on account of quota policies in federal universities and loan and grant policies for private universities. Yet there are major challenges to horizontality on account of the preponderance of disadvantaged students in lower quality for-profit institutions, in degree courses with lower value on the employment market and in distance education. Finally, implications are drawn out for higher education policy in Brazil and beyond.

Keywords

Access to higher education; affirmative action; Brazil; inequalities; stratification; widening participation

Bios

Tristan McCowan is Professor of International Education at the Institute of Education, University College London. His work focuses on higher education and international development, particularly in Latin America and sub-Saharan Africa. His latest book is *Higher Education For and Beyond the Sustainable Development Goals* (2019, Palgrave Macmillan).

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Introduction

For the countries of the Global South forming new nation-states in the 19th and 20th centuries, higher education was seen to have a pivotal role. It acted simultaneously as a repository for national culture, language and identity; a means of training the civil service and professional classes; and a symbol of national independence and status. With the rise of human capital theory in the second half of the 20th century, universities also began to be seen as an important spur to national economies, particularly in the context of the knowledge economy, the decline of heavy industry and the rise of information and high-tech sectors.

For individuals, families and communities, higher education has also exercised an increasing pull through this period. It has gone from being the privilege of a tiny intellectual and administrative elite, to being almost an obligation for the middle classes and anyone who aspires to a non-routine job. In almost all societies—whether leaning towards the free market, the social democrat or the socialist points in the spectrum—higher education is the social mobility mechanism *par excellence*, holding the promise of catapulting any bright and dedicated young person into the lofty echelons of professional success.

The reality has been somewhat different. Despite the extraordinary expansion of the global higher education system, now absorbing more than a third of the global cohort into some kind of post-school provision, up from 20 percent at the turn of the millennium, many continue to be excluded. While some upper middle-income countries have joined the OECD countries in what Trow (1974) categorizes as universal provision (above 50 percent net enrolment ratio), many are languishing behind. The average gross enrolment ratio (GER) in low-income countries is as low as 9 percent, and much lower in some countries—only 2 percent in Eritrea for example (UIS 2018). Furthermore, it has not been plain sailing, even for those lucky enough to enter the higher education system. With the expansion of access at all levels of education, there is greater availability of candidates for existing employment opportunities, leading to a form of qualifications inflation in which higher education diplomas are required for jobs that previously would have accepted secondary or even primary leavers.

There have also been challenges to the quality of provision in higher education institutions (HEIs) in the context of rapid expansion. In some cases, government efforts to respond rapidly to demand for higher education has led to intolerable strains on the carrying capacity of public universities. In others, governments have opted for liberalizing the sector for private institutions, leading to a mushrooming of for-profit universities with dubious quality standards. As will be explored in greater detail below, students from disadvantaged groups have disproportionately found themselves in these more precarious circumstances.

Nevertheless, these processes are not automatic, and vary considerably between countries depending on the social configurations and policy options. For this reason, it is essential that we deepen our knowledge of the mechanisms through which inequalities are reproduced, exacerbated or ameliorated by higher education systems. In this spirit, this study provides an analysis of the current situation in Brazil, in order to understand the opportunities available to different social groups within and through HEIs, and the impact on social justice more broadly.

The specific objectives of the study are twofold: first, to examine the trends in higher education enrolments and completions from the turn of the millennium until 2018 (the date for which the latest figures are available). This time period covers the administration of the Workers' Party (Partido dos Trabalhadores, PT) government elected under the leadership of Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, in which a number of new policies for higher education were developed. The aim is to observe patterns in access and completion for relevant social groups, specifically: through income groups (measured in Brazil primarily through family income in multiples of minimum salaries), racial/ethnic groups (self-identification based on census categories), family educational background (using 5th grade or higher level of education of mother as a proxy) and those coming from public or private secondary schools. Higher education is used here according to Brazilian criteria to include traditional academic courses, along with technical and vocational education at the higher level, and short cycle courses.

The second main objective is to draw out implications of these configurations in the higher education system for social justice more broadly, given the positional role of higher education and significant relationship between educational inequalities and socioeconomic inequalities. The analysis will be carried out through the lens of the theoretical framework of availability, accessibility and horizontality (McCowan 2016), in particular focusing on the relationship between indicators of access/completion and markers of privilege and future opportunities, residing in the institution attended (its recognition and academic quality), the course studied (its economic and professional status) and mode of study (face-to-face or distance).

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