

# ASSESSMENT OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION POLICIES IN HIGHER EDUCATION IN BRAZIL: OUTCOMES AND FUTURE CHALLENGES

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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

UPDATED VERSION

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# I. Introduction

This 2022 is a key year for the quota legislation (Law nº 12.711, of 8/29/2012): we celebrate a decade of the most important affirmative action policy in the national context, at which time the legislation provides for a review by the National Congress. In which direction will the review go — if at all— it is an open question, but we understand that it should only advance in the perspective of improving and strengthening this successful policy, based on the accumulated experience, fruit of the social struggle for the democratization of Brazilian higher education.

Quotas are a type of affirmative action policy that aims to provide greater equality of opportunities for historically disadvantaged groups through actions that expand the insertion of these groups in the educational system, in the labor market, in health services, among others.

The quota law regulates affirmative action policies in access to federal public higher education with the aim of promoting entry into universities and federal institutions of secondary technical education. The law establishes, in each call, per course and shift, a minimum of 50% reservation of places for those who have attended all high school in public schools. Half of these places should be reserved for students with a family income of up to 1.5 minimum wage per capita.

Regardless of family income, the law provides for the sub-quota for self-declaration of blacks, browns and indigenous people, calculated in proportion equal to the share of these in the population of each state, according to the last demographic census. As of 2016, the law was amended to include the sub-quota for people with disabilities<sup>1</sup>.

The reservation of openings for specific groups in federal higher education institutions is part of a broader set of policies that seek to expand access to the university. Most of them result from the political struggle led by black organizations, those without universities, indigenous peoples, people with disabilities, movements for the human right to education and other social movements that historically denounce the origin and elitist and white character of Brazilian higher education.

<sup>1</sup> Part of this text was initially published in the article Evaluation of affirmative action policies in higher education in Brazil: results and future challenges, in the series quotas 2022 of NexoPolíticasPúblicas, coordinated by Afro-Cebrap and GEMAA/IESP-UERJ (available at: <https://pp.nexojournal.com.br/index/2021/Cotas-2022>) and in the article The Quota Law ten years after its enactment, in the journal *Four five One: the magazine of books* - edition 05/05/2022. (Available at: <https://quatrocinco.um.folha.uol.com.br/br/artigos/desigualdades/a-lei-de-cotas-dez-anos-apos-sua-promulgacao>. Accessed on: 07/02/2022).

Such policies cannot be thought of in isolation, but rather in conjunction with other actions that included the expansion of vacancies in federal universities, the creation of new federal universities and institutes, new campuses and new courses. Also part of this set of measures are the University for All program (Prouni/2004), the restructuring and expansion of Federal Universities program (Reuni/2007), the Unified Selection System (Sisu/2010) and the adoption of the National High School Exam (Enem) as the main form of entry into Brazilian higher education.

All these measures resulted in an increase in the number of enrolments in higher education, which reached 8.6 million in 2019, representing 21.4% of the Brazilian population aged 18 to 24 (Inep, 2020<sup>2</sup>). Most of these enrollments, however, take place in private educational institutions. The continuous growth of enrolments in public higher education was interrupted in 2017 due to deep budget cuts, intensified with the approval of the spending ceiling (EC95/2016), and the de-structuring of the expansion programs of public universities after the institutional coup of 2016.

Even with limits and insufficiencies, especially in relation to the need for more robust investment in retention policies, we can recognize affirmative action policies and policies to democratize access to Brazilian higher education as successful policies. We know that the current political moment in the country, characterized by the intensification of racism and innumerable attacks on the Democratic state of law, is adverse to public policies achieved in recent decades and, specifically, to public universities, and brings risks and insecurities about the review process and even about who will have this responsibility.

Even though we are moving into this scenario of instability, some important political actors are developing different initiatives in order to produce analyzes on the advances in the implementation of the quota law, aiming at the improvement of its mechanisms such as the ABPN (Brazilian Association of Black Researchers), the Consortium of Researchers led by Afro - Cebrap and GEMAA/IESP-UERJ, the Black Coalition for Rights and other organizations and networks of the black movement, as well as student organizations, education networks and organizations, jurists and researchers.

This is the case of the research project whose results are presented here in a synthetic form, carried out between March 2021 and June 2022, entitled “Evaluation of affirmative action policies in higher education in Brazil: results and

<sup>2</sup> Available at: [https://download.inep.gov.br/educacao\\_superior/censo\\_superior/documentos/2020 / Presentacao\\_censo\\_da\\_educacao\\_superior\\_2019.pdf](https://download.inep.gov.br/educacao_superior/censo_superior/documentos/2020/Presentacao_censo_da_educacao_superior_2019.pdf).

future challenges", led by the Laboratory of Studies and Research in Higher Education of the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (Lepes/UFRJ) and by the organization Educational Action (AçãoEducativa).

We can recognize the policies of affirmative action and the policies of democratization of access to Brazilian higher education as those that have contributed decisively to "changing the face" of the university, making it closer to the portrait of the Brazilian population as a whole. Policies that have required deeper transformations in the social function of the university, in its forms of functioning, its curricula and research agendas. Policies that need to continue, need to be deepened and improved and to count, above all, with more public resources in a continuous and planned way.

The measures to expand vacancies also allowed for an expressive increase in the presence of lower - income students, public school students, self-declared black, brown and indigenous students, and people with disabilities in federal universities. This increase was observed in relation to the proportion of these students in the total enrolment and when analyzing specific careers, including the most selective ones.

In this context, **LEPES/FE/UFRJ** and **AçãoEducativa** present the results of the research: "Evaluation of affirmative action policies in higher education in Brazil: results and future challenges", which aimed to contribute to evaluating the effects and results of the quota policy implemented since 2012, including the following aspects:

- to observe the effectiveness of legislation in diversifying the profile of higher education students in federal universities;
- identify the success of institutions in the retention of quota students;
- analyze graduation rates and identify the difficulties faced by institutions and quota students in their trajectory throughout higher education;
- analyze other results of the quota system associated with proposals for changes in curricula and development of antiracist initiatives within universities;
- document the expansion of black student activism, among other aspects;
- to analyze the level of institutionalization of quota law and affirmative action policies in universities.

From the perspective of institutionalization, the research also investigated how the institutional evaluation of Higher Education Institutions (HEIs), a dimension of Sinaes (National Higher Education Assessment), reflected the implementation process and has contributed (or not) to the monitoring and improvement of the quota policy. As a result of the research, it is presented a set of recommendations to society and, in particular, to policymakers aimed at strengthening affirmative action policies in public universities.

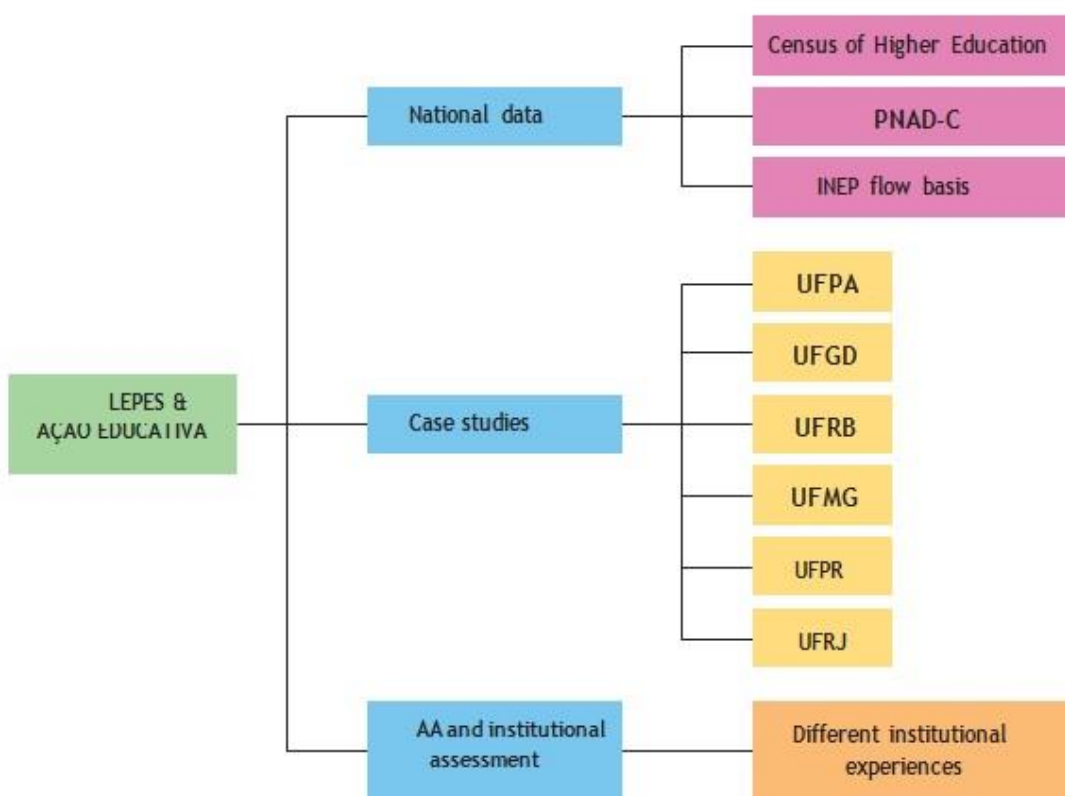
The project brings together a group of Brazilian researchers, mostly linked

to federal public universities, who have been working in the field of affirmative action policies for many years and are engaged in the fight against racism in higher education, to analyze the policy implemented and show its results in different aspects, both for the benefited students and for society in general.

In this executive summary, we will present the main results of each of the three axes of the research, as well as recommendations drawn from the findings and analyses of these results.

## II. Methodology

The project has involved researchers from six federal universities, distributed in all regions of the country, in addition to researchers linked to the organization AçãoEducativa, for the development of a self-developed methodology that combines the following research axes:



In addition to the development of a common theoretical framework and the critical analysis of the main results and challenges of the quota policy, the researchers responsible for each of the research axes developed the following activities:

**Axis 1: secondary data collection at the national level**

- Review of previous studies
- Systematization and analysis of Higher Education Census data (2010-2019)
- Systematization and analysis of PNAD and continuous PNAD data (2011-2019)
- Systematization and analysis of data from the INEP flow base (entrants between 2010 and 2013; situation in 2017)

**Axis 2: primary data collection through six case studies in selected federal universities**

- Bibliographic survey on access and retention in each university studied
- Documentary survey
- Interviews conducted with key informants (managers, course coordinators, professors, administrative staff) in each of the universities surveyed
- Analysis of indicators of access and retention of quota students in each surveyed university, including selection of specific courses
- Holding conversation rounds with quota students and members of student academic collectives at each university

**Axis 3: study on the role of institutional evaluation of SINAES in the implementation of the law**

- Bibliographic survey on the place of quota law and affirmative action policies in the field of higher education assessment;
- Documentary survey;
- Interviews with members of the Self-Evaluation Commissions (CPAs), provided for in the National Higher Education Assessment System (SINAES);
- Analysis of institutional evaluation reports of universities sent to INEP.

## III. Main results

### Axis 1: national data

Below we present a synthetic table containing an overview of the transformation of the profile of students at Brazilian federal universities in the last decade.

**Table 1. Main dimensions of the population with higher education diploma in Brazil and of the quota policy in federal universities**

Population with higher education diploma		Enrolments	Entrants	Flow (evasion rates/dropout)
Features	<p>Brazil is one of the countries with the lowest number of people with higher education degree. The graduate population is no more than 20% since those born in 1955.</p>	<p>Enrolment in undergraduate courses at federal universities comes out of approximately 1 million students to 1.3 million, a growth of 40% in the period 2010-2019.</p>	<p>Participation of entrants of federal universities in the vacancies of wide competition decreases in the period 2010-2019. There is a significant increase in the participation of quota holders entrants. Today it is about 30%.</p>	<p>Several studies indicate that the beginning of the undergraduate course is one of the moments of greatest risk of dropout for students. The early dropout rates of quota holders and non-quota holders (in the first and second year of the course), for Brazil and regions, for the cohorts (generations) that entered the federal universities between 2010 and 2013 are very close.</p>
Benefits	<p>Those born in the 1980s are three times more likely to have a higher education degree than those born in the 1950s. The expansion of access opportunities has to do with a series of educational and social policies carried out especially since the 1990s. Significant narrowing of the racial gap among graduates is only noticed in more recent years.</p>	<p>There is systematic growth of enrolments associated with at least one type of reservation of places. The largest proportional gain is that of the group that combines the characteristics of public schools (PS), low-income, black, brown and Indigenous (BBI).</p>	<p>The entrants by the reservation of openings with income cut and with racial cut had the highest proportional growth in their participation.</p>	<p>The dropout rates in the first year of the course, for Brazil and regions, and the accumulated early dropout rate (first and second year of course), in general, points out that quota students evade less than non-quota students. It cannot be argued that the entry of quota students causes inefficiency of the system, since they evade less from undergraduate courses.</p>

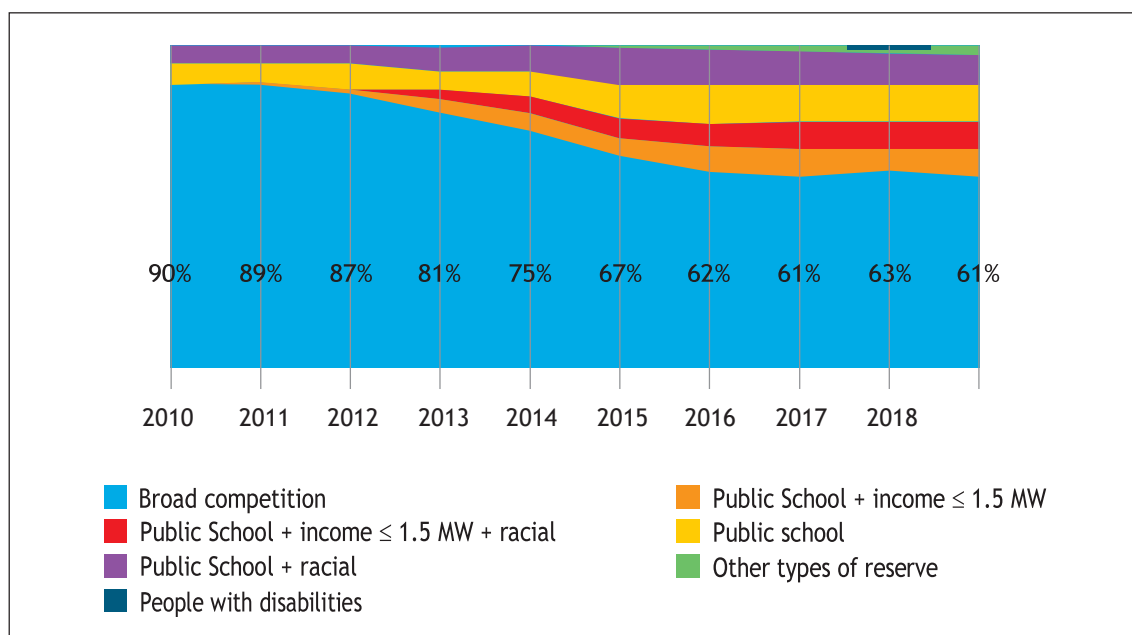


Population with higher education diploma		Enrolments	Entrants	Flow (evasion rates/dropout)
Criticisms	The growth of graduates has occurred with the maintenance of racial inequalities. The increase is significant for the white population, but the advances are much more timid for blacks.	The revision of the income ceiling criterion is a possibility for more egalitarian disputes between each of the reserve groups. Another would be to increase the reserve percentage for the group with greater competition (PS + income + BBI).	The increase in new entrants in places reserved for PS + income was the lowest observed in the period. However, most young people is in the condition of income less than 1.5 minimum wages(MW). The criterion of low income in 1.5 MW monthly per family per capita is therefore very comprehensive.	The analyzed cohorts contemplate only the generation of 2013 under the law. It is necessary to continue to provide information on the early dropout by condition of entrance (whether by quota or not) to follow-up of the trend of the last ten years.

Preparation: Educational Action and LEPES UFRJ.

Based on the summary presented in Table 1, the following graphs illustrate some of these findings.

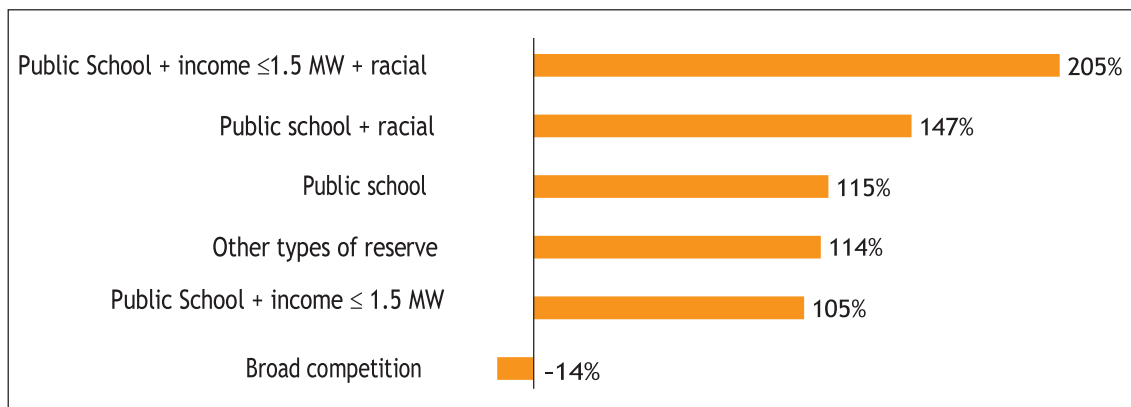
Graph 1. Entrants in person courses at federal universities by type of vacancy used - Brazil, 2010-2019 (%)



Source: INEP, Census of Higher Education. Preparation: Educational Action and LEPES UFRJ.

\* *Other types of reserve* refer to the vacancies of the institutions ' own programs.

**Graph 2. Percentage variation in the number of entrants by reservation of places, Federal Universities-Brazil, 2013-2019**



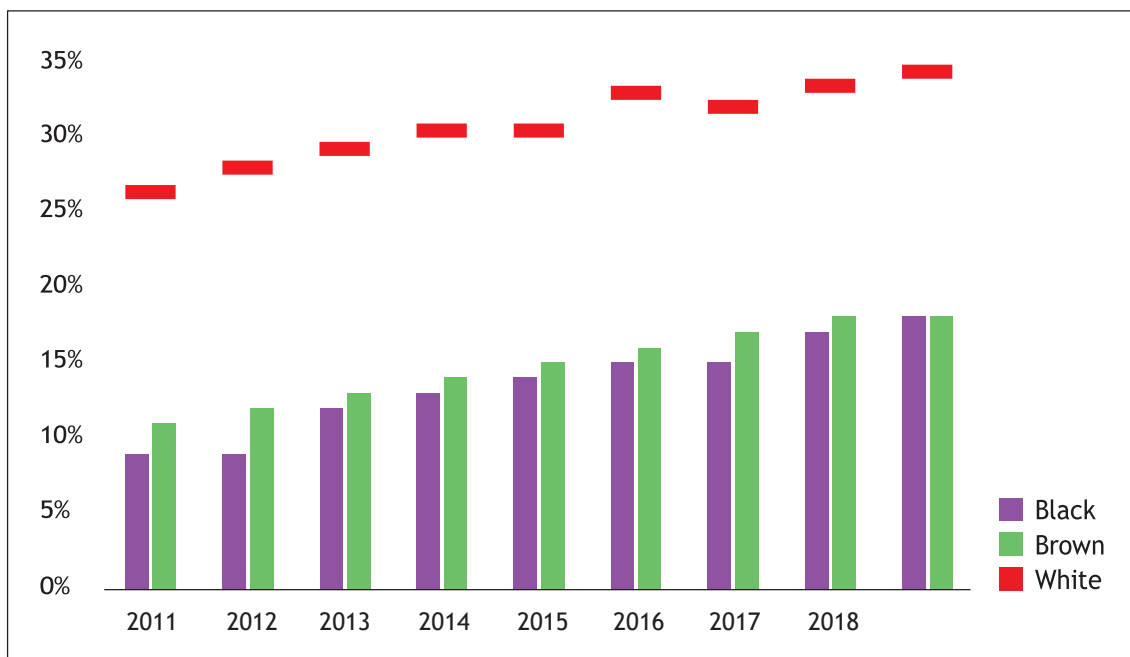
Source: INEP, Census of Higher Education. Preparation: Educational Action and LEPES UFRJ.

\* *Other types of reserve* refer to the vacancies of the institutions' own programs.

\*\* This graph does not include the variation among people with disabilities because the expansion of vacancies is recent, which happens mainly from 2017, shortly after the inclusion of the group in the quota law.

Among students enrolled in federal universities, those who had the highest increase between 2010 and 2019 were those who entered places reserved for graduates of public schools, black, brown and Indigenous (and people with disabilities), combined with the income criterion.

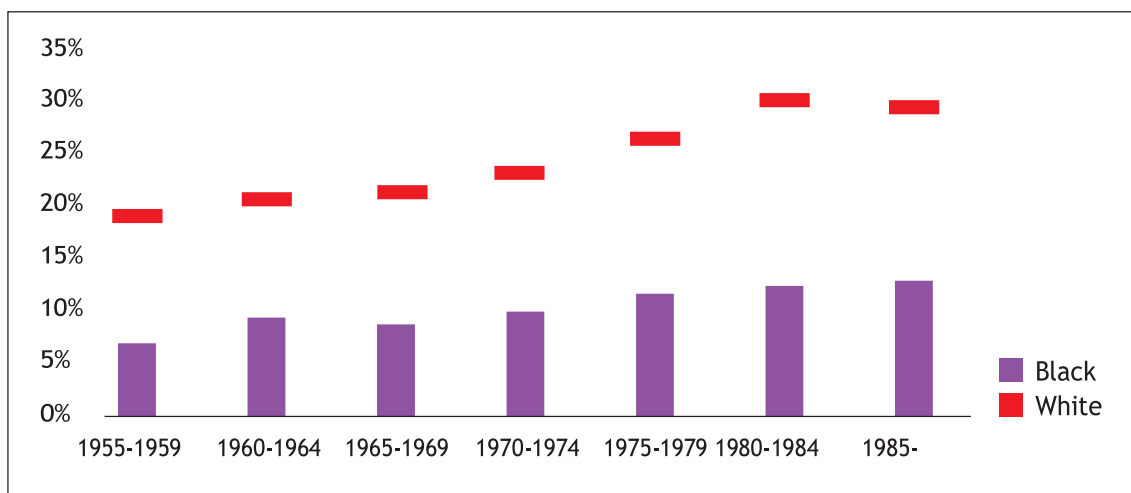
**Graph 3. Net undergraduate attendance rate by Color / Race-Brazil, 2011-2019**



Source: IBGE, Pnad and Pnad-C 2019. Preparation: Educational Action and LEPES UFRJ.

Note: the rate was obtained by dividing the population aged 18 to 24 years (ideal range for this level of schooling) attending higher education, by color / race, by the general population aged 18 to 24 years by color / race; then, the result was multiplied by 100.

**Graph 4. Distribution of people with higher education or more completed by birth cohort and color /race-Brazil - 2019**



Source: IBGE, PNAD-C 2019. Preparation: Educational Action and LEPES UFRJ.

The quota policy does not only aim to promote access to higher education. The evaluation also depends on the guarantee of students' conditions of retention that enable successful trajectories within the university environment. One way to verify this is to document the path of students and calculate whether the dropout and completion rates of students entering via the reserving policy is similar to that of students entering the general competition. It is possible to follow the generation that entered the federal higher education system in 2013, after the quota law. The dropout rates after the first year between quota and non-quota students are very similar: 11% and 10% respectively. In varied courses such as architecture and urbanism, civil engineering, electrical engineering, medicine, veterinary and pedagogy, the rates among entrants in 2013 they are equally close.

These results corroborate previous researches that indicated that, although they come from relatively less privileged socioeconomic situations, quota students have educational results very similar to those of non-quota students. This is a strong signal that students recognize and value the opportunities they achieve.

## Axis 2: Case Studies

As previously reported, for each case study, conversation rounds were held with students, in addition to interviews with faculty and administrative staff from six Brazilian federal universities about the process of implementing the quota law and analysis of institutional documents.

These reports indicate that the controversies and fears that marked the initial moments of the public debate on affirmative action were diluted, the reality of the policy was imposed and these actors adapted to their coexistence. In fact, in the interviews reported by the research, there is no mention contrary to the quotas, either by faculty, staff or students. However, it is still possible to identify the presence, in the discourse of certain managers, of the understanding that “social quotas are enough”.

On the other hand, there are reports of difficulties related to the integration of quota students in institutions. The new profile of students increased the demand for student support programs and retention policies, involving financial aid, food, housing or transportation, in a context of deep cuts in resources resulting from fiscal adjustment policies, anchored in Constitutional Amendment 95/2016. The volume of benefits given to quota students is much lower than the growing demand, intensified by the brutal effects of the economic and pandemic crises on the lives of students and their families, generating dissatisfaction and claims from of students.

The research also investigated the actions developed in terms of pedagogical support and integration of quota students to universities. There is a long way to go: universities do not have a good program to monitor the performance and trajectory of these students. In general, there is little knowledge on the part of departments coordinators about the difficulties faced by quota students, including academic ones. The deans of student affairs or equivalent tend to focus on the management of financial benefits and end up paying little attention to the pedagogical dimension and the daily experience of students.

In some of the universities surveyed, there is an institutional body aimed at monitoring black, brown and indigenous students, but in many cases these bodies have few human resources and suffer from fragile institutional conditions. This type of report suggests that the public university began to have a greater variety of student profiles, with different trajectories, experiences and information about the universe of higher education. Such students demand scholarships and financial aid, but also demand welcome, feedback, listening, broad information about academic opportunities and dialogue with different instances of the university.

Another important aspect in recent years concerns the progressive institutionalization of hetero-identification as a fundamental mechanism to ensure that quotas are filled by students who belong to the public to which they are intended.

The case studies also highlight the role of student collectives (blacks, indigenous people, quilombolas (people from traditional black rural communities), feminists, people with disabilities, etc.) have exerted for the retention of quota students in universities, fight for better material and symbolic conditions in higher

education and for the maintenance of the memory and legacy of antiracist political struggle that is at the origin of affirmative action policies in Brazil.

### Axis 3: institutional evaluation

A component of this research project refers to the inductive power of the institutional evaluation of Higher Education Institutions (HEIs), provided for in SINAES-National Higher Education Assessment System, in the implementation of the quota law and affirmative action policies.

The research revealed that despite some efforts in universities, the quota law and affirmative action policies are not configured as effective agendas for the institutional evaluation processes developed by HEIs nor as a concern of higher education evaluation studies, especially institutional assessment at this level of education.

Despite a robust assessment architecture and a gigantic production of information, based on a methodology anchored in individual instruments and to a lesser extent, collective spaces for reflection and proposition-affirmative actions and quotas are understood as an important agenda, but one of responsibility of *others*, regardless they are bodies explicitly promoting affirmative action or those linked to student support or ethnic-racial issues in universities.

Institutional assessment implies the evaluation of the educational institution in all its dimensions: the curriculum, the relationships and attitudes in the daily life of the institutions, the infrastructure, the valorization of education professionals, the conditions of access and retention of students, teaching and evaluation practices, democratic management, facing educational inequalities and valorization of diversity in the educational environment. According to the proposed indicators and methodology, participatory institutional evaluation strongly contributes to a process of collective formation, construction of diagnoses, transformative action plans and profound changes in institutional cultures.

In higher education, institutional assessment is one of the basic components of SINAES, established in 2004, and is developed in two main moments: self-assessment- carried out by the institution's own assessment commissions (CPAs) – and external assessment, carried out by external commissions designated by the National Institute of Educational Studies and Research (INEP), according to the guidelines of the National Commission for Higher Education Assessment (CONAES).

The Own Assessment Commissions (CPAs in Portuguese acronym) were conceived as a strategy of articulation of the different subjects and sectors of the HEI for diagnosis and definition of priorities. However, in most universities, there is a shrinkage of the proposal and the predominance of a bureaucratic role, compiling data for protocol and mandatory submission to the MEC/INEP. Despite this situation, it is possible to observe more consistent institutional responses in higher education institutions when the work processes of the CPAs are properly supported by university management and anchored in effectively participatory processes.

Through the investigation, it was found that the production and analysis of information about the path and demands of quota students is still disjointed, with limited institutional appropriation for planning purposes and decision - making processes. In general, there is little systematized and available information about the profile of quota students in the universities surveyed, their academic history, their performance, their difficulties and challenges, their demands, proposals and potentialities.

The National Higher Education Assessment System (SINAES) is not oriented to favor the institutionalization of affirmative action in universities, often treated as “one more theme” in the field of so-called diversity.

The study presents a set of recommendations aimed at reorienting SINAES and, specifically, the institutional assessment of higher education in the perspective of greater institutionalization of affirmative action in universities, as part of a system of permanent and participatory monitoring and assessment of the implementation of the quota law.

## **IV. Main recommendations**

Affirmative action has effectively contributed to democratizing access to public universities and has created pressure for a profound transformation in the references, meanings and priorities of universities (research agenda, curricula, changes in procedures and institutional cultures). However, the institutionalization of these policies in the universities as a whole is still extremely limited, understood in general as the responsibility of bodies and institutions linked to student support or the agenda for the promotion of ethnic and racial equality. There are processes stuck at the intermediate level of universities.

Racial quotas have been decisive for the access of black and indigenous poorer students, demonstrating that only social quotas do not account for democratizing the access of this population to higher education. The presence of blacks, browns and indigenous students (BBIs) has become more visible in the most selective careers, where, before quotas, they were hardly seen.

Even with the expansion of higher education access to BBIs, it stands out that racial inequalities persist at the ratio of one black student to every three white students. It is observed that in the black contingent, self-declared brown students are proportionally more numerous in the group of graduates than black students.

We emphasize the importance that federal universities expand their commitment to retention and academic success of all students, in particular those who enter through the reservation of places.

Below, we present a set of recommendations arising from our research, improved by the discussions held in the **Seminar on the assessment of the quota law** - promoted by **Lepes / UFRJ** and **Educational action**, on July 5th and 6th, 2022, at UFRJ-event that brought together activists, researchers and university managers:

1. Enlarge the **level of institutionalization** of affirmative action policies in federal educational institutions: it is urgent to strengthen guardian bodies / institutions, with adequate institutional conditions, combined with institutional mechanisms and processes that enable the agenda to be taken up by all universities;
2. Universities should integrate the promotion of ethnic-racial equity in their agenda in all institutional dimensions (teaching, research, extension, management), with strong investment in training processes, planning and monitoring the implementation of actions of **confronting racism and institutional ableism**;
3. Develop **training programmes** for coordinators, faculty and administrative staff: there is still a lot of misunderstanding out the quota law, affirmative action policies and their implications;
4. Expand affirmative action with quota adoption in graduate school, taking into account successful experiences in under development in Brazilian public universities;
5. Articulate affirmative action policies and policies to promote diversity and anti-racist and anti-discriminatory education, including **full implementation of the National Curricular Guidelines (DCNs) for the education of ethnic-racial relations and for the teaching of Afro-Brazilian and African history and culture** in particular, Article 1, in its 1st and 2nd parts, which establish – respectively-that higher education institutions include the education of ethnic-racial relations in the contents of subjects and curricular activities of the courses and that compliance with the DCNs is considered in the evaluation of the operating conditions of the establishment, generating implications for the education of ethnic-racial relations;

6. Implement **epistemic quotas** (curricular diversification in the perspective of afro-Brazilian, African and Indigenous matrices, among others) in the courses of universities and other federal educational institutions, in the different areas of knowledge;
7. Enlarge the **notion of retention** in the policies aimed at higher education: such students demand scholarships and financial aid, but they also demand acceptance, respect, active listening, simplification of exclusionary bureaucratic procedures, broad information about academic opportunities, curricular changes, access to foreign language courses, wide and whole accessibility, dialogue with different instances of the university. In this regard, we also propose the creation of a **national mental health promotion program** for students, that helps to fight psychological suffering, enlarged by precarious student retention conditions and by a university culture that is still predominantly European-centric and not very friendly and accessible to popular sectors, especially black, indigenous and disabled students;
8. Ensure the **public availability – by the official institutes of statistical production - of treated information** the enable the effective monitoring of the implementation of the quota law, considering the socioeconomic and race / color issues by course, overcoming the data blackout framework resulting from the misinterpretation of the General Data Protection Law (Law No. 13,709 / 2018), which provides that the processing of personal data by the public authority must be carried out in the pursuit of the public interest;
9. Strengthen and regulate nationally **heteroidentification committees**. These committees fulfill an educational role on the anti-racist perspective within universities;
10. Creation of a **National Program for the Dissemination of the Quota Law and Affirmative Action Policies in High School**, with greater articulation between public universities and the state networks of high schools, aiming at greater dissemination of affirmative actions and policies for access and retention of public school students, lower income, black, brown, and indigenous students and people with disabilities in public universities.
11. Greater articulation between affirmative action policies and scientific policies, especially with the expansion of open calls and the number of research grants to quota students, such as the **Institutional Scholarship Program for Scientific Initiation (PIBIC)**.
12. In the case of business institutions to be interested in supporting programs for the permanence of quota students, as has been happening in some parts of the country, this should be done through the **allocation of private resources via tax mechanisms or to public funds** linked and managed by public universities, based on socially debated criteria, with instances constituted by members of the university communities, social movements and with the active



- participation of quota students.
13. An urgent end to **spending ceiling (EC95 / 2016)**, which brought several negative impacts on the budget of universities, so that resources for public higher education and retention policies are expanded, based on short, medium and long-term public planning instruments;
  14. **Reorient the Sinaes** as part of the monitoring system of the quota law and affirmative action policies, with inclusion of dimension and review of institutional assessment indicators, in the perspective of strengthening participatory processes, with strong listening to students and other subjects of the university community and promotion of an anti-racist, anti-ableism and non-discriminatory education, according to the set of recommendations detailed in the study referring to the institutional evaluation axis of this research;
  15. **Extension of Law No. 12,990/2014**, which expires in 2024 and establishes the reservation to black people of 20% of the vacancies offered in public tenders to fill effective positions in the federal public administration. Advance in the national regulation of this law-including providing for an increase in the percentage of reserved places and the expansion of its scope to the whole of higher education – and **graduate quotas**;
  16. Promote through INEP, in conjunction with ANDIFES (National Association of Presidents of Federal Universities), a national policy to stimulate **institutional assessment processes** that mobilizes all universities and considers student collectives as fundamental subjects for the improvement of affirmative action policies;
  17. Develop through INEP, in articulation with academic forums and associations and civil society organizations, permanent campaigns aimed at university audiences and other federal educational institutions about the importance of **filling in the race / color question** for the reduction of underreporting and monitoring and addressing racial inequalities in higher education in the country;
  18. Mapping and articulating a **production of information** in the universities that can contribute to the strengthening of affirmative action policies. Produce, systematize and analyze information regarding race / color that allows academic monitoring and the demands of quota students;
  19. Expand and strengthen the **National Student Assistance Program (PNAES)**, transforming it into a federal law, with sufficient and stable resources for the implementation of student permanence policies;
  20. Create a **national mental health promotion program** for students that can contribute to fight against psychological suffering, enhanced by precarious conditions of permanence and by a university culture still predominantly Eurocentric, anchored in a whiteness that understands itself as the maximum reference of human universality, and not so friendly and accessible to popular

- sectors, especially black, indigenous and disabled students;
21. Due to the demographic changes experienced in Brazil in the last decade, it is urgent to adjust the **percentages of black, brown and indigenous students (BBIs) and people with disabilities** quotas according to the continuous PNAD data, no longer referencing them in the outdated data of the 2010 Demographic Census;
  22. **Promote adjustments in SISU** (Unified Selection System), so that the candidate who has chosen to register as a quota holder, if he/she obtains a grade higher than the cut-off grade, is automatically redirected to free competition, releasing the quota vacancy for another quota candidate. Thus, the cut-off grade should be the first criterion for classification by SISU (Unified selection system), regardless of the type of entering that students choose, so that the quota is a floor and does not turn into a ceiling.
  23. Reclaim the debate on the need to establish **racial quotas** in higher education beyond the current racial sub-quotas of public school quotas established by Law No. 12,711/2012, aiming to accelerate the confrontation of persistent inequality between whites and BBIs, based on previous experiences developed by public universities. This recommendation should be considered in any revision of national legislation and should also encourage federal educational institutions – based on the autonomy guaranteed by law – to go beyond the provisions of Law No. 12,711/2012.
  24. **Exclusion of military schools** from quotas for public schools, due to the fact that they are differentiated schools, with investment equivalent to about four times the average value per student of public high schools;
  25. **Proposals for further studies** that address and deeper reflections on: the possibility of revising the income cut provided for in the quota law to a lower value in order for more vulnerable sectors to be more directly benefited; the impact of the quota law on indigenous students and students with disabilities; the situation of affirmative action policies of universities for quilombola populations, trans people, rural workers and other political subjects Brazilian higher education; the situation of implementation of Law No. 12,990/2014 and graduated quota students in the labor market; and quotas for graduate students.

At the moment that the law provides for an assessment of its results, the presented analyzes signal some prospects. First of all, they point to the need for continuity and strengthening of the reserve of vacancies in access to federal higher education institutions. The research results indicate that, although Law No. 12,711 should not be permanent, it should remain in force until its objectives are fully achieved. Its results should continue to be monitored, with an expansion of the dimensions analyzed.

It is worth asking whether the results of quota and non-quota students are close or far in the labor market. Can affirmative action students get jobs at the same rate? With similar payment? In areas related to the courses in which they graduated? Although new questions can be asked, the evidence shows the significant changes that the quota law has caused in Brazilian public universities.

Our campuses are more similar to our society, with black students, brown, indigenous and white, poor and rich, people with disabilities, living together, facing conflicts, disputing meanings, exchanging experiences and promoting learning. After ten years, these results indicate that the experience of affirmative action in Brazilian public higher education should continue to focus on the income and race of students to continue the process of redistribution of opportunities and promotion of representativeness in Brazilian federal universities in the perspective of racial and social justice and the decolonization of our universities.

The studies carried out show that much has been achieved, but there is still a need to improve, protect and strengthen these policies in the coming years.

## V. Research team

### PROMOTION

LEPES (Laboratory of Studies and Research in Higher Education of UFRJ) and AÇÃO EDUCATIVA

**Coordination:** Rosana Heringer (LEPES/UFRJ) and Denise Carreira (AçãoEducativa)

**Support:** Open Society Foundations (OSF)

### TEAM RESPONSIBLE FOR CASE STUDIES

**UFRJ** ■ **Coordination:** Rosana Heringer, Jussara Marques de Macedo and Mônica de Souza Houri

■ **Members:** Matheus do Nascimento Santos, Vitor Maurício dos Santos Matos, Patrícia Conceição Silva, Gabriel da Silva Ferreira, Damires França, Liliane Souza

**UFGD** ■ **Coordination:** Eugenia Portela de Siqueira Marques ■ **Members:** Aline Anjos

Da Rosa and Átila Maria Do Nascimento Corrêa

**UFPR** ■ **Coordination:** Paulo Vinicius Baptista da Silva ■ **Members:** Marcos Rogério

dos Santos, Nathália Savione Machado, Neli Gomes da Rocha, Ediclea Furlanetto and Juliana Ertes Santos

**UFRB** ■ **Coordination:** Dyane Brito Reis ■ **Members:** Jose Raimundo De Jesus Santos, Ruan

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**UFPA** ■ **Coordination:** Lucia Isabel Silva ■ **Members:** Maria da Conceição Rosa Cabral,

Cíntia Valéria Reis and Mateus Souza dos Santos

**UFMG** ■ **Coordination:** Rodrigo Ednilson de Jesus ■ **Members:** Natalia Silva Colenand

Silvia Regina de Jesus Costa

**TEAM RESPONSIBLE FOR NATIONAL DATA (QUANTITATIVE)**

**Coordination:** Gabriela Honorato ■ **Members:** Flavio Carvalhaes, Carolina Zuccarelli, Melina Klitzke and Ruan Coelho

**TEAM RESPONSIBLE FOR THE AXIS ON INSTITUTIONAL EVALUATION**

**Coordination:** Denise Carreira ■ **Members:** Ana Lúcia Silva Souza (consultant) and Jéssica Teixeira (research assistant)

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Research Site: [www.pesquisaleidecotas.org.br](http://www.pesquisaleidecotas.org.br)