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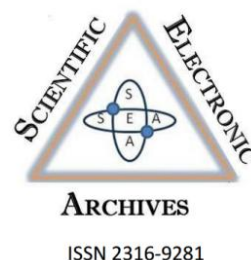
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Higher education policies in Brazil: 1996 to 2010

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Abstract: The growth of higher education in Brazil, since 1990, had been directly associated with the development of policies proposed by multilateral organizations, more specifically by the World Bank. This study aimed to approach the Higher Education Policies implemented in Brazil since the State Reform, which influenced in the expansion of Higher Education courses in the country from 1996 to 2010. In this study was used the method of quantitative, descriptive, exploratory and explanatory nature, making use of consolidated data from the Higher Education Census, made available by the Ministry of Education through the National Institute for Educational Studies and Research "Anísio Teixeira" (MEC/INEP), highlighting also the indicators of number of courses, vacancies, inflows in categories, administrative and academic organization. In addition to data analysis, the documentary collection on educational policies was consulted. It was found that higher education followed the market logic, with incentive to private education.

Keywords: educational policies, higher education, expansion of courses.

Introduction

Public policies in Brazil have been guided by multilateral organizations, since World War II, when World Bank was founded, linked to the International Monetary Fund (IMF), in 1944, and at the *Bretton Woods Conference*¹. These institutions were created to reorder and reorganize the economic system of countries affected by the ongoing war.

According to Santos (2011), this conference emerged from the central countries' concern with the reestablishment of a new international order in the post-war, in which the focus was only the IMF, since the World Bank had the task of building the Europe by ensuring the capitalist system and the interests of the American economy on this continent.

To understand how the World Bank began to directly influence Brazilian public policies its necessary understand its structure, performance and operation in a general way, and the reality of Brazilian State at the time. In 1990, Brazil was in crisis, since the mid-1970s, when capital first came into contact with low rates of economic growth and high inflation rates.

For the analyzes proposed here, we highlight the performance of the World Bank due to its leadership in the restructuring of the world

economy and to the role that this institution played in Brazilian social policies, mainly in the education.

In view of this, it will be addressed the Higher Education Policies implemented in Brazil since the State Reform, which influenced the expansion of Higher Education courses from 1996 to 2010.

Methods

We began the approach to Higher Education Policies relating the public policies with the State, social classes and civil society, because each historical moment presents an interrelationship between the economy, culture, government interests and the institutions that dictate his actions since the Reformation of the State, from the Fernando Henrique Cardoso government (1995-2002), until the end of the government of Luís Inácio Lula da Silva (2003-2010). Data of 2011 were added to the analysis, as they reflect the policies implemented in the previous year, despite the fact that the President Dilma Rousseff has taken over in 2011.

For the data collection, the research was divided into two stages. In the first moment, a descriptive approach was used, which provided an expanded view on higher education policies and its projection in view of the expansion of undergraduate courses in Brazil until the year 2011.

In the second moment, exploratory phase, we chose to work with the Statistical Synopses of Higher Education, presented in the data

¹ The United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference took place in July 1944, in which 44 countries and 160 delegates met to establish rules for a new world economic order for the post-war period. Through it, there was a shift in the political-economic axis, where the United States started to direct the policy to this new situation (Leher, 1998).

consolidated by the Higher Education Census, obtained through the portal of the Ministry of Education/National Institute for Educational Studies and Research (MEC/INEP). The option for this resource is justified because it is a database available, as well as for its census feature, considering the obligation stipulated by Decree No. 6,425, dated April 2008, which reports on its annual realization by INEP, in a collaboration between the Union, Federal District, States and Municipalities. Access to the bank enabled to realize a historical analysis of the period in question (Brazil, 2008).

In this database there is information about the undergraduate courses in Brazil, available in Excel spreadsheets. The selected indicators that meet the objectives of this research are: number of on-site undergraduate courses, vacancies supply, in the administrative categories: public and private, and also by academic organization, in which we classify as university and non-university institutions, and data about universities, university centers, colleges and federal institutes of federal centers of technological education.

Results and discussion

Policies aimed at higher education, which began with the government of FHC, resulted in a set of actions that characterized a reform in this level of education, aiming at an accelerated expansion of the system based on a policy of diversification and differentiation, associated with three principles: flexibility, competitiveness and evaluation. These actions expressed what resulted in LDB/1996 (Dourado et al., 2004).

Based on the recommendations of the World Bank, at the end of 1996, LDB was sanctioned, serving as a sort of "legal umbrella" that allowed the revision of several decrees, aiming to meet the new rules dictated by the capitalist system in the process of reform of the State.

This reform proposed the diversification and differentiation in the Institutions of Higher Education (IHEs) and in the offered courses, breaking with a unique model that had the university as a reference for the expansion of the vacancies, replacing with new configurations and bringing different denominations to the IHEs, presented in this chapter.

It is also important to point out that, in front of the process of restructuring the educational system, it was necessary to find a way to diversify the institutional system, putting in discussion the concept of the university. In this context was approved a new Decree n. 2306/97² that brought new classification for academic organizations that are part of the Brazilian higher education system:

[...] Art. 8º Regarding their academic organization, the higher education institutions of the federal education system are classified in:

- I - universities;
- II – university centers;
- III - integrated colleges;
- IV - colleges;
- V - higher institutes or colleges. (Brazil, 1997)

The Decree No. 2.306/97 defined that the National Education System should be composed of: a) "universities": pluri-disciplinary institutions, characterized by the indissociability of teaching, research and extension activities; also admitting the creation of "specialized universities", organized by field of knowledge, with teaching, research and extension activities; b) "university centers" - institutions covering one or more areas of knowledge, which should offer "excellence teaching"; c) "integrated colleges"; d) "colleges"; e) "higher institutes or schools" (Brazil, 1997).

From Decree n. 2.306/97, the freedom of organization on private higher education institutions, regulation of operational conditions of those non-profit, and establishment of the Higher Education Institutes was also established (Brazil, 1997).

It is noteworthy that, from this, the Technological Education Centers were also regulated, through Decree No. 2406/97:

[...] specialized public or private professional education institutions, with the purpose of qualifying professionals in the various levels and modality of education, for the various sectors of the economy, and conducting research and technological development of new processes, products and services, in close articulation with the productive sectors and the society, offering mechanisms for the continuing education. (Cavalcante, 2000, p.21)

The new classification produced a complex and diversified process of expansion of HEIs, facilitating the creation of courses dissociated from the teaching, research and extension triad, changing the academic profile in force until then.

Dourado et al. (2004) point out that was sought to break the inseparability between teaching, research and extension since the change in the academic organization and in the training of the professional focused on the labor market, the unified career, the democratic management, the unitary quality standard and the institutional evaluation.

Among the main measures that favored this expansion, according to Dourado et al. (2004, p. 93):

- a) *creation of university centers*, with autonomy for the development of activities in the area of education and professional training;
- b) *creation, regulation and consolidation of sequential courses*: short-term higher level courses, aimed at specific professional training or to complement studies, as an alternative to 3rd level education;
- c) *creation, regulation and consolidation of technological courses*, to be offered mainly in technology education centers, aiming at the strictest professional training and in tune with the technological demands of the company and the market;
- d) *curricular flexibilization*: sought to adapt

² This decree regulated the higher education in federal system and provided other measures (Brazil, 1997).

undergraduate courses to the demands of the labor market.

These policies were adjusting to the growth of the Higher Education demand with logic of attendance to the demands of the market, opening a process of commercialization of this level of education and subordinating the management and the production of the academic work to the productive capital (Dourado et al., 2004). Thus, there is a growth of non-university institutions, which, in 1997, were 750 and, in 2002, increased to 1475 units, representing a growth of 96.66%, while university IHEs increased from 150 units in 1997, to 162 in 2002, that is, a growth of 0.08%.

Regarding LDB/96, Cunha (2003) considers a minimalist law, since it does not contain all the bases and guidelines for national education, allowing the creation of several decrees. Veloso (2007, p. 66) added that "[...] the LDB is seen as a legal apparatus that synthesizes the framework of the educational system into the rules of the market [...]", making clear his notation.

Under this mercantilist approach, the LDB/96 reconfigured the entire Brazilian educational system, specifically in higher education, contemplating greater autonomy for Higher Education Institutions in the definition of their courses programs, constructing a pedagogical project capable of adapting to the dynamics of the demands of the society and proposing a minimum workload that allowed the flexibilization of the course duration (Barbosa & Baptista, 2008).

We can see that this movement framed education to the dynamics of society, with a view to the market, since, through LDB/96, in Article 47, in its 4th paragraph, it inferred that:

Higher education institutions will offer evening classes in the same quality standards maintained during the daytime period, with the nightly provision, being mandatory the nightly offer in public institutions, ensured the necessary budgetary forecast (Brazil, 1996).

The encouragement of the creation of night courses has become evident, incorporating a new public in higher education and, consequently, opening a range for the commercialization of education in private institutions.

In the midst of this situation, it is important to emphasize that public universities was suffering the repercussions caused by the State reorganization, proposed by the World Bank, going through a period of wrecking, budget cuts, lack of positions available for teachers and technical-administrative, as well as the absence of an effective student assistance policy (Figueiredo, 2006).

It can be seen that the government of Fernando Henrique Cardoso brought profound changes in education, with an educational reform strongly marked by the economic and technocratic character, which removed education from the sphere of the so-called rights of citizenship, characterizing it as a service available in the market.

In this same context, the Higher Education system started to have a very strong quantitative growth in the private sector, evidenced by the growth of undergraduate courses and vacancies in the country.

In Table 1 it is possible to verify the number of undergraduate courses in Brazil and, also, the percentage of growth of undergraduate courses in general, in the categories: administrative, involving public and private institutions, as well as in the academic organization, in which university and non-university institutions are part, from 1996 to 2002.

Table 1. Number of on-site undergraduate courses by administrative category and academic organization - Brazil, 1996 to 2002

Year	Administrative Category		Academic Organization	
	Public	Private	University	Non-university
1996	2,978	3,666	4,165	2,479
2002	5,252	9,147	8,486	5,913
Δ%				
1996-				
2002	76.35	149.51	103.75	138.52

Source: MEC/INEP

It can be seen from Table 1 that in 1996, when LDB was enacted, Brazil had a total of 6,644 undergraduate courses, of which 55.1% (3,666) was offered by private institutions, while public institutions accounted for 44.8% (2,978), predominating university courses accounting for 62.6% (4,165).

As a reflection of the educational policies implemented between 1996 and 2002, there was an increase of 2,274 courses offered by public institutions, corresponding to the growth rate of 76.35%, while in private institutions the registration was 5,481 new courses, corresponding to a growth of 149.51%. These values reflect in the characteristic of the Higher Education offers of the country that in 2002, of the 14,399 undergraduate courses, 63.53% were offered by the private sector, and, still, that 41.06% of the courses offered by non-university institutions had growth of 138.52%, while those offered by the universities reached growth indicators of 103.75%.

Following the same line of analysis, Table 2 shows the number of vacancies offered by on-site undergraduate courses, showing that in 1996, 71% of these vacancies were allocated to the private sector and 29% to the public sector. In 2002, closing the FHC government, 83% of vacancies were in private institutions and 17% in public institutions.

Still, in the analysis of data in Table 2, we observed that the growth rates vacancies in the private institutions, in the eight years of FHC's administration, was 227.8%, mainly in the second period, 1998-2002, when 888,055 new vacancies were created, corresponding to a growth of 150.60%. With regard to public vacancies, it can be

observed that in the period these rates were 60.9%, being that between 1998 and 2002, 81,113 new vacancies were created, much lower than the private sector, which demonstrates the impacts of the mercantilist reform presented by that government.

Table 2 Number of vacancies offered in the on-site undergraduate courses by vestibular and other selective processes, by administrative category - Brazil, 1996, 1998, 2002

Year	Administrative category	
	Public	Private
1996	183,513	450,723
1998	214,241	589,678
2002	295,354	1,477,733
$\Delta\%$ 1996-2002	60.9	227.8

Source: MEC/INEP.

Associated with the measures already mentioned are the incentive to distance education programs, with virtual courses, including undergraduate courses, and the adoption of the National Exam of Courses (ENC), which provided automatic expansion of vacancies, depending on the concept of the courses, as a means to streamline and make flexible the creation of courses in private IHEs.

Another important factor that contributed to the consolidation of the policy of privatization of higher education was the Fund for Financing Students in Higher Education (FIES), instituted by Provisional Measure n. 1.827/99, of May 27, 1999, and regulated by MEC Administrative Rule No. 860/99 (Brazil, 1999).

The FIES aimed at finance 70% of studies for students who had no conditions to pay their full costs in higher education institutions, provided they were properly enrolled in the private institutions enrolled in the program (Brazil, 1999). The loan interest rate was relatively low and the payment made after the end of the course, facilitating access to HEI, however, a guarantor was necessary, which ended up being a hindrance to the original idea of the program.

In 2001, as a proposal to reaffirm the policies implemented until then, the PNE was approved, guiding and restructuring Higher Education in the country for the next 10 years. From the vetoes in PNE 2001-2010, made by FHC, we verified that the search for accelerated expansion through diversification and differentiation, associated to the rationalization of resources, provided a growth of vacancies in the public sector at zero cost, contributing to the increase of new courses and expansion of vacancies in already existing courses of the private sector (Catani & Oliveira, 2003).

From the presidential vetoes to the PNE, mainly those related to the financing of education, consolidated the process of commodification, with the elimination of the financial resources that would guarantee the increase in the offer of vacancies in

the public sector, inducing the Federal Institutions of Higher Education (IFES) to assume a business profile in obtaining financial resources for its maintenance and development (Catani & Oliveira, 2003).

In sum, in relation to higher education in the eight years of the FHC government (1995-2003), the system of higher education in the country assumed a mercantilist and non-university character, since in 2002, of the 1,637 institutions that offered undergraduate courses, only 11.91% (195) was public and 88.09% (1,442) private; university education accounted for 9.89% (162), of which 82.16% (1,345) of the IHEs were colleges.

It was in this scenario that, from 2003, Luís Inácio Lula da Silva assumed the presidency, pointing out, in a speech, the challenge of incorporating the ethical-political agenda of university reform. Despite the expectation that this project would be strengthened, what happened, however, was the continuity of macroeconomic policy, being that the social policies remained fragmented, subordinated to economic logic, due to the agreement signed between the previous government and the IMF (Veloso, 2008).

Silva Júnior & Sguissardi (2005, p.9) add that Lula has assumed the presidency with the commitment to give:

[...] continuity of the same administrative political standards adopted by the previous government (Fernando Henrique Cardoso) in relation to the international financial capital - seen as presuppositions of the governability and the end of the country's external vulnerability, besides the recovery of the scandalous indices of social inequality [...]

Oliveira et al. (2005) report that still in the campaign, Lula came with a declared proposal to change the current economic model, obtaining considerable support from civil society, being a differential for the country's political succession, since it was a leftist candidate.

Regarding education, the Lula government program pointed out that:

It is necessary to break the prevailing logic that for the poorest are reserved the vacancies in unprepared public schools, during basic education, and the access to low-level private colleges and universities, while for the elite are earmarked for quality private schools, capable of preparing students able to gain, in the college entrance examinations, the best positions in the public universities in Brazil, where the highest level of higher education is concentrated. (Programa de Governo, 2004, p. 3)

There was a concern about the quality of teaching in the proposals presented by the Lula government, with an explicit intention to favor the democratization of access to Higher Education.

The higher education policies presented in this period introduced punctual and at the same time impactful measures, through various laws and decrees, as well as the establishment of new forms of regulation, supervision and financing.

Among the proposals of greater relevance, specifically for Higher Education, we can mention: a rescue in the goal of PNE, which proposed an increase of vacancies, so that they could meet 30% of the age group between 18 and 24 years; expansion of vacancies in the public sector to 40% of the total; expansion supervision; enlargement of public funding to the public sector and revision of the evaluation of higher education, as well as the implementation of a national evaluation system inspired by the Program of Evaluation of Brazilian Universities (PAIUB) (Programa de Governo, 2004).

After being elected, one of the first measures of President Lula was the creation of the Evaluation Special Committee (CEA), designed to prepare a new evaluation proposal for higher education, which presented at the end of its work the suggestion to create the National System of Higher Education Assessment (SINAES) (Barreyro, 2004).

In 2004 the SINAES Law (Law No. 10.861/2004) was sanctioned, establishing the evaluation in three instances: institution, course and students, in an interdependent way, aiming to improve quality in Higher Education. The results obtained through this evaluation served as a basis for the processes of regulation and supervision of Higher Education, defining the accreditation, renewal, authorization and recognition of undergraduate courses (Barreyro & Rothen, 2011).

Regarding the ENADE (National Exam of Student Performance), it was determined that the content to be evaluated should be in line with the curricular guidelines of the undergraduate course in question, being applied to the students of the first and last year, and functioning as a reference for the double regulation: state and market, differing from the Provão, which evaluated only the graduates (Barreyro & Rothen, 2011).

Also in 2004, the following laws and decrees were established:

- a) Decree No. 5205/2004, which regulated private support foundations within federal institutions of higher education (Brazil, 2004a);
- b) Decree No. 5225/2004, which amended Decree No. 3860/2001, which dealt with the organization of higher education and the evaluation of courses and institutions; and elevated the Federal Centers of Technological Education (CEFETs) to the category of Higher Education Institutions (Brazil, 2001b, 2004b);
- c) Law No. 11079/2004, which established the general rules for public-private partnership bidding and contracting (Brazil, 2004c); and
- d) Law No. 10973/2004, Technological Innovation Law, which presented incentives for innovation and for scientific and technological research (Brazil, 2004d).

In 2005, the creation of Law No. 11.096, of January 13, 2005, which established the University for All Program (PROUNI), which regulated the "purchase" of vacant positions in private institutions, thus allocating public funds to the private sector and tax exemption (Brazil, 2005a).

PROUNI came with the aim of offering "full and/or partial scholarships in the undergraduate courses of private higher education institutions" (Brazil, 2005a), due to the high rates of idle vacancies in institutions, which, according to data of INEP, in 2003, reached approximately 42.20% (Brazil, 2012), thus meeting the wishes of the entities representing the private sector.

It is important to point out that, as of 2006, the federal government granted a scholarship of R \$ 300,00 for transportation, food and teaching expenses for PROUNI beneficiaries who were enrolled in full-time undergraduate courses, being most of them in the health area (Brazil, 2005a).

For Lima (2007) the PROUNI defined the public-private partnership as a determinant for the resolution of the "default experienced by the private sector in the face of the increase in the amounts of tuition or annuities of private institutions of higher education and the level of progressive impoverishment of Brazilian workers".

PROUNI allowed private for-profit HEIs to be exempt from taxes and contributions in exchange for the availability of vacant positions. In this perspective, Gomes (2008) affirms that it was a differentiated attempt of the Lula government of the expansion of higher education since it associated the state financing of the private institutions through the fiscal exemption to the incorporation of part of the student population historically underrepresented in higher education.

With the concern for the quality of the education, another Federal Decree No. 5.773/06 was signed by the government in question, defining the terms regulation, supervision and evaluation as procedures, in which: the regulation deals with the authorization of institutions and courses operation; the supervision would take care of the consonance between vacancy offer and applicable legislation, and the evaluation was a reference for the processes of regulation and supervision, promoting an improvement of the quality of the offered courses (Barreyro & Rothen, 2011).

In addition to the terms presented, this decree established, specifically, the creation of undergraduate courses in Law, Medicine, Dentistry and Psychology, including in universities and university centers, the submission, respectively, to the manifestation of the Federal Council of the Order of Attorneys of Brazil or of the CNS, previously the MEC authorization.

Continuing the privatization reform of higher education, a set of normative measures was implemented to maintain, strengthen and continue the policy of expansion of higher education, under the logic of diversification and privatization during the Lula administration.

It is worth mentioning that the following legal instruments were also approved: Presidential Decree No. 5,622, dated 12/19/2005, which regulated distance education in Brazil and consolidated the opening of the Brazilian educational market to foreign capital (Brazil, 2005b); Draft Law No. 7.200/06, which emphasized distance education, including for the stricto sensu post-graduate courses (Brazil, 2006b). Within this context, we enumerate the main factors that favored the expansion of Higher Education in the Lula government: In 2003, the Federal Government launched the Expansion Program, Phase I, with the objective of promoting the regionalization of higher education in federal universities, allowing an increase in the number of courses and vacancies. The reflex of this program can be evaluated, when we analyze, for example, the growth rates of the IHEs number and the offer of undergraduate courses. In 2003 there were 44 federal universities, being 65.9% (29) in the capitals and 34.1% (15) in the interior, which offered 2,078 undergraduate courses, of which 52% in the capitals and 48% in the interior. In 2007, it was noticed that the incentive of the expansion to the interior regions of the country presented positive results since 11 federal universities were created, two of which located in the capitals and nine in the interior of the country. In the

same way, the offer of undergraduate courses registered an increase of 28%, which, in the capitals, represented growth of 9.6% and, in the interior, 47.9%. Thus, in 2007, 44.5% of the total number of courses offered by federal universities (1,185) was located in the capitals and 55% (1,475) in the interior.

In 2007, emerged the Restructuring Program of Federal Universities (REUNI), by Decree No. 6,096/2007 (Brazil, 2007a), which began to be put into practice in 2008. According to this regulation, the government adopted some measures to resume growth in public higher education, through the physical, academic and pedagogical expansion of the federal network of higher education, in order to increase access and permanence. This program, implemented in the Lula government, had the greatest impact on the IFES expansion process.

In this context, Carvalho (2006) and Dantas & Sousa Júnior (2009) argue that the Lula government, in the scope of educational policies, was marked both for continuity and for the rupture with respect to the previous government, affirmed by Table 3, which presents the number of on-site undergraduate courses in Brazil between 2002 and 2011, and its percentage of growth by administrative category and academic organization.

Table 3. Number of on-site undergraduate courses by administrative category and academic organization - Brazil - 2002, 2006, 2010, 2011

Year	Administrative category		Academic organization			
	Public	Private	Universities			Non-Universities
			Federal	State and Municipal	Private	
2002	5252	9147	2047	2552	3887	5913
2006	6549	15552	2464	3253	5835	10549
2010	8821	19756	4327	6393	6677	14443
2011	9368	20008	4506	3316	6631	14923
Δ% 2002-2011	78.37	118.74	120.13	29.94	70.59	152.38

Source: MEC/INEP.

It is worth mentioning in Table 3 the increase of 1,297 courses in public institutions, between 2002 and 2006, and 6,405 in private institutions, however, it must be considered that, in relation to previous periods, there was a higher growth rate for the public sector and, in the private sector, a decrease of this rate, however, higher education in Brazil in 2011 still remained predominantly offered by the private sector, with 68.1%, against 31.9% of the public sector, highlighting the fact that the concentration of this offer was made by non-university institutions.

With regard to the number of vacancies, it is relevant to make a comparison between the two governments highlighted in this study, mainly in view of the proposal instituted in the government of FHC, which required the increase of vacancies in the public sector, without transference of state resources, fruit of the neoliberal policies of the minimal state.

Table 4 shows the expansion of higher education through the number of vacancies, with the same trend in relation to the number of courses, with the public sector having higher rates than previous years and private sector with decreasing rates of education. It is necessary to consider in this analysis, mainly in view of the proposal instituted in the government of FHC, in which it was imposed the increase of vacancies for the public sector without transference of state resources, being that under Lula's government the programs were created with resources that encouraged this expansion. However, despite the implemented policies, PNE's objective, that 30% of vacancies offered in Higher Education was public, was far from being reached, since in 2011 these indicators corresponded to 15.02% for the public sector and 84.98% for the private.

However, it is necessary to relativize this vacancy offer by the private sector, since when we observe data on the inflows in this level of education in 2011, we found that of the total number of vacancies offered in the private sector, only 45.9%

were occupied, corresponding in the public sector to 87.96%.

Chaves et al. (2008) show that the policy of higher education implemented in these two governments was of private character, while Neves (2006) understands that the reforms carried out in the Lula government sealed a new social pact. Gomes (2008) affirms that FHC assumed a conservative neoliberal policy, marked by the competitiveness and uncontrollability of IHEs, and that Lula adopted a popular neoliberal policy, since he maintained the traces of the previous directive, but allied to the presence of the State, as was the case of PROUNI.

Table 4. Number of vacancies offered for on-site undergraduate courses by vestibular and other selective processes by administrative category - Brazil, 2002, 2006, 2010, 2011

Year	Administrative category	
	Public	Private
2002	295,354	1,477,733
2006	331,105	2,298,493
2010	445,337	2,674,855
2011	484,943	2,743,728
Growth rate		
Δ% 2002 - 2011	64.19	85.67

Source: MEC/INEP.

The policies implemented by these two governments justified the expansion of Higher Education, both in the public sector and now in the private sector. However, they created a paradox in terms of access, since, despite designing the country for scientific and technological development, with the diversification and institutional differentiation, it did not meet the society's expectations.

Final considerations

We find that from the 1990s, with the beginning of the State Reform and following the neoliberal premises, Higher Education in Brazil underwent a process of accelerated diversification and expansion, prioritizing the non-university commercial private sector.

In front of this scenario, Brazilian education was oriented to professional training in the market logic, seeking economic development, becoming a consumer good, even though in the official discourse it is still defined as an instrument of citizen training, favoring inclusion and social quality.

In this context, private institutions reached a prominent position, which brought the incorporation of a new public, diversifying the academic field thanks to the stimulus of the federal government, which made possible the expansion and diversification of higher education compatible with the government's goals.

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