EDUCATIONAL POLICIES IN BRAZIL SINCE 2002

Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the award of the degree of

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

AGHILESH S

Latin American Studies Programme
Centre for Canadian, US and Latin American Studies
School of International Studies
Jawaharlal Nehru University
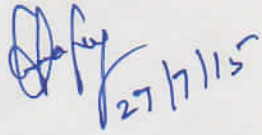New Delhi- 110067, INDIA
2015

Date: 21 July 2015

DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation entitled "**EDUCATIONAL POLICIES IN BRAZIL SINCE 2002**" submitted by me in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of **MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY** of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this university or any other university.

AGHILESH S

CERTIFICATE

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before examiners for evaluation.

Prof. Abdul Nafey

Chairperson, CCUS&LAS

Prof. Abdul Nafey

Supervisor

Acknowledgement

I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to my supervisor and the Chairperson of the Centre for Canadian, U.S. and Latin American Studies Prof. Abdul Nafey, for the immense support and guidance I received from him throughout the process of writing this dissertation. If not for the immeasurable patience and consistent concern from his side, at every step, I would not have produced this work. I cannot thank him enough for being the most encouraging and inspiring supervisor that he has always been.

I take this opportunity to thank Dr. Priti Singh, not only for her illustrious lectures throughout my M.A. and M.Phil. coursework, but also for the invaluable insights and directions that shaped my understanding greatly and in turn became instrumental in writing this work. She has always been one of the most welcoming and approachable presence at the Centre.

I am also grateful to the Centre for Canadian, U.S. and Latin American Studies for providing me with an opportunity of research. I thank all the professors of this centre for providing us students with a plethora of opportunities for academic growth.

Lastly, I thank my parents and friends who have stood by me in this, otherwise tiresome journey.

Contents

Chapter: 1

Introduction

Chapter: 1
Introduction

Education remains to be one of the foundational pillars of modern democracies, not only at the level of individual development of its citizens, but also at the socio-cultural and economic progress at large. The multifaceted nature of the process of education makes it impossible for us to approach the theme solely from any one of the areas like that of economy or culture. It requires us to undertake a detailed and nuanced survey of the historical and contemporary peculiarities of the region under consideration. Moreover, if one is to deal with the crises faced by a particular system of education in a geo-political entity, its relationships with its neighbours as well as the international community is to be kept in mind.

The challenges faced by the post-colonial societies across the globe in the intellectual and cultural fields are rooted in their complex history of multilayered domination and exploitation during the colonial past. Coupled with the present political excesses, military subversions of democracy, unstable economies and volatile indigenous uprisings, these societies have to tackle the sensitive issue of education from all sides.

In this work I intend to look at the conceptual as well as practical inequalities in the educational policies, especially the relevance of affirmative action in them in the context of Brazil, situating the country in its historical as well as regional specificities. Its location in the Latin American continent is to be studied as an important factor, so are the racial, economic as well as cultural variables. In the following section I briefly state the methodology adopted for the study, the review of major literature used, the research questions posed and the hypotheses tested. I also incorporated the brief summaries of the chapters in the dissertation here. Now let us enter into the debates about the Brazilian situation with regard to education.

The Context of Education Policy Reforms and Inclusive Education

In the 1990s Brazil was suffering from low quality school system then, this country was poor by all standards (Elacqua and Alves 2014). More than one in four citizens lived in intense poverty, elementary school completion rate was less than half and enrolment to the higher education institution from high schools was less than 15 percent (Darby 2010). Quality of schooling during this time period was miserable. The average spending on each student was inadequate. Public expenditure on education made up to two percent of GDP which was the lowest in the 1990s, with many other countries in the world (World Bank 2012).

Educational inequality happens to the Brazilian children since the initial ages of their life. Schools offer basic and high school education, were not adequately funded and provided low quality education with some exceptions. Many rural schools still lack primary resources like water and electricity. Most of the schools were devoid of text books and other essential materials. School teachers were not adequately qualified and lacked formal training (Horta 2011). Schools in Brazil lacked performance motivations as well. The political connections of the local administrators placed most of the public school teachers and principals. Brazil's stiff teacher employment law which was administering the public education system, made it difficult to encourage high performers or to expel school teachers whose performance is not up to the mark (IDB 2008). Private primary schools benefit out of the enrollment from economically well off class which includes the upper middle class as well, while Afro-descendants and mixed race students from the poor or working class background attend public

schools (Junior Et.al 2011). They are not offered adequate competitive training to succeed in the selection process for public universities. Hence education in Brazil means a serious paradox. The "white" in Brazil belongs to the high net worth and middle class whereas the Afro-descendants are seen among the deprived or the working class. This absence of Afro-descendants in the middle class is mainly because they are represented poorly in the universities of Brazil. This absurdity of underrepresentation of Afro-descendants makes educational reforms including Affirmative Action at higher education a heated debate as they could reallocate the admission to desired, good publically owned universities which are again capable of improving one's income and thus the social status (World Bank 2012).

The Brazilian education system sustained to replicate as well as contribute to the massive social inequalities in the country even in the last decade of the 20th century (Souza 2012). The process of uneven development model of the country created the inequalities, and explains stark unevenness in most of the fields of educational progression of decades and the below average educational qualifications of the people (Burton 2010). The fact that backs the arguments is that, almost 45 percent of the senior earning member of the low income families have never been enrolled to school or dropped out before finishing an academic year (JBIC Sector Study 2004). The education funding had not been in proportion. Lion's share of the education finance was channeled to higher education. Corruption acted as an important reason behind the pitiable condition of the schools (Pierce 2013).

Another interesting phenomenon was that the departments for law, medicine, and engineering in the universities across the nation were specifically likely to be "virtually all white". These statistics described another fact concerning discrimination, and the element is that 98.5 per cent of Brazilian judges, 99 per cent of Brazilian diplomats, and also the 81 per cent senators of Brazil are white. This also shows that Illiteracy remains twice as high among Afro-descendants than whites, which is mainly due to persistently underfunded public schools (Wilkes 2012).

In 1985, the departing military regime has left an educational legacy by offering various educational challenges to the initial governments of the new democratic era (Burton 2010). On the one hand when the military had managed an upsurge in the size of the educational requirements at all levels, on the other there was a difference

between sector wise needs and funding. Most of federal government's expenditure went to the minor higher education sector. The powerful and relatively uncontrolled private sector institutions have widened the complexity in the sector. By 1995, the reforms in educational sector were in long overdue. Various steps had been taken to introduce a complete and incorporative national education Plan following the 1988 constitution (Baumann 2001).

But for the last 15 years, (which was also the period of democratization) Brazil has made significant developments in the area of education. The number of people joining schools as well as higher education institutions is on the rise. By using a public administration framework, Brazil has transformed its education system. The primary and secondary education now serves over 95 percent of the students. Average schools years in the basic education have also been doubled.

To characterize the progress of each school, Brazil has also implemented education achievement measurement mechanisms using as international standard index. The student based funding formulas has been formed, which distributes funds righteously within states. To lift the coming generation out of the deprived socioeconomic background by providing education, Brazil has even extended conditional cash transfers to poor families. The government has been persuading the municipal and state authorities to make initiatives to improve the educational efficiency of schools. As an effort to make the higher educational institutions more inclusive the Universities have been implementing affirmative action (social quotas) policies. The advancement Brazil made in the recent past suggests that it has implemented government policies with a clear focus which seem to produce some significant. Though Brazil is one of the fastest improving countries in terms of quality of education, reform is still a top priority (OECD 2012).

Silva's study reveals that affirmative action policies were implemented in the educational institutions for the first time, before any other public institutions and it has increased the presence of minorities in the prestigious public university campuses. Other non-federal universities sought to adopt the quotas and to offer solutions to the problem of racial profiling in their own different ways (Silva 2007).

Junior and others have examined the circumstances that lead to the formulation of Affirmative Action and stated that education related inequality happens to the Brazilian children since the initial ages of their life. Except very few schools, almost all public, elementary and middle schools are poorly funded and provide low-quality education. Thus the rich community including the upper middle class send their children to private primary schools, while the children of poor or blue-collar families, comprises mostly of Afro-descendants are forced to depend on public schools (Junior et.al 2011).

In Brazil, the advancement in education has served the purpose of decreasing income inequality. Even though the gap remains learning achievement of students from the lower quarter have been showing progress, particularly the quick improvement since 2006. The bigger change is not access to primary school but the much higher share of children who stay in school through secondary education (Burns.et.al 2012).

Despite the increase in enrolments and attendance over the past two decades, the completion of secondary school has still proved to be a challenge. Brazil is still struggling with basic literacy for the majority of its students. With students of varied ages and backgrounds and also with the teachers who may not have the competence to deliver effective education in this environment, grade repetitions increase complexity of the classrooms. The performance of Brazil's education system when compared to international standards is poor. Brazil's performance is broadly in line with the other Latin American countries that have participated in the Programme for International Student Assessment Student learning attainment is far behind other nations from the developing world (OECD 2012).

The efforts after the 1988 constitution concentrated on putting students in schools and avoiding grade repetition, while in the 2000s the efforts were to focus on quality of education. In the present scenario, the core equity issue in Brazilian education has shifted from equalizing access to equalizing learning attainment. Nationwide full-day schools will have to be the focus of the next ten year plan for education since mobilizing the infrastructure and human resources will require an investment that is huge. The real catalyst for school improvement in Brazil has been the setting of targets for each school through IDEB (The School performance Index). This has added public pressure to the push for improved school performance. Schools that

show great progress are given great autonomy, while schools that remain low performers are given additional attention and assistance.

This cash transfer programme has contributed to greater income distribution among beneficiaries, at the same time in the educational sphere it has led to an increase in school enrolments and attendance. Evidence associated with the *Bolsa Escola* is broadly in line with overall educational trends. Although it has contributed to increased enrolments and school attendance, it has not made significant impact on learning.

Federal funds to states with poor resources have given their school resources more comparable to those available to schools in wealthier states. The current government proposed the goal of raising expenditure to seven percent of GDP on education. However, Brazil also spends more than Mexico, Chile, India and Indonesia which have similar demographic profile.

The illiteracy rate is high in Brazil. The challenges to Brazilian educational system are endemic. Brazil's major obstacles in the field of education are teacher quality, infrastructure and student commitment and the highly decentralized education system. An important change was the expansion of mandatory schooling for every individual from ages 7 to 14 to ages 4 to 17 to be implemented gradually by 2016.

Review of Literature
The literature in English which covers the themes Education policy reforms, Education inequality and affirmative action is abundant. Primary sources include documents and reports by international organization and research institutes and secondary sources which include academic journal articles and online sources have been reviewed for the study. The themes in the literature review part would follow the order of the chapterisation of the dissertation.

Though Brazil is one of the fastest improving countries in terms of quality of education, educational reform is still a top priority. Brazilian educational system faces endemic challenges. The government's response has taken a different direction from

neo-liberal approach to education reform in the mid 1990s. Privatization and downsizing of bureaucracy in education was initiated by Fernando Henrique Cardoso administration (1994-2002). The current government is investing more in education today which is the reason to take a different approach from Cardoso's policies (Gomez 2011).

Educational System under the Democratic Rule

It is reported by OECD (2010: pp. 4) education became an important place in the national and local level policy agendas since the 1990s. Child labour is still a vital problem even though for children under the age 16, was outlawed in the constitution. Around 88 per cent of the children between the ages of 5 and 15 did not work; 8.4 per cent were working as well as attending schools. The rest of the children remained at home or worked. The northern and northeastern regions of Brazil had the most number of working children population and their major occupation was in the field of agriculture. In 1994, Cardoso got elected as President and he brought in a number of changes in the policy of education. In the 1996 law of Directives and bases of National Education made a clear format for the responsibilities of the federal, state and municipal governments in education and the federal government was given the responsibilities of managing the national level policies and ensuring the quality of education provided across the country (OECD 2010: 4).

According to Plank (1996), in the educational arena, the independence of Brazil marks the first transformation in 1821. The first constitution of 1824 guaranteed free and universal elementary education and it initiated the establishment of basic level public schools in cities, towns and villages all over Brazil (Plank 1996). Alves is adding to the point that through ''Additional Act'' the basic education system was decentralized in 1834 (Alves *et al.* 2012) and Stanek (2013), Maciel and Nato (2006) have also said that in 1889 when the country became a republic, as a landmark move the responsibility of policy making and management of elementary education was decentralized. The education went through several other changes in 20th century (Stanek 2013; Maciel and Neto 2006).

The present system of education in Brazil functions according to the Constitution framed in 1988, which is the new democratic period. IEM Spotlight (2013) reported that this Constitution identifies education as a universal right and guarantees compulsory and free basic education (IEM Spotlight 2013). In addition to this, Nunes (2004) has stated that, the constitution makes it mandatory for the government to promote and protect the education and through the Ministry of Education; the Federal Government of Brazil regulates the educational system. The different states receive the finance and directions from the federal government and the individual states are responsible for implementing them. Different offices at the municipality, state and federal levels which are co-ordinated as well as supervised by the ministry is administering education sector here (Nunes 2004).

As per the report of comparative education documents, after the adoption of the new Constitution in the year 1988, large scale reforms took place in the area of education in Brazil. Since then, education has achieved a prominent place in the Brazilian national scenario. Educational policy is to be formulated by the Federal Council of Education with the help of the Ministry of Education. The Ministry of Education has the responsibility of supervising schools and giving aid to federal universities according to the Comparative Education Documents.

Pierce discusses that the National Education Guidelines and Framework Law (LDB) were the most relevant policies regarding education which overlapped with the social policy centralization in the mid-1990s (Pierce 2013). The law that was approved in 1996 had new provisions for the improvement of the system. (IBE 2010) According to Motter the LDB was developed in consultation with many experts in the field and other stakeholders like teachers, parents and school authorities (Motter 2008). In brief, LDB tried to address some fundamental questions regarding regional disparities in the education system by standardizing many things including the curricula, working hours, methods of evaluation and a larger plan to increase the participation of the indigenous groups (Pierce 2013).

 Minassian talks about the creation of a fund (FUNDEF) constituted with the contributions of states and municipalities. Each of them was to contribute 15 per cent of their revenues and the rest of the funds needed to cover minimum level of expenditure were to be inserted by the federal government. In 2007, it was expanded

through a constitutional amendment that increased the share of states and municipalities from 15 to 20 per cent of their respective revenues (Minassian 2012).

According to Gomez, the creation of the Fund for the Maintenance and Development of Basic Education and Appreciation of Educational professionals-FUNDEB strengthened the financing for basic education. It also changed the age criterion for the expansion of 'mandatory schooling' for all the children from that of 7-14 to 4-17. (Education for All 2015 National Review report: Brazil)

Castro & Burstyn (2008) and Reiter (2012) opine that the poor parents are forced to make their children work in order to make a living for the family and hence, it is not out of choice the children drop out of school. A social program called *"Bolsa Escola"* was started in 1995 in capital Brasilia under the Governorship of Chritovam Buarque, which offered incentives to parents to keep their children in school. The parents could get some amount of money if they kept their children in schools as to compensate for the loss in the domestic income (Castro and Burstyn 2008; Reiter 2012). In 2003, when Lula assumed power in Brazil, this programme was combined with some hunger eradication programmes and moulded a new programme known as *Bolsa Familia* (Family Allowance) at the national level. In 2006 legislation was passed extending the length of compulsory schooling by one year and making the primary education a nine year long process. The age limit for the pre-school and school entry was lowered. It was implemented in 2009 (World Bank Report 2012).

IDB Education Report mentions that in 2005, the SAEB (*Sistema Nacional de Avaliação da Educação Básicabegan*) established two kinds of tests of assessment as follows; a sample based assessment called ANEB and a population based assessment named *provão Brazil* (The Test of Brazil). (IDB Education 2010; IEM Spotlight 2013) This is conducted at the last semester of the course and has 18 subjects in it. In the year 2000, more than 2,700 university courses (more than two lakhs students) were examined by the *provão* (IEM Spotlight 2013).

SINAES is another system that aims to ensure the existence of a national process for evaluating higher education courses and academic performance of students. INEP shows that this law is based on the need to improve the quality of higher education, improve institutional efficiency and effectiveness both academically and socially and

to increase the social commitments and responsibilities of higher education institutions (INEP 2011).

Scholars like Becker and Costa believes that censuses are essential tools in encouraging quality in education as the census reports show the authorities the real situation on ground from the stakeholders themselves. The school census gathers data based on the public policies on basic education, as well as rules are created in order to improve the accountability of the administration in the distribution of resources (Becker and Costa 2013).

Ministry of Education, Brazil has proclaimed that other regional comparative studies like the one carried out by the Latin American Laboratory for Assessment of the Quality of Education (LLECE) and by the UNESCO's Regional Office for Latin America and the Caribbean (OREALAC) are also taken into account while formulating policies.

Folha de Sao Paulo argues that over the past 20 years, education policy in Brazil has undergone an extensive change. In 1995, Fernando Henrique Cardoso declared education as one of its key priorities. In 2002 the '*Partido dos Trabalhadores'* (PT) of Lula da Silva was elected to the federal government. The president designated education as a means 'to democratize the access to knowledge and power and thus to make Brazil a Knowledge Society that is globally competitive'. There had been a number of changes, as we already discussed above. Certainly there are more children and young people attending school and receiving education than ever before. Burton describes the Lula government focuses on education in an unprecedented manner and this can be understood from the PDE (The Education development Plan). It explores the connection between educational improvements and economic advancement and the means to achieve both these (Burton 2012).

A new National Plan for Education (*Plano Nacional de Educacao*-PNE), have been contributed by the objectives laid out in the PDE ,and it was presented in DEC 2010,which replaced the previous 2001-2010 version (PNE 1) which was introduced by the Cardoso government (Burton 2012). He concludes that through congress, the mainstream political activity in the educational sector during 2011 is to be dealt with passage of PNE 2. The PNE 1 and PDE create the basic structure of the PNE 2. In

April 2007, PDE was introduced as a result of the process of 'internal analysis and drafting' at the MEC. The two reasons made PDE significant. Firstly, through the PNE 1 decade, it gave a valuation of the direction of education policy until then. It also provided the first broad and detailed perspective of the ruling party on education (Burton 2012).

The education development Plan, according to Motter was launched in the first half of 2007. During the second term of Lula government, the plan redefined the educational agenda which represents a clear departure from the historical platform of PT which was the leader of the coalition government (Motter 2009).

The Literate Brazil Programme (PBA) was launched in 2003 with the objective of achieving universal literacy for adults and young people over 15 years of age. In collaboration with UNESCO, this programme attempted to attract the targeted groups towards primary and secondary education. For these initiatives, the federal government works with the local and state administrations and the funds for teacher training, provision of school material, food and transport are also devolved nationally (de Castro 2001).

Affirmative Action Policies (Social Quota System)

Downie and Lloyd trace the background of Brazil where Affirmative Action originated. They outline that, statistics and sociological studies reveal a long legacy of racial/colour inequality despite the claim of racial democracy. Approximately 50 percent of Brazilians now describes themselves as white, and only less than 7 percent describe themselves as Afro descendant. With less than 1 percent who descended from the indigenous people who were present before the colonial period, most of the rest of population belongs to mixed race. In the universities of Brazil, only less than 3 percent students are Afro descendants, and minority is of mixed racial descent. Other examples also denote the continuing discrimination, and in the early 21st century Brazil began to experiment with affirmative action in higher education (Downy and Lloyd 2010).

Cicalo put forward, that Affirmative action envisions differential in the rights, for different sectors of the population, which is traditionally called as marginalized groups such as women, racial or ethnic groups, religious minorities and disabled people. This idea even recalls the theory proposed by John Rawls named as 'Justice as Fairness'. It occupies a significant place in theories of 'equality through difference' which is popular in liberal multiculturalism (Cicalo 2012).

In Fullwinder's opinion, though affirmative action focuses on education and jobs, the main aim of affirmative action policies is that all marginalized social groups, especially the black Afro-descendants should have equal access to all opportunities like education, employment, promotion etc. and any financial support from the state should be given equally for both whites and other marginalized groups. Affirmative action was thus proposed as a temporary step in order to ensure a level playing field for all since, for centuries all these were monopolized by the whites alone (Fullwinder 2013).

Junior and others discuss on the national programs which is commenced by Cardoso to support the process of affirmative action. In May 2002, when the Second National Plan on Human Rights was started the Congress did not approve of it. This had the agenda of implementing 'race-conscious' affirmative action. Later, the Affirmative Action National Program was launched which encompassed obligatory quotas for both Afro-descendants and women at the federal bureaucracy and as workers in governmental contracts. But the program was not implemented due to many other issues. When Lula assumed power, he went further by creating the Secretariat for Policies Promoting Racial Equality (SEPPIR), a ministry-level agency that addresses discrimination (Junior *et al.* 2011).

Scholars like Alvarado and Evensen cite that in 2012, the current President of Brazil Dilma Rousseff signs up the most comprehensive affirmative action laws in the Western Hemisphere which is known as The Law of Social Quotas (*Lei de Cotas Sociais*). This law ensures that all federal universities should confirm that half of their intake comes from public schools within a span of four years of time as the seats reserved for marginalized students will be based on the percentage of the minority population in the state where each public university is located (Alvaradao 2012; Evensen 2014).

Online source Oxford Human Rights hub opines that in June 2014, the president of Brazil signed a new bill which launches an affirmative action programme based on race for federal civil servant positions across the country. The bill reserves 20 percent of these positions for Brazilian Afro descendants (Afro-descendants and *pardos* (mixed race individuals). It is also applied to public companies controlled by federal government of Brazil (Oxford Human Rights Hub).

According to Wilkes another interesting phenomenon was that the departments for law, medicine, and engineering in the universities across the nation were specifically likely to be "virtually all white". These statistics described another fact concerning discrimination, and the element is that 98.5 per cent of Brazilian judges, 99 per cent of Brazilian diplomats and also 81 per cent senators of Brazil are white. This also shows that Illiteracy remains twice as high among Afro-descendants than whites, which is mainly due to persistently underfunded public schools (Wilkes 2012). In addition to this, Cicalo traces the period before the implementation of affirmative action, during this phase came the origin of 'new social movements' based on group identities such as race, ethnicity, religion and gender due to the introduction of democracy in the country. These movements with its transnational connections played a very vital role in the consciousness raising factors which helped in the implementation of affirmative action policies in Brazil (Cicalo 2013).

Bernardino and Rosa give an account of the initiatives through which, Afro-Brazilian activists organised for a number of state, regional and national preparatory conferences after the Durban Conference which was an influence on movements. The discussions were held at the National Conference, a month before the World Conference i.e. during 6-8 July 2001, in the state of Rio de Janerio against Racism and Intolerances. And this further aided the creation of the Brazilian document that was submitted in Durban (Bernardino and Rosa 2013).

Santos and Anya note that in 2001 when the nation's media began to debate the subject of race in Brazil, they stressed on the reporting of the Durban conference too. Afro-Brazilian activist Ivanir dos Santos had argued that since the issue of race and the condition of Afro- descendants in Brazil has been discussed so much in the media from all perspectives and in detail, now this issue cannot be ignored or erased from the public memory ever. Due to the nation's history of extensive racial miscegenation

and lack of rigorous racial classifications, it will be very difficult to decide the genuine beneficiaries of affirmative action among Afro- descendants when it is even difficult to decide who is an Afro- descendant (Santos and Anya 2006).

Datafolha and Bains in their respective studies confirm that surveys conducted in Brazil also indicate the public perception on Affirmative Action. It found out that there is a division in the public opinion considering the topic of affirmative action policies (Datafolha 2008; Bains 1997). UOL agrees to it by giving an instance of a survey conducted in Brazil during the year 2006 showed that the majority of the people support such policies, like 65 per cent of people are in favour of racial quotas while the 87 per cent support quotas for low income students (UOL 2006). Feres and Daflon and Rajalakshmi and Tripathi also supported the view by stating that the same is true in the academic ambiance. But, media portrays the impression that unfavourable opinions out number favourable as affirmative action critics conquer a large amount of place than its defenders (Feres and Daflon 2009; Rajalakshmi and Tripathi 2008).

Bernardino and Rosa observe that towards the end of the 1990s, Afro descendant members of the legislative branch brought together a proposal for affirmative action methods for them, simultaneously with the measures of the plan of executive government. The Senators who proposed quotas for Afro-descendant students in public universities, in public administration, and private enterprises are Abdias Nascimento and Benedita da Silva. Few other concrete affirmative action steps were also taken until 2001 apart from all these measures (Bernardino and Rosa 2013).

Sergio da Silva remarked that the concepts of fairness and justice are used by both proponents and opponents of affirmative action to defend their opinions, which make it challenging to reach the level of consensus. Affirmative action has the prospective to touch everyone from higher education admissions to employment practices. That is why since its foundation, affirmative action has become a widely contested topic. The underlying question is that whether the real problems faced by the minorities would be addressed by the policy or not. As we move from the left to the right of the political spectrum, the support for the policy is reduced. The extreme right demands to repudiate the policy completely (Da Silva 2007).

Roberto Borges Martins studied about Racial Democracy and put forward that Fernando Henrique Cardoso, a young sociologist had played a prominent role in the demolition of the myth of racial democracy, and recognized racial inequality as a major component of social injustice in Brazil along with addressing the question of right in his inauguration speech, and the problem is to be tackled. The true escalation in mobilization and awareness, within the government, in the media, as well as in the society at large is resulted from the preparation for Durban conference itself and its aftermath caused a triggering chain of events that raised the questions of race and racial inequality to new heights in Brazil. National programme of affirmative action created by a presidential decree of May 13, 2002 with the aim of extending the pilot programs of ministries to the entire executive branch of the federal Government. The implementation of this programme began with the realization of the racial census of the federal government and it determines the establishment of quantitative quotas for Afro descendants and for women at the upper levels of the administration. In the past couple of years through the introduction of quota system several public and private universities began to discuss the prospect of adopting affirmative action policies. The controversy of raging encompasses the whole collection of traditional arguments pro and against the quota system. Much of it merely reproduces the never ending and well known discussion about fairness, legality, constitutionality, effectiveness, surrounded the issue of affirmative action (Martins 2003).

Andre Cicalo asks the question that whether these measures 'racialise' universities in Brazil further, for instance to 'feel Black' for these reservations and increase the social difference even though the purpose of affirmative policies is exactly the opposite. In a country like Brazil, which has strong ideas of racial mixture as the basis of their legacy, racial policies like affirmative action might help to essentialise racial division (Cicalo 2013).

Browns (*Pardos* or mixed race) are the majority of the non-white population in Brazil and their average socio economic profile is very much similar to that of the Afro-descendant population according to Júnior and Toste. Even then only very few policies recognize them unequivocally as beneficiaries as in most cases, it is obligatory to identify them as Afro-descendants in order to qualify for the benefits. Compounding this problem, it should also be noted that in many regions of the

country (North, Center-west, and parts of the Northeast and Southeast) many people who identify as brown have no clear African ancestry. This problem may be solved by the adoption of IBGE (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics) colour categories, which 45 per cent of the universities with racial Affirmative Action programs have already done (Júnior and Toste 2009).

Cicalo has stated that the typical white and middle-class groups of students who have dominated Brazilian public universities are diversified by the system of quotas especially on the most prestigious courses of study. The combination of Students of different colors and social backgrounds are more regular as 'equals' in the academic space (Cicalo2012).

Henriques and Jaccoud e Beghin perceive that frequently the members of the academic arena in Brazil started conveying that the policy is an imported foreign policy model which is an overall exogenous perception of race, and since racial relations in Brazil greatly differ from those practices in the United States it should be disqualified and they also condemn the validity of affirmative action. Despite the fact that several statistical studies showing many different categories for race and colour in Brazil and the existence of the great social and economic inequalities between whites and non-whites, the argument is dominant (Henriques 2001; Beghin 2002).

Several scholars report that in each country, the status of affirmative action is thus different. In Brazil it is depended on how the articles are interpreted and also on the approval of auxiliary legislation. This however has not prevented the affirmative action from the frequently questioning of its constitutional validity, which is usually based on the claim that it violates the constitutional principle of formal equality (Bains 1994; Maggie *et al.* 2007).

According to Schwartzman and Silva (2012), the data collected from the two national surveys shows that there is widespread, stable support for affirmative action and has even shown a slight growth between the period of 1995 and 2008 and it was also during this period that the debate on racial quotas to public universities gained public attention. Nevertheless, Brazilians also show an inclination towards colour-blind policies, when given that option. This influence may explain the second point. And that is, in the early 2000 the racial criteria were dominant to the initial implementation

of affirmative action but by the end of this decade most institutions had public school students as their main target beneficiaries, with race often being a secondary criterion (Schwartzman and Da Silva 2012).

Cicalo has also added that the quotas ended up diversifying the typically white and middle-class group of students that have monopolised Brazilian public universities, especially in the most prestigious courses of study. Students of different colours and social backgrounds now mix more consistently as 'equals' in the academic space (Cicalo 2012).

Wilkes (2012) finally advocated that the supporters hope to turn a new page in Brazilian race relations with the road of the significant legislation of implementing affirmative action in the judiciary. Exponents of such activities got their principal sensitivity in October 2014, when the primary afro descendant Supreme Court judge was appointed president of the highest court in Brazil. They hope that giving chance to more poor students for studying at universities will gradually result in a national political and business leadership which is an additional representative of highly diverse population of Brazil. How to include all segments of their societies in the economic prosperity was the question which remained. Its advocates hope that by experimenting with affirmative action it will begin to answer this question (Wilkes 2012).

Addressing Educational Inequality

Parijis (2004) comments that formal interpretation of justice as equality of opportunities dominates the present educational system. This is supported by the assumption that such a quality of opportunity would be ensured by the elimination of discrimination and it also assumes that in order to consider an education system fair, individuals should be treated equally. Hence the existing skills and competencies go along with the evaluation of the individual merit. Apple supports this assumption by adding that individuals are considered apart from their social roles and positions in educational institutions and he called it as the de-politicisation of the educational context. It is mainly due to the approach that the institutions and the educational processes are considered as "independent", "objective" and "neutral" from the social

inequalities and power structures. He also added that the individual is deprived of race, class and gender in the context (Parijis 2004; Apple 2005).

Dubet also refers to the problems related to the centrality of merits and formal interpretations as equality of opportunities. According to the author, in recent decades, after the extensive access to public education, school is in a situation of paradox where on the one hand, schools within its own principles and accompanying massification, affirms that all children must have same priority and same value even when admitting the fact that social conditions can affect the recognition of their qualities and their development and on the other hand, school is meritocratic and it could not be different. Based on their merits, it orders ranks and categorises the individuals, and on the other side it postulate that these individuals are equal (Debet 2003).

Amartya Sen (1999), George Psacharopulos (1993) and John Gaventa (2010) demonstrated that there is an important link that connects economic growth to democracy, citizen participation and education. If the government of Africa, Latin America and Asia can make the most cost effective investment and it is in the public primary education. During 1993 George Psacharpulos in a World Bank paper finds that "primary education continues to yield high returns in developing countries, and the returns decline by the level of schooling and a country's per capita income." Psacharpulos another finding is primary education continues to exhibit the highest social profitability in all worlds region among the three main levels of education. Overall, compared to education of males returns to female education are higher but the pattern is more mixed at individual levels of education.

Langoni (1973), Jallade (1978), Ramos (1991), Mendonca (1995), Ferriera (2000) Barbosa Filho and Pessoa (2008) are some other scholars who have studied the various aspects of the history and present of Brazil.

OECD (2003) presents that improvements in the expansion of education are marked recently in Brazil, but it is not necessarily the quality. In fact, the Brazilian educational system has failed to prepare most children to function in a modern society according to the national and international assessments. PISA evaluation has indicated that majority of the 15 year old Brazilians enrolled in seventh and eighth grade can

decode, but not necessarily understand what they read. Similar results were depicted by National assessment like SAEB (National system evaluation of basic education) from 1997 to 2003.It systematically demonstrated that in each of the grades tested 60 % to 80% of students fail to reach the minimum standard of fourth, eighth and eleventh grades (OECD Report 2003).

Psacharaopoulos confirmed that in terms of educational development, Brazil is a world outlier and compared to many other countries of similar level of economic development schooling statistics are much worse. Naturally, in order to diagnose the problem and design operations that would fill the gap; this situation has provided fertile ground for international assistance agencies such as the World Bank and the Inter-American development Bank (Psacharaopoulos 1997).

Burton affirms that the quality and performance of educational system in Brazil of education remains poor and it's still proved to be a challenge to complete the secondary school. Lomeli supports it by saying that students drop out rate is mainly contributed by grade repetition. Cash transfer programme like *Bolsa Escola* has also not made any discernable impact on learning mainly due to its design, as performance outcomes were not set an objective by policy makers.

Mariline Proenca and Miguel Naneve states that *'Fracasso escolar'* literally translated as "school failure" is been blamed by the Brazilian and Latin American researchers and policy makers for this situation. It is even considered as a complex phenomenon which comprising and interrelating low achievement, grade repetition and stop out. Schwartzman (2004) backs this argument by adding that Brazil shows the highest school lags in the region of primary schooling, where repletion and stop out rates are higher compared to most of the other countries. Louzano (2004) added that actually, almost half of the fourth graders in the country have either repeated a grade or stopped out of school (Proenca and Naneve 2002).

Wirth perceived that foster local control of the school and the effort to break long established patronage networks are coming up against the interests of the political class and congress and is hampered by the cumbersome revenue provisions of constitutions that favors rural areas and the north over the developed Center-South. In the past, Brazil has produced outstanding educators such as Paulo Freire and Anisio

Texeira and the timing is ripe for new leadership to emerge (Wirth 1997). Bernardino & Rosa (2013) explain that the total Brazilian population is of 191.7 million, 48.2% of white and 51.1% Afro descendants. Among them, there are 11.2 million college graduates, of whom 73.7% are white and only 24.4% are afro descendants (Bernardino and Rosa 2013).

Ekey remarked that racial discrimination was the result of the legacy of slavery and the inability of Brazilian blacks to adapt to capitalism according to Florestan Fernandes. But, Carlos Hasenbalg, sociologist, is the first to conduct research controlling for class and still demonstrates racial inequality in 1979. Subsequent researches have even verified this. Fry states that "research on social mobility indicates that nonwhite members of the middle and upper classes experience less social mobility than similarly placed whites and that they have more trouble transferring their new status to their children" (Ekey 2010).

According to OECD report of 2010, in Brazil, on average whites has seven years of education, while Blacks and browns attain only five. Nonetheless, with significant progress over the last decade, it is evident that racial differences have decreased over time, by analyzing trends in educational access. Since 2003, regardless of race, most of the children who are aged of 7 to 14 years old have been enrolled in school. However, the racial gap was closed in access and it is not accompanied by equality in opportunities to learn and progress in school. In Brazil educational opportunities are not the same for both white children and children belongs to afro descendants. Only half of the student unit who started first grade will finish eighth grade in a timely fashion by the end of compulsory schooling as per the reports of IPEA (2006). Primary school students stay in school for an average of 8.5 years, but it takes more than 11 years to complete primary school. Oliveira (2007) concludes this discussion by stating that only a little over the 50 percent of those starting first grade will be able to complete compulsory schooling in a timely fashion. Thus the question arises as despite this historical increase in educational enrolments, why do inequalities in the completion of compulsory schooling remain a problem in Brazil.

According to Mariline Proenca and Miguel Naneve educational opportunities in Brazil are not equally distributed. On an average than the white students, Afro-descendants tend to achieve at lower levels and are more likely to have a history of repetition. However, the study also found that children from different racial and socioeconomic backgrounds are directed to different schools. When white and high SES children go to resourceful schools, afro descendants and low SES children are channeled to less resourced schools. Additionally this research found that the same policies that can potentially bring about excellence are also associated with inequalities between low and high performing students (Proenca and Naneve 2002).

Rationale and Scope of the Study

Scholars generally concur that Brazil has achieved significant advances in the area of education through several reform programs in the last two decades. Now, every child spends at least 7 years in school. Its education system has been changed due to the usage of a public administration framework. It could expand the reach of basic public education to over 95 per cent of the population and the average years of education have almost increased two times as has the promotion of adults who have completed secondary school. Still however, Brazil is a long way off from fulfilling the goal of 'Education for All'. Thus an attempt is made to study the societal structure of Brazil with regards to its educational field. And an evaluation has been made whether Brazil has achieved the state where everyone gets equal opportunity of education.

Access to schooling does not guarantee quality of education and equality in education irrespective of the rich-poor divide. The quality of education and the teaching facilities are different from public to private schools. So the people who belong to upper middle class and above depend on private schools, the poor ones are forced to depend on public schools and thus even their university admissions get failed. Brazil still faces difficulties which are historical and regional and also socio-economic. Quality of education is yet to be achieved.

The focus thus is on the reasons for persisting inequality in the domain of education. It will also examine the educational policies and programs with focus on affirmative action policy that have been implemented to combat underrepresentation of certain groups in the domain of university education. The proposed study will also evaluate and assess these policies along with both the traditional and modern views of people on these policies. The future of the policies especially affirmative action in the life of Brazil society is also anticipated and evaluated.

Research Questions

Some of the research questions that this study seeks to answer are:

1. What was the education scenario when education policy reforms came in to action?
2. How did the Brazilian government of mid 1990s respond to education related concerns?
3. What should be done to achieve the quality of education?
4. What was the role played by successive governments to address the educational concerns?
5. What is the social and political context of affirmative action?,
6. How the variants of affirmative action work?
7. What is the ongoing public debate on affirmative action? And how do the people belong to different sections of society view affirmative action?
8. What are all policies that have been formulated to combat the under-representation of Afro-Brazilians in both public and private employment?
9. What is the impact of affirmative action among the beneficiaries?
10. How far have the objectives of inclusive education policies been achieved in Brazil?
11. How multidimensional inequality would cause education inequality
12. What are the reasons for educational inequality?

Hypotheses

Keeping these questions in mind, the following hypotheses have been examined.

1. Regional and socio-economic variables define the scope of affirmative action in Brazil.

2. Access to education does not resolve other forms of inequalities in education.

3. Equality in access to schooling does not guarantee equal quality of education.

Research Methodology

This research is based on the study of Brazil with focus on education policy reforms, Affirmative action and educational inequality. Reforms in the area of education came in to action in the mid 1990s in the form of equitable education finance and education measurement initiatives. Conditional Cash Transfers which aim to combat poverty has an educational element attached to it. Federal and state universities started following some kind of affirmative action programme to address the underrepresentation of Afro- Descendants, Mixed race and public school students. These policies aim to reduce the inequality, quality and underrepresentation still prevalent in Brazil.

Primary resources include documents as well as research reports from international organizations like World Bank, OECD, UN Inter-American development Bank. Reports prepared by the ministries concerned for education have also been included during this research. Primary sources also include reports from international financial institution and global private foundation like JBIC and Ford foundation respectively. Secondary sources such as books, numerous peer reviewed articles and online sourced are used.

Scheme of Chapters

Chapter 1: *Educational Reforms under the New Democratic Rule:* The chapter discusses the overall history of education system in Brazil since colonial rule to contemporary society. It is divided into several sections. It unlocks the educational system and its related characteristics prevailing in the country, Brazil. This also gives an opening to the 1988 Constitution and the Context and Contents of Educational Reforms. How the federal government of Brazil works with states and municipalities along with ministry of education and also the management of revenue

system to this field is highlighted here. It also includes the legal guidelines and framework of the national educational policies. The most significant education policies described here was the National Education Guidelines and Framework Law (LDB) which overlapped with the narrative of the social policies in the mid-1990s. Focal areas of reforms are also well discussed; mainly talks about the program called FUNDEF, its characteristics, how it changed the educational system in Brazil by reducing inequalities, by what means it helped achieving universalization of access to primary school, in what manner it regulates the public expenditure on education, allocated resources etc. Also, the way it helped to eradicate poverty along with human capital formation. Various plans like *Bolsa Escola*, a social security program, *Bolsa Familia*, the largest conditional cash transfer programs in the world which address several problems like dropout rates, attendance rate along with various national and international educational programmes in Brazil are covered in this chapter. It comprises programs such as the Literate Brazil Programme (PBA) with the goal of universalising literacy for adults and young people over 15 years of age, and also the role of international bodies such as UNESCO and the Ibero-American States Organization, in order to implement an ambitious understanding of the Education for all movements is also taken in.

Chapter 2: *Educational And Affirmative Action Policies Since 2002:* This chapter begins with the introduction of general information on the concept, theory and history of Affirmative Action. It also focuses on the aims, categories and objectives of affirmative action policies on the field of education and jobs, particularly in Brazil. And it also evaluates all of these in a minor way.The role of president, Cardoso along with the help of Lula da Silva and the reforms he initiated during his period, which includes an incentive-based quota system, a second national Plan on human Rights, affirmative action national Program and also the conditions and impacts of all these are also discussed in this chapter. Insights of Affirmative Action policies in government service sector, Variants of Quota System and the ways of proposing solutions to the problem of racial profiling is traced here. The circumstances that led to the formulation of Affirmative Action Policies in Brazil and each point is well discussed. Debate on Affirmative Action is presented in detail which includes the intense controversy regarding the quotas, about the fairness, legality, constitutionality and effectiveness of Affirmative Action Policies,

constitutional validity of this program, point of Affirmative Action being an ineffective system etc. Both traditional and advanced perceptions of People about Affirmative Action along with the future of quota system conclude this chapter.

Chapter 3: *Addressing Educational Inequality*

This chapter begins with the concept of inequality in general. The first section of the chapter discusses the lack of resources and opportunities within a society across the globe. Reasons for backwardness is examined in the second section, which starts discussing from regional disparities to economic inequality, persist in Brazil. The third section of this chapter deals with educational inequality which is also the central part. History of inequality along with major factor contributing to educational inequality has been described in this section. Fundamental challenges faced in the road of improving the quality of education and to ensure the equality of education in Brazil are analyzed in the fourth section. The link between labour market and production as issues of education and employment inequality and issue of access to education through indigenous means are also present in the following sections. Seven and Eight sections of this chapter trace the reasons behind educational inequality and the complex relationship between educational inequality and other forms of inequality based on race, class etc which provides a multi-dimensional understanding of inequality in Brazil.

Conclusion

The summary of all the chapters have been added to this section's beginning. Three hypotheses have been tested in this study. The provisional findings based on the examination of them are given in the conclusion.

Chapter: 2

Educational System under the Democratic Rule

Chapter: 2
Educational System under the Democratic Rule

In order to achieve all-round development, educating citizens is considered to be one of the best strategies. It helps in building citizens for the future, contributing to their all round-development which enables them to seek a bright future for themselves. Nations that have limited natural resources and limited technological capabilities, education ultimately becomes one of the most important sectors to enable their all-round development. It is not only const-efficient but also incorporates a mechanism to develop the society. It simultaneously reveals a potential economic growth of the society at a given point of time.

Since the adoption of the 1988 Constitution of Brazil after the process of democratisation, the rise and expansion of an egalitarian, multi-dimensional and expansive education system for the pre-school to higher education is considered to be one of the most pertinent subjects. The process of democratisation led to the gradual increase in focus on education in order to build a vibrant and rich society. Since 1988, and after the signing of the new Constitution, Brazil has made tremendous advances in education during the two-term of presidency of Fernando Henrique Cardoso.[1]

---

[1] Cardoso's term was from 1995-2003.

This Chapter will seek to provide an overview of the history of education in Brazil from the colonial rule till the present day. It is divided in seven sections. The first deals with the historical background of the modern education system in Brazil. The second discusses the idea of educational reforms in accordance with the 1988 Constitution of Brazil. The legal guidelines and framework of national educational policies will be discussed in the third section. The fourth section will deal with the areas of reforms while the fifth section will discuss the various plans related to education in Brazil. Important national and international educational programmes are covered in the sixth section, which will then provide a brief summary of the chapter in the end.

Historical Background of the Modern Education System

McCoy (1959) states that one of the first schools for elementary education was founded in the year 1549 by the Jesuit missionaries, who went by the name Company of Jesus (*Companhia de Jesus*). The Jesuits started to gradual play an important role in education in Brazil. Beech (2004) states that while the Jesuit missionaries were more focussed on the propagation of education, there was a significant presence of Protestant missionaries as well, even though they were scattered all over the country.

Baioa *et. al* (2003) contributes to the discussion, by saying that the invasion of Portugal by Napoleon in the year 1807, led to the collapse of the Portuguese empire, leading to the transfer of the royal family to Brazil. This was a crucial epoch that was instrumental in the history of education in Brazil. The physical presence of the Portuguese ruler in Brazil led to the change in the pace in terms of application of educational reforms.

After the independence of Brazil in the year 1821, the educational sector was transformed rapidly. The 1824 Constitution of Brazil guaranteed free and elementary education to all the citizens in addition to the creation of schools in cities towns and villages. This was done in view of allowing the citizens access to education from all walks of life Plank (1996). In the year 1834, an act named as the 'Additional Act' was passed by which education was decentralised (Alves *et al.* 2012). Stanek (2013) and Maciel and Neto (2006) state that in the year 1889, when the transition to a republic

was complete in Brazil, there was a complete overhaul of the educational policy that led to the gradual decentralisation of the management of elementary education. In addition to that over a period spanning the 20th Century, there were other reforms and changes in education in Brazil.

Under the influence of European positivism, Brazilian policy makers implemented some reforms that tried to bring back the duty of management of education under the control of the government, this act led to the creation of the Constitution in the year 1934 (Psacharaopoulos 1997).

Martin (1965) states that due to a situation of war, 'skill' education was given more importance, which also resulted in further significant education reforms in the 50s and 60s, however due to political upheavals, that took place in the 1960s the education sector experienced some negative changes.

Later in 1940s, as a reflection of demand due to War, 'skill' education received more attention. Significant educational reforms happened in the 50s and 60s; but the political changes that took place in 1960s made the scene of education rather gloomy. This was due to the negative social and political conditions as well. In 1970s a new form was introduced, that was known as the Movement for Adult Literacy (MOBRAL), in addition to that the creation of the law 5692 changed the administrative mechanisms pertaining to adult education in brazil Havinghurst (1979).

1988 Constitution and the 'Context and Contents' of Educational Reforms

The democratisation process of Brazil led to the creation of the new Constitution in the year 1988. The new Constitution recognized the right to education as a universal right, that made the right to free and basic education compulsory, IEM Spotlight (2013). The Constitution also made it binding on the government to promote free and compulsory education. Nunes (2004) states, that it is the duty of the Brazilian Government through the Ministry of Education to regulate educational policies in Brazil. According to the 1988 Constitution, the different federal states and regions receive financial aid and directions from the central government and these units are responsible for the implementation of educational policies in Brazil. The Ministry of

Education thus has the important task of coordinating educational policies in Brazil and promoting it.

The 1988 Constitution of Brazil makes it lucid, that the states and the federating units have the duty to promote education. It states that out of the federal revenue a minimum of 18% has to be spent for the purpose of promoting education. In the context of the municipal units, a minimum of 20% has to be spent for the same. This signifies a well ordained and clear cut division between the federal and the municipal units in terms of resource allocation for the purpose of spending on education, OECD (2010). The World Bank (2012) states that the Brazilian education system is decentralised and the municipalities are responsible for the purpose of regulating primary education. Provisions and regulations of primary and secondary education are the responsibility of the states and the federal districts. The Central government is responsible for the promoting higher education and even education related to private institutions (Ministry Of Education; Brazil.Org).

Accordingly, it is the duty of the Ministry of Education to provide assistance such as technical and financial aid to the municipalities, the state governments and to the federal districts to promote education. In addition to that, these organisations are responsible for the purpose of supervising the schools and the promotion of education. The Ministry of Education also has the duty to supervise private education, NUFFIC (2012). The educational infrastructure in Brazil is comprised of both private and public institutions. The Brazilian government subsidises public education to a great extent and to some extent it is even free, especially for the under privileged. On the other hand, private education is usually expensive which can only be afforded by the affluent class, even though it is considered to be of higher quality. The quality of education in both the primary and secondary levels is different, which pertains to the individual institutions (Brazil.Org).

The Brazilian schooling system is split in different levels, basic education (*EducaçãoBásico*) is made up of primary and secondary levels. It follows the 9 plus 3 years pattern for both primary and secondary education. Previously the 8 plus 3 pattern was followed. In 2010, primary education (*Ensino Fundamental*) is considered to be compulsory and free from the age of 6-14, in all public institutions. This shows that the Brazilian education system is quite modernised NAFSA AIE (2011).

The secondary education which is also known as the *Ensino Médio* comprises of only three years. Those students who are able to clear their primary education are allowed to attend the process of secondary education. Accordingly, students also have the option of choosing various levels of vocational training which is known as the (*EducaçãoProfissionalTécnica de NívelMédio*) for 3-4 years after completing primary education. In addition to that, Adult education is provided to all those who are willing to go for such courses. These courses are offered to students who have never had the opportunity to afford education, and also to non-traditional students. Adult students are also offered to opportunity to sit for University entrance examinations, IBE (2010).

Eligibility for university admission is pass certificate in secondary school. Admission to universities is based on marks scored in the university entrance examination. Universities have their own entrance examination called the *vestibular.* Selection of subjects would be tested through the entrance examination which varies according to individual institution. Students in Brazil who complete the secondary education often take additional courses which would equip them for the preparation for university entrance (World Bank 2012).

The post 1985 education scenario was not positive in Brazil, due to the ill-effects of the former military regime. This presented a huge challenge to the reformation of education in Brazil, Burton (2010). Baumann (2001) describes the fact that the military had tried to interfere with the educational policies in Brazil, which had affected it negatively. It tried to oversee an increase in the size of all educational requirements at all levels. There was a paucity of funding, and it was mismanaged. For example, more funds were diverted to higher education which was also small in size. This was also coupled with the fact that the private education sector was very powerful and could not be controlled by the state. By the year 1995, there was a great need to reform the education system in Brazil. Accordingly, the 1988 Constitution of Brazil led to the desire to reform the education system, by implementing a comprehensive and incorporative national education plan that could offer education to all the citizens according to their capacities.

De Souza (2012) opines that in the last decade of the 20th Century, the educational system of Brazil was structured in such a way that it created more inequality and lack of opportunity in the country. This ran in contrary to the wishes of the state. Burton (2010) states that the developmental model of the country led to huge disparities in terms of educational development, according to which the underprivileged class could not access education. This is established by the fact that around 45% of the heads of Brazilian households of low income families never had the opportunity of attending school or have dropped out before the end of one year, JBIC Sector Study 2004. This is unfortunate considering the fact that, a large portion of the federal revenue is given to the higher education sector and out of which a major part is siphoned off due to corruption (Pierce 2013).

Elacqua and Alves (2014) comment that during the 1990s Brazil was considered to be a developing nation with a very low quality education system, as a result of which there was a desire for massive improvements in education. More than a quarter of its citizens lived in extreme poverty, less than half completed elementary school and less than 15 percent of the high school graduates enrolled themselves in an institution of higher education. This shows that the condition of Brazil was not bright in those days Darby (2010). The World Bank (2012) states that the condition of education was miserable in Brazil, the average spending on each student were only $ 150 which was a paltry sum. In addition to that the spending on public education was only 2 percent of the GDP, which was one of the lowest in the world. Horta (2011) is of the opinion that this caused tremendous difficulties in carrying out formal education in the country, which also resulted in a very poor and deficient system of education. Most of the schools were devoid of basic amenities such as water and electricity. Other important things such as books and writing materials were absent.

The quality of teaching was also questionable, due to the fact that many teachers were not qualified and not trained. Most of the public school teachers and principals were hired based on personal favours and political associations, in this process of requirement, there were a lot of pressures from local politicians as well as mayors. This resulted in a teaching workforce that was not serious about dispensing their duties with dedication. As a result of which, it was tough to dismiss such teachers who were not responsible in carrying out their duties (IDB 2008). (Schwartzman

2005) states that most of the children were allowed to go to public schools that were near to their place of residence, accordingly, many of these schools were not known for their quality. As a result of which these students did not receive quality education.

Large scale reforms in the area of education took place in Brazil after the adoption of the new Constitution in the year 1988, which led to the gradual achievement of education occupying a prominent place in the creation of a new and more egalitarian Brazilian society. The new system led to the formation of educational policies that was the responsibility of the Federal Council of Education which worked in close cooperation with the Brazilian Ministry of Education. The Ministry of Education had the primary task of supervising schools and providing necessary aid to the other universities (Comparative Education Docs). Since the year 1985, a new education policy was implemented in Brazil which was in accordance with the new Constitution of Brazil. The new education policy was decentralized and universalised that would help students to enrol in various classes (Cicalo 2012). Though the process was much disorganized that focussed on a top down approach from the officials, the states continued to provide services both at the primary and at the secondary levels. The Federal Government was responsible for providing funds; offering educational aid, checking performances of students and schools and also in creating further educational reform (Pierce 2013). The new Constitution enabled the creation of new educational decrees which were applied by the government with the task of increasing the efficiency of the educational administration and reforms in Brazil (UNESCO 2010).

The 1988 constitution of the New Republic led to the recognition of three forms of educational systems, which were done hierarchically. These systems were identified according to the rules that were nationally defined rules and guidelines. The IBE report (2010) states that these three systems are the federal system, the distinct and the state system and the municipal system were devised to improve the condition of education in the country.

The presidency of Fernando Henrique Cardoso in the 1990s led to massive improvements in educational reforms in the country. Under the new government, the education sector received an important place in national planning, OECD (2010). (Burton 2012) states that for Cardoso, education reforms was one of the main planks

of his election campaign in the year 1994, which showed the rising importance of education in Brazil. As a result of which, his subsequent election set the stage for educational reforms in the country. Motter (2008) opines that after the election of Cardoso, a number of important and far reaching educational reforms were made in the country, which signified the rising importance of education in Brazilian society.

Leite (2002) agrees that the activities related to the reformation of education and other policies were given a lot of priority by the federal and local governments in Brazil after 1995. The Ministry of Education of Brazil started to give stress and importance to the core areas of educational policy reforms. A lot of focus was also given on the improvement of primary and secondary education in addition to increased funding to these sectors.

Motter (2008) states that since the Brazilian educational history was replete with examples of clientelism and favouritism, it was imperative for the Cardoso government to bring about some policy changes that could lead to proper educational policies. It therefore became binding on the Cardoso government to structure the educational policies that would show the door to nepotism and corruption in education. In the following years key reforms were enacted, with the help of some constitutional amendments that would gradually lead to improvement. For example as Burton (2010) states, chief focus was laid on the diversification of the educational system and financing. Gomez (2011) states that school and university level evaluation mechanisms were created in addition to the creation of national curricular guidelines. These initiatives which were fostered by the state created a new direction that was different from the neoliberal approach to earlier educational reforms. Goertzle (2003) states that bureaucracy pertaining to education was reduced; the privatization of education was started during the Cardoso administration. It can be observed that the continuity in educational policies in between the first and the second Cardoso governments was carried out efficiently, which was consistent and well oriented.

Educational reforms were already given a lot of importance by the federal and local governments during the regime of Cardoso. The Ministry of Education in Brazil pursued three important areas in educational policies. This period witnessed significant progress, as compared to the earlier periods which were marked by nepotism and corruption (Ranieri *et al.* 2003).

The World Ban (2012) states that the most important reform came in the form of the local and the state governments achievements in spending around $300 per student in an year which also led to the allotment of a proper salary to all the school teachers. These policies were in tune with the best practices at the international level. The implementation of these policies changed the outcome of education in Brazil for better.

The National Education Guidelines and Framework Law

Pierce (2013) states that the most significant education policies were the introduction of the National Education Guidelines and Framework Law (LDB). This led to the greater centralisation of social policies by the mid 1990s. The law that was approved in 1996, featured large number of measures that changed the Brazilian Educational policies and administration IBE (2010). This law made it clear that the roles of the municipal, state and federal education within the overall framework were to be divided accordingly, OECD (2010). It also allowed states and municipalities to define their educational policies including those concerned to school assignments, Elacqua and Alves (2014). Motter (2008) is of the opinion that the creation of the LDB did involve the inclusion of professional educators and other policy makers who were well versed with the idea of educational reforms in Brazil. Pierce (2013) states that the LDB aimed in addressing regional disparities in terms of administration and quality, it established a national standard in order to mark common curricula, the duration and days of educational instructions and also evaluation. In addition to that, it also aimed in the inclusion of indigenous and other ethnic groups.

Motter (2008) agrees that the federal government was given the responsibility of seeing the entire education system as well as evaluating the quality of education. The LDB was imperative in the process of democratisation of the school governance as well as the election of the school principals. According to this law, the schools were supposed to be responsible for drafting and implementing their educational proposals, managing their personnel and staff and also in managing the material and financial resources. This also went for the universities in Brazil (IBE 2010). The LDB also states that the school systems must work in a collaborative way and determines their administrative responsibilities. The law has created mechanisms that are important for

improving the quality of teaching and education. The LDB organizes school education at two levels, which are the basic education (comprising early childhood, primary and secondary education) and higher education. It offers vocational training in secondary schools or in partnership with technical colleges. Other types of education such as technical education and indigenous education were included in association with the new form of organisation (World Data on Education 2010).

Leite (2002) states that the Brazilian Left maintained two important criticisms regarding Cardoso's educational policy. They criticised the fundamental orientation and specific initiatives of these educational initiatives undertaken by the Brazilian state. The Left criticized Cardoso's educational policy based on the fact that it was neoliberal. It criticised Cardoso's specific initiatives which were deemed to be influenced by international organizations such as the World Bank. It confirmed that Cardoso's initiatives were not sufficient to meet country's genuine educational needs, which would ultimately lead to privatisation of education and an impending disaster was looming on the country. Nevertheless, it must be considered that these criticisms were pertinent due to the fact that the academic debate on the limitations of Brazilian educational policy during the Cardoso administrations criticised the privatization of education. In the area of professional education the government was promoting a theme 'An Education for the Work', that may not be sufficiently perfect for the needs of Brazilian society.

Focal Areas of Education Policy Reforms

Education policy reforms has become the priority of the federal, state and municipal governments since 1995.In the mid 1990s Fernando Henrique Cardoso who was the head of the government and the Ministry of Education begun to follow an education policy which has three important areas of focus. These newly implemented policy reforms in education were globally competitive. The Governments' constant implementation of these reforms resulted in positive changes in outcome of institutions as well as students.

1. Equalisation of Education Finance: FUNDEF- National Fund for Primary Education Development (FUNDEF) was the most substantial education policy which has also included a policy known as the National Education Guidelines and Framework Law (LDB). According to the 1988 constitution, the states, the federal district and the municipalities were compelled to allocate 25% of tax and transfer revenues to education. The federal government was supposed to be responsible for delegating 18% for the sector. The document directs that these sources of funding (i.e. taxes and transfers) must be used for education by each of the three levels of government (OECD 2010). In Brazil, the public education is funded from tax revenue, and the government has the responsibility of funding all the public schools. The resources spent on education are derived from different types of taxes which are made up of contributions that are not only private but also compulsory in nature. The sectors of higher education normally receive aids from foreign individuals and organizations (Comparative Education).

During the1990s, education in Brazil was marked by enormous inequality pertaining to access and quality, finance which was also a responsibility of the extremely decentralized structure (Gordon and Vegas 2004). Thus through constitutional amendment numbered 13 of September 1996 government introduced educational finance equalisation policies particularly FUNDEF, in order to decrease inequalities and differences in the expenditure of each student in different regions and schools (Ranieri 2003). It was mainly because the funding was by a mandate share of sub-national government's revenue, which was a self source and sharing of revenue. This was without any consideration to difference in enrolment or costs (Gordon and Vegas 2004). Hence, later in 1998, the federal government of Brazil executed FUNDEF and its main objective was to confirm proper financial base for the universalization of education that also included the ability to afford basic primary education (Pierce 2013). The Brazilian constitution of 1988 also regulates the percentage of resources that has to be spent on education by the government at each level (Castro 1998; Kolinski 2000). The FUNDEF was made ensuring that the revenue was used for education, to create a proper mechanism for offering salaries to teachers and to spend money properly on each student, without any hint of negligence (Schwartzman 2005). This also implied a transfer of resources from regions with varied capacities, in order to offer better salaries to teachers.

Since its implementation in January 1998, all municipalities were supposed to use up 60 percentage of their allotted expenditure (which meant 15% of their revenues) for the purpose of maintenance of the fundamental education based on the time frame of 10 years (Filho and Pazello 2002). Thus FUNDEF encouraged the participation of local municipalities in order to restructure the bureaucracy, offering cheap and efficient education and proper administration by the state (Schwartzman 2005).

FUNDEF is made up of a fund for each state, in which the state and municipal units contribute a part of their tax earnings. The revenues redistributed to the different governments in each unit based on the number of students enrolled in the basic education mechanism. The likeable nature of this idea was that it introduced incentives for schools to allow more access to students to achieve education. The Federal government increased the allocation made to each student in states where FUNDEF reserve per student was below a yearly established spending limit. The law also stated that at least 60 percent of the additional funds provided by FUNDEF had to be allocated to the teaching staff as salaries (Verdisco and Alfaro 2010).

World Bank has reported that the reforms resulted in considerable increase in enrolment in municipal basic education. This was especially in the poorer areas of North and North East. This was examined in the view of positive reports of drop in repetitions, and dropout which also estimated a reduction in inequality in educational spending among states (World Bank Report 2002; Gordon and Vegas 2004). The Federal Government also used FUNDEF, to push for its role in education by targeting the minimum expenditure for each student. The funds were directed to primary schools, there was redistribution of taxes from richer to poorer regions and the funds were also linked to increase the enrolment numbers. The slow competition between the state and the local governments to enrol the students in the schools at last let to the slow universalisation of education within a few years. The policy also created an increased decentralised feature which was however with some difficulties, as the federal government now had to promote greater autonomy in the running of schools, the councils and in the formation of education planning of the municipalities (Pierce 2013).

In 2006 FUNDEF was also given a second chance by National congress as the National Fund for the Maintenance and the Development of Basic education (FUNDEB), through 53rd amendment of the Constitution of February 2006 (Law No:11.497), which expanded the focus from elementary schools to high schools (Motter 2008). It is mainly the success of FUNDEF in the ability to achieve the universal primary enrolment which led to its increase towards pre-primary and secondary education in the form of the 53rd Constitutional Amendment which created the Fund for the Maintenance and Development of Basic Education (FUNDEB) in 2006 (Pierce 2013). Major public campaigns supported by various groups helped passing this by the legislature (IBE 2010). The change in the role of federal government in its attempts to finance education in Brazil during the last 15 years, that became the base of all those revolutionary changes in all other sectors of the economy. One of the most vibrant policy continuity between the Cardoso and Lula da Silva administrations was the bringing back of the FUNDEF in 2007 as FUNDEB. The FUNDEB brought in a scheme to cover pre-primary education as well as secondary education. It also guaranteed a limited level of funding for each student coming from the indigenous and *Quilombo* communities, who were dispossessed and also to the youth and alternative education (Education for All 2010).

The major step in bringing about such reforms was the gradual replacement of contribution of 15% of own and shared revenue of all the states and municipalities and the federal government's contribution needed to ensure the minimum requirements of spending on each student all across the country in FUNDEF by 20% of the share of the total revenues which were formerly kept aside for the basic education as well as the resources which were contributed by the government towards the upkeep of the fund (Minnassian2012). The federal transfers to states and municipalities with the aim of increasing and improving the distribution of public resources was also improved. Unlike its predecessor FUNDEF, which covered primary education only, FUNDEB created a unified fund for the entire basic education cycle from the pre-primary level to secondary education. Also by increasing this coverage, FUNDEB raised the federal government's commitment to basic education by about ten-fold (IDB Education 2010).

Since 1995 even though the teachers' union demanded more funding from the Centre, it did not request the same from FUNDEF. The Cardoso regime was responsible for an improvement in the financing of education especially in the primary sector as well as in the improvement of salaries of teachers and other staff members. Since 2003 due to the increasing strength of the Workers Party into government a debate has ensued in terms o the understanding of the features of education. The PT government has maintained the model given to it and has brought alterations in view of the limitations and existing framework. These include the expansion of FUNDEF into FENDEB (Burton 2010). Both federal and the state plus municipal contributions to the FUNDEB are linked through revenues.

The FUNDEB is important in the reduction of the regional differences in terms of expenditures related to public affairs with related to education and also in terms of educational indicators. This is in view of its growing importance in effectiveness which has promoted an increased quality in terms of performances. A part of the resources are now left for the schools which are used as incentives that are able to show some improvements in terms of performance of their students. These performances are measured by a standardised performance measurement index (Minassian 2012). In terms of the recent economic growth, there is not only an increase in investment in education but the investment has also led to a spurt in terms of investment on each student who enrols in the schools... such investments are not only less biased towards the post secondary education, but also according to the Ministry of Education, it has led to investment on each student which has expanded by 94 percent between the years 2000 and 2009. This is important as the expenditures had dropped previously (Cicalo 2012).

The raising of the minimum spending levels on basic education, has also led the FUNDEF to drive a significant portion of its income in terms of overall share in education expenditure in Brazil since the year 1998. This is in both real terms as well as in the form of a share of the GDP (Burton 2010). In 1995 around 2 percent of the GDP was spent on primary education, this has increased to around 4 percent in the year 2008. In fact in the year 2008 Brazil had put in around 5.2 percent of its GDP in education which is also rising in the recent years. The FUNDEB has also changed the

Brazilian education by allowing an overall increase in basic education expenses after the year 1998; this has led to an improvement in quality.

2. Cash Transfer Programmes: one of the most innovative programmes ever undertaken in Brazil was the Cash transfer programme that was a landmark move to encourage schooling. It also seeks to answer the increasing drop-out rate among the students and also encouraged the families to send their children to school. There are two main forms of the conditional cash transfer mechanisms in Brazil. The first one is the *Bolsa Escola* which is the school stipend and the second one is the *Bolsa Familia,* which is the family stipend programme. The *Bolsa Escola* offers aid to the poorest of Brazil's families who are cash strapped and therefore, unable to send their children to school. On the contrary the *Bolsa Familia* offers vaccinations to those children who attend schools. Both these programmes are meant to encourage schooling for children.

*Bolsa Escola***:-**A social security programme, started by the capital region Brasilia under the governorship of Christovam Buarquein 1995. It pursued parents to keep their children in school with a promise that they will be provided with the money they could otherwise earn by working. The parents could receive some income only if their kids went to school; this was the nature and the conditions implied by the cash transfer programme (Castro and Burstyn 2008; Reiter2012).

This programme improved the level of primary and secondary attendance in schools; it also enabled to address the drop-out rates that were alarming. It helped to double the Pre-school cover and assisted in introducing several higher quality technological instruments into the classroom (Elacqua and Alves 2014). Evidence also showed that *Bolsa Escola* had contributed to better school enrolments and attendance (Lomeli 2008) along with the overall educational trends. The real impression of this law is the advancement of the poorest families above subsistence level (Glewwe and Kassouf 2008).This in turn gave them the hope of continued mobility and added their interest in their children receiving education. Teachers also found it as a useful tool for enhancing the attendance; they could even threaten the parents saying about the withdrawal of the bonus if their children lacked the attendance (Motter 2008). On the other side *Bolsa Escola* was criticised for keeping its reach ability to the children aged 7-14 whereas a majority of these age group children were already in school. Some

reports even pointed out that *Bolsa Escola* did not result in an increase in student enrolment at all (Schwartsman 2005).

Bolsa Familia:- In 2003 the *'Bolsa Escola'* was merged with others and came to be known as '*Bolsa Familia*' and applied on a national level (Burton 2012).The new programme demands that children under 17 should stay in school and children ages 0-7 receive all required vaccinations and grow according to the established plan(Ministry of Education).One of the important objective of *Bolsa Familia*, apart from alleviation of poverty, was higher investment in human capital of poor children so as to increase their well being when they are adults. This objective is achieved by conditioning the payments on enrolling children in school. Brazil's *Bolsa Familia* is one of the largest conditional cash transfer programs in the world providing cash grants to poor households conditional on their fulfilling of a series of requirements related to schooling and health. Despite the importance of schooling on future labour market outcomes and the relevance of this large-scale program for other conditional cash transfer programs, there is hardly any evidence of *Bolsa Família's* impacts on children's education outcomes.

Here we are estimating the impact of *Bolsa Familia* on a range of consequences of education including school participation, grade progression, and grade repetition and dropout rates. Using a large-sample household panel survey from 2005 to 2009, we develop a statistically balanced comparison of group of eligible nonparticipant households, and estimate impacts using propensity-score-weighted regression (Glewwe and Kassouf 2008). We estimate that *Bolsa Familia* increased average school participation among all children aged 6 to 17 years by (a weakly significant) 4.5 percent. It had no effect on grade promotion, on an average. However, within the subsample of girls, *Bolsa Familia* caused substantial improvements in schooling products, including significant increases in school participation (8.2 percent) and rates of grade progression (10.4 percent). We show that the gains in girls' schooling do not derive from catch-up effects, but rather increase girls' existing advantage in schooling attainment. In general, impacts are larger among older children, in rural areas, and in the Northeast (De Brauw *et al.* 2014).

3. Education Assessment Programmes

In higher education both Cardoso and Lula governments deemed evaluation as necessary to address the largely unregulated and un-scrutinized growth of universities particularly in the private sector over the past half century (Schwartzman2004; Burner 2009). The two prominent agencies in this field are INEP and SAEB.

The INEP (National Institute of Educational studies and Research) was founded in 1937 as a special research agency linked to the assessment department of the Ministry of education. It is presently responsible for assessing basic and higher education nationally. It is also accountable for educational statistics that help to formulate, implement, monitor and evaluate educational policies in federal government and state government. INEP also plays a strategic role in the federal government's effort to raise educational standards.

Basic Education Assessment: The National Basic Education Assessment System (SAEB) was created in 1990 with the aim of assessing the quality of instruction delivered by the Brazilian basic education system. The assessment has been administered every two years since 1995.The analysis of the various factors with the data provided by SAEB's survey allows evaluation of the various factors that affect quality and effectiveness of the school's educational work level, helping to define actions, in order to correct the problems identified and also the improvement of practices and outcomes of the Brazilian educational system. The ANA (National Assessment of Alphabetization) was created in 2013 as a part of SAEB. This is a population based assessment of public schools students in the 3rd grade, aiming at evaluating the students' level of achievement in literacy and numeracy and teaching - learning conditions offered by public schools at the alphabetization cycle.

In 2005 the SAEB attempted to begin with a couple of experiments. The first one was the ANEB, which was a sample based assessment which tried to keep the trends with the former SAEB. In short it tried to combine the elements form the SAEB as well in formulating a new policy. The second one was the *Prova Brasil* which was an assessment based on the study of the population of Brazil. This was based on the functioning of the public schools as well (IDB Education 2010). In the year 2005, such initiatives of assessments were also restarted in order to understand the performance of all the schools. The *Prova Brazil* was also instituted in the 5th and the

9th grade of all public schools. The aim was to provide extra information about the achievements of all the schools (NUFFIC 2012). Both the ANEB and the *Prova Brasil* were made up of tests and also a questionnaire based on the socio-economic conditions of the society. These tests were meant to understand the capacities of the students pertaining to the use of languages, mathematics and also to focus on the ability to reason and solve simple problems encountered in everyday life. The socio-economic questions were based on the backgrounds of the families of the students, the level of education that the parents had attained, and the income levels (IBE UNESCO 2010). Everyone was awarded questionnaires to answer, including the teaching and the non-teaching staff. The ANEP is a small sector of the *Prova Brasil* which was meant for the 5th an 9th grade, and therefore it does not take into account the final years of the upper secondary schools, it also excludes the private funding of the schools which aim exclusively at public schools of the elementary and the secondary education (OECD 2013). The assessments results are also revealed to the public and the results are used to calculate the Index of Basic Education Development Index (IDEB). This comprises the school performance of the students as well as the data of grade repetition. The schools must be qualified according to the level set by the IDEB, and in the rare case that they are unable to do so, they are ordered to rework their methods of teaching. In this process of improvement, they are watched over by the government (Elacqua and Alves 2014).

The Brazilian government in the year 1995 also started a programme that was experimental in nature and was known as the *Prova Brasil*, (National Course Evaluation or 'Test of Brazil'). This examination is supposed to be given just before graduation. In this examination there are eighteen subjects and in the year 2000 around 2700 students attended this examination (IEM Spotlight 2013).

The National Examination of Secondary Education also known as the ENEM was another programme that was made by the INEP in the year 1998 which tried to evaluate the secondary education as an alternative to the higher forms of entrance in exams. This was unlike the SAEB and the ENEM tried to assess the skills of the individuals (NAFSA AIE 2011). The concept centres around the assessment of achievement in measuring the skills and the competencies of all the students which also includes a complete focus on the comprehensive and structural concept of

intelligence. This is a voluntary exam and the ENEM is also well accepted in the country. Since the year 2009, the examination is the main tool to reach to the higher levels of education (Schwartzman 2004). Currently, millions of students apply every year for this examination which is also a doorway to other features such as the PROUNI.

The CONAES which is the National Committee for the Evaluation of Higher Education has the immense responsibility to carry out the duties of the SINAES, which is the National System of Higher Education. The CONAES offers an annual report that is taken by the students for ENADE, the National Examination of Student Performance (IEM Spotlight 2013). In the year 1997, the programme was also led to focus on the high school level, which in turn managed to create the ENEN, or the *Examinatione Nacional de Ensino Médio*, which is also the National Secondary Education Examination. This has now become an important instrument in order to estimate the performance of all the secondary level students. This also offers the students, all the necessary requirements for continuing in their universities or to enter the workforce and apply for jobs. In the later stages, and at the basic school level, the SAEB is also responsible for being recognized as one of the most basic and instrumental process of evaluation of the elementary level. These methods are used by the government in controlling and overseeing the education system of Brazil, with a special focus on improving it (Ferrer 2006).

The ENCCEJA which is the National Examination for Certification of Competence of Youngsters and Adults was created in order to give certificates of authenticity to the youth and adults who were unable to attend schools. Due to the levels of poverty in Brazil it is very common to see a high drop-out rate and also there are many who are unable to attend schools, including many who have never received any formal education. From 2001, the ENCCEJA is also made available to Brazilians who are non-residents as a result of which they can now afford to acquire education certificates (Lima 2011).

Higher Education Assessment: The SINAES (The National Higher Education Assessment system) was instituted in order to understand and calculate the quality of all the undergraduate courses in higher education. This comprised of three parts, which were the institutional evaluation, course evaluation and the assessment of the

achievements of the students (Wang 2014). The SINAES tries to ensure that the there is a proper mechanism of evaluation of higher education and the performances of the students. This law is also based on the need to improve the quality of higher education in Brazil. It aims in increasing the efficiency of the institutions as well as the academic and social commitment of the higher education institutions (INEP 2011).

Censuses: Becker and Costa (2013) state that in tandem with the state and the municipal boards of education, and also in close cooperation with the private schools in the country the school census is conducted. This census is an important tool to calculate the quality of all the schools and to bring about an improvement in education in the country. The census collects the date which is based on the formulated policies on the basic of education; it also focuses on the creation of accountability which is necessary in terms of the distribution of finance to different sectors of education in the country. These pieces of information are also used by other ministries in order to cooperate with international organisations. The higher education census collects the date on higher education in the country annually, which also includes graduates and sequential courses as well as distance learning courses. The date also helps in forming newer policies and rectifying older ones (World Bank 2012). The assessment of the graduate programmes along with the promotion of scientific assistance international is the job of the CAPES which is the Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education. This is in collaboration with the CNPQ also known as the National Council for Scientific and Technological Development that also helps in administering the Brazil Scientific Mobility Programme Scholarship (Souza 2001).

International Assessment Programmes: The INEP is also responsible for the international education assessment, which also means that it is responsible for statistics and research studies in which Brazil is invited to take part. The PISA which is also operated by the OECD seeks to understand the competencies of the 15 year old students. The PISA is also executed every three years and this involves a cognitive test that is based on socio-economical questionnaire (UNESCO IIEP 2004). Such ideas have aided in raising the competitiveness of those schools that have not been performing properly.

Educational Plans

1. National Education Plan: Education reforms started in the 2000s, which were not only wide ranging in nature but also encompassed a lot of other features. The National Education Plan was also made which tried to create goals and priorities for the state and municipal regions in 2001 (OECD 2010). In the year 2001, Cardoso also allowed a plan which was the National Educational Plan, and tried to formulate a set of ideas that was participatory in nature. This also involved the civil society, the state and other institutions. In accordance with the Education for All which were proclaimed at the World Education Forum held in Drakar, Senegal this plan tries to set guidelines and goals which are supposed to be attempted by the end of this decade (Castro 2002).

2. New National Education Plan: Burton (2012) agrees that the objectives of the Education Development Plan (PDE 2007) contributed to the creation of the New National Plan for Education in 2010. It also replaced the earlier National Educational Plan of the year 2001-2010 which were initiated by Cardoso.

The PNE also tried to inculcate a different way of thinking that could characterise a systematic view of the education policies; however it also included a basic structure which was already borrowed from the PNE-1 and the PDE (Burton 2012). There are around 20 goals for the national education which w as proposed by the Commission for Education and Culture. These goals were to be reached by using some strategies that were all inclusive in nature and encompassed other strategies as well (OECD 2012).

A programme known as the Brazil Scientific Mobility Programme was acted upon in Brazil and it was an honest effort to strengthen the higher education sector in Brazil. This programme which was launched in the year 2011 was an effort to provide around 1, 00,000 scholarships to students to allow them to study in 20 countries in the world. By 2014, the Brazilian Congress also passed a new Education Plan that was submitted in the year 2010 (Education for All 2015). The aim of this plan is to provide education to all the students from the pre-school to around nine years of basic education, in order to ensure that basic universal education is available to all without any discrimination. It is an ambitious plan that tries to increase the budgetary allocation to education which should amount to 10 percent of the GDP (Fiszbein 2014).

3. Education Development Plan: The Lula regime in the year 2007 ensured that the Education Development Plan (PDE) was launched. The goals were ambitious, which aimed at building a just society, allowing access to education to all, the eradication of poverty, and the reduction of social and economic disparities (Dos Santos 2011). This plan was created with the intention to allocate more budgets to the classrooms, in terms of monitoring the performance of the students as well as to lead to a proper evaluation of the teaching system (OECD 2010).

In April 2007, when the PDE was introduced, it also resulted in a process of internal analysis and the rafting at the MEC during the mid 200s. The PDE also tried to assess the quality and direction of education during the previous PNE-1 decade. This shows the perspective of the Workers' party towards education which tried to make it more inclusive (Burton 2012). Motter (2009) states that this was a clear departure from the earlier stance of the Workers' Party.

Biannual performance targets were also established by the PDE, which meant that each school were offered targets to achieve pertaining to the quality of education. These targets were supposed to be met with proper coordination and had to be reached by 2022. The entire education system was supposed to be integrated, salaries of the teachers were to be increased and this was also tied to the overall development of the country (Burton 2012). The marks for passing were fixed at 60% which was based on the same rate in other OECD countries (UNESCO and MEC Report 2009). Therefore, the PDE was able to effectively transform Brazil's education (OECD 2010).

National and International Educational Programmes in Brazil

All schools in Brazil confirm to the plans set for development in the local, provincial, federal and Latin American standards. Each school is held accountable for its own institutional plan which is also aligned with the plan of the local and provincial education authorities and is responsible for both primary and secondary education (IDB 2015). The contribution from these schools is able to make the image of Brazil in terms of educational progresses better; this has also been assessed by the Partnership for Educational Revitalisation in the Americas (PREAL) (Xavier 2014). These initiatives are taken in order to build coordination with the National Plan of

Education which is mandatory as per the Constitution of Brazil. These plans are constructed also at the provincial and the regional levels in accordance with the UNESCO and the Ibero-American States Organisation. This is in order to lead to an ambitious understanding of education. Along with that, there is a network of business friendly private foundations and the political lobbies which have taken support of the PREAL initiative, and is also supported by the World Bank in order to launch the All Education Campaign (Burnett and Felsman 2012).

All Committed to Education was also developed in the year 2007, that tried to improve education in Brazil, and this was done to ensure quality. This was also done in order to bring an amount of uniformity in education which was focussed on the elementary and tertiary levels. This ultimately resulted in the formation of the betterment of education in Brazil (UNESCO MEC 2009).

Another Programme which is known as the Literate Brazil Programme was brought in the year 2003; it aimed in bringing uniformity in the literacy of adults and who were above the age of 15. The programme was initiated in association with the UNESCO with the interest of making elementary education available to all. The provinces were deemed as the partners of the central government and they were allowed to receive monetary benefits for carrying forward this programme (De Castro 2001).

 Along with the UNESCO, the Ministry of Education also developed tools and ideas to assist the institutionalisation of Law (the law was named as 10.639/03), which aimed in teaching the Afro-Brazilians their history and culture, this was also made compulsory in the entire school systems.

Other Policies

Some other policies that were also implemented with the aim of improving education are the decrees that were instituted in order to work out policies. Decree 5.773 of May 2006 and numbered 6.303 of December 2007 provide the functioning, regulation and the supervision of the evaluation of higher education institutions and higher undergraduate and sequential courses in the federal education network.

Decree 6.571 of September 2008 regulates the technical and financial support for the public educational network of the states which also includes the federal district and municipalities for the expansion of special education services for students with disabilities. The global development and special skills are also enrolled in the public education system (IBE 2011).

Law 11.274 of February 2006 also replaced the former eight year programme and also provided for the establishment of a nine year elementary education programme, this was made compulsory from the age of 6 which was supposed to be introduced and implemented by 2010.

Law 11.378 of July also decides the national minimum wage for basic education teachers in public educational establishment. In 2006 Brazil adopted an expansive legislation which extended the length of compulsory schooling by around one year. The official entry to primary school and the pre-school cycle were lowered. The new system was implemented in 2009 (World Bank 2012).

According to the constitutional amendment number 59 of November 2009, the duration of compulsory education increased from 9 to 14 years (from 4 to 17 years) and these states and municipalities are supposed to complete the process of progressive extension of compulsory education by 2016. On the basis of this adjustment, it has become a constitutional obligation to ensure that 18% of the national revenue is invested in education (INEP). Some of the innovations like these were the restoration of the old National Institute for Educational Research (INEP) in the year 1997, as an office for education statistics and evaluation; and the establishment of a national fund for basic education (FUNDEF), in order to reduce the regional differences and set floor for state and municipal expenditures on fundamental education (Schwartzman2005). The role this federal entity assumed in the provision of the public education based on the promulgation of the Constitution 1988 and the strategies of decentralization of social public policies that took late in the 1990s, a process that occurred in several business areas of the state (Arretche 2000; Souza2005). Brazil introduced more transparent and competitive principal hiring process, newly based on merit rather that political connection. For example, in many states of Brazil the principal is appointed (who must have passed a school management programme) through school elections. Some Brazilian municipalities

and states have even introduced teacher merit pay schemes based on IDEB scores (Education for All 2015). Also several states in Brazil started developing voluntary national teacher competency Examination. The emphasis on student assessment, performance accountability incentives and more transparent hiring and education of school leaders and teachers in Brazil over the last 15 years has increased pressure on schools to improve outcomes. It is unlikely that these gains would have been generated without the improvements in the standard of living and conditions for learning in publically funded schools that occurred over the periods (Elacqua and Alves 2014).

Summary

This chapter shows the rise and expansion of quality education in Brazil in a multi-dimensional perspective that has also led to an increase in enrolment from preschool to higher education in Brazil. It discusses the effects of education in Brazil and how it has helped them to achieve a better life.

The chapter puts main focus on the history of education in Brazil and also ranging from the colonial to the contemporary society. The divisions are done in 6 sections. The primary section deals with the historical background, ranging from the role played by the missionaries in the formation of the education system in Brazil. Then it leads to the invasion of Portugal by Napoleon and the independence of the country. The chapter also ends with the rise of positivist thoughts emanating from Europe and the consequent influence on the Brazilian education system.

The second section describes the 1988 Constitution, dealing with the idea and the matter of the various educational reforms in the country. It also shows how the government of Brazil works in terms of coordinating among the states and the other constituent units. It discusses the social background of the citizens as well as the unequal nature of the previous education system, finally leading to the context of the formation of the Constitution of 1988 and the introduction of educational reforms and the consequent changes that it brought in the scenario.

The third section will delve into the legal guidelines and framework of the national educational policies. The most important education policies described here is the National Education Guidelines and Framework Law (LDB) which was in tune with a lot of social policies in the mid-1990s. The new features and large number of measures that changed the outlook of the Brazilian Educational system and clarified] the roles of the municipal, state and federal education within the total framework are also stated. The impacts of these laws on education system and how it led to further modifications are also stated.

The fourth section focuses on the areas of reforms. It mainly discusses the program called FUNDEF, its features, and how it changed the educational system in Brazil by removing inequalities, by what means it helped achieving universalization of access to primary school, and in what manner it regulates the expenditure on education, allocation of resources and the general policies.

This section also deals with various educational plans like *Bolsa Escola*, a social security programme *Bolsa Familia*, the largest conditional cash transfer programs in the world which attempts to redress a variety of issues such as dropout rates, attendance shortage, inability to afford education and health problems of the students. It also discusses the attempts to eradicate poverty, along with the formation of human. The impact on the consequences of education which includes school participation, progression of grades, repetition of courses and dropout rates are also delved into. The evaluation assessment programs named ANAEB, *Prova Brasil*, ENEM, CONAES, and ENCCEJA along with Higher Education Assessment programs like SINAES are also properly defined. Programmes like PISA (Program for International Student Assessment), Regional Comparative Studies.

Education plans during the Cardoso, Lula and the current governments such as National Education Plan, Education Development Plan (PDE) and New National Education Plan are covered in fifth section.

Various international and national educational programmes in Brazil are covered under the fifth section which are the Literate Brazil Programme (PBA) with the goal of universalising literacy for adults and the youth over 15 years of age, and also the role of international bodies such as UNESCO and the Ibero-American States

Organization, in order to implement an ambitious understanding of the Education for all movements is also taken in.

Conclusion

Brazil, through a spectrum of education-related policy reforms has made significant achievement in the area of education; universal education, increase in the average school years, reducing drop outs and repetition, improving teacher quality etc. But from the section talks about education measurement indicates that quality of education is still a problem, Brazil has to formulate policies to improve the quality of basic education to overcome this paradox.

Next chapter has three major parts. The initial part discussed educational policies implemented by Lula who became President in 2002 and the impact of education policies. The second part of the chapter is dealing with affirmative action which is the focus of the chapter. The policy reforms tool place during Lula's terms and the overall impacts of reformation of education in Brazil with the specific reasons for implementing affirmative action, its theoretical base, the evolutionary transition created in the nation through enacting and implementing affirmative action and, finally, the shortcomings of such movements are also discussed in the coming chapter in detail.

Chapter: 3

Educational and Affirmative Action Policies

since 2002

Chapter: 3

Educational and Affirmative Action Policies since 2002

Education has become a priority during Cardoso's period. Lula Da Silva became the president of the republic in 2002. His government continued to maintain the policies regarding education from his predecessor's period. National education plan has been implemented since 2001; the new government opted for a policy continuation. Changes in the field of education were evident in the early 2000s.

One of the most important policy shifts during Lula's tenure is the implementation of Affirmative Action policies which was a result of long standing Afro-Descendant movement and from the pressure from the Academia. The state of Rio de Janerio, was the first to pass a law on the idea of Affirmative Action. Affirmative Action for afro-descendants, mixed race and indigenous students were also applied gradually.

Educational Reforms under Lula

Folha De Sao Paulo (2007) and Burton (2012) comment that the coming of the new president Lula in Brazil became an important epoch in Brazilian history. The new president was determined to make education the source of reducing poverty in Brazil. He saw it as an important way to reduce inequality and to bring more access to democracy in Brazil. Cardoso and Lula tried to use education as a means to bring more access to democracy in Brazil. The administration of Lula tried to bring the revenues earned from the export from oil to improve the education in the country. The enterprise known as the Pre-Sal Petrolo was created to manage the oil production during the last years of his rule, its duty was to administer a new fund for social development and anti-poverty mechanisms (Gomez 2011). The end of the Lula Presidency saw an increase in number of changes that also brought in some amounts of constitutional amendments which tried to foster funds for the growth of both elementary and post elementary education. It also tried to harmonise the salaries for the teachers and bring in scholarships for the students, especially from underprivileged backgrounds (Burton 2012).

The strengthening of basic education financing was done by the Fund for Maintenance and Development of Basic Education and Appreciation of Educational Professional (FUNDEB) in 2007. This was a constitutional way of doing it through the amendment 53/06 and law 11494/07 contributed to significant increase of funds for educational policy initiative (Minnassian 2012). The second important change was the expansion of mandatory schooling for every individual from ages 7 to 14 to ages 4 to 17 through a constitutional amendment (59/2009) to be implemented gradually by 2016 (Minassian 2012).

The Impact of Educational Reforms

Burton (2012) states that these educational reforms ensured that more students attend schools, it was done specifically with the focus on those students who came from the poorer sections of the society. The present government of Brazil also sees the prospects of education policy with great positive attitude. The government's approach to education and the policies associated with it began in 1990s. During this time it tried to harmonise education and bring everyone under the ambit of an ambitious

education policy (Burton 2012). Lomeli (2008) states that there has been an increase in the attendance of students in Brazil over the past few years. These changes show that the Brazilian state has made some tremendous changes over the past few years in the process of education. This was developed in the forms of well-coordinated mechanisms. A new idea was brought that also led to the creation of a minimum amount to be spent on each student in addition to the creation of a special fund in order to use the resources allocated for education. In 1990s Brazil tried to make its education policy strong (Gomez 2011). The *Bolsa Escola* resulted in a great spike in the redistribution of income especially among the poor families. At the same time in the feature of education this led to the increase in number of students going to school and attendance (Burton 2012). Over the past 15 years Brazil has managed to greatly advance in education and this is according to the standards set by the OECD. In 2009 the PISA revealed its results that show that its education policy is now one of the best in the world (OECD 2010).

Brazil has achieved the following advances in the last two decades:

1. The access to primary and lower secondary education has become almost universal. 94.4% of the population in the ages 7-14 is now included primary and lower secondary education.
2. The proportion of young people attending secondary education at the right age has doubled compared to that of 1995; it shows a significant advance in the access to secondary education.
3. The rate of youth and adult illiteracy has been reduced.
4. Access to higher education has increased.

Over the past 20 years the average years of education has almost doubled as the promotion of adults who have completed secondary education. There has been an improvement in the performance of Brazilian students in Maths and Science. This has also been visible in the performance of students in languages (Ministry of Education 2015). In the year 2006, the country also brought about a new legislation which led to the extension of primary schooling by a year. The entry to primary education was regulated and the age required was lowered from seven to six years. The new system was then implemented after 2009. Brazilian labour force has attained more education than that of China (World Bank 2012).

Schwartzman (2013) says that the economic growth also targeted public policies which alleviated a lot of citizens out of poverty in Brazil. This also spurred a rise in the Middle Class. The poverty rate also reduced. In 2003, almost 40 Million Brazilians were now included in the middle class. There was also an increase in High School and college graduation and enrolment rates also increased. Presently, around two thirds of the school students are graduating from High Schools, which is a good feature of the education system in Brazil. Between 1990 and 2010 there was an increase in the enrolment in higher education and which showed that the rates increased from 11 per cent 27 of the total students within five years of graduation (Elacqua and Alves 2014).

The previous sub-standard conditions in Brazil related to education meant that it was important to increase the expenditure in education to make a real effect in improving the condition of education. The average spending on primary and secondary education improved and this increased by around 120 per cent in Brazil. An increase in the percentage of GDP contributed to education also increased over the last two decades. In addition to that there was marked increase in investment in resources related to education such as in infrastructure, school buildings, salaries, books and other materials (IBE 2015). An increase of 400 per cent in public school teachers' salaries was visible; this had a positive impact on the quality of teaching. In the early 1990s only 20 per cent of college teachers had a proper college degree, this has now increased to around 75 per cent in the recent years. It is also observed that most of the schools in Brazil now have connectivity to internet. These improvements in spending on education was important in order to spread education in the country, this was also important in view of the increasing importance alluded to education in the Brazilian society (Elacqua and Alves 2014).

Such improvements in education have also been lauded by the Brazilian society, previously illiteracy was a huge social problem, but among the age group of 15-24 this has now reduced. The rates of attendance have improved specially among the age group of 15-17, and this has also caused the rise of a well-educated labour force (World Bank 2012). In 1995, only a third of the economically active population had finished the compulsory primary education, this figure has now doubles in less than

15 years. In the same way there has been an increase in number of workers with higher educational qualifications (Cicalo 2012).

In less than a year there has been a 42 per cent increase in the mean number of years of schooling, which translates into an increase from 5.8 to 8.3. The heterogeneity in educational achievements diminished unlike the 1960s. The Gini Index of the years of schooling fell rapidly by 30 per cent from 1995 toll 2009. This was tremendous as a society that was characterised by inequality was now able to bring up the levels of education and make it affordable for everyone. This has been one of the main reasons for the sudden decrease in inequality in the market as well as the reduction of per capita income gaps and inequality in Brazil (Barros, Franco and Mendonca 2006; Cicalo 2006). Since the year 1995 there have been good improvements in education in Brazil. More resources are now being invested in education; the investment in education can also be seen from the allocation of the GDP allocation which has increased from 4% in 2000 to 5.2% in 2009. In addition, the federal funds are awarded to those states, that have less resources and that ensures better competition with other wealthier states. These advancements in Brazil have shown that the education has been given a lot of importance, particularly from the federal government. It is important that these improvements are carried on further to achieve more in the future (Motter 2008).

Policies of Affirmative Action

These reforms in the educational sector received a vote in the year 2002, when the government took the step to raise the issue of affirmative action, this was done in order to make education reach out to the marginalised sections of the society. The policy of Affirmative Action is important and this is relevant due to the fact that the high admission rate to higher education institutions from the private and secondary schools which itself discriminated those who were in poorly resourced public schools (Teller and Paixao 2013). Hutn (2004) says that the idea to include affirmative action was described as a "transition from anti-discrimination to affirmative action." This context shows the reasons for the implementation of Affirmative Action, the theoretical base and the evolutionary change that in fact was instrumental in the creation of the nation by enacting and implementing Affirmative Action. These things

and the shortcomings of the Affirmative Action programme are discussed the in chapter.

The social quota system of Brazil is one of the massive and radical Affirmative Action programmes implemented so far in the entire Latin America continent. Brazilian state as well as federal universities, government departments and ministries follow some kind of Affirmative Action. In 2012, 'Law of Social Quota" has been passed in the Brazilian Congress, which has become the default affirmative action in Brazil.

The Origin and Development of Affirmative Action

In 1961, the President of the United States of America, for the first time introduced the term 'Affirmative Action' in mainstream American politics. This was done in order to address the problem of discrimination that persisted in American society, in spite of many laws that sought to remedy the situation. This was developed and gradually enforced under the policies of President Johnson. In 48 years, the policies of Affirmative Action has been praised as well as criticised for its shortcomings in addressing the persistent inequality in the society (Brunner and Rowen 2007).

Marginalised groups such as minorities, ethnic populations, women and other racial groups are given special protection under affirmative action. This idea is taken from the words of John Rawls which is called as the 'Justice as Fairness'. In liberal multiculturalism, this has a special place where justice is dispensed through differences (Cicalo 2012).

Most of the research done on the policies of Affirmative Action is based only on the study of the U.S. Guillebeau (1999) has criticised the politics of Affirmative Action. Though this is a dynamic concept and is widely debated, this has not been defined in a proper manner. Analysts define it based on some terms which however is based on the concept of policy debates over the decorum of Affirmative Action. Mostly, analysts consider Affirmative Action as discriminatory (Brunner and Rowen 2007). The Encyclopaedia Dictionary of Sociology (1986) defines Affirmative Action from an

American perspective of history, and claim that they are based on the executive orders, rather than the Civil Rights Act (Guillebeau 1999).

The idea of Affirmative Action have taken a couple of paths, one of them takes the idea of a form of legal and administrative sections of the government such as the executive, judiciary and the legislature whose functions are to make rules and apply them as necessary. The other is through the way of public discussion or debates, where the performance of preferential treatment is considered to be important. These two paths have not been able to make a strong impact and have faced flak for not being based on legal practices (Fullinwider 2013).

There are two types of justifications that are applicable to the policy of Affirmative Action. One of them is the moral and the other is the instrumental justification. Instrumental justification depends on the idea that it is a means to an end. This interpretation works on the basis of creating the mechanism of Affirmative Action to meet certain goals such as creating social justice, engaging workers through the medium of education or for giving more rights to marginalised groups. The other version which depends on the moral justification discusses the idea of right and wrong, and the treatment of people considering the fact that not all have been treated equally (Jenkins and Moses 2014).

The Objective of Affirmative Action

Even though Affirmative Action levies special focus on the creation of jobs and educational opportunities for people, the main stress laid by the policies are on active measures that are taken to ensure opportunities for promotions, salary growth, career advancement, admission to schools, availability of scholarships and any other financial aid that should be available for both minorities and the majority. The policy of Affirmative Action was therefore proposed as a policy alternative that would create a proper mechanism for propagating equality, and all these opportunities should be available for all (Fullwinder 2013).

This policy has also been extended to the themes of protection of diverse spheres such as the protection of lands, resources, and unique cultures. Affirmative Action policies have also engaged in solving social and political problems that arise out of persistent discriminations existing in the society. Even in India, there are reservation policies that extend a helping hand to the dispossessed and the minorities (Brunner and Rowen 2007). In every country, Affirmative Action policies were created to ensure that there is equality. In the case of Brazil the policy was applied to ensure that racism, and racial inequality could be dealt with (Hutn 2004; Martins *et al*. 2004).

Even regional differences play a big role in the execution of the policies of Affirmative Action. In the Indian system there is a presence of quotas according to which certain percentage of jobs and school vacancies are reserved for certain marginalised members of the community. In others, members of the minority and other dispossessed groups are offered preferential treatment in offering jobs or vacancies (Schwartzman and Silva 2007). In economic sense, Affirmative Action was seen as a way to lead marginalised people out of poverty and economic delinquency so that they could be a part of the national workforce (Bowen and Bok 1998). The role of Affirmative Action in the spread of diversity in campuses shows that it has benefitted almost all the sections of the society. The policy of education and spread of social justice highlights that this is one of the most important policies ever created (Jenkins and Moses 2014).

Social Quotas: The Brazilian Model of Affirmative Action

Before the application of Affirmative Action, equal opportunity for education was almost unheard in Brazil. Public universities were able to use their own programmes due to the autonomy that they had in spite of the fact that there were no laws on the execution of Affirmative Action. It was also Cardoso who tried to change the discussion on Affirmative Action in Brazil (Junior et al. 2011). His government was the first to admit that racism existed in Brazil and tried to create a lot of reforms to address the same. These included incentive based quota system for business. He tied to give tax breaks to those companies that employed more Afro-Brazilians and also

supported the policy of states creating their own Affirmative Action laws (Wilkes 2012; Wilson 2004).

In May 2002, he stated the Second National Plan on Human Rights, according to which he tried to bring in a race oriented Affirmative Action plan, only to be rejected by the Brazilian Congress. The next step that he too was to create the Affirmative Action National Programme according to which, he included compulsory quotas for all Afro-descendants and women in order to hire them as federal workers to serve government contractors. The programme was not implemented, which resulted in Lula after being elected to create the Secretariat for Policies Promoting Racial Equality (SEPPIR), which was a ministry level agency that addresses discrimination (Junior *et al.* 2011).

In 2001, the State Legislature of Rio de Janerio, along with the support of Lula responded to the complaints regarding racial inequality. Initially Lula had begun on a process of introducing quotas for Afro-Brazilians and those who were disadvantaged (Hutn 2001). The first experiment with the creation and application of quotas was done in the University of Rio De Janerio where 40% of the seats were fixed for Afro-Brazilians. In 2004, the University of Brasilia became the first federal university to implement the policy of Affirmative Action for the Afro-Brazilians as well as for the indigenous people of Brazil (Tavolaro 2008).

In a very short span of time, the federal government and the other associated bodies in Brazil began the establishment of Affirmative Action policies which were based on race (Cicalo 2012). In addition to that, the mode of operation of Affirmative Action in each university was different. These were dependent on the directives passed by the university board and the state laws (Bernardino and Rosa 2013).

In 2005 it is stated that out of 2,800 universities, more than 1,200 private universities participated in the programme carried out by the state known as the University Program for All, which is also known as the *ProUni*. In turn for reserving seats of around 20 per cent for Afro-Brazilians and indigenous people, the programme offers tax exemptions to such universities based on the number of minorities that they allow access to their universities (Junior *et al.* 2011). The programme also offers both full and partial scholarships to students. For full scholarships, students must be from

marginalized backgrounds whose income is less than the per capita income. It is also said that this programme is one of the most comprehensive programme for social inclusion ever designed and this has benefitted over 748,000 students, a half of who are Afro-Brazilians. It has also extended support to 130,000 students who have never had the opportunity to receive proper education; it also argues that this programme has ensured that many students get access to education and that students who come under this programme tend to perform even better than regular students (Lloyd 2009).

Junior (2011) states that the federal government was also instrumental in the creation of incentives for public universities for applying the ideas of affirmative action. This programme was known as the Restructuring and Expansion of Federal Universities (REUNI) programme, and was accepted as a legitimate policy. It included ideas of Affirmative Action and its application.

In 2012, Dilma Rousseff came up with one of the most important and exhaustive law which was known as the Law of Social Quotas (Lei de Cotas Sociais). This law made sure that all the universities operating under the grants of the central government should take half of their intake from public schools and within a time of four years the seats reserved will be calculated according the percentage of the minority population in each state where the public university is located (Alvarado 2012; Evensen 2014).

The verdict of the Supreme Court ensured that the government followed the social quota law. In august 2012, the state in more comprehensive plans to extend the Affirmative Action programme (Wilkes 2012). It ensured, that half of the reserved seats were kept aside for students whose income was less than 1.5 times the minimum wage which was set at 678 reais per month. The law also makes it compulsory to reserve seats for Afro-Brazilians and indigenous people pertaining to their population (Hernandes 2013).

Affirmative Action in the Government Service

Even before the universities introduced this Quota system, it had been executed in the employment sector. The primary change in public policy was in Porto Alegre, Brazil's sixth largest city in 1999.the same year saw a new regulation in action which was passed by the municipal government, guaranteeing that 5 per cent of the workforce in

the city should come from Afro-Brazilian backgrounds. Similarly in the state of Bahia, it was adopted that a third of all the models and actors should be from the same social background as described above. This was important, because around 75 per cent of the population of Bahia were non-white (Hernandes 2013).

Changes in the federal policy came rapidly. In 2001, an order came stating that 20 per cent of all the administrative positions in the ministry as well, including 20 per cent of the staff of firms contracting with the agency, were supposed to be reserved for the Afro Brazilians and in addition to that another 20 per cent of the firm's staff should be women. This order came from the Ministry of Agrarian development. Brazil introduced Affirmative Action policies even at the federal level. This idea came from the U.S. where it was believed that the state should lead on these matters regarding racial equality and employment of marginalised sections of the population (Hutn 2001).

In June 2014, a new bill was signed by the president of Brazil that required a new mechanism for racial equality in the country. This new bill launched a race-based Affirmative Action programme for federal civil servant positions. The bill reserved 20 per cent of all positions for Afro-Brazilians (blacks and *pardos*, which also extended to mixed race individuals. It is also extended to those companies that were under the control of the federal government of Brazil (OHRH 2015).

Subsequently as Ibrahim (2010) states, the Supreme Court and all other agencies of cabinet established Affirmative Action policies, more vibrantly in the country. The courts confirmed that a quota of 20 per cent should be set for Afro descendants in the field of public sector contractors. In addition to that, The Affirmative Action programme of ministry of justice also reserved 20 per cent of supervisory and upper-level advisory positions for Afro descendants and *pardo* (brown/mixed race) Brazilians (Ibrahim 2010). Lopez (2006) says that in 2002, the national Affirmative Action programme was established by a presidential executive verdict in order to encourage the operation of percentage based goals for the participation of Afro-descendants in both federal agencies and the firms under contract with them.

Conceicao (2014) says that the actions taken by the federal government also encouraged the local governments to follow the policy of Affirmative Action in Brazil. Accordingly in\ June 2011, the state of Rio de Janerio, an order was issued wherein 20 per cent of vacancies in civil service positions were to be reserved for Afro-Brazilians. Following the suit, other states of Brazil such as Paraná, Rio Grande do Sul and Mato Grosso brought in such reforms that confirmed with the policies of Affirmative Action in Brazil. These programmes were in tune with the policies set by the Affirmative Action programmes in Brazil ever since the year 2000.

Bernardino and Rosa (2013) comment that, a new policy was launched which was named as the 'Vocation for Diplomacy'. According to this programme, the Foreign Ministry tried to inculcate people from marginalised sections in the service of diplomatic corps of Brazil. It is historically seen as a great achievement, where the non-whites never had the chance to represent Brazil in the international diplomatic arena. In Brazil, the Affirmative Action is categorised, as a set of initiatives whose purpose is to address the inequalities which influence the Afro-Brazilian community. This was coupled with the idea of teaching the history of the Afro-Brazilian community in public schools, so that the rest of the citizens could have a chance to understand the history of their citizen mates (Ekey 2010).

Variants of Quota System

Silva (2007) says that the application of the policies of Affirmative Action started from the Brazilian institutions of education. Accordingly, it was believed that the best way to bring about social inclusion would be to implement a form of Affirmative Action in which a method to assure the presence of minorities, in such campuses would be initiated. Universities, which had different statuses, also tried to deal with the issue of racial profiling and therefore adopted different styles, in order to achieve the same. This however leads to the concern, where it is difficult to adopt such policies due to the varieties of minorities and other marginalised groups present in different regions.

Cicalo (2012) says that the Quota systems are designated as one of the best Affirmative Action programmes, due to the fact that they are based on the entrance exams. A certain percentage of seats in university admission is reserved for students, which is based on the race or class. Most of the universities select Afro-descendant candidates under this quota based on their own self-declarations. on the other hand, some universities, for example the State University of Campinas and Federal University of Minas Gerais, apply a point systems concept which gives added points to those students who come from disadvantaged classes, schooling or racial backgrounds. This however does not give much advantage like the quota system (Telles 2013).

In Brazil, the advanced nature of university councils made the universities a very fertile ground for Affirmative Action, and as most of the competitive universities incline to be public, vast majority of Affirmative Action programmes is located in public universities. The addition of university seats in general has prevented Affirmative Action policy from being a zero sum policy (Francis & Pinto 2012). Further, the varied structure of current programme increases its popularity of policies. Some programmes, in order to reach the poorest Afro descendants students, target the students only from public secondary schools ,on the other hand, some other programmes keep seats for public secondary school graduates of any race and then create proportional slots according to demographic percentage in that state (Chronicle of Higher Education 2009).

Many of these universities also have quotas for both the indigenous and the disabled people. In 2012, the University of Brasília used the class-based criteria, where none exclusively used race quotas alone, rather universities used a combination of class and race quotas. Another different thing came up by the creation of separate quotas for Afro-Brazilians, which added one to a quota for public school students of any race. A few universities tried to offer additional points for both Afro-Brazilian applicants and public secondary school graduates. Both mechanisms ensure that the middle class Afro-descendants would be gradually included in education, and who never had the chance to avail education properly (Hernandes 2013).

The Circumstances: The Formulation of Affirmative Action Policies

Thus the history of Affirmative Action in Brazil can be traced till the recent year of 2001 as the government officially recognized the presence of racism and planned to create a special policy with the aim of employing both Afro descendants and browns (*Pretos* and *Pardos* together known as "*negra*" or black) in its departments of ministries. As a result of which every University in the country began implementing the policies of Affirmative Action policies.

Even in the 1990s, Affirmative Action was not a part of the public debate in Brazil because race was still considered a marginal topic in mainstream public policies Afro-Brazilians and indigenous Brazilians have demanded for the quota which gives university spaces and thus increases their access to higher education. This was important to discuss the policies of Affirmative Action, as previously it was never discussed publicly and it was believed that racism did not exist in Brazil (Schwartzman and Silva 2006).

The factors acted as the driving force behind the implementation of Affirmative Action policies are as follows:-

1. Educational Inequality: Junior (2011) says that the all the schools with an exception of some were not funded properly. This gave rise to inequality considering education which caused a lot of resentment from those who could not afford it. An anomaly could be observed here, where the rich class managed to receive the best education for their children from private schools whereas the poorer sections of the society were unable to do the same.

Cicalo (2012) says that the private schools and the higher education sector in Brazil did not include the people from the lower classes into their curricula. This was one of the reasons as to why the underprivileged class could never achieve proper education. It is also evident that the upper middle class and the whites had more access to education from an early age due to economic and social factors that favoured them. On the other hand lower middle class children had to take education from those schools and institutions where they could not receive quality education. This made it important to include these people also in the process of education and organisation which could enable them to achieve their goals in life (World Bank 2012).

2. Underrepresentation: The middle class and the elite are almost white and Brazil's well known Afro-descendants only exist at the working class and poor levels. One of the main reasons why Afro-descendants were not available in the middle class was due to their poor representation in the universities of Brazil. In Brazil's top universities, until Affirmative Action began in 2001 non-white Brazilians were rarely present. This makes the university admissions as the most suitable place for race-conscious Affirmative Action (Cicalo 2012).

In 2000 compared to the 23% of whites, 42% of the Afro descendant population had no schooling and only 1.41%of Afro-descendants had an advanced degree, when compared to the 6.59% among whites. There were also 23,55000 white students joined in Brazilian universities, that is of an average of 78.8 per cent of Brazilian university students during the same time and on the other hand there were only 576000 Afro descendant students, which is only of 19.3 per cent of university students (Junior *et al.* 2011). There was an even sharper decline in the number of Afro descendant students who are in between 18 to 24 years of age in Brazilian universities, between 1991 and 2000. That is of an average of 16.7 per cent to 15.9 per cent. With intensive regional variations, the underrepresentation of people of colour in Brazil's public universities was and is a reality (Ikawa 2009).

Another interesting phenomenon was that the departments for law, medicine, and engineering in the universities across the nation were specifically likely to be "virtually all white". These statistics described another fact concerning discrimination, and the element is that 98.5 per cent of Brazilian judges, 99 per cent of Brazilian diplomats, and also the 81percent senators of Brazil are white. This also shows that Illiteracy remains twice as high among Afro-descendants than whites, which is mainly due to persistently underfunded public schools (Wilkes 2012).

Actually speaking, the University admission process is also doing a kind of discrimination against poorer students as they cannot go for a better educational facility at private schools and this in further leads to a situation where they are unable to perform as well on the college admission exams. The biggest racial problem in Brazil is that, although mixed race and Afro descendants represent 50% of the Brazilian population, they are the ones who account for almost 75% of these underperforming, poorer students (Stahlberg 2010).

Hence, given the situation, the powerful forces behind the implementation of Affirmative Action are the role played by the Afro-Brazilian movements, the media and the Brazilian Federal Government.

3. Movements: In the latter half of the 1980s, when Brazil returned to liberal democracy, it actually became a weakness rather than the supporting the expansion of civil, political, and social rights and opportunities (Junior *et al*. 2011). In addition to this, during the same period, there came the origin of 'new social movements' based on group identities such as race, ethnicity, religion and gender due to the introduction of democracy in the country. These movements with its transnational connections played a very vital role in the consciousness raising factors which helped in the implementation of Affirmative Action policies in Brazil (Cicalo 2013).

As had been previously mentioned, the arguments based on class did not entirely explain the inequality between Afro-descendants and whites. In 1978 a major Afro-Brazilian organization, founded the Unified Black Movement known as *Movimento Negro Unificado.* The main aim of this movement was to impulse public policies to fight racial inequality in labour and education, and also to enforce harder laws against racism (Bernardino and Rosa 2013).

Thus, all these brought higher awareness on the under representation problem based on race which in further led to the demand for programs of Affirmative Action in the country. In 1995, to protest against their continued separation and discrimination, a large group of Afro descendant marched on to the capital city. This is called as ''freedom march'', which happened on the day of birthday of a rebel slave leader who is considered as a social idol to some minority Brazilians (Guillebeau 1999).

Bourdieu and Wacquant (1999) analysed and recommended solutions for the problems related to race in Brazil, with their strong influence of US academics and foundations. The participation in the international conferences and events persuaded the movements to speak the language of international human rights (Santos 2005; Hutn 2004). Henceforth they assumed a language of racial diversity and Affirmative Action which is constantly falling in line with the international dialogue in a superficial manner, especially with the American legal debates. Empirical studies have thus pointed towards the collection of local and international groups which in

turn brought Affirmative Action together, and modified it to the Brazilian context (Hutn, 2004; Peria, 2004; Tavolaro, 2006; Schwartzman and Silva 2012**).**

The opinion began to change with the discussions and debates on how Afro-descendant Brazilians required in the Universities, in the Academic world. Afro-Brazilian organizations along with other Latin American social movements/ Afro-Latino Movements form extensive networks for the preparation of third World Conference against Racism in Durban in 2001. This has exerted pressure on the government and diplomatic agents in Brazil to take on some rather advanced positions like promise to track compensatory policies for the African descendant population. International support made it easily possible. The Afro-Brazilian movement continues even today in order to correct the means and tools of monitoring the execution of public policies (Skidmore 2003).

In the late 2000 a national committee was formed for the ground work of the Brazilian delegation in the Durban Conference. Both government and civil society encompasses this committee. It encouraged significant participation of Brazilian men and women in the debates and discussions like seminars and workshops on racial issues throughout the country for building the Brazilian Position in the Conference (Ciconelo 2008).

The veteran Afro Brazilian activist, Abdias does Nascimento, elected as federal deputy in the period of democratization, during 1980s. He introduced the initial papers of legislation which demands the compensation and anti-racist public policy. But even though Nascimento's demands were to a great extent unnoticed until the 1990s, his proposals influenced the leftist intellectuals and they started the trend of discussing the opportunity of executing measures of Affirmative Action in Brazil. By the mid-1990s, Benedita da Silva, Afro-Brazilian senator presented a Bill of law 14/95. It proposed for a ten per cent quota for socially discriminated groups like Afro descendants and indigenous people, in the process of entrance into higher educational institutions. This has made racial inequality and the prospect of Affirmative Action officially into a general dialogue (Silva 2007).

The extraordinary focus on the situation of Afro descendants in Brazil has made the public discussions very intense and thus safeguarded an absolute place for this issue on the national political agenda or, at least the issue has raised up to a level at which it could never be ignored again (Santos and Anya 2006).

4. Durban Conference: In 2001, United Nations World Conference was held in Durban, South Africa against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and related intolerances. It also played a vital role in the initial adoption of 'Afro-Descendant' Affirmative Action in Brazil (Cicalo 2013). Several Brazilian institutions also established race-based Affirmative Action soon after the conference. Thus this initiative is been represented as a major footstep in the process of democratization and nation-building in Brazil (Telles 2003).

Afro-Brazilian activists organised for a number of state, regional and national preparatory conferences after the Durban Conference which was an influence on movements. The discussions held at the National Conference, held a month before the world conference i.e. During 6-8 July 2001, in the state of Rio de Janerio against Racism and Intolerances. And this further aided the creation of the Brazilian document that was submitted in Durban (Bernardino and Rosa 2013).

The USA Civil Rights Movement, the decolonization of African countries, and the Anti-Apartheid Movements acted as stimulus for the Afro-Brazilian Movement. During the preparations for the Durban conference on racism, intra governmental debate was catching up (Hutn 2001) and also the diplomatic elite took progressive attitudes on the international stage to preserve their image and this in turn leads to support the efforts of the Afro descendant movement (Martins 2003).

5. The role of media: In order to stress the difference between United States and Brazil the media debates on Affirmative Action in Brazil focused on both the countries (Schwartzman and Silva 2006). After the Durban conference, in the months of July to September 2001, the leading newspapers and print publications in Brazil not only reported about the conference but also debated on the issue of racism in Brazil (Santos and Anya 2006). They even published little-known data on racial inequality and other race-related information which are very rarely reflected in the mass media (Telles 2003).

Surveys conducted in Brazil also indicate the public perception on Affirmative Action. It describes that there is a division in the public opinion considering the topic of Affirmative Action policies (Datafolha 2008; Bains 1997). For instance, a survey conducted in Brazil during the year 2006 showed that the majority of the people support such policies, like 65 per cent of people are in favour of racial quotas while the 87 per cent support quotas for low income students (UOL 2006). The same is true in the academic ambiance. But, media portrays the impression that unfavourable opinions out number favourable as Affirmative Action critics conquer a large amount of place than its defenders (Feres and Daflon 2009; Rajalakshmi and Tripathi 2008).

But on the other hand the international media has glorified the Afro Brazilian campaign for Affirmative Action, to force the government to take a more serious look at racial and class inequality. By working to expose the meritocracy myth of Brazil, protestors are making the most progress move toward Affirmative Action (Guillebeau 1999).

Only a small group of academicians reached at a consensus that, traditional explanations for race relations in Brazil are no longer convincing even though the interest on Affirmative Action grew in academic field in the 1960s. Hence there were only a little change in academics during the 1970s and 1980s, and the strong tide began to blow in the universities of Brazil only by 1990s.

6. The Government: The interest of some leaders in the government in various proposals of Affirmative Action surprised even the cynics. An appeal came from a leader of Afro descendant movement in 1983. He was elected to the lower house of representatives. He has introduced a series of bills in the congress and the details of the bills are there in his collection of speeches in Portuguese. One of these bills even called for an American-style system of racial quotas for Afro descendant Brazilians (Guillebeau 1999).

Towards the end of the 1990s, Afro descendant members of the legislative branch brought together a proposal for Affirmative Action methods for them, simultaneously with the measures of the plan of executive government. The Senators who proposed quotas for Afro- descendant students in public universities, in public administration, and private enterprises are Abdias Nascimento and Benedita da Silva. Few other concrete Affirmative Action steps were also taken until 2001 apart from all these measures (Bernardino and Rosa 2013).

Also, under the sponsorships of the Secretariat of Human Rights in the Ministry of Justice, the federal government stimulated an international seminar on Multiculturalism and Racism. In this conference, a president of the republic, Cardoso, acknowledged that Brazil is a racist country for the first time and he also said that the racial inequality could be addressed through Affirmative Action. This became a remarkable event of the conference. It is a notable point as authorities had repeatedly declared that their nation has no problems of racial discrimination or prejudice (Silva 2007).

At least three bills would have established a federal Affirmative Action programme which is discussed in congress during Lula's presidency. But all the three were opposed, mainly by the representatives and senators of the Brazilian Social Democratic Party (PSDB) and the conservative Democrats which is a right-wing party that has been historically allied with the PSDB. The proposal that was passed, the Statute on Racial Equality, officially identifies Brazil as a multiracial and multi-ethnic country where people of African Descent have been racial discriminated (Junior *et al*. 2011).

The resolutions passed in the Santiago Declaration and Plan of Action which were preserved in the final document drafted at the Durban conference in August 2001 were integral, in spite of their non-compulsory nature. In the Plan of Action, states were requested to consider the affirmative or positive action initiatives in communities primarily of the African descent. It also request for the complete and exact enclosure of the history of African people in educational curriculum. Thus all these shows that Affirmative Action measures began to pop up in Brazil through the patching up of Durban conference (Martins2003).

In October 14th 2001, after the Durban conference, the first permanent National council against discrimination was created by Brazilian federal administration. It encompasses government and civil society representatives and aimed at the evaluation of Affirmative Action policies. Along with the declaration and Action Plan, small changes were made in the state framework to recognize racial inequality and the chance to foster the institutionalization of policies for racial equality. Through preparing and participating in this international conference, the government also opened up a space for civil society which in turn allowed them to protests as well as participate in the evaluation of new policies.

The Debate on Affirmative Action

The introduction of quota system, in several private and public universities and institutions led to the initiation of discussions related to the idea of adopting Affirmative Action policies. The rise of controversies regarding the initiation of quotas led to a series of arguments that both favour and disfavour it. The questions that were engaged with were concerned with the legality, fairness, justification and the constitutional underpinnings of the subject. Critics refused to believe that discrimination existed, and therefore there was no need for special measures to address to a problem which they believed was non-existent. Some even argued that the concept of racial democracy was very well entrenched in Brazil and was not a problem, even Afro-descendant students who believed in the concept of meritocracy.

Sergio Da Silva (2007) argues that the debates revolving around the idea of Affirmative Action revolve around the concept of fairness and justice which makes it difficult to arrive at a conclusion. As a result of which it is difficult to arrive at a proper conclusion, which can result in the creation of proper mechanisms to attend to it. The arguments even differ based on their position in the political sphere. When left tend to defend the use of Affirmative Action in higher education while the right argue against the policy. It is obvious that Affirmative Action particularly in higher education remains a divisive policy when considering the two arguments (Da Silva 2007).

The latter view supports the belief of conflict theorists' which says that schools reproduce both the economic and political status quo in a way that gives the illusion of opportunity and thus serve the dominant privileged class. Furthermore, schools contribute to the continuation of the system of domination by the privileged class (Ibid).

The ideas being discussed regarding the implementation of Affirmative Action are the following:

1. The Idea of *Racial Democracy* and Discrimination: It is now evident that there is a need to create special policies and measures to combat racism in Brazil. The country's understanding and portrayal of itself was that the whole population of Brazil was not made up of variants of races, but it was more of a multicolour theme, as a result of which it cause panic (Jenkins and Moses 2014).

Gilberto Freyre (1963) believed that Brazilians were a race that was unified and there were no differences among them. In short they were all one and there was no racial discrimination as they were all dark skinned, this was also culturally applied as, Brazilians were all *mesticos* and they were actually taking a long time to recognise it (Silva 2012).

In the past decades, the state admitted and publicised mixed race population which is not affected by obvious discriminatory practises, and thus race such policies were affecting Brazil In such a situation race becomes the important factor for the purse of policies meant to offer equality to all. In 1950s, many scientists debated about the race and its effect on the people, and believed that there was no need for special measures due to the reason that race was not a important term in Brazil, and that no racial discrimination ever existed. As a result of which there was a common myth that there was no need to have any Affirmative Action in Brazil (Darby 2010).

The myth of 'Racial Democracy' was prevalently accepted and it explains the reason behind the denial of the requirements of Affirmative Action in creation a better society for all. Brazilian society by and large, also refuses to confess any form of

racial discrimination or has any sort of a "racial problem" and they won't even acknowledge the fact that they owe any compensation to the Black (Afro-descendant and mixed race) population (Cicalo 2013). Thus, the person who played the prominent role in the destruction of the myth of racial democracy was Fernando Henrique Cardoso, who is a young sociologist. He also addressed the question of right in his inauguration speech, and also recognised that racial inequality is one of the major element of social injustice in Brazil, and thus the problem is to be tackled (Martins 2003).

However, only the beginning of (re)democratisation of the country in the late 1980s actually weakened the myth of 'racial democracy'. Great degree of Social inequality was caused by racial discrimination and prejudice (Bernardino and Rosa 2013). In spite of the fact that Afro- descendants are almost numerical majority in Brazil it is apparent that racial discrimination persists. Moreover, racial discrimination has been based on phenotype and has been moulded into regional disparities (Ikawa 2009).

Denial of race and racism is a very strong source of continued de facto discrimination in Brazil. It is made possible by a conceptual misperception involving the meaning of race. This confusion is related to the belief that there is no objective way adequately to define race in a country where so much miscegenation has occurred. There is still a superficial denial of one's own and the others race in Brazil as an unsuccessful means of escaping from the idea of discrimination (Ikawa 2009).

2. Racism: Telles (2004) says that discussions about racism and race inequality was not present in Brazil substantially, this was due to the fear among the privileged Brazilian class about the loss of position, it was also important to see that the idea of Affirmative Action brought about a new debate in the society. A new understanding of how race and ethnicity are constructed in the country are highlighted by these new race-based policies. They also discuss the idea of an Afro-Descendant in Brazil. go to the essential part of the discussion that revolves around the question of being "Afro descendant" in Brazil. Thus a new stage was set according to which, there could be more policies regarding Brazilian society and the elimination of racial discrimination. Marked in Brazil by ending the racial democracy thinking, a national debate about race and racism and the beginning of serious policy attempts to reduce racial inequality (Silva 2007).

Till recently, resistance to the Affirmative Action was very strong especially due to the usage of race and ethnicity as its criteria. This mainly reveals the reluctance of Brazilian society to identify the role of racism in creating discrepancies in education (Telles 2004). Critics of Affirmative Action policies also pointed out that the hold of Quota system in Brazil will definitely create repercussion, especially from members of white elite in the country. There is even an opportunity, as members of the elite would charge that activists of Affirmative Action are retainers of 'cultural imperialism' (Skidmore 2003).

The most popular reactions of the people in Brazil against Affirmative Action were the arguments of "reverse racism", "the destruction of the higher learning in Brazil", and the anxiety that Brazil is going to be a United States. People had a difficult time accepting the policy but at the same time, also to disregard vast discriminations based on race/colour which were concealed behind the belief of the popular myth of "racial democracy". An average Brazilian would argue against the existence of racism in spite of the mere absence of Afro- Descendants as college professors, diplomats, journalists, modelling and nearly everywhere else except soccer fields or entertainment arenas (Segalla *et al.* 2014).

Another assertion against the Affirmative Action policies was that this is supposedly a natural state of things which must be well-looked-after in order to defend the national "identity" from a crisis. Especially in the case of Brazil, where *mestiçagem* is admired and considered as a value that integrates society and harmonizes differences, the appeals are also generated to defend the allegedly tradition (Zahur 2007).

According to the critics of Brazil, this type of policy will give "race" the status of an official category acknowledged by the State and therefore encourage racism as it adopts the categories of race to determine the people who should be benefitted by Affirmative Action (Maggie *et al.* 2007). They also make arguments that race and national identity function according to the vicious thesis and according to them, affirmative action, intending to enhance the marginalized, will create marginalization and in turn leads to racism (Júnior and Toste 2009). They also put forward the idea that Affirmative Action splits the people of Brazil creating racial divide and fostering social problems (Telles 2013).

A fundamental question regarding the purpose of affirmative action policies was that whether these measures bring racialism in universities of Brazil, by making people think that they are Black, which will cause further issues and bring about more racial differences between whites and blacks (Cicalo 2013).

The first impression of the policies is that quotas create social diversification at university level, which can also lead to the more often disturbing ways like social inequalities and dynamics that are already typical of the urban space. This fact describes why quotas are not only seen as divisive measures, but also why definite dynamic forces of race relations in Brazil, such as the collective silence on the concept of 'race' have become even more visible (Cicalo 2013). Thus affirmative action is both creating and to some extent being created by a much more complex idea of group belongingness and difference, where there is an intersection of racial and class understandings in different ways (Schwartzman and Silva 2006).

One of the important arguments against the quotas is that people of the Brazil have to select a sin colour and identify themselves with it in order to attain the benefits ensured under the Affirmative Action programme. Also many who would wish to identify themselves as black would have to get them photographed in order to prove their blackness. This was considered to be racial profiling as well, which would spell trouble for the Brazilian society (Wilkes 2012).

Thus it is stated that Affirmative Action creates division and racial conflicts in Brazil where all these were not existed before. There is still a few people in the country who evaluates the positive discrimination policies feel that it would bring aggravate racial conflict, but the general attitude of Afro descendant and brown population, does not show any inclination towards acts of violence against whites whether or not they are involved in the movements. When the legislature ordered to bring a bill that would bring in reservation of half of the seats in public high schools, it was met with protests from many who believed that it would ultimately bring in racial inequality and profiling, it also caused a response from those who supported it, who believed that this measure would lead to more racial equality in Brazil (Evensen 2014).

Affirmative Action has not caused or entrenched Brazilian racism, which was already present in society and was never properly redressed by universalistic policies. Thus

racism should be revealed and addressed through specific actions. While acknowledging the fact that race is a social construct, these thinkers generally agree that Brazilians should be racially identified for statistical and policy reasons. This positive view of racial Affirmative Action is also supported by the Afro Brazilian movements. According to the Afro-Brazilian activists, these measures represent a form of historical recompense for past wrongs perpetrated during and after slavery as well as a way of favouring the integration of Afro descendant people into spaces of power, while also being a resource for reinforcing black consciousness (Cicalo 2013).

Others continue to argue that both quotas which bring race consciousness, along with the Universalist policies and Brazil's high levels of inequality based on race and class are needed to be reduced significantly. They also believed that before the idea of affirmative action became entrenched in Brasilia public policy, there were no mechanisms to address to rampant racism in Brazilian schools (Telles 2013).

Brazil has had not much success in overcoming racism that is deeply ingrained and structured which has made many Afro-descendants and mixed race (Blacks) students unable to find employment in employment sectors unlike their white peers. Thus, it has become unreasonable to say that there exists employment gaps between the whites and the blacks due to the under qualification of the black people, and some have argued that for this to change there has to be special measures to address the problem (Conceicao 2014).

Adequate understanding of the social and artificial character of race is important in order to understand a particular context of discrimination and also to fight against it. In the case of Afro-descendants, race is a constructed phenomenon and it's defined by phenotype, and not by the ancestry. Therefore remedies should predominantly target beneficiaries by phenotype and not ancestry. In order to guarantee some objectivity, a better alternative would be to restrict identification to the analysis of phenotype, the only criterion which is compatible with the Brazilian notion of racial discrimination (Ikawa 2009).

3. Race *vs* Class Debate: Some view inequality as having poor economic roots. Some others argue to replace affirmative action with measures based purely on economic class. This Hybrid type of affirmative action is gaining widespread public support. Class criteria are now considered to be an alternative point of qualification than race, even though there exist a strong amount of negative response to any kind of reservation and affirmative action.

Data from the 2010 INEP (National institute of Educational Studies and Research) show that class quotas have slowly started to take the centre stage even though, racial inequalities exist and the debate mainly focuses around the idea of quotas based on race. 74 of all quota students have to fulfil their attendance quota, as a result of which this becomes a sign of the poor socio-economic status of Brazil which has become an important yardstick for new policies to bring social equality in Brazil (Telles 2004).

The opponents of Affirmative Action based on race argue that the "quotas" create reverse discrimination. Brazil has a long history of racial intermixing. They also argue that it's not race but the poverty is the main hindrance for receiving the university education in Brazil. Critics of Affirmative Action based on race also claim that, as theoretically everyone is of the same capacity, everyone should have equal opportunity and also argues that Afro -descendants are poor because they are a class that is at the bottom of the society and they do not constitute a race (Telles 2013). They further postulate that since many white Brazilians of the same class suffer similar misery as the Blacks, Affirmative Action is discriminatory. On the other hand those who support Affirmative Action mentions the studies conducted by government which shows the close correlation between race and poverty in Brazil (Ibrahim 2013).

Another group of critics dispute that income-based quotas would make more logic than racial quotas in Brazil. They also argue that greater investment in public schools is the best way if Brazil really wants to solve its educational problem at its roots, it should be imperative that all the students have access to education regardless of their class, race or family background and these points should not decide the education of its citizens (Stahlberg 2010).

4. Discriminatory Nature of Affirmative Action: Due to the allegation that Affirmative Action excludes the indigenous people and the browns of Brazil, and the claim that given the supposedly flexibility of race relations in Brazilian society, makes it hard to attain a stable definition of the beneficiaries of the policy (Benjamin 2007).

In Brazil, the argument concerning the exclusion of indigenous peoples from Affirmative Action policies is merely false, given that in states where there is reasonably larger indigenous population have succeeded in accomplishing their own Affirmative Action Programmes as in 31 public universities in Brazil. Actually the problem lies in the case of the browns (GEMAA 2008).

Browns (*Pardos* or mixed race) are the majority of the non-white population in Brazil and their average socio economic profile is very much similar to that of the Afro-descendant population. Even then only very few policies recognize them unequivocally as beneficiaries as in most cases, it is obligatory to identify them as Afro-descendants in order to qualify for the benefits. Compounding this problem, it should also be noted that in many regions of the country (North, Center-west, and parts of the Northeast and Southeast) many people who identify as brown have no clear African ancestry. This problem may be solved by the adoption of IBGE (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics) colour categories, which 45% of the universities with racial Affirmative Action programs have already done (Junior and Toste 2009).

5. Meritocracy Argument: Here the question apprehend that firstly, as to if the students who are benefiting from the policy of Affirmative Action are actually affecting the idea of merit, whether it denies certain students entry due to lack of merit and whether it leads to preferential treatment of certain students.

Opponents of Affirmative Action argue that these policies violates Brazilian principles of meritocracy and universalism, and thus makes it easier for the people to get into university and it also pull down their motivation to try hard academically. They also suggest that Brazilian quotas is actually stereotyping the black and brown students, that they are incapable of entering prestigious universities on their own

accord and as a result of which they will always be stereotyped as being dependent on quotas for studying (Clark 2012).

The critics of quotas even advocated that, there are even studies done in the U.S and other countries which shows the negative psychological effects that Affirmative Action may generate and it is been concealed by the advocates of the quota system. A number of studies also showed that people who doesn't belong to the beneficiary of the quota system rate the others decline to employ such students who have taken advantage of the policies of Affirmative Action, believing them to be less qualified and not up to the standards that are set (Stahlberg 2010).

Those who support that Affirmative Action never interrupt upon meritocracy makes the common statement that both legal equality and material equality are different and conflicting categories. For them, given their inequality will inevitably cause inequality in terms of their real positions even if they are treated equally. They assume the market, ruled by the law of supply and demand, yields a perfect scale according to which individual talents and efforts are justly rewarded and in this sense would be immune to predetermined prejudice and hierarchies (Telles 2013).

The proponents defend their position by seeing Affirmative Action as a tool that familiarizes true merit into a country where prejudice, discrimination and racial stains articulate distinctions that are reflected in the labour market (Guimarães 2000).

6. Promoting Diversity and Multiculturalism: In the debates and discussions on international spread of multiculturalist ideas and policies, Brazil can be seen as a crucial case both in the academic and political sense. Brazil by now has seriously taken up the idea of racial equality and has applied affirmative action policies properly in both public and private sectors by the late 1990s. A combination of adaptation from international trends and home grown social movements generates these policies or the ideas (Schwartzman and Silva 2012).

In the last decade, the fact that the U.S started to discuss Affirmative Action in practice, negotiations about multicultural practises in education re-emerged in Brazil. This conversation was mainly about the restriction in accepting students from coloured backgrounds in the public schools and other educational institutions. Affirmative Action conversations even requested the people of Brazil to reconsider the availability of opportunities based on a variety of social barriers and points such as gender, race, special needs people, religious faith and race (Ramalho and Silva 2011).

The typical white and middle-class group of students who have dominated Brazilian public universities are diversified by the system of quotas especially on the most prestigious courses of study. The combination of Students of different colours and social backgrounds are more regular as 'equals' in the academic space (Cicalo 2012).

At least theoretically, Quotas represent, as a valued tool for stimulating social encounters, solidarity and reciprocal knowledge between groups of different colours and social backgrounds. These groups can intermingle in the spaces of excellence. This in turn contests many of the doom-mongering interpretations about the divisive impact of quotas and Affirmative Action policies within Brazilian universities. The quota system is instrumental in allowing access to education to students from frail backgrounds to higher education; this has also led to the diversification of education (Schwartzman and Silva 2012).

On the other hand, those who oppose Affirmative Action argue, that in a country like Brazil where colour categories are not very clear there is no point in initiating the process of affirmative action.

7. The Influence of United States: In the last decades, America has been captivatingly influencing Brazil and thus it is sure that the implementation of Affirmative Action is clearly one of them. Experts in sociology forecast that this inequality based on race is reversible by systematic Affirmative Action policies, while the actual racism can be only addressed by stronger legal actions (Ibrahim 2013).

Opponents of Affirmative Action based on race condemn its policymakers in Brazil by saying that, this divides the country between blacks and whites as it is a mere introduction of certain type of policy from the United States along with its twofold system of identifying the races. It is also claimed that considering the reality of racial and ethnic identity in Brazil, this form of racial classification is not adequate (Maggie *et al.* 2007). Their arguments go further like the racial classification which is an imported phenomenon will eventually results radicalization of Brazilian society where the black-white divide was not existed before, and also create racial conflicts. In other words, Affirmative Action will lead to the destruction of the national identity of Brazil (Junior *et al*. 2011).

Frequently the members of the academic arena in Brazil started conveying that the policy is an imported foreign policy model which is an overall exogenous perception of race, and since racial relations in Brazil greatly differ from those practices in the United States it should be disqualified and they also condemn the validity of affirmative action. Despite the fact that several statistical studies showing many different categories for race and colour in Brazil and the existence of the great social and economic inequalities between whites and non-whites, the argument is dominant (Henriques 2001; Beghin 2002).

8. Constitutional Validity: The Constitution of Brazil that has been generous in recognising social rights and material equality has acknowledged the Affirmative Action. The right to affirmative action as a social right is closely related to the idea of distributive justice. In this manner, it's not a right to be admitted to a particular university but the right to public policy (Ikawa 2009).

In each country, the status of Affirmative Action is thus different. In Brazil it is depended on how the articles are interpreted and also on the approval of auxiliary legislation. This however has not prevented the affirmative action from the frequently questioning of its constitutional validity, which is usually based on the claim that it violates the constitutional principle of formal equality (Bains 1994; Maggie *et al*. 2007).

Thus in Brazil it is also common to defend the constitutional validity of these methods based on specific articles in the constitution, which in turn establish positive discrimination as a means to produce greater equality. In their defences, Jurisprudence and international treaties signed by Brazil are also often cited. For instance, the "International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination," adopted in Resolution n.º 2.106-A passed by the United Nations Assembly on December 21, 1965 (Alvarado 2012).

Furthermore, several lawyers from the standpoint of legal doctrine have defended the constitutionality of affirmative action and its compatibility as a principle of equality. The judicial system of Brazil also established equality not only in the formal sense, but also in its material sense. Gradually with the adoption of Affirmative Action policies the argument regarding the unconstitutionality of Affirmative Action slowly lost its strength (Bernardino and Rosa 2013)

The legal argument holds that Affirmative Action violates the equal protection clause of the constitution of Brazil or it simply undermines the republican principle of legal and political equality (Junior et al. 2011). But the high court of Brazil (Superior Tribunal de Justica-STJ) defended quota system as reliable with national Affirmative Action programme of Brazil and also considered such quotas as legal in the fields of federal employment, public service and university admission (DiSchini 2010).

The arguments, labelled "Citizenship and State," refer to the issues such as formal equality and meritocracy, principles that are brought up in order to question the constitutional validity of Affirmative Action. The Constitution of Brazil, in its turn, does not make any unambiguous reference to Affirmative Action for Afro descendants, mixed race, and the poor. It only defines that women in the labour market must be given special protection (art. 7º, XX) and minimum quotas for the handicapped in the public sector (Evensen 2014).

Proponents of Affirmative Action policies use constitution as an important tool in order to justify it, saying that it offer equal access to education for all the citizens, even though the university exams are based on the system of merit, it prevents the entry of students from underprivileged backgrounds to gain access to higher education (Wilkes 2012).

Brazilian courts have taken up the challenge of social inclusion and have attempted to support the laws that deal with such issues effectively. On April 26th 2012, in a case that challenged the Affirmative Action policy in the University of Brasilia, the federal Supreme Court argued that this policy has constitutional validity, support and verification. This ruling became a landmark and declared that the idea of Affirmative Action is important for the state to ensure the equality of opportunity for every citizen. Affirmative Action policies can even fulfil the constitutional obligation of government to build a free, just and supportive society which involves the offer of justice to Afro-Brazilians on the account of their historical marginalisation (Hernandes 2013).

9. Ineffective System: Brazil is a newcomer to Affirmative Action in a number of ways. In fact, it is still a nation-state where Affirmative Action is of very latest origin and also the application has been so far very constrained. In actuality, it has been confined basically to academia particularly public universities and some sectors of the government and public service. Even in contemporary society of Brazil virtually there is no consensus on Affirmative Action let alone on the historical roots of inequality (Bernardino and Rosa 2013).

In Brazil the argument that Affirmative Action is inoperable in diminishing inequalities has been used on a prejudiced interpretation of the proper objective of these policies. They also claim that the aim of these policies is not to fight against all forms of socioeconomic inequality but to widen the access of underprivileged groups to reach the position of higher social status in which they were severely underrepresented. Thus, the inaccuracy here is the expectation of those results that they are not designed to produce (Weisskopf 2004).

The second argument against Affirmative Action policies is its ineffectiveness. The system of selection the underprivileged and the privileged is flawed, as it can either prevent the entry of poor whites into the system or give an undue advantage to even those blacks who are not underprivileged. This is also dubbed as a kind of constitutional racism in Brazil (Junior *et al.* 2011).

Critics of the policies often claim that Affirmative Action policies do not address the root of social and economic division and according to them this makes it a flawed system because it does not delve into the idea of racial inequality. They also agree with other critics insisting that it is imperative for the state to improve education at the primary level in order to address the problems of racial inequality in education rather than in the creation of Affirmative Action which they believe only benefits a certain class.

Their greatest distress is that the quota system will create racial tensions that did not existed before (Wilkes 2012). Opponents also maintained that affirmative action is merely an eyewash that takes away the focus from the central problem of unequal secondary education (Dutra 2004; Jenkins &Moses 2014).

But the real impact of these thoughts of "Racial Democracy" and also the considerable levels of racial miscegenation along with the lack of rigidity in racial classification in Brazil made it impossible to distinguish the most deserving beneficiaries of Afro descendants. When it is difficult to determine the beneficiaries, which also questions the opportunity of establishing programmes to favour Afro descendants (Santos & Anya 2006). And the interesting fact is that, when approximate of 50 per cent of Brazilians describes themselves as white, only less than 7 per cent describes themselves as Afro descendant. The rest of the population include mixed race, with less than one per cent descended from the indigenous people who were present before the colonial period (Downie and Lloyd 2010).There are also serious imperfections regarding which students can apply under the system. In addition, to appear in a national exam, applicants must send a picture of themselves to a secret committee and they judge these pictures to determine whether they can be categorized as Afro-Brazilian. This process can be quite arbitrary (Evensen 2014).

The supporters of these policies claim that, quotas for higher education alone are not enough to ensure the success of minority or low-income students. Thus they argue that it is important for the state to create quotas without thinking about race, and address discrimination at workplace, besides there should also be policies to offer financial support for education (Lloyd 2009).

One example for implementing Affirmative Action as a constitutional obligation was the adoption of a system of quota by the Ministry of Foreign affairs in determining its new batch of diplomats in the year 2011. This was however seen as unsuccessful in June 2013. It is also believed that this law is not perfect, as these positions are known as the positions of trust and therefore this law is incapable of reaching the number of positions available (Conceicao 2014).

People's Perception about Affirmative Action

The old idea of race is still been defended by the people of Brazil. In actuality, even most of those who benefit out of it, actually defend the idea of racial democracy and argue that it is very much entrenched in the system as a result of which it should not be done away with. In addition to that, many declare that it is far better to achieve help from the criterion of income based quotas rather than using race as a factor. Some questions that these beneficiaries do not take kindly to are related to being considered as weak and incapable of adjusting to the system, which makes them depend on special benefits that seems to weaken them (Silva 2012). Today, most of the people of all the colours in Brazil, acknowledge that despite miscegenation and fluid racial classification there is the presence of racial prejudice and discrimination in their country (Telles 2013).

The data collected from the two national surveys shows that there is widespread, stable support for Affirmative Action and has even shown a slight growth between the period of 1995 and 2008 and it was also during this period that the debate on racial quotas to public universities gained public attention. Nevertheless, Brazilians also show an inclination towards colour-blind policies, when given that option. This influence may explain the second point. And that is, In the early 2000 the racial criteria were dominant to the initial implementation of Affirmative Action but by the end of this decade most institutions had public school students as their main target beneficiaries, with race often being a secondary criterion (Schwartzman and Silva 2012).

In Brazil Public universities, are the most visible form of example of following the policy of affirmative action. The conflict between class and race has led to the idea of multiculturalism and it has acquired a new form in Brazilian universities. Most of the universities in Brazil have spoken in favour of affirmative action arguing that it has led to racial and social inclusion that was previously unheard in Brazil. Most university administrators defend Affirmative Action policies by seeing this as an instrument for socio economic inclusion, generally conflicting race and class. Initially universities was different in the extent to which they are privileged based on the criteria of race versus class, and by 2010 Affirmative Action centred on class were clearly dominant. A few other administrators in order to highlight the specificity and relevance of racial issues and identities in Brazil used race-cantered discourse (Francis *et al.* 2012).

The public discourses regarding Affirmative Action, have created generate the perception of students on those policies, which have led to seeing race and inequality as important subjects that need to be dealt with. In addition to that, it is visible that most Afro-Brazilians today think of a new way of understanding class differences that is a break from the mainstream discursive association between blackness and low social class (Darby 2010).

Afro descendant activists discuss that students should discuss the effects of racism on their society. They usually acknowledge that due to entrenchment of racism in Brazil there is an idea of racial diversity that is quite problematic in Brazil. Many see racial diversity as a threat to Brazil (Cicalo 2013).

In order to justify the enactment of Affirmative Action, the university administrators again use race and class-centred claims. Their most commonly articulated discourse in their narratives is the need to encourage Afro descendant consciousness and challenge racial democracy ideologies. In contrast, the most central theme of discourse on racial diversity by Brazilian administrators is the naming and assertion of difference. The idea of creating Afro descendant consciousness, aims to strengthen their identities in order to counter the myth of racial democracy, which is assumed to be hegemonic in Brazil. Therefore within this perspective the goal of Affirmative Action is to encourage a symbolic purpose as well (Ekey 2010).

Affirmative Action is seen as a policy of redistribution of resources in the defence centred on the notion of class. Most administrators who have faith in justifications centred on the concept of class had interpreted the current marginalization of Afro descendants as a socioeconomic problem and understood the latter as the most legitimate validation for Affirmative Action even though class-centred arguments might be articulated with race centred criticisms of racial democracy. In an unequal country like Brazil, it is not only Afro- descendants who are excluded. Therefore, they safeguarded the inclusion of other segments of the population. Some concerned that the specificity of the racial issue would get lost in the policy debate (Wilkes 2012).

The Impact of Affirmative Action

Affirmative Action is not a complete solution for poverty or discrimination, but through these policies, impoverished and underrepresented students will be provided with the more impartial chance to attend selective colleges and universities and thus the higher education becomes possible. The roles of race, ethnicity, or gender is not substituting by the Indices, zones, and other measures in well-made Affirmative Action programs but are progressively combined with these categories.

In Brazil the Affirmative Action policies have acted together with the local context of the society, in order to understand the construction of race and ethnicity, socioeconomic inequalities, and diversity. Being an "Afro-Descendant in Brazil" is the question which is the core of their discussion (Schwartzman and Silva 2012). In Brazil the racial issues were largely absent from the public debates and discussions for decades. But this situation is changed with the bringing of Affirmative Action programmes in higher education especially under the government of Lula (Junior et al. 2011).

1. Increasing Representation and Academic Performance: Even when the Affirmative Action policies was nascent in nature the Afro Brazilians had started doing well in education without raising hostility, thus disproving the critics. At the same time, a lot of students have begun to graduate from well-known universities which have caused a positive impact (Telles 2013).

Currently a majority of federal and state universities in Brazil are attended by about 80 percent of students in public higher education, these universities have some form of quotas for social inclusion and while less than a third of the remaining universities have the same policies. who have some or the other kind of quota system, while less than one third of the remaining institutions like municipal universities, technical schools and college-level courses do not follow Affirmative Action policies. 49 out of 95 federal universities and state universities have some sort of quota system, according to data of INEP, compiled in 2010. Over all around 45 thousand students benefited from this system in 2010 which made up of 11 per cent of all students in higher education (Laeser 2012).

Since2003, empirical studies have scrutinised the impact of the quotas, in addition to the academic and public discussions on the ethics and logics of racial quotas in Brazil. For instance, across the country, the academic performance of 'cotistas' (Beneficiaries of the Quota system) has been comparatively high, and drop-out rates among this group have been lower than other categories of students(Franca.et.al 2011). Social transformations that are produced by the quota system in academic spaces have been observed by the institutional research. It is especially seen in undergraduate courses such as law, journalism and medicine, which have conventionally been viewed as privileges of the Brazilian elite. Policies could even negotiate social distances both in the university setting and in wider Brazilian society by the interesting paths opened by quota system (Cicalo 2013).

The quota system based on race at one of the leading universities in Brazil elevated the percentage of Afro-descendant students who are from low-income families, without declining their efforts to succeed in school (Clark 2012). The racial policies also boosted the overall numbers of the Afro -descendant students, that is of 5.6 per cent to 9 per cent from 2001-2009. The successful applicants were from families of lower socio economic status than the displaced applicants (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics)**.**

Many other social actors are also playing an increasing role in the arena of Affirmative Action even though the state is the central actor in establishing the policies. Some of these groups run training courses for Afro- descendants and applicants who are needed economic support for the vestibular and other organisations

stimulate features such as afro descendant culture, rights and entrepreneurialism. Overall, quota system have doubled or tripled the enrolment of Afro-Brazilians in medical, law, and engineering schools (Lloyd 2009).

2. Diversifying University Spaces: Brazil has become a central case in the debates revolving around affirmative action. The combination of adapted international trends and home grown social movements are the ones which generated these policies or ideas that created them (Schwartzman and Silva 2012). Racial diversity arguments for Affirmative Action (as defined in the American legal debates) is well thought out that assumes that it is important to train the students to determine their lifestyles in a multicultural state. This also creates a sense of empowerment where they learn about each other (Bowen and Bok 1998).

The quotas ended up diversifying the typically white and middle-class group of students that have monopolised Brazilian public universities, especially in the most prestigious courses of study. Students of different colours and social backgrounds now mix more consistently as 'equals' in the academic space (Cicalo 2012).

The Future of Quota System

Since 2001 higher educational institutions, governments, ministries and departments have been following Affirmative Action policies, but it became a law only in 2012.This national congress which approved this law (Social quota law) necessitates that all the higher education system should gradually bring the system of quota and attendance in public high school 2016. After four year of implementation in the Brazilian higher education the projected number of quota students will be incrementally increased by around three times based on the Family income, being indigenous, Afro descendants or mixed race (Laeser 2012; Higher Education Census 2010).

Due partly to the fact that as the Affirmative Action policies were initiated by government officials responding to social movements pushing for social justice till now, most of the recent Affirmative Action policies in Brazil and elsewhere in Latin America have concentrated on public education and public sector employment.

Indeed, in 2010, 500 of the largest private employers in Brazil were surveyed, and the vast majority indicated that they had no Affirmative Action policies in place (Hernandes 2013).

But the state-supported Affirmative Action policies will continue to flourish regardless of whether Affirmative Action expands to include private sector employment in Latin America. Much of this stems from the acceptance of a constitutional and legal justification that has stressed broad-based democratic apprehension with social enclosure and established the basis for these policies in human rights law. As a result, today Affirmative Action in Latin America not only has a strong legal foundation and broader support than the US, the policies also has led to a stronger guide spots for the implementation with specifically expressed numerical quotas (Alvarado 2012).

The advocates hope to turn a new page in Brazilian race relations with the road of the significant legislation of implementing Affirmative Action in the judiciary. Exponents of such activities got their principal sensitivity in October 2014, when the primary afro descendant Supreme Court judge was appointed president of the highest court in Brazil. They hope that giving chance to more poor students for studying at universities will gradually result in a national political and business leadership which is an additional representative of highly diverse population of Brazil. How to include all segments of their societies in the economic prosperity was the question which remained. Its advocates hope that by experimenting with Affirmative Action it will begin to answer this question (Wilkes 2012) .Perhaps, in the US shifting the legal justification for Affirmative Action to fundamental human rights and democratic deepening will help to restart the popular and political commitment to develop racial inequality, much as it is starting to do across Latin America in general and Brazil in particular (Hernandes 2013).

Summary

This second chapter is divided into 11 sections and begins by describing the general concept of affirmative action to its specificities in the fields and also the consequences of it in Brazil. The first section of the chapter looks at the policy reforms implemented during the presidency of Lula da Silva, who was the successor of Cardoso who initiated education policy reforms during the new democracy. He viewed education as an instrument to address inequality and democratize the access to knowledge to make Brazil a globally competitive knowledge society. During this period funds from the government enterprises had been channelized to education. All the three levels of education focused under this government including the salary of the teachers and grand to poor students to attend the universities.

Impact of education policies are discussed in the second section. Unlike in the 1990s, all the policies ensure that more children and young people have access to schools and acquiring knowledge. The successive governments after Cardoso from 1994 to 2002 have been following these policies, which is an evidence of policy continuity related to education. FUNDEB is a new policy to raise a fund for the development of basic education as well as to train professional teachers. Another important reform was the increase of compulsory education form ages 7-14 to 4-17 which includes students from pre-school to higher secondary education.

The third section begins with the introduction of general information on the concept, theory and history of affirmative action. It includes the introduction of the term affirmative action by President Kennedy in 1961, as a process of addressing discrimination and its theory was developed in US. The theory of 'Justice as Fairness' by John Rawls is also recollected in this first section of the chapter. Then the section goes to the aim of affirmative action policies on the field of education and jobs, to ensure that the people are provided with equal opportunities in the fields. The section ends stating that to identify affirmative action it will be easier if we consider its impact on three major social institutions: government, education, and industry (or the private sector).

The objective of affirmative action policies, particularly in Brazil is also covered in this section. It encompasses the main aim of addressing racism, increasing equality

and thus ensuring the social justice and the role it played in promoting a strong afro descendant identity. The section also brings together the two paths through which the progress, defense and contestation of preferential affirmative action took place like the legal and administrative sections of government and also through the pathway of public discussion or debate along with the evaluation of both paths is well described in the section. This section then, leads us to the categories of affirmative action in the third section, which are of two types namely instrumental and moral justifications. It also evaluates both justifications in a minor way like Instrumental justifications interpret affirmative action policies simply as a means to an end whereas, Moral justifications call to deeper beliefs about what is right and wrong and how people should be treated etc. these can be backward looking or forward looking.

In the fourth section, the Brazilian Model of Affirmative Action is described. It starts discussing the role of president, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, who acknowledged the practice of racism in Brazil and the reforms he initiated during his period, which includes an incentive-based quota system, a second national Plan on human Rights, affirmative action national Program and also the conditions and impacts of all these. Later, the help of Lula da Silva and the University of Brasilia which became the first federal university, after the state university of Rio de Janerio, to implement an affirmative policy for both Afro-descendants and indigenous people is also mentioned about. Federal government's University Program for All, known by its Portuguese abbreviation, *ProUni* and its impact on universities in statistical measures is also studied in this section of the chapter. The section concludes with the explanation of the current President of Brazil Dilma Rousseff who signs up the most comprehensive affirmative action laws in the Western Hemisphere which is known as the " Law of Social Quotas" in 2012.

The section also leads to the information on affirmative action policies in government service sector. It begins with the Porto Alegre, where the primary change in public policy happened. Then it describes the regulation passed by the municipal government and a rule which adopted in the state of Bahia, which supports Afro-descendants in the working sector. Through its explanation on federal policies and policies of government ministries it is trying to make sure that the government should act as a model employer, leading the way for fuller racial integration of the labour market. It

also includes reservation for civil servants of the country. A fellowship called 'Vocation for Diplomacy' for Afro-descendants candidates have also been discussed here. It examines how and why the universities, because of their institutional and regional difference and separate status confirmed to varied styles for both the adoption of quotas and the ways of proposing solutions to the problem of racial profiling. The consequences of this for the identification of defining the beneficiaries of quota system are also well described. Some universities mentioned about their point system and others on the basis of their own self declaration. And the quotas based on either race or class or even a combination of both is adopted by the universities.

Circumstances that led to the formulation of affirmative action policies in Brazil are explained in the fifth section. This includes the account of (1) educational inequality, which begins in the life of a brazil child from their very early ages due to the private-public system of schools in the country, (2) Underrepresentation, this absence of Afro-descendants in the middle class is mainly because they are represented poorly in the universities of Brazil, (3) Movements, the origin of 'new social movements' based on group identities such as race, ethnicity, religion and gender with its transnational connections played a very vital role in the implementation of affirmative action policies in Brazil, (4) Durban Conference, United Nations World Conference was held in Durban, South Africa against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and related intolerances in 2001 which also played a vital role, (5) The role of Media, the leading newspapers and print publications in Brazil not only reported but also debated on the issue of racism in Brazil and also published little-known data on racial inequality and also other numerous race-related information which are very rarely reflected in the mass media.(6) The Government, interest of some leaders in the government in various proposals of affirmative action surprised even the critics of affirmative action policy.

The debate on Affirmative Action and it discusses the intense controversy regarding the quotas, about the fairness, legality, constitutionality and effectiveness of affirmative action policies etc. are being traced in the sixth section. It stresses on the idea of racial democracy and its covert discriminatory nature, and the various opinions behind race and racism, race vs. class debate, as many of the people in Brazil still

believe that inequality is still having its poor economic roots. Later it goes to the discussion on the discriminatory nature Affirmative Action, where it looks into many allegations like affirmative action excludes the indigenous people and the browns of Brazil, and the claim that given the supposedly flexibility of race relations in Brazilian society, makes it hard to attain a stable definition of the beneficiaries of the policy etc leads the debate. As a continuation of this the debate goes on to the argument based on meritocracy. It constitutes the doubts like whether the principal of merit system gets affected by this policy and affects university standards, or whether the deprived layers of the society will be the majority of student beneficiaries and thus it treats a particular section preferentially which leads to the invalidity of constitutional rights. Subsequently this section examines the argument of promoting diversity and multiculturalism, which comprises negotiations about multicultural practices in education, even the request of the people of Brazil to reconsider the opportunities for students, based on social justice, values of cultural diversity, gender, race, special needs, or religious belief in higher education due to the influence of this programme. The influence of US is the last point of evaluation in the same section of second chapter. It gives insight on the influence of United States on Brazil and thus it is sure that the implementation of affirmative action is clearly one of them and the discussion go around the division of the country between blacks and whites and whether it is a mere introduction of certain type of policy from the United States.

Constitutional Validity which deals about the generosity of constitution of Brazil in recognizing social rights and material equality which has acknowledged the affirmative action, and also the constitutional validity of these methods based on specific articles in the constitution, which in turn has the ability to establish positive discrimination as a means to produce greater equality. The opponents of affirmative action blame affirmative action being an ineffective system. It is also claimed that the aim of these policies is not to fight against all forms of socioeconomic inequality but to widen the access of underprivileged groups to reach the position of higher social status in which they were severely underrepresented and the assertion of it widens the inequality based on race as it establish the concept of race is also well studied.

People's perception about affirmative action is the seventh section of the second chapter. It traces the perception and opinions of people on this programme which includes both the traditional and advanced views. It talks about most of the

beneficiaries of the racial quota system, who very much dislike the mechanism themselves and try to avoid using it, as much as they possibly can. And also the students who opt for the income based quotas if they had a choice because of their strong belief in the racial democracy. There are crucial questions about the legitimacy of policies too. The study is also about the conflict between not only race and class but also racial and class diversity which leads to multiculturalist ideas and which has the ability to acquire a new form in Brazilian universities.

The impact of affirmative action is the second eighth section of the second chapter. It talks about the effects of affirmative action policy in Brazil which includes increasing representation and academic Performance of the minority groups like Afro-descendants, browns and women. And also the diversification of university spaces as the underrepresented people got new chances due to the policy.

The last section of the second chapter deals with the future of quota system. Even though there are many parts of Brazil which is not touched by the affirmative action program it has helped a majority of the population in both education and employment sectors. And the advocates believe that they could turn a new page in Brazilian race relations with the road of the significant legislation of implementing affirmative action in the judiciary.

Conclusion

So far we have discussed the politics implemented to address the issues like equity and quality of education as well as the underrepresentation of people from certain sections of society in higher education institutions. Despite the presence of all these policies inequality is still an issue. Brazil has multidimensional inequalities. In the coming chapter, educational inequality will be discussed. The chapter would also look at the reasons for educational inequality along with the complex relationship between other types of inequalities and educational inequality. The ways in which multidimensional inequality contributes to educational inequality (in a circular fashion) will be examined.

Chapter: 4

Addressing Educational Inequality

Chapter: 4

Addressing Educational Inequality

Introduction

In the recent trajectory of the socio-economic aspects of global transformation a phenomenon starkly stands out irrespective of the particular context. The issue of widening social inequality in all spheres of human existence poses the singular biggest threat to human development and welfare (Tedesco 2002). Whether in terms of resources allocation or access to opportunities, the gulf between the rich and poor is increasing steadily, across continents and geo-political entities. Moreover, in the third world countries of the geographical South, this experience affects every sector, from education and health to democracy and culture. These changes have given birth to an array of significant theories that attempt to explain this phenomenon.

Here in this chapter I intend to closely analyse the impact of inequality in the field of education in Brazil. At the core of the concept of education lies the idea of inclusion, whereby education is guaranteed to the entire population of any nation. Hence, any inquiry into the idea of inclusive education has to incorporate the challenges and barriers that lie in the path of achieving this goal, whether they are academic, social, economic or linguistic. Since the relevance of the idea of inclusion is established by

the reality of its antonym i.e. exclusion, in the context of Brazil, we need to be juxtapose it alongside the educational policies, if one is to study the issue of inequality in the turf of education.

Silverio explains that the foundational principles of any democratic society have to carry the motto of equality along with other ideas such as freedom, justice and rights. Outhwaite and Bottomore as quoted by Silverio contend that the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries witnessed a gradual evolution in the nature of the struggle for equality that began as a matter of equality before law and later assimilated the demand for equal rights to political participation. However, in the twentieth century, the concept of social equality gained predominance over the former concepts, even though the legal and political equalities were not always practically enjoyed by everyone (Silverio 2002). According to them, social inequality includes the rights of all citizens to be treated as equal entities in all the institutional spaces that affect their life chances ranging from school to work place. Some other theorists claim that the principle of fairness needs to be given more importance than that of equality and this distorted prioritisation had been 'an obstacle to social change' that could have worked towards building a more equal society. Now let us focus on the debates around the questions of inequality and backwardness in Brazil in general.

Reasons for Backwardness

From this point we can trace the reasons for the backwardness experienced by the Brazilian educational system. Some of these reasons can be traced back to the history of most of the postcolonial societies including India. Firstly, the political system at the Federal level is ridden with corrupt and self-motivated politicians who are only interested in their personal as well as political wealth mobilization. Hence, these interests took more importance in their political actions than any will for collective progress of the society (Beherman 1998). Traditionally the Catholic Church has been an important driving force supporting private schools. The old religion versus secularism debate is another point of division over goals (Wirth J D 1997).

1. Regional Disparities: The geographical divisions between the various regions of Brazil imply a deep rooted economic and social hierarchy. Brazil is composed of 27 states out of which only eight have average household incomes above the national mean. They are as follows the Distrito Federal São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Rio Grande do Sul, Paraná, Santa Catarina, Acre and Roraima.

> The poorest state was Piauí, with an average per capita household income that was about 40% lower than the Brazilian average and 80% less than that of the richest state. Regional inequalities in Brazil originate from a strong north-south divide. Eight out of the ten poorest states in Brazil were in the Northeast, and two of the four states of the Southeast were among the five richest states in Brazil (Justino *et al.* 2007).

This disparity could be addressed to some extent if the politicians show political will. The Brazilian society is complacent about the 'differential access' where the only concern is the larger production and growth not the availability of better amenities or rights to all. The system channelizes the majority of the resources to the cities that is used for better infrastructure including schools. This leaves the rural regions without funds, materials and human support (Wirth J D 1997). Furthermore, the school system also mirrors the north-south divisions in Brazil whereby the impoverished northeast lags far behind the developed south. The failure of universal education leads to an instrumental approach which produces a complex set of authorities, overlapping in their duties, complicated guidelines and projects at the federal, state and municipal levels.

The IBGE Report show that the profound differences in the education level achieved by the Brazilians in working age belonging to different socioeconomic levels and evidence found in various surveys that the educational achievement, is strongly associated with the socio-economic background of the student. Depending on the municipality in which a Brazilian child or teenager in enrolled there is a higher or lower probability to find basic educational inputs for a quality education ,such as a library and teaching labs or teachers with college degrees.

2. Socio-historical Hierarchies: The Ministry of Education (*Ministerio da Educacao*) is a central body that coordinates educational system in the entire country at a centralized level. Even though individual states are charged with the need to prepare children with basic education, not all states offer enough spaces for students.

The Eurocentric value system that is a burden on the post-colonial societies weigh down upon the foundation of Brazilian system and continue to marginalise those who have been discriminated against during the colonial era (Ramalho and Da Silva 2011).

The lack of vision and political will that historically characterises the Brazilian governments, both colonial and post-colonial ones, explains the historical backwardness of the region. As far as the teaching profession is concerned, the two crucial factors are missing or unconnected here. Throughout the 19th and 20th century, in Portugal all efforts were made to ensure the growth of the teaching profession but such an expansion and development was completely non-existent in Brazil. The colonisers paid no attention to these intellectual as well as cultural aspects of the colony. Moreover, even after independence, Brazil did not experience a liberal transformation that demanded social change and protested against conservatism. Simon Schwartzman, a leading political scientist in Brazil explains that the poor quality of teaching and irrelevant curriculum plays an important part in driving students out of school. Brazil has around one lakh rural schools run by municipalities and has around 5.5 million students. Most of these schools have one teacher and one class for only and are given very little resources at their disposal. Even though some parts of the country has better schools, one cannot deny the fact that as a whole the system is in a deplorable state. According to Schwartzman, they need to be assisted financially and administratively to ensure more 'quality', 'efficiency' and 'relevance' (Schwartzman 2005).

3. Racial Question: Underrepresentation of certain racial groups in education is one of the most alarming issues that Brazil faces. The so-called melting pot of Brazilian cities includes only the poor and working class sections, mostly mixed or black populations. The elite white population who are mostly middle and upper classes afford to maintain the high standards of living. The negligible presence of Afro-Brazilian people in the middle-upper strata of the society explains as well as strengthens the underrepresentation of the group in the universities and all places of higher education. Most of the best universities in the country were unaffordable or inaccessible to the non-white population until the implementation of the affirmative action policies since 2001. It is, hence, advisable to continue having a 'race-

conscious' affirmative action system in these university admission processes (Junior *et al.* 2011).

Many surveys prove that the racial inequality and race-based discrimination is rampant in Brazil not only in the labour market but in all walks of life. All the non-White groups face discrimination in one form or the other, including human right violations and police violence. They are also discriminated against with regard to earning and investment. Though in the international media Brazil is portrayed as a multiculturalist society, the there are several crises points in the country with regard to the racial composition and hierarchy that exist there. Blacks are consistently at the bottom of any indicators of social welfare and upward mobility (Guillebeau 1999). Today, out of the 191.7 million population of Brazil, 48.2 per cent are white and rest non-white. Out of the 11.2 million college graduates in the country around 73 per cent are white and only 24 per cent belong to the non-white groups.

The historical excesses committed by the slave system lingers to the present through generations of slave-master relationships and gets settled in the present in elusive as well as blatant forms of discrimination and injustice. The statistical data collected and analysed by IPEA show that despite the overall development in the country the distance between the races has not decreased. Some of the observations about the last decades show that some of these gaps will widen more while some remaining intact. None of these gaps showed any possibility for immediate reduction. The racial democracy theory argues that the uneven development of blacks and other marginalised races and their absence from the wealthy positions, opens up a peculiar conjecture of class and race inequalities that is characterised by the historical legacy of slavery, absence of state-initiated affirmative action, miscegenation etc.

Florestan Fernandes, for example, contends that "racial discrimination is the result of the particular history of local slavery and the inability of Brazilian blacks to adapt to capitalism". In 1979, sociologist Carlos Hasenbalg conducted a research that explored the connection between class and race more deeply. "Research on social mobility indicates that non-white members of the middle and upper classes experience less social mobility than similarly placed whites and that they have more trouble transferring their new status to their children" (Ekey 2010)**.**

4. Economic Inequality: Brazil is categorised as a 'large middle income country' in the economic classification of countries. It is premised upon a particular understanding of large country that has implications for socio-economic patterns, international relations and institutional capacities. The middle income tag differentiates the developing countries from both the developed countries as well as underdeveloped countries (Maluf and Burlandy, 2007). Economic inequality among different social groups as well as different regions need to be analysed closely if we understand all these factors and layers as interacting with each other. Many economists argue that excessive income inequality could also be inefficient as it would create more poor people at an average level of income and they would be benefit relatively less from the economic growth than in a more equal society.

Now let us address this question of inequality in a more specific manner. It is essential to point out certain reasons behind the extreme unequal situations exist in Brazil. Income inequality has been a very persistent issue in Brazil and as we already know it has serious historical roots and regional dimensions. According to the recent World Bank data, the richest 20 per cent of the people have 33 times more income than that of the poorest 20 per cent and it points towards one of the highest income inequality that exists in the world. 'The Gini coefficient for the distribution of household incomes per capita is 0.59, that is, the expected difference in income per capita between any two Brazilians chosen at random is nearly 1.2 times the average income per capita'. The extreme condition of poverty that was created and sustained by this has not changed much since the mid-1980s. Therefore, what Brazil is facing is more of a structural crisis than some short term transitional issues (Litchfield, 2001; Woods and Carvalho 1988).

Educational Inequality in Brazil

The unequal access to educational resources paves way to further inequalities throughout one's life. As mentioned in the OECD Report that was published in 2011, 'education gaps contribute significantly to inequalities in mobility and opportunity, as well as in well-being, social and health outcomes' (OECD Report 2011). Likewise, Parijis argues that in the contemporary scheme of affairs, the idea of justice is defined

predominantly in formal and technical manners and equality as 'equality of opportunities' (Parijis 2004). According to the author, this perspective would immediately associate the elimination of discrimination with equality of opportunity and in turn to social fairness. Hence, in the current system, 'the skills and competencies' you gain through the process of education would be considered equivalent to one's merit as a future employee in the labour market. Here, the various socio-cultural locations of the individual are not under consideration while evaluating his/her ability.

Similarly, Apple has coined the phrase 'depoliticisation of the educational context' that denotes the apparent 'neutral' and 'objective' evaluation of the institutional and educational processes which is severed from the larger structures of power that exist (Apple 2005). Here the individual is torn apart of his/her social roles that might be deeply entrenched in the unjust, unequal socio-economic relations such as class, race and gender.

Another scholar has talked about the problematic assumptions that posit equality of opportunity as the sole way of looking at the concept and the central position given to the notion of merit. "Exclusion is not only an objective, systemic phenomenon, it is also a subjective experience of exclusion lived potentially as if self –destructive, since each one is responsible for their own education, for their own adventure." He points out a paradox that characterises the school education system today after opening up the institutions to all classes. On the one hand in principle, the school accepts each student as equal and ensures equal opportunities to him/her by the virtue of being a student. On the other hand, the basic mechanisms of ranking, classification and assessment that schools carry out are based on a meritocratic approach (Dubet 2003). Hence, the 'massification of public education' has not in practice ensured the equality of students once they are inside of the system.

The Latin American scenario is extremely diverse. However, we could observe that many Latin American countries have started emphasising on the importance of inclusive development, in education as well as in other social sphere. The quantitative assessment of inclusion is not an easy exercise as it is too complex a process that involves layers of societal engagements. Yet, authors such as Buvinic argue that some

of the basic criteria towards this evaluation could be 'poverty, access to quality services, infrastructure, and access to participation in labour (IADB 2004).

Even when we narrow down our focus to Brazil, it still poses the issues of diversity, vastness and other complexities. The 200 million population of Brazil is spread over a number of diverse regional and cultural locations which are becoming increasingly integrated and urbanised. In addition, the existing social and economic hierarchies and other disparities whether in terms of per capita income or employment or other standards of living make it impossible to consider the whole country as single entity.

To understand the current state of education in Brazil linked to inequality and social exclusion it must be analysed in a historical framework that includes the formative period of the state and modern society. Different regions of the country were integrated at different points and they brought in the varied heritages and cultures together (Glatt and Mattos 2005). The way modernity was ushered in the country needs to be kept in mind while analysing the present scenario (Schwartzman 2005).

History of Inequality: The Brazilian Experience

The history of Brazil is characterised by the typical third world experience of having huge gaps between the rich and poor in terms of educational opportunities and achievement. Even in the latter half of the 20th century, especially in the north and northeast regions, the access to education was very limited. Some of the government initiatives that took place in the field were confined to the free public post-secondary levels leaving the primary sector almost unattended. Hence many theorists argue that 'education has been singled out for decades as the main determinant of inequality' in the country (Langoni 1973; Jallade 1978; Ramos 1991; Mendonca 1995; Ferriera 2000; Barbosa *et al.* 2008).

In the Federal constitution of Brazil that was established in 1988, education is mentioned as the right of all and the duty of the state and of the family in article 205. Article 215 says that through the cooperation of the Union, State, Federal District and local levels the public education is to be organised throughout the country and according to article 209 teaching could be open to private players. "Access to

mandatory and free education is a subjective public right, and the competent authority is liable for the failure or irregularity of the offer of compulsory education (according to Art. 208, VII, § 1º). The constitution ensures a diverse range of rights, including the political, cultural, educational and linguistic rights to the 'indigenous peoples, regulated by Law 9,394/96 and by the guidelines issued by the National Education Council'.

Most of the Brazilian social and economic policies have neglected the needs of particular regions. Social inequality is a part and parcel of the Brazilian social life, extending from spheres of education and employment to health care and social welfare services. The centre-south regions and their population have received much more benefits from the state and they have more access to all sorts of resources in comparison to the poorer regions like the north Amazon.

By the international yardsticks, income inequality in Brazil remains very high and as we already know this in turn is rooted in larger structural and systemic reasons and facts such as the distribution of land and social status of families. For the longest of time, many of the policies including those pertaining to education have done nothing but reinforce these inequalities. I would like to argue along with many scholars of the field that if Brazil is to make substantial achievements in the socio-cultural spheres, it has to address these root causes of inequality.

Major Factors

As we mentioned above in the global case, massification of primary education and more and more enrolment has not produced the desired effects in the already disadvantaged sections in Brazil. The unequal distribution of access to education continues among the various groups and regions and based on gender. Girls, especially from the rural areas who have already studied in the primary schools nearby face severe challenges to go ahead. Most of the secondary schools are distant for the rural population and infrastructure and transportation facilities are in deplorable conditions. Hence, most of the girls have to forgo their secondary and higher education and engage in the traditional gender roles. Like the Indian scenario, the low levels of attendance and drop-out rates point towards the inequalities that

persist and that in turn become decisive in their cognitive as well as individual development. Many studies including the OECD Country Study of 2011 recommend increase in the state investment in education. Now let us closely analyse some of the crucial factors that define the nature of education in a specific space and time.

1. Equity of Education: Equity is considered to be one of the main problems of the whole of Latin American education situation and of the Brazilian one in particular. At the global level Brazil represents one of the gravest income inequality scenarios and it is clearly reflected in the education sector. Like many third world cases, some 'islands of excellence' are there amidst the vast arena of unevenness. This unevenness of educational resources challenges all the basic notions of equality and justice.

2. Quality of Education

According to numerous scholars of Brazil, the quality of education available in the country can be described as 'poor, at best' (Burton 2012). Issues such as grade repetition and drop-out are rampant in Brazil like other countries in the continent despite the efforts to extend the purview of education since the 1970s. Various financial measures like the Bolsa Escols cash transfer program haven't had any considerable impact on the system as they have failed to unsettle any of the underlying systemic crises (Lomeli 2008: Oloveria 2007).

One aspect of the quality of education is the quality of the schools. Even though recent years have witnessed some expansion in the school system, it has not necessarily influenced the quality of these schools positively. Most of the studies show that the Brazilian schools are not capable of enabling the children to make use of the technological and information revolutions that occur. According to the 2003 OECD PISA report, around 50 per cent of the 15th year old Brazilian students can read only without understanding what they are reading.[2]

---

[2] National assessment schemes like SAEB (National System Evaluation of Basic Education) show similar results from 1997 to 2003. SAEB systematically demonstrated that 60 % to 80% of students fail to reach the minimum standard in each of the grades tested (OECD 2003).

Some point out that the improvements took place in the standard of living in general has not been translated into the increase in the quality of school education. Even where the standard of living has been that of developed countries, the standard of the school system could never improve beyond that of a developing country. In the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), Brazil ranked in the bottom quarter of the list of countries participated. Moreover, the internal disparity among students becomes starker when we analyse the quality of the school system at the national level. For instance, nearly 50 per cent of the white elementary school students perform above the country's proficiency level in mathematics compared to only five per cent of black students. In spite of the recent improvements, an average Brazilian student scores much less in the international aptitude and knowledge tests that her counterparts in other countries and this is an indicative of the low quality public schooling that exists there (Soares and Nascimento 2011).

On the other hand, another important survey in the field of education, The Teaching and Learning International Survey (TALIS) conducted by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), discovered that the Brazilian teachers are ranked last out of the 23 countries on 'the effective use of classroom time'. The study finds that Brazilain teachers spend significant portion of class time on administrative tasks and maintaining order (As quoted in Gregory Elacqua and Fatima Alves 2014).

Brazil is among the 53 countries that have not achieved or do not even stand a chance of achieving, the Education for All Goals by 2015, even though the country has reported significant advances in the field of universal education in the last two decades. Worst of all, compared to all other countries with similar economic development, Brazil's schooling system is one of the lowest quality in terms of the process and the output. Many international funding agencies such as the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank have made use of this opportunity to intervene and address the problems (Psacharaopoulos 1997).

3. Class Difference and Education: In the field of primary education, in Brazil, like in India, the private schools are of much better quality and the rich send their children to these schools while children from poorer backgrounds depend on the state funded schools. There is also the culture of appointing private tutors and preparing for the

college admission tests among the wealthy. Thus they end up getting admission at the public funded universities and other institutions of higher education that are of good quality (Elacqua and Alves, 2014: Otis 2013). For the majority of the population that consist of middle and lower classes, these options are not available. In turn the poor students will have to choose the private universities, if at all, as the prospect of finding an employment without a university education is negligible. These private universities are of poor quality and 80 per cent of the total students have to opt for the private ones. An average Brazilian student from an average family who joins the private university would have to work simultaneously to afford it (Kuenning and Vieira 2015). This is one of the reasons for the growth of evening classes available in these universities as most of the students have to work during the day.

4. The Racial Dimension: The issue of race is extremely complex in the Brazilian context as the government itself officially recognise over a hundred different skin shades as the basis of classifying the population. The most privileged of all these colours are the heirs of the white colonizers who came not only from Portugal but also other European countries and occupied land and dominated over the natives. In a study published in 2004 Reis argues that the Brazilian 'elite white' discourse gives centrality to the concept of equality of opportunity while discussing issues related to social inequality. The author, based on a thorough field work and survey methods, contends that majority of the elite white individuals deny any notion of equality of outcomes in this backdrop (Reis 2004). They also reject any attempt from the state towards the policies of affirmative action. According to Reis, these same elite understand education only as having an instrumental value without attaching any broader socio-cultural goals to it. Another scholar points towards the conspicuous absence of any notion of social inequality of political inequality in the censuses and total negligence at the existing power relations by which individuals and groups are rendered invisible and marginalised (Schwartzman 2005)

Fundamental Challenges

In the path of improving the quality of education and distributing the educational resources with equity Brazil faces numerous obstacles. The primary aims in this line are reducing the rates of drop-out and grade repetition, increasing functional literacy, focussing on technical and vocational education, investing more in the primary education while improving the standards of higher education, developing an efficient and productive workforce while restricting the cost of their education (Minassian 2012). Even though the constitution has banned child labour for children below 16, it still persists in reality. Around 8.4 per cent of the children who go to school are working 19 hours per week and there are still a considerable number of children who stop schooling by the time they leave primary schools (OECD Report 2010: 4).

Many scholars opine that the merging processes of privatization in the education sector, along with the emphasis on developing human capital have undermined the previous social welfare foundations of Latin America like the 'Cordoba model' of the public university system (Bernasconi 2008; Oliveira 2009).

1. Financial Obstacles: As we already mentioned, the per capita state expenditure for the higher education in Brazil is many times more than that in the primary sector. As per the INEP estimation for 1996, cost of higher education per student is 12.8 times more than that of the primary and 9.9 times more than that of the secondary education. It is important to increase the overall public spending in education in order to address this issue, without any reduction in the spending in the higher education sector. Experts propose that this would require at least a seven per cent of the GDP to be allocated for education, as done by countries like Canada or the United States. (Schwartzman, 2005) According to data from the ministry of Education, the real public investment per student expanded by 94 per cent between 2000 and 2009 and while the ratio between expenditures on post-secondary and primary students dropped from 11 times to 5.2 times (Cicalo 2012).

Now let us turn to some of the weaknesses that is inherent in the educational system of the country that has severely compromised its equity, efficiency and productivity. To begin with, the huge gulf that exists between the rich and poor in the access and capability towards education weakens the economy and society as a whole. In

addition the regional disparities between the poor northern and north eastern states lag behind others. We can also see that as the rate of repetition increases the rate of completion goes down. Deeply distorted and disproportionate income-access situation exists when it comes to education and many scholars argue that Brazil needs to strengthen its technical and vocational education sector. In the OECD report of 2010 both in the continental and the international assessment lists Brazil's position is far below (OECD Report 2010).

Salaries of teachers and other staff have not increased in time. Municipal school teachers receive much lower salaries than those in the state schools because of local budget deficiencies. Hence those schools end up having less qualified teachers.

Until 2002, the relationship between the federal government and teachers unions at all levels has been hostile. Even if this relation changes, the resource allocation required for the increase in salaries would not be easily done as history shows. The recurring issue of resources is intensified by the lack of qualified state administrators. The management of income and expenditure in the education sector needs to be evolved anew. Some argue that it is impossible to provide good quality education in Brazil for less than one thousand Reals per student per year which is equivalent of 315 USD dollars. In contrast, the Brazilian government recently proclaimed that the expenditures in Basic education through the use of 'the national education fund (FUNDEF) was R$446.00 for students for the first four years of fundamental education and R$ 4683 for the other four' (O Estado de Sao Paulo 2003).

2. Socio-Economic Hurdles: The basic impediment is the drop out from the primary level of schooling itself. If Brazil could make sure the universal completion of the primary level education, it would represent an important milestone in the journey towards the achievement of the right to education as mentioned in the constitution in its true spirit.

> In Latin America and the Caribbean, the rate of primary education completion for the population aged 15-19was 88.1% in 2002 (ECLAC, 2005). Nevertheless, there are persistent problems of progression at this level, which result in high rates of grade repetition (Brazil, 21%; Guatemala, 13%;Nicaragua, 11%; and Peru, 10%) far in excess of the figures for Western Europe and North America, where the highest rates of repetition do not surpass 5% (UIS 2006a).

Let us closely look at some of the data available about the situation Brazil. In the 20 per cent poorest of the population, 1 in 4 people aged between 15-19 do not complete primary education and by contrast among the 20 per cent of the wealthiest, only 1 in 25 encounter a similar fate (ECLAC, 2005, data from 2002). There are also severe inequalities in primary school completion on the basis of urban/rural locations and racial origins.

These data and analyses show that the size and seemingly progressive nature of social expenditure cannot ensure a more equalised access to across income groups and regions. Evidently, the repercussions of all these inefficient and non-visionary policies fall disproportionately on the poorest of people who consequently lose out on the educational front failing to bear these pressures. The family background, racial profile and gender play very direct roles in a person's position vis-à-vis education in Brazil. Poor, black girls are the worst affected of all and they stand at the lowest position in completing school (Lomeli 2008).

The number of Brazilian children who complete the primary level and reach to the high school steadily decreases nowadays. Only a third of the total children enrolled at the primary level reached grade six. The government claims that there are some definite steps it is taking in this regard. Even when the rates of enrolment and even completion increase, it do not automatically ensure the quality and equality of the education imparted at these schools. In fact, almost every Brazilian child between the ages of seven and fourteen is enrolled in school "However, due to high levels of grade repetition (holding a student in the same grade for two or more consecutive academic years) and stop outs (temporarily dropping out of school mid-year to return to the following year or later) only two third of these children will finish all the eight grades of compulsory schooling. Moreover, less than 10 per cent of those who finish eighth grade will learn what is expected of them" (INEP 2004: 3).

Another issue is that of School Failure (*fracasso escolar*), a term used by various scholars of Brazil and other Latin American countries. This situation is defined by them as the complex phenomenon that includes multiple issues like low achievement, high rates of drop outs and grade repetition. These rates are way higher in Brazil than other countries in the region. In fact Louzano argues that more than half of the present

fourth graders in the country have either repeated at least one grade or stopped out of school as mentioned above (Louzano 2004).

Impact on Labour Market and Production

Issues of education and employment always work in vicious cycles as we know in the case of India. The drawbacks in the field of education are directly reflected in the efficiency and productivity of the labour market and production sector. In Brazil, technically skilled man power is scarce as the investment in technical or vocational education is less. Only a small per cent of the privileged urban dwelling youth can access these institutions as they are situated under the Federal or state governments in the urban areas.

In their classic work on Brazil, Robert Havighurst and J Roberto Moreira painstakingly elaborate how the limited upward social mobility of the country in the last century was a by-product of the inefficient education system. The children of the agricultural labourers and unskilled urban workers could not go beyond some semi-skilled jobs and a few of them have ended up establishing small businesses. The skill gap in the labour force presents another significant issue for Brazil, when compared with not only the United States but even Mexico and Colombia. The total percentage of workers who have graduated from high school is 35 per cent whereas in the US it is 94 per cent and in Mexico, 52 per cent. This reflects the deep rooted and historical negligence showed towards education and the unequal access to it (XVIII World Bank Country Study 2004).

The illiteracy rates are high in Brazil and the labour market suffers an additional blow from this. The emerging modern economy lacks sufficiently qualified labour force both in terms of technical competence and even basic education. According to the latest household survey (PNAD) 0.11.4% of Brazilians of ten years of age and more declared not to be able to read and write. Most of the older illiterates in Brazil could benefit from literacy campaigns in the rural regions that enable them to incorporate reading and writing habits into their daily lives. Another large section of illiterates i.e. the children do not learn to read and comprehend and write even after some years of being in school. Most illiterate in Brazil are older persons living in the poorest regions

and not many of them are likely to learn from literacy campaigns and incorporate reading and writing habits in their daily lives. This has to be tackled at a more structural level of improving the quality of schools. As Brazilian President Dilma Rousseff acknowledged it "[O]nly when there's progress in the quality of education can we form young people that are . . . able to lead the country to the full benefits of technology and knowledge" (Gomez 2013). If the country has to enter the competitive global labour market with an edge it has to start building its future generations from the bud itself.

The Question of Indigenous Education

Like most of the post-colonial countries in the third world, Brazil faces the issue of native population's right to their native language, culture and access to education through the indigenous means. The Amerindian population in Brazil and their educational status need to be briefly dealt with in order for us to grasp a clearer picture of our discussion in the educational inequalities in the country.

The current MEC legislation and the Federal constitution uphold certain principles which are followed by the indigenous educational projects in general. They are as follows: bilingualism, multilingualism and intercultural approach to education. However, in reality most of these projects for the indigenous education are conducted by teachers hailing from non-indigenous backgrounds who speak Portuguese that defeats the purpose at the start itself. Likewise, most of the gender related programs for the Amerindian population is carried out by elite male participants (Lopes da Silva 2003:109).

Reasons behind Educational Inequality

As we mentioned already, the social and cultural reasons for this inequality hinders all other steps towards any improvement like more financial investment or economic development. According to many theorists, the highly selective and exclusive nature of the Brazilian socio-educational system is the most fundamental reason underlying the inequality (Cury 2008). In the liberal progressive social discourses, we tend to

assume that education is a means to ensure equality for various marginalised groups. But in reality, educational practices themselves reproduce unequal structures. At the end of the 20th century, The Brazilian education system not only fails to ensure equal access and quality to the population at large, it in fact helps to sustain and deepen the social and economic inequalities. The data show 45 per cent of the heads of households in low income families either could not attend school or had to drop out before completing even one year of studies (De Souza 2012: 1-28).

We already saw the concept of school failure used by scholars to talk about the peculiar situation in Latin American countries whereby a number of grave issues come together as to completely disrupt the process of imparting good quality education. The black and mixed race students are affected more by this phenomenon than the white students because the latter tend to attend the better equipped private schools at the primary level. They have more resources at their disposal and have better teachers. The marginalised families have to send their children to the poorly equipped public schools and this cycle continues.

There are serious problems in the field of education related to the three most important variables, quality, equity and efficiency. We have discussed both the first and second ones already. The third one, the efficiency of education primarily denotes the appropriate use of resources allocated. Brazil started to establish modern educational institutions very late. The necessary task of raising a strong teaching and academic culture was not carried out sufficiently too. Only after undertaking many years of thorough demographic analysis, the policy makers were convinced about the basic problem being the absence of this three-pronged approach. These coupled with traditional expectations of making children work at farms of households intensified the situation (Schwartzman 2005).

The shortage of sufficiently qualified staff is another reason for the inadequate implementation if the public policies on education. The teachers need to be trained to be more professional and all the other staff too needs better training (Taylor 1997). Unless we incorporate the ideals of quality, equity and efficiency into the current thrust on expansion and massification, the latter would not be able to bring about the desired results.

There are some interesting comparisons of the educational services successfully provided by private and public schools, as well as of state or public regulation concerning private education. In a paper the authors argue that the reason why Brazil lags behind in educational development could be seen in the political domain, where private interests take precedence over public projects. He explains three situations where this occurs namely, 'political patronage (*clientelismo político*)', 'the provision of public subsidies to private schools', and 'the maintenance of public university education free of charge' (Gomes 2000).

Relationship between Race and Class

We shall extend our discussion a further step in order to elaborate upon the relation between the economic inequalities and racial discrimination. As we mentioned above, the categories of race and class intersects in the daily lives of the marginalised, having impact on every field of life including education.

> Brazil has a very diverse population, with a large group of white individuals (mainly Portuguese descendants), a small African descendant population (mainly descendants from the slave trade), a very large mixed race population and very small groups of indigenous peoples and populations of Asian origin. The percentage of these groups in the total population, in 1996, was, respectively, 54.5%, 7.2%, 37.7%, 0.2% and 0.5%. Mean incomes by racial group in Brazil vary considerably, with households with African descendant, mixed race or indigenous heads having significantly lower earnings than those households with white or Asian-Brazilian heads (Gottschalk and Justino 2007: 14).

In 2005, the UNDP report specifically mentioned separate human development indicators for different racial groups in Brazil. Historically, the Portuguese monarchy unofficially encouraged racial intermarriage, despite resistance from the Catholic Church in order to protect Portugal's large open borders with the Spanish territories, thereby creating a third racial category, the brown or mixed race (Daniel 1999; Telles 2004). The relationship between white colonizers and non white Brazilians was highly unequal, as the latter were marginalized in the new economic system (Nascimento 1979; Heringer 2002). Today, more than a hundred years after the abolition of slavery, the relationship between race and poverty persists. By analysing the racial composition of poverty, Henriques demonstrated that blacks and browns are disproportionately among the poorer in the country. In 1999, blacks and browns represented less than half of the Brazilain population, yet they were the majority among the poorest, comprising approximately 60 per cent of the poor and 70 percent

of the extremely poor. In a similar exercise, Henriques found that blacks and browns represent only 15 per cent of the richest; meanwhile, the richest whites are on average 20 percent richer than their black and brown counterparts. Therefore, in Brazil, poverty can be portrayed as being predominantly black while wealth is predominantly white. Such differences in wealth relates to difference in education too. The differences in the educational profile of Blacks, browns and whites explain 55 percent of the earning differentials among these groups (Henriques 2001; Barros *et al.* 2000).

The Multidimensional Understanding of Inequality

Now let's enter the core section of this chapter where we intend to link the variables of regional inequality, economic inequality and racial inequality to the question of education. In the North, Centre West and the South East, over 25 per cent of all households had at least one household member with 10-12 years of education (i.e. completed secondary school) while in the North East, households are most likely to have only between one to four years of maximum years of schooling. This region has also the highest number of households with no access to an educated person (12.8 per cent). The urban/rural divide can also be an axis to understand the unequal educational status of the people. Almost 30 per cent of all households in urban areas have access to at least one person with completed secondary education (10-12 years of schooling) and in rural areas it becomes nine per cent. In these areas, households are most likely to have access to someone with only primary education, while 14 per cent of rural households do not have access to an educated person (Justino *et al*. 2007).

According to Barros, Henriques and Mendonca, poverty in Brazil is not due to lack resources per se, but rather their unequal distribution. Much of the inequality in Brazil and Latin America is associated with large wage differentials as we discussed, reflecting the unequal distribution of the quantity and quality of the schooling among other factors (IDB 1999; Reimers 2000). Based on Brazilian labour market data, Ferreira (2000) demonstrates that education is the strongest predictor of income inequality in the country. Approximately 40 per cent of the work force has less than four years of schooling and among them one fourth has never attended school. Only a little more than 10 per cent have more than 12 years of schooling. In principle, it is

necessary to complete at least 11 years of schooling to obtain a high school diploma in Brazil (Ferriera 2000).

The scholars emphasise the need to examine the structure and distribution of educational opportunities in the country in order to understand the reproduction of income inequalities. Inequalities in the education system are often associated with factors such as gender, age, race/ethnicity, geography, and social class. Approximately 35 per cent of 25-to-34 year olds in the southeast have at least a high school diploma, less than 23 per cent of their counterparts in the northeast have the same level of education. On the other hand, within the same generation, the number of illiterates is five times greater in the north east than in the south 12.4 and 2.6 respectively (INEP 2002a).

Hence, the Brazilian educational system is inaccessible to the poor in general irrespective of their race. The performance of the richer students from the private schools in college or university admission exams is much better than that of the poorer students from public schools. It is true that some sections of the poor students are white and they fall at the end of the admission ladder after the rich whites and all non-white students as a result of the affirmative action policies. Hence, some argue for income based quotas in Brazil than race-based ones. Whatever be the case, the basic way to solve this problem of education is increasing the state investment in public schools, making them better qualified, equipped and accessible. Irrespective of a student's family income, race or gender, he or she should have access to cheap and good education (Stahlberg 2010).

Those who oppose Affirmative action argues that, poverty, not race, is the main obstacle to getting a university education in brazil. The country's more than 130 public universities are free and competition at most of them, particularly the 55 federal universities is brutal. Private universities enrol about 80 percent of the 4.5 million students in the higher education system. But in a nation where per capita income is just $7350 a year and the distribution of wealth is among the world's most unequal, most families cannot afford to send their children to private universities (Lloyd 2011).

Many argue that there are large disparities in achievement among students from different socioeconomic levels and geographic regions and that the Brazilian educational system does something to balance the educational inequalities because it offers the worst schools i.e. with the lowest educational conditions to students with the lowest achievement, largely, the poorest. The aggregated data by municipalities as used by various scholars suggest that locations whose students are poorer have worse performance on educational assessments and this situation is maintained or enhanced because they perceive lower education learning conditions. The deficient scenario of conditions for the provision of education presented by this group of localities does not point to a situation in which education can make a difference and reduce the gap between the economic and social strata through transformative educational opportunities (Alves *et al*. 2014).

The private sector largely supplies education to students those who are interested in college preparation. The socio-economically backward families cannot afford to obtain a seat for their children in K-12 schools and majority of them are Afro-descendants. Due to the absence of free public transportation those living in remote areas of the country are also kept outside of the system. Another issue to be tackled is the addition of bilingual or multilingual curriculum that emphasises the idea of multiculturalism. Even when some efforts are made at including multicultural topics in the syllabus, they end up being simplified copies of similar themes in the US model. Nonetheless, a number of Brazilian researchers[3] have begun debates related to the importance of cultural identities as oppressed by 'monocultural' curricula (Ramalho and Dias da Silva 2011).

1. Inequality and Households: If we look at income inequalities at the level of households, we might be able to witness a cross-racial phenomenon. But in the case of educational inequalities the racial picture becomes clearer. Among the white and Asian origin households education inequalities are lower than other communities. As we already discussed such a demarcation is visible along the regional lines as well. Income inequality is lower amongst households living in the South East and in urban areas. It is highest amongst indigenous and mixed race populations, those living in the Northeast and those in rural areas. Inequality in political representation is lowest

---

[3] (Gusmao 2004; Lopez 1999; Moreira 1999; Silva 1999; Souta and Iturra1997; Viera 1999).

amongst Asian and white households, in the South region and in urban areas. It is highest amongst the Black population, in the Centre West region and in rural areas (Justino *et al.* 2007).

2. Education, Health and Political Inequalities: For consistent economic development any state needs to invest in human development spheres like health and education. But as we saw, none of these resources are distributed equally across various population groups or different regions. Hence, considering the importance of these sectors in the development of human capital and the significance of human capital in the overall development, such gross inequalities in these fields represent an equal loss in the greater welfare of the country (Wang and Fan 2000). The recognition of this fact has resulted in a recent increased interest in the analysis of the distribution education and health.

The main problems with Brazilian education are those related to the quality and retention of students in the public system. On the one hand the quality of the education received by the majority of the population is compromised and on the other, those who enter the system leave before securing a certificate for their skills and end up remaining unskilled when faced with the national or international job markets. In the early 20th century, most of the population in Western Europe, New England and Japan was already literate while in Brazil and most other countries in the world, education reached only a tiny minority of the population. In Portugal, for instance, the social reform led to creation of a national level initiative for elementary education, which also paved way for the emergence of a qualified teaching community (Novoa 1987). In contrast, in Brazil, no such initiative was undertaken in Brazil during the reform and it led to the collapse of whatever little catholic missionary education system that existed in the country (Schwartzman 2005).

The academic research on the integral relationship between the socioeconomic conditions and education was not received with much enthusiasm in Brazil and the conclusions of these studies were not used to bring about the urgent reforms needed in the sector. Many researches show that even when a child hails from a backward family, if she is provided with an equal and quality space of learning, it enables the child to overcome some of the obstacles of socioeconomic backwardness. The infrastructure of the school, for instance can have significant impact on the cognitive

performance of the students (Soares 2004). In summary, these studies conclude the school work is able to minimize the differences and help correct the social and economic direction of the least privileged through transformative educational opportunities.

Along with the efforts to reduce the income inequalities among the population, the other axes of inequality and discrimination like those of gender and race should not be left untouched because even when they gain equal educational qualifications, women and non-white people are not able to achieve equal employment opportunities and remuneration. On the one hand there should be efforts to minimise the income inequalities and the consequent class difference, but other factors like the values and social prejudices and stereotypes are also influential in day to day life and social relations. Ways to handle the discriminatory practices that emerge from these biased value system also needs to be cultivated and implemented (Maluf and Burlandy 2007).

Summary

This chapter traces the concept of education, through guaranteeing it to the entire population of any nation includes the idea of inclusion. But there are many academic, social, economic or linguistic challenges and barriers to attain this. This chapter closely analyses the impact of inequality in the field of education in Brazil. This begins with the introduction that along with all other forms of equality, any democratic country should ensure equity of education. Initially it began as a matter of equality before law and then it reached to the level of demanding equal rights for political participation.

The first section deals with the reasons for backwardness experienced by Brazilian educational system in a broader framework. It starts with the role of self-interested politicians and the Catholic Church in helping the working of private schools for their own benefits. The other reasons studied here are: Firstly, regional disparities which originate from a strong north-south divide and it point towards a deep rooted economic and social hierarchy. It even criticizes the system which channelizes the majority of the resources to cities to build schools and rural areas are not funded

adequately and thus the state of northeast lagging far behind. Secondly, socio-historical hierarchies, which comments about the euro centric value system, lack of vision and political will, and the absence of well-structured and organized teaching profession. Thirdly, the issue of race, which shows the underrepresentation of the afro descendants in the top universities and all places of higher education in Brazil as well as the insignificant presence of them in the middle-upper strata of the society. Fourthly, economic inequality among different social groups as well as different regions as interacting with each other and this leads to categorize Brazil as a 'large middle income country'. The reasons behind this inequality which includes both historical and regional roots are also well described.

The second section deals with the educational inequality in Brazil. It discusses about the further inequalities like in mobility and opportunity, well-being, social and health outcomes which are the results of unequal access to educational resources. Even the idea of justice is tend to be discussed as unequal educational opportunities are actually a fact of criticism against the equal justice.

The third section traces the history of inequality in Brazil. It suggests huge gaps between the rich and poor in terms of educational opportunities from the typical third world experience to the north and northeast regions of 20th century. The fact that inequality still persisting in Brazil is shown here apart from the coming up of social and economic policies and the articles like 205,209 and 215 which go for equal education for all. The other major factors discussed are firstly, gender, where girls find difficult to go for higher studies from rural areas as schools are distant and there is no adequate transportation facilities. Secondly, equity of education, where Brazil represents the severest income inequality scenarios especially in the education sector and this unevenness of education challenges all the notions of equity and justice. Thirdly, quality of Education, in the country like Brazil is described either as 'poor' or 'at best', in terms of the process and the output. Through this point, it proved the incapability of Brazilian schools to provide quality education which even includes the inability to make use of the technological and information revolutions that occur. The study even shows that Brazilian teachers spend significant portion of class time on administrative tasks and maintaining order. Fourthly, class difference and education, like mentioned above, rich people are depending on private schools for better quality

of education and the poor ones are forced to depend on public schools which in turn lead to the division on education based on class. Fifthly, the dimension of race is considered as an important reason as even the government itself officially recognizes over a hundred different skin shades as the basis of classifying the population and this leads to inequalities in the society.

Fundamental challenges faced in the road of improving the quality of education and to ensure the equality are discussed in the fourth section of this chapter. The main challenges mentioned here are the reducing the rates of drop-out and grade repetition, increasing functional literacy, focusing on technical and vocational education, investing more in the primary education while improving the standards of higher education, developing an efficient and productive workforce while restricting the cost of their education, and child labour. It even discussed some of the factors in detail like financial obstacles where the per capita state expenses for the higher education in Brazil is many times more than that in the primary sector. The weaknesses that are inherent in the educational system of the country like the huge gulf that exists between the rich and poor in the access and capability towards education regional disparities, not enhanced salaries of teachers and other staff especially in the municipal schools, are also well described as it has severely compromised the equity, efficiency and productivity. Socio-economic hurdles such as drop out from the primary level of schooling itself, school failure, etc. is also studied.

The fifth section learns the impact of unequal education on labour market and production as issues of education and employment always work in vicious cycles. The examples presented are the scarcity in technically skilled man power as the investment in technical or vocational education is less. The children of the agricultural labourers and unskilled urban workers could not even reach beyond some semi-skilled jobs and small businesses also shows this skill gap in the labour force and in turn represented the impact of unequal education.

The question of indigenous education is the theme of sixth section. It offers the issue of right of native population to their native language, culture and access to education through the indigenous means. The principles like the bilingualism, multilingualism and intercultural approach to education are introduced by current MEC legislation and the Federal constitution which are followed by the indigenous educational projects are

conducted by teachers hailing from non-indigenous backgrounds who speak Portuguese that defeats the purpose is presented here. In addition to this, most of the gender related programs for the Amerindian population is carried out by elite male participants.

Reasons behind educational inequality are the seventh section. This section discusses about the highly selective and exclusive nature of the Brazilian socio-educational system as the most fundamental reason underlying the inequality. The process of development in Brazil, the concept of school failure, shortage of staff, lack of adequate teachers training is well studied as they are also responsible for the reproduction of the age old social hierarchies and inequality that is existed today. In turn it is more affected by the Afro-descendants and mixed race students than the white students because the latter tend to attend the better equipped private schools at the primary level. The serious problems in the field of education related to the three most important variables, quality, equity and efficiency are also mentioned.

The eighth section deals with the relationship between race and class that is, the relationship between the economic inequalities and racial discrimination as the categories of race and class intersects in the daily lives of the marginalized, having impact on every field of life including education. This showed the most devastating fact that even more than a hundred years after the abolition of slavery, the relationship between race and poverty persists and it is shown by the analysis of the racial composition of poverty that blacks and browns are disproportionately among the poorer in the country.

The complex relationship between educational inequalities and the socio-economic, regional background: the multidimensional understanding of inequality is the final section of this chapter. Here the section tends to link the variables of regional inequality, economic inequality and racial inequality to the question of education. The instances they presented are while in the North, Centre West and the South East, on average, over 25 per cent of all households had at least one household member with 10-12 years of education, in the North East, households are most likely to have only between one to four years of maximum years of schooling. Next, inequalities of education are also marked along the urban/rural divide and rather their unequal distribution of wages, the quantity and quality of the schooling etc. are well defined.

The exceptions of unprepared poor students also include a minority of white students, because around 25 per cent of the Brazilian poor are white. This section concludes with the study of relationship between inequality and households which detailed that unlike income inequalities, education inequalities are lowest amongst white households and households of Asian origin. Similarly, income inequality is also lower amongst households living in the South East and in urban areas. It is highest amongst indigenous and mixed race populations, those living in the Northeast and those in rural areas which further leads to education, health and political inequalities.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we have tried to look closely at the existing educational inequalities in Brazil, the major factors and its reasons. It traces the concept of education, through guaranteeing it to the entire population of any nation includes the idea of inclusion. But there are many academic, social, economic or linguistic challenges and barriers to attain this. And this chapter closely analyses the impact of inequality in the field of education in Brazil.

The complex history of the country, its regional as well as economic disparities and the lack of political will of the leaders are all factors that contribute to the starkly unequal system of education that Brazil today has. We looked at each of these aspects attentively peeling the myriad layers of discriminatory and unequal institutions and processes that make the education system. We also analysed the intricate mesh of inequalities those of regional, economic, racial as well as gendered ones that make it almost impossible for us to separate each of these planes from one another, even for analytical purposes.

According to many of the scholars we read, what Brazil needs is an multipronged approach to the question of education, making it accessible to students across regions, races and classes by investing more significantly into the public schooling and university system which ensures quality, efficiency and above all equity.

Chapter: 5

Conclusion

Chapter: 5
Conclusion

The conclusion of this dissertation has been spread in to two sections. The first part summarises each of the three chapters in their order. Each summary of the chapter would have a brief conclusion at the end. The second section includes the findings of this study. This research has three hypotheses. The provisional findings of this dissertation would be on the basis of the test of each hypothesis.

The first chapter 'Education reform under the Democratic Rule' discusses the rise and development of equal, qualitative and multi-dimensional education from early childhood education to university level education in Brazil in the backdrop of the democratic rule and the then new constitution of democratic rule. It begins with the description of history of education system in Brazil since the Portuguese colonial rule to the present day system of education.

This chapter is spread over six sections. The first section gives an outline of start-up of the very first elementary school and the role of Jesuits and protestant missionaries in laying the foundation of the education system in Brazil. Later it reaches to the consequences the invasion of Portugal in 1807 and the independence of country in 1821 in the transformation of educational field. The development of constitution of 1824 which leads to the free elementary education to all citizens and the creation of owned basic level schools are also discussed in detail. The section ends with the influence of European Positivism, introduction of skill based education, movement for adult literacy and the creation of the law 5692 by 1970.

The second section describes the 1988 Constitution and the Context and Contents of Educational Reforms. How the federal government of Brazil works with states and municipalities along with ministry of education in the field of education, and also the management of revenue system to this fields is highlighted here. It discusses about the socioeconomic background of the people of Brazil and how unequal was the education system to the people of urban and rural areas and also how it leads to the formation of constitution in 1988 with the introduction of educational reforms and the changes it brought about in the educational scenario.

Third section describes the pioneer of education policy reforms in the contemporary history of Brazil, after the 1988 constitution. The most significant education policies described here was the National Education Guidelines and Framework Law (LDB) which overlapped with a greater domination of social policies in the mid-1990s. The new features and large number of measures that had changed the Brazilian Educational Outlook and also clarification of the roles of the municipal, state and federal education within the total framework are well described. The impacts of these laws on education system are also covered.

Focal areas of education policy reforms are discussed in the fourth section. It mainly talks about the programme called FUNDEF, its characteristics, how it changed the educational system in Brazil by reducing inequalities, by what means it helped achieving universalization of access to primary school, in what manner it regulates the expenditure public money on education, allocated resources etc. Conditional cash transfer plans like *Bolsa Escola*, a social security program and *Bolsa Familia*, the largest conditional cash transfer programs in the world which address several

problems like dropout rates, attendance shortage etc. Also, how it helped to eradicate poverty along with human capital formation. Its impact on a range of consequences of education including school participation, grade progression, and grade repetition and dropout rates are also described. The third part of this section describes basic education measurement programmes named ANAEB, *Prova Brazil*, ENEM, CONAES, ENCCEJA along with Higher Education Assessment programs like SINAES is also defined. Programs like PISA (Program for International Student Assessment), Regional comparative studies, National Education Plan, Education Development Plan (PDE) etc., are also well thought-out.

Various national and international educational programmes in Brazil are covered under Section six such like the Literate Brazil Programme (PBA) with the goal of universalising literacy for adults and young people over 15 years of age, and also the role of international bodies such as UNESCO and the Ibero-American States Organization, in order to implement an ambitious understanding of the Education for all movements is also taken in.

The second chapter titled' Educational and Affirmative Action Policies since 2002' is divided into 11 sections and begins by describing the general concept of affirmative action to its specificities in the fields and also the consequences of it in Brazil.

The first section of the chapter looks at the policy reforms implemented during the presidency of Lula da Silva, who was the successor of Cardoso who initiated education policy reforms during the new democracy. Lula da Siva viewed education as an instrument to address inequality and democratize the access to knowledge to make Brazil a globally competitive knowledge society. During this period funds from the government enterprises had been channelized to education. All the three levels of education focused under this government including the salary of the teachers and grand to poor students to attend the universities.

Impact of education policies are discussed in the second section. Unlike in the 1990s, all the policies ensure that more children and young people have access to schools and acquiring knowledge. The successive governments after Cardoso from 1994 to 2002 have been following these policies, which is an evidence of policy continuity related to education. FUNDEB is a new policy to raise a fund for the development of basic

education as well as to train professional teachers. Another important reform was the increase of compulsory education form ages 7-14 to 4-17 which includes students from pre-school to higher secondary education.

The third section begins with the introduction of general information on the concept, theory and history of affirmative action. It includes the introduction of the term affirmative action by President Kennedy in 1961, as a process of addressing discrimination and its theory was developed in US. The theory of 'Justice as Fairness' by John Rawls is also recollected in this first section of the chapter. Then the section goes to the aim of affirmative action policies on the field of education and jobs, to ensure that the people are provided with equal opportunities in the fields. The section ends stating that to identify affirmative action it will be easier if we consider its impact on three major social institutions: government, education, and industry (or the private sector).

 The objective of affirmative action policies, particularly in Brazil is also covered in this section. It encompasses the main aim of addressing racism, increasing equality and thus ensuring the social justice and the role it played in promoting a strong afro descendant identity. The section also brings together the two paths through which the progress, defense and contestation of preferential affirmative action took place like the legal and administrative sections of government and also through the pathway of public discussion or debate along with the evaluation of both paths is well described in the section. This section then, leads us to the categories of affirmative action in the third section, which are of two types namely instrumental and moral justifications. It also evaluates both justifications in a minor way like Instrumental justifications interpret affirmative action policies simply as a means to an end whereas, Moral justifications call to deeper beliefs about what is right and wrong and how people should be treated etc. these can be backward looking or forward looking.

In the fourth section, the Brazilian Model of Affirmative Action is described. It starts discussing the role of president, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, who acknowledged the practice of racism in Brazil and the reforms he initiated during his period, which includes an incentive-based quota system, a second national Plan on human Rights, affirmative action national Program and also the conditions and impacts of all these. Later, the help of Lula da Silva and the University of Brasilia which became the first

federal university, after the state university of Rio de Janerio, to implement an affirmative policy for both Afro-descendants and indigenous people is also mentioned about. Federal government's University Program for All, known by its Portuguese abbreviation, *ProUni* and its impact on universities in statistical measures is also studied in this section of the chapter. The section concludes with the explanation of the current President of Brazil Dilma Rousseff who signs up the most comprehensive affirmative action laws in the Western Hemisphere which is known as The" Law of Social Quotas" in 2012.

The section also leads to the information on affirmative action policies in government service sector. It begins with the Porto Alegre, where the primary change in public policy happened. Then it describes the regulation passed by the municipal government and a rule which adopted in the state of Bahia, which supports Afro-descendants in the working sector. Through its explanation on federal policies and policies of government ministries it is trying to make sure that the government should act as a model employer, leading the way for fuller racial integration of the labour market. It also includes reservation for civil servants of the country. A fellowship called 'Vocation for Diplomacy' for Afro-descendants candidates have also been discussed here. It examines how and why the universities, because of their institutional and regional difference and separate status confirmed to varied styles for both the adoption of quotas and the ways of proposing solutions to the problem of racial profiling. The consequences of this for the identification of defining the beneficiaries of quota system are also well described. Some universities mentioned about their point system and others on the basis of their own self declaration. And the quotas based on either race or class or even a combination of both is adopted by the universities.

Circumstances that led to the formulation of affirmative action policies in Brazil are explained in the fifth section. This includes the account of (1) educational inequality, which begins in the life of a brazil child from their very early ages due to the private-public system of schools in the country, (2) Underrepresentation, this absence of Afro-descendants in the middle class is mainly because they are represented poorly in the universities of Brazil, (3) Movements, the origin of 'new social movements' based on group identities such as race, ethnicity, religion and gender with its transnational

connections played a very vital role in the implementation of affirmative action policies in Brazil, (4) Durban Conference, United Nations World Conference was held in Durban, South Africa against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and related intolerances in 2001 which also played a vital role, (5) The role of Media, the leading newspapers and print publications in Brazil not only reported but also debated on the issue of racism in Brazil and also published little-known data on racial inequality and also other numerous race-related information which are very rarely reflected in the mass media.(6) The Government, interest of some leaders in the government in various proposals of affirmative action surprised even the critics of affirmative action policy.

The debate on Affirmative Action and it discusses the intense controversy regarding the quotas, about the fairness, legality, constitutionality and effectiveness of affirmative action policies etc. are being traced in the sixth section. It stresses on the idea of racial democracy and its covert discriminatory nature, and the various opinions behind race and racism, race vs. class debate, as many of the people in Brazil still believe that inequality is still having its poor economic roots. Later it goes to the discussion on the discriminatory nature Affirmative Action, where it looks into many allegations like affirmative action excludes the indigenous people and the browns of Brazil, and the claim that given the supposedly flexibility of race relations in Brazilian society, makes it hard to attain a stable definition of the beneficiaries of the policy etc leads the debate. As a continuation of this the debate goes on to the argument based on meritocracy. It constitutes the doubts like whether the principal of merit system gets affected by this policy and affects university standards, or whether the deprived layers of the society will be the majority of student beneficiaries and thus it treats a particular section preferentially which leads to the invalidity of constitutional rights. Subsequently this section examines the argument of promoting diversity and multiculturalism, which comprises negotiations about multicultural practices in education, even the request of the people of Brazil to reconsider the opportunities for students, based on social justice, values of cultural diversity, gender, race, special needs, or religious belief in higher education due to the influence of this programme. The influence of US is the last point of evaluation in the same section of second chapter. It gives insight on the influence of United States on Brazil and thus it is sure that the implementation of affirmative action is clearly one of them and the discussion

go around the division of the country between blacks and whites and whether it is a mere introduction of certain type of policy from the United States.

Constitutional Validity which deals about the generosity of constitution of Brazil in recognizing social rights and material equality which has acknowledged the affirmative action, and also the constitutional validity of these methods based on specific articles in the constitution, which in turn has the ability to establish positive discrimination as a means to produce greater equality.

The tenth part of the second chapter deals with the point of affirmative action being an ineffective system. It is also claimed that the aim of these policies is not to fight against all forms of socioeconomic inequality but to widen the access of underprivileged groups to reach the position of higher social status in which they were severely underrepresented and the assertion of it widens the inequality based on race as it establish the concept of race is also well studied.

People's perception about affirmative action is the eleventh section of the second chapter. It traces the perception and opinions of people on this programme which includes both the traditional and advanced views. It talks about most of the beneficiaries of the racial quota system, who very much dislike the mechanism themselves and try to avoid using it, as much as they possibly can. And also the students who opt for the income based quotas if they had a choice because of their strong belief in the racial democracy. There are crucial questions about the legitimacy of policies too. The study is also about the conflict between not only race and class but also racial and class diversity which leads to multiculturalist ideas and which has the ability to acquire a new form in Brazilian universities.

The impact of affirmative action is the second last section of the second chapter. It talks about the effects of affirmative action policy in Brazil which includes increasing representation and academic Performance of the minority groups like Afro-descendants, browns and women. And also the diversification of university spaces as the underrepresented people got new chances due to the policy.

The last section of the second chapter deals with the future of quota system. Even though there are many parts of Brazil which is not touched by the affirmative action program it has helped a majority of the population in both education and employment sectors. And the advocates believe that they could turn a new page in Brazilian race relations with the road of the significant legislation of implementing affirmative action in the judiciary.

In the third chapter titled 'Addressing Educational Inequality' traces the concept of education, through guaranteeing it to the entire population of any nation includes the idea of inclusion. But there are many academic, social, economic or linguistic challenges and barriers to attain this. This chapter closely analyses the impact of inequality in the field of education in Brazil. This begins with the introduction that along with all other forms of equality, any democratic country should ensure equity of education. Initially it began as a matter of equality before law and then it reached to the level of demanding equal rights for political participation.

The first section deals with the reasons for backwardness experienced by Brazilian educational system in a broader framework. It starts with the role of self-interested politicians and the Catholic Church in helping the working of private schools for their own benefits. The other reasons studied here are: Firstly, regional disparities which originate from a strong north-south divide and it point towards a deep rooted economic and social hierarchy. It even criticizes the system which channelizes the majority of the resources to cities to build schools and rural areas are not funded adequately and thus the state of northeast lagging far behind. Secondly, socio-historical hierarchies, which comments about the euro centric value system, lack of vision and political will, and the absence of well-structured and organized teaching profession. Thirdly, the issue of race, which shows the underrepresentation of the afro descendants in the top universities and all places of higher education in Brazil as well as the insignificant presence of them in the middle-upper strata of the society. Fourthly, economic inequality among different social groups as well as different regions as interacting with each other and this leads to categorize Brazil as a 'large middle income country'. The reasons behind this inequality which includes both historical and regional roots are also well described.

The second section deals with the educational inequality in Brazil. It discusses about the further inequalities like in mobility and opportunity, well-being, social and health outcomes which are the results of unequal access to educational resources. Even the idea of justice is tend to be discussed as unequal educational opportunities are actually a fact of criticism against the equal justice.

The third section traces the history of inequality in Brazil. It suggests huge gaps between the rich and poor in terms of educational opportunities from the typical third world experience to the north and northeast regions of 20th century. The fact that inequality still persisting in Brazil is shown here apart from the coming up of social and economic policies and the articles like 205,209 and 215 which go for equal education for all. The other major factors discussed are firstly, gender, where girls find difficult to go for higher studies from rural areas as schools are distant and there is no adequate transportation facilities. Secondly, equity of education, where Brazil represents the severest income inequality scenarios especially in the education sector and this unevenness of education challenges all the notions of equity and justice. Thirdly, quality of Education, in the country like Brazil is described either as 'poor' or 'at best', in terms of the process and the output. Through this point, it proved the incapability of Brazilian schools to provide quality education which even includes the inability to make use of the technological and information revolutions that occur. The study even shows that Brazilian teachers spend significant portion of class time on administrative tasks and maintaining order. Fourthly, class difference and education, like mentioned above, rich people are depending on private schools for better quality of education and the poor ones are forced to depend on public schools which in turn lead to the division on education based on class. Fifthly, the dimension of race is considered as an important reason as even the government itself officially recognizes over a hundred different skin shades as the basis of classifying the population and this leads to inequalities in the society.

Fundamental challenges faced in the road of improving the quality of education and to ensure the equality are discussed in the fourth section of this chapter. The main challenges mentioned here are the reducing the rates of drop-out and grade repetition, increasing functional literacy, focusing on technical and vocational education, investing more in the primary education while improving the standards of higher

education, developing an efficient and productive workforce while restricting the cost of their education, and child labour. It even discussed some of the factors in detail like financial obstacles where the per capita state expenses for the higher education in Brazil is many times more than that in the primary sector. The weaknesses that are inherent in the educational system of the country like the huge gulf that exists between the rich and poor in the access and capability towards education regional disparities, not enhanced salaries of teachers and other staff especially in the municipal schools, are also well described as it has severely compromised the equity, efficiency and productivity. Socio-economic hurdles such as drop out from the primary level of schooling itself, school failure, etc. is also studied.

The fifth section learns the impact of unequal education on labour market and production as issues of education and employment always work in vicious cycles. The examples presented are the scarcity in technically skilled man power as the investment in technical or vocational education is less. The children of the agricultural labourers and unskilled urban workers could not even reach beyond some semi-skilled jobs and small businesses also shows this skill gap in the labour force and in turn represented the impact of unequal education.

The question of indigenous education is the theme of sixth section. It offers the issue of right of native population to their native language, culture and access to education through the indigenous means. The principles like the bilingualism, multilingualism and intercultural approach to education are introduced by current MEC legislation and the Federal constitution which are followed by the indigenous educational projects are conducted by teachers hailing from non-indigenous backgrounds who speak Portuguese that defeats the purpose is presented here. In addition to this, most of the gender related programs for the Amerindian population is carried out by elite male participants.

Reasons behind educational inequality are the seventh section. This section discusses about the highly selective and exclusive nature of the Brazilian socio-educational system as the most fundamental reason underlying the inequality. The process of development in Brazil, the concept of school failure, shortage of staff, lack of adequate teachers training is well studied as they are also responsible for the reproduction of the age old social hierarchies and inequality that is existed today. In

turn it is more affected by the Afro-descendants and mixed race students than the white students because the latter tend to attend the better equipped private schools at the primary level. The serious problems in the field of education related to the three most important variables, quality, equity and efficiency are also mentioned.

The eighth section deals with the relationship between race and class that is, the relationship between the economic inequalities and racial discrimination as the categories of race and class intersects in the daily lives of the marginalized, having impact on every field of life including education. This showed the most devastating fact that even more than a hundred years after the abolition of slavery, the relationship between race and poverty persists and it is shown by the analysis of the racial composition of poverty that blacks and browns are disproportionately among the poorer in the country.

The complex relationship between educational inequalities and the socio-economic, regional background: the multidimensional understanding of inequality is the final section of this chapter. Here the section tends to link the variables of regional inequality, economic inequality and racial inequality to the question of education. The instances they presented are while in the North, Centre West and the South East, on average, over 25 per cent of all households had at least one household member with 10-12 years of education, in the North East, households are most likely to have only between one to four years of maximum years of schooling. Next, inequalities of education are also marked along the urban/rural divide and rather their unequal distribution of wages, the quantity and quality of the schooling etc. are well defined. The exceptions of unprepared poor students also include a minority of white students, because around 25 per cent of the Brazilian poor are white. This section concludes with the study of relationship between inequality and households which detailed that unlike income inequalities, education inequalities are lowest amongst white households and households of Asian origin. Similarly, income inequality is also lower amongst households living in the South East and in urban areas. It is highest amongst indigenous and mixed race populations, those living in the Northeast and those in rural areas which further leads to education, health and political inequalities.

Provisional Findings of the Study

Three hypotheses have been examined in this study. The findings of this research prove the hypotheses. We will go through the comprehensive findings based on each of these hypotheses below as to conclude the dissertation.

Regional and socio-economic variables define the scope of affirmative action in Brazil. Affirmative action is not a complete solution for poverty or discrimination, but through these policies, impoverished and underrepresented students will be provided with the more impartial chance to attend selective colleges and universities and thus the higher education becomes possible. The roles of race, ethnicity, or gender is not substituting by the Indices, zones and other measures in well-made affirmative action programs but are progressively combined with these categories.

The introduction of affirmative action brought forward the debate on race and inequality in Brazil. Affirmative action in Brazil is very recent since it's established in the year 2001, but it caused increasing participation of Afro-descendants, mixed race along with indigenous students in flagship course of the universities. The argument that quota system will cause racial tensions in the university spaces is proved to be baseless. The performance of the "Quota Students" is also at par or better than the students came through entrance exams. The drop-out rates among the students who have benefited from some kind of quota system, is also low. Currently almost 50 percent Brazilian state and federal universities follow some kind of quota system. The number of quota beneficiaries is increasing each year.

The quotas ended up diversifying the typically white and middle-class group of students that have monopolised Brazilian public universities, especially in the most prestigious courses of study. Students of different colours and social backgrounds now mix more consistently as 'equals' in the academic space.

Affirmative action is at present has legal validity. The Congress passed the "Law of Social Quotas" in 2002 which would become the default affirmative action policy of the state. Most of the affirmative action policies in Brazil and in other Latin American countries generally focus on public education and government jobs. Like India, affirmative action policies are not followed by the private corporate.

Affirmative action in Brazil is in its experimental stage now. All the three organs of the government have started discussing the possibility establishing affirmative action of some kind. The affirmative action law states that it would be in effect for the next ten years. It is yet to be clear how long it would take to combat underrepresentation and inequality in Brazilian higher education institutions. First generation quota students are already out from the universities. Report from Brazil says that they find it difficult to find jobs; this backs the arguments of the opponents of the quota system that the employers will look at quota beneficiaries as not having required skills (lack of quality).

Universities have already started discussing the possibilities of class/income based quotas rather than a race/ colour conscious quota. The debate on quotas in general is still very intense in Brazil and it can act as a wedge in the Brazilian society.

This national congress which approved this law (social quota law) requires that all federal higher education institutions should implement quota system on the basis of attendance at public high school by 2016. After four year of implementation in the Brazilian higher education the projected number of quota students will increase by roughly three times its current amount based on the Family income, being indigenous, Afro descendants or mixed race (Laeser 2012; Higher Education Census 2010). Affirmative action policies are government's response to Afro-descendant movements demanding for social justice. The primary focus of affirmative action is education.

Access to education does not resolve other forms of inequalities in education. Access to primary and lower secondary education has become almost universal. 94.4 per cent of the population in the ages 7 to 14 is now included primary and lower secondary education. The proportion of young people attending secondary education at the right age has doubled compared to that of 1995, showing a significant advance in the access to secondary education. The rate of youth and adult illiteracy has been reduced.

Equality in access to schooling does not guarantee equal quality of education- The average duration of education have been doubled along with an increase in the student enrolment and school attendance. Brazil has been putting enormous efforts to improve the education scenario in the last two decades. In 2006 through an important constitutional amendment Brazil extended the compulsory school year. There is a

noticeable increase of education financing by spending more on educational institutions to develop resources like text book and other basic amenities like internet. The government has risen per student spending. Average spending on a student have been marked an increase of 120 per cent. Competitiveness of the teachers became a prime focus which was an initiative to address the poor quality of teaching at basic education level.

Inequality in access to schooling does not guarantee equal quality of education. The expansion of the education system as to include the marginalized regions and races to its fold has been a significant phenomenon in Brazil in the last couple of decades. Yet, this cannot automatically ensure that education of equal quality will be available to all these sections. Even today, the best quality education at the primary level is imparted in expensive private schools that are concentrated in the urban areas. Though majority of the students belong to rural areas and poorer sections, the public schooling for them is of poor quality. Even though the initiatives to advance the quality of education in Brazil has brought about progressive changes in that direction, the standard of the overall education system remains way below the international standards. The quality of teaching and advancement in school infrastructure needs betterment even though some measures are already in place through federal financial allocations.

Bibliography
(Indicates primary references*)

Alperin, Juan Pablo (2013), "Brazil's Exception to the World Class University movement", *Quality in Higher Education*, 19(2):158-172.

Alves, Thiago.et.al (2012), "The Socioeconomic level of Public School Students and the Condition for the Provision of Education in the Brazilian Municipalities", *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 20(2):1-29.

Andrews, George Reid (2014), "Racial inequality in Brazil and the United States, 1990-2010", *Journal of Social History* 47(4): 829-854.

Bailey, Stanley R & Peria, Michelle (2010), "Racial Quotas and the Cultural War in Brazilian Academia", *Sociological Compass*, 4(8):592-604.

Baioa, M.et al (2003), "The Political History of Twentieth Century Portugal," *e-journal of political history*, 1(1):1-18

Barrientos, Armando (2013), "The Rise of Social Assistance in Brazil", *Development and change*, 44(4), 887-910.

Beech, J (2006), "Review of the Challenges of Education in Brazil", *Comparative Education*, 42 (2): 289-291.

Behrman, Jere (1998), "David N. Plank, the Means of Our Salvation: Public Education in Brazil, 1930–1995 the Means of Our Salvation: Public Education in Brazil, 1930–1995by David N. Plank", *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 46(3):674-676.

Benveniste, Guy (1978), "The Politics of Higher Education in Brazil by Jerry Haar", *The Journal of Developing Areas,* 12(2):252-254.

Brock & Schwatzman (2004), "The Challenges of Education in Brazil", *Oxford Studies in Comparative Education*, 42(2):289-291.

Brown, David S (2002), "Democracy, Authoritarianism and Education Finance in Brazil", *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 34(1):115-141.

Burton, Guy (2010), "Brazil's Lost Decade in Education, 1985-1994: How to account the lack of reform in the new republic", *Journal de Politicas Educacionais*, 7.

Burton, Guy (2012), "Flying Freire? The Workers Party and Education policy in Brazil, 1980-2007", *International review of Education,* 58: 91-108.

Carvalho, De Roussel (2012), "Student Participation in Brazil-The Case of the 'Gremio estudantil", *Management in Education*, 26:155.

Cicalo, A (2012), "Urban Encounters Affirmative Action and Black Identities in Brazil", Palgrave McMillan: New York.

Cicalo, Andre (2012), "Nerds and Barbarians: Race and Class Encounters through Affirmative Action in a Brazilian University", *Journal of Latin American Studies*,(44):235-260.

Cicalo, Andre (2014), "From Racial Mixture to Black Nation: Racializing Discourses in Brazil's African Affairs", *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 33(1):16-30.

Ciconello, Alexandre (2008) "The Challenge of Eliminating Racism in Brazil: The New Institutional Framework for Fighting Racial Inequality", *Oxfam International:* 1-14.

Crabtree, Robbin D and Sapp, David Alan (2004), "Your Culture, My Class room, Whose Pedagogy? Negotiating Effective Teaching and learning in Brazil", *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 8:105.

Darby, Derrick (year), "Educational Inequality and Affirmative Action in Brazil", *Journal of Social Justice*, 22:408-415.

De Vires, Michel S (2011), "Distinguishing symbolic and Evidence Based Policies: The Brazilian Efforts to increase the Quality of Basic Education", *International Review of Administrative Sciences*, 77:435.

Don B. McCoy (1959),"Education in Brazil", *Peabody Journal of Education*, 37(1)

Dos Santos, Sales Augusto, "Who is Black in Brazil: A Timely or False Question in Brazilian Race Relations in the Era of Affirmative Action?", *Latin American Perspectives*, 149 (2006): 30-48.

Drodge, Stephen and Shiroma, Eneida (2004), "Social Inclusion in Two Worlds: The Conceptualization of the Social Role of the Lifelong learning in The Education Policy of Brazil and the U k since the mid 1990s", *Compare, 43*(2):177-196.

Filho, Jose Camilo dos Santos (1993), "The Recent process of Decentralization and Democratic Management of Education in Brazil", *International Review of Education*, 39(5):391-403.

Filho, N.M & Pazello, E (2007), "Do Teachers' wages matter for proficiency? Evidence form a funding reform in Brazil", *Economics of Education Review*, 26(6):600-672.

Francis, Andrew and Maria Tannuri-Pianto (2012), "The redistributive equity of affirmative action: Exploring the role of race, socioeconomic status and gender in college admissions", *Economics of Education Review*, 31: 45-55.

Fry, P(2000)," Politics, Nationality, and the Meanings of "Race" in Brazil*", American Academy of Arts and Sciences,129.*

Gomes, Alfredo M (2000), "Opportunity Foregone: Education in Brazil by Nancy Birdsall; Richard H. Sabot", *Comparative Education*, 36(1):115.

Guillebeau, Christopher (1999), "Affirmative Action in a Global Perpective: The Cases of South Africa and Brazil", *Sociological Spectrum*, 19:433-465.

Havighurt, Robert J (1979), "Education in Brazil by Fay Haussmann; Jerry Haar",*The Hispanic American Historical Review, 59*(3):561-562.

Hernandes, T.K (2013), "Affirmative Action in the Americas", *Americas Quarterly*, 7(3):29-31

Hutn, Mala (2004), "From 'Racial Democracy' to Affirmative Action: Changing State policy on Race in Brazil", *Latin American Research Review*, 39(1):60-89.

Ikawa, Daniela (2009), "The right to Affirmative Action for Blacks in Brazilian universities", *The Equal Rights Review*, 3:28-37.

Johnson, Jerald (1977), "The Politics of Higher Education in Brazil by Jerry Harr", *The Western Political Quarterly,* 30(4):588-589.

Krieger, Linda Hamilton (1998),"Civil Rights Perestroika: Intergroup Relations after Affirmative Action", *California Law Reveiew*, 86(6):1251-1333.

Maciel, L.S.B & Neto, A.S (2006), "Brazilian Education in the Pombaline Period: a historical analysis of the pombaline teaching reforms", e*ducação pesquisa*, 32(3):465-476.

Mainardes, Jefferson and Gandin, Luis Armando (2013), "Contributions of Stephen J.Ball to the Research on Educational and Curriculum Policies in Brazil", *London Review of Education*, 11(3):256-264.

Martins, Carlos Benedito (2013), "Reconfiguring Higher Education in Brazil: The Participation of private Institutions", *Analyse Social*, 48(208):622-658.

Martins, Sergio Da Silva.et al. (2004), "Paving Paradise: The Road from 'Racial Democracy' to Affirmative Action in Brazil", *Journal of Black Studies,* 34(6):787-816.

Martins, Sérgio da Silva; Medeiros, Carlos Alberto; Nascimento, Elisa Larkin. "Paving Paradise: The Road from 'Racial Democracy' to Affirmative Action in Brazil," Journal of Black Studies 34 (2004): 787 – 816.

Martins, Wilson (1966), "Havighurst, Robert J. & J. Roberto Moreira, Society and Education in Brazil", *The Modern Language Journal*, 50(4):222-223.

McCowan, Tristan (2007), "Expansion without Equity: An Analysis of Current Policy on Access to Higher Education in Brazil", *Higher Education*, 53(5):579-598.

Moses, Michele S (2010), "Moral and Instrumental Rationales for Affirmative Action in Five National Contexts", *Educational Researcher*, 39(3):211-228.

Murakami, Elizebeth-Ramalho and Dias da Silva, Maria Auxiliadora (2011), "Multicultural Efforts and Affirmative Action in Brazil Policies Influencing Education in the Americas", *World Journal of Education*,(1):1-10.

Nandy, Santosh K (1966) "Society and Education in Brazil. By Robert J. Havighurst; J. Roberto Moreira", *American Journal of Sociology*, 71(4):455.

Oliveira, Romualdo (1999), "Opportunity Foregone: Education in Brazil by Nancy Birds all; Richard H. Sabot", C*omparative Education Review, 43*(1):123-125.

Proenca, Marilene and Neneve, Miguel (2004), "Decentralizing Education: A Successful Experience in the Brazilain Amazon", *Childhood Education*, 80(6):322-326.

Psacharopoulos, George (1997), "Opportunity Foregone: Education in Brazil by Nancy Birdsall; Richard H. Sabot", *The Journal of Developing Areas*, 31(3):425-426.

Rambla, Xavier (2014), "A Complex Web of Education Policy Borrowing and Transfer: Education for All and the Plan for Development of Education in Brazil", *Comparative Education*, 50(4):417-432.

Ramalho, E.M &Silva, M.A.L.D (2011), "Multicultural Efforts and Affirmative Action in Brazil: Policies influencing Education in the Americas", *World journal of Education*, 1(1).

Reiter & Lezama (2013), "The Importance of Inclusion Policies for the Promotion of Development in Brazil and Columbia", *Journal of Developing Societies*, 29(2):189-212.

Reiter, Bernd (2012), "Learning from Brazil and India: The Difference that Inclusion policies Can Make", *Government and International Faculty Publications*, 103:116-126.

Reiter, Bernd and Lezama, Paula (2013), "The Importance of Inclusion Policies for the Promotion of Development policies in Brazil and Columbia", *Journal of Developing Societies*, 29:189.

Roberto, Martin Borges (2003), Affirmative Action and he Quest for Racial justice in Brazil

Sandoval, Lindsay (2012),"The Effect of Education in Brazil's Economic Development", *Global Majority E-Journal*, 3(1):4-19.

Santos, Sales Augusto dos and Anya, Obianuju C (2006), "Who is Black in Brazil? A Timely or A False Question in Brazilian Race Relations in the Era of Affirmative Action", *Latin American Perspectives*, 33(4):30-48.

Schlegel, Rogerio (2010), "The Decreasing Political Reward of Education in Brazil", *Brazilian Political Science Review*, 4(2):78-102.

Schwartzman,S (2000)**,"** Brazil: The Social Agenda.(the need for social change as Brazil moves toward democracy*)", American Academy of Arts and Sciences*,129.

Schwartzman, Luis Farah and Dias da Silva, Graciela Moraes (2012), "Unexpected Narratives from Multicultural Policies: Translations of Affirmative Action in Brazil*", Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies*, 7(1):31-48.

Skidmore, Thomas E. "Racial Mixture and Affirmative Action: The Cases of Brazil and the United States," American Historical Review (December 2003): 1391 -1396.

Soares, Jose Francisco.et.al.(2013), "Effects of Schools and Municipalities in the Quality of basic Eduaction",*Cardenos De Pesquisa*,43(1):492-517.

Souza, P.R (2001), "Education and Development in Brazil", *CEPAL Review* (73):77-78.

Stanek, Christina (2013),"The Educational System of Brazil", *IEM Spotlight*, 10(1).

Stephens & Markowitz, J (2004), "Measuring Learning outcomes in developing

Sugiyama.N.B (2011), "The Diffusion of Conditional Cash Transfer Programs in the Americas", Global Social Policy, 11(2-3):250-278.

Tavolaro, Lilia G.M (2008), "Affirmative Action in Contemporary Brazil: Two Institutional Discourse on Race", *International Journal for Politics, Culture and Society*, 19(3/4):145-160.

Taylor, William (1966), "Havighurst, Robert J., and Moreira, J. Roberto, Society and Education in Brazil", *International Review of Education, 12*(1):103-104.

Telles, Edward E (2013), "Affirmative Action in Brazil", *LASA Forum*, 11(4)2:10-12.

Telles, Edward E. Race in Another America: The Significance of Skin Color in Brazil. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2004.

Togores, Alejandro (1979), "Education in Brazil by Fay Haussmann; Jerry Haar", Comparative Education, 15(2):234.

Vaughan, Margaret (1972), "Guidelines to Problems of Education in Brazil", *The Modern Language Journal,* 56(8):253.

Winant, Howard (1992) "Rethinking Race in Brazil", *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 24: 173-192.

Winder, David (1980), "Education in Brazil by Fay Haussman, Jerry Haar Review", *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 12(2):458-459.

Wirth, John (1997), "The Means of Our Salvation: Public Education in Brazil, 1930-1995by David N. Plank", *American Journal of Education*, 105(4):123-125.

Xavier (2014), "A Complex Web of Education Policy Borrowing and Transfer: Education for all and the plan for the development of Education in Brazil", *Comparative Education*, 50(4): 417-432.

Xavier De Franca, Dalia and Lima, Marcus Eugenio Oliveira (2011), "Affirmative Action and Ethnic Identity in Black and Indigenous Brazilian Children", *International journal of Conflict and Violence*, 5(1):200-210.

Guimarães, Antonio Sergio (2010), "Colour and Race in Brazil: From Whitening to the Search for Afro-Descent."Paper presented at the meeting of the International Sociological Association, Goteborg, Sweden, 2010.

Castro, M.H.G, (*nd*), "Developing the Enabling Context for Student Assessment in Brazil", *Systems Approach for Better Education Results:7,*World Bank: Washington DC.

Gordon& Vegas (2004), "Education Finance Equalisation, Spending, Teacher Quality and Student Outcomes: The Case of Brazil's FUNDEF", Emiliana Vegas, (ed.) *Incentives to Improve Teaching Lessons from Latin America*, Washington D.C: D World Bank.

De Castro, M.H.G and Tiezzi, Sergio (2003), "The reform of Secondary Education and Implementation of ENEM in Brazil" in Colin Brock and Simon Schwartzman (eds.), *The Challenges of Education in Brazil, Oxford, UK: Trangle Journals*, 89-114.

Becker, F.D.R & Costa, L.C (2013), "Brazil: Shift of Accountability Incentives", In Yan Wang (ed.) Education Policy Reform Trends in G20 Members, Berlin: Springer-Verlag.

Ranieri, N.B.S (2010), "States and Right to Education in the 1988 constitution: Comments on federal Supreme court Jurisdiction", in Sabine Righetti (ed.) *Right to Education Constitutional Aspects,* Brazil: University of Sao Paulo.

Silva, Moises Lino E (2012), "Urban Encounters: Affirmative Action and Black Identity in Brazil, Andre Cicalo (Review), New York: Palgrave McMillan. American Ethnologist 242.

Balbachevsky,Elizabeth (2004), "Graduate Education: Emerging Policies to a Successful policy", in Colin Brock and Simon Schwartzman(eds.) *the challenges of Education in Brazil, Oxford Studies in comparative Education*, Oxford, UK: Triangle Journals Ltd. *Bank: Washington DC.*

Racusen, Seth. "Affirmative Action and Identity." In Brazil's New Racial Politics, edited by Bernd Reiter and Gladys L. Mitchell, 89-117. Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Reiner Publishers, 2010.

Laura Dudley Jenkins and Michele S. Moses Affirmative Action Initiatives around the World, INTERNATIONAL HIGHER EDUCATION, number 77, fall 2014

Mutakabbir, Yoruba T. "Affirmative Action in Brazil," Charles H. Houston Center for the Study of the Black Experience in Education: Research Brief 5 (January 2009).3

J. Michael Turner, "Brown into Black: Changing Attitudes of Afro-Brazilian University Students

Gregory Elacqua and Fatima Alves (2014), "Rising Expectation in Brazil and Chile", Education Next, 14(1)

JoàoFeresJúnior, VeronicaTosteDaflon and LuizAugustoCampos-NACLA REPORT ON THE AMERICAS-Lula'sApproachtoAffirmativeActionandRace-2011

ANDRÉ CICALO* Nerds and Barbarians: Race and Class Encounters through Affirmative Action in a Brazilian University-J. Lat. Amer. Studied 44 235-160

Benedito, Vera lucia (2005),*The quest for Afro Brazilians' Equal Opportunity: The Articulation of Affirmative Action Policies and programs by Brazilian Advocacy Organization and the State in Brazil, 1990-2004*,Ph.D Thesis,Michigan:Michigan State University.

Cicalo,Andre (2013), "*Race and Affirmative Action: The Implementation of Quotas for Black Students in a Brazilian University*", PhD Thesis, United Kingdom, University of Manchester.

Deliberalli,Precilla Pereira (2012), *Three Essays on Brazilian Social Security Policies ,Education and labour Market,*Ph.D Thesis,Urbana,Illinois:University of Illinois.

Glewwe, p and A.L.Kassouf (2008), "*The impact of the Bolsa Escola/Familia Conitional Cash Transfer Program on Enrollment, Drop Out Rates and Grade Promotion in Brazil*", Department of Applied Economics, University of Minnesota.

Junior, Joao Feres and Daflon, Veronica Toste (2009), "*The Debate on Affirmative Action in India and Brazil: a study of Academic Rhetoric*", Paper presented in the 21st World Congress of political Science: Santiago.

Lauzano, Paula (2007), *Do Schools Matter in Brazil? Excellence and Equity in Brazilian Primary Education*, PhD Thesis: University of Harvard.

Lorenzo, Rocio Alonso (2007), "*Global Policy in Anthropological Perspective: Racial Diversity, Affirmative Action and Social responsibility in Brazilian Enterprises*", PhD Thesis, New York: Cornell University.

Madeira, Ricardo A (2008), "*Education policy and Politics: Empirical Essays with Brazilian Data*", Boston: Boston University.

Tarlau, Rebecca Senn (2014), "*Occupying Land, Occupying Schools: Transforming Education in the Brazilian countryside*", PhD Thesis, Berkeley: University of California.

Torres, Dalia noleto (2010), "*Affirmative Action in Brazil: Affirmation or Denial*?" PhD Thesis, Austin: The University of Texas.

Vânia Penha-Lopes, Ph.D. Paper from BRASA VIII talk Nashville, October 13-16, 2006 Lopez 2006(The congress is Tet to approve)

*JBIC (2005), *Sector Study of Education for Brazil*, JBIC Sector Study Series, 2, Brazil.

*Ministry pf Education, Federative Republic of Brazil (2014), *Education for All 2015 National Review Report: Brazil.*

*UNESCO (2014), BRICS Building Education for the Future, WS/26, Fortaleza: Brazil

*UNESCO (2014), *Education for All Global Report 2013/14*, UNESCO: France.

*UNESCO/ International Bureau of Education (2010), *World Data on Education 7 Ed. 2010/11*.

*World Bank (2012), *Achieving World Class Education in Brazil the Next Agenda*, Washington DC.

Assessment Data: Brazil as a case Study", *Inter American Development bank*: Brazil *Systems Approach For Better Education Results: 7: World* Brazilian Educational Policy during the Cardoso Administrations (1995-2001): *UERN Brazil and University of Portugal.*

Burns.et.al (2012), "Achieving World Class Education", World Bank: Washington DC.

Cadavid, Marilyn (2014), "Educational System of Brazil Vs The United States".

Castro, M.H.G, "Developing the Enabling Context for Student Assessment in

Development Goals, Institute of Applied Economic research (IPEA), Brasilia.

Development Goals, Institute of Applied Economic research (IPEA), Brasilia.

Dos Santos, A I. (2011), *Open Educational Resources in Brazil: State-of-the-Art, Challenges and Prospects for development and Innovation*, Moscow: UNESCO

Federative Republic of Brazil (2004), *Brazilian Monitoring report on the Millennium*

Glewwe, p and A.L.Kassouf (2008), "The impact of the Bolsa Escola/Familia Conitional Cash Transfer Program on Enrollment,Drop Out Rates and Grade Promotion in Brazil", *Department of Applied Economics*, University of Minnesota.

LEITE, Ivonaldo (2002). "*Education, Teacher Syndicalism and Job Market: the Brazilian Case in the 1990s*". Tercer Congreso Europeo de Latinoamericanistas;Amsterdam.

Lima, Marcia (2011), "*Access to Higher Education in Brazil: Inequalities, Educational System and Affirmative Action Policies*", Working paper Presented in ESRC Pathfinder Programme on Collaborative Analysis of Micro Data: Brazil and India.

Lopes-C, L.F (2012), "*Declining Inequality in Brazil: The Proud Outlier*", Inequality in Focus, 1(1): World Bank.

Maria Helena Guimarães de Castro, et al., "Education for All: Evaluation of the Year 2000 National Report—Brazil," (Country Report, UNESCO, Brasilia 2000).

Menezes-Filho, N & Pazello, E (2002), "Evaluating the Effects of FUNDEF on Wages and Test Scores in Brazl", University of Sao Paulo, Mimeo.

Minassian, T.T (2012), "*Structural Reforms in Brazil: Progress an unfinished Agenda*", Inter-American Development bank.

Nunes, M.L (2004*), Brazil: A Study of the Education System of Brazil and Guide to the Academic Placement of Students in Education Institutions in the United States,* Washington, D.C: American Association of Collegiate Registrars and Admissions Officers,

OECD (2010), *Tackling Inequalities in Brazil, China, India and South Africa, the Role of Labour Market and Social Policies*, OECD Publishing: Paris.

OECD Country Note (2014), *Education at a Glance: OECD indicators*

Skidmore, Thomas E (2003), "Racial Mixture and Affirmative Action: The Cases of Brazil and United States", *AHR Forum*.

Souza P.H.G.F (2012), "POVERTY, INEQUALITY AND SOCIAL POLICIES IN BRAZIL, 1995-2009", Working Paper (87), Institute for Applied Research: Brasilia.

Stephens & Markowitz, J (2004), "Measuring Learning outcomes in developing countries:

Telles (2013), "Affirmative Action in Brazil", LASA Forum, XLIV (2).

UNDP, (2010), *"What Is the Impact of the Bolsa Família Programme on Educatio?, One Pager-International policy centre for Inclusive Growth Glewwe,p &Kassouf,A.L h*",Brasilia.

UNESCO (2009), "Towards Education for All", BR/2009/PI/H/8

Verdisco, A & Alfaro M.P (2010), "Measuring Education Quality In Brazil", IDB Education Briefly Noted,(6): 2-3.(Inter-American Development Bank)

Alverado, E (2012), "Race to The Top: Racial Quotas for higher Education", Human Rights brief, [Online: Web] Accessed 6th June 2015, URL: http://hrbrief.org/2012/11/race-to-the-top-brazil%E2%80%99s-racial-quotas-for-higher-education/

Brauw. *et.al* (2014), "The impact of Bolsa Família on schooling: Girls' advantage increases and older children gain", International Policy research Institute-Discussion paper [Online: Web] Accessed May 02 2015 ,URL: The impact of Bolsa Família on schooling: Girls' advantage increases and older children

gainwww.ifpri.org/publication/impact-bolsa-família-schooling-girls'-
advantage-increases-and-older-children-gain   Brazil   Education
http://www.brazil.org.za/brazil-education.html

Brunner and Rowen, B (2007), "Affirmative Action History", in for please database,
Pearson Education, [Online: Web] Accessed on 3rd may 2015 URL:
http://www.infoplease.com/spot/affirmative1.html

Chronicle of Higher Education, August 1, 2010. "At Brazil's Universities,
Affirmative Action Faces Crucial Tests." [Online: Web], Accessed
November 14, 2010 http://chronicle.com/article/article-content/123720/

Clark, C (2012), "Analysis finds benefits to racial quotas in Brazilian higher
education", Science Commons, [Online: Web], Accessed 4th June 2015,
URL: http://esciencecommons.blogspot.in/2012/08/analysis-finds-benefits-
to-racial.html

Conceicao, I (2014), "Brazil's laws on quotas and the road to racial equality", Oxfor
Human Rights Hub",{Online :Web}, Accessed 6th June 2015 ,URL:
http://ohrh.law.ox.ac.uk/brazils-laws-on-quotas-and-the-road-to-racial-
equality/

Costa, Bernardino Joaze and Rosa, Fernando (2013) "Appraising Affirmative
Action", [Online: Web] Accessed 09 Aug.2014, URL:
https://www.academia.edu/4348478/Affirmative_Action_in_Brazil.

* Constitution of Federal Republic of Brazil (2014), Brazil's Constitution of 1988
with Amendments through 2014, Constitueproject.org [Online: Web]
Accessed 07th July 2015 URL:
https://www.constituteproject.org/constitution/Brazil_2014.pdf .

Da Silva, P.S (2007), "Affirmative Action programs in Brazilian higher education",
Re-Vista-Harvard Review of Latin America, [online: web] Accessed 5th June
2015, URL: http://revista.drclas.harvard.edu/book/skin-colour-and-
educational-exclusion-brazil

De Brauw, A.et.al. (2014), "The impact of *Bolsa Familia* on schooling (Discussion
Paper)", International food policy research institute, [Online: Web] Accessed

on 12 May 2015, URL: http://www.ifpri.org/publication/impact-bolsa-fam-
lia-schooling

Evensen, T (2014), "Affirmative Action in Brazil: Is Brazil a Racial Democracy",
TTCSP Blog, [Online: web] Accessed 3rd June 2015, URL:
http://gotothinktank.com/affirmative-action-in-brazil-is-brazil-a-racial-
democracy/

Fiszbien, A (2014), "The New Education Plan in Brazil", Preal Blog, [Online: Web]
Accessed 10 May 2015, URL: http://prealblog.org/2014/06/17/the-new-
education-plan-in-brazil/

Fullinwider, R (2013), "Affirmative Action", Stanford Encyclopaedia of
philosophy, [Online: Web] Accessed 3rd June 2015, URL:
http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/affirmative-action/

Goertzle, T (2003), "Eight Years of Pragmatic leadership in Brazil A Supplement
to: *Fernando Henrique Cardoso:* Reinventing Democracy in Brazil",
[Online: Web] Accessed 5 May 2015 URL:
http://crab.rutgers.edu/~goertzel/fhc.htm

Gomez, Eduardo J (2011)."Dilma's Education Dilemma", Americas Quarterly",
[Online: Web] Accessed 14 Apr.2015, URL:
http://www.americasquarterly.org/gomez

Gordon and Vegas (2004), Education Finance Equalization, Spending, Teacher
Quality and Student Outcomes: The Case of Brazil's FUNDEF, [Online:
Web] Accessed 28 April 2015,
URL:http://www.rti.org/files/conferences/intl-educ-finance-
05/background/equity/gordon_vegas_06_01_04.pdf

Ibrahim, A.B (2013), "The Afro-Brazilian Story 3:link With Africa, Affirmative
Action, Changing trends", Atlanta Black Star. [Online: Web] Accessed 4t
June 2015 ,URL: http://atlantablackstar.com/2013/11/24/afro-brazilian-
story-iii-link-africa-affirmative-action-changing-trend/

INEP (year) National Institute for Educational Studies and Research "Anisio Junior,
Joao Feres.et.al (2011),"Lula's Approach to Affirmative Action and Race",

[Online: Web] Accessed 13 Oct.2014, URL: https://nacla.org/sites/default/files/A04402036_11.pdf.

Lloyd, Marion (2009),"Affirmative Action, Brazilian- Style", [Online: Web] Accessed 13 Aug.2014 ,URL: https://chronicle.com/article/Affirmative-Action/48734/.

NUFFIC, (2012) Country Module: Brazil. Retrieved from: http://www.nuffic.nl/en/diplomarecognition/country-modules/country-modules

Nunes, Lou. (2011) Online Guide to Educational Systems around the World—Brazil. NAFSA: Association of International Educators. Retrieved from: https://www.nafsa.org/_/File/_/ges/brazil.pdf

OECD (2011), Lessons from PISA for the United States, Strong Performers and Successful Reformers in Education, [Online: Web] Accessed 03 May 2015, URL: http://www.oecd.org/pisa/46623978.pdf

Pierce, Aaron (2013), "Decentralisation and social policy in Brazil: An analysis of health and education policies of the new republic",[online web] Accessed 12 May 2015,URL: http://jia.sipa.columbia.edu/online-articles/decentralization-and-social-policy-in-brazil/

Ref-State University.com, "Brazil History & Background Education Educational Elementary System", [Online: Web] Accessed 6 May 2015 URL: http://education.stateuniversity.com/pages/195/Brazil-HISTORY-BACKGROND.html

Segalla A, Brugger, M And Cardoso (2014), "Against all of the anti-Affirmative action rhetoric, see why the university quota system worked so well in Brazil", [Online: Web], Accessed 31 may 2014, URl: http://blackwomenofbrazil.co/2014/01/06/against-all-of-the-anti-affirmative-action-rhetoric-see-why-the-university-quota-system-has-worked-so-well-in-brazil/ (Black women of Brazil).

Stahlberg, S.G (2010),"Racial Inequality and Affirmative Action in Education in Brazil", Stanford Progressive, [Online: Web] Accessed7[th]June2015URL: http://web.stanford.edu/group/progressive/cgi-bin/?p=661

Teixeira", [online: web], Accessed 14 May 2015, URL: http://portal.inep.gov.br/inep-ingles.

Telles, E.E (2009), "Brazil in Black and White-Discrimination and Affirmative Action in Brazil", Wide Angle, [Online: Web] Accessed 30 May 2015 URL: http://www.pbs.org/wnet/wideangle/lessons/brazil-in-black-and-white/discrimination-and-affirmative-action-in-brazil/?p=4323

Telles, E.E (2009), "Discrimination and Affirmative Action in Brazil" [Online: Web] Accessed 3r June 2015 URL: http://www-tc.pbs.org/wnet/wideangle/files/2009/04/discrimination-and-affirmative-action-in-brazil.pdf

Tummino, A (2013),"Affirmative Action and Public opinion", Americas Quarterly, [Online: Web] Accessed 06 June 2015 URL: http://www.americasquarterly-digital.org/americasquarterly/summer2013?pg=33#pg33

UNESCO International Bureau of Education. (2010) World Data on Education: Brazil. Retrieved from: http://www.ibe.unesco.org/en/services/online-materials/world-data-on-education/seventh-edition- 2010-11.html

Warner, Lesley A (2005), "The workers Party and the Elimination of Racial Inequality: a New Stage in Politicisation of Race in Brazil", [Online: Web] Accessed 29 Aug.2014 URL: http://people.carleton.edu/~amontero/Lesley%20Warner.pdf.

Wilkes, C (2012), "The Path to Affirmative Action in Brazil and Where it Might lead", Keck journal of Foreign Affairs, [Online: Web] Accessed on 3rd June 2015, URL: http://keckjournal.com/2012/11/the-path-to-affirmative-action-in-brazil-and-where-it-might-lead/