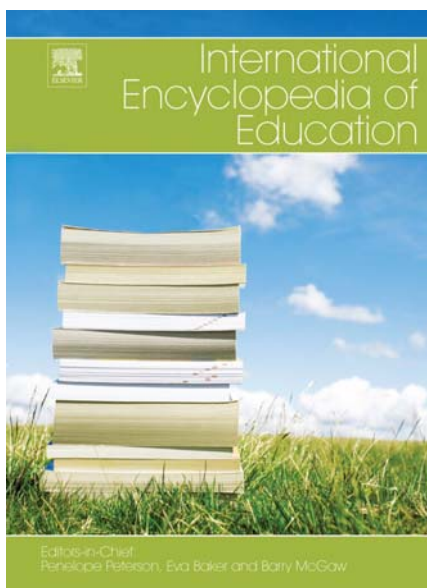


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Affirmative Action and Higher Education in Brazil

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In Brazil, over the last 5 years, 51% of the public state universities and 41.5% of the public federal universities have adopted some form of affirmative action. The majority of these institutions included some seat reservations in their courses. For this reason, the seat reservations are popularly known as quota systems for students who came from the public education system, blacks (blacks and mestizos), indigenous people, and people with special disability needs. Seven public universities adopted a system of points (bonus) without indicating, like the other institutions, a percentage of seat reservations.

This article examines the implementation of quota systems in the Federal University of Bahia (UFBA). Bahia is the state with the highest percentage of black people in Brazil, where more than 70% of the population are self-declared as black or mestizo. The quota system in the UFBA indicates reservation of 43% of the vacancies in the college for students from the public education system and black students. Eighty-five percent of those vacancies are reserved for black students from public schools, and 15% are reserved for white students from public schools.

If public school students do not reach the minimum grade to obtain a seat in the university through the system of quotas, the vacancies will be filled by black students from private schools. The benefit of the quota system to private-school black students is related to the perception that the number of black students in public universities is small, mainly in the courses considered as prestigious, such as medicine, engineering, dentistry, law, and architecture.

Initially, the article compares the results of two surveys conducted by the DataFolha Institute in 2005 and 2006, which reflect the changes in perception of Brazilian people regarding affirmative action for blacks. Second, the authors present the debate on quota systems between teachers in the UFBA. The article analyzes the performance of students who were admitted by the quota system during 2 years. The goal is to show how affirmative action affected the access of black students who came from public schools and its impact on Brazilian universities. At the same time, it is argued that affirmative action must be understood in different contexts, principally in relation to other countries such as the United States and India.

In the 23rd July 2006 edition of the *Folha de São Paulo* newspaper, the Instituto DataFolha (an institute of public opinion on various issues) published the result of a survey on the quota system. The scope of the research was about

6264 people, over 16 years old. The result of the research indicates that 65% of the Brazilian population do support the adoption of quotas for black people in Brazilian universities. The supporting percentage grows to 87% when the question refers to the adoption of quotas for poor people.

Such results point to a certain dynamics in Brazilian society concerning the perception of public policies. Toward this discussion, we propose to compare both the surveys. The first one refers to the results of the survey cited above; the second to the survey denominated *Racismo Cordial* (gentle racism), conducted in 1995, by the same institute (i.e., the DataFolha) at a historical moment when there was no adoption or discussion of the quota system in Brazilian public universities. The comparison between these two surveys shows the changes that occurred in the perception of the Brazilian people about public policies targeting underrepresented sectors of the population.

In the 1995 survey, a question was formulated on reservation of seats for blacks in the field of education and the labor market. The results showed that 49% of the interviewees disagreed and 48% agreed with the quota proposal. Among men, the percentage of blacks and mestizos who disagreed was different by one point percentage (47% and 48%). The proportion for whites was much higher – 53%. Among women, the rejection percentage was also high and it varied in racial terms, more than among men (40% among blacks, 46% among mestizos, and 58% among whites).

Education and family income are also variables that are important for the comparison to the 2006 survey. The disagreement toward the seat reservation increased with the interviewees' level of education, especially among those who had completed a high school level and those who had completed a degree. Among the latter, 67% of interviewees who were self-designated as white were against the proposal. Among blacks and mestizos, the proportion was even higher – 68% and 76%. When it came to the issue of family income, the rejection followed the pattern observed in the issue of education. For the individuals with higher income, the support was lower. Finally, among those who received more than minimum salaries – a value higher than \$2000 – the index of rejection was about 55% among blacks, 60% among the mestizos, and 58% among the whites (see *Racismo Cordial*, Turra and Venturi, 1995).

The results found in the 2006 survey reveal a shift in the perception of racial relations in the country: 65% of

the interviewees support the proposal. The support of quotas is observed in each and every racial group, and in the higher levels of education and income. Among those who reject the proposal, 55% have a university degree and 57% have a family income higher than ten minimum salaries. Although in a reduced proportion, the profile of those who show some resistance follows the same pattern observed in the research on *Racismo Cordial* (gentle racism): the higher the level of education and income, the higher is the rejection. In all of the racial segments, the support reaches a level over 60%; that is, the levels of rejection are low in all groups: 32% among whites and 23% among blacks and mestizos. It is important to highlight that in this dynamics of racial relations, the elements of a national and international conjuncture are present; and since the last decade, it has presented new demands, which come from the academic environment or from social movements, especially from the black awareness movement.

Since the 1990s, when proposals of affirmative action appeared on the Brazilian scene, there has been a tendency to update the history of privileges and perversions. The current rhetoric, a result of the end of military dictatorship, is necessary to establish citizenship, especially of the historically marginalized blacks, indigenous, and the socially excluded. The same rhetoric has a common denominator which appears in the media, for instance, through researches revealing the racial hierarchy among the Brazilian people. It is what is noticed when, starting from certain consensus, there is expressive racism in Brazil, not mere social prejudice of class. Some reactions even appeared against the proposals to create laws that would compensate for the countless debts owed to the Afro-Brazilian peoples.

It is important to consider the dilemma of race relations in Brazil and the United States and the Brazilian myth of racial democracy. In fact, the myth implies that the three races in Brazil – the black, the native, and the white – will live without conflicts.

Until the 1950s, racial democracy was thought of less as an ideology that is part of Brazilian society than as academic studies and official speeches; in fact this was true even in the 1960s for Afro-Brazilian and North American black intellectuals. In the 1970s, the reference takes on other colors and names: the racial democracy is referred to as a myth and identified as merely an ideology. In that process of denying racial democracy, the analytical rupture did not happen, but reflections about the racial inequalities in Brazilian society influenced political sense.

Since the 1980s, a growing number of journalists, historians, and North American social scientists have denounced the discrimination they claim to have suffered in Brazil. This was very curious since these individuals, who knew about the existence of discrimination against the blacks in the country, expressed surprise when confronted

with racism in Brazilian society. The dialogs between Brazil and the United States, therefore, will continue to be a dilemma. This is a discussion that will continue beyond the twentieth century. The official qualifying system in Brazil includes five categories for the definition of color: black, brown, white, yellow, and indigenous. The brown term refers to an individual who could be identified as mestizo in other contexts (the mixture of black with white). Black is a category that, if synonymous with black in the study of the racial inequalities, includes the sum of black and brown. It is necessary to point out that the use of the black category reflects an influence of the sociology of racial inequalities in the United States during the 1970s. (See Hasenbalg's studies, Hasenbalg (1997); on the use of the categories in Brazil, see Harris *et al.* (1993), and Telles (1995); and see also Fry (1995); Hanchard (1994); and Guimaraes (1995).)

Conversely, the unequal access to Brazilian universities is one phenomenon that, only recently has attracted the attention of researchers. By the end of the 1980s, Ribeiro (1987) demonstrated that the majority of the students in a Brazilian universities were directly related to a certain family and educational heritage, mostly in the middle classes. Ivonne Maggie, at the time, pointed to this characteristic when she stated that poor students did not have access to this environment; she pointed out that to enter the university, it was necessary to have a certain level of income and cultural background (see Maggie). The research on the UFBA confirmed this analysis, revealing that traditionally, the students who had access to its courses were those whose parents had higher levels of scholarship and income, that is to say, a higher status (see Brito and Carvalho, 1978).

Until the end of the last decade, there was little information about the participation of several racial segments of the Brazilian population in higher education. From a survey done in the UFBA in 1997 and in other federal public universities in 2000, it was possible to have a first mapping of the racial inequalities that were present in universities considered to be prestigious in certain parts of the country (see Tables 1, 2, and 3) (see Queiroz, 2002).

These studies revealed that blacks and whites, especially those who come from the public educational system, were unequally represented in courses of great competition and high prestige, such as medicine, dentistry, law, architecture, electric engineering, computer sciences, psychology, and business administration.

By the end of the 1990s, besides a growing debate about the inclusion of black students in public universities, there were, in some federal institutions, actions surrounding affirmative action for black individuals. The Ministry of Justice determined that the directive and superior assessor posts would have a quota of 20% for Afro-descendent people, 20% for women, and 5% for physically disabled people. With resources from the

Table 1 Percentage of students in federal universities by race

Color	UFRJ	UFPR	UFMA	UFBA	UnB
Whites	76.8	86.5	47.0	50.8	63.7
Mulattos	17.1	7.7	32.4	34.6	29.8
Black	3.2	0.9	10.4	8.0	2.5
Yellow	1.6	4.1	5.9	3.0	2.9
Indigenous	1.3	0.8	4.3	3.6	1.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

From [Queiroz, D. M. \(2002\)](#). *O negro na universidade*, Série Novos Toques: Salvador.

Table 2 Percentage of blacks in Brazilian states and the universities

States	Population of state	University	Population in university
Rio de Janeiro	38.2	UFRJ	20.3
Paraná	22.4	UFPR	8.6
Maranhão	75.1	UFMA	42.8
Bahia	77.5	UFBA	42.6
Distrito Federal	53.6	UnB	32.3

From [Queiroz, D. M. \(2002\)](#). *O negro na universidade*, Série Novos Toques: Salvador.

Table 3 Percentage of whites in the Brazilian states and the universities

	Population of state	University	Population in university
Rio de Janeiro	61.7	UFRJ	76.8
Paraná	76.2	UFPR	86.5
Maranhão	24.8	UFMA	47.0
Bahia	22.1	UFBA	50.8
Distrito Federal	45.9	UnB	63.7

From [Queiroz, D. M. \(2002\)](#). *O negro na universidade*, Série Novos Toques: Salvador.

Inter-American Bank of Development, the Ministry of Education has created a program called Diversity Program at University, which supports the preparatory courses for the black and indigenous people. All these actions initiated in a context marked by internal demands, which came from black activists and entities, and external demands from international organizations.

In August 2001, the 3rd International Conference on Racism, Xenophobia, and other forms of correlated intolerances, was held in Durban, South Africa. Promoted by the United Nations (UN), the conference had intense participation by entities from the Brazilian black movement, and in the months that preceded the conference, there were intense debates within the social movements about the formulation of the claims and the definitions toward the concepts of reparation.

In Brazil, the event that took place was a kind of follow-up of another event that occurred in Lagos in December 1990, when a group of intellectuals, government representatives, and leaders of other entities from all over the African continent, the United States, Great Britain, and the Caribbean, gathered to discuss the historical, legal, and moral dimensions of what reparation should be. In this meeting, an international committee was created for reparation, and in 1992, the African Union (AU), with the same objective, created a group made up of specialists and an executive secretary (see [Araújo, 2001](#)). In this period, the discussion on reparation for the blacks in Brazil reflected the proposals and the projects leading toward an indemnity to those of African descent in the country.

The Quotas in the Federal University of Bahia: Some Ethnographic Notes

Since 1998, some proposals have been introduced by the UFBA on the politics of affirmative action. In 2002, the Rectory constituted a task force for the elaboration of a proposal on strategies for social inclusion. Representatives of professors, staff, students, and the black movement participated in the task force. After a year of intense discussions, a report on the issue was presented and approved by the UFBA. In a period of 10 years, the objective is to increase the number of students from public schools, blacks and browns, and indigenous descendants in all of the courses because currently most of the students of the university come from the private system.

The proposal approved for UFBA in 2004 was marked by an initial absence of debate among professors, civil servants, and students. The task force attempted to hold several debates but was not successful. However, before the proposal could be approved by UFBA, there was a reaction via e-mail by a professor opposed to the system of quotas:

Dear friends,
the logic of the argument is impeccable. The discrimination really constitutes an element access trouble to the Higher Education. But why only solve the problem of the afro-descending ones? For the same logic, and since the socioeconomic position doesn't work as cut line, I propose immediately that others discriminated be mediated equally with: quotas of 51% for women; quotas of 4.7% to natives' descendants; quotas of 0.3% to people that suffered violence or sexual violence in the childhood; quotas of 0.8% to blind men or people with serious visual deficiencies; quotas of 2.1% to bearers of the Syndrome of Down; quotas (to be defined) for transvestites and transsexual; quotas of 1.2% to paraplegics or hemiplegics;

quotes of 0.1% to stutterers or affected people for other difficulties similar; quotas of 4.9% to vegetarians. The list certainly is not exhausting. But certainly it can be completed in the discussion process. Or will it be that it remains some common sense? Greetings,

This message provoked a great debate in the Web site of the university: The debate was marked by several opinions. Most of the professors were against the adoption of quotas for blacks and came up with the following arguments:

1. Brazil is a mestizo country;
2. the descent conception in Brazil does not resemble the United States's one-drop rule;
3. the race concept is no longer applied in the sciences;
4. the difficulty of access for blacks into universities is based on the class condition ("they are poor");
5. merit is the mark of access to the system of higher education;
6. the students in the quota system will find it difficult to study in the universities because the public schools are not good;
7. the system of quotas will result in a discriminatory system in the university;
8. quotas would be political opportunism and a demagoguery; and
9. the quota system is an imperialistic foreign proposal.

The teachers favorable to the system of quotas argued that

1. it would be a form of giving access to the black and indigenous populations to the university; and
2. it would change the color of the university in the courses considered prestigious.

An argument of a feminist was provocative:

Dear friends,

For terms certainty that it is not just treated of a defense of color privileges, it would be important that those emitting opinion against or in favor of the quotas identify themselves in color terms. I am white phenotypically and totally in favor of the politics of affirmative actions, among which is included our politics of social quotas now - of affirmative actions for no white. In fact, I should say that when reading the friends' positions (up to now, all men...) contrary to those politics, I am fearing for our conquest - the women's conquest - in relation to minimum quotas in the parties and unions. Until I can imagine the argument type that it will get up when us, women, we enter with our demands of 30% for women and black in the State legislatures, National Congress, etc. After all, the power was always in white men's hands; it is not easy to give up millenarian privileges.

The exercise of ethnography is a tradition in anthropology. How can we build an ethnography of colleagues?

That seems to be a fundamental question in attempting to understand the reactions of more than 100 professors. The anthropological exercise became difficult because the native point of view was too close for comfort. Those who were to be the subject of the study were in the same university and some were in the same departments.

The positions contrary to and in favour of the quota system in the universities do not imply there is a distinction in the scientific field, as it can be observed in Bourdieu (2000) when he argues about the meaning of scientific competition. It is not publish or perish. The scientific field is known for its constant tension, monopoly of ideas, maintenance of consolidated speeches, and disputes over current theories. It is fundamental to understand that these intellectual practices are really social in nature.

The Impact of Quota Policy

If one is to observe the origins from the schooling, the system of entering the universities with reservation has caused a great revolution in UFBA because it has provoked their most prestigious course students who come from public schools and who, at the same time, have been excluded from this space. The participation of students from the public schools, which was less than 27% in degree courses, such as medicine, architecture, law, media, dentistry, computing, civil engineering, and electric engineering, has increased extraordinarily, reaching more than the 43% of the vacancies reserved for them in the quota system.

The participation of students from public schools, at UFBA, which was around 38% before the introduction of the quota system, increased to 51% in 2005. Although it can be verified that in 2006 there was a reduction of this figure to 44.9 %, the level has stayed above the one that is intended by the quota system. In courses such as computing, civil engineering, electric engineering, and geophysics, for instance, there was a reduction of students from public schools compared to 2005, although, the quota remained the same. It is noteworthy to remember that the quota system adopted by UFBA does not imply a necessity to fill all the vacancies for, it relies heavily on student performance (Table 4).

Confirming the results of the previous research (Queiroz, 2003), these data show that the Brazilian public university is an extremely selective space, and that only through the adoption of specific policies of access, such as the affirmative actions directed to students from public schools, is it possible to assure them some chance to gain access. As shown in the data collected, it does not mean changes in the demands of the examination to get into the university - the vestibular - or the triviality of the teaching system as some may argue or suppose.

Table 4 Percentage of the distribution of the students selected according to the type of fundamental school attended (2003–06)

School	Year			
	2003	2004	2005	2006
Public	38.3	33.8	51.0	44.9
Private	61.7	66.2	49.0	55.1
Total	100	100	100	100

From Serviço de Seleção e Orientação (SSOA) – UFBA.

Academic Performance of the Quota Students and Nonquota Students in the Vestibular

The data for student performance in the vestibular examination are other important indicators, not only for the evaluation of the impact of the reservation policy, but also to dissolve pessimists' expectations about the adopted measures. The information about the performance of the quota and nonquota students shows that the gap between the averages of both groups is not so high expressive in the majority of the courses of higher social prestige, as can be observed in [Table 5](#). The method of evaluation for the disciplines is measured by marks between 0 (zero) and 10 (ten). In medicine, for instance, considered to be one of the toughest to get into, at UFBA, the gap between the two groups does not even reach 1.0 (one) point. The same occurs in the law course, also one of the most targeted by students. The largest gaps observed were in the electric engineering course (1.7) and the mechanic engineering (1.4), both in 2006.

For a better understanding of the difference between the averages of the quota and nonquota students, [Table 6](#) shows student performance in the 2005 vestibular, comparing the averages of the first and of the last student qualified in each of these groups, per chosen course. As previously observed, for the set of courses examined previously, in all courses at UFBA, a great difference is not observed between the average of the quota and nonquota students in the two positions evaluated, that is, in the first and in the last position for each group.

Performance in the Courses

The adoption of the quota system by public universities over the last 2 years allows analysis of the impact of the new system to enter the university. This fact is of extreme significance because there had only been data about students' entrance and performance in the vestibular. The hypothesis about course performance was based on facts relating to the other system, which was a classificatory one.

At UFBA, in 11 of the 18 courses of higher dispute (i.e., 61% of them), the quota students had a coefficient equal

Table 5 Average performance of quota and nonquota students in most disputed courses with social prestige (2005–06)

Course	Quota students average grades		Nonquota students average grades		Difference between quota students and nonquota students	
	2005	2006	2005	2006	2005	2006
Medicine	6.7	6.7	7.5	7.4	0.8	0.7
Law studies	6.2	6.2	7.0	7.0	0.8	0.8
Dentistry	5.2	4.9	6.2	6.2	1.0	1.3
Business	5.5	5.1	6.3	6.2	0.8	1.1
Computing sciences	5.8	5.6	6.6	6.7	0.8	1.1
Electric engineering	6.2	5.7	7.1	7.3	0.9	1.7
Psychology	5.7	5.6	6.3	6.5	0.6	0.9
Civil engineering	5.2	4.9	5.8	6.0	0.6	1.1
Mechanic engineering	5.5	5.4	6.5	6.8	1.0	1.4
Architecture	4.9	4.8	6.1	6.1	1.2	1.3
Media and journalism	6.1	5.7	6.8	6.9	0.7	1.2
Media and cultural production	5.4	5.4	6.2	6.2	0.8	0.8

From Serviço de Seleção e Orientação (SSOA) – UFBA.

or better than those who were not from the quota system ([Table 7](#)). Contrary to the expectations of those people who were resistant to the implementation of the quota system for fear of lowering the standard in education, the quota students' performance in the examination revealed very satisfactory results in courses from diverse areas.

This polarization is based on fragile arguments, principally the data concerning the student's performance in the vestibular and in the courses. In a recent paper, [Barreto \(2007\)](#) points out not only the good level of performance by students who receive scholarships in these programs but also their distinct perspective. Black students who entered the university through this system tend to positively affirm themselves as black as well as individuals (e.g., involvement in the black movement or non-black association, students' union, and political parties). Therefore, it is absolutely worth questioning: What is the meaning of racialization of Brazilian society, so feared and propelled by intellectuals against the quota system, if not the defense of points of view that translates the permanence of certain privileges and the exercise of power?

The result of this analysis characterized the quota policy, adopted by UFBA, as a very meaningful instrument to promote the democratization of access to higher education. The reservation of seats has shown to be not only capable of broadening the contingent of students who come from public schools, but it also permitted

Table 6 The averages for the performance in the vestibular of quota and nonquota students (2005)

<i>Course</i>	<i>First place quota student</i>	<i>First place nonquota student</i>	<i>Least place quota-student</i>	<i>Least place nonquota student</i>
Architecture	6.8	8.1	4.4	5.6
Computer sciences	7	7.9	4.7	6.1
Civil engineering	7.5	7.7	4.6	5.3
Mines engineering	5.9	6.6	4.6	5.1
Electric engineering	7.4	8.1	4.9	6.7
Mechanic engineering	6.6	8.1	4.7	6.2
Chemistry engineering	7.1	8.2	5.1	6
Environmental and sanitary engineering	6.1	7.6	4.7	6.1
Statistics	5.5	6.9	4.5	4.5
Physics	6.3	7.2	4.7	5.2
Geophysics	6	6.4	5.2	5.5
Geology	5.3	5.9	4.3	4.4
Mathematics	7	7.6	5.1	5.4
Chemistry	7	6.8	5	5.1
Agronomy	5.6	6.4	4.2	4.6
Biological sciences	6.5	8	4.9	5.6
Natural sciences	5.3	6.1	4.3	4.8
Medicine	7.8	8.3	4.7	7.3
Veterinary	6.2	7	4.7	5.1
Nutrition	5.7	6.6	4.6	5.3
Oceanography	6.2	7.3	5.1	5.9
Dentistry	6.3	7.3	4.2	5.8
Business	6.5	7.2	5	5.8
Archivology	5.6	5.5	4.5	4.5
Accounting	5.9	6.4	4.6	5.1
Economics	6.5	6.8	4.8	5.6
Social sciences	6.6	6.7	4.7	5.5
Media – journalism	7.3	7.3	5	6.4
Media – cultural production	6.7	7.1	5	5.8
Law studies	8.1	7.8	4.4	6.7
Physical education	5.7	6.1	4	5.1
Philosophy	6.1	6.5	4.5	5
Geography	6.1	6.2	4.5	5
History	6.5	7.2	4.5	5.8
Museology	6.1	6.3	4.6	5.1
Pedagogy	5.5	6.1	4.2	4.8
Psychology	6.5	6.8	4.4	6
Executive secretary	5.9	5.5	4.5	4.5
Language studies – vernacular	6.6	7.9	4.6	5.1
Language studies – vernacular and foreign language	7.1	6.4	4.6	5.2
Language studies – foreign languages	6.3	6.4	5	5.2
Drama – theater	5.9	5.5	5.1	5
Drama – direction	5.9	6.1	4.9	5.7
Drama – interpretation	5.7	6.2	5.3	5.7
Art	6.5	6.5	4.4	4.7
Decoration	5.8	6.1	5.1	4.9
Dance	6.1	6.2	4.7	5.4
Industrial design – visual rogrammer	6.4	6.4	4.9	5.5

From Serviço de Seleção e Orientação (SSOA) – UFBA.

students to enter the university to do courses of elevated competition so that they can have great social prestige. The racial segments (blacks and indigenous), who had shown the necessary performance, had earlier been systematically kept apart from this possibility, due to the reduced number of seats offered by the university as well as the classificatory system of their fulfillment.

Although it is recognized that the quota system has its own virtues, that its adoption is pertinent as a provisory policy within a context marked by the exclusion of a great number of social segments to the university, it is absolutely necessary not to lose sight of its limitations. The overall situation revealed by the present analysis signals an urgent educational policy

Table 7 Percentage the quota and nonquota student with an average between 5.1 and 10.0 in the courses of higher dispute in two semesters at UFBA in 2005

Course	Quota students	Nonquota students
Business administration	83.3	95.4
Architecture	85.6	81.3
Computing	66.6	53.7
Media – journalism	100.0	87.5
Media – cultural production	100.0	88.9
Law	95.2	88.9
Electric engineering	55.5	75.0
Mechanic engineering	75.0	100.0
Civil engineering	94.1	80.0
Pharmacy	92.3	82.3
Medicine	93.3	84.6
Veterinary	77.0	81.0
Nutrition	87.5	92.3
Oceanography	27.2	40.0
Dentistry	100.0	100.0
Psychology	77.8	100.0

that might be able to broaden the offer of higher education in the state.

The participation of students, who had their educational background in public schools, must not be blind to what such institutions may offer. The research on the reality of Brazilian public schools does not leave room for doubt about the long road ahead for the state to offer adequate basic education. On the other hand, we must highlight that if affirmative action in higher education is considered in central countries or in the peripheral ones (United States (see Bowen and Bok, 1998; Allen, 1988), United Kingdom, China, Macedonia, and South Africa) and with strong emphasis on the minorities, the Brazilian experience suggests affirmative action directed to groups of minorities (indigenous and people with special needs) as much as to groups of high percentage representation, such as blacks, because they are almost 50% of the Brazilian people.

Another important difference in relation to these countries is the fact that most universities that adopted the quota system focus on students from public schools. The Brazilian uniqueness is due to a reformulation in the educational system over the last three decades and the subsequent lack of investment from the government in the public system of education. There had been an

increasing access of students to higher education coming from the private system, the majority of them belonging to middle classes and self-declared as whites. Therefore, the challenge in the universities is how to combine affirmative action policies directed both at race as well as at class (poor ones).

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