



Fies and Prouni in the expansion of Brazilian higher education: policies to democratize access and/or to promote the private-mercantile sector?

Paula Roberta Mirandaⁱ

State University of Maringá, Maringá, PR, Brazil

Mário Luiz Neves de Azevedoⁱⁱ

State University of Maringá, Maringá, PR, Brazil

Abstract

This article aims to analyze the higher education expansion public policies in Brazil, in the period between 1990 and 2015, especially through the Fies and Prouni Programs (2003-2015). Both federal programs contributed to the process of democratizing higher education, but, at the same time, they promoted the growth of private higher education institutions and to the consolidation of a higher education market in Brazil. The authors argue that it is a process of commodification of higher education, which has been challenging the historical treatment of higher education as a public good and a social right.

Keywords

Democratization. Private higher education. Expansion. Fies. Prouni.

Fies e Prouni na expansão da educação superior brasileira: políticas de democratização do acesso e/ou de promoção do setor privado-mercantil?

Resumo

O artigo analisa as políticas públicas de expansão da educação superior no Brasil no período de 1990 a 2015 por intermédio especialmente dos Programas Fies e Prouni (2003-2015). Ambos os programas federais contribuíram para o processo de democratização da educação superior, porém, ao mesmo tempo, concorreram para o crescimento de instituições de ensino superior privadas e para a consolidação de um mercado de educação superior no Brasil. Os autores argumentam que se trata de um processo de *mercadorização* da educação superior, o que vem colocando em questão a educação superior como bem público e direito social.

Palavras-chave

Democratização. Educação superior privada. Expansão. Fies. Prouni.



**Fies y Prouni en la expansión de la educación superior brasileira:
¿políticas de democratización del acceso y/o de promoción
del sector privado-mercantil?**

Resumen

Este artículo tiene como objetivo analizar las políticas públicas de expansión de la educación superior en Brasil en el período de 1990 a 2015, a través especialmente de los Programas Fies y Prouni (2003-2015). Ambos los programas federales promovieron el proceso de democratización de la educación superior, pero, al mismo tiempo, contribuyeron para el crecimiento de las instituciones de enseñanza superior privadas y para la consolidación de un mercado de educación superior en Brasil. Los autores sostienen que es un proceso de mercantilización de la educación superior que ha desafiado el tratamiento histórico de la educación superior como un bien público y un derecho social.

Palabras clave

Democratización. Educación superior privada. Expansión. Fies. Prouni.

1 Introduction

The guiding line of this text is the discussion about higher education expansion public policies in Brazil. Through the historical, political and economic foundations, we analyze the development of those policies, their relation to the private sector and their contribution to form an educational market.

The article aims to analyze higher education expansion public policies between 1990 and 2015, especially the most recent programs, such as the Student Funding Program (Fies, in Portuguese) and the University for All Program (Prouni, in Portuguese), implemented between 2003 and 2015. We will also consider the context of the Brazilian Reform and its relation to the private sector in the construction of a lucrative educational market, identifying the implications of these programs in the process of democratization of higher education.

The set of political and economic reform that took place in the global sphere since the 1970s culminated in the insertion of peripheral countries, among them Brazil, into a dependent capitalist economy, a process that intensified in the 1990s. These reforms boosted changes in the international division of labor and in the productive sphere, requiring the redesign of the role of the government and of their institutions, especially university, establishing new forms of relationships and

partnerships, including those with the private sector. Government reform inserted the elements of a new public management¹, in which the use of resources from the public fund and tax waivers were the new education funding methods adopted to boost the expansion.

This process caused significant changes to the profile and management of higher education, especially with the redesign of the Law of Directives and Bases of National Education (LDB), Law n. 9.394/1996, defining landmarks about funding for public and private higher education. Article 7 of that law states that “Education is open to the private initiative, as long as the general rules of national education are met” (BRASIL, 1996, p. 11, our translation).

Therefore, this article supports that the university reform that originated the expansion policies Fies (1999) and Prouni (2005) must be understood in its multiple determinations, inserted in a broader political-economic project, considering the current issues posed in the education field. In this sense, we seek to understand how these changes influenced the social configuration and the profile that Brazilian universities have undertaken in the past decades.

2 Fernando Henrique Cardoso (FHC) and the reform of higher education: guidelines for a new university profile?

Fernando Henrique Cardoso’s government (1995-2002) was marked by an intense process of reforms and structural adjustments in the state apparatus that began in his predecessors’ short terms, Fernando Collor de Mello (1990-1992) and Itamar Franco (1992-1994).

The reform plan was strategically designed in close alignment with social and economic policies, outlined by big international organizations. Guidance from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund to reorganize the State, in the sense of

¹ New public management, inspired by the British model, can be defined as a type of management that seeks to establish new forms of relationship between the government and the private sector. The main points of new public management are adaptation and migration of management knowledge developed in the private sector for the public sector. Some elements characterize new public management, such as the use of public and private resources, i.e., the institution of formal and informal partnerships between the public and private sector, becoming, thus, the hybrid and simultaneous use of these resources (PIERANTI; RODRIGUES; PECI, 2007).

overcoming crisis and renovating the regulation capability and return to governance, required undertaking actions that guaranteed sustainable development, aiming toward the decrease of poverty through the promotion of the free market. This enterprise would demand revitalizing institutional capacity and eliminating obstacles to the intended changes (HERMIDA, 2006).

The first wave of reforms started by the Federal Executive Branch, approved in National Congress, as a chapter of the economic order, eliminated the mechanisms of market reserve, protectionism and State monopoly, which, according to FHC, hindered private investment and the privatization of State infrastructure (HERMIDA, 2006). With economic liberalization and the rupture of state monopoly, all other ministries, including Education, had the opportunity to benefit from that legislation loophole.

During Paulo Renato Souza's term in the Ministry of Education (MEC, in Portuguese), education was considered one of the five primary goals of FHC's proposal. The most striking feature of education as a priority element in FHC's agenda was the emphasis on the economic character attributed to education.

The action against the university's public character found support and incentive. Corbucci (2004) states that the FHC government benefitted from the measures adopted by previous governments regarding the MEC policy, especially from the extinction of the Federal Education Council (CFE, in Portuguese) and the creation of the National Education Board (CNE, in Portuguese), which granted greater responsibilities to the private sector to expand higher education. According to Corbucci (2004, p. 682, our translation), the creation of CNE:

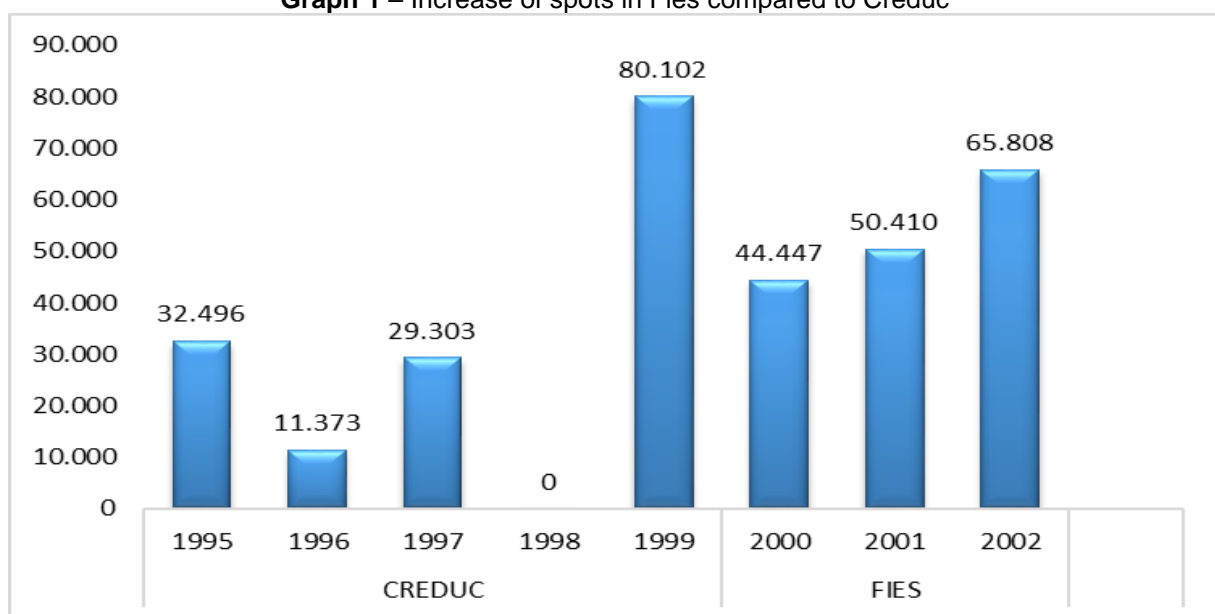
[...] provided more autonomy to conduct the process of expansion of education and graduation, by undertaking deliberative functions, hitherto a prerogative of the CFE. [...] The processes of authorization, recognition and accreditation of courses and institutions from the private sector were expedited and facilitated by the CNE. Consequently, the expansion of that education stage was considerably bolstered through private initiative.

One of FHC's first actions concerning higher education was the execution of changes to the Educational Credit Program (Creduc, in Portuguese). Creduc was a federal program that aimed to sponsor low-income students who couldn't afford the cost of education. Formalized by Law n. 8.436, from June 25th, 1992, MEC outlined its

guidelines, indicating Caixa Econômica Federal as its manager, but without excluding the participation of private banks, through agreements.

Due to the high default rates of Creduc (83%), the federal government edited a provisional measure about debt renegotiation, leading to its redesign in 1999 and the substitution by Fies through Provisional Measure n. 1.827, from May 27th, 1999, which became Law n. 10.260, on July 12th, 2001. Maintaining the funding sources for the programs, the differences between Creduc and Fies were basically the increase in the number of spots, as evidenced in the following graph.

Graph 1 – Increase of spots in Fies compared to Creduc



Source: Brasil, W. (2003).

The graph shows that, after 1999, when the funding method changed, there was an intense expansion in the number of students sponsored.

The results from implementing those policies are widely known. Studies by Corbucci (2004, p. 683) showed that enrollment in undergrad courses had an increase rate of 31.5% in the public sector, while the private sector saw an increase of 23.4% for the period between 1990 and 1997. However, in 1997 and 1998, the increase in enrollment in the private sector had a rate of 11.4%. In the following years, annual increase rates stayed in average between 15.7% and 17.5%, closer, thus, to those corresponding to the aforementioned seven-year period.

Thus, there was a significant increase in the participation of the private sector in enrollment in undergrad courses, inverting the tendency observed throughout the period 1990/1994, whose participation had suffered continuous retraction (from 62.4% to 58.4%), so that, in 2002, the private sector already corresponded to 70% of all enrollments. (CORBUCCI, 2004, p. 683, our translation).

Therefore, it is possible to state that actions by the FHC government to increase the private sector made great strides. During his term, 758 new private higher education institutions were created, with a total of 1,442 institutions. During the eight years of the FHC government (1994-2002), the private higher education institutions (HEI) had a 127% increase, against a 10.5% decrease in public HEIs. Even with a 52.3% increase in public enrollments, the private sector reached 150.2% increase in enrollment. In the Lula government, the situation wasn't too different: in six years (2002-2008), there was a 21% increase in public HEIs, against 40% in private HEIs. There was also a 21.2% rate for public enrollment, with a 56.7% increase in private enrollment (SGUISSARDI, 2010).

It is important to observe that, with the Brazilian reforms and the measures for structural adjustment in the economy, there was, between 1994 and 2008, global growth in HEIs, a percentage of 164%, in which public HEIs had only an 8.3% growth compared to 218.5% of private HEIs. Regarding enrollment, there was a 205.8% between 1994 and 2008, in which again the private sector had the lion's share: 84.6% for public HEIs, and 292.4% for private ones. Analyzing the FHC government, we notice an increase in private HEIs (110.8%).

Regarding the number of enrollments between 1995 and 2002, we observe that, although the public sector had a 55% increase, the private sector had the highest expansion rate, reaching 129.8%.

We surmise that, during the eight years of FHC's presidency and the first six years of Lula's, the expansion of higher education took place through private funding in a clear consolidation of higher education as a commodity, an undeniable characteristic of liberal conservative politics, suppressing the idea of education as a right to all (GOMES, 2008).

3 Higher education reform in the government of Lula da Silva (2003-2010): expansion or privatization?

The reform implemented by Lula's government in higher education evidenced that there were no ruptures with the political-economic and ideological context materialized by FHC, but a "transition", preserving the interests of national and transnational bourgeoisie and restating the commitment to honor deals kept with international organizations.

One of the first actions that showcase this continuity was Law n. 11.079, from December 30th, 2004, which instituted general guidelines for bidding and hiring in public-private partnerships (PPPs), defining them as administrative concession contracts, in the sponsored or administrative modality (DI PIETRO, 2008; SUNDFELD, 2007).

In the case of higher education, PPPs strengthened even more the private sector of the State, expanding the use of resources from the public fund by private institutions. Those are the new forms of innovation in funding and privatization of general education, especially higher education.

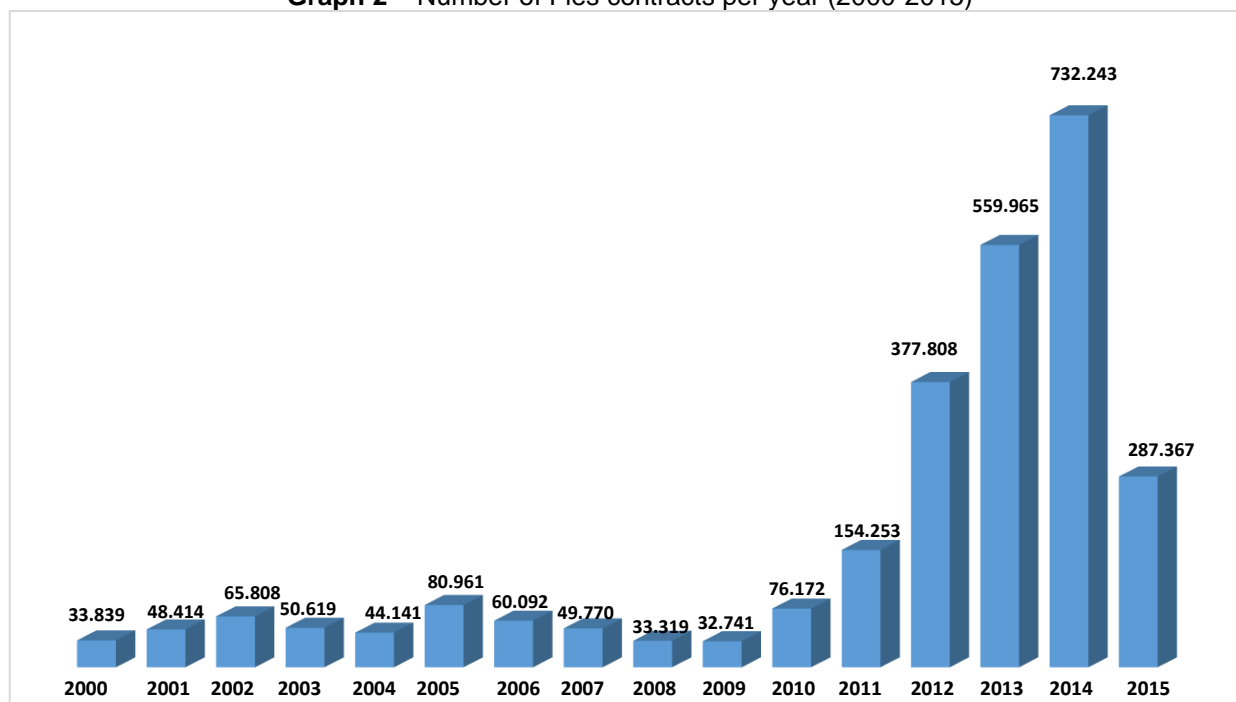
The outcomes of the partnership between the public and private sectors were accomplished with the Fies and Prouni programs in 2005 and with the incentive to distance learning, as a way to increase the number of vacancies.

3.1 Fies: incentive to the private-mercantile educational sector

Created in 1999 through a provisional measure, Fies was implemented by Law n. 10.260/2001 and altered by Law n. 12.202/2010. Fies funds between 50% and 100% of tuition for students in private education institutions (BRASIL, 2014c). Throughout its existence, Fies underwent many changes aiming to expand students' access to higher education. A set of changes resulted in Law n. 12.202/2010.

The changes implemented in Fies since 2010 showed expressive growth in the number of loans effected, which reached over 660 thousand students in 2014. Graph 2 shows the results from that implementation.

Graph 2 – Number of Fies contracts per year (2000-2015)



Source: Brasil (2015).

In Graph 2, we observe that, in 2009, Fies recorded a total of 32,741 contracts and, in 2014, 732,243, representing an increase of 2,236%. In 2011, in Dilma Rousseff's government, around 154 thousand new students benefitted from the program, representing a 102% increase in contracts compared to 2010. The following year, the increase reached 140% compared to 2011.

In 2013, the Financing Fund benefitted more than 557 thousand students. According to data from the Higher Education Census, in 2013, out of 5,373,450 enrollments in undergrad courses in private institutions, 1,168,198 corresponded to students covered by new Fies – contracts executed between 2010 and 2013, which corresponds to 22% of the total. In 2014, 732,243 students benefitted from the program in undergrad courses at HEIs belonging to 1,290 maintaining entities that adopted Fies (BRASIL, 2014b).

We highlight that, considering the approximate number of 5.3 million students enrolled in private education institutions, according to the 2013 Higher Education Census, the approximately 1.9 million students with Fies funding contracts represent 35% of the total. If we consider the total number of students enrolled in higher

education, out of approximately 7.3 million, the representativeness of students with Fies contracts is still expressive, around 26% (BRASIL, 2014b).

According to the 2014 Fies Management Report, given the changes to Fies, among them the creation of the Educational Credit Operations Guarantee Fund (FGEDUC, in Portuguese), the waiver from presenting a guarantor and the possibility to pay for the loan with work, in August 2013, the mark of 1 million contracts of student loans was reached, out of which 96% represented students from the C, D and E economic levels, with a monthly gross family income of up to 10 minimum wages. One year later, in August 2014, 1.9 million new students already benefitted from the program. The report emphasizes that even courses with higher tuitions, such as Medicine (41,345 beneficiaries) and Engineering (338,248 beneficiaries), followed that inclusive tendency (BRASIL, 2014b).

The increase in the number of Fies loans in 2012 and 2013 gave signs that Dilma's government might have been spending too much. Data provided by the National Education Development Fund (FNDE, in Portuguese), in 2014, showed that Fies cost R\$ 12.1 billion to the federal government, which entailed modifications in the program's concession rules after 2015.

According to minister Renato Janine Ribeiro, who led MEC between April and August 2015 in Dilma Rouseff's government, in the first semester of that year, MEC had provided R\$ 15 billion to enable the celebration of 252.5 thousand new contracts (R\$ 2.5 billion) and to renovate those previously celebrated (R\$ 12.5 billion).

According to the 2016 Fies Management Report, in 2015, 297,026 contracts were accomplished, which, added to the pre-existing contracts, reached over 2.1 million (BRASIL, 2016). To maintain those contracts, federal government provided a total of R\$ 16.5 billion, which were used to pay educational charges owed to the higher education institutions' maintaining entities due to students sponsored by the Fund (BRASIL, 2016). Likewise, in 2016, to maintain over 2.39 million contracts, the federal government had to provide R\$ 18.7 billion (BRASIL, 2016).

Through those numbers, we can verify how much Lula da Silva's (2003-2010) and Dilma Rousseff's (2011-2016) presidencies contributed to the privatization of higher education. We observe that private HEIs were privileged in their requests, whether through increments in public fund resources or through demands that enabled the increase in loans and financial resources.

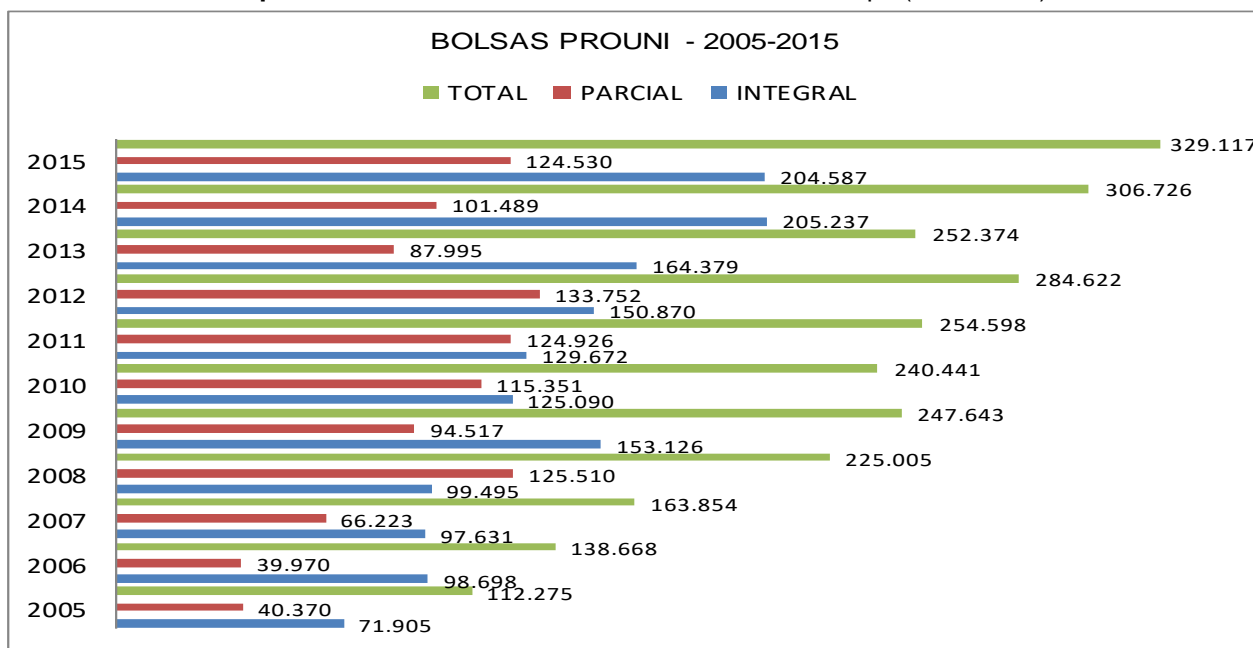
3.2 Prouni: tax waiver promoting the expansion of the private-mercantile sector

Created by Law n. 11.096, from January 13th, 2005, Prouni aims to regulate study opportunities through the concession of full and partial scholarships in undergrad courses at private higher education institutions, which are then granted exemptions from federal taxes. It is aimed at students who graduated high school at public schools or at private schools with full scholarships.

Given the contradictions and mediations involving public and private, Prouni, as Fies, also constitutes an incentive policy for the private sector. Ideologically seen as a democratizing and expansionist policy, Prouni uses tax waivers and the concession of scholarships to insert young people in higher education, but also stimulates the growth of the private sector and the commodification of the education field.

According to Carvalho (2013), out of all Prouni scholarship holders in the first trimester of 2013, 56% studied at private profit-seeking institutions and 44% studied at private nonprofit institutions (confessionals, communitarian or philanthropic). This generosity is noticed in the increase in Prouni scholarships in the eight years of Lula's presidency and the first four years of Dilma Rousseff's. Until 2014, Prouni had benefitted over two million students, 71.7% of them with full scholarships, as shown in Graph 3.

Graph 3 – Evolution of the number of Prouni scholarships (2005-2015)



Source: Brasil (2015c).

The most attractive condition for HEIs to adhere to Prouni is the exemption from federal taxes. The partner HEIs saw in Prouni a great advantage, since they stop paying important taxes to the country. These are funds that stop going to the public coffers, leaving areas such as Social Security, Education and Health with fewer resources.

The following table shows the value of funds from taxes that private HEIs were exempted from paying between 2006 and 2015. Data were collected from the Tax Expenses Statements provided by the Federal Revenue Office.

Table 1 – Evolution of total tax exemptions from each tax between 2006 and 2015

Tax exemptions in the context of Prouni (2006-2015) (Values in millions of reais, considering January 2016, corrected by IPCA)					
Year	IRPJ	CSSL	COFINS	PIS-PASEP	Total
2006	82,594,530	34,966,974	96,168,307	254,757,556	468,487,367
2007	51,862,156	21,018,155	101,601,383	39,931,813	214,413,507
2008	165,292,119	85,469,571	224,185,085	49,452,406	524,399,180
2009	228,692,436	132,009,148	337,285,634	73,415,899	771,403,117
2010	276,864,765	18,052,285	380,355,708	82,763,293	758,036,050
2011	301,135,110	107,708,310	238,990,525	52,130,202	699,964,148
2012	355,668,203	164,332,915	356,665,580	77,277,542	953,944,241
2013	386,819,100	133,688,961	327,585,930	70,976,952	919,070,943
2014	240,939,682	72,049,043	311,442,555	67,479,220	691,910,500
2015	417,211,405	132,082,577	390,400,694	84,625,116	1,024,319,793

Source: Brasil (2015c).

The following chart brings information about federal tax waivers between 2014 and 2016, with only the values connected to Prouni within “Tax expenses per budgetary function and modality of expense – Education”.

Chart 1 – Demonstrative of indirect government expenses with taxation nature
Tax expenses – federal tax waivers (2014-2016)

Tax expenses per budgetary function and modality of expense – Education				
Year	PLOA Projections	2014	2015	2016
Prouni		601,118,818	970,434,955	1,279,543,726

Source: Adapted from Brasil (2014a, 2015c, 2016).

In the chart, we verify how much Prouni has cost to public coffers. These are values that private HEIs stop paying, thus they don't benefit society in the areas to which they should go. In these terms, the concession of tax waivers to private profit-seeking HEIs has revealed its most contradictory side: on one hand, the new political and economic world organization demands an increasing decrease in interventionist governments, with the deregulation of commercial and financial transactions, including over profit; on the other hand, it relies on public funds, since tax exemptions are converted into one of the forms to use public resources to fund the private sector. The observation of Chart 1 allows us to see that Prouni has cost R\$ 1.27 billion to public coffers in 2016, the highest cost since its creation.

In this sense, the expansion of higher education takes place mainly through private initiative, encouraged by tax exemptions, favoring the private-mercantile sector and collaborating with the increase of social inequality. This happens due to the benefit these investors have toward financial accumulation, while the majority of the population depends on the few investments done in these fields. Therefore, higher education, which should exercise its social function of transformation and construction of critical awareness, is turned into a commercial activity.

4 The higher education market: Fies and Prouni in the expansion of the private-mercantile sector and the commodification of education

The administrative and financial reform that took place in the 1990s created the conditions for the commodification process in higher education, enabling the emergence of big private-mercantile education conglomerates. This commodification arises through mergers and/or acquisitions of national and foreign education companies that constitute big oligopolies, with public listing at the stock market, causing the commodification of the educational sector. According to Chesnais (1996, p. 186, our translation), “[...] it is in the movement of transferring to the commercial sphere activities that were regulated or managed by the State that the movement of capital globalization finds its bigger investment opportunities”. Thus, services that were previously controlled by the government are redirected to the market sphere, fostering the transnationalization of education (AZEVEDO, 2015a, 2015b). The fast growth of the private sector in Brazilian higher education gained new configurations, especially since 2007, with the entrance of educational groups in the stock market and stock exchange.

In 2012, the private sector of higher education almost surpassed R\$ 30 billion in annual revenue, and the 16 main profit-seeking educational groups alone (Unip, Estácio, Anhanguera, Laureate International Universities, Kroton, Uninove, Ânima Educação, Whitney University System, Universo, Unicsul, Ibmec, Ser Educacional, Uniasselvi, Unit, Fanor and UB Participações) represented an income of R\$ 8 billion in annual revenue (around 27% of the market). Such numbers place the sector among the ten biggest in the country regarding revenue and percentage of the GDP (HOPER, 2012).

The following table shows the 12 biggest private education groups in Brazil in 2015, among which Unip, Uninove, Unicesumar and Grupo Tiradentes are genuinely Brazilian (HOPER, 2016).

Table 2 – Biggest private education groups in Brazil – 2015*

Enrollment ranking	Education group	Liquid revenue estimate (in R\$ millions)	Share of liquid revenue in the sector	Estimate of private enrollment (in-person + distance learning)	Market share
1 st	Kroton/ Anhanguera	R\$ 5,265,235.00	10.7%	970,152	16.3%
2 nd	Estácio	R\$ 2,967.50	6.0%	427,434	7.2%
3 rd	Unip	R\$ 2,397.74	4.8%	390,024	6.6%
4 th	Laureate	R\$ 2,087.89	4.2%	225,576	3.8%
5 th	Uninove	R\$ 781.35	1.6%	134,620	2.3%
6 th	Ser Educatonal	R\$ 1,020.00	2.1%	127,300	2.1%
7 th	Cruzeiro do Sul Educatonal	R\$ 516.36	1.0%	80,057	1.3%
8 th	Anima	R\$ 865.00	1.8%	72,700	1.2%
9 th	Unicesumar	R\$ 330.00	0.7%	54,803	0.9%
10 th	Illumno	R\$ 486.86	1.0%	49,332	0.8%
11 th	Devry	R\$ 572.00	1.2%	41,257	0.7%
12 th	Grupo Tiradentes	R\$ 339.00	0.7%	39,854	0.7%
Total: 12 biggest consolidators		R\$ 17,610.70	35.8%	2,613.109	43.9%
Not consolidated		R\$ 31,647.90	64.2%	3,333.095	56.1%
Total in private sector in 2015		R\$ 49,258.59	100.0%	5,946.204	100.0%

*Largest Private Educational Groups in Brazil – 2015

Source: Adapted from Hoper (2016).

With the data from the table, we verify the construction and consolidation of an educational market. Opening education, since 1990, to the market as a service restructured higher education, intensifying its private dimension and shifting the central axis of education from the sphere of social right to the sphere of commodification.

5 Final considerations

With these considerations, we conclude this article arguing that educational public policies, especially Fies and Prouni, served the interests of big capital, while the public sector, such as the Support Program for the Restructuring and Expansion of Federal Universities (Reuni, in Portuguese), kept the characteristics of new public management, aimed at the efficiency and efficacy following the model of business management, whose objective is training to fill work positions.

The analyzed programs indicate that the expansion that took place in the period studied contributed to the process of democratization of higher education, but we cannot avoid the criticism as to how that expansion happened, i.e., to the detriment of the public funds and in favor of the expansion of the private-mercantile sector and the transnationalization of higher education.

Therefore, for the social actors who defend public higher education, the challenge continues to critically review public policies and political, economic and ideological paradigms that support them, since higher education is still an asset distributed to a small part of the Brazilian population, because it is possible for Brazilian universities to be actually public, disconnected from the commercial logic, critical and promoting citizenry, democracy and human emancipation.

6 References

AZEVEDO, M. L. N. Internacionalização ou transnacionalização da educação superior: entre a formação de um campo social global e um mercado de ensino mundializado. *Crítica Educativa*, Sorocaba, v. 1, p. 56-79, 2015a. Available at: <http://oaji.net/articles/2016/2991-1455533130.pdf>. Accessed on: July 10, 2020.

AZEVEDO, M. L. N. Transnacionalização e mercadorização da educação superior: examinando alguns efeitos colaterais do capitalismo acadêmico (sem risco) no Brasil – a expansão privado-mercantil. *Revista Internacional de Educação Superior*, Campinas, v. 1, n. 1, p. 86-102, 2015b. Available at: <https://periodicos.sbu.unicamp.br/ojs/index.php/riesup/article/view/8650522/16733>. Accessed on: July 10, 2020.

BRASIL. Decreto nº 6.096, de 24 de abril de 2007. Institui o Programa de Apoio a Planos de Reestruturação e Expansão das Universidades Federais – Reuni. *Diário Oficial [da] República Federativa do Brasil*, Poder Executivo, Brasília, DF, 25 abr. 2007.

BRASIL. Lei nº 8.436, de 25 de junho de 1992. Institucionaliza o Programa de Crédito Educativo para estudantes carentes. *Diário Oficial [da] República Federativa do Brasil*, Poder Executivo, Brasília, DF, 26 jun. 1992.

BRASIL. Lei nº 9.394, de 20 de dezembro de 1996. Estabelece as Diretrizes e Bases da Educação Nacional. *Diário Oficial [da] República Federativa do Brasil*, Poder Executivo, Brasília, DF, 21 dez. 1996.

BRASIL. Lei nº 10.260, de 12 de julho de 2001. Dispõe sobre o Fundo de Financiamento ao Estudante do Ensino Superior e dá outras providências. *Diário Oficial [da] República Federativa do Brasil*, Poder Executivo, Brasília, DF, 13 jul. 2001.

BRASIL. Lei nº 11.079, de 30 de dezembro de 2004. Institui normas gerais para licitação e contratação de parceria público-privada no âmbito da administração pública. *Diário Oficial [da] República Federativa do Brasil*, Poder Executivo, Brasília, DF, 31 dez. 2004.

BRASIL. Lei nº 11.096, de 13 de janeiro de 2005. Institui o Programa Universidade para Todos – Prouni, regula a atuação de entidades beneficentes de assistência social no ensino superior; altera a Lei nº 10.891, de 9 de julho de 2004, e dá outras providências. *Diário Oficial [da] República Federativa do Brasil*, Poder Executivo, Brasília, DF, 14 jan. 2005.

BRASIL. Lei nº 12.202, de 14 de janeiro de 2010. Institui o Fundo de Financiamento ao Estudante do Ensino Superior – Fies. 2010. *Diário Oficial [da] República Federativa do Brasil*, Poder Executivo, Brasília, DF, 15 jan. 2010a.

BRASIL. Lei nº 13.005, de 25 junho de 2014. Aprova o Plano Nacional de Educação – PNE e dá outras providências. *Diário Oficial [da] República Federativa do Brasil*, Poder Executivo, Brasília, DF, 26 jun. 2014a.

BRASIL. Medida Provisória nº 1.827, de 27 de maio de 1999. Dispõe sobre o Fundo de Financiamento ao Estudante do Ensino Superior e dá outras providências. *Diário Oficial [da] República Federativa do Brasil*, Poder Executivo, Brasília, DF, 28 maio 1999.

BRASIL. Ministério da Educação. *A democratização e expansão da educação superior no país, 2003-2014*. 2014b. Available at: <http://portal.mec.gov.br/docman/dezembro-2014-pdf/16762-balanco-social-sesu-2003-2014>. Accessed on: Aug. 25, 2016.

BRASIL. Ministério da Educação. *Análise sobre a Expansão das Universidades Federais 2003 a 2012*. Brasília, DF, 2012. Available at: <http://portal.mec.gov.br/docman/janeiro-2013-pdf/12386-analise-expansao-universidade-federais-2003-2012-pdf>. Accessed on: Aug. 25, 2016.

BRASIL. Ministério da Educação. Secretaria de Educação Superior. *Fundo de Financiamento Estudantil – Fies*. Prestação de contas ordinárias anual. Relatório de gestão do exercício de 2014. 2014c. Available at: http://portal.mec.gov.br/index.php?option=com_docman&view=download&alias=17528-fies-relatorio-gestao-pcoa-exercicio-2014-tcu&Itemid=30192. Accessed on: Apr. 24, 2017.

BRASIL. Ministério da Educação. Secretaria de Educação Superior. *Processo de Contas Anuais - Fies*. Relatório de gestão – 2015. Brasília, DF, 2015a. Available at: <http://portal.mec.gov.br/component/content/article?id=14949>. Accessed on: Apr. 24, 2017.

BRASIL. Ministério da Educação. Secretaria de Educação Superior. *Processo de Contas Anuais - Fies*. Relatório de gestão – 2016. Brasília, DF, 2016. Available at:

<http://portal.mec.gov.br/component/content/article?id=14949>. Accessed on: Apr. 24, 2017.

BRASIL. Ministério da Fazenda. Secretaria de Política Econômica. *Benefícios financeiros e creditícios*. 2015b. Available at: <http://www.spe.fazenda.gov.br/assuntos/politica-fiscal-e-tributaria/beneficios-financeiros-e-crediticios>. Accessed on: Apr. 24, 2017.

BRASIL. Presidência da República. *Balanco de governo 2003-2010*. 2010b. Available at: www.balancodegoverno.presidencia.gov.br. Accessed on: Apr. 24, 2017.

BRASIL. Presidência da República. Grupo de Trabalho Interministerial. *Bases para o enfrentamento da crise emergencial das universidades brasileiras e roteiro para a reforma da universidade brasileira*. Brasília, DF: Presidência da República, 2003.

BRASIL. *Quadros informativos Prouni*. 2015c. Available at: <http://prouniportal.mec.gov.br/dados-e-estatisticas/9-quadros-informativos>. Accessed on: Apr. 24, 2017.

BRASIL, W. *Pertinência científica das IFES universitárias e desenvolvimento regional: pressupostos, razões e alternativas na Amazônia*. 2003. 354 f. Tese (Doutorado em Ciências Socioambientais) – Programa de Pós-Graduação em Ciências Socioambientais, Universidade Federal do Pará, Belém, 2003.

CARVALHO, C. H. A. A mercantilização da educação superior brasileira e as estratégias de mercado das instituições lucrativas. *Revista Brasileira de Educação*, Rio de Janeiro, v. 18, n. 54, p. 761-801, 2013. Available at: <http://www.scielo.br/pdf/rbedu/v18n54/13.pdf>. Accessed on: Apr. 24, 2017.

CHESNAIS, F. *A mundialização do capital*. Tradução de Silvana Finzi Foá. São Paulo: Xamã, 1996.

CORBUCCI, P. R. Financiamento e democratização do acesso à educação superior no Brasil: da deserção do Estado ao projeto de reforma. *Educação e Sociedade*, Campinas, v. 25, n. 88, p. 677-701, 2004. Available at: <https://www.scielo.br/pdf/es/v25n88/a03v2588.pdf>. Accessed on: Apr. 24, 2017.

DI PIETRO, M. S. Z. *Parcerias na administração pública: concessão, permissão, franquia, terceirização, parceria público-privada e outras formas*. 6. ed. São Paulo: Atlas, 2008.

GOMES, A. M. As reformas e políticas da educação superior no Brasil: avanços e recuos. In: MANCIBO, D.; SILVA JÚNIOR, J. R.; OLIVEIRA, J. F. (Org.). *Reformas e políticas: educação superior e pós-graduação no Brasil*. Campinas: Alínea, 2008. p. 23-51.

HERMIDA, J. F. *A educação na era FHC: fundamentos filosóficos e políticos*. João Pessoa: UFPB, 2006.

HOPER Consultoria e Estudos de Mercado. *Análise setorial do ensino superior privado*. Foz do Iguaçu, 2012.


HOPER Consultoria e Estudos de Mercado. *Análise setorial do ensino superior privado*. Brasil, 2016. Encarte. Available at: http://sys.hoper.com.br/webinar/encarte_estudos%20de%20mercado.pdf. Accessed on: Apr. 24, 2017.

PIERANTI, O. P.; RODRIGUES, S.; PECI, A. Governança e *New Public Management*: convergências e contradições no contexto brasileiro. In: ENANPAD, 23., 2007, Rio de Janeiro. *Anais...* Rio de Janeiro: Enanpad, 2007.

SGUISSARDI, V. Mercantilização e intensificação do trabalho docente: traços marcantes da expansão universitária brasileira hoje. In: LÓPEZ SEGRERA, F.; RIVAROLA, D. M. (Org.). *La universidad ante los desafíos del siglo XXI*. Asunción: Ediciones y Arte, 2010. p. 295-317.

SUNDFELD, C. A. (Coord.). *Parcerias público-privadas*. São Paulo: Malheiros, 2007.

Paula Roberta Miranda, State University of Maringá (UEM), Graduate Program in Education, Public School Network in the state of Paraná

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1320-3774>


Graduated in Pedagogy from UEM, specialist in Educational Management from State University of Ponta Grossa (UEPG), masters and doctorate in Education from UEM. Worked as lecturer at the Departments of Education Foundations and Theory and Practice of Education between 2009 and 2015. Currently is a pedagogue teacher at the state education network and researcher at Geduc – Group of Studies and Research in Basic and Higher Education, connected to the National Council for Scientific and Technological Development (CNPq).

Authorship contribution: Created the research project, carried out data collection and analysis and presented the first version of the article.

Lattes: <http://lattes.cnpq.br/6987041413439614>

E-mail: paulinharmiranda@hotmail.com

Mário Luiz Neves de Azevedo, State University of Maringá (UEM), Department of Education Foundations, professor researcher at CNPq

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0563-5817>

Full professor at UEM. Doctorate in Education from University of São Paulo (USP). Visiting fellow at University of Bristol (England) and University of Cambridge (Wolfson College). Coordinator of the Graduate Program in Education at UEM (ANPEd, 2016-2018). Financial Director of ANPEd (2015-2017). Coordinator of Geduc – Group of Studies and Research in Basic and Higher Education, connected to the National Council for Scientific and Technological Development (CNPq). CNPq Researcher.

Authorship contribution: Guided the research, helped with data analysis, reviewed the article and added critical and textual contributions to the writing.

Lattes: <http://lattes.cnpq.br/0385443872804624>

E-mail: mlnazevedo@uem.br

Responsible editor: Lia Machado Fiuza Fialho

Ad hoc experts: Linoel Leal Ordonez and José Rubens Jardimino

How to cite this article (ABNT):

MIRANDA, Paula Roberta; AZEVEDO, Mário Luiz Neves de. Fies and Prouni in the expansion of Brazilian higher education: policies to democratize access and/or to promote the private-mercantile sector? *Educ. Form.*, Fortaleza, v. 5, n. 3, p. 1-19, 2020. Available at: <https://revistas.uece.br/index.php/redufor/article/view/1421>.



Received on July 1st, 2019.

Accepted on February 27th, 2020.

Published on July 31st, 2020.

