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SOCIAL JUSTICE BY MEANS OF QUOTAS AT THE FEDERAL UNIVERSITY OF RONDÔNIA

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ABSTRACT

The problem that guided this research was whether Law No. 12.711/2012 (Law of Quotas), as a public policy of affirmative action, is favorable to social justice. In order to trace the profile of the students who joined the Federal University of Rondônia, through the quotas, it took as a documentary basis the academic records of the Institution. The epistemological theoretical support was based on the conceptions of Paulo Freire in his critical dialectical method. Regarding the choice of courses analyzed, Medicine and Law, it was taken into consideration the greater competition in the selective processes of Federal University of Rondônia (2013-2018), pointing out: Medicine, in the first place; Right, second; the tradition of these in the formation of the Brazilian elite class, the status that both courses presuppose to give the graduating class. The results pointed out that quotas today, despite a series of criticisms, oppositions and errors of application, have been the possibility of entering public higher education.

KEYWORDS

Law of Quotas. Social justice. Medicine. Right. UNIR.

A JUSTIÇA SOCIAL POR MEIO DAS COTAS NA UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DE RONDÔNIA

RESUMO

O problema que orientou esta pesquisa foi se a Lei n. 12.711/2012 (Lei de Cotas), como política pública de ação afirmativa, é favorável ao atendimento da justiça social. Para traçar o perfil dos estudantes que ingressaram na Universidade Federal de Rondônia por meio das cotas tomou como base documental os registros acadêmicos da instituição. O aporte teórico-epistemológico respaldou-se nas concepções de Paulo Freire em seu método dialético-crítico. Sobre a escolha dos cursos analisados, Medicina e Direito, levou-se em consideração a maior concorrência nos processos seletivos da Universidade Federal de Rondônia (2013-2018), apontando: Medicina em primeiro lugar e Direito em segundo; a sua tradição na formação da classe elitizada brasileira e o *status* que ambos os cursos pressupõem dar aos concluintes. Os resultados assinalaram que as cotas hoje, apesar de uma série de críticas, oposições e erros de aplicação, têm sido a possibilidade de ingresso no Ensino Superior público.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE

Lei de Cotas. Justiça social. Medicina. Direito. UNIR.

Educação & Formação, Fortaleza, v. 4, n. 12, p. 104-123 set./out. 2019

DOI: https://doi.org/10.25053/redufor.v4i12.945

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Revista do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação da Universidade Estadual do Ceará (UECE)



LA JUSTICIA SOCIAL POR MEDIO DE LAS CUOTAS EN LA UNIVERSIDAD FEDERAL DE RONDÔNIA

RESUMEN

El problema que orientó esta investigación fue si la Ley n. 12.711/2012 (Ley de Cuotas), como política pública de acción afirmativa, es favorable a la atención de la justicia social. Para trazar el perfil de los estudiantes que ingresaron en la Universidad Federal de Rondônia a través de las cuotas tomó como base documental los registros académicos de la institución. El aporte teórico-epistemológico se respaldó en las concepciones de Paulo Freire en su método dialéctico crítico. En cuanto a la elección de los cursos analizados, Medicina y Derecho, se tuvo en cuenta la mayor competencia en los procesos selectivos de la Universidad Federal de Rondônia (2013-2018), apuntando: Medicina en primer lugar y Derecho en segundo lugar; la tradición de estos en la formación de la clase elitizada brasileña y el status que ambos cursos presuponen dar a los concluyentes. Los resultados señalaron que las cuotas hoy, a pesar de una serie de críticas, oposiciones y errores de aplicación, han sido la posibilidad de ingreso en la enseñanza superior pública.

PALABRAS CLAVE

Ley de Cuotas. Justicia social. Medicina. Derecho. UNIR.

1 INTRODUCTION

Denial of access of the disenfranchised to systematized knowledge happens unequally since the beginning of the education process in Brazil. Admission to higher education institutions took place through a meritocratic process. Those with the highest grades in entrance exams were admitted to public universities, with many institutions later adopting the National Exam of Upper Secondary Education (ENEM, in Portuguese) as a substitute for their entrance exam. The meritocracy achieved and defended by the dominant class, under the optics of globalization and neoliberalism, constructed an ideological apparatus with the purpose of distorting the true meaning of equality, social justice and equity. Added to that is the difficulty citizens face to enroll in quality public education institutions, both in basic and higher education.

This research is grounded on that point of view, in order to analyze the application of Law No. 12.711 (BRASIL, 2012), commonly called the Law of Quotas, in the Federal University of Rondônia (UNIR, in Portuguese), as an admission pathway to public higher education for students from public schools. To achieve that, we present educational inequality indices between students from public and private schools, in the

Educação & Formação, Fortaleza, v. 4, n. 12, p. 104-123 set./out. 2019

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Revista do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação da Universidade Estadual do Ceará (UECE)



city of Porto Velho – RO, who were admitted to Medicine and Law courses in UNIR between 2013 and 2018; and discuss the affirmative action public policy as a measure to reduce significant inequality problems within Brazilian society and, consequently, education. Aiming to analyze the application of the Law of Quotas in Medicine and Law courses in the Federal University of Rondônia, we propose to answer the following question: have quotas, as an affirmative action policy, granted social justice with equity to those who need them to access higher education? Based on statistical data and historical facts, this research seeks to demonstrate that quotas, nowadays, despite a series of criticism, opposition and application errors, have been a possibility of admission to public higher education, especially in undergraduate courses with high competition, for Black, Brown, Indigenous and low income students in this higher education federal institution.

2 ADMISSION TO PUBLIC HIGHER EDUCATION AND QUOTAS

Brazil's historical process, concerning social formation, regarding the guarantee of rights, was marked by several inequalities caused by unequal distribution of wealth. Although the country has potential economic growth, occupying the 8th place in the ranking of world economies, as announced by the media, based on the "World Economic Outlook" report published by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in 2015, there are still great social disparities.

Concerning the issue of discrimination, although Brazil claims to be the nation of diversity, the country still faces challenges, especially when it comes to causes related to educational and human rights of the Indigenous and Black population. Both reasons are linked to the current capitalist economic model, which is far more mindful of the profit generated by production than of income distribution for the people who generate that profit, in terms of equity.

Nowadays, we can notice that changes pushed by legislation have happened in society, even if not at the pace they should, with emphasis on minority groups¹ – Black and Indigenous people. Thus, this research compounds the scope of studies, aiming to

Educação & Formação, Fortaleza, v. 4, n. 12, p. 104-123 set./out. 2019

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The word "minority" used in this research relates to the anthropological sense, not the numerical one, that is, we consider minorities the historically excluded social groups, who don't experience the same equality situation as the dominant group.

Revista do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação da Universidade Estadual do Ceará (UECE)



understand how those two groups started to be supported by the federal government's public policies, but also proposing to understand social movements that strive for the inclusion of Black and Indigenous people.

Among educational public policies, there are those designed for minority groups, aimed at the access to education, specifically affirmative actions consisting of vacancy reserve, the well-known quotas, materialized in Law No. 12.711, in August 29th, 2012. In this perspective, many public education institutions, including federal ones, adopt quotas as affirmative action policy in order to increase access to their vacancies for people who are part of minority groups, linking social quotas to racial quotas or not. In other words, it is possible for education institutions to use rigid quotas, when only one criterion is used, or flexible quotas, when more criteria are linked, such as ethnicity and social class.

This policy, despite criticism and weak points, is the reality so far, and although it can be revoked at any time due to changes in federal government in 2019, it needs to be respected, because diversity is educational and living with different people is an integral part of an inclusive education in the 21st century. Therefore, this research aimed to discuss if the real situation of the inclusion process, through Law No. 12.711/2012, is actually consistent with the reality of Black and Indigenous people, at the Federal University of Rondônia, in the most competitive courses: Medicine and Law.

3 QUOTAS AT UNIR IN MEDICINE AND LAW COURSES

The main rule when enforcing Law No. 12.711/2012 is precisely the "scholar origins" of the person applying for a quota vacancy. The student must have studied exclusively at public schools during high school. This rule is grounded on the fact that students from private schools have a higher quality of education, since, usually, they practice for university entrance exams and ENEM from an early age. Within a meritocratic process of admission to public higher education, students from public schools, obviously disadvantaged, would have greater difficulty to be accepted.

To illustrate the issue, we present some graphics concerning general competition for vacancies in Medicine and Law courses at the Federal University of Rondônia (UNIR). In general competition, vacancies are filled by students who don't qualify for affirmative

Educação & Formação, Fortaleza, v. 4, n. 12, p. 104-123 set./out. 2019

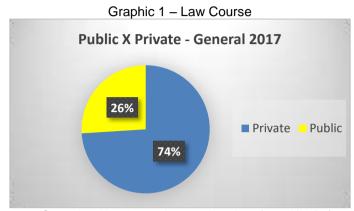
DOI: https://doi.org/10.25053/redufor.v4i12.945

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Revista do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação da Universidade Estadual do Ceará (UECE)

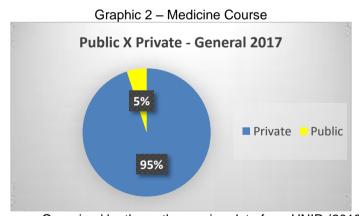


actions, so students who achieve the highest grades in ENEM are admitted to the university. Graphic 1 paints a clear picture of what happens with general competition vacancies. Analyzing data from 2017, we reinforce the conclusion that general vacancies are filled mostly by students from private schools.



Source: Organized by the authors using data from UNIR (2018).

According to the results in the data obtained, in the Law course, in 2017, 74% of general competition vacancies, filled by students who achieve the highest grades, were taken by students from private schools. Only 26% of general competition vacancies were filled by students from public schools. When we analyze students admitted in general competition to the Medicine course in 2017, comparing to the Law course, the results are even more alarming.



Source: Organized by the authors using data from UNIR (2018).

Out of 20 students admitted through general competition, 95% went to private schools and only 5% studied at public schools. If UNIR's admission process relied solely and exclusively on meritocracy (highest grade), possibly, almost every student in the

Educação & Formação, Fortaleza, v. 4, n. 12, p. 104-123 set./out. 2019

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Revista do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação da Universidade Estadual do Ceará (UECE)

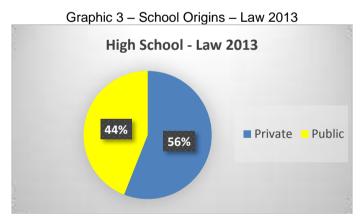


Medicine and Law courses would be from private schools. This is consistent with Bertúlio (2012, p. 50, our translation): "Brazilian universities were always a space of merits, occupied exclusively by the country's intellectual elite".

Paulo Freire (2014) warns that societies like ours generate ideologies where the blame for people's failure and underachievement falls on the people themselves, who failed as professionals and students. The fault is never in the structure and in society's functioning.

If Black kids don't learn English well the fault is in them, in their 'genetic' incompetence, and not in the discrimination they suffer due to their race and class [...] The same happens in Brazil. Boys and girls from slums don't learn because they are incompetent from birth. (FREIRE, 2014, p. 216, our translation).

The social structure mentioned by Paulo Freire can be easily observed in university by analyzing Graphic 3. Comparing the school origins (where they studied during high school) of students admitted in 2013 and 2017, we can clearly notice differences caused by the quotas in the profile of academic students. In 2013, when the Federal University of Rondônia reserved 12.5% of vacancies for quotas, the spots offered were occupied mostly by students from private schools.



Source: Organized by the authors using data from UNIR (2018).

The Law course, in 2013, was made up of 44% of students from public schools and 56% of students from private schools. In 2017, with 50% of vacancies reserved for quotas, this scenario underwent a huge transformation. Graphic 4 shows, clearly, that the number of students from public schools becomes greater than the number of students from private schools.

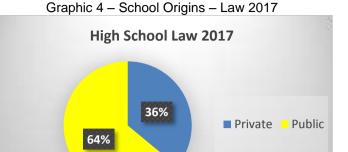
Educação & Formação, Fortaleza, v. 4, n. 12, p. 104-123 set./out. 2019

DOI: https://doi.org/10.25053/redufor.v4i12.945

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Revista do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação da Universidade Estadual do Ceará (UECE)



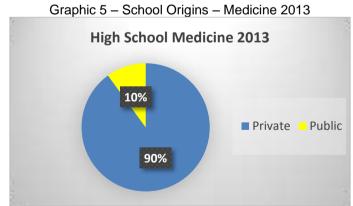


Source: Organized by the authors using data from UNIR (2018).

Out of 50 students enrolled in the Law course in 2017, 36% went to private schools and 64% of freshmen came from public schools. The results found in the Medicine course, in the same time frame, show even more significant numbers.

Applying quotas changed the scenario when it was determined that 50% of each course's vacancies should be intended for students who studied at public schools during the entirety of high school. It can be demonstrated that affirmative action public policies employed in the access to higher education guarantee the balance of vacancies, helping to reach justice and equity in admissions to public higher education.

Analyzing student enrollment, in 2013 (Graphic 5), when the Medicine course reserved 12.5% of vacancies to quotas, compared to 2017, when the institution started reserving 50%, as stipulated by law, it is possible to recognize the change in the freshmen's profile, with greater representativeness of public schools.



Source: Organized by the authors using data from UNIR (2018).

Educação & Formação, Fortaleza, v. 4, n. 12, p. 104-123 set./out. 2019

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Revista do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação da Universidade Estadual do Ceará (UECE)



In 2013, out of 40 students enrolled in the Medicine course, 90% were from private schools and only 10% were from public schools. Just as observed by Gomes (2006, p. 36), before quotas, most students in Brazilian universities went to private schools during basic education. Investigating the same data, in 2017, there is an expressive change in the freshmen's profile. Results presented in Graphic 6 demonstrate the hegemony of private schools' student elite being broken by the quotas in public university.

Graphic 6 – School Origins – Medicine 2017

High School Medicine 2017

52%

Private Public

Source: Organized by the authors using data from UNIR (2018).

The balance fostered by quotas can be evidenced through the Medicine course; in 2017, 48% of freshmen were from private schools, and 52% were from public schools. Social representativeness became similar to the social classes observed in Brazilian society, now corresponding to the percentage of those groups in each region.

Comparing admissions in 2013 and 2017 to the Medicine course, we can better understand how Law No. 12.711/2012 has been used to bring balance to the country's educational inequality. Education for social justice is one that is open for the disenfranchised and the excluded; one that gives minorities a chance and brings opportunities to the marginalized. Bringing those groups to academia was always the objective of several educators, as Paulo Coelho (2014, p. 62, our translation) would say, "[...] dreams are project for which we fight". A fight that took 33 years in Brazil's National Congress. From the first affirmative action proposal in 1980 up to 2013 with the actual application of the law that demands the reservation of vacancies in public higher education institutions for Black, Indigenous, disabled and low-income students, there

Educação & Formação, Fortaleza, v. 4, n. 12, p. 104-123 set./out. 2019

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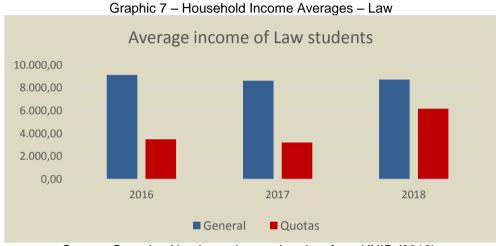
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Revista do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação da Universidade Estadual do Ceará (UECE)



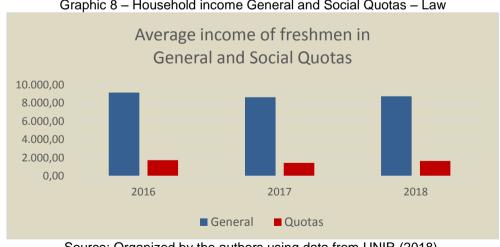
were many struggles. It was no different in the application of the Quotas Law at the Federal University of Rondônia.

Graphic 7 illustrates the household income of students from the Law course and gives a clear idea of what quotas represent within universities, especially, in elite courses like Law and Medicine.



Source: Organized by the authors using data from UNIR (2018).

Here the average of family income of Law students admitted through general competition isn't as steep as the one observed in Graphic 8, which shows that household income of freshmen admitted through general competition is much higher than household income of freshmen admitted through social quotas.



Graphic 8 - Household income General and Social Quotas - Law

Source: Organized by the authors using data from UNIR (2018).

Educação & Formação, Fortaleza, v. 4, n. 12, p. 104-123 set./out. 2019 DOI: https://doi.org/10.25053/redufor.v4i12.945

http://seer.uece.br/redufor ISSN: 2448-3583

Revista do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação da Universidade Estadual do Ceará (UECE)

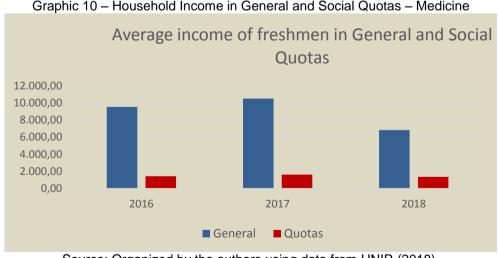


The factor household income average in the Medicine course identifies that, although the data is different in some moments, the same phenomenon that happened in the Law course also takes place in Medicine.

Graphic 9 - Household income average - Medicine Average income of Medicine students 12.000,00 10.000,00 8.000,00 6.000,00 4.000,00 2.000.00 0.00 2016 2018 General Quotas

Source: Organized by the authors using data from UNIR (2018).

Medicine course, when compared to Law, both in general competition and quotas, has the highest household income averages; however, when we compare general competition to quotas, we notice that also in this case the difference between them is significant. This difference becomes even bigger when we omit students admitted through quotas regardless of income and consider only students in social quotas, as shown by Graphic 10:



Graphic 10 - Household Income in General and Social Quotas - Medicine

Source: Organized by the authors using data from UNIR (2018).

Educação & Formação, Fortaleza, v. 4, n. 12, p. 104-123 set./out. 2019 DOI: https://doi.org/10.25053/redufor.v4i12.945

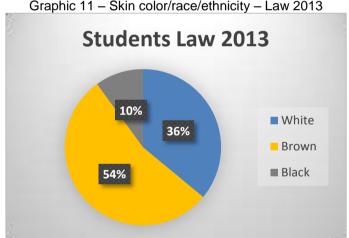
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Revista do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação da Universidade Estadual do Ceará (UECE)



Results obtained from the UNIR Medicine course's data, as well as those from the Law course, show relevant differences between income averages in general competition and social quota vacancies. When we omit from the average students admitted through quotas regardless of income, we observe that socioeconomic differences become even greater between the two admission procedures.

Creating and implementing public policies to improve access of low-income students to higher education is promoting social justice with equity. Authors such as Brandão (2005) and Kaufmann (2007) criticize affirmative actions for creating privileges aimed at certain groups, since the 1988 Constitution establishes that everyone is equal. On the other hand, Piovesan (2012, p. 20) reminds us that segregation happens when we are treated equally in different situations and differently in equal situations. A large part of Brazilian society still denies the existence of these evils, especially in Brazilian public universities. With this in mind, we analyze the application of affirmative actions at UNIR within the criterion "skin color/race/ethnicity".



Graphic 11 – Skin color/race/ethnicity – Law 2013

Source: Organized by the authors using data from UNIR (2018).

Graphic 11 shows the makeup of the Law course in 2013, the first year when quotas were used at UNIR. We can notice that the course was basically made up of students with one of three skin colors, thus distributed: 54% of students were Brown, 36% were white and 10% were Black. We can observe that no Indigenous people enrolled that year. In 2013, the Federal University of Rondônia reserved 12.5% of vacancies for quotas. When we compare 2013 to 2017, when UNIR reserved 50% of vacancies for

Educação & Formação, Fortaleza, v. 4, n. 12, p. 104-123 set./out. 2019

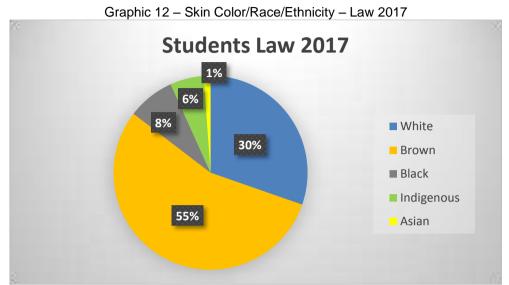
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Revista do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação da Universidade Estadual do Ceará (UECE)



quotas, the minimum percentage established by law, there's significant change to "skin color/race/ethnicity" of academic students.



Source: Organized by the authors using data from UNIR (2018).

Diversity is now stimulated by quotas. The Law course, then made up of Brown, white and Black students, is, in 2017, 55% Brown, 30% white, 8% Black, 6% Indigenous and 1% Asian. The results obtained from Law course data are undeniable when it comes to "skin color/race/ethnicity" percentage changes in freshmen.

Sales Augusto dos Santos (2007, p. 16, our translation) asserts that "[...] anti-Black racism is no longer denied by the majority of the Brazilian population, although it is still difficult to find Brazilian people who admit that they discriminate against Black people themselves". Brazilian universities, although they don't deny that racism exists, used to promote, however veiled, forms of racism, discrimination and exclusion. We can use, as a reference for that assertion, the two previous graphics that represent the reality at the Federal University of Rondônia, who never carried out studies or surveys to understand the students' skin color, race or ethnicity. That is one way to evade the responsibility of taking action to change the situation.

When we look at the results in UNIR's Medicine course, we notice that these differences are even greater and extremely relevant. The Medicine course, since a long time ago, has been occupied by Brazilian elite, and is still seen as a majorly "white" course. At the Federal University of Rondônia, the scenario wasn't different. The graphic on Skin Color/Race/Ethnicity shows the results from 2013 and reinforces our assertion.

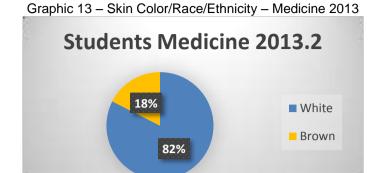
Educação & Formação, Fortaleza, v. 4, n. 12, p. 104-123 set./out. 2019

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Revista do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação da Universidade Estadual do Ceará (UECE)

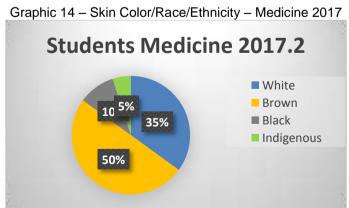




Source: Organized by the authors using data from UNIR (2018).

In 2013, the Medicine course at the Federal University of Rondônia was made up of 82% white students and 18% Brown students. We can observe that vacancies were filled mostly by white people. Ristoff (2014, p. 730, our translation) highlights that "Brazilian college campus is 20% more white than Brazilian society". The author, when discussing skin color in universities, highlights that "[...] the campus is a mirror that distorts society's image, or, said in another way, the campus, as an active social agent, sharpens the distortions that exist in society", because Brazilian society, mostly Black and Brown, was visibly absent from universities until 2013, like it was absent from UNIR, as shown by the previous graphic.

We emphasize that the results in the Medicine course bring us to the issue of prejudice and racism in Brazilian society, which are reflected on the academic context, a space that wasn't open to Black, Brown and Indigenous people. With gradual implementation of affirmative actions at the Federal University of Rondônia, this reality slowly changed. The results of "Skin Color/Race/Ethnicity" in the Medicine course in 2017 confirm this social change.



Source: Organized by the authors using data from UNIR (2018).

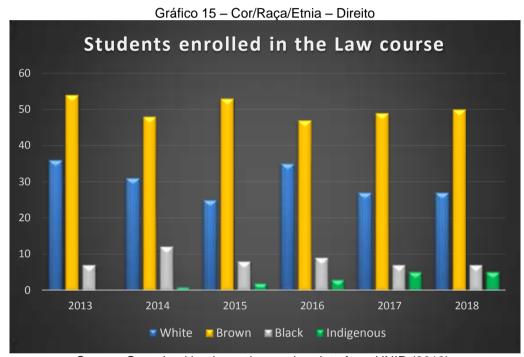
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http://seer.uece.br/redufor

Revista do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação da Universidade Estadual do Ceará (UECE)



The changes that took place in the Medicine course, throughout the last six years of Law of Quotas, even altered the institution's profile. In 2017, the course was made up of 50% Brown students, 35% white students, 10% Black students and 5% Indigenous students, reflecting, for the first time, Brazilian society and, especially, the society of Rondônia, where Black and Brown people constitute 62.5% of the population (IBGE, 2010). In this context, diversity and representativeness are two points on which the Federal University of Rondônia evolved as a higher education public institution, since results were similar in the Law course, as seen on Graphic 15.



Source: Organized by the authors using data from UNIR (2018).

Diversity and representativeness of minority groups are objectives of affirmative actions that were reached with the implementation of quotas at UNIR. In Graphic 15, which shows data from 2013-2018 of UNIR's Law course, we can observe a third group that, in previous years, before the Law of Quotas, didn't even appear: Indigenous people.

Since the promulgation of the 1988 Constitution, which removed the government's tutelage over Indigenous people, acknowledging their civilian capacity, in a process of autonomy for Indigenous people, their higher education consisted of the training of Indigenous teachers who would then work at Indigenous villages. University

Educação & Formação, Fortaleza, v. 4, n. 12, p. 104-123 set./out. 2019

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Revista do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação da Universidade Estadual do Ceará (UECE)



quotas brought Indigenous people new possibilities and the opportunity to choose between several undergraduate courses. In the case of the Law course, it was proven that implementing quotas stimulated Indigenous people's access to higher education and changed the profile of the course concerning skin color/race/ethnicity.

Joaquim B. Barbosa Gomes (2007, p. 52, our translation), reminds us that "[...] we need wide awareness of the fact that the socioeconomic marginalization to which minorities, especially racial minorities, are relegated results from one phenomenon: discrimination", therefore, the implementation of affirmative action public policies meant a new awareness, by Brazilian society, by academia and by political leaders, of the need to diminish social inequalities suffered by racial minorities. Acknowledging racism, prejudice and discrimination is an important step toward change. Creation and implementation of affirmative action public policies that guarantee the possibility of access for these groups is a way to correct that, if not yet completely, at least partially. After all, these groups were subjected to a long historical period of exclusion and segregation.

What have public universities been doing to change that scenario? Freire (2014, p. 77, our translation) states that if education can't bring about that change, "[...] without it society will not change either". Six years after the first students were admitted through quotas to the Federal University of Rondônia, the results analyzed can prove that quotas, so far, are necessary.

The best way for public higher education institutions to advance social justice with equity in student admission is by applying affirmative actions in universities, i.e., vacancy reserve, quotas for those physically, economically and socially vulnerable. It is necessary to understand that the Law of Quotas does not increase discrimination, on the contrary, it tends to correct the issue of social discrimination, so ingrained in Brazilian society since its formation. In this context, Daniela Ikawa (2008, p. 938, our translation) indicates that affirmative actions used at universities must aim not only to combat old forms of discrimination anchored to Brazilian society, but also to avoid new forms of discrimination:

Educação & Formação, Fortaleza, v. 4, n. 12, p. 104-123 set./out. 2019

DOI: https://doi.org/10.25053/redufor.v4i12.945 http://seer.uece.br/redufor

100N: 0440 0500

Revista do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação da Universidade Estadual do Ceará (UECE)



[...] if any considerations of specific vulnerabilities, such as racial discrimination, are seen as ways of deepening those same vulnerabilities, no material measure can be accepted, maintaining the status quo; and the status quo here concerns the consolidation of new forms of discrimination, and not only continuing past discriminations that would be undone with time.

When certain groups criticize the use of quotas in universities, these groups actually intend to maintain and/or uphold the status quo or a new form of status quo, or to maintain those differences also in an academic context. Ikawa (2008, p. 128, our translation) argues that this position is "[...] added to an attachment to privileges and moral or conventional hierarchies, maintained throughout history for centuries, articulately or not, in favor of some groups", which now see a certain break of that status quo through the use of quotas in public higher education.

Brito Filho (2016, p. 125) suggests that the presence of students admitted through quotas to public universities demands a spectrum of changes in the institutions, because, since they need to adapt to reality, they create special monitoring programs, student leveling when necessary, scholarship programs, and residence assistance, among others. Despite all the problems faced by the Federal University of Rondônia in the six years of quotas, we can't deny the benefits that implementing this affirmative action brought the institution. Pinto (2004, p. 753, our translation), in the article "Access to Higher Education in Brazil", asserts that a new student profile is a decidedly positive aspect for the university:

The introduction of quotas, especially in the most competitive courses, will bring a new student profile who, even if found wanting on a series of subjects required by entrance exams (and which are later disregarded in undergraduate courses), is rich in others, due to greater knowledge of the real country, where the majority of the population lives, which will entail a gain in quality for higher education institutions, as well as those from a more diverse social makeup.

As well said by Ikawa (2008, p. 152, our translation), "[...] as long as there are individuals who can no longer be reached by universal basic policies, but who suffered the effects, regarding education, of insufficient policies, affirmative policies are, therefore, also necessary". Thus, the quotas, as an affirmative action public policy, in the current historical moment, are the pathway for the inclusion of Black, Brown, Indigenous and low-income students in public higher education.

Educação & Formação, Fortaleza, v. 4, n. 12, p. 104-123 set./out. 2019

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http://seer.uece.br/redufor

Revista do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação da Universidade Estadual do Ceará (UECE)



4 CONCLUSION

In this conclusion, we start with the study's proposal, i.e., analyzing if the application of the Law of Quotas in the Law and Medicine courses, at Campus Porto Velho, Federal University of Rondônia, as an affirmative action policy, resulted in social justice with equity through diversity and representativeness. Then, we reached the first conclusion: the most competitive courses, such as Law and Medicine, for many years, had vacancies filled by a select fraction of Brazilian society. Student admission to universities (entrance exams) was based on an academic meritocratic model, that is, only the candidates with the highest grades were admitted to a public higher education institution. This admission model, which only took into consideration the students' grades, was significantly changed with the implementation of Law No. 12.711/2012, the Law of Quotas, in public universities. With the application of quotas in public higher education institutions, Black, Brown, Indigenous and low-income students had the opportunity to be admitted through the reservation of vacancies – the quotas.

In addition, this affirmative action public policy – Law of Quotas – aimed to remedy a historical past of discrimination, prejudice, inequalities and exclusion on minorities; and, in the case of public higher education institutions, a past of exclusion of the most vulnerable groups and denial of the right to a higher education for Black and Indigenous people, as well as the low-income population.

We conclude that vacancies offered by the Medicine and Law courses at the Federal University of Rondônia, before the quotas, were filled almost exclusively by students from private schools. We highlight that this scenario starts to change after Law No. 12.711/2012, with the admission of students from public schools, so that we observe balance regarding vacancies filled. We identified that, in the Law course, until 2014, there were only white, Black and Brown students. In 2017, with the legal implementation of 50% vacancies reserved for quotas, we notice that the course started to include white, Black, Brown, Asian and Indigenous people, with and without disabilities. Analyzing the Medicine course, we notice that, in 2013, first year of the Law of Quotas, among freshmen enrolled in the course, 82% were white and 18% were Brown, with no Black or Indigenous students. We confirmed that, after the implementation of the quotas policy, the profile of students in that course was completely changed, so that in 2017 vacancies

Revista do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação da Universidade Estadual do Ceará (UECE)



were filled by 50% Brown students, 35% white students, 10% Black students and 5% Indigenous students.

Therefore, the results found suggest that the Federal University of Rondônia, through the Law of Quotas, has promoted education as a fundamental right, as well as, within the realm of possibilities and their own competence, performed their social function, by offering socially just and equal education and, subsequently, used education as a tool for inclusion and cultural diversity.

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http://seer.uece.br/redufor

Revista do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação da Universidade Estadual do Ceará (UECE)



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Revista do Programa de Pós-Graduação em Educação da Universidade Estadual do Ceará (UECE)



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Received on January 28, 2019. Accepted on April 11, 2019.

Educação & Formação, Fortaleza, v. 4, n. 12, p. 104-123 set./out. 2019 DOI: https://doi.org/10.25053/redufor.v4i12.945

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