IX

BETWEEN UNIVERSAL AND FOCAL: THE POLICY OF STUDENT ASSISTANCE IN HIGHER EDUCAITON AND THE PARTICULARITY OF THE FLUMINENSE FEDERAL UNIVERSITY (UFF)[1]

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Expansion of Brazilian higher education, expansion of access to IFES and change of student profile: Limits and challenges for the effective democratization of the Public University

Historically, the constitution of higher education in Brazil – the last country in Latin America to create a University (Cunha, 1983)[2] – is overcome by profound inequalities, which, in turn, relate to the structural weakness of a country marked by dependence on the central capitalist countries. This dependence is characterized mainly by the need for overexploitation of the working class of the "colony" and sending part of the surplus value extracted here to the bourgeois fractions of the central capitalist countries.[3] This process is carried out through the exploitation of simple work, since for Brazil, the role of production of agricultural inputs in the international exchange lies. Thus, it is possible to understand why, for the different fractions of the bourgeoisie, there was no concern for the education of the masses at more complex levels (complex work), but only for a small elite who should occupy the state bureaucracy and, later, with the process of "conservative modernization" of the country, work on transnational companies that arrived in the country with special force from the 1950 and 1960.[4]

Therefore, as a dependent capitalist country, even after giving the condition of colony, Brazil did not create its own University, sending to Portugal the children of wealthy

[1] The chapter results from accumulated research within the context of TEIA – Teaching, Research and Extension Center in Work, Education and Social Work, linked to PPGSSDR/UFF, and has funding from FAPERJ and CNPq. The first part of the work, concerning the problematization of the expansion of Brazilian higher education and the changes in the student profile of the Federal Institutions of Higher Education (IFES), was written by the professor Larissa Dahmer Pereira (2/CNPQ productivity scholarship holder) and by the researcher of TEIA, Andreza Telles dos Santos Ferreira (TCT/FAPERJ scholarship holder). The analysis of Student Assistance at UFF is the result of the research of Vanessa Martins Oliveira, based on a study raised and systematized in the Master's dissertation defended by Oliveira (2019) and guided by professor Larissa Dahmer Pereira, at PPGSSDR/UFF.

[2] For a reading about the "Universidade Temporã", consult the work of Cunha (1980).

[3] On the cycle of capital in the dependent economy, the pattern of reproduction of capital and the overexploitation of the labor force, cf. Ferreira, Osório and Luce (2012).

[4] According to work by Neves and Pronko (2008), on the formation for complex work in the contemporary bourgeois order, with an analysis of the Brazilian particularity.

families, rural owners and the nascent industry. Only in the 1920, the first University – the Universidade Brasil (now the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro) – was created, but, even so, a permanent elitism in the Brazilian Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) lasted for almost the entire twentieth century, with three expansive modes, and a permanent elitism in the interior of the Brazilian Higher Education Institutions (HEIs)m which we will discuss and which help us to understand the "place" of student assistance in Brazilian higher education.

The first expansion of higher education – located in the civil – business – military dictatorship (1964–1985) – sponsored the private market sector, still organized in family companies, which perceived higher education as a lucrative niche of exploitation. At that time, we saw a first movement of expansion of vacancies and enrollments, aimed especially at the middle-level surveys regarding access to higher education diploma and the possibility of social ascension.[5] It should be noted that the two decades of dictatorship resulted in the reversal of the public sector's presence in higher education, which occupied, in the 1960, 60% of enrollments. In the 1980's, at the end of the dictatorship, the public sector accounted for 41% of enrollments and, in turn, the private sector, 59%.[6]

The second expansive moment occurs in the 1990, with movements of pressure for the expansion of higher education and access to social rights, in general, concomitant with the implementation of neoliberal economic and social public policies. The Cardoso government (1995–2002), properly, with the elaboration of the Master Plan of the Reform of the State Apparatus (PDRAE) (Brasil, 1995) and the effective implementation of neoliberal policies, made possible, in the field of Education, on the one hand, the massification of Public Basic Education, – what Algebaile (2009) showed us as a "expansion to less"[7] – and, on the other hand, a second expansive moment of Brazilian higher education, through two important movements: a) the weakening of the public sector, with the economic and human and material resources asphyxia in the IFES; (b) the expansion of enrollments via the market, with a lot of legislation that would benefit the commodification of Brazilian higher education, that is, the increase of enrollments in IES for strictly profitable purposes.[8]

In the 1990, the policy of student assistance, in the IFES, became practically stagnant, even suffering a reduction, given the cuts in resources committed to such institutions.[9] The creation, in the late 1980, in the midst of the effervescence process of

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[5] On educational policy in the civil-military dictatorship, according to Germano (2005). According to also work of Cunha (1983; 1988).

[6] According to data relating to the period, organized by Sguissardi, in the present collection (Chapter 7).

[7] Extension for less, that is, they expanded vacancies, enrollments, but without the quality needed to keep children in school. And even so, this expansion did not extend to high school. Sguissardi (2020), in the present collection, informs us about the structural inequality that crosses Brazilian education, in various aspects. In high school, for example, adolescents – especially those of the most impoverished families of the working class – do not remain, or, in other words, are expelled from school by the conditions of survival.

[8] Neves (2002) organized a collection on the entrepreneurship of Brazilian higher education in the 1990. Also according to Silva Júnior and Sguissardi (2001). See also the text of Sguissardi (2020) in the present collection.

[9] According to Kowalski (2012, p. 94): "With regard to the funding for student assistance during this decade [1990], no documents were evidenced in the legislation in force that covered and assigned resources for the cost of social educational programs; on the contrary, there was a movement of denial of the rulers in providing the resources for student assistance. This is evidenced by the promulgation of the LDB [Law of Guidelines and Bases of National Education] of 1996, which records in article 71, I incite IV the irresponsibility of the State with the funding for student assistance. According to the said article, "It will not constitute expenditure on maintenance and development of education, those carried out with: Supplementary feeding, medical – dental care, pharmaceutical and psychological programs, and other forms of social assistance".

social movements, of the National Forum of Pro-Rectors of Community and Student Affairs (Fonaprace), which developed significant research for the debate of Student Assistance, in order to build a national policy aimed at guaranteeing the staying of the students.[10] However, in view of the context of profound counter nature of the Brazilian State in the 1990,[11] such a policy did not find favorable ground for advancement. Thus, the Federal Universities have little developed sustained policies of student assistance, restricting themselves to what had already been built in the previous two decades.[12]

The third expansive moment of Brazilian higher education occurred in Lula's governments, from the 2000 onwards, characterized by continuities relative to the previous period, but also novelties: this period allowed the expressive expansion of access to higher education by fractions of the working class that had never imagined stepping on the Public University or obtaining a higher education degree through private higher education and/or higher education courses (distance learning). On the one hand, the increase of enrollments in the private sector, especially the market, through the incentive of government programs, such as the Student Financing Fund (FIES),[13] focal[14] government program created still in the FHC government, which was significantly expanded in the 2000. Another program, also of a focal nature and created in the Lula government,[15] was the University for All Program (PROUNI).[16] On the other hand, there was also, in the period, the expansion of vacancies/enrollments in the public sector, through programs such as the Universidade Aberta do Brasil (UAB),[17] the Program to Support Plans for Restructuring and Expansion of

[10] In the first half of the 1990, FONAPRACE conducted studies on university residences, university restaurants, student health, among other topics. In 1994, the first sample survey of socioeconomic profile of IFES graduates was made, but, as the data produced lacked greater consistency, it was decided by the realization in 1996 of the I Survey of Socioeconomic and Cultural Profile of Undergraduate Students of the Brazilian IFES. The II Research was carried out in 2003/2004; the III Research took place in 2010; the IV Research, in 2014; and finally, V Research was published in 2019. For a brief history of the research carried out by FONAPRACE, cf. ANDIFES/FONAPRACE (2019).

[11] On the contrary of the Brazilian State, according to Behring (2003) and Coutinho (2012).

[12] During the period of Military Dictatorship, in the 1970, there was the creation of the Student Assistance Department (DAE), inserted in the Ministry of Education, in order to implement a policy of attendance to university students at national level, through food services, housing and medical and dental care. In the 1980's, the DAE ceases to exist and the actions aimed at the attendance of students become sprayed, under the responsibility of each institution (Kowalski, 2012).

[13] FIES, created from Law 10.260/2001 (Brasil, 2001), is a program of the Ministry of Education aimed at financing the graduation of students enrolled in private HEIs.

[14] On focusing, Tavares thus analyzes: "Under the poverty alleviation programs that prevailed in Latin America in the 1980 and above all in 1990's, the 'segmented access' that would characterize state social services, as well as the 'only apparent universalism' of social policies were questioned. [...] Thus, a series of principles that reoriented social policies were established. The first of them was *focusing*. Based on the assumption that the scarcity of resources was an obstacle to the practice of universalist policies, the focus was based on the need to concentrate social actions on the poorest" (Tavares, 2006, n/p, *emphasis added*). The politics focused on the poorest remained, with some differences, also in the Lula's and Dilma's governments, having as chief car the Bolsa Família Program. And also in Temer and Bolsonaro governments: the Bolsonaro government realized the electoral force of Emergency Assistance and launched the Citizen Income program, a program of income transfer, with the aim of putting the brand of the current government and "erase" the brand Left by the Bolsa Família Program.

[15] Sguissardi (2015) analyzes the process of expansion of Brazilian higher education and characterizes it as a process of mercantile massification (rather than a real democratization), given the predominance of the private market sector in higher education in the country, the relationship with the financial sector and the action of the State, via focal programs such as FIES and PROUNI, to encourage the sector.

[16] PROUNI was created in 2004, by Law number 11.096/2005 (BRASIL, 2005) and aims to grant full and partial scholarships to students of undergraduate courses and sequential courses of specific training, in private institutions of higher education.

[17] The UAB system was established by decree 5.800, of June 8th, 2006, for the development of Distance Learning modality (EAD) in public institutions. According to https://www.capes.gov.br/uab/o–que–e–uab. For the

Federal Universities (REUNI), Established by Decree number 6.096, of April 24th, 2007 (BRASIL, 2007),[18] and the National Program of Student Assistance (PNAES) (BRASIL, 2010).[19] It is clear that the number of IFES enrollments almost doubled in the period in force of REUNI (2007–2012) (Andifes/Fonaprace, 2019).

The important (but insufficient) expansion of access to public higher education[20] brought a new student profile in the IFES: according to the V National Survey of Socioeconomic and Cultural Profile of Graduates (AS) of the Federal Institutions of Higher Education (2019), it can be affirmed the existence of a new student profile in the IFES from the 2000.[21]

The V Survey brings the following main results in relation to the students' basic profile, namely: the continuous growth of the female sex, the increase in the share of black students in the IFES, that is, the change in the racial profile, changes in sexual orientation, in the number of students who have children, the increase of students with per *capita* monthly family income of up to one and a half minimum wage.

Regarding the predominance of female students, it is important to highlight that, according to the study analyzed, "in all geographic regions, female students exceed male students in the composition of the student body of IFES" (ANDIFES/ FONAPRACE, 2019, p. 57). The amount of female students also outperforms male in high school. That is, it is a history of the educational path that women are the majority in higher education. According to ANDIFES/ FONAPRACE (2019), this information results from the premature insertion of male sex students in the labor market.[22]

Another finding of the V Survey concerns the racial profile of students in IFES in Brazil: for the first time, in all the studies carried out by ANDIFES, there has been the quantitative increase of black people [black quilombola, blacks non quilombola and brown] reaching the majority in the whole researched set, with 51.2% of the students.[23]

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critical analysis of the Open University of Brazil (UAB), according to Text by Mancebo, Vale and Martins (2015).

[18] It should be remembered that, prior to REUNI (Brasil, 2007), the federal government created the Expandir Program (2003–2006): "[...] social pressures lead to the action of the federal government in the direction of greater investments in the expansion process of federal universities. The first phase of the Expandir Program (2003–2006), called 'Expansion with interiorization', which aimed to encourage the expansion of higher education through the creation of new universities and the creation and/or strengthening of campuses within the Brazilian states" (Jezine; Trindade; Martins; Fernandes, 2014, p. 154).

[19] According to Data presented by Sguissardi in the present collection.

[20] Here it is worth noting that the lack of resources for growth with quality of the public sector is related to the insistent state action to maintain incentives and tax exemptions to the private sector, which greatly weakens the conception of higher education as social law, but it places it within the framework of mercantilized services.

[21] Since 1996, the National Association of Leaders of Federal Institutions of Higher Education (ANDIFES) has carried out research on the student profile of the IFES and its main objective is to elucidate the "[...] socio-economic and cultural medium profile of the students of the institutions Federal Higher Education" (FONAPRACE/ANDIFES, 2019, p. 11).

[22] "[...] female people seek higher education as a way to reduce social inequalities, aiming for careers and remuneration that guarantee them minimally to reconcile, for example, maternity and work, at a certain professional moment, and enjoy benefits and labor rights. Based on a relational approach to sexual division, it is necessary to consider that the underrepresentation of male students in high school and higher education is also related to the 'early' entry into the labor market, which is culturally and socially required of them" (ANDIFES/FONAPRACE, 2019, p. 57).

[23] "Another impactful data is the number of indigenous villagers and black quilombolas. Doubled the number of indigenous villagers. It was 2,329 in 2014, reaching 4,672 in 2018. In relation to black quilombolas, it was 4,231 and today it is 10,747. The student contingent of black quilombolas grew about once and a half, that is, 154%. Although the color and race profile of the Brazilian population also changed, in the period 2014–18, the increase of black, brown and indigenous people identified by the V Survey was higher than the population growth" (ANDIFES/FONAPRACE, 2019, p. 58).

A piece of information revealed in the V Survey concerns the internal question of heteronormativity to the University: although most of them declare themselves cis, by grouping those who deny such identity, they reach almost 12% of the respondents, which indicates the survey: "[...] such numbers lead us to think that the public university in fact is a space where heteronormativity, not to say cis-normativity, it tends to be increasingly questioned" (ANDIFES/ FONAPRACE, 2019, p. 59).

Another data revealed by the V Survey was about the number of students who have children. The survey states that 1 out of 10 undergraduates have children. Male students have a greater number of children, with 4 (four) or more children, already female graduates mostly have 1 (one) child. Consequently, it can be said that: "As the number of children grows, the percentage of female students decreases, which indicates that motherhood and academic life are more difficult to reconcile [...]" (Andifes/ Fonaprace, 2019, p. 59).

The V Survey revealed that there was a significant growth of the individuals who are included in the monthly per *capita* household income cut of up to one (1) minimum and a half wage. These students fall into the criteria of coverage of PNAES. Thus, it is understood that:

> In a robust way, the V Survey reveals that 70.2% of the total students of the IFES have a monthly income per capita of "up to 1 and a half SM", 4 p.p. from the profile identified in 2014. Regionally there are discrepancies, but in all of them the percentage of students inserted in this income range is above 60% of the target population. The Northeast was, in 2014, the region with the highest percentage of students in the per *capita* monthly family income range of "until 1 and a half SM", having been surpassed, in 2018, by the North. In turn, the Midwest, which in 2014 concentrated the lowest percentage, was exceeded by the South. The average monthly per *capita* income of the family group of the target population is R$ 1,328.08 (ANDIFES/ FONAPRACE, 2019, p. 59).

According to ANDIFES/ FONAPRACE (2019), this new student profile presented in the IFES from the 2000 results from extensive institutional changes: "[...] there was a significant expansion of federal higher education vacancies and institutions. In the period 2003–2017, there was a growth of 260% registered in the number of vacancies offered" (Andifes/Fonaprace, 2019, p. 15–16). This increase in the number of vacancies is directly linked to the opening of new IFES and with the change of the basic profile of students of such institutions. "18 new IFES were created from 2005 to 2017, covering four of the five regions of the country" (Andifes/Fonaprace, 2019, p. 16). In addition to the expansion of the quantitative of IFES, its courses and its vacancies, there was an important process of internalization of federal institutions.[24]

[24] "[...] The investments were oriented to break with the past logic and because of this, sought to oppose the concentration of federal institutions of higher education in metropolitan regions, with greater purchasing power and more favorable socioeconomic indicators. In fact, the regions with high demographic density and low public university coverage were considered, furthest from the major centers and with specific demands for undergraduate courses or border regions with characteristics of integration and regional flow" (FONAPRACE/ANDIFES, 2019, p. 17–18).

Associated with the expansion of vacancies/enrollments and the creation of new IFES, the creation of the Unified Selection System (SISU) stands out,[25] as well as the quota law,[26] Law n° 12.711/2012 (Brasil, 2012) that ensures vacancies for students from public schools. Both the new selection model, based on SISU, and the quota law for high school students, provide greater social mobility and the change in the socioeconomic and cultural profile of the graduates within the IFES: consequently, the need for student assistance policies that can guarantee the quality of these students in the universities increased.

Therefore, it should be noted that if, on the one hand, there was an important increase of the federal public sector in the provision of vacancies and greater access to higher education by different layers of the working class that until then were submitted to IFES, on the other hand, a huge challenge is necessary for this contingent of students to have effective conditions to continue their studies with quality and stay at university, which requires above all sufficient public resources. In this sense, it is up to us to analyze the National Program of Student Assistance (PNAES), although briefly, which will help us to address the particularity of Student Assistance at Fluminense Federal University (UFF).

The student assistance in the context of expansion of the Brazilian upper education: the particularity of the UFF and the tensions between the focal and the universal

In a context of expansion of the public sector, PNAES meant an important normative framework for student assistance, especially considering that, until then, a special national program aimed at student assistance had not been created at IFES, but only there were punctual and disarticulated actions.[27]

Initially, PNAES was regulated by Ordinance number 39, dated from December 17th, 2007 and subsequently assumed legitimacy with the promulgation of Decree No. 7234 in 2010, through the contribution of research developed by ANDIFES/FONAPRACE. With the PNAES, the legal obligation to formulate and operationalize the study assistance was indicated, with the aim of reducing evasion and ensuring the permanence of students of the IFES and Federal Institutes of Education, Science and Technology. It appears, therefore, as already highlighted in the present chapter, in a context of expansion of the public higher education, during the Lula governments (2003–2010), contributing to a greater structuring of Student Assistance in public institutions and resulting from the history of struggles of the student movements for State Assistance and greater democratization of the IFES.

In the content of the decree the objectives and purposes were delimited of Student Assistance actions, consolidating a reference in cooperation to be followed by the institutions that develop actions and services of Student Assistance. Thus, the Student Assistance is guided by the goal "[...] to expand the conditions of permanence of young

[25] It should be noted here that SISU is a "[...] Computerized system that uses the grades obtained by students in the National High School Examination (ENEM) to allocate candidates among the accredited institutions" (Fonaprace/Andifes, 2019, p. 18).

[26] Quotas are applied to low-income students, students who have gross monthly family income of up to a minimum and a half salary per person, for PPI – Black, Brown and Indigenous – and People with Disabilities according to FONAPRACE/ANDIFES, 2019).

[27] Until PNAES there was no specific program aimed at Student Assistance in higher education. According to KOWALSKI (2012); DUTRA (2015); PINTO (2015).

people in public education" (Brasil, 2010), guided by the following objectives: "[...] I — To democratize the conditions of permanence of young people in federal public higher education; ii — to minimize the effects of social and regional inequalities on the permanence and completion of higher education; iii — to reduce retention and evasion rates; and iv — to contribute to the promotion of social inclusion by education" (Brasil, 2010, art. 2nd).

Through the PNAES it was established that the actions of the State Assistance should articulate teaching, research and extension, whose focus is on permanence of the student. Therefore, PNAES highlights the following areas of activity of the Student Assistance, in its paragraph 1st of article 3rd: "[...] I – student housing; II – food; III – transportation; IV – health care; V – digital inclusion; VI – culture; VII – sport; VIII – daycare; IX – pedagogical support; X – access, participation and learning of students with disabilities, global developmental disorders and high skills and gifted students" (Brasil, 2010).

By delimiting these axes of action, it is verified the possibility of developing Student Assistance actions articulated to the various social policies, with a view to the broad social protection of the student. That is, to develop student assistance actions involving the various areas of human rights (Imperatori, 2017). Throughout the decree, the target audience of student assistance is defined in Article 5: "Students from the public primary education network or with per *capita* family income of up to a minimum and a half salary will be attended by PNAES, without prejudice to other requirements set by federal institutions of higher education (Brasil, 2010, our emphasis). This article, therefore, indicates the "priority" target-public of student assistance based on the criterion of income and school origin, that is, it is important to realize that these criteria are priority and, therefore, are not exclusive. Thus, it opens the possibility of building ways of access to student assistance, oriented from the perspective of universal or focal care, which requires differentiated projects of Student Assistance in dispute.[28]

It should be pointed out, however, that in a growing context of strengthening a neoliberal rationality[29] – with the defense of focusing on social policies, strengthening of individualism and weakening of the principle of universality – the criterion of per *capita* family income established in PNAES has still been considered as one of the main guiding axes used by institutions for socioeconomic evaluation in the process of selection of grants and scholarships Student Assistance, corroborating to the focus of its access on the most impoverished students.

We present, in a synthetic way, a study related to the reality of the UFF (Oliveira, 2019), in which we raised, through documentary analysis, the conception of Student Assistance present in the institution. The study involved the reading of the Institutional Development Plans (PDI) and Management Reports of the UFF, published in the UFF virtual site, with the aim of apprehending the conception of student assistance present in institutional planning, based on a concept of focal or universal care to students. The choice, in the research, by reading/analysis of the conception of student attendance present in the

[28] It is clear that, in a regressive context as to rights, emphasis on the focus of social policies and brutal reduction of resources for the social area, such a dispute, for those who fight in defense of constitutional precepts and Social Security, becomes somewhat arduous. If, in the Lula and Dilma governments, there were already strong limits, in the post-coup governments, Temer and Bolsonaro, this situation is amplified, making the prospect of universalization even more difficult in the various social public policies.

[29] On the discussion of neoliberal rationality, according to book by Laval and Dardot (2016).

PDI stems from its importance as a tool of institutional planning, which presents its mission and strategies to achieve objectives and goals, covering a period comprehended in five years.[30] Other documents chosen in the research process were management reports, which consist of an annual reporting instrument of the federal public administration, with the description and consolidation of information on the performance of the activities developed by the institutions and results obtained based on the goals and strategies recommended in the Institutional Development Plan.

We analyzed the PDI 2003–2007 (UFF, 2009) and PDI 2008–2012 as well as the Management Reports of the years 2007; 2008; 2009; 2010; 2011 and 2012. These documents were built with the time of implementation of REUNI at UFF (2007–2012), also period of creation/implementation of actions and student assistance services at the institution.

The study was based on the reading/analysis of PDI 2003–2007 with the objective of identifying how student assistance was planned in the institutional planning period prior to the adhesion to REUNI by the University. Thus, the data collected in the said document provided subsidies for a comparative analysis with PDI 2008–2012, published later to the adhesion of the UFF to REUNI.

The reading of PDI 2003–2007 reveals that the document already pointed to a perspective of expansion of undergraduate courses linked to an initial preoccupation with the development of programs aimed at reducing student retention and evasion. The publication of the document occurred in a context of implementation of the Expandir Program (2003–2006), as previously signed. During the validity of the aforementioned PDI, the actions to attend the student at the UFF were carried out by the Department of Community Affairs (DAC), inserted in the Human Resources Superintendence (SRH), which directed to the entire academic community, responsible for serving servers and students. The data collected in the Management Report of the Year 2007 indicated a range of attendance to students not expressive, given the institutional reality of absence of a sector specifically related to the students' attendance.

It should be noted that, in the historical trajectory of the constitution of student assistance at the UFF, services aimed at the student's attendance were already present in the institution, even if in a pulverized and dispersed way through the sectors (Pinto, 2015). With the UFF accession process to REUNI in 2007, and still, the implementation of PNAES from 2010, new requirements were imposed on the construction of an institutional policy aimed at student permanence actions, given the scenario of expansion of the number of vacancies for undergraduate students (Pinto, 2015). Therefore, PDI 2008–2012, after joining REUNI by the institution, outlined new features of the consolidation of student assistance at the UFF, with the definition of action proposals aimed at student assistance. We must signal, in turn, that the period of implementation of this Plan was demarcated by the transversality of the institutionalization of PNAES through Decree 7234 in 2010, which provided new contours to the structuring of student assistance in the institutions.

It was observed in the text of PDI 2008–2012 that student assistance gains space in the policy of institutional planning, from the incentive to structuring actions aimed at investment in University Restaurants, student transportation, construction of student accommodation and services for student with disabilities (UFF, 2009).

[30] The process of the PDI elaboration must comprise the participation of the academic community and civil society, passing through the appreciation and approval of the University Council (CUV).

In the midst of the process of expansion of the vacancies in undergraduate courses and the pressure of the student movement demanding conditions of permanence in the university – given the very change of the student profile, as presented previously –, a process of consolidation of the actions aimed at student assistance at the UFF was boosted and the establishment of a more structured sector designed exclusively for the students' attendance. In 2010, the Dean's Office of Student Affairs (PROAES) was implemented, which represented the centralization and systematization of forms/modalities of attendance of student assistance at UFF. It should be pointed out that, with the creation of PROAES, there were significant changes in the dynamics of actions and care services. To the student at the institution, with the creation of new modalities of scholarships and stipends (Pinto, 2015).[31]

It also stands out, as part of the context of expansion of IFES and, particularly, of UFF, the hiring by public tender of a contingent of professionals of Social Work filled in PROAES: although this amount is insufficient in the face of the demand for care, it was a period in which a competition was opened for the hiring of new social workers. Until the creation of PROAES, there were 09 social workers filled in the DAC (Pinto, 2015). After the creation of PROAES, there was the realization in 2013 of contest with 04 vacancies[32] for social worker (UFF, 2013) and, in 2017, there was another contest with 03 vacancies for social worker, being 01 place for Niteroi, 01 to Santo Antônio de Pádua, 01 to Volta Redonda (UFF, 2018). Currently, PROAES comprises 12 social workers, one being transferred to another organ (UFF. TRANSPARENCY SYSTEM, 2020). That is, although there has been a competition for PROAES, there was no increase as expressive as the size of the team, since with the PNAES there is an increase in demand, not accompanied by the increase in the number of social workers in the sector.

PROAES covers four co-ordination units: Coordination of Social Support, Coordination of Academic Support, Coordination of Student Housing Management and Management Coordination of the University Restaurant (UFF. Organograma Proaes, 2020).

It should be noted that, through the Social Support Coordination (CAS), the entire process of planning, monitoring and execution of student service services is carried out, among them, the offer of scholarships, grants and student support. CAS comprises the Social Programs Division (DPS) with six social workers, the Social Service Division (DSS), with two social institutions, Student Health Care Division (DASE) with a social system (UFF. Transparency System, 2020). In general lines, DASE performs "[...] actions for the reception, monitoring and forwarding of health demands" of students (UFF, 2019). DSS acts in the attendance and follow-up of students, through the reception, the addition of information, referrals and socioeconomic analysis, in order to contribute with conditions of student permanence in the university (UFF, 2016). DPS is responsible for the planning process, elaboration and implementation of grants and stipends,[33] as well as the realization of

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[31] According to data from the scholarship and aid notices published in 2019, it stands out as scholarships and stipends offered in the Social Support Coordination: the Academic Development Grant; Food Aid for students of *the expanding campuses*; Housing Aid; Transport Support Grant; Health Assistance; Support Scholarship for Students with Disabilities; Nursery Support; Emergency Support Grant (UFF, 2019).

[32] It should be clarified that the vacancies made available in the competition undergo approval and appointment process, undergoing change. In addition, the social workers named in these competitions were not only crowded in PROAES, but also in other occupational spaces at the UFF, such as the Antônio Pedro University Hospital (HUAP) and Dean's Office of People Management (PROGEPE).

[33] According to data from the scholarship and aid notices published in 2019, it stands out as scholarships and

socio-economic analysis, attendance and follow-up of scholarship students. According to data collected from the Management Report 2019 3,813 grants and stipends were granted in 2019 (UFF, 2019).[34]

UFF was the federal institution that grew the most in the period of REUNI: it is an institution with great capillarity, acting in 32 (thirty-two) municipalities of Rio de Janeiro, with projects of teaching, research and extension. According to data from the 2nd semester of 2018, UFF has 45,762 (forty-five thousand seven hundred and sixty-two) students enrolled, 35,257 (thirty-five thousand two hundred and fifty-seven) students in face-to-face courses and 10,505 (ten thousand five hundred and five) students in courses offered in Distance Learning (EAD). However, when we look at the data related to the amount of scholarships (tables 1 and 2) and the Social Work team itself (table 3), we learn that there is still a need for a significant contribution of material resources, financial and human for an effective improvement of student assistance policy at UFF.

Table 1 – Total students with grants/stipends in 2018

GRANTS AND STIPENDS	TOTAL
Feeding Stipend for field workers in Expansion	618
Childcare Stipend	13
Housing Stipend	624
Health Assistance	8
Welcoming Scholarship for ingressing students	610
Student Support Scholarship with disability	33
Transport Support Scholarship	298
Academic Development Scholarship	1,026
TOTAL	3,230

Source: Own elaboration from data taken from the Management Report 2018. On October 4th, 2020. Data for the year 2018.

Table 2 – Total students with grants/stipends in 2019

GRANTS AND STIPENDS	TOTAL
Food Stipend for campi students in Expansion	632
Childcare Stipend	12
Housing Stipend	640
Health Assistance	24
Welcoming Scholarship for ingressing students	780
Support Scholarship for Students with Disabilities	41
Transport Support Scholarship	289
Academic Development Scholarship	1034
Didactic Material Scholarship	147
Emergency Scholarship	214
TOTAL	3,813

Source: Own elaboration from data taken from the Management Report 2019. On October 4th, 2020. Data for the year 2019.

stipends offered in the Social Support Coordination: the Academic Development Grant; Food Aid for students of *the expanding campuses*; Housing Aid; Transport Support Grant; Health Assistance; Support Scholarship for Students with Disabilities; Nursery Support; Emergency Support Grant (UFF, 2019).

[34] That is, the monitoring of students by the Social Service becomes, thus, limited to documentary analysis, see the amount of grants/stipends and the number of social workers existing in PROAES.

Table 3 – Quantitative of Social Work Professionals at PROAES

SOCIAL SERVICE PROFESSIONALS AT PROAES	
TOTAL	12*

*Considering that a professional has been ceded to another organ.

Source: Own elaboration from data taken from the Transparency System of UFF. Data for the year 2020.

The opening of a public tender held in the period, as well as the contribution of social support grants was, without a doubt, fundamental. However, it is important that, in view of the expansion of enrollment and the change of student profile, that increasingly demands student assistance for the stay in the University, as we discussed in the first item of the chapter, it is urgent to hire more professionals in the area of Social Work and related (such as Psychology, due to a growing demand for care in the area of Mental Health), in addition to the expansion of scholarships and values thereof.[35]

Another issue to be highlighted, with regard to the offer of aid and grants, refers to the scholarship process, which characterized the constitution of student assistance in the institution, but which, in addition to the UFF, constitutes itself as a trend in the other IFES. Such offer of scholarships and stipends is structured via transfer of income, through the financial transfer to the student. Its form of access, therefore, is based on the focus of the public attended by the selection criteria based primarily on income, which is based on the eligibility of the most impoverished students. In this process, it is necessary to understand the perspective of monetarization[36] in the offer of scholarships, through transfer of income, which makes us assume the existence of interconnections of student assistance with the trend assumed in the Social Assistance Policy in Brazil, that directs its interventions to the most impoverished segments, through compensatory programs of transfer of minimum income.[37]

Although the scholarship process has been constituted in a growing trend, the information obtained through the analysis of the PDI's and Management Reports made it

[35] Based on the scholarship and stipends notices published in 2019, the Academic Development Scholarship has a value of R$440.00; Food stipend for students of *the expanding campuses*, R$240.00; Housing Aid, R$300.00; Transport Support Grant, R$275.00; Health Aid, R$80.00; Support Scholarship for Students with Disabilities, R$400.00; Nursery Aid, R$100.00; Emergency Support Grant, R$400.00 (UFF, 2019). It is worth noting, based on the stock of the grants and aid, the discrepancies in relation to the value of the minimum wage, which in 2019 was R$998.00.

[36] And here we should point out the close relationship between this process (of monetarization) with the financial sector. "Income transfers do not only constitute a form of social policy established to function as a mechanism to combat poverty, in response to the priority guidelines of multilateral organizations to promote the development of peripheral countries and to obtain consensus and legitimation of counter-reforms implemented before the working class and middle sectors. This policy, by the same activity, was also configured as a means of valuing interest-bearing capital in a process of capturing fractions of social wealth that, in the Union budget, were not directed to the remuneration of state-creditors capitalists. That is, even the part of the public fund that was not converted into primary surplus was captured by these capitals. Even the lowest values, which serve the most impoverished, are plotted by the capital" (Lima, 2017, p. 118).

[37] According to Debate on the limits and possibilities of the Single Social Assistance System (SUAS) organized by the CFESS (2011). MOTA (CFESS, 2011, p.69) thus addresses the process of "assistance": "In this way, being elevated to the condition of the main mechanism of coping with social inequality, we can say that there is social security assistance. And this assertion is not confused with the reference or what we call an assistance practice one day, but it concerns its centrality among the protection mechanisms in force. In a colloquial translation, what happens is that Social Assistance, originally a mediating and articulating policy, seems to assume the condition of structuring policy. And more, it begins to be constituted in an ideology that legitimizes the relationship Poverty *versus* Social Assistance, as the society passivates."

possible to identify that the institution has also implemented services such as student housing, university restaurants, Student transport between *campuses* (BusUFF) and student health care and care services. It should be noted, however, with regard to the Student Housing, that the form of access is based on a conception of care provided, through a socio-economic selection process. It was identified in the institutional reality a insufficiency of Student Houses, because there are no houses in all *the campuses* of the interior. However, it should be recognized that the construction of Student Housing, although fundamental, represents a complex process for the institution, which requires necessary budgetary and technical resources.

On the other hand, it was verified a prioritization of a Housing Policy aimed at the financial transfer to students, through the offer of Housing aid that is also based on the criteria of focused care and consents to the financial transfer to fund part of the housing expenses (UFF, 2020).

It was understood, through documentary analysis, the existence of services, although insufficient, that are directed to the entire academic community, from the perspective of universal service, in which the University Restaurant[38] and the transport between *campuses* (BusUFF) were structured. It is worth noting, however, that university restaurants were not built on *the countryside campuses*, there are only units at the headquarters in Niterói. This element revealed a centralization of services at the UFF headquarters in Niterói, in which we can also highlight the services of student health care, considering the data collected during the analyzed period.

Based on the research carried out, it was found that the state assistance at the UFF has been delineated by a tension between the focal and universal conception, manifested in the access to financial aid grants (focused on the most impoverished sectors) and services extended to a larger number of students (Such as the University Restaurant and Transportation). It was identified a noticeable prioritization of institutional policy aimed at the offer of grants and stipends, through direct financial transfer to the student and guided by the focused access institution. However, it was also observed the presence of the offer of services, although in a minority way, aimed at access to the academic community, based on a perspective of universal care.

Final considerations

After a decade of validity of PNAES, the access format focused on the most impoverished students is expressed as one of the trends of Student Assistance, whose actions in the institutional sphere have been characterized by the offer of "[...] focused, emergency benefits, intended for a specific public" (Nascimento, 2012, p. 151). It is worth noting that income transfer programs have shown centrality in the field of student assistance through the payment of scholarships and/or stipends to students; On the other hand, we cannot disregard the investments in collective actions, from PNAES, such as university restaurants, student housing, daycare centers, as demonstrated by analyzing the particularity of UFF. It is considered, therefore, that although the student assistance in IFES has, mainly, directed its

[38] The amounts paid for access to the RU consist of: R$ 0.70 (seventy cents) for students; R$ 2.50 (two reais and fifty cents) for technical-administrative or outsourced, R$ 8.00 for visitors (UFF website). It should be noted that for students of *campuses* that do not have RU, food stipend is offered.

performance through a perspective of focused access to its aid and scholarships, also, although insufficient, services and actions aimed at every student public, are also done, with a universal access perspective.

One of the brands of Student Assistance is, therefore, the process of "scholarship", with the concentration of the offer of grants and stipends by the institutions. These scholarships are set up in financial aid (pecuniary) as a way of meeting the demands presented by the students. We should also reflect on the similarities present in the perspective of monetarization of the institutions offered by student assistance, through the transfer of income, which approaches the trend assumed by the social assistance policy in Brazil, which is manifested by the "[...] monetary transfer programs; as a compensatory policy [...]", by enabling "[...] Even if access to consumer goods is precarious" (Sitcovsky, 2010, p. 154).

Our argumentative effort is therefore to realize that although the student assistance, whose insertion is the Education Policy, has a distinct nature of the Social Assistance Policy, these areas present interconnections, considering that the conception of the transfer of income is present both in the social assistance policy – with the payment of social benefits – and in student assistance through the provision of aid and grants.

With regard to the process of operationalization of PNAES by the institutions, Decree 7234/2010, in paragraph 2 of Article 3, states that: "It will be up to the federal institution of higher education to define the criteria and method of selection of undergraduate students to be benefited" (Brasil, 2007). Therefore, each institution has relative autonomy to define the parameters to be used in the execution of Student Assistance, according to his or her local needs and specificities. This reality brings several possibilities of action for Student Assistance in the different institutions, according to the correlation of internal forces, and especially the pressure of the student movement.[39]

Many are the challenges for structuring the "place" of assistance in the IFES, given the fragility of a legal apparatus that guides its actions and programs, based on a more universal direction of attention. We are not, however, ignoring the importance of the autonomy of institutions in developing student assistance actions according to their local needs. But, rather we point out the need to build a National Policy for Student Assistance, which provides not only parameters for this area of activity, but above all sufficient resources that allow the development of universal actions, such as the provision of fundamental services for student permanence with quality: university restaurants, student housing, day-care centers/recreational spaces, among others.

Therefore, we must analyze that, although Student Assistance has expanded by the IFES, it has not yet been structured as a National Policy for Student Assistance in Brazil. That is, the legal regulation of the student assistance that is currently held consists of a presidential decree that outlined more comprehensive outlines for the State Assistance

[39] However, with regard to the question of autonomy conferred on institutions in PNAES, Lima (2017, p. 126–127) develops the following considerations: "The question of autonomy delegated to the IFES in relation to the program should be perceived with caution and criticism. On behalf of the establishment of democratic relationships in the management, execution and social control of the program, the choice of institutions will be left to the public attended. Structural guidelines are not institutionalized at the national level, so it becomes common to find in each IFES different criteria of attendance to students. In all institutions, compliance with what is oriented in the reference regulation is affirmed. Moreover, in addition to the weak and small institutionality, the flagrant lack of resources – always far short of the student demand – makes the autonomy of the IFES in the face of the implementation of the PNAES an i idyllic prerogative" (Lima, 2017, p. 126–127).

Program. It should therefore be clarified that the program based on a presidential decree consists of an order issued by the President of the Republic, which can at any time be revoked from another decree. Distinctly, a Program based on Federal Law, remains.[40] Therefore, the weaknesses in the consolidation and future of Student Assistance in the country are evident, especially if we consider the post-impeachment period of President Dilma Rousseff, the Temer government and, finally, the election of Jair Bolsonaro to the President of the Republic, what greatly affected the cuts in resources for the educational area.[41]

Finally, we highlight the challenge of the IFES in carrying out actions of the Student System that are based on a universal access perspective, considering the adverse scenario that we experience in which more and more social policies of access focused on the poorest fractions of the working class are increasingly prized.

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[41] In 2021, the forecast, according to ANDIFES, is a 17.5% cut in "non-compulsory" (discretionary) expenses. "Despite the name, they are not "unnecessary". These are costs related to payment of water, light, employees and third-party services, works, and even student assistance programs, which are not bound by" laws. On September 11th, 2020, G1. Available at: http://www.forumensinosuperior.org.br/noticias/item/corte–de–quase–r–1– bi–para–universidades–federais–e–mantido–mesmo–com–alteracao–no–orcamento–do–mec–para–2021–dizem–reitores. Access on: Sep. 15th 2020.

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