

# Weaving democracy

## The double crisis of the brazilian university

**Pedro Mendes**

There can be only certain types of knowledge subject, certain orders of truth, certain knowledge fields based on political conditions which are the soil that forms the subject, the knowledge areas and the relationship with the truth.

(MICHEL FOUCAULT, *La vérité e les formes juridiques*)

The manifesto that begins the Edu-factory<sup>1</sup> collective is based on one fundamental question: is the university the new factory? Can the university be considered, by analogy, as the privileged centre of knowledge production that is currently hegemonic in the world of work? Or even, can we consider that because of its integration into the production system that characterises the cognitive capitalism?

**PEDRO B. MENDES** IS A RESEARCHER FROM UNIVERSIDADE NOMADE AND THE EDU-FACTORY COLLECTIVE. HE IS ESPECIALLY INTERESTED IN CITIZENSHIP IN RELATION TO THE NEW QUALITY OF LABOUR AS WELL AS THE CONCEPT OF SELF-EDUCATION. HE IS CURRENTLY IN THE MASTERS PROGRAM ON INCOME PROGRAMS IN BRAZIL.

Although the analogy between the university and the factory serves to highlight the role that the university plays in the current stage of capitalism, a role that, in the industrial capitalism, was played by the factory, it must nevertheless be accompanied by some warnings, especially in regard to the production of knowledge as something different than merchandise, and the consequent autonomy (albeit relative) that such dynamic expresses.

Another controversial element of this comparison concerns to the relationships built around the manipulation of knowledge and the production of subjectivities in each case, and the impact they make on the horizon of the living labour autonomy. For if we consider that there is a trend that workers become owners more and more, or rather, that they become the subject of production themselves, while production of life through the exchange of knowledge, we assume, necessarily,

that the production of knowledge becomes social production as well, diffused, and in that context, the university can be at most one node of the dynamic network that crosses the entire metropolitan region.

In general, but also in the Brazilian case, as the struggle for university access makes clear, moreover, if the multitude can already experience some degree of autonomy, the precarisation of the workforce re-introduces the material issue otherwise fundamentally new. To occur, production needs to hold in a wide range of subjects immediately productive which, in turn, rely on their own life (body, knowledge, social relationships, memory, emotions, etc.) and citizenship (social rights) to produce the new. Secondly, production mobilises, in the form of collaborative networks, all the potential and the singularity of each subject, features that, bundled together in a unique way, can become effective.

Indeed, the question becomes how to proportionate this multitudinous subject with the means to update its productive virtualities more and more. In other words, one should ask how to build a citizenship toward the immaterial and autonomous production of the multitude of precarious. That is why the struggle for social rights and, more specifically, the struggle for the democratic control of the university, is presented as an immediately productive struggle and, therefore, material.

However, 'a mixture of old and new forms of informality and flexibility determinate, in the Brazilian case, timely translations of theoretical contributions based on the material transformations of the central economies...On the one hand, the fact that the wage relation based on factory work involves only limited portions of the Brazilian population and, secondly, the fact that, except for the case (very important, but limited) of the wide ABC Paulista, to have access to the wage relationship based on factory work hasn't become guarantee of material access to rights, that is to say, a true citizenship for the "workers"'.<sup>2</sup>

The conflict that pervades the university access issue, accordingly, can properly be considered the development paradigm of new rights that can ensure some degree of autonomy and horizontality in the production of knowledge. The analogy with the factory, therefore, makes the problem even more interesting, since in Brazil, the curse of employment, the rights under employment status and the university, are, paradoxically, a privilege for the few.

On the other hand, however, some of the most successful initiatives to challenge the knowledge production and appropriation model and at the same time, to propose (and actually build) new dynamics in its place, are also related to the struggle for university access, as we intend to show.

Indeed, the dramatic depletion of the Brazilian development process opens, in turn, the possibility of breaking the linearity of the capitalist notion of progress, making a leap to another temporality, expressed in the forms of a post-industrial citizenship and a democracy constituted mainly by social movements and the many singularities that make up the Brazilian multitude. There is therefore no objective stage of development, which allows Brazil, in contrast to many European countries, to break more easily its developmental constraints.

To accept the becoming of the multitude as a non-workmen social class implies, therefore, to build, at least in the Brazilian case, an extensive network of rights that provide a material guarantee for the real mass of precarious workers, among which university access is only one, though it is one of the most important. At the same time, what might seem an obstacle, the precarious citizenship of Brazilian workers and the extreme poverty, above all, opens a real chance to the country (and to the multitude while 'producer of the time bifurcations'<sup>3</sup>) to constitute its own ethical time, moving it from a dependent past directly into the future of the new social rights and the constitution of the common: the future is the becoming of the multitude!

## THE UNIVERSITY IN BRAZIL

Brazil is a country marked by inequality and by top-bottom reforms, and has a percentage of students which has only now surpassed 10% of youngsters (in college age), and of those, most study in private institutions so heterogeneous in terms of curricular architecture and available structure many that many don't even deserve to be called an university. But beyond the obvious shock this information causes, it also serves to highlight the huge barrier that restrains the assumption of the university as the main paradigm in any production scenario that has Brazil as its universe. Moreover, it demonstrates the state of the art of the social rights in one of the largest countries in the world and one of the major emerging economies.

Brazil has approximately 190 million inhabitants. Of those, about 10% are youngsters between 19 and 24 years, the equivalent of about 19 million people in college age.<sup>4</sup> However, currently, around 3 million people have access to the university (classroom education).<sup>5</sup> Of those, only one eighth is in public universities (federal, state and municipal). This represents approximately 350 thousand people.<sup>6</sup> It is noteworthy that there are also 1 million and 350 thousand unfilled vacancies in Brazilian institutions, mostly private.

In this sense, when it comes to reflect on the Brazilian university, especially the public ones, what we have, apparently, are two major problems that cross themselves: the first concerns the obscene social inequality in Brazil, where university has always acted as a boundary between the elite and some sectors of the middle class, and the multitude of poor people that remains apart, something around 90% of college age youngsters. The second problem is related to the fact that even during the (few) periods that the university expanded, it has remained closed to black people, as well as to other political minorities, and furthermore, not just to them, but also to the themes which are peculiar to them, demonstrating the existence of highly sophisticated mechanisms of selection and, especially, exclusion.

However, if we look closely at these two problems that surround and cross through the Brazilian public universities, we'll see that it concerns only one bigger aspect of the problem because, and here lies the selection apparatus, in Brazil, social inequality has a eminently racial (or colour) background. It should be noted, however, that the struggle between those 'inside' and those 'outside' the university--the bio-political block of power and the multitude--is far from being held in a binary division of society, how it may suggest at first sight.

It is a highly sophisticated power apparatus that operates through endless modulations and acts both to affirm contemporary values such as merit and miscegenation (or the myth of racial democracy, inspired by Gilberto Freyre). This way, far from solving the problem, this statement only contributes to shed light on, what we believe, is the conflict line.

Nevertheless, the Brazilian university has played a central role as an excellence site in knowledge production and advanced technology, with great benefits to certain production arrangements in a clear link with the national question which still characterises local training. Companies such as Petrobras, Vale do Rio Doce, Embraer and the so-called 'agri-business' have enjoyed enormously the research developed and the top university production. On the other hand, a series of innovative reforms incorporated into the government agenda during the two terms of President Lula reintroduced the urgent issue of university democratisation in Brazil.

### THE BACHELOR AND THE FORMATION OF THE NATIONAL ELITE

Brazilian universities, roughly, still have a curricular and academic structure inspired by their European counterparts of the nineteenth century.<sup>7</sup> Deployed throughout the century as a mean to ensure the claim and reproduction of the national elite, those institutions have never gone through sweeping reforms in order to modernise or at least to adapt them to local realities. They passed much of the twentieth century immune to the pressures and struggles for democracy and have only known reforms (some unfinished, frustrated others) made from the top down, either during the military dictatorship period, or under the neo-liberal hegemony that hit the country in the 90s.<sup>8</sup>

Looking back, the figure of the *bachelor*, immortalised by Gilberto Freyre in his classic on the national building and, in particular, in *Sobrados e Mucambos*<sup>9</sup>, which narrates the decline of the rural patriarchy and the rise of the urban society in Brazil, illustrates the distinctive features of a figure who has always been linked to the recognition of authority and hierarchy, even more than to knowledge production. The *bachelor* and, by extension, the training that ensures access to the title, has worked and, to a large extent, still works (almost) as a title of nobility, giving to its possessor the aura of an 'aristocrat of the tropics', something that, in fact, never existed in Brazil.<sup>10</sup> The university granted, therefore, citizenship titles to the privileged that could access its highly exclusionary services.

The figure of the *bachelor*, however, doesn't owe its power only to that. It also reveals the social conflict that underlies the very formation of Brazilian society for if, as we said, the *bachelor* represented the ideals of a noble elite drunk with power and thirsty for distinction, it's also true that it played a subversive role for mulattos and mestizos who sought social ascension/inclusion.

In a very skillful manner, the few blacks and mulattoes who managed to bridge the gaps on their way to the university, used the *bachelor* title to open paths in a society marked by material segregation and racial discrimination.<sup>11</sup> In their struggle for social mobility and access to rights, they fought to enter the privileged world of white citizenship using the same (nobility) title that university education granted and represented.

In this sense, if the university has always been a prime location for the national elite to reproduce and qualify itself while conducting the directions of the nation, for the mulatto (and mestizos and blacks), on the contrary, it represented the gateway to a universe of citizenship and rights.

Indeed--it is important to note that--although the Brazilian university is still marked by a strong bias of privilege and exclusion, it was the platform for launching major demonstrations for democracy and change in Brazilian society towards an effective publicity of the public space, from the resistance to military dictatorship and the struggles that marked its end to the protests that culminated with the impeachment of the first democratically elected president after thirty years. This is due, probably, to the entrance of new subjects into the scene, who have emerged around the immaterial turn of contemporary work, marked by the new (hegemonic) knowledge function and an update of its relationship with power, in what was the Brazilian version of 1968.<sup>12</sup>

## THE UNIVERSITY CRISIS

The Brazilian university currently passes through its worst crisis, marked by the controversy among those who are out and want to get in and those who are in and want to ensure their privilege of both class and colour. However, once again some clarification is required.

First, the Brazilian university crisis is not of the same type as that of their counterparts in Europe or North America. The main issue in Brazil is how to expand and open it to the many that are outside of it. A different concept might work here, but if we hold up to the crisis concept is, above all, to identify and leverage the differences between the Brazilian university reforms in face of the assumed (Bologna) process, for example. On the other hand, we refer to the crisis also to point the dispute over the current change proposals and, in particular, the violent (and elitist) reactions they provoke.

Secondly, talking about crisis means, therefore, talking about the decline of one anachronistic and outdated model of diffusion/concentration of knowledge and the power relationships that it embraces. But it involves mainly talking about the 'birth pangs' of a new model of knowledge production and sharing and, consequently, of a richer, more multiple and more democratic University, both with respect to knowledge (and the discipline model critique) and to the social barriers erected (and enforced) in order to contain and control the many.

Therefore, it worth reading the crisis concept proposed by Negri, in *Reflections on Empire*:

'The masses, the multitude, affirming the centrality of temporality as the opening of an insoluble crisis between, on the one hand, the ownership time, consolidated and closed, and on the other, work time that sets free, indeterminate and opened. Revolution as crisis allows seizing the antagonistic dimensions of time, between reactionary time, closed, the inertia of the past, and the revolutionary period which constitutes the future because of the production of new wealth and new humanity'.<sup>13</sup>

The crisis is related, in the Brazilian case, to the movement to democratise the university, on the one hand, and the fierce 'resistance' that it faces both from the bio-political block of power, eager to maintain its privileges, and the corporatist left struggling to maintain control of the bureaucratic devices (trade unions and government agencies) that ensure its reproduction. It relates also to the attempts to take control of the process, either through the subordination of blacks and poor in the existing circuit (and models) of knowledge production and dissemination, whether through subjection that threatens to capture the undisciplined knowledge (singularities) of those who come 'from the outside' (of the university, in this case).

Another critical element to consider, somehow related to the previous ones, refers to the crossing that runs through the Lula government, since, on the one hand, the movements that pass through it are essential to the development of a more democratic dynamic in the transformation process, and, on the other, they end up carrying a series of problems and contradictions related to a developmental or corporatist logic into the government (especially on the Left and what is more problematic, at the very foundations of government support). We refer, in particular, to some movement dynamics within the PT and the MST, that, while supporting the Lula government most of the time, slip here and there in postulations inspired on national development or meritocracy.<sup>14</sup> It doesn't mean to say that social movements represent a problem for the government, far from it, they're its power source. We just wanted to point out some ambiguities of the process that can't be easily explained if we don't consider the political conjuncture.

In this sense, we don't hesitate to affirm that between 2002 and 2006 there was an expansion, but also a change, of the government's social base that, beyond being perceived and celebrated, produced important results in terms of political organisation: the social basis of the Lula government has incorporated the poorest sectors and regions of both the people and the country, while it lost much of the middle class support and the more radical currents of the Left. This becomes even clearer when we look, albeit briefly, to the political dynamics of the Lula government, a government set up and conducted in the form of a coalition that guarantees a highly unstable majority in Congress.

From this perspective, we can consider that the many disorganised have played, in some cases, the role that was expected would belong to the organised movement.<sup>15</sup>

## THE REFORMS

The actual reforms round is a direct consequence of the struggles and demands of the multitude: black, poor, indigenous and precarious in general who, identifying Lula as a receptive interlocutor, reassumed their struggle for democracy in that which is also one of the main strongholds of the neo-slaverist Brazilian elite. It is noteworthy, in this regard, the participation of the *Movimento dos sem-Universidade--MSU*, of São Paulo, whose proposal for affirmative action is the basis of *PROUNI--Programa Universidade para Todos* (University for All).

Similarly, the network of pre-*vestibulares* for black and poor (of which PVNC and Educafro are important examples)<sup>16</sup> also played an extremely important role in regard with reforms, as it released and supported most of the affirmative action proposals. Those movements lost much of

their strength and organisation due to the desired reforms implementation, and are still looking for new ways of positioning themselves in the struggle for the conquered rights maintenance, as happened last November when the state of Rio de Janeiro finally guaranteed the quota law.<sup>17</sup>

Indeed, the precarious multitude (informal, black, brown, Indians, poor, etc.) is extremely rich in the production of life and knowledge forms, based on what we call 'indisciplined' knowledge, struggling to start the process at first and helping to ensure its implementation once the reforms have gained real contours. Furthermore, the opening of Lula to the organised (and unorganised) social movements and the crossing of the government promoted by them raise multiple productions (even divergent, sometimes), so that, somehow, the solution to the democratic equation passes through recognition actions of a multiplicity of rights.

At the same time, some initiatives within the university challenge the social division that characterises and crosses it. Thus, some innovative movements have questioned in practice both the exclusion that marks the university and the compartmentalisation and the disciplinary separation to which the socially produced knowledge is subjected.

Recently, a comprehensive reform of the academic and the research institutions was put in course, recognising and valuing a series of the social movements demands. This reform, part of a broader one called PDE--Development Plan for Education--aims to promote a revolution in Brazilian education. Let us hold on, however, to the part that interests us, refers to the university opening to the many and its adaptation to the new winds of immaterial labour.

In regard to university access, this reform aims to promote it in three different ways: the first is through quotas for public schools students (which include racial quotas), aimed at setting up mechanisms for universities access that take into consideration the situation of extreme social inequality and at reestablishing the connection between school and public university.<sup>18</sup> At first, they were created from initiatives scattered throughout Brazil. With the rise of Lula, the quotas have become government policy and won a systematic format in the shape of a federal law, which is still waiting to be voted in congress.

Moreover, since its establishment spot in public universities, the resistance to affirmative action has been great, especially from the elite and those who deny racism based on anti-racialist arguments, and they were even target of a large number of contesting actions in court.<sup>19</sup>

In this sense, although pointed as an attempt to racialise social relationships, the quotas have been developed in order to cope with a racist social reality, that even if it's not scientific, it is widely spread throughout society. In this regard, it should be argued that they do not relate to the idea of race, but of racism, prejudice based on colour. Materially, they're based on the existence of a forever denied gap that separates blacks, mulattoes and other mestizos from white Brazilians regarding to citizenship, income and social rights access.

In practice, affirmative actions as a whole, and the quotas, in particular, serve to ensure that the productive multitude are not subsumed in a single shade of gray (the mestizo) that serves as propaganda for the much touted 'racial democracy', while systematically denies the productive

power of the rainbow of colours, cultures and desires that characterises Brazilian society. Accordingly,

'The freedom of the multitude assumes the equality as condition for its exercise and therefore needs to produce a material that citizenship can only exist insofar as there is no separation between the subject and the exercise of sovereignty. Freedom is thus the exercise of the multiplicity of singularities. Crossbreeding form an infinite rainbow and the multitude, to be recognized as such, take affirmative actions in order to break the perverse correlations linking racism to inequality. In this sense, the multitude citizenship can only be material and, this way, universal'.<sup>20</sup>

A second model of affirmative action developed by the Lula government is the PROUNI--University for All Program, which introduces the topic of quotas in private universities and colleges. Through mechanisms of tax breaks, those institutions commit themselves to provide scholarships for low-income students who come out of public schools which, in Brazil, are worse quality than the private ones.

One problem that the government and the movements are facing in this area is that of private universities that refuse to open vacancies in the more profitable and prestigious courses, such as medicine, law and communication--as if the funds that finance the scholarships (through the mechanisms of tax waivers) were also private. Recently, the government, through the Ministry of Education, took a big step in this front and forced the universities to grant scholarships in these courses too, on what turned out to be an important victory for the many.

There is also the commitment of the Government to fill the unfilled university and private college vacancies by providing grants for low-income students through the same program. One must also not forget, as part of the affirmative actions, the demand for investments that subsidise poor students during their university studies, something that could be called the 'right to permanence'.

It should also be noted that since its inception, PROUNI has increased year after year and is almost reaching the federal universities (in number of places), representing, as we try to demonstrate, a progressive movement of 'publicisation' of Brazilian universities, both public and private.

Because of their growing symbolic and material impact, the quotas are probably the main innovation introduced by the Lula government in the Brazilian university context. However, at the long term, the reduced number of vacancies in public institutions are an important constraint to its universalisation. In this sense, the second and perhaps the most important measure to improve university access is the *Plano de Reestruturação e Expansão da Universidade*, or simply REUNI as it's called.

The REUNI stated objectives are to increase massively the number of vacancies in Brazilian federal universities, which means, in concrete terms, to increase them 120%, that is, more than double the number of vacancies in a period of five years (2012), and to ensure student permanence through policies aimed at student aid (to reduce the dropout rate).

To increase the number of vacancies new federal universities are being created, but also new units in existing universities, with emphasis on major cities within the country, new courses and new schedules for courses where there is available infrastructure, financial incentives for university infrastructure expansion and tendering for hiring new teachers. The project, accordingly, takes over and tries to develop the model of university reform which became known in Brazil as *Universidade Nova* (New University).

The *Universidade Nova* was initially developed in Bahia (UFBA) and had the immediate accession of two other universities, from Brasília (UNB) and São Paulo (UNIFESP). In addition, these three institutions were also pioneers in adherence to quotas as a university entrance mechanism, together with UERJ (Rio de Janeiro State University). The *Universidade Nova* principle is essentially a critique of the disciplinary model, proposing for its place, a university education by broad knowledge areas and, above all, more permeable, more open to the knowledge of the many.

A few months ago a unique selection tender for federal and other public universities was implemented. The tender, whose adherence is not required, but rewarded, will replace the traditional selection process (*vestibular*) in ways that evaluation favours thinking skills and critical thinking rather than content incorporation, with obvious impacts on the high schools organisation, all oriented according to the *vestibular* test.

Indeed, the *vestibular* became a device for social selection, on emphasising the amount of content over quality, leaves out a large amount of highly capable students, who lack of resources to pay for an education track. In addition, the access selection mechanism enables wealthy family youngsters that study in private schools (which are better than the public ones, in Brazil) to migrate to public universities in a way that explains much about the relationship that the Brazilian elite maintains with public spaces.

Finally, around the entrance tender grew up a veritable selection industry, with the proliferation of specialised institutions--which prepare youngsters for the test, the so-called 'pre-*vestibular* courses', for which the communitarian pre-*vestibular* networks are a collaborative response from the multitude, because:

'The freedom of the nomad, in state-owned universities, must come from the outside, from the social production machine, to drill the fences that protect the privileges within the knowledge control devices, in their molds for replication and maintenance of the social relationships. Nomads, as the pre-*vestibular* movement for black and poor or the cultural movements of the youngsters arising from the urban segregation, produce the public domain. The affirmative policies are a key element to open the surrounded space (of academic power) to the public domain of (universal) knowledge.'<sup>21</sup>

## CONCLUSION

Firstly, in regard to social rights, I hope I've been able to explain the urgent material question that its production includes. The access related problems must be understood, in this sense, in their concrete connection with the constitution of rights, whereas their actualisation is inevitably due to the movements' struggle. Or, in other words, the production of rights can only be effective if

accompanied by a struggle that materially guarantees them in terms of recognition, but also of access.

Moreover, and it serves as an attempt to summarise the reasoning now developed, but also to formulate a question to be considered in the future, it would be important to oppose to the European social movements autonomy, either regarding the student movement or the one related to precarious work, the government autonomy that exists in Brazil. Autonomy that is introduced from the top, many times, but that is not less democratic.

On the contrary, if we consider a government as democratic as it is its ability to let itself be crossed by the many, organised or not, the reform of the university, and more broadly, the social policies (at the same time productive) of the Lula's government express, to some extent, the production of the new operated by the contemporary social movements that unite in a common dynamic the struggle and the production, constituting values, lives and worlds.

In this sense, the 'rebellion against the constituted power', to use the words of Michael Hardt, takes on Brazil today the form of an anti-representation, a crossing through the government by the multiple questions raised by the movement, even though sometimes it results in hesitation and paralysis.

In this regard, we tried to affirm here the powerful singularity of the Brazilian case, in which the movements, organised or not, have had the merit to be heard. A case whose specificity, however, is also due, and above all, to the ability of the Lula government to introduce a innovative degree of opening, crossing and multiplicity to the democracy, and we're not referring only to Brazil. So, we affirm: the Lula government, with all its limitations and ambiguities, has been swept along by the many that make up the Brazilian society and, despite the dramatic depletion of the dependent national development process, lays the foundation for a more democratic and materially permeable society.

I return, therefore, in conclusion, to the observation at the beginning of this text, which said that the constraints that characterise an unequal and underdeveloped country like Brazil, while constituting a major challenge to be overcome, open in the historic linear time the possibility of a 'leap into the future' and the establishment of a proper time, creative and multiple as the multitude itself.

The case of the black students who enter the university through affirmative actions, indeed, is paradigmatic. The opening of the university to the many, in this sense, may represent a capture opportunity, even a subordinate insertion in the knowledge market, or a qualitative change in the order of the conflict, carrying it into the university and engendering forms of resistance from the inside, that position that the Vidya Ashram collective described as non-cooperation with the new forms of global exploitation in knowledge production.<sup>22</sup>

Thus, this is mainly an update of the figure of the *bachelor* that, as of old, perfectly expresses the contradictions and ambiguities along the process, ranging from the inclusion of blacks and poor in the Brazilian university circuit preserving their autonomy, and the risk of capture that perme-

ates this movement. Or, in other words, it is to affirm the current line of the conflict as one that puts on opposite sides a process aimed at deepening democracy, both in terms of access and in regard to relationships in the drive and derived from it, and another that seeks to capture the production of the common, through sophisticated mechanisms of power, networks of appreciation and affirmation of the capitalist command. Not the *bachelor* of the elite anymore, but the one related to knowledge production, versus the *bachelor* of the multitude, knowledge that breaks borders and creates freedom!

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Edu-factory Collective, *Toward*.

<sup>2</sup> Cocco, *Introduction*.

<sup>3</sup> Negri, *Cinco*.

<sup>4</sup> See URL: [http://www.ibge.gov.br/home/estatistica/populacao/populacao\\_jovem\\_brasil/comentario1.pdf](http://www.ibge.gov.br/home/estatistica/populacao/populacao_jovem_brasil/comentario1.pdf)

<sup>5</sup> See URL: [http://www.inep.gov.br/download/superior/censo/2007/Resumo\\_tecnico\\_2007.pdf](http://www.inep.gov.br/download/superior/censo/2007/Resumo_tecnico_2007.pdf)

<sup>6</sup> Estimated. The calculation was made based on IBGE and INEP data, both governmental institutions.

<sup>7</sup> Filho, *Universidade*.

<sup>8</sup> Souza, *Chauí*.

<sup>9</sup> Freyre, *Sobrados*.

<sup>10</sup> It is particularly remarkable, in this sense, the (absurd) concession, in Brazil, of 'special imprisonment' for the holders of university degrees, something that, as we insist, is linked to the recognition of a rigid

social hierarchy and whose development goes back as far the Empire.

<sup>11</sup> And which remains, largely, the same. Cf., in this sense Henriques, *Desigualdade*.

<sup>12</sup> Eder Sader makes a similar analysis in relation to the cycle of struggles that went through the greater Sao Paulo between the 70s and the 80s and which led, among others, to the creation of the Workers' Party (PT). Cf., especially, *Quando*.

<sup>13</sup> Negri, *Cinco*.

<sup>14</sup> We can mention, in this regard, the systematic critics that PT and MST sectors have made to the Programa Bolsa Família (a basic income program)--the largest social policy of Lula's government--for reasons ranging from corporatism to nostalgia (in relation to full employment that, paradoxically, never occurred in Brazil).

<sup>15</sup> It is worth noting the role played by the multitude of precarious during the crisis that shook the Lula government in 2005 when in his defense, stood (inclusive) against sections of the PT as a major ele-

ment of strength and support to government.

<sup>16</sup> PVNC--*Pré-vestibulares para negros e carentes* (pre-vestibulares for black and poor people).

<sup>17</sup> The approval process of the Quota Law (by the state court) can be interpreted as a tragic example of the present figure of the Freyrean *bachelor*. In May 2009, a group of this court stripped the affirmative action passed by the legislature and implemented by the executive in a highly questionable decision, both ethically and legally--and that was only reversed by a broad popular mobilisation.

<sup>18</sup> In Brazil, the 'ideal' route is one who leads the private school to public universities, both better and inaccessible to poor and black (the first by its high cost and the second by an organisation from access system that favours 'merit' to the detriment of democracy). In this sense, affirmative action can be understood as a means of making education effectively Brazilian government (and democratic) and, as such, a way of opposing the privatisation of university operated by the Fernando Henrique Cardoso a movement of 'publicity' that sector.

<sup>19</sup> Check note 17.

<sup>20</sup> Rede Universidade Nômade, *Manifesto*.

<sup>21</sup> Rede Universidade Nômade, *Manifesto*.

<sup>22</sup> Ashram, *The global*.

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