

The first decade (2009-2019) of affirmative actions for indigenous persons in the UESB: a reading based on institutional data

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RESUMO

Já se passou duas décadas desde que as ações afirmativas foram implementadas no Brasil, e a Universidade Estadual do Sudoeste da Bahia as promove desde 2009. Nos primeiros 10 anos, dezenas de indígenas ingressaram e se formaram nessa instituição. Nosso objetivo é refletir sobre esse contexto a partir de dados institucionais, estabelecendo comparações com outros segmentos que também acessam a universidade, bem como dados de outras instituições de ensino superior. Apesar da política e do bom desempenho acadêmico, o número de indígenas beneficiados ainda está aquém da oferta e se concentra especialmente em alguns cursos da área de saúde.

ABSTRACT

It has been two decades since the affirmative actions were implemented in Brazil, and the State University of Southwestern Bahia has been promoting them since 2009. Over the first 10 years, dozens of indigenous persons entered and graduated from this institution. Our goal is to reflect on such context based on institutional data by establishing comparisons with other segments that also access the university, as well as data from other higher education institutions. Despite the policy and good academic performance, the number of indigenous persons who benefit from it still remains below the offer and is particularly concentrated in some courses in the health field.

RESUMEN

Hace dos décadas que se implantó las acciones afirmativas en Brasil, y la Universidad Estatal del Sudoeste de Bahía las promueve desde 2009. En sus primeros 10 años, decenas de indígenas ingresaron y se graduaron en esta institución. Nuestro objetivo es reflexionar sobre ese contexto a partir de datos institucionales, estableciendo comparaciones con otros segmentos que también acceden a la universidad, así como datos de otras instituciones de enseñanza superior. A pesar de la política y del buen desempeño académico, el número de indígenas beneficiados aún se mantiene por debajo de la oferta y se concentra particularmente en algunos cursos del área de la salud.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE:

Ação afirmativa
Política de Educação
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PALABRAS-CLAVE:

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Introduction

Official statistical data indicate an increase in the presence of indigenous persons in higher education. Despite the adverse national context, ruled by a macroeconomic policy focused on the exportation of commodities, pressuring indigenous territories, and an openly anti-indigenous executive policy, especially with Bolsonaro's term of office (BONILLA and CAGDPERIBE, 2021), the decade and a half has experienced an expressive increase in indigenous students enrolled in higher education. According to official data, in 2011, 9,756 indigenous persons were enrolled in higher education, while in 2019 the number had jumped to 57,257, with 40,420 individuals in the private, 11,992 in the federal, 3,500 in the state, and 279 in municipal networks (INEP, 2019).

In 2021, the policies of affirmative actions in Brazilian universities completed two decades. The Quota Law, which instituted a mechanism of vacancy reserve in the federal universities, is to be 10 years in 2022, and the implementation of vacancy reserve for black persons in public contests will reach 10 years by 2024. The idea of affirmative actions is directly related to the democratization process and the role of black and indigenous movements in Brazil. The democratization process and pressure from these movements and the favorable international context (Barbosa *et al.*, 2003) started a mobilization for such policies, albeit timidly, during the Fernando Henrique Cardoso's term of office (1995-2002), culminating in the Quota Law (nº 12.711/2012) during the Dilma Rousseff's term of office (2011-2016).

Bahia state has been a pioneer in this process starting with the actions of the State of University Bahia (UNEB) back in 2002. Other state universities, like the State University of Feira de Santana and State University of Santa Cruz, have implemented their programs in 2006. The State University of Southwestern Bahia (UESB) was the last institution in the state to incorporate the policy, in 2008. Either way, the actions of the Bahia state universities precede the national law. The UESB is a university located in the Center-South of Bahia, a region that shelters a population of over 1.1 million inhabitants in 39 cities, encompassing nearly 10% of the state population and drives around 16% of the state gross domestic product (GDP) (UESB, 2015). Its main cities are Vitória da Conquista (343,643 inhabitants estimated in 2021, human development index – HDI – of 0.678, in the 2,481st Brazilian position), Jequié (156,277

inhabitants estimated in 2021, HDI of 0.665, in the 2,776th position), and Itapetinga (77,408 inhabitants estimated in 2021, HDI of 0.667, in the 2,738th position), where the three campuses are located. The HDI of the region is below the national mean (0.699) and slightly over the state mean (0.660, in the 22nd national position among all states), with predominance of rural economic production and services (IBGE, 2021).

The university has been in operation since 1980 and currently offers 47 undergraduate courses with 2,192 yearly vacancies, in addition to 23 master's and 9 doctorate programs. With a budget of a little more than 328 million of *reais* in 2020 (UESB, 2019d) and occupying a total area of 1,110,543.21 m², with 166 classrooms and 218 laboratories, the university allows 10,463 undergraduate and graduate students, 1,079 teachers, and 526 servers to coexist (UESB, 2019a).

In 2008 (UESB, 2008), the program of affirmative actions for entrance exams was established, among other measures, providing the supply of quotas, which are vacancy reserves for egresses from public school (black and non-black), indigenous persons, *quilombolas*, and disabled persons. As of 2012, the university has joined the ENEM/SISU¹ to direct half of the total of the undergraduate vacancies to the entrance exam aiming to consider the regional candidates, and the other half to the SISU, which has a national reach. In both processes, 50% of the vacancies are reserved to egresses from public schools, 15% to any students regardless of race/color (i.e., white and yellow), and 35% to self-declared black and mixed-race persons. In addition to the exams, there are two main differences between the traditional entrance exam and the SISU regarding the quotas: the former demands that the student had attended public school from elementary school to high school and establishes a general cutoff score, while the latter requires that the student had attended public school only during high school, and the cutoff score is specific to each competition segment.

In addition to the vacancy reserve, the institution also offers an additional vacancy per course for the entrance of *quilombolas*², indigenous persons, and

¹ The ENEM, in English, National Exam of High School, and the SISU, in English, Unified Selection System, is a digital platform operating since 2011, encompassing the selection process of most federal and some state universities.

² In summary, *quilombolas* are persons who self-identify as members of a Remnant Community of *Quilombo* recognized by the Palmares Cultural Foundation – official agency of promotion and

disabled persons by means of entrance exam. These segments have been exempted from registration fee since 2019. Unlike the reserve, in which vacancies that are not occupied by a specific segment are offered to other segments, including through broad competition, the additional term indicates that no vacancies will be occupied if the candidate from the specific segment is not approved. Nonetheless, as of 2016, additional vacancies may be rearranged among the three groups of additional shareholders. In the same year, attendance to public schools was no longer required (UESB, 2016). Nonetheless, the candidate must exceed the general cutoff score in the entrance exam in order to be classified and have a place on the vacancy queue.

According to data by the General Secretariat of Courses, between 2009-2019, 6,224 self-declared black and mixed-race students from public schools, 3,980 non-black egresses from public schools, 306 *quilombolas*, 190 disabled persons, and 75 indigenous persons entered the institution through the program of affirmative actions. In order to enroll after being approved in the entrance exam with a score that must exceed the general cutoff, indigenous persons need to enter a vacancy queue for the desired course and present documentation that prove their indigenous status at the moment of enrollment by means of a self-declaration form and a certificate issued by the National Indian Foundation (official indigenist body), with acquiescence of indigenous leaders from a community recognized by the Brazilian State.

Our interpretations are based on official data extracted by the Permanent Commission of Entrance Exam (COPEVE/UESB) and the General Secretariat of Courses (SGC/UESB) tabulated by the author, the Dropout and Retention Study organized by the undergraduate pro-rector's office (PROGRAD/UESB, 2019b), and the Socioeconomic Questionnaire of the active students for the second semester of 2018 (PROGRAD/UESB, 2019c), following official methodology (INEP, 2017). Thus, we present some descriptions and reflections about the presence of the indigenous segment in university, seeking to establish comparisons where possible with indicators of other segments from the same university or with numbers from other universities regarding indigenous persons. The idea is that such quantitative

protection of the Brazilian black patrimony and identity. It represents the Brazilian State acknowledging the urban and rural black communities as community and particular rightsholders.

information is used as parameters – despite the great difference in vacancies, budget, size, and national relevance of each institution – for enlarging the understanding on the evolution of the affirmative action's policy for indigenous persons in the studied institution, in addition to disclosing some of these data for other comparisons in further research in similar scenarios.

Even though the goal is to reflect about data regarding the indigenous persons segment, it is worth clarifying some nomenclatures. In official terms, the Brazilian State classifies its population according to race/color as white, black, mixed-race, yellow, and indigenous persons. Such classification allows to mediate inequalities between the segments. Most official agencies combine both black and mixed-race persons into the black category due to their similar socioeconomic characteristics (GUIMARÃES, 2003). That is why the vacancy reserve has a division between black (black and mixed-race) from public schools and non-black (white and yellow) persons also from the public sector. This is the general formula of most Brazilian policies of affirmative actions triggered by the Quota Law (nº 12.711/2012), firstly involving a social division of students from public schools with certain income conditions followed by an ethno-racial classification that benefits black, mixed-race, and indigenous persons. The nomenclature of the documents in the UESB provides a vacancy reserve for the first group, called social quota, while black and mixed-race shareholders from public schools are admitted through ethno-racial quota. Indigenous students hold a specific quota, as well as *quilombolas* and disabled persons. The comparisons established herein apply this institutional nomenclature.

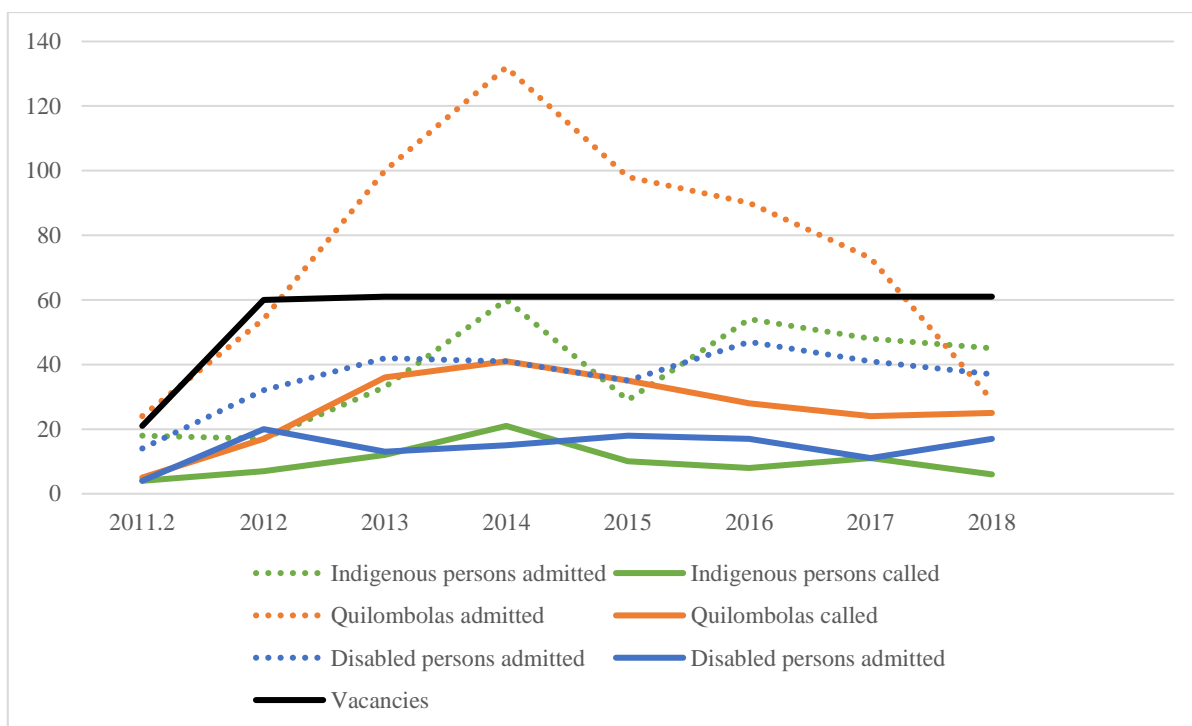
The place of UESB in affirmative actions for indigenous persons in Brazil: opening comparisons

In Brazil, the policy of affirmative actions is usually applied as vacancy reserve aggregating the three egresses from public schools (black, mixed-race, and indigenous persons), or specific quotas for the indigenous segment. The UESB promotes affirmative actions based on a specific design for indigenous persons, even though the exam is the same for all applicants. The Figure 1, “Additional shareholders in UESB 2012.2-2018”, gathers data by the COPEVE/UESB on the

historical series in study, revealing a difference in the search for vacancy among the three segments of additional shareholders. By tabulating the number of vacancies occupied and the number of admitted students – those who took the entrance exam and reached a minimum score for the vacancy – we find that none of the three segments filled the total of vacancies offered by the university. Additionally, we learned that only the *quilombola* candidates were more frequently classified in relation to the number of vacancies. This does not mean that all vacancies are filled, since some admitted students may have concentrated in certain courses and there is only one vacancy available per entrance.

Regarding specifically indigenous candidates, it was only in 2014 that an equal number of vacancies was reached; however, due to the same reason mentioned before, the occupation remains below the offer. Although the graphic lines of indigenous persons and disabled persons cross three times throughout the historical series, demonstrating an inversion in the quantitative of occupation, in total, the number of enrolled indigenous persons is significantly lower than that of disabled persons, 75 against 190.

Figure 1- Additional shareholders in the entrance exam at UESB 2011.2-2018

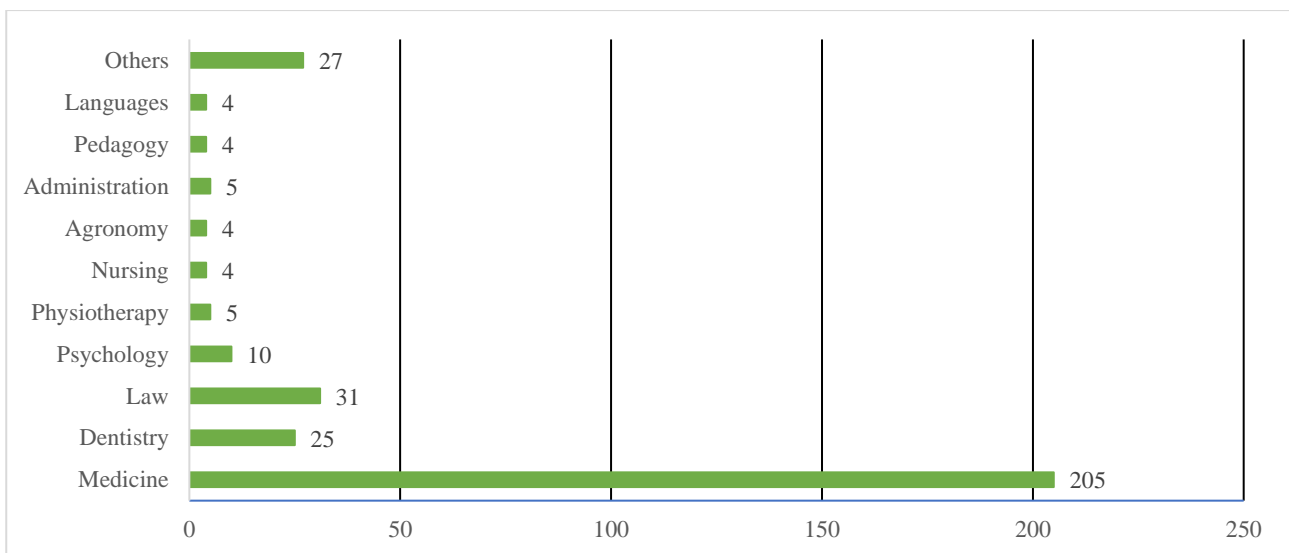


Source: Elaborated by the author based on data by COPEVE. N = 1.193.

Although the UESB offers 47 undergraduate courses distributed in the several

knowledge areas, Figure 2 demonstrates that a search using the indicator of candidates admitted in the entrance exam results in cases of indigenous persons largely concentrated in health courses, especially Medicine (205) and Dentistry (25), in addition to Psychology (10), Nursing (4), and Physiotherapy (5). Law (31) is the humanities course with the highest demand, followed by Agronomy (4), due to its association with the rural world, in addition to the undergraduate degrees with the highest number of graduates in the university: Pedagogy (4) and Languages (4). We classify as “other” all remaining courses presenting only one or two admitted students throughout the historical series.

Figure 2 - Indigenous persons admitted in the entrance exam by course at the UESB, 2010.1-2019



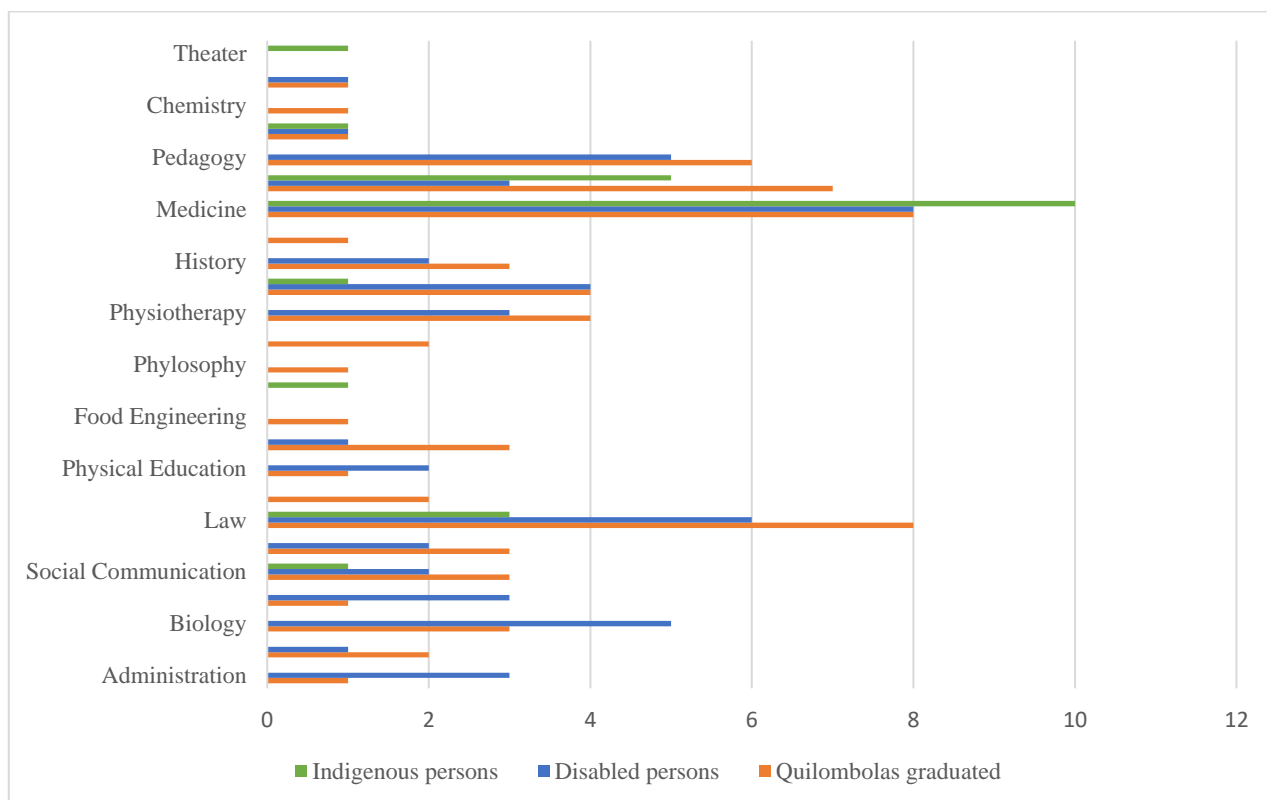
Source: Elaborated by the author based on data by COPEVE. N = 324.

In addition to the great difference in demand, another indicator is introduced: “Additional shareholders graduated at UESB 2009-2019”, showing a difference also in relation to the other two segments of additional shareholders. It is understood that while the training courses for *quilombolas* and disabled persons are more largely distributed, the courses for indigenous persons are more concentrated, specifically in the health field – Medicine (10) and Dentistry (5). By considering all students graduated over the historical series (2009-2019), there are 67 *quilombolas*, 52 disabled persons, and 23 indigenous persons.

There has been a decrease in courses that graduated indigenous persons in

relation to those that had admitted them, which may have occurred due to a few main reasons, after all, it is a long journey between classification and graduation. The admitted students were either called, enrolled, and are now graduated or completing the course, or they enrolled but changed courses or dropped out. Still, in a more unfavorable scenario, they were either admitted but not called if the number of vacancies had already been filled, or they were called but did not enroll for some reason. It is also worth pointing that courses which were not listed in the figure of admitted students now appear for the graduates, since those admitted less than two candidates throughout the historical series, therefore being named “other” in figure 2. These few candidates classified as “other” enrolled, remained in the course, and eventually graduated, which is the case of the courses of Theater, with one student enrolled and graduated, Pharmacy, with two admitted students, one graduated and another enrolled, but dropped out, and Social Communication, with one candidate admitted and graduated.

Figure 3 - Indigenous persons admitted in the entrance exam by course at the UESB, 2010.1-2019



Source: Elaborated by the author based on data da General Secretariat of Courses. N = 142.

The Figure 3 suggest a lower number of indigenous students – 60 yearly

vacancies offered, and only 75 occupied over the historical series, a mean of 6.81 annual enrollments. By comparing with the *quilombolas*, we have a clear difference since Bahia is by far the state with the largest number of certified Remnant Communities of *Quilombos*. The city of Vitória da Conquista has 20 communities and Jequié has 1 urban community (PALMARES CULTURAL FOUNDATION, 2021). It is also estimated that 6.2% of the Brazilian population have at least one of the four types of disabilities (intellectual, physical, hearing, and visual) (IBGE, 2015), while roughly 0.43% of the Brazilian population and 0.4% of the population from Bahia self-declared as indigenous persons in 2010, last year of census (IBGE, 2012). Thereby, considering the population per se, it is to be expected a low number of indigenous persons in relation to the other two segments of additional shareholders.

The most likely reasons include distance between the campuses and the closest indigenous communities. The Bahia state has 13 recognized indigenous peoples (ISA, s.d.). The closest to the UESB are the southern communities of Pataxós Hahahãe (200 km from Vitória da Conquista; 280 km from Jequié; 100 km from Itapetinga), Tupinambás from Olivença (290 km from Vitória da Conquista; 211 km from Jequié; 190 km from Itapetinga), and Pataxós (366 km from Vitória da Conquista; 430 km from Jequié; 267 km from Itapetinga). Furthermore, other public universities located closer to these communities have provided affirmative actions, as the State University of Santa Cruz (UESC), Federal University of Southern Bahia (UFSB), State University of Bahia (UNEB), and Federal Institute of Bahia (IFBA).

It is possible to test some comparisons with other public universities for gathering quantitative notions. Such analogies are imprecise since the size of each university, city of installation, regional configuration, budget, and trajectories are very distinct and particular. Either way, it is worth mentioning some of these comparisons to gain some insight on how public universities have attracted and promoted access policies for indigenous persons, as well as the UESB.

The University of Brasília (UnB) offers 150 undergraduate courses, 92 master's, and 72 doctorate programs, ranging a budget of over 1,851 billion *reais* in 2020 (UnB, 2020), 8,439 yearly vacancies. It is a central university, one of the most important in the country, much larger than the UESB, which is a regional university located in an area of poorer socioeconomic indicators. Santos (2018) points out that from 2004 to 2013, the UnB enrolled 113 indigenous students, an annual mean of 11.3. In terms of

choice of courses, the health field stands out by concentrating more than half of the students, distributed in Medicine (16.81%), Nursing (14.15%), and Nutrition (12.39%). Human Sciences receive 22.12% of these enrollments, with more relevance to the course of Social Sciences (12.39%). Technologies hold 20.35% of the students, highlighting the course of Forest Engineering (11.50%).

The Federal University of São Carlos (UFSCar), in the countryside of the São Paulo state, provided some access-related survey as well. The institution offers vacancies in 64 undergraduate courses and 52 graduate programs in 4 campuses, covering a budget of more than 641 million reais in 2020 and 2,897 yearly vacancies for on-site undergraduate courses (UFSCar, s.d.). Even though it is not as central as UnB, it is much larger than the UESB and also provides entrance exams for indigenous persons and additional quotas.

According to the ten-year report on the policy (UFSCar, 2017), over the first nine years of affirmative actions, 217 indigenous persons were admitted in the entrance exam and 4 by the SISU, an average of 24 yearly enrollments. The highest demand concentrated in the courses of the health and education fields, with the Center of Natural Sciences and Health encompassing 29% of the total and the Center of Education and Human Sciences with 23%. All remaining enrollments were divided among other six centers. Until 2017, 17 indigenous persons had graduated, highlighting the humanities with Pedagogy (3), Geography (2), and Social Sciences (1), and health with Medicine (2), Physiotherapy (1), Gerontology (1), Nursing (1), and Psychology (1).

Over the years following the report, the UFSCar figures have increased exponentially, making it even harder to establish a comparison. In 2019, 256 indigenous persons from 48 different ethnicities and speaking 18 languages were enrolled, 30 had graduated and one became master. Indeed, the university is no longer a parameter since it was only between 2008-2019 that 4,398 registrations of indigenous persons were accepted for the entrance exam, being 1,138 (the highest number in the series) in 2019, when the exams were provided in three capitals (São Paulo, Recife, and Manaus), in addition to São Gabriel da Cachoeira, due to the students' demand (JODAS, 2019, p. 118).

According to Amaral and Silvério (2016), between 2002 and 2015, 48 indigenous persons graduated from the seven universities in Paraná state, pioneers

in the context of affirmative actions for indigenous persons in Brazil by providing an integrated entrance exam for indigenous persons. From 2007 to 2015, these universities offered 42 yearly vacancies, each one with six vacancies. Nonetheless, the total number of registrations has always exceeded the total number of vacancies (AMARAL and SILVÉRIO, 2016, p. 59). Next, the number of graduated indigenous students by university: 11 by the State University of Londrina; 12 by the State University of Maringá; 3 by the State University of Ponta Grossa; 10 by the State University of Center-west; 2 by the State University of Western Paraná; 10 by the State University of Northern Paraná, and 0 by the State University of Paraná. The courses with the highest numbers of graduates were Pedagogy, with 16, Social Service and Nursing, with 5, and Medicine, with 3 egresses (AMARAL and SILVÉRIO, 2016, p. 72). Thereby, if on the one hand, these universities are forerunners in the context of policy for indigenous persons by providing unified and specific entrance exams, the number of vacancies available is inferior to that of the other universities mentioned.

Returning to the context of Bahia state and the information published in research and surveys, the Federal University of Bahia is another great Brazilian public university that receives students from the entire state and Brazil, offering 106 undergraduate courses, 84 master's and 58 doctorates, distributed in their three campuses, encompassing a budget of 1,822 billion *reais* and 7,521 yearly undergraduate vacancies (UFBA, 2020). Between 2005-2015, according to Souza (2016), 96 indigenous students were admitted through the program of affirmative actions and over 50 accessed the university by broad competition since they came from private schools. All 146 students ended up being incorporated into the program. From 2005 to 2013, UFBA admitted a mean of 3.4 indigenous persons a year. It was only after the Quota Law and the SISU were validated to select indigenous persons separated from black and mixed-race persons that such average value increased to 21.6 over the past three years of the series. The courses with the highest numbers of admissions were in the fields of Philosophy and Human Sciences (35), Natural Sciences and Health (31), and Physical Sciences and Technology (25). Such scenario shows a relative balance among the areas, highlighting the courses of Law (9), Accounting Sciences (4), Nutrition (4), Medicine (4), and Natural Sciences (4). Nonetheless, the number of registrations reveals that the areas of Natural Sciences and Health significantly exceed the others. According

to Souza (2016), the university seems to attract more students of ethnicities from the Northeast and Bahia, such as the *Pataxó*, *Tuxá*, *Pankararu*, *Tumbalalá*, and *Tupinambá*. Over the 10 years studied by the researcher (2005-2015), 12 indigenous persons graduated from the UFBA, in addition to 4 masters.

In comparative terms, the State University of Feira de Santana (UEFS) can represent a parameter since both the UESB and the UEFS are state universities from Bahia of similar size and budget in relation to the others. The UEFS offers 31 undergraduate courses with 19 *Stricto sensu* graduate programs and budget of less than 324 million *reais* in 2020 (UEFS, 2020) and 2,187 yearly undergraduate vacancies. According to Oliveira *et al* (2015), between 2007 and 2015, the university received 140 indigenous persons, with an annual mean of 15.55 entrances, highlighting the courses of Nursing, Dentistry, and Law, with egresses in all years, in addition to Medicine, Civil Engineering, Computer Science, and Administration, with egresses in most years.

It is worth highlighting that the UEFS exempts indigenous persons and *quilombolas* from registration fee and provides housing to indigenous persons for the entrance exam and throughout the undergraduate period at a University Indigenous House with 22 vacancies. The authors also point out that according to an indigenous leader interviewed by them, this type of design placed the UEFS, at least by 2015, as the university from Bahia that most received indigenous students, second only to the IFBA, which offers specific courses for this population and is near areas with concentration of indigenous persons. This means that despite being distant from the indigenous territories in the state, the UEFS is able to promote a more attractive policy to this public. Likewise, at the UESB, the number of enrolled *quilombolas* exceeds that of indigenous persons, and the number of registered indigenous persons is far superior to the number of students actually called, 1,804 against 140, over the historical series. The university did not even come close to occupy the vacancies offered in any of the years of affirmative actions.

Although the institutions have very distinct sizes, locations, relevance, sociohistorical configurations, and selection processes, it is paramount to point out that except for UFSCar, which has showing significant demand and entrance over the past few years, it seems that universities in general have faced relative difficulties in occupying the vacancies over the first 10 years of affirmative actions for

indigenous persons; in addition, the number of graduates is not great. The UESB also presents the same difficulties regarding vacancy filling and low number of students graduated.

Indigenous persons in the UESB: permanence and excellent academic performance

For the enrollment in the second semester of 2018, the undergraduate pro-rector's office elaborated a socioeconomic questionnaire to be answered by all students, in addition to publishing general data tabulated since 1985, providing information on academic performance, dropout, and graduation. Herein, these two studies are named as Socioeconomic Questionnaire of Active Students for the second semester of 2018 (PROGRAD/UESB, 2019c) and Study of Dropout and Retention (PROGRAD/UESB, 2019b).

The following comparisons introduce an evident bias: the very distinct figures of each segment. While social and ethno-racial shareholders show numbers in the thousand range, *quilombolas*, indigenous persons, and disabled persons correspond to dozens and few hundreds. In this sense, indigenous persons perhaps could only compare to *quilombolas* and disabled persons, despite the populational difficulties described in the previous section. Either way, it is worth listing the other segments covered by the policy of affirmative actions at the UESB for disclosure purposes.

The collection of the 8,604 profiles from the second semester of 2018 revealed that most students came from public schools (74.4%). As for indigenous persons, 27 active profiles were found for the semester. In terms of income, 63% (17 students) had family income of up to R\$ 1,500.00; 25.9% (7 students) declared income between R\$ 1,501.00 and R\$ 3,000; one student (3.7%) between R\$ 3,000 and R\$ 4,500; one student between R\$ 4,501.00 and R\$ 6,000.00, and only one income family over R\$ 9,500.00. By comparing such income indicator considering the first range, up to R\$ 1,500.00, we found that such figures were declared by 54.2% of the general total of students, being 62.3% disabled persons, 80% *quilombolas*, 63.6% ethno-racial shareholders, 64.5% social shareholders, and 43.9% non-shareholders. Thereby, the worst income indicators certainly belong to the *quilombolas*, followed by social and ethno-racial shareholders and then indigenous persons. On national

level, indigenous persons usually present worse educational and income indicators than non-indigenous persons (IBGE, 2012); however, at least regarding income, it is not the reality at the UESB, despite the generally low income indicator for the students.

An overview on the type of school attended by indigenous students throughout elementary education reveals that the whole educational trajectory of 77.8% (21) of them developed in public schools, while 7.4% (2) has always studied in private schools, the same proportion as for students who mostly attended private schools (7.4%), as well as others who mostly studied in public schools, interspersed with a short period in private schools (7.4%). In terms of total of attendance to public schools by the other segments, 96.2% encompassed ethno-racial shareholders, 95.8% social shareholders, 92.3% *quilombolas*, 70,1% disabled persons, and 52.2% non-shareholders – it is worth pointing out that attendance to public school has not been required for additional shareholders since 2016. These data demonstrate that the most of the public attending the UESB come from public schools.

Participation in social programs, such as Family Scholarship, is another aspect of the socioeconomic indicator. Out of the indigenous persons enrolled, 44.4% (12) reported being recipients of the Family Scholarship, one student informed being benefited from the Continuous Cash Benefit, and 11.1% (3) reported being recipients of other programs, thereby 59.3% (16) in total participated in social programs. In turn, 40.7% of the indigenous persons were not granted with any state assistance; as for the total of students, this number reaches 72.1%. No assistance was offered to 59.7% of the disabled persons, 53.8% of the *quilombolas*, 63.9% of the ethno-racial shareholders, 65.2% of the social shareholders, and 80.3% of the non-shareholders.

In addition to the social programs, the university itself provides two groups of academic scholarships (Scientific Initiation, Extension, Mentoring/Tutoring, GDPID) and for permanence (Housing Assistance, Food Assistance, Transport Assistance etc.). Monitoring scholarships benefit 11.1% (3) of the indigenous students throughout their academic trajectories, 7.4% were granted with scholarship of Scientific Initiation, and 22.2% (6) received other scholarships of academic assistance. Indigenous persons and *quilombolas* from the federal network are entitled to Permanence Assistance (foreseen in the Ordinance 389, from May 9,

2013); however, those who come from private, municipal, or state networks, as in the case of UESB, do not have access to this important resource.

By comparing with the other segments, we find that 70% of the students were not granted with any academic scholarship, as well as 81.5% of the *quilombolas*, 74% of the disabled persons, 70.8% of the ethno-racial shareholders, 68% of the social shareholders, and 69.1% of the non-shareholders. In terms of permanence, 74.5% of the students received no assistance, as well as 67.5% of the disabled persons, 63.1% of the *quilombolas*, 67% of the ethno-racial shareholders, 68.2% of the social shareholders, and 81.3% of the non-shareholders.

These data reveal that most students who enter the university in study come from public schools and low-income families, since the Brazilian nominal household income per capita in 2018 was R\$ 1,373.00, while the Bahia reached R\$ 841.00 (IBGE, 2019). In contrast, such a low number of indigenous persons who entered the UESB by means of affirmative actions, despite not involving the worst income indicators, as *quilombolas* and remaining egresses from public schools exceed it, have been responsible for proportionally less of their academic trajectory in public schools. Thereby, not only the indigenous persons enrolled in that university do not hold the worst socioeconomic indicators as they are more successful in using public resources, either by means of state social programs or institutional assistances. Either way, the indigenous persons at the UESB access proportionally more available public resources both inside and outside the university.

The proportional success of fundraising combined with the income indicator may be related to the indicators of academic performance and dropout for indigenous students. The literature reports that both the black and indigenous populations in Brazil have the worst socioeconomic indicators, which usually influences school performance (SILVA, 2003). The collection promoted by the Administration (UESB, 2019b) brings some important information, not only regarding those enrolled in the second semester of 2018, but also on the historical series of the affirmative action's program. By observing the time distribution of retention by indigenous shareholders graduated between 2009-2018, we find that 20 indigenous persons, 80% (16), were not retained, which means that they completed the course within the regular period, 16% (3) had slight retention, that is, as expected up to two semesters more than the regular training time, while only 1 graduate, corresponding

to 5%, presented a severe retention (over four semesters in relation to the regular time). By comparing the same numbers for those who were not retained with the figures of all 10,630 graduated students from other segments ranging the same period, we find that the student who were not retained count for 57.08% of ethno-racial shareholders, 59.78% social shareholders, 52.17% disabled persons, 47.54% *quilombolas*, and 60.08% non-shareholders.

The indicator of “History of results from disciplines attended by the first time by indigenous students between 2009-2018” also confirms the better performance of indigenous shareholders. At the UESB, by reaches a mean higher than 7.0 by the end of a semester or year, depending on the course, a student is approved in the discipline. If 2.8 points are not exceeded, the student fails. If the score reaches between 2.9 and 6.9, the student is entitled to a final exam that requires a mean score of 5.0, otherwise, they fail the discipline. By not attending 75% of the classes, the student fails based on the number of absences. It is clear that the indigenous persons reached high approval rates when attending a discipline for the first time.

In retrospect to the last five years in the historical series regarding the disciplines outcomes in comparison with the remaining segments, indigenous persons had an average approval of 91.7% for the period. We can see this average approval at Table 1. By focusing on other students over the same period, we find that ethno-racial shareholders showed an approval rate of 85.28%: 86.2% social shareholders, 84.14% *quilombolas*, 84.84% disabled persons, and 84.98% non-shareholders. Thereby, it is confirmed that the indigenous students stand out in terms of academic performance.

Table 1 – Historical percentage of results from disciplines attended for the first time by indigenous persons at the UESB, 2009-2018

	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Approved %	50	100	89.3	73.8	79.7	87.6	90.9	90.2	96.7	93.1
Mean Failed Students %	6.3	0	1.8	8.6	2.8	3.7	3.6	3.1	0.7	1.1
Failed Absence %	37.5	0	4.5	7.8	16.3	6.6	2.6	5.7	0.7	4
Failed final Exam %	6.2	0	4.4	9.8	1.2	2.1	2.9	1	2	1.8

Source: Study Dropout (UESB, 2019b).

Even though the general figures for indigenous students at the UESB are not expressive, it seems that the students who are able to overcome the numerous obstacles imposed present the best proportional utilization in terms of graduation and academic performance. The period between 2009 and 2019 ranged 23 dropouts, 23 graduations with 29 active students in the last year of the series, according to the General Secretariat of Courses.

Remarks on affirmative actions for indigenous persons at the UESB

Affirmative actions started in Brazil 20 years ago and have institutionalized as permanent public policy for a decade. They represent a state policy that tries to cope with centuries of slavery and segregation and needs time to improve. Their evolution involve some changes that have been gradually thought optimize mechanisms of access and permanence. In the scope of access, it seems to be a reinforcing of hetero-identified and validated boards, resulting from the pressure by black movements and allegations of fraud, thus indicating that white individuals had been taking advantage of the law based on the self-declaration criterion (DIAS and TAVARES JUNIOR, 2018).

As for the policy of permanence, it seems to have a movement of consolidation and strengthening of scholarships that considers specifically the policy recipients. Regarding the indigenous persons, there is a trend of establishing specific vacancies for the segment, even though the Quota Law [No. 12711/2012](#) foresees quotas for the BMI segment (black, mixed-race, and indigenous persons). Both Souza Lima (2007) and Dal Bol (2018) have criticizes what they refer as homogenizing inclusion, which takes neither the specificity nor the diversity of the indigenous segment into consideration.

At the early implementation of affirmative actions policies, the most common criticism was associated with an alledged loss of quality in the service offered by universities, since affirmative actions do not consider the academic merit as an exclusive criterion. Such an argument has been opposed by several research studies and surveys over these past twenty years. Some indicators of greater time of dedication (SANTOS, 2015), superior scores (PEIXOTO *et ali*, 2016), and lower dropout (BEZERRA and GURGEL, 2012) emerge when comparing shareholders and non-

shareholders.

In this sense, the data of the State University of Southwestern Bahia seem to be in line with such trend, especially regarding the indigenous segment. This group has been showing high approval rate in disciplines and lower dropout figures in relation to the other segments. Nonetheless, it is worth highlighting that the limits to this segment are especially associated with access based on the difficulty in filling the vacancies offered. As mentioned, this is not a difficulty exclusive to the institution in study, since the bibliography introduced by researchers on affirmative actions in other universities also have lower numbers for indigenous persons.

The aforementioned universities have coped with the issue differently by targeting to enhance the access by indigenous persons. In the case of the UFBA, using the SISU score and exclusive competition among indigenous persons has caused positive impact on the entrance of these students. The UFSCar provides entrance exam for indigenous persons in some Brazilian cities, which lead to a significant increase in the number of registrations, in addition to promoting exams in São Gabriel da Cachoeira (AM), city majorly inhabited by indigenous persons, due to the students' demand. The State University of Feira de Santana has also developed specific mechanisms, such as housing for the entrance exam and permanence of indigenous students.

It is fundamental that university managers communicate seeking to improve the current models. Such interlocution must not waive the participation of indigenous persons, which should be fostered during the process of design and evaluation of policies. Therefore, it is recommended that the State University of Southwestern Bahia focused on the models presented by other universities aiming to improve its policy of affirmative action for indigenous persons. Exclusive competition, entrance exam, and specific housing have emerged as suggestions in the related bibliography. An inter-universities partnership and an interaction between the university and indigenous communities as protagonists in trans-training for the Brazilian public university prove to be fundamental to such process.

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