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**INSTITUTIONS OR CORPORATIONS? IMAGINARIES AND LOGICS OF THE
BRAZILIAN FIELD OF HIGHER EDUCATION**

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**INSTITUTIONS OR CORPORATIONS? THE IMAGINARIES AND LOGICS OF
BRAZILIAN HIGHER EDUCATION**

Dissertation submitted to the Business School of the Pontificia Universidade Católica do Paraná in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science in Business Administration.

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Por

CAIO AUGUSTO CAMARGO DA SILVA

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*No stop signs, speed limit
Nobody's gonna slow me down
Like a wheel, gonna spin it
Nobody's gonna mess me around
Hey Satan, paid my dues
Playing in a rocking band
Hey mama, look at me
I'm on my way to the promised land
Highway to Hell - ACDC*

Abstract

Higher education institutions are as old as the world, and have shaped our lives since Plato, Pythagoras, and the Sophists. However, little attention to these institutions has been given in organizational theory. This research seeks to address this gap through three different lenses, in a longitudinal study with media records since 1997, when the state sanctioned for-profit endeavor in higher education. More than 8.000 pages of a weekly news digest were coded, and 16 interviews were conducted to fulfill three main objectives. First, I use Fligstein and McAdam's (2012) Theory of Fields to delimit the Brazilian field of higher education, along with its main constituents, incumbents, challengers, and internal governance units, and its main changes since 1997. Second, I use Castoriadis' (1975) and Taylor's (2004) social imaginary, the basis of all reality and rationality, to understand how does the media portray higher education, and what are the main values-substances overarching the field. Lastly, I use the delimitation of the field and the socially imagined substances (Klein, 2015; Friedland, 2015, 2018) to induct the institutional logics (Thornton, Ocasio & Lounsbury, 2012) overarching the Brazilian field of higher education. I found that the Brazilian field of higher education is split in two extremes: public and private, this latter fading with time and merging with the market in an academic capitalist knowledge-learning regime (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004), mainly because of managerialism (Locke & Spender, 2011). The substances underlying the main shifts in the field tended to portray state intervention on the field with the rhetoric of access and democracy, but with the main outcome being inequality. Also, the imaginaries seem to have shifted from higher education as an institution to higher education as a corporate organization (Gumport, 2000). These new imaginary significations in Brazilian higher education led me to induct a new societal institutional order, and three field-level institutional logics grounded in media data and interviews.

Key Words: Higher Education, Theory of Fields, Social Imaginary, Institutional Logics

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1. Introduction

Among the eldest endeavors in the world, universities have, for many centuries, been responsible for the creation and dissemination of knowledge about a myriad of different sciences and techniques useful to understanding the world we live in, humankind, and humans. Universities have helped societies to rise through engineering and architecture, to understand what to sow and to eat, to live in society with justice for all, and to manage organizations of people, each in their fields.

This endeavor is usually accomplished with the help of an overarching state, relying on tax money to survive and thrive. Despite being in some extent funded by the state, students' families are accountable for providing encouragement and tuition. Universities interact with the market and are major sponsors of its professions, discovering and understanding better ways to get things done, improving efficiency and wellbeing for consumers, patients, clients, and the like. Universities hold an important social mission to their surrounding communities, often engaging with religion for this matter, in order to generate social and economic development.

State, family, market, professions, community, religion, and corporations surround and interact with the university. The seven institutional orders, as coined by the institutional logics perspective, are present in every corner of contemporary, worldwide society. Our lives as singular humans, as organized humans, and as fields of organizations of humans share those seven institutional orders as common denominators, leading to what we know and conceive of the world today. The institutional logics perspective is a metatheory built upon the neo-institutional theory and its branches, seeking to "Bring Society Back In"- as pointed by Friedland and Alford (1991) – to organizational analysis and studies. It helps researchers to understand how logics of action, studied not only by organizational theorists, but by broader social science, shape and transform individual, organizational, and societal actions. Institutional logics are sustained by myths, rituals, and taken-for-granted rules and practices performed by social actors, without which society, as we know it, could not persevere.

The seven institutional orders portray our eldest genetic heritage of gathering in families and communities, our capabilities for faith in a “higher power” which explain that which we cannot yet know, our cognitive evolution by organizing our callings into professions, useful for a corporation and for a broader market, and our need for a state to regulate and establish peace and welfare. However, different logics present different trade-offs one must choose among. While state logics prescribe democracy, bureaucracy, and social classes, for example, religion logics stand for sacredness in society, charisma, and the association with deities. While our families ask for loyalty, honor, and reputation, the market seeks increased share prices, efficiency, profit, and anonymity (Thornton, Ocasio & Lounsbury, 2012). This particular and rather interesting organization of our lives so far was featured in much scholarly research, which has explored not only the institutional logics within the broader society, but most importantly within meso-level organizational fields, deriving institutional logics from the more macro institutional orders, explaining and discovering how the conflict between logics, or the overlap of interests among them, could shape reality and lead to change.

About this latent – and sometimes hidden - incompatibility between and among prescriptions, myths, and norms of institutional logics, Greenwood, Raynard and colleagues (2011) called for studies explaining how organizations cope with institutional complexity – when two or more institutional logics urge for different commands. Institutional complexity is assumed to exist in any field, but in different intensities, contingent on the field’s fragmentation, structuring, and centralization. Organizational responses to institutional complexity depend on the organization’s position within the field, its structure, governance, and identity.

Furthermore, Greenwood et al (2011) also noted that scholars who have sought to study institutional complexity before their call have contrasted organizational responses to no more than two commanding logics. That is to say, scholars tended to look at just one part of the phenomenon they were studying, assuming an overly reductionist, *ceteris paribus* perspective on the remaining elements. To this, Goodrick and Reay (2011) respond by introducing the concept of constellations of logics, a consequence of the inter-institutional system and its interplay with macro, meso, and micro field levels. In this research, therefore, my

goal is to answer Greenwood, Raynard et al's (2011) calls for investigating institutional complexity in fields, assuming the existence constellations of logics proposed by Goodrick and Reay (2011).

To investigate the overarching institutional logics over a field, I have collected data from the largest digest of news in Brazil, the *Veja* magazine, along with interviews with deans, provosts, and managers in two higher education organizations established in Curitiba, a large city, with circa 2 million inhabitants, in southern Brazil. Marquis and Raynard (2015) have encouraged organizational research in emerging markets, primarily due to their economic expansion and political relevance, and contrasts with the dominant research on mainstream developed economies, leading, therefore, to a significant extension on the body of knowledge on organizations and institutions. Curitiba is known for its cultural diversity caused by the immigration of a multiplicity of European families in the middle 1800s coming from countries such as Germany, France, Swiss, Poland, Italy, and Ukraine. In the early 1900s, Japanese, Syrian, and Lebanese families also arrived, contributing to the multi-ethnicity of the city. Such contextual element makes Curitiba known for its non-Brazilian mainstream *ethos*, and has advanced its development when compared to other cities in the country.

The news digest I have chosen to study, in order to understand the substances (Friedland, 2015, 2018; Klein, 2015) underlying institutional logics is *Veja* Magazine, created in 1968, aiming to “inform, explain, and entertain the readers, improving their level of comprehension of facts, of relevant trends to their personal and professional lives, and their world view” According to the Abril Group, publisher of *Veja* Magazine, *Veja* is the largest weekly news digest in Brazil, and the second largest in the world, reaching more than 6 million readers weekly.

The two higher-ed organizations I have chosen to study, in order to understand the institutional logics on the higher-education field, share a twofold similarity: Catholicism and not for profit orientation. The first is the Religious University (RU) from now on, tied to the Catholic Group (CG, henceforth), a Catholic religious order created by a saint in Europe, being then established in some Brazilian states in the educational, health, and communication fields. RU currently holds circa 25 thousand students, and is one of the most research-

intensive universities in Brazil. On the other hand, the Religious University Centre (RUC, from now on) is a Catholic college with around 5 thousand students, part of a Christian educational group, holding educational and supporting businesses in some Brazilian states. As noted earlier, religion is one of the overarching institutional orders, together with market, state, professions and corporations, for example. The not-for-profit feature of these organizations may highlight tensions within the recent upsurge of managerialism (Gumport, 2000, 2002; Locke & Spender, 2011) and institutional logics of corporation, professions, and market.

I have chosen to study institutional logics in a higher education (HE) context for the relevance of its threefold mission in an emerging country context – teaching, research, and community service (Weisbrod, Ballou, Asch, 2008). As put by Kerr (2001), the reality for the university is the recognition that knowledge is the most important factor for economic and social growth. Kerr (2001) contributed to the studies in universities by conceiving the concept of the multiversity, and by calling them “the city of intellect”. I argue that, in Brazil, this concept is somewhat different. In our political scenario, there are plenty of government incentives for access to higher-ed, including government-funded scholarships, government-funded allowance, policies for distance higher education, short-term higher education – also known as technology degrees, similar to the two-year American colleges -, among others. These policies have led to a boom in the educational market offer, with an abundance of private higher education institutions (HEIs) seeking some of these public benefits, but without a research-intensive agenda, or a cohesion among programs and courses. Hundreds of new HEIs have entered the field, bringing significant shifts to the Brazilian field of higher education. Brazil displays a highly bureaucratic business and educational environment, and there is no charging tuition in public universities, nor endowment funds to help privates to fulfill their missions. Thus, the managerialist character of our higher-ed organizations – the Brazilian Effect coined by Douglass (2012) - seems to make more sense in an unstable market, craving for short-term revenues, shorter student lifecycle, and less commitment to long-term research, learning, and community service.

Apart from this short political and historical background, it is relevant to portray how Brazilians picture higher education organizations and the higher

education field in their minds. The institutional logics perspective alone cannot explain the imaginary origins of myths and rituals that shape legitimacy claims over society. Nor does it help to investigate the origins of actions deemed as legitimate. To address this issue, before exploring the higher education field with institutional lenses, I explore the social imaginary of the higher education field as portrayed by the media. The social imaginary, as first posited by Castoriadis (1975) and further developed by Appadurai (1996) and Taylor (2004) explains how symbols not only emerge out of human imagination, but also allow human imagination to exist. In this sense, what makes an ordinary, three-story building crowded with people seated and listening to another person who is on their feet talking to them, an university, is our imagination of what an university is. The American public university, for instance, charges tuition from its undergraduate students, and classes take place, sometimes, in a crowded theatre, and are showcased to the entire world with translated subtitles in 20+ languages via free platforms, such as Coursera and TED. In contrast, the Brazilian public university is free of charge for undergraduate students, and classes take place in a classroom with up to 30 students, in average, because there is the general belief that a crowded class hinders learning. The depiction of the imaginary of Brazilian higher education provides insights to grasp what Friedland (2015, 2018) calls institutional substances, which are the elements that make an institutional logic, such as democracy for the state, love for the family, and capital for the market. My goal, therefore, is to understand how Brazilians imagine the Brazilian field of HE and its proximate fields, such as market relations, state regulation, finances and funding, and historical path dependencies.

In summary, the main goal of this research is to understand the substances underlying the institutional logics acting upon the Brazilian field of HE.

The first step to address this goal is to understand the history of Brazilian HE. Brazil's history is a difficult one to understand, because various changes have taken place over the last three decades. Brazil's constitution, for example, was only promulgated in 1988, after years under a military regime. The country has only opened its border to receive external goods in 1990, and has only authorized for-profit endeavor in higher education in 1997, with the sanction of a

new piece of legislation regulating the sector. In order to tell the recent history of the Brazilian field of HE over the years, I rely on a documental research dating from 1997, gathering and analysing pages of *Veja* magazine. This historical background is paramount to form a strong basis to the other goals of this research.

The second step to understand Brazilian higher education is to understand what does the Brazilian Field of Higher Education looks like. Relying on the fundamental historical background and interviews, I employ Fligstein and McAdam's (2012) theory of fields to show the main changes, contentions, and shocks that shaped the Brazilian field of HE to the current status.

The third step of the research is to, following Castoriadis (1975) and Appadurai (1996), investigate how universities are portrayed by the media, which is a powerful shaper of the social imaginary. Holding a more comprehensive background of the imaginary of higher education, I will be able to understand, through the main contests for positioning (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012) the symbols, myths and rituals of higher education in Brazil not by their functional claims, but looking at them from a broader angle allowing the comprehension of the consequences the imaginary significations bring to the development, consolidation, and existence of Brazilian higher education. More specifically, the interpretation of the imaginary will allow for a more nuanced look at higher education in Brazil, and provide explanations for taken-for-grantedness and legitimacy.

The fourth step is to derive from the imaginary analysis the groundwork for the main goal of this research, transforming imaginary substances (Klein, 2015) into societal and field level institutional logics, relying on media accounts and interviews. The imaginary significations are the precursors of logics. Substances are for Klein (2015) and Friedland (2015, 2018) god-like elements, which include values and emotions in their core, such as property, salvation, scientific knowledge, popular representation, democracy, health, and love. These substances enable the existence of institutional logics, which I will attempt to induce from the history of Brazilian higher education and mediatic accounts of the field. I depart from the assumption that both higher education organizations must

respond to constellations of logics in order to be legitimate and fulfill their missions.

On the first step, only documental data is employed. On steps two, three, and four, both data sources are employed simultaneously. The historical background served as a guide for the interviews, along with the literature on HE and institutional logics.

It is important to state that this research emphasizes the institutional logics acting in the organizational field level, despite making a societal contribution. The starting point for the documental research at *Veja* magazine will be the year 1997, when a new piece of legislation that waived some of the bureaucratic issues that mitigated the creation of higher-ed organizations was developed, opening up the Brazilian higher education market to for-profit private endeavors, bringing along managerial practices to Brazilian higher education, the need for revenues, and other market-like drivers as a trigger for social action and behavior.

The theoretical contributions of this study lie on the inclusion of unorthodox elements in the institutional logics domain. First, the study of field-level mechanisms that represent the demands from constellations of logics (Goodrick & Reay, 2011) may shed a light upon the realm of institutional studies. The overlap of more than two logics acting over one field might aid to refine the understanding of the interaction among them, and might also reveal hidden oddities in the environmental comprehension in terms of the transposition and overlap of institutional practices and symbols. Second, the study of institutional logics in an emerging economy might also reveal mechanisms by which institutional logics act in these settings. As Marquis and Raynard (2015) have proposed, until now, institutional studies were mostly conducted in Europe, Canada, and United States, leaving the southern hemisphere out of the equation. Third, the social imaginary significations as predecessors of institutional logics might bring valuable insights to bringing society back into university literature and research, and most importantly, to the institutional logics perspective (Friedland, 2015, 2018; Klein, 2015)

Empirically, this research might lead to a better understanding of how and why higher-ed organizations comply with some institutional demands instead of

others, and what consequences these choices pose to their legitimacy, management, and mission fulfilment. Findings like these may help managers to hold a better analytical framework of their taken-for-granted and imagined, legitimacy seeking actions, which lead to the so-called competitive advantage.

The research continues as follows. The next section highlights the literature used as a basis for the development of the study. First, I approach the institutional logics perspective, drawing first on a historical background on the institutionalism and the new-institutionalism, the concept of legitimacy and its evolution over time, and the birth of the institutional logics perspective. Second, I present a background of the higher education literature and particularities, followed by a contextualization of Brazilian higher education. Third, I revise the corpus on research that join higher education (whether in an organizational level, or field level) and the institutional logics perspective. Fourth, I introduce Fligstein and McAdam's (2012) theory of fields, which guides me to the definition of the higher education field for the purposes of this research. Lastly, I introduce the social imaginary literature and theory. In the methods section, I explain the data collection and coding procedures, which are similar to Strauss and Corbin's (2008) grounded theory. The data interpretation section is composed by the results of the coding and interpretation of documents and interviews, providing the analysis of the field, of the imaginary, and of the institutional logics over the Brazilian field of HE. The last section, dedicated to the conclusion, will interpret the findings of each of the section in the analysis. Finally, the appendix shows the research context section, where I present the recent history of Brazilian higher education based on documental data gathered at *Veja* magazine.

2. Theoretical Background and Research Context

2.1. The Institutional Logics Perspective

2.1.1. Organizational Institutionalism

Philip Selznick (1949), who rejected rationality, and emphasized both the role of the state in institutionalization, and the environmental influences over organizations - which are culturally shaped – is the founding father of organizational institutionalism for DiMaggio and Powell (1991). This “old” institutionalism overemphasizes political analysis through informal relationships, such as lobbies, influences, and negotiations. Additionally, the old institutionalism regarded the environment as a local one, composed by few communities dependent on face-to-face interaction. Organizations were, then, the subjects of institutionalization within these communities, and had a character of their own. Cognition, in this approach, was seen as the manifestation of values, norms and attitudes, passed on by socialization, internalization, and commitment. DiMaggio & Powell (1991) suggest that Selznick has been inspired by Parsons (1951) and his theory of action influenced by Freud. This has led to some conceptual reductionism of, for instance, culture, which was considered as a trait of personality instead of external to the individual; and the neglect of the cognitive, taken-for-granted aspects of routine. Thus, Parsons’ (1951) agent was fully rational, and at the same time, had no cognitive perspective – however, the reason behind Parsons’ (1951) neglect is being prior to the cognitive revolution in psychology.

Cognitive science started to impact organization literature in 1945 with Herbert Simon’s (1945) work on administrative behavior, introducing his rejection to the “economic man” and giving the foundations upon which the Carnegie School of organizational behavior was founded, along with James March and Richard Cyert. The Carnegie School’s works (Simon, 1945; March & Simon, 1958; Cyert & March, 1963) are seminal to institutional theory because they are the first to conceive the relevance of routines, attention, decision-making, interpretation, and taken-for-grantedness as a response to uncertainty, ambiguity, and complexity.

Apart from the Carnegie School, a phenomenological approach proposed by Garfinkel (1967) helped to enlighten cognition through an

ethnomethodological approach. Garfinkel (1967) has labeled individual background knowledge, similar to the social imaginary concept (Taylor, 2004; Castoriadis, 1975), as the “socially-sanctioned-facts-of-life-in-society-that-any-bona-fide-member-of-the-society-knows” (Garfinkel, 1967 p.76), and discovered that society poses consequences on individuals who attempt to act inappropriately or awkwardly to its taken-for-granted prescriptions, such as trust and reciprocity – an evidence that cognition is not rational, nor linear. Society is composed by unwritten rules, Garfinkel (1967) discovers, that are only known when they are disrespected. These “cognitive guidance systems” are employed by individuals in order to guarantee reasonable behavior.

Another exponent to the growth of institutionalism is the work by Berger and Luckmann (1967), which questions how meanings become facts, and subjectivities become objectivities in society. Along with Garfinkel (1967), they also accentuate the taken-for-grantedness and rule-like status of the “common sense knowledge”. They conceive institutions as a “typification of habitualized actions by types of actors” and analyze them with cognitive lenses, as a kind of controller of the human behavior. Therefore, Berger and Luckmann (1966) contend that institutions not only are built by, but also shape and control human cognition.

Despite counting with contribution from innumerable authors and scholars, which gradually changed institutional theory since Parsons, the new institutionalism was waiting for a cognitive explanation of action to flourish. Bourdieu (1977) has, unknowingly, answered this call by envisioning the *habitus*, concept that explained how actors internalized shared typifications of their experiences in a system of taken-for-granted rules. In summary, *habitus* explains how members of a given class, community, clan, or family – even those actors who are not supported or favoured by it - share similar routines, behavior, actions, reasons, and else that aid in reproducing a structure that they have built and continue to preserve (Bourdieu, 1977). Being able to rely on culture, typifications, and cognition, institutionalists began to study institutions at the environment level, such as the professions, the market, and the state, defining them as constructed by diffused rules and structures, rather than organizations in local communities, as advocated by Selznick and Parsons.

2.1.2. The New Institutionalism

DiMaggio & Powell (1991) argue that the birth date of the new institutionalism in organizations was when Meyer and Rowan (1977) published their article, arguing that organizations adopt myths and ceremonies in order to attain legitimacy. This ceremonial incorporation of institutionalized myths conflicts with efficiency criteria, leading organizations to decouple internal, efficient structures, from the external, ceremonial features.

The rules leading to organizational ceremonial conformity to myths are socially constructed typifications and interpretations built in the cognitive aspect of individuals, in formal laws and rules of the state, and in the societal system of shared values and beliefs. Meyer and Rowan (1977) suggest that being a doctor is the socially accepted role to treat illnesses; however, one cannot be a doctor if he or she does not behave like a doctor, or does not fulfill the expectations of what a doctor should be. This formal “doctor’s” structure – knows how to handle patients and their families, is sensitive to emotions, studied hard in college, knows about the human body and the chemicals that may improve a patient’s health – is analogous to the formal structure of the organization, which should display a organogram with several departments featuring a manager for each one of them, hierarchy, staff, procedures, and the like, all striving for a common goal. Weber (1930) would characterize this organization as bureaucratic, and society would see it as effective, rational, and coordinated. Indeed, the rational, positive theories suggest that rationality is the reason why organizations have prospered, because every action seems to be coordinated and planned. However, research points that coordination and planning are rarely achieved, instead, they are loosely coupled (Weick, 1976) from their technical core to seem coordinated and planned in order to be legitimate.

Ceremonial activities are important because they acquire a rule-like status in expressing social reality, which enforcement comes from public opinion, organizational constituents, education, prestige, laws, and prudence concepts, which, in turn, emanate from institutional rules. These myths are rationalized in impersonal ways to prescribe appropriate technical features in order to achieve goals, and are unquestionable, institutionalized behaviors beyond discretion that are expected from organizations and individuals. Professions, for example, are

subject to licensing and certification according to professional education, which enables professionals to perform socially agreed-upon roles. In this same way, organizational technologies are subject to laws and regulations, to inspection and auditing, in order to guarantee that the means employed to achieve organizational goals are in accordance with the socially-constructed, rational and responsible efficiency criteria. Thus, psychology education offers professionals which are best-suited for organizational human resources departments because they (allegedly) know how people's minds work; research and development training leads to organizational incorporation of R&D personnel grouped in R&D departments; safety professionals training and society consciousness of labour risks lead to incorporation of professionals trained in labor safety to look more responsible.

Societal expectations of organizational structure are exposed in legitimate organizations, forcing legitimacy-seeking organizations to employ these criteria, too, mimicking their competitors. As a result, organizations look more and more similar to each other, because they all want to be legitimate. However, this similarity is displayed only on the outside, whereas the technical core is loosely coupled from what is seen by society. Institutionalised rationality, therefore, is a myth that generates organizational isomorphism. For Berger and Luckmann (1967), organizations reflect the socially constructed reality, conditioning organizational structure to the beliefs and norms imposed by society.

Meyer and Rowan (1977) suggest three possible sources for the societal rationalization of myths: the elaboration of interconnected complex relational networks, which enables the diffusion of myths such as the use of contracts and the search for field experts; the degree of organization of the environment, addressing the diffusion of myths through relational networks legitimated due to the rationality and effectiveness of their practices or by the legitimating power of the state; and the leadership efforts of local organizations, which make them able to shape their own environment and deem what is legitimate based on their own goals.

In order to forge an institutional environment, organizations use relational networks, and directly shape societal rules. An example is the automobile industry creating adaptation demands on the immediate relational networks for

larger roads and specific fossil fuels, and persuading society regarding what a satisfactory car is. Organizations, in this sense, will make an effort to look similar to each other, in order to both amplify their demands on relational networks and society, and respond to the relational networks' and society's demands in the same way.

A socially successful organization in an isomorphic environment makes efforts to adapt to socially constructed myths of rationality. A consequence is that, for example, in order to demonstrate the organizational engagement to social values, beliefs, and purposes, organizations may design their formal structure so that it fits the social expectations of what it should look like, instead of what would be more efficient. Legitimacy, in this sense, overpowers efficiency, because it generates public acceptance and lack of questioning. For example, in a small scale, no smoking signs legitimize organizational commitment with employees' health, regardless of its enforcement or of the actual will of the organization – even tobacco companies forbid smoking in some places. In a large scale, the hiring of econometricians to analyse the market before decisions are made may legitimate this organization's decisions, regardless of the accuracy, precision, or even if their report was taken into consideration for decision-making. In this sense, what is relevant is not that the “no smoking” sign, or the econometrician's studies are being taken into consideration, but the mere presence of them within the organization's structure, which fulfil a grand ceremonial role.

Legitimacy—seeking organizations also employ external, ceremonial, assessments. Meyer and Rowan (1977) show that ceremonial awards, endorsements and advocacy, consultant's work, and prestige in social circles are some of the criteria with which society may regard an organization. Even profit, for instance, may be a source of public assessment, because it demonstrates efficiency and fitness. In the same sense, isomorphism seems to cause a stabilization inside and outside organizations because of the standardization prescribed by the state, associations and further coalitions. Taken-for-granted, institutionalized norms make the quality of products, services, techniques, and policies stable. Organizational survival and success in institutional environments, therefore, is a byproduct of legitimacy, achieved by conformity to socially accepted and rationalized rules and norms, which leads to access to resources.

Efficiency, in this case, seems not to be a necessary condition for achieving survival.

Conformity to myth and ceremony in organizational structures and activities stem from two needs: to accomplish the demands of relational networks and due to the “interconnectedness of societal relations” which happens in response to institutionalization. Accountability, in this sense, is a demonstration of coordination and control of both internal and boundary-spanning activities. Thus, not only meeting with ceremonial demands, but also assuring command of internal and boundary-spanning activities, are important factors for organizational survival. Some organizations, however, depend more on the ceremony, and some depend more on accountability (Meyer & Rowan, 1977).

In the one hand, efficiency displayed from controlling and coordinating is most important when the outputs, technologies, and routines of the organization are easily measured. On the other hand, organizations which outputs are difficult to measure, and comprehend ambiguous technologies cannot rely on efficiency criteria for external assessment. In this latter case, institutionalized rules are adopted to display organizational conformity to the “best practices” which would allegedly ensure the best performance. Thus, according to Meyer and Rowan (1977), there is a continuum where at one end, production organizations justify their management to relational networks in order to survive, and at the other end, institutionalized organizations rely on isomorphism and its features in order to survive. However, output measurement criteria are socially defined, thus subject to change.

The ceremonial burden over institutionalized organizations is the reason why the technical core is loosely coupled (Weick, 1976) to their exterior, visible side that displays ritual appearances. It is possible that ceremonial demands will harm efficiency, being considered costly or inefficient. Additionally, there may be a conflict in demands on ceremonial activities emanating from the environments in which the organization acts. To partially and quickly solve inconsistencies, Meyer and Rowan (1997) suggest that an organization could resist to ceremonial requirements, could conform to institutional prescriptions by isolating from the environment, could acknowledge that ceremonial activity is not fit to the efficiency criteria, and could promise reform. In order to solve these conflicts definitively,

they favour the decoupling of structural elements from activities, by, for example, delegating activities to professionals, and setting ambiguous or vacuous goals. Another way around these inconsistencies is a logic of confidence and good faith on employees and other constituents, believing that the organization is under control and performing as “planned”. An organizational structure, therefore, is able to persevere with this “toolkit”, assuming that everyone acts in good faith, that employees are working, managers are managing, and professionals are avoiding further questioning and inspection.

Concerning that every organization employs, according to Meyer and Rowan (1977), the same “toolkit” in order to respond to environmental pressures and institutional forces, DiMaggio and Powell (1983) endeavoured in studying reasons, precedents and consequences for institutional isomorphism, arguing that isomorphism happens in organizational fields, which emerge and structure themselves in an isomorphic fashion.

Organizational fields are “those organizations that, in the aggregate, constitute a recognized area of institutional life”, such as suppliers, consumers, agencies and organizations, which serve consumers with substitute products and services. The main difference between the field isomorphism and institutionalization from environmental isomorphism and institutionalization is that fields express connectedness and structural equivalence. Inspired by Schelling, (1978), DiMaggio and Powell (1983: 149) argue that “organizations in a structured field respond to an environment that consists of other organizations responding to their environment, which consists of organizations responding to an environment of organizations’ responses”. In other words, organizations in a field respond to themselves, mitigating diversity and generating isomorphism in order to attain legitimacy.

There are two different kinds of isomorphism, DiMaggio and Powell (1983) suggest: a competitive one, that employs weberian bureaucracy concepts to rationalize organization seeking market competitiveness and leadership; and an institutional one, which accounts – at least analytically - for political coercion and legitimacy, organizational mimetism in complex fields, and compliance to normative prescriptions from professionals. Specifically, the authors present

three additional and analytical kinds of institutional isomorphism: coercive, mimetic, and normative.

Coercive isomorphism emphasizes pressures from the state, regulatory agencies, and other organizations that sponsor and enable the functioning of a legitimacy-seeking organization, but require accountability from them by, for example, budgeting, reports and structural demands. The rationalization of state supervision over an organizational field constrains organizations to adopt the prescribed practices – ceremonially or not – often through performance indicators and future planning and forecast. Mimetic isomorphism, in turn, draws on uncertainty and complexity to explain organizational mimicry. Organizations model each other as a response to uncertainty, to ambiguity and lack of understanding. Modelling successful organizations may even grant legitimacy, just as the adoption of Japanese manufacturing techniques and principles by western organizations has proven. Lastly, normative isomorphism concerns professional pressures over organizations. Professionals go through formal education and legitimate themselves when they get a degree, after; they socialize and network with other professionals of the same area in their professional associations, for instance. Organizations then filter these individuals by requiring a certain degree to perform a certain job, or by hiring professionals working in the same field, but formerly in other organization. (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983)

Organizational isomorphism may or may not enhance organizational performance and success. It may enhance performance by granting legitimacy due to the adoption of institutionalized practices and compliance to myth and ceremony. In turn, it may not enhance performance because often, isomorphic practices adopted for of normative, coercive, or mimetic causes demand expenditures and labor force, being, thus, costly and not performance-oriented, once they do not observe the idiosyncrasies and particularities of each organization.

In the late 1970s, Meyer and Rowan (1977) have suggested some reasons for isomorphic behavior displayed by organizations, emphasizing societal forces. In 1983, DiMaggio and Powell expand their analysis, concluding that there may be both organizational and field-level predictors of isomorphism. They claim that organizational dependence on other organizations - regardless

of whether this dependence is funding related or even a supplier-buyer relationship -, uncertainty and ambiguity, staff filtering by academic credentials, and staff membership on professional networks are organizational-level predictors of isomorphism. On the other hand, the dependence of a field on a single source of support or on the state, the lack of different organizational models in a field, goal ambiguity and technological uncertainty, professionalization and structuration, are some of the field-level predictors of isomorphism.

2.1.3. Legitimacy

Legitimacy is a key concept in institutional theory, being one of the most important constructs for the institutional logics perspective. Suddaby, Bitektine, & Haack, (2017) have shed a light on the three legitimacy concepts since its conception dating from Weber (1968), arguing that legitimacy research and theory have divided in three main perspectives – legitimacy-as-property, legitimacy-as-process, and legitimacy-as-perception. Before this contemporary venture, Deephouse & Suchman (2008) have discussed legitimacy research and theory in a comprehensive attempt to review the concept's history and evolution, evaluating its sources, dimensions, and subjects; and also distinguishing legitimacy from status and reputation. Earlier, Suchman (1995) also offered a comprehensive review on legitimacy dividing it into the strategic and institutional approach, and analyzing the concept from his pragmatic, moral, and cognitive lenses, providing, afterwards, a framework for legitimacy management.

Suchman's (1995) study emphasized on making a bold point by stating that while a plethora of researchers use and investigate legitimacy, few were able to even define it. He defines legitimacy as “a generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate, within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions” (Suchman, 1995: 574). Further elaborating on legitimacy, he argues that organizations need legitimacy in order to continue surviving in the marketplace, being credible for their audiences, and seeking both active support – a more engaged and present kind of audience – and passive support – a not supportive audience, but one that does not question the organization's behavior.

Suggesting a solution for the construct clarity problem, Suchman (1995) divided legitimacy research into the strategic and institutional approach, the

former linked to symbolic management in order to conform to social rules and obtain legitimacy, treating the deployment of symbols and cues to the society as resources, whereas the latter concerned a set of beliefs that permeate the organization and determine its structure, culture and management – a close synonym to institutionalization. Each of these approaches to legitimacy were also subdivided, concerning for example, stakeholder relations and management, moral property, appropriateness and interpretability (Aldrich & Fiol, 1994).

Suchman (1995) offers three overarching types of legitimacy, termed pragmatic, moral, and cognitive. First, pragmatic legitimacy is based on self-interest, and might show behaviors based on an *exchange* legitimacy, whereby the audience supports the organization in a power-dependence fashion, based on an *influence* legitimacy, interested not in not a single exchange, but in a larger economic picture; or based on a *dispositional* legitimacy, a personification of organizations that “are like us” or “share our values” (Zucker, 1987). This dispositional kind of legitimacy may be deemed as “episodic” common interests with the organizational audience, or a more “continual” kind of “good character” displayed by the organization. Second, moral legitimacy is social, unconcerned with economic benefits, and related to the definitions of what is “good” and “bad” in a society. For this venture, organizations care about a *consequential* legitimacy, the judgement of their outcomes; *procedural* legitimacy, the judgement of the means by which the outcomes are generated; *structural* legitimacy, the judgement of the organizational structure allowing it to function and achieve its goals; and finally, *personal* legitimacy, relying on charismatic leadership and moral entrepreneurs (Weber, 1968). On a last point of view, legitimacy departs itself from self-interest and audience evaluation, and becomes a matter of cognition. Cognitive legitimacy depend on *comprehensibility* of organizational activities as made possible through former cultural models that explain the organization and its ventures. Comprehensibility might be oriented to the organization’s actions (predictability), or to the organizational essence (plausibility). *Taken-for-grantedness*, the most powerful source of legitimacy, is also a branch of cognitive legitimacy which renders a disordered reality manageable, and may be divided into action oriented *inevitability*, or essence oriented *permanence*. This typology of legitimacy, to Suchman (1995), is non-

exclusive. In other words, all sorts of legitimacy are at play in a real-world setting, without a given order or ranking of importance.

As an addition to exploring all the faces of legitimacy, Suchman (1995) also offers readers managerial applications on gaining, maintaining, and repairing lost legitimacy. The author states that, in order to gain legitimacy, organizations may conform to their environments (signaling cultural allegiance and conformity to institutional logics (Meyer & Rowan, 1977); select the environment of action; or even manipulate the environment. Maintaining legitimacy, easier than gaining or repairing it, boil down to two managerial tasks: the perception of change foreseeing the audience's reactions and the challenges likely to emerge; and the protection of past organizational accomplishments preventing miscues, replacing visible legitimation techniques for more delicate ones, and developing a "legitimacy stock" of audience support of organizational beliefs and behavior. At last, the quest for repairing legitimacy demands managers to strive for normality using denial, excusing it from guilt, justifying the deviance that led to legitimacy loss, explaining the causes, and restructuring the organization acknowledging the mistakes. Also important, Suchman (1995) say that managers must not panic in case of legitimacy withdrawal.

Further synthesis on organizational legitimacy was conducted by Deephouse & Suchman (2008), with an attempt to elucidate legitimacy to institutionalists. They support Weber's (1968) main role in introducing scholars to legitimacy, and credit Meyer & Rowan (1977) as the proponents of legitimacy in institutional studies. After constructing a historic background of legitimacy studies, the authors move on to defining the various dimensions and typologies employed for the description of the several types of legitimacy discovered in studies, examining Suchman's (1995) work and the blending of labels of isomorphism types into legitimacy types. Deephouse and Suchman (2008) recognize the state and society-at-large as sources of legitimacy, and introduce the media as a third one, acting not only as a source of legitimacy, because it influences and forms societal behavior and public opinion, but also an indicator of legitimacy. They introduce the legitimation concept as the "process by which the legitimacy of a subject changes over time", and follow Meyer and Rowan's (1977) account that the universal antecedents of legitimacy are technical

efficiency and conformity to the social myths and rituals, and that legitimacy ultimately results in organizational survival.

In order to enlighten researchers of social evaluation definitions, Deephouse and Suchman (2008) endeavor to explain the difference between the three most known concepts that describe the role of social evaluation in organization theory: legitimacy, status, and reputation. Despite similar concepts, the authors argue that legitimacy is a by-product of both reputation and status; is a dichotomous concept (you have it or not); generates homogenization and isophormism; and is fundamentally political. By stating that legitimacy is dichotomous, Deephouse and Suchman (2008) mean that there is no such thing as “organization A is more legitimate than organization B”. Instead, an organization may be legitimate to more audiences, in more activities, may be more clearly or firmly legitimate. Therefore, when thinking about success, legitimacy is both a dependent and independent variable – legitimacy may lead to success because it enables organizations to conquer resources through political power -, and success may generate legitimacy by increasing status and reputation, but success alone does not make an organization legitimate.

In order to garner and build legitimacy, Deephouse and Suchman (2008) propose that organizations should know what are their legitimacy agents (such as regulators and accreditation agency), their legitimacy mediators (such as the media and other mass communication outlets), and their legitimacy guidelines (other relevant actors and constructs embedded in society, such as rituals, language, values, norms and rules).

Most recently, Suddaby, Bitektine and Haack (2017) endeavored to bring construct clarity to legitimacy, asking and answering three questions: What is legitimacy? Where does legitimacy occur? And, how does legitimacy occur? Answering these questions, they found out that the body of research on legitimacy is split in three different perspectives: legitimacy-as-property, legitimacy-as-process, and legitimacy-as-perception.

The first perspective described by Suddaby and colleagues (2017) is a property-like approach to legitimacy, considering that it can be owned or possessed, as it were a kind of organizational resource, and it may also “spill over” to additional, circumscribing legitimacy objects, if not “stockpiled”.

Legitimacy-as-property researchers tend to functionally over-conceptualize legitimacy, causing an over-proliferation of different legitimacy types (Phillips & Malhotra, 2008). It is an organizational asset “bought” or “gained” from the environment with legitimate structure, practices and symbols (Suchman, 1995). Thus, one could measure legitimacy by looking at the population density – the more legitimate an organizational practice is, the more it will appear in a population of organizations -, at the media accounts and reports, and at regulator’s authorizations. Legitimacy occurs by fitting organizational practices and behavior in society – some researchers may call this fit “congruence”, “consistency”, “acceptance”, “cultural alignment”, “normative support”, and “consonance”. This kind of “fit” is achieved through isomorphism, decoupling, or high levels of performance.

Alternatively to legitimacy-as-property, process approach to legitimacy emphasizes legitimation, the “process by which cultural accounts from a larger social framework in which a social entity is nested are construed to explain and support the existence of that social entity” (J. Berger, Ridgeway, Fisek, & Norman, 1998). Legitimacy, in this sense, is a continuous process of negotiation, being built overtime, requiring maintenance and hard work. It occurs at every level of society, because legitimacy is socially constructed (P. L. Berger & Luckmann, 1966), through meaning-making and rhetoric, theorization – an abstraction of norms and rules into categories and specification -, and through identification – addressing the need to, at the same time, be isomorphic and having a unique identity. In sum, for Suddaby and colleagues (2017), legitimation and legitimacy-as-process may be defined as “a structured set or sets of formal and emergent activities that describe how an actor acquires affiliation with an existing social order”.

Finally, apart from legitimacy-as-property or legitimacy-as-process, the subjective components of each one of these approaches, such as property of judgements of appropriateness, and processes of judgement-making. Therefore, legitimacy-as-perception emphasizes the role of the individual, because they perceive organizations and elevate their perceptions to other levels. Rather than being individual-focused, legitimacy-as-perception is interested in the interplay between individual perceptions and the processes that take them to the macro

levels. Thus, for this body of knowledge, legitimacy lies on individual judgements, be them their own, or adopted from others. Whereas the individual perception provides an appropriateness assessment, collectives and aggregates provide validity in the form of active endorsement, or passive authorization. These individual perceptions may be termed as the “microfoundations” of legitimacy, which demand the recognition of several different legitimacy judgements at the individual level, and their interplay until they come to a more macro-level isomorphism, for example. This fact is interesting because, as Suddaby and colleagues (2017), some evaluators may silence their own opinions to favour others because they feel outnumbered by society, fearing social sanctions, or even because they do not really care about the outcomes.

2.1.4. The Institutional Logics Perspective

The institutional logics perspective is a metatheory derived from the main tenets of institutional theory, fit to analyze macro, meso, and micro levels of organizations. Despite the concept of an institutional logic was first published in 1985 by Alford and Friedland (1985), their 1991 essay (Friedland and Alford, 1991) became the seminal paper for institutional logics studies, where they inaugurate the view that society was being left out of institutional studies that sought to explain organizational behavior. They argue that the most trending theories being studied in organizational analysis were neglecting the power of society by stating that the individual is capable of deciding rationally in order to maximize utility for him/herself. Showing that most of the things individuals and organizations do - and how they are done - are unexplainable by tangible, or numerical formulas, Friedland and Alford (1991) argue that most aspects of our lives do not come with a price tag, meaning we cannot quantify or label society, fields, or individuals.

The institutional logics perspective is defined by Thornton and Ocasio (1999: 804) as ‘the socially constructed, historical patterns of cultural symbols and material practices, including assumptions, values and beliefs, by which individuals and organizations provide meaning to their daily activity, organize time and space, and reproduce their lives and experiences’. After the suggestion of institutional logics by Friedland and Alford (1991), this concept remained underdeveloped for about ten years. Some seminal exceptions are Thornton and

Ocasio's (1999) research on the interaction between power and the dominant institutional logics – as originally “conceived” by Friedland and Alford - in the higher education publishing industry; and also Haveman and Rao's (1997) argument for the action of institutional logics acting upon the thrift industry, but relabeling them as the “master rules of society”.

Research led by the new institutionalism, and most notably, research on isomorphism were trending by then. Levy (2006) argues that isomorphism theories and the new institutionalism has shown not to be fit to analyze the current world changes, particularly the alleged higher-education shift to market. He argues that the reshaping of states, professions, and markets – what he deems as “forces”, and what Thornton (2004) calls logics – cannot be explained by the sought for legitimacy alone, nor by the isomorphism tenets. Furthermore, isomorphism and legitimacy alone may be useful to explain stability, but organizational institutionalism, for Berman (2012), has moved to explain change.

An alternative yet similar and contemporary text to the institutional logics perspective (despite being published in French earlier) was the book by Boltanski and Thévenot (1991) who have discussed about the economies of worth, a blend of polity, worlds, and compromises, that seek to enlighten our understanding of the social structure of our lives. In other words, individuals use polities, legitimate arguments and principles, applied to the subjects of their speech, invoking the worth of their words. They illustrate an example by offering the following tale: “at home, to get his children's attention, a father presents a glowing picture of his ability to direct a project at work” (p.227). This mixture of different “logics” in just one sentence causes discomfort for the reader, because mixed elements of worth are blended in an ultimate goal pursued through unusual means. As Thornton and Ocasio (2008) would say, what is legitimate, changes from one setting to another. Of course, the children are not interested in their father's ability to direct a project, nor at a glowing picture of him. Boltanski and Thévenot (1991) use this illustration to show that the six polities they have theorized about: the inspired, the domestic, of fame, the civic, the market, and the industrial, change according to the setting where the speech takes place. Looking at their suggested polities, it remains clear the similarity with the institutional orders proposed by Friedland and Alford (1991), and by Thornton (2004). Boltanski and Thévenot's (1991)

work, therefore, shares with the institutional logics perspective a view of culture shaping actor's agency, however, neglecting the structural and normative components proposed by institutional logics.

Cloutier and Langley (2013) have provided a broad conceptualization of both logics and economies of worth, asking for a more interconnected view of both. Friedland (2015, 2018) also claims for the inclusion of this so-called french pragmatist sociology fundaments in institutional logics. These last authors argue that Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury's (2012) institutional logics perspective has left out the substances that underlie institutional orders, such as democracy, capitalism, and loyalty. These values-substances, for Klein (2015) are tightly interwoven not only to Boltanski and Thevenot's (1991) economies of worth, but also with Castoriadis' (1975) social imaginary.

Conceptions of power, status, and prestige are defined by the dominant institutional logics, as they create the 'rules of the game' for maintaining, conquering, and destroying power. Actors rely on institutional logics as a framework of action to conquer power by behaving accordingly to the cultural norms and symbols, and by doing it, they also replicate and reinforce the logics at play. Attention is also a major component prescribed by institutional logics, because it sets what is legitimate and appropriate behavior, and what are the alternative ways of action (Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury, 2012; Thornton and Ocasio, 2008)

In the institutional logics perspective, the elements that constrain are the same that enable action. Change, for instance, is at the same time constrained by the dominant institutional logic, but enabled by other logics in the inter-institutional system. The interplay of institutional commands within the institutional logics acting upon the different fields are enablers of change by the means of the institutional entrepreneurs, structural overlaps, sequence of events, and contending logics. Institutional entrepreneurs act not only materially, with access to unique resources, but mainly culturally, by transferring meanings, symbols, and practices from one institutional logic to another. Structural overlaps happen when different cultures are forced into association. The sequence of events show a path dependent history of events that shape culture and, consequently, institutional logics. Practically any phenomenon that causes a

slight shift in the interpretation of symbols – feature of the social imaginary - in the availability of resources, or even in the sources of power, can develop a sequence of events that affect institutional logics, because of the structural overlap. Lastly, competition per se does not explain change in institutional logics, but it may be a consequence or a precursor. (Thornton and Ocasio, 2008; Klein, 2015, Friedland, 2018)

In order to encourage research using the institutional logics perspective, Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury (2012) offer an ideal types framework of metaphors, legitimacy, authority, and identity sources, and other building blocks that represent the seven institutional orders coined by Thornton (2004) (Table 1), who has built this framework to investigate the logics of market and family in higher education publishing industry, using the transposition of the categorical elements suggested in the Y-axis. The transposition of categorical elements within and across institutional orders may shed a light in institutional contradictions and overlap, once they offer a framework for evaluating how different or similar behaviors act when subject to different logics.

Categories	Family	Community	Religion	State	Market	Profession	Corporation
Root Metaphor	Family as a firm	Common boundary	Temple as a bank	State as a redistribution mechanism	Transaction	Profession as a relational network	Corporation as a hierarchy
Sources of Legitimacy	Unconditional Loyalty	Unity of will. Belief in trust and reciprocity.	Importance of faith and sacredness in economy and society	Democratic participation	Share price	Personal expertise	Market position of the firm
Sources of authority	Patriarchal domination	Commitment to community values and ideology	Priesthood charisma	Bureaucratic domination	Shareholder activism	Professional association	Board of directors and top management
Sources of Identity	Family reputation	Emotional connection. Ego satisfaction and reputation	Association with deities	Social and economic class	Faceless	Association with quality of craft. Personal reputation	Bureaucratic roles
Basis of Norms	Membership in household	Group Membership	Membership in congregation	Citizenship in nation	Self-interest	Membership in guild and association	Employment in firm
Basis of attention	Status in household	Personal investment in group	Relation to supernatural	Status of interest group	Status in market	Status in profession	Status in hierarchy
Basis of strategy	Increase family honor	Increase status and honor of members and practices	Increase religious symbolism of natural events	Increase community good	Increase efficiency profit	Increase personal reputation	Increase size and diversification of the firm
Informal control mechanisms	Family politics	Visibility of actions	Worship of calling	Backroom politics	Industry analysts	Celebrity professionals	Organizational culture
Economic system	Family capitalism	Cooperative capitalism	Occidental capitalism	Welfare capitalism	Market capitalism	Personal capitalism	Managerial capitalism

Table 1: The Institutional Logics Perspective Ideal Types Framework

The institutional logics perspective encompasses a change and stability metatheory, composed by some critical tenets that enable researchers to employ this approach. Thornton and Ocasio (2008) suggest the use of five principles:

embedded agency, society as an inter-institutional system, institutions grounded in material and cultural foundations, institutions as multiple levels, and the historical contingency of institutions.

Agency, since the beginning of institutional theory, has been a source of disagreement and doubt within institutionalists. This is because theoretically, and arguing for it in a simplistic fashion, institutions shape individual behavior, fact that mitigates the possibility for agency and change, explaining only stability. In the institutional logics perspective, agency is embedded in institutional logics, which acts both as an enabler and as a constrainer of behavior and agency. Because institutions are socially constructed (Berger & Luckmann, 1967) by both individuals and organizations, agency plays a major role in institutional change. Individuals and organizations can shape their institutional environment, according not to their rational decisions, but by entrepreneurship and creativity, structural overlap, event sequencing, and even institutional complexity.

The institutional logics perspective views society as an inter-institutional system, with a multiplexity of logics acting upon every level and providing different frames of action, agency and rationality – statement that contradicts the argument of isomorphism and homogeneity in organizational fields. By this meta-theoretical principle, the seven institutional orders laid out by Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury (2012) are refracted through field-level mechanisms, generating additional institutional logics that compose the constellations of logics foreseen by Goodrick and Reay (2011). Organizations respond to their field-level logics seeking legitimacy, and these responses shape the constellations of logics in the field, that in turn, will shape the institutional orders.

Institutions are shaped and sustained by both material and cultural practices, and this may be why theories that overemphasize material, market mechanisms, ignoring cultural elements, fail to explain society and fields. Culture is double edged, composed by symbolic and normative dimensions. Friedland and Alford (1991) explained the symbolic role of culture, arguing that they are venues to organize reality – time and space -, being both mediums of action and sources of behavior that reproduce these symbols. They also argue that agents can manipulate and reinterpret the meaning of symbols, and other agents may defend the original meaning of these symbols, leading to tensions in institutions

by branding one symbol with diverse meanings and implications. The normative edge of culture in an institutional logics perspective is not consequentialist, but stemming from experiences of appropriateness, with a great diversity of principles, and a probabilistic adhesion to the dominant behavior.

One of the ways one could grasp the Institutional Logics' demands and pressures is to realize what the collective identity looks like (Polletta and Jasper, 2001). The way a group of people, whether at an organization or even in a set of organizations, or in their family, their church or any place of cult and reverence, make sense of reality, obey to norms and interact with each other – a cognitive, normative, and emotional perspective of culture compliance - is a major feature of the prevailing institutional logic. Social interactions lead to collective identity, socially constructed by the way people and groups cooperate, integrate and protect themselves of diverse paths of behavior. There are many collective identities to which one individual, one organization, or one field respond. The institutional logics perspective conceives society as an inter-institutional system, with diverse levels that present different tensions and commands from logics. Prevailing, dominant logics are institutionalized collective identities, because the identification with the collective is the same as identification with the prevailing logic. In this sense, organizational fields' institutional logics may be shaped not only by the societal institutional logics, but also by the individual and organizational ones. (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008).

Other fashions of capturing institutional logics are posited in Reay and Jones' (2016) essay, in which they describe three different techniques for studying institutional logics: 1) pattern deducing, primarily using with large amounts of data in interpretive research, by examining semantic contexts and co-occurrence of words, emphasizing the breadth of documents and capturing historical shifts; 2) pattern matching, which emphasizes extant research to build ideal types of institutional logics that will be "matched" with data, and facilitates comparison with the scholarly community's work; and 3) pattern inducing, where raw data is privileged through researcher's interpretation and sensegiving, enabling the retention of the context and capturing small nuances.

2.1.5. Institutional Complexity

Institutional logics, as aforementioned, are guidelines and frameworks of action prescribed by important constituents over organizations. Frequently, practices prescribed by one of these constituents will be in conflict with those prescribed by further stakeholders. This phenomenon is deemed as institutional complexity. For Greenwood, Raynard, Kodeih et al (2011), “organizations face institutional complexity whenever they confront incompatible prescriptions from multiple institutional logics”. On the other hand, institutional logics are not always in conflict, for some of them may even reinforce each other (Greenwood, Diaz, Li, Lorente, 2010). Therefore, logics are hardly fully incompatible. Instead, they are conflicting in some of their prescriptions related to some norms, rules, and practices. This combination of prescriptions from logics is frequently addressed by scholarly work, according to Greenwood et al (2011), which suggest that organizations render their forms, logics, practices, and identities, hybrid.

The incompatibility between and among logics has been defined by Pache and Santos (2010) as different directives related to goal legitimacy or to means of action. They note that, while different commands emanating from logics over means may generate jurisdictional issues with professionals and groups – based on Dunn and Jones (2010) findings -, institutional complexity over goals has a stronger impact in organizations, once it may put support from institutional constituents at risk. With these contributions, Pache and Santos (2010) propose that not only stating institutional complexity in a given field is important, but also noting and forwarding that both the degree in which complexity is experienced, and the sources of institutional conflict, are significant to deepen scholarly understanding of the ability of organizations to respond to institutional demands. Goodrick and Salancik (1996), in turn, emphasize the specificity of the prescriptions from institutional logics because it reveals whether or not the organization may respond with discretion. They argue that the more specific the demands, the less room available for discretion – reducing the organizational ability to reconcile different logics by decoupling, framing, or blending structures and practices (Elsbach & Sutton, 1992)

Organizations experience institutional complexity from different prescriptions of logics flowing from their organizational fields – which, in their turn,

refract societal institutional orders. Mature fields, for instance, seem to be more stable because they have already solved institutional conflicts, causing lower complexity over organizations who need to comply with more predictable sets of logics, lowering discretion in the one hand, but enabling organizational learning in order to respond appropriately to contending logics in the other. Mature fields tend to be similar to each other, and might be differentiated by identifying their fragmentation, formal structuring, and centralization. Field fragmentation may increase the degree of institutional complexity experienced by an organization through different institutional demands from a wide range of constituents, organizations, or actors from which they depend on for legitimation or resources. The formal structuring of these constituents' prescriptions is important, however, its effects on the degree of institutional demands on organizations is unknown. Greenwood, Raynard, Kodeih et al (2011) suggest that the high formality of demands may both increase institutional complexity, because prescriptions are clearer and thus, more controllable; and decrease institutional complexity, because it allows the organization to plan and appraise which strategic response is most appropriate. On the other side, low levels of formalization may enable organizational discretion, once the institutional directives are not intense enough when compared to formal ones. Lastly, centralization seems to bring unification and standards to organizational forms and practices, reducing complexity because different institutional prescriptions are solved at a higher level, making the rules "more clear, better specified, more uniform and integrated than before" (Meyer, Scott & Strang, 1987). Without centralization, organizations would need to prioritize institutional demands.

Emergent fields are uncertain, ambiguous, and permeable, because there are not widely spread norms and rules, opening up avenues for the action of entrepreneurs or allowing actors to bring demands, practices, and ideas that are habitual in other logics, from other fields. In this sense, organizations might deal with a high degree of institutional complexity, because the demands from institutional logics are inconsistent and unpredictable, or yet, they might have to respond to a low degree of institutional complexity, because the demands may be ambiguous or unclear, allowing decoupling and framing, for example

Apart from field structures and characteristics, organizations do not experience equal amounts of institutional complexity, even when in the same field. Greenwood, Raynard, Marquis et al (2011) advance that some organizational features, such as its field position, structure, ownership, governance, and identity may have a role on how organizations experience institutional complexity.

Regarding field position, Leblebici, Salancik, Copay & King (1991) noticed that organizations in the periphery of their fields were less prone to adhere to institutionalized practices because of the lack of enforcement. In this sense, peripheral organizations might respond differently to institutional logics than their central counterparts since they are less embedded in the field and thus not so mindful of institutional prescriptions or liable of enforcement. Peripheral organizations might consider that institutional demands are overwhelming, and are more likely to ignore them when resources are scarce, for example, having more discretionary ability and flexibility to respond to complexity. Their central counterparts, generally older, larger in size, and with more status are immersed in institutional requirements. Organizational size and age might increase the need to respond to institutional complexity because they are “visible exemplars” (Wry, Lounsbury & Greenwood 2011), however, these organizations may even escape regulation because of their size, being somewhat immune to institutional demands. Finally, organizations placed not at the periphery, nor at the center, but right over the interstices of fields, or yet, boundary-spanning organizations, may not only experience an increase in institutional pressures because of their exposition to different fields, but also may feel decreasing complexity considering that they are able to forecast complexity.

Organizations are not just passive receptors and submissive to institutional logics. Instead, for Binder (2007), organizations are structures of sensemaking, which interpret and enact institutionalized norms and rules. Actors responsible for decision-making interpret the institutional environment and set their own priorities that will be revealed in organizational actions. Zilber (2002) argues that actors are carriers who represent institutional logics of their preference within the organization. In this sense, institutional demands are not imposed haphazardly, they are rather represented by organizational members.

Thus, the larger the *mélange* of professions and actors within an organization, the more complexity it may expect to bring upon. Organizational coalitions may develop and accentuate even more both the tensions experienced by internal pressures of logics, and the repertoire of responses available. Actors who are closely related to professional associations, unions, state regulators, and further organizations that may perform an institutional enforcement activity are generally the representatives of field-level logics within the organization (Binder 2007), and similarly, the structural positioning of the actors, such as their influence over employees, and the power bestowed by them, may mitigate their ability to make their demands enforced (Zald & Lounsbury 2010). Additionally, departments that require more technical and less social activities from actors, safeguarding them from external influences, may experience less pressures to comply to logics, in contrast with departments such as marketing and sales, activities that are inherently social and are frequently in touch with other field-level organizations that may enforce institutional logics. Organizations might attempt to shield their employees from external pressures through internal socialization (Smets, Morris & Greenwood 2012), reducing the championing of different logics within the organization.

Power is a well documented concept in organizational studies, and is also a concern when responding to institutional complexity. Actors are important, as aforementioned, however, ownership structures and governance may be stronger to determine which institutional pressures will receive attention. The influence of groups, whether owners or governors, shape institutional responses according to their own interests. Goodrick and Salancik (1996) suggest that hospital owners tend to favor market logics when ambiguity is high and demands from institutional logics are unclear and conflicting. Miller, Le Breton-Miller & Lester (2010), in turn, advance that family business tend to be more influenced by community logics than by market. Walsh, Weber & Margolis (2003) say that Catholic universities are selective in terms of which logic they favour; and Lounsbury (2001) show that universities which receive public funds tend to adopt responses that favour state logics. Non-Profits are distinct in their responses to logics because they need universal support to survive and secure resources – in these cases, governance and politics are emphasized.

Despite studies concerning identity and institutional logics are still emerging, Kraatz & Block (2008) have argued that identity precedes institutional logics. There are two levels for identity: On the one hand, the institutional level is characterized as a statement of belonging to a given social category – stating that “we are a bank”, or “we are a university” (Greenwood, Raynard, Kodeih et al 2011). These labels are widespread in society, as are their roles in the social structures, and the expectations placed on their activities (Kennedy, 2008). This membership to a particular social category determines the extent of discretion an organization might employ when facing institutional complexity. On the other hand, identity relates more to differentiation among the institutional membership category, influencing, therefore, the ranking of institutional logics and the set of considered responses. In this sense, the responses to institutional complexity may depend on the alignment of the organizational identity to the different institutional prescriptions.

Institutional logics may manifest themselves in the field, however, responses to institutional complexity and conformity to norms are performed by organizations who adopt strategies in order to choose behaviors that are most appropriate given the pressures and tensions caused by logics. Pache & Santos (2010) offer a framework suggesting that responses to multiple logics will depend on the power and influence of both individuals and interest groups within the organization, who will choose which logics to conform to, and which logics to neglect. Alternatively, Kraatz & Block (2008) suggest that organizations are able to choose among four alternatives: resisting to institutional prescriptions, balancing institutional demands, building a durable and stark identity that would eliminate institutional pressures flowing from the field; or compartmentalizing identities by decoupling structures. Structures and practices might be shaped as a result of compliance to institutional logics. For Greenwood, Raynard, Kodeih et al (2011) the organizational ambidexterity debate might shed some light on structural adaptation as a response to institutional complexity. Still on ambidexterity, Simsek (2009) argues that organizations may adopt two different kinds of hybrid structures: the blended structure, which layers and combines practices prescribed by logics; and the structurally differentiated structure, wherein organizational units manage different logics.

Blended hybrids, Pache & Santos (2010) argue, might get the best of both worlds: not only responding favourably to logics so that constituents support the organization, but also performing effectively. Therefore, Boxenbaum & Jonsson (2008) suggest that studies on blended hybrids generally view organizations as “inhabited institutions” (Hallet & Ventresca, 2006), therefore overemphasizing agency and willingness towards responses to logics, and overlooking the taken-for-granted, cognitive limitations. Battilana & Dorado (2010), stressing the relevance of human resources in organizations, put forward the ideal that a strong, positive identity may benefit the adherence to a blended structure, since it maintains the organization isolated from isomorphic pressures.

Universities are good examples for structural differentiated hybrids, because they gather plenty of professionals balancing different institutional prescriptions, such as professional, market, religious, and community objectives. Indeed, Universities are expected to showcase structural differentiation because of their own identity, being legitimate because the different sciences, kinds of knowledge, and professional orders, are withheld. University’s “schools” must be simultaneously loosely coupled from their bureaucratic centre (Weick, 1976), and integrated with their variants. Greenwood et al (2011: 356) say that “the paradox [...] is that designing the division of labor to align with multiple institutional logics in order to secure multiple institutional endorsements may result in highly conservative and fragmented organizations”. With this limitation in mind, scholars tend to appeal to the “entrepreneur”, or, “ambidextrous leader”, whose function is to claim membership to multiple institutional categories based on their sensitivity to the prescriptions of multiple institutional logics prescriptions.

2.2. Higher Education

Higher education organizations are an ensemble of communities favoring different logics. Apart from being home to thousands of faculty members, undergraduate and graduate students, and administrative personnel, there are almost infinite stakeholders to it. Weisbrod, Ballou and Asch (2008) argue that a college education is almost as basic as healthcare. It is simultaneously a public service offered by the state, a private profitable endeavor, and a massive non-profit venture. It is simultaneously secular and religious, competitive and

collaborative, finance and mission driven, traditional and innovative. One of the most important and early of these kind of paradoxes is that of liberal knowledge *versus* applied knowledge. Kerr (2001) presents readers with a comprehensive “argument” between Cardinal Newman (1886) who leaned towards the approach that knowledge is its own end, and Abraham Flexner (1994) who believed that knowledge is a problem-solving resource. The Multiversity, suggests Kerr, was a natural consequence of conflicting epistemological and ontological beliefs like this. Beginning with the competition between Plato’s Academy, the Sophists, and the Pythagoreans, these knowledge centers stood strong until the middle ages when they became oligarchical conservative organizations. In 1809, the University of Berlin broke this paradigm introducing the concepts of *lernfreiheit*, the freedom to learn, and *lehrfreiheit*, the freedom to teach. In 1876, Johns Hopkins was founded with a strong focus to serve society in Flexner’s ways, and from 1869 to 1909, Charles W. Eliot reformed Harvard University to emphasize and strengthen the graduate and professional schools as well as research, introducing a new concept in the higher education – the electives system. The land grant movement that emerged due to the 1862 and 1890 Morrill Acts, was essential to support university growth in the United States, offering states federal lands for sale and fund-raising to invest in practical teaching in response to the industrial revolution. This enabled the remaining universities and those created afterward to follow Harvard’s and Johns Hopkins’ lead. Over time, research institutes and centers were created, university presses and peer-reviewed journals followed, and the “academic ladder” succeeded. After Eliot, A. Lawrence Lowell became Harvard’s president and strengthened the undergraduate courses. According to Kerr (2001), a consensus was reached at this point. The undergraduate courses should resemble Plato’s Academy and the British style; the graduate houses should follow Pythagoras and the German, and a brand-new American way was created for the “lesser professions” (lesser than law and medicine) based on the sophists.

The union of all these communities and interests is what Kerr (2001) labels as the multiversity. As Robert M. Hutchins, former president of the University of Chicago would say, the modern university is composed of schools and departments under the same heating system, or as Kerr would put it, a group

of individual professors sharing a common grievance over parking. The president of the university must govern this city of intellect, not by just adjusting the heat or inaugurating underground parking, but by regarding every fractionalized interest in play, centralizing power emanating from the students, faculty, public authority, external influences, and from the administration. Each of the inhabitants of the multiversity hold a particular ethos, face particular challenges, and play particular roles. The student has been subject of many scholarly research regarding his cultural dimensions and behavior within the university (Milem, 1998; Bahr, 2010). Student freedom was enhanced with the ability to choose the courses they would take on the elective system created by Eliot at Harvard, which also determined the university's priority areas of growth and enabled administrators to award the best teachers. Teachers and Researchers, who share some special parking slots and window stickers with the administration folks hold an uncanny similarity to the mediaeval *oratores*, *bellatores*, and *laboratores*, respectively. In some cases, a professor's routine is similar to that of a grand corporate executive: managing contracts of technology transfer, leading teams of research and teaching assistants, travelling overseas to big meetings, defining criteria for admission, conducting examinations, and approving programs and further degree-granting activities (Kerr, 2001). A big counterpoint to Kerr's (2001) multiversity is Ortega y Gasset's (1944) teaching focused university, one that civilized and matured, offered emotions and purpose for undergraduate students in the first place, offering professional and vocational education in the second. Other functions, uses, and missions of the university should be, as Ortega y Gasset (1944), in addition. For Scott (2006), Kerr's multiversity balances liberally Newman's (1873), Flexner's (1994) and Ortega y Gasset's (1944) universities, not excluding, but adding uses to it for the benefit of society.

In the beginning of the 20th century, higher education organizations had a seemingly stable background. Considering their status of the leading "institution" in the west, the government funded the universities and their researchers. Later on, this funding fountain went shallower and shallower, once they were criticized, as Gumpert (2000) puts it, by their spiraling costs. Along with this, she argues, bundled the increased regulation and coordination of universities by regulatory agencies, further financial controls, and accountability

demands. The one and only way out of such a budget cut was the market, who was willing to pay for technology and knowledge transfer. This “crisis” of the public higher education, along with the shortage of taxpayer’s money – and their unwillingness to support public universities – facilitated the shift from a public view to a private, both for profit and not for profit, solution. Levy (2006) advocates that the private higher-ed organizations came from below, fulfilling the demands of students and businesses. He argues that this private surge is evidence for the “blossoming of society”, limiting the state’s power in order to address the market demands. One could ask about the state’s role in regulating this market, and Levy (2006) proposes that private higher-ed organizations rise upon legal vacuums *a priori*, and are regulated afterwards. Proposing an alternative point of view, Berman (2012) suggests that it is since the 50’s that higher-ed organizations show market-like behaviors, which were increased dramatically in the 70’s due to regulations and deregulations on policies. She argues that institutional logics play a major role in this setting, because once certain logics are present in the institutional setting of a field, actors may support their practices in an experimental fashion. This is because they are able to innovate, and act according to other logics that are not dominant within their field (Friedland and Alford, 1991). Once this innovation is seen as a way to grasp hidden advantages, or is promoted by an institutional entrepreneur, it may become institutionalized. Because changes in policy trigger practices grounded in alternative logics, providing strength and momentum for its dominance in the field, university administrators still tend to experiment with market logics. (Berman, 2012).

Administrative concerns, for this matter, are somewhat distant worries from the core of the university. Managing the Multiversity may require a president with a plethora of idiosyncratic features, argues Kerr (2001). He is

expected to be a friend of the students, a colleague of the faculty, a good fellow with the alumni, a sound administrator with the trustees, a good speaker with the public, an astute bargainer with the foundations and federal agencies, a politician with the state legislature, a friend of industry, labor, and agriculture, a persuasive diplomat with donors, a champion of education generally, a supporter of the professions, a spokesman to the press, a scholar in his own right, a public servant at the state and national levels, a devotee of opera and football equally, a decent

human being, a good husband and father, an active member of a church.

University presidents might be autocratic giants, such as Benjamin Jowett, who coined summed up higher education management in three lessons: “Never retract. Never explain. Get it done and let them howl” (Tollemache, 1904). However, bureaucracy flourished, universities changed, and now presidents must fit their surroundings – not the other way around – managing and deciding by consensus. The multiversity follows a model similar to the United Nations (Kerr, 2001), wherein power and influence is distributed in communities of students, alumni, faculty or industries, for example, that coexist within the same structure, struggling for their interests and power, mediated by the president seeking peace among the parts and striving to succeed and progress. However, the multiversity poses yet another paradox: the balance between their missionary values and tenets, and its finances.

Universities, for Weisbrod and colleagues (2008), perform three social missions: Teaching, Research, and Public Service. First, teaching has been the main goal of most higher education organizations, and perhaps the one mission that provides the most benefits for society at large. Second, research in the American university is mostly basic, enabling the work of applied sciences institutes, foundations, and corporations who seek for the universities’ technology transfer offices. In Shattock’s (2011) perspective, success for the university is equal to its research reputation, because teaching tends to reflect research efforts, according to UK rankings. Lastly, the public service mission implies that the goal of higher education is not merely to provide workforce or to increase earnings through classes and research papers, but to provide development and benefits to the community – yet the university’s core business is, still, research and teaching, and being successful in these core businesses enables success in a broader social mission (Shattock, 2011). These three missions of the university are socially desired and necessary, yet they are not profitable, which leads to the stake the state holds in higher education, its subsidization in the major unprofitable areas. Kerr (2001) argues that the ultimate power over the university comes from the Public Authority, but he notes that this power is fortunately not exercised in an ultimate fashion, besides from the provision of funding.

Because of the maxim “no margin, no mission”, universities need to seek revenue sources in order to fulfill their role in society. Of course, the state plays a large role in providing for the university, but not large enough. Therefore, managers must make adjustments in several areas, such as setting tuition pricing dynamically according to the student’s course choices and social background, asking for donations for the endowment funds, establishing technology transfer offices to promote a closer link with the industry, creating new ways of fulfilling the mission, such as the web-based distance majors and adult continuing education, and even making marketing agencies and consultants strategic partners in selling higher education. In order to fulfill its financial needs, university presidents advance that the university borders are blurred because the “borders of the campus are the borders of the state”, so the external and semi-external influences, such as donors, business associations, trade unions, schools, and the media, who have legitimate interests in the university, feel encouraged to engage with it. Along with these initiatives that increase net revenues, costs need to be reduced, an objective achieved mostly by hiring part-time, non-tenure track faculty. This mission-money debate has more far-reaching consequences, once some universities, in a marketing effort, transform their mission statements into ambiguous and vague, ‘fitness for purpose’ slogans, without a strategic purpose. (Weisbrod et al, 2008; Shattock, 2011)

Regardless of the strategies universities administrators deploy in order to achieve financial emancipation, there is not a certain path to success or sustainable revenues. Shattock (2011) shows evidence that suggest that academic success is self-reinforcing, and relies much on momentum of positive changes and attitudes, instead of isolated actions and managerial prescriptions. Birnbaum (2000) compares the higher-education sector with business firms to prove the point that these endeavors are somewhat like water and oil – different in essence. Of the 12 largest private or state-owned companies in the US in 1900, only one continued to exist. However, all of the largest universities in 1900 are still alive and kicking currently. Locke and Spender (2011) also posit that the quest for efficiency in the university is the major mystique of american managerialism, a different caste of professionals that are empowered to prescribe their ideology. Sporn (1996) emphasizes that, in order to prosper in

the long-run, universities must be flexible enough to adjust to the shifts in economy, state, demography, technology, and globalization. Not by coincidence, Weick (1976) had already depicted that the loosely coupled structure of educational organizations enabled them to be more flexible and respond better to environmental tensions and pressures. Loose coupling relates to the common qualities and features displayed by all of the best-rated universities in the UK according to Shattock (2011: 21), such as

“a strong organizational culture, a strongly competitive approach both internally and externally, an adaptability to the environment without changing fundamental identity, a willingness to take bold decisions, a conservative approach to finance in general and an open collegial approach to decision making which does not flinch from constructive confrontation”.

Gumport and Snyderman (2006) agree with the aforementioned literature by showing that in the United States, universities are considered both a public, national good, and a private asset - a similar background found in Brazil, once they are expected to provide for the society through the development of knowledge, workforce, and, *par conséquent*, the economy. In Brazil, public universities do not charge tuition from their students, with the goal of making higher education a free, government provided service, and away from the worldwide trend of cost-sharing (Johnstone, 2004). Unlike United States and other countries, higher-education admissions are limited to a national examination (The High School National Examination - ENEM), and in some cases, by a standardized test, developed by the HEI itself. Student's GPAs, extracurriculars, background, character, recommendation letters and else do not matter for admission.

Because the public university offers free tuition, only the best scorers on ENEM and on the university's standardized test – generally the higher income students coming from private secondary organizations - are admitted. This fact has led to a series of affirmative policies, such as racial and social-economical quotas systems, whereby students who are of black descent, who came from our weak public secondary education, or who admit a financial hypo sufficiency, are granted with half of the places in Brazilian public universities. These policies have caused for-profit and nonprofit HEIs to thrive, because admissions in public

universities are strictly limited in number and astonishingly competitive. As predicted by Geiger (1991), private higher education organizations arise because the public universities do not supply enough for its demand.

Geiger's (1991) statement is consistent with the total of public and private higher-ed organizations. In 2016, Brazil had more than 2400 colleges and universities, of which 87% were private. Another evidence of the large dimension of the Brazilian private higher education market is the number of enrollments: more than 8 million students were enrolled in higher education programs in 2016, of which 75% chose a private organization. Despite the astounding size of the private sector, public universities are individually larger and more comprehensive than their private counterparts are, providing a more research-intensive agenda, as well as providing the traditional, not market-oriented majors, such as education, philosophy, sociology, mathematics, among others. Of all students graduating in universities – excluding other kinds of higher-education organizations, such as colleges, community colleges and other degree-granting organizations – 55% did so in public. (Inepdata, 2018).

This kind of information is important to stress the relevance of another American policy described by Gumpert and Snyderman (2006): the provision of student aid across the country. Analogous to the Higher Education Act (HEA), the Brazilian Program University for All (PROUNI) was sanctioned in 2004, granting tuition to students with low familiar income in every private, for or not for profit HEI. Whereas the HEA poses, according to Gumpert and Snyderman (2006), significant restrictions, PROUNI offers scholarships to students who have studied in public schools with evidence of financial income not superior to one and a half minimum wages – defined by the government – for full tuition grants, or up to three minimum wages for funding 25% or 50% of the students' tuition. The adherence of private organizations to the PROUNI is encouraged by the offering of tax benefits and exemptions. Notwithstanding, the Brazilian government has also sanctioned the FIES – Student Loans Program, which is a financing of up to 100% of the tuition paid by the student in as far as 12 years, similar to the American federal loans to post-secondary education. There are also some colleges and universities who have their own financing policies and programs,

acting as a financial agent and adhering even more to a managerialist approach to higher-education.

Digital technologies are currently being used worldwide to make higher education accessible for anyone. In Brazil, there was a recent outbreak of distance courses that provide graduate degrees for those who complete the programs from their own computers. Graduate programs such as Business Management, Production Engineering, Philosophy, Journalism, Pedagogy, and Sociology are offered through distance learning platforms, with both recorded and live video lectures. The knowledge assessment tests are taken personally, in any facility assigned by the HEI. Gumport and Snyderman (2006) have stated that those digital technologies may turn instruction into a commodity, since there is no apparent need for a skin-and-boned teacher anymore when organizations have thousands of video-lectures stored on their servers, with an infinitely lower operational cost; and mainly because it takes out the formation part of information, reducing HE to professional training, instead of a citizenship sponsor. They were indeed right, because in 2015, circa 20% of all graduating students did not study in a higher-education facility, choosing to graduate by means of virtual education (Inepdata, 2018).

When it comes to post-graduation degrees, Brazil does not differ from the worldwide trend (Gumport & Snyderman, 2006) of establishing executive MBAs, specializations, and extension courses. Those are important revenue-generating mechanisms, because students are generally employed in companies that encourage education, in order to achieve higher performance. In some cases, companies share the tuition fee with their employees, and allow them to work from home and in flexible schedules.

Exploring higher-education organization's governance, Gumport and Snyderman (2006) discuss the oversight structure, composed of boards of trustees and agencies. In Brazil, the ministry of education (MEC) establishes guidelines for these organizations. Whether public or private, they must follow the same rules that constrain differentiation and are sources of what institutional scholars could address as coercive isomorphism. There are three ways by which MEC analyzes the higher-education organization performance: 1) ENADE, the national examination of student performance, which evaluates student learning by

applying two mandatory tests, one when enrolling and one when graduating, to check their development. 2) The preliminary major concept (CPC), which is calculated after the ENADE, takes into consideration the students' performance, faculty, facilities, educational resources, organizational development plans, among other factors. 3) After the ENADE and CPC, the program's general index (IGC) is calculated by the average of the three preceding CPCs, and also by the doctoral, master's, and other post-graduation programs grades offered by the organization. This structure is bureaucratic and inflexible. Higher education organizations usually have boards and councils, but their main goals are related to the achievement of better grades and indexes in this evaluation system. HEIs are obligated to have, for example, a given number of books in their libraries proportional to the number of students enrolled, a development plan that must be followed, otherwise the organization will lose points in its evaluation, a self-evaluating policy with students feedback, and other 48 further requisites. Because research, industry collaboration, patents and other subjective gauges are not considered, HEIs play by the same goals, being ranked by our own government in a 1 to 5, horrible to excellent scale. Some private initiatives attempt to establish a different set of scores to universities and colleges, but the main source of evaluation is still the government's standardized rules, because if one particular program gets a grade lower than 3, it is automatically removed from the system and not allowed to function anymore.

In contrast to the American case, where industries strongly rely on universities to innovate, and where there is a different view of universities that allow individuals to donate their financial inheritance, Brazilian HEIs suffer from the shortage of funds. According to Gumpert and Snyderman (2006), in 1997, publics and privates have received more than 1,5 billion dollars from industry investments. As they argue, industry investment in research conducted by universities varies as a result of cultural divergence and policies. University spin-offs, joint ventures, and cooperative research centres are not a reality in Brazil. There are, however, some attempts by the two higher-ed organizations in this study of encouraging entrepreneurship and industry collaboration, even though incipient and limited when compared to the American case.

Apart from Gumpert's idea, other scholars have also addressed the move to a more managerial perspective of higher-education organizations. H. D. Meyer and Rowan (2006) have argued that when the for-profit HE sector in the United States began to grow, competition arose and a market-minded and entrepreneurial behavior entrenched. Their book that aims to call researchers for new-institutionalist analysis in education, focus primarily on the decentralized growth of private education throughout the world. They suggest that there are three main reasons for this change: 1) the shift from government monopoly of higher-educational provision to a collection of new organizations coming from the private and third sector with a managerialist approach; 2) a heavier, tighter coupling in practices in the once loosely coupled higher-ed organizations; and finally, 3) a greater centrality of the role of education in the society, with influences in the economy and growing interest of corporations, entrepreneurs and other organizations in its success, leading to a more managerial, accountability approach. Levy (2006) suggests that private higher-ed organizations take advantage of the government's flaws to flourish, pursuing legitimacy not in an academic sense, but in a workforce, job placement market rationale. This change, contrary to the prescriptions of isomorphism predicted by DiMaggio and Powell (1983), introduces innovation in the legitimized field of higher education, embracing risks and advancing agendas that are not in accordance with the high academic levels of the public organizations. This innovation front led to a more competitive field, a more market-like one, introducing publics with their research emphasis and academic excellence, and the rising privates, with their demand driven, job-placing attitudes towards graduate students. Levy (2006) argues that this shift has also led to a change in other institutional order: professionalism. Since professors were hired almost exclusively full-time in public institutions, privates tend to hire their teachers as part-time, seemingly because they are demand driven, for profit (not in reference to the goal of the organization, but to the legally declared), and further particularities.

The University literature highlights the relevance of innovation and economic development as reasons for the move of universities to managerialism. Berman (2012) agrees with this scenario, and explains the mechanisms by which mostly innovation has helped managerialism to prosper. She shows that in the

early 70's, economists' trending topic was the economic development induced by innovation, that led to a series of legislations and regulations to be analyzed and proposed. Her study shows ten policies, not only aimed at universities, but important to the market-logic practices (industrial affiliates program, research parks, and industrial extension programs, patent agreements, university-industry research centres, venture capital), driving the conclusion that despite those policies helped universities to hold to a more managerial logic, market forces were displayed since the 50's, being triggered over and over by policies, until they became taken-for-granted.

The move towards academic capitalism, comprising learning, teaching, knowledge, and research is the core theme of Slaughter and Rhoades' (2004) book, which describe how public policy, administrative behavior within universities, and market pressures, lead HEIs to engage with capitalism within their boundaries, superimposing patenting over the free-flow of knowledge, raw information over value driven formation, and standardized courses over individual attention. Vaira (2004) also posits that HEIs are driven to be "entrepreneurial" because of: a) state fundings declined, b) managerialist mindset has penetrated in their structure, c) quality, effectiveness, efficiency and responsivity are the main rhetorics that emerged, and d) the increasing demand for the "service" of higher education. Olssen and Peters (2005) also report a tendency in the growth of managerial practices such as strategic planning, quality assurance, and performance indicators. In common, these authors argue that due to globalization and the rise of the so-called neoliberalism and the knowledge economy, demand for higher education has increased, and for-profit HEIs are trying to keep up with the demand, but attributing a new mission to the university – to profit – and as Etzkowitz (2008) does, making higher education another industry in the market. Higher Education, then, is limited to a transaction-based view of service provision (Gumport, 2001)

More specifically on the contrast between the Brazilian and the American case, Douglass (2012) labels Brazil HE dynamics as the "Brazilian Effect". The Brazilian Effect happens when the public sector is not able to keep up with the increasing demand for higher education because of the ceasing of public funding in a level reached in the past. This leads to the boom of private HEIs, mostly for-

profit, seeking to attend to those who were not able to enter public HE, but need a degree for better placement or for the sake of keep studying. The Brazilian effect leads to dramatic decline in quality, simultaneous with a dramatic increase in access. However, as Hardy (1988) and Hardy, Langley, Mintzberg, and Rose (1983) posited, universities and higher education institutions are complex organizations, quasi-immune to business-like management and decision-making rationales, making professionals in a plethora of different areas accountable for participation on decision-making (Baldrige, 1979). This blend of public policies over higher education, and the complexity inherent to these institutions, is a recipe for institutional complexity under constellations of logics.

2.3. Higher Education and the Institutional Logics Perspective

In the above section, Berman (2012) and Gumport (2002) have addressed higher education being aided by institutional logics perspective. This venue of research has been explored by many scholars interested to analyze HE organizations and field behavior. Greenwood, Raynard, Kodeih et al (2011), for example, build their introduction by advancing higher education organizations' contention between logics in their academic departments, suggesting that there are logics of science, prescribing practices such as open publication and pursuit of disinterested knowledge, in conflict with logics of commerce, which favor publication rights and commercial exploitation of research. In this section, I will contribute to the description of the state-of-the-art of the current literature on institutional complexity in higher education, seeking for previous knowledge before entering the field.

Institutional complexity endurance is contingent on a number of factors idiosyncratic to the organization that experiences it. Field position, structure, ownership, governance, and identity, are the most remarkable features that may temper the extent by which institutional complexity imposes itself for organizations. Independent of the range by which institutional complexity is felt, organizations must respond to them. Organizational responses to institutional complexity are often tradeoffs that will determine survival, legitimacy, and access to resources. An important remark for this study is made by Thornton, Jones & Kury (2005), who state that organizations delivering educational services are more prone to display enduring institutional complexity - fields that seem to

picture a never-ending institutional logic conflict, a quasi-organized anarchy related to institutional prescriptions emanating not only from the macro-societal orders, but from their refraction through field-level mechanisms. This conflict happens because educational organizations embody a plethora of occupations and professions under the “same roof”, such as a university with different areas of knowledge and science.

In their seminal paper, Thornton and Ocasio (1999) and Thornton (2002) use in-depth interviews to understand the power shifts in higher education publishing between 1958 and 1990. They tell the story that publishing firms functioned under an editorial logic, which with time was replaced by a market logic, once publishing was not regarded as a profession anymore, but as a business. They state that because of the baby boom in the 1960s, and knowing that the government was engaged in building new colleges and universities, Wall Street opened its eyes for higher education publishing, which led to investments and acquisitions of established publishing firms. Their massive investment in the field, along with their managerial practices, such as investing heavily in marketing campaigns and profit growth, led the publishers who functioned under an editorial logic to respond by conforming to the new market logic – going public or being acquired. Reports started to be issued, ranking publishers competitively by their market share. Management terms started to be used in the field for the very first time. With these shifts, HE publishing ceased to be regarded as a family endeavor, and started to behave like Wall Street sponsored companies.

A similar shift is reported by Gumport (2000) in the field of higher education, proposing that management practices, massification, and use-value of knowledge, made what once was a legitimate social institution into an industry. At first, higher education was known by being a social institution, meaning that it worried about citizenship, culture, and character. The industrialized higher education has become a service provider, such as any other corporation, useful to train workforce and research for technological development, tasks accomplished under a strict accountability regime and manager-imposed effectiveness. Instead of being linked to values and ethics, higher education is now linked with economic development and technology. Gumport (2000) advances that higher education institutions have become higher education

organizations, reducing its role to their internal organizational structures and more technical activities. Administrators, now managers, need to forecast economic trends that may affect enrollments, to reduce resource dependencies, and to comply with accountability demands, instead of worrying about developing humans and citizens. Students are regarded as informed decision makers, able to pay and choose the colleges and universities they want to attend and courses they want to take, and are treated as consumers of a teaching service instead of members of a community. Those shifts were boosted by a shift in institutional logics, most notably a logic of economic rationality and of managerial production which have overcome a logic of social institution.

Drawing on community colleges as being the most responsive higher education institutions when it comes to environmental demands, Gumport (2002) continues her 2000 research for understanding of a shift in the social-institution logic that guided higher education practices over time, to an industry logic, which “put a premium on economic priorities” (p.41). In conducting focus groups with community colleges’ presidents, Gumport (2002) interprets that these institutions tend to be entrepreneurial, showcasing an industry logic, while still attached to a social-institution logic, stressing their compromise with lifelong learning and general education. She stresses that presidents are aligned simultaneously with both logics at play in the field, meaning that community colleges bear the coexistence of two competing logics, industry and social-institution, and manage to balance their demands and prescriptions, being enabled to choose from a broader repertoire of actions and behaviors. Gumport (2002) attributes this phenomenon as a move beyond the demand-response scenario, where community colleges ground their responses to the social-institutional logic or to the industry logic in their educational values, instead of simply responding to demands.

Institutional logics demand organizational responses in both fields and subfields, making practice well attuned with the changes and shifts in the institutional system. Lounsbury and Pollack (2001) provide a compelling example by drawing on teaching practices in universities, which were once authoritarian classroom lectures, and with time turned out to become more connected with community service, in a learning-by-doing fashion. They argue that this shift was

enabled by competing institutional logics, which opened venues for social skilled actors, or institutional entrepreneurs, to act and change educational practices. First, the authors adapt Barr and Tagg (1995) closed and open systems in universities, transforming them in shifting logics over university education. Closed systems of education regard university as a “storehouse” of knowledge, and deem faculty as primarily being lecturers. In contrast, open systems of education face universities as a broader learning environment, while faculty is described as designers of learning. The move from a closed system to an open system made, in Lounsbury and Pollack’s (2001, p.324) words, “the imagery of faculty acting as a ‘sage on a stage’ [become one] of ‘the guide on the side’”.

Policymaking activities were emphasized in higher education by Bastedo (2008), who chose to understand policies with the institutional logics perspective. The author found four core logics underlying politics in policymaking for higher education: a) mission differentiation, with institutions performing different missions, for example, universities that offer degrees and emphasize research, system that offer bachelor’s and master’s degree and emphasize teaching, and community colleges that offer assistant degrees and broader trainings, emphasizing vocational education; b) student opportunity, which encompasses student aid, such as scholarships and loans; c) managerialism, a managerial philosophy concerned with budgetary constraints and resource competition; and d) system coordination, concerning a broader educational system, including basic education, high school, and remedial education. Bastedo (2008) argues that shifts in the higher education field have happened among the contention and combination of these four institutional logics that were enacted in the Massachusetts Board of Higher Education.

Patents were also studied under the light of the Institutional Logics Perspective. Murray (2010) studies hybridization caused by coexistent logics, specifically on the boundaries between the logic of commerce and the logic of science. She argues that none of the three perspectives over hybridization (hostile, blended, coexisting) explain the case of Harvard’s “oncomouse” which patent was sold to DuPont and outraged scientists, that little time after started patenting their discoveries too. Murray (2010) argues that actors transpose, synthesize, layer, and blend resources and meanings from one logic to another,

making two worlds engage in tension handled by a social skilled actor who develops new relationships with related fields, such as scientists working with lawyers and corporate executives in order to license a patent. This field and logics overlap generates a hybrid, which presages blending, collapse, or coexistence. The author's major contribution is that some institutional logics can exist in a productive tension, especially the hybrids over higher education and the market. There is not, according to her, a marketization of higher education, rather, there is a transposition of elements of the market into higher education, but this does not lead to the collapse of the latter, or the supremacy of the former. Instead, they have their meanings translated to form a new hybrid logic - and field - in constant tension, without blending, collapsing or coexisting, but in continuous tension.

The debate over market and science logics is longstanding. University-Industry (UI) collaborations are recommended by the OECD, and were studied by Bjerregaard (2010) under the institutional logics perspective. More specifically, he explains that institutional logics facilitate UI collaboration between public universities and small and medium enterprises, rather than posing cultural divides and clashes. His research finds out that there is not an overarching normative conflict between the parties, but a complementary micro-cosmos over tacit agreements. However, most of this complementarity is due to the fact that the small and medium enterprises (SMEs) featured on this case study were owned by researchers who were once scholars and have obtained a "double institutional embeddedness" (p. 106). Open science and commercialization norms were found on the SMEs, which researchers also engaged in publishing peer-reviewed discoveries and findings.

Science has been used for human well-being and longevity, but its methods may clash with some overarching values of society. Stem cell research, cloning, and reproductive technologies are objects of a larger debate under the rhetoric of "playing God", and target of public policies, such as the prohibition of some forms of research. Relying on rhetoric, Styhre (2011) argues that the field of life science is supported by two different, complementary logics, one of the systems biology approach, which uses computational resources to identify patterns in large data sets in order to theorize about biological systems, and other of the in-vivo approach, which test hypothesis in individual cases. The rhetoric of

“playing God” and further policy prohibitions on in-vivo experiments have led to a more systemic approach, which consolidated theory testing in computer settings, leading to advances in drug innovation and research outcomes. A system biology logic was established, along with a new organizational practice of conducting biological research without biological matter.

Studying how institutional logics over American academy have shifted without the need for an institutional entrepreneur, Berman (2012) advances that slow, piecemeal changes caused by local experimentations and practices grounded in various logics, are able to substantially change fields. She says that academic science in the United States was always responding to a variety of institutional logics, most notably a logic of science, a logic of the market, and a logic of the state. Friedland and Alford’s (1991) logic of science concerns the search for the truth, while the logic of the market bases itself on the economic and financial outcomes of science. The logic of the state has historically been important in the United States for the contributions research had for the department of defense. Berman (2012) concludes that higher education has been flirting and experimenting with market logics since the 1950s, but at this time, state regulations constrained an expanded response to them. After the 1970s, with many exogenous shocks affecting the United States, universities were favoured to engage with the market. Lastly, she makes the case that practices based on piecemeal changes and jockeying (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012) lead to a broader institutional change in the long-term.

Regarding the higher education field, institutional logics also help to understand the interplay between the mission of universities and the demands of its athletics department. In the United States, athletics are an important part of the university, and are under constant tensions due to their boundary spanning characteristics. Nite, Singer and Cunningham (2013) argue that in a religious university, two logics were found to be contending in the athletic department, one of religious education, which demanded the department to operate according to Christianity, spiritually educating athletes, and one of athletic requirements, which pressured athletes for the victory and to increase the university’s presence within the community. These two logics were competing for attention, once athletes were often travelling to play while classes were happening, and religious

activities, such as community service and spiritual development sessions were mandatory for athletes. The prioritization of logics in this case was elected by the university administration through strict oversight, making the athletic department “buy in” the Christian culture, but not without discontent, especially when athletes were forced to be absent and when facilities were taken to hold religious events.

Much of the literature on higher education is justified by the increasing role universities play in developing economically nations and regions in a triple-helix fashion (Etzkowitz, 2008). Howells, Karatas-Ozkan, and Yavuz (2014) employ the institutional logics perspective to understand the qualities of university leadership for managing these overarching transformations and paradigm shifts, combining logics in ways that balance environmental demands. They say that universities show a unique pluralism of institutional logics, and argue that vision, alignment, strategic collaboration, and innovation are key features of leaders' agency in the field of higher education. The authors argue that leadership in higher education, most notably when addressing the logics of bureaucracy and managerialism, should portray a more distributive feature, one that blends top-down and bottom-up influences, a connotative leadership, according to Kraatz (2009) framework. Thus, flexibility, authenticity, and engagement might facilitate institutional work in universities.

In Mars, Bresonis, and Szelényi (2014) research, higher education is identified, according to the United States former president Barack Obama, as the primary site for innovation leading research and workforce training, compatible with a stream of literature (Slaughter and Rhoades, 2004) that argues a recent shift over higher education organization to a more neo-liberal approach. Mars, Bresonis, and Szelényi (2014) explore if doctoral education really orients STEM students to this hybrid approach between academic discovery and entrepreneurship, attempting to find out what institutional logics are enacted by these students, departing from the assumption that they relate mostly to logics of science and engineering. They argue that science logics aim for the betterment of society, although they are divided in an altruistic one, without concern for individual attribution, and an individualistic one, that claims for attribution. They posit that a Multiversity Logic between market and altruistic and individualistic science emerges, advancing the betterment of society and advancement of

science through market mechanism, and simultaneous value creation. However, doctoral students are still exposed to socialization processes in the university that shape their experiences according to science logics, while their entrepreneurial mindset was shaped by individually based socialization.

The adoption of business-like leadership and management styles have burgeoned in higher education literature as replacing the traditional collegial governance model, and were studied under the institutional logics perspective by Blaschke, Frost, and Hattke (2014), who propose a micro-foundation framework of leadership, management, and governance (LGM) in universities, linking patterns of individual action to institutional logics over higher education. They argue that LGM practices are negotiated and renegotiated in sequences of four patterns: agenda building (planning and strategy), critical reflection (research and teaching), devising (bottom-up statutory issues), and debriefing (top-down statutory issues). They understand that “collegial governance and business-like leadership and management exist as parallel institutional logics” that are enacted by actors at the micro-level.

Etzkowitz’s (2008) triple helix model has guided nations and regions policy-making efforts to achieve university-marketing-government sponsored innovation. Cai (2015) identifies seven institutional logics that are aligned with triple-helix activities: knowledge as key to economic growth, market orientation, process management, intellectual property, civil society, market competition, democratic policymaking, happening in one out of four stages of the triple helix model: realization of needs (perceiving the relevance of the triple helix), intra-organizational transformation (taking the role of the other), interactions between organizations (cooperating and generating hybrids), and institutionalization of the triple helix. The coexistence of these overarching logics in the field might lead to the ideal triple helix model, one that balances the participation of industry and government in higher education. The absence of one, or an exceeding tension that leads to a choice between or among one of the logics might lead to other types of triple helix, such as the statist model, where the government controls industry and university simultaneously, or the laissez-faire model, where government, industry, and government have different roles that do not intersect each other.

A great part of the literature on universities show an increasing influence of the market and business education in higher education management. Most notably, Americanized business education within universities is to blame (Birnbaum, 2000) for the outburst of managerial practices in higher education. Juusola, Kettunen, and Alajoutsijarvi (2015) argue that universities' responses to market and academic institutional logics are able to explain the forms and patterns of business school Americanization throughout the world. Their research shows that universities engage in imitation to adhere to international practices, using American research universities as a role model; in transmutation when they do not have enough resources to conduct research, but still struggle for accreditation; in compromization when they substantially change their structures and values to adhere to Americanization; and in imposterization, borrowing American practices for the sake of marketing an American image.

Regardless of Americanization, LGM, and triple helix, scientific knowledge is rendered useful through academic publication by its authors. In a Mertonian world of disinterested science (1973), authors do not compete for authorship. However, Latour and Woolgar (1979) regard academic science as cycles of credit, where authorship poses rewards. Shen (2016) attempts to understand how institutional logics shape cycles of credit on Chinese universities, that function under a "publish or perish" rationale. She argues that in an elite university, the logic of autonomy prevails, once researchers negotiate (co)authorship based on scientific contributions. In turn, in provincial universities, a logic of dependence is supreme, and negotiated (co)authorships are based on overall contributions and hierarchy, independently of their scientificity. The logic of autonomy prescribes that authorship for scientific contributions is limited for one paper, while the logic of dependency states that authorship must be credited for a period based on the length of collaboration, regardless whether it is scientific or not, and sometimes even material rewards are required.

Scientific research oftentimes lead to entrepreneurial intentions by universities and faculty, willing to patent, license, or straightforwardly sell products with exclusive rights. Researchers who have created a business to sell knowledge, or academic entrepreneurs, were compared to non-academic entrepreneurs by Fini and Toschi (2016) with regard to their corporate

entrepreneurial intentions. The authors' goal was to understand whether an exposure to the academic institutional logic influenced the implementation of new endeavors. More specifically, they found via statistic modelling that academic logics would positively moderate risk-taking propensity, technical skills, and perceived government support, while negatively moderating self-efficacy and managerial skills.

Bringing faculty back in, Finch, Deephouse, O'Reilly et al (2016) discuss faculty hiring innovation and convergence among business schools, based in three institutional contexts. They ask whether the type of the university, media rankings, or the Association to Advance Collegiate Schools of Business accrediting agency (AACSB) influence business schools' recruiting, analyzing 441 job postings. Their research found out that there are significant differences in recruiting practices over business schools, discarding the convergence, or "global mimicry" in recruiting. There was, indeed, some convergence at intermediate levels, according to university type (undergraduate only vs. comprehensive), to accreditation (AACSB vs. non-AACSB), and to ranking (ranked vs. non-ranked). Finch, Deephouse, O'Reilly and colleague (2016) understand that embeddedness to a particular field's institutional logics influence decision making at business schools.

Institutional logics were also Mampaey and Huisman's (2015) theme for exploring the Catholic University of Leuven's (CUL) responses to stakeholders. Their argument is that CUL function under two logics: the dominant one, liberal academic, and the other field-level logic, new public management (NPM). The core of the university, the liberal academic logic, is subject to criticism by stakeholders when faculty and research act autonomously, disregarding other societal or field institutional logics. They show that CUL tends to respond to these attacks by conflict-reducing techniques, acknowledging the criticizer's standpoint, and relying on both technical and institutional arguments to answer, seeking the protection of legitimacy and an ontological security. On the other hand, when stakeholders attack the NPM logic, the university seems to respond inducing conflict, as a way of saying, according to the authors, that this logic does not represent the core of the university. Thus, CUL's responses to attacks to the NPM logic are to deny the criticism, showing technical arguments supporting the

university's decisions and actions. They conclude by arguing that direct attacks to the dominant logics threaten the organization's legitimacy, and are handled with institutional arguments that seek to reduce conflict, create empathy, and protect the University's mission.

In order to better understand the impact of a new way of research funding in the European Union, Cruz-Castro, Benitez-Amado, and Sanz-Menéndez (2016) have studied what were the ERC's (European Research Council) institutional effects – symbolic, material, and normative - on 18 public Spanish universities. They considered a research excellence institutional logic as the dominant one after the ERC's foundation and investigated how did the universities respond to this new source of funding just after a major financial crisis in the country, by addressing the organization's dynamic capabilities. They conducted interviews and developed ideal types to advance four possible organizational responses to this new institutional logic: 1) committed to the ERC's demands and research excellence with a strong capabilities foundation, 2) an operational response that despite showing enough support of research dynamic capabilities did not engage with ERC's policies, 3) hesitant responses, willing to benefit from the ERC's funds but with not enough research capabilities to do so, and finally, 4) neglect to both the ERC and their research capabilities, favouring a 'logic of teaching'. They conclude that the region in which universities function influences organizational responses, probably because of regional promotion and regulations. As expected and in accordance with the institutional logics perspective, organizational responses varied, mostly because of the inter-institutional system, with different logics overarching different regions, and also due to differences in organizational capabilities.

In a different setting, Beer (2016) studies twelve colleges' divestment of fossil fuels shares in their endowment funds, being committed with a more sustainable environment, combining three different institutional logics at once: the market logic, the logic of education, and the logic of ecological sustainability. He builds the case that the divestment of fossil fuels in these colleges case was aligned with their internal organizational culture through three different mechanisms. First, Beer (2016) argues that there was a concern about the coherency of teaching about sustainability and align administrative decisions and

practices with what is taught. Second, there was a strong connection between the decision to divest from fossil fuels companies, and the colleges' mission and values. Lastly, despite the divestment seems to be a boycott to a market logic, it is still strongly connected to this market logic, which was used as a rhetoric in the administrators' decision to divest.

Relying on documental data and statistical clustering methods, Brint, Yoshikawa et al (2016) have analyzed the adaptive organizational changes to the great recession from 2008 to 2012, in more than 300 American colleges and universities adopting the institutional logics perspective. The most common activities were coded by a documental research based on media articles and a wide range of organizational documents, and these coded activities were then submitted to cluster analysis, whereby the authors found the influence of three institutional logics guiding organizational responses through the recession period, and a fourth, convergent logic combining them all. The logic of consumer service was adopted by 19% of the sample, formed by organizations with low prestige that aimed to please students by being cost-friendly, expanding online courses, and partnering with companies. The market search logic cluster includes 14% of the organizations, which have relied heavily on faculty layoffs and other budget reductions, and at the same time sought to grow enrollment rates and expand their revenue sources, employing an entrepreneurial discourse along the recession. Lastly, the growing and greening logic, endorsed by 23% of the sample, marketed their campuses as environmentally friendly, building structure to reduce costs in the long-run and attract students in short-term. The fourth cluster, containing 45% of the sample, including the largest and most prestigious universities and colleges, employed the whole arsenal in response to the recession. Brint, Yoshikawa, and colleagues (2016) caution that this response does not necessarily mean a 'do everything' logic, but perhaps as an organizational effect caused by organizations' management heads.

Abraham Flexner's ideal of an university posited the German model as the best one, suggesting that universities are problem-solving, Pythagorean institutions. Oertel and Soll (2017) argue that German universities, too, function under two overarching logics – a classical one, based on the traditional university mission, and a service logic, which prescribes a corporation-like management.

They argue that mission statements in universities are motivated by new managerial demands, and that because of imprinting (Stinchcombe, 1965), earlier universities would be less likely to have mission statements. They find that institutional founding determines the ways universities write their mission statements (if they present one at all). Imprinting seems to determine, regardless of mission statement presence, structure, process, and behavior, rather than interfering in the adherence to new practices. Therefore, the introduction of new features in powerful, traditional universities, does not mean that they will shift from one classical logic to a service logic. Rather, imprinting makes them more likely to stick, conservatively, to the founding institutional logic.

Taking for granted an academic capitalist knowledge regime (Slaughter and Rhoades, 2004), Redondo and Camarero (2017) seek to answer whether business incubators managers' exposition to institutional logics poses an influence on assistance and training to incubated businesses. More specifically, they wish to point out what "profile" is most effective to manage university incubators: the academic scholar, or the market manager. After running a series of statistical tests, the authors conclude that those incubators managed by an individual who has been exposed to both logics, academic and market, show the best results in their tests.

Finally, employing Gumport's (2002) ideas and case study units, but relying on the concept that institutional logics are time dependent, Upton and Warshaw (2017) investigated how each of three universities (State University of New York Stony Brook - SUNY, University of California Berkeley - UCB, and University of Illinois Chicago - UIC) elaborate a dominant logic in response to the institutional orders. Upton and Warshaw found out that these three public research universities share three core missions: research, teaching, and community engagement. This led to the understanding that these universities still please two overarching institutional logics, as forecast by Gumport (2002): industry and social institutional. Despite Gumport's argument that an industry, market-like logic is dominant with the managerialist approach and the need to ask to the market for funding, they did not reach the same conclusion. They suggest that universities will endure and exist as long as they reinforce their core mission – a social institutional based one, focused on teaching and community work.

Upton and Warshaw explain that this finding may be explained by the system-gaming behaviors advanced by Greenwood and colleagues (2011), or even by a political process explained by Bastedo (2008), once this research was based on documental data, prone to symbolical communication and statements.

This research will contribute to this corpus of literature by adding three core elements that were not, or were scarce in the literature. First, no institutional logics study was conducted in Brazilian universities, a gap this study seeks to fulfill. Second, few studies have taken religion in consideration, another gap this research will fulfill. Third, none has taken the social imaginary, or the “meta-metatheory” of institutional logics into consideration, one of the main contributions of this research.

2.4. The Theory Of Fields

Social scientists and theorists have attempted to elaborate a definition of what constitutes a field, together with the explanations for agency, interrelation among fields, change, and further concepts relevant to understand the workings of society. Pierre Bourdieu (1984), for instance, suggested three core tenets for social theory: *habitus*, capital, and field. Bourdieu (1984) and Bourdieu & Wacquant (1992) emphasize the individual actor seeking to fulfill their own interests within a pre-existing field. Bourdieu (1984) was the first to propose the idea of a field as an endeavor to solve the problem between agency and structure by arguing that actors within a field own their capital - which determines their role in the field. With the help of this *habitus*, they are able to understand cognitively what roles and practices the remainder of actors are performing in the field. Therefore, fields shape actors' behavior and cognition through *doxa*, the common sense knowledge.

Another scholar to approach fields was Anthony Giddens (1984) with his theory of structuration, which advances that individuals' practices are constrained and enabled by the structure that is reproduced and changed by their own practices. Actors enjoy ontological security because daily life is predictable and the current social structure is trustworthy. Change, therefore, occurs when this ontological security disappears, when there is a lack of trust in social structure caused by actors' agency towards dominant norms and rules, for example.

Network analysis is one other tool that social scientists employ in order to understand how fields work. It is a method of analyzing and understanding fields, but it is not a theory. Surely, social ties are quite relevant to discover how fields maintain stability or transform themselves through collective action, but there is not, yet, a theory to interpret more accurately how do networks explain change or stability. Because of this fact, scholars who wish to employ network analysis must offer a field contextualization and theory in order to inform the underlying structures of rules and power, for example, which constrain and enable action. In short, network analysis proves its value in analyzing how the relationships within fields change over time, but they do not account for the reasons for the changes observed, or for the effect of these changes in the field. (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012)

Apart from authors and methods, theories have also tried to make clear how fields work. Social movement theory, for instance, was never meant to address fields, but has offered several concepts and avenues that aid to grasp the field definition, such as the incumbent-challenger grudge, rupture and settlement, contention, and framing. Social movement theory is fit for understanding how fields change because of struggles and uncertainty, but it does not explain field stability and/or reproduction, since it seems to be contention-oriented (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012). On the other hand, neo institutional theory (Meyer & Rowan, 1977; DiMaggio & Powell, 1983), presents a field definition of its own, at the middle level of society, emphasizing isomorphism as a result of environmental uncertainty. Neo institutionalists worry about the reproduction and stability within their field definition, but they do not account for change and transformation, or for agency and actors – unlike social movement theory. Seeking to answer this urge for agency, DiMaggio (1988) proposed the role of the ‘institutional entrepreneur’, a powerful and capable agent who might innovate and convince peers to follow and, then, transform the field – but recognized the limitations of this approach and asked for more theorizing on their field theory. Apart from this study, every attempt of institutional theory to explain fields assumed that actors are either mere reproducers of institutional orders’ prescriptions, myths, and ceremonies, or institutional heroes, which are able to manipulate legitimacy, structure, and logics in their favour. A more

nuanced perception of agency, one that do not under or overestimate individual capabilities and cognition, was offered by Fligstein and McAdam's (2012) who considered agents as 'jockeys', who compete and struggle for constant improvement or maintenance of their roles, enabled by their social skill.

Seeking to build consensus, Fligstein & McAdam (2012) developed the theory of fields, based on these aforementioned approaches. They took the 'best' of all worlds, and managed to assemble a strategic action field theory which include incumbents, challengers, and governance units; social skill; field environment; exogenous shocks and mobilization; contention and settlement. In their view, a strategic action field is where individual actors or organizations "interact with one another on the basis of shared understandings about the purposes of the field, relationships to others in the field, and the rules governing legitimate action in the field".

Fields are socially constructed, meso-level, arenas of interaction, wherein membership is subjective due to their shifting boundaries, contingent on the observer's point of view, or to the situation presented. Fields present shared understandings and implicit contracts built over time by their members, and enforced by internal governance units, consenting on the status, power relations and the rules within the field, and making sense of other actors' practices. Fields are for their most part, stable, but episodes of contention happen sporadically and are the majors triggers of change. All collective actors are made up of fields, which tend to be hierarchical, such as the procurement department within firms, which are subordinate to the purchasing department, which is subordinate to the financial department within the wider organization, which also competes in its field in the market. Fligstein and McAdam call this a 'Russian Doll', hierarchical structure. The boundaries of fields are prone to expand or shrink, according to the broader situation of the proximate and state fields, what makes them be continuously in flux.

Fligstein (2001) and Fligstein and McAdam's (2012) definition of field is quite compatible to the institutional logics perspective because collective understandings enable them to be created. However, the taken-for-granted reality of repeated and routine reproduction – once every actor is struggling to either maintain or improve their positions within the field - suggested by

institutional logics, is replaced by constant contention and 'piecemeal' changes, even in the most stable fields.

In order to theorize about stability, reproduction, change and contention, Fligstein and McAdam (2012) argue for the existence of three main actors within strategic action fields: incumbents, challengers, and the internal governance units. Incumbents are those actors who possess the power to influence the direction, purposes, and structure of the field. They are able to impose their interests upon the other members of the field in order to access rewards based on their dominant hierarchical status. Challengers are less favored actors with little to no control over field structure and purpose. Their cognition enables them to perceive the dominant logic imposed by incumbents, and continuously try to innovate and act positioning themselves as against the *status quo*.

However, not all actors wish to contend for power, for most of them bitterly conform to incumbents' orders waiting for an opportunity to improve their positions. Finally, governance units seek to guarantee compliance of actors within a field seeking to reproduce current dominant logics. These internal units, such as accrediting and rating agencies in higher education, tend to be influenced by incumbents and be normative reproducers of their commands, accounting for the management of actor compliance, legitimating incumbents' logics, and performing an important linkage function among fields. With the interplays of incumbents, challengers, and internal governance units, fields stabilize because of the hierarchical power of actors, or because of political coalitions and cooperation among actors. Therefore, stability may happen due to coercion, competition, or cooperation. The microfoundations that enable the conception of these three categories of actors depart from the premise that individuals possess social skills, and play roles on the construction of society and fields. Fligstein (2001) argue that individuals make sense, construct, and reproduce fields by cooperating with other actors, employing strategic actions. However, strategic actions are impossible, unless actors are able to "get outside of their own heads" (Jasper, 2004, 2006). This cognitive capability is termed by Fligstein and McAdam (2012) as social skill, a "capacity for reading people and environments, framing lines of action, and mobilizing people in the service of broader conceptions of the world and of themselves", which is distributed across society.

Incumbents with social skills manage to maintain *status quo*, and challengers with social skills are institutional entrepreneurs (DiMaggio, 1988).

Regarding stability and contention, Fligstein and McAdam (2012) argue that field stability may be achieved by the imposition of order by some hierarchical group - the case for hierarchical, Russian doll fields; or as a result of powerful coalitions constituted by groups. In other words, fields can stabilize in the basis of coercion, competition, and cooperation (coalition).

Fields are not autonomous micro social systems within society. Instead, they are embedded in a network of fields, which can be distant or proximate; dependent, interdependent, or independent; and state or nonstate. Distance and proximity may be determined by the ties linking one field to the other – fields with strong network connections are proximate, unlike those with weak connections. Moreover, a given field might be dependent of other field – just like the Russian Doll example, wherein a field ‘contains’ another, which in its turn ‘contains’ another in a bureaucratic hierarchical way -, or yet, two or more fields might be interdependent when they influence each other, as is the case of, say, higher-education and the market. Lastly, a field might be embedded within state structure or not. In the interpretation of Fligstein and McAdam (2012), states are not homogenous or hegemonic: they are a “dense system of interdependent fields”, an ensemble of fields gathered under a large system.

The uncertainty caused by the fuzzy connections between fields within a broader social system is the larger source of turbulence within fields. Fligstein and McAdam’s (2012) metaphor for the consequences of turbulence and change in one field is that of a stone in a pond: ripples will be caused and affect other fields in uncertain ways. They say that “like stones [that create the ripples in the pond], change comes in all sizes”, meaning that dramatic changes in a field or system of fields may cause waves that threaten proximate fields. Incumbents and challengers within a given field may frame changes as threats or opportunities that are worthy of social appropriation, such as the mobilization of resources that could be employed in innovative and meaningful ways to act, causing challengers to break with the former paradigms and rules in order to attempt to take control of the field. These shocks and mobilization are the onset of contention. Factual episodes of contention spread uncertainty in the field in respect with the power

relations and hierarchy because of the emergence of and responses to innovative actions in a power grudge between challengers and incumbents. In this scenario, internal governance units and the state will attempt to settle the field recurring to the *status quo* in favour of the incumbents. However, challengers may also “win” when they are able to sustain and enlarge their collective mobilization seeking to institutionalize new rules in the field. One may know a field is settled when the roles of incumbents and challengers are, again, well defined.

Concerning Higher Education, Fligstein and McAdam (2012) highlight its role on the creation, stability, and transformation of fields. HE Organizations are in worldwide expansion, mostly because the overproliferation of fields demanding social skilled workforce. They argue that the educational sector is the main beneficiary of the modern complexity in fields and professions. Students develop social skills in their experiences in higher education, which will enable them to create new fields, causing a greater demand for HE in a virtuous cycle. Because fields are increasing in complexity, schooling is also more complex, embracing more areas of knowledge and new social skilled activities. The authors say that most of the demand fields place in higher education lies not on specialized, technical workforce, but in managerial competences and capabilities in order to tackle the growing field complexity.

The higher education field, in Fligstein and McAdam’s (2012) work, lacks a definition. However, their contributions lie on the grounds and tools provided for the acknowledgement and delimitation of fields. Higher education is a key institution for western society, and is an integral part of public policy, being tightly linked with state fields. Similarly, the market and the corporations hold a large stake at the field of higher education, once it is able to provide social skilled, professional workforce, and is prone to engage in university-industry collaboration in order to transfer technology, license, or patent. The family and the community are also interwoven in the higher education field for their expectations of the fulfilment of the ‘public service’ mission (Weisbrod, Ballou and Asch, 2008) and the payment of tuition. Additionally, in this study’s particular case, religious organizations also play a major role in maintaining and providing missionary guidance to the higher education organizations. When interpreting the

documental research results, I will develop further what will be considered as the field of Brazilian higher education.

2.5 The Social Imaginary

Society is made up as a collective, shared imaginary, that is, the collective set of unconscious shared understandings we have with each other. The social imaginary comprises our expectations towards the “fellow man”, giving us a sense of every being in our society fits together in reproducing our lives as we know them. Our imaginary enables us to know how things work, such as attributing market values to rectangular pieces of paper and trust that others will attribute the same value to it. Social imaginaries are normative, and unconsciously tell us who, when, and how should we speak to our boss, our coworker, and a lifetime friend, for example. Therefore, they are able to exclude a certain group from society, as we have once done with African-americans, or to determine that one group should not associate with another, as the Catholic Irish have done with the Protestants (Stephens, 2011).

Social imaginaries are major tools for individual sensemaking of the collective world, because they provide meaning to daily actions, and a sense of fitness to it. Just as science, the imaginary is a way of knowing, deeply shared and rooted in society. However, the imaginaries that a society shares and let be guided by are not always reasonable. That is, not all norms and rules of social imaginaries own an underlying rationale or explanation. Instead, they are adopted and reproduced because they have worked to reproduce society, regardless of their explanations. Thus, after attending the university for four years and taking tests, one is entitled a bachelor’s degree, without the further need of explaining why four years is the best time span, and why a bachelor’s degree is worth this while for the individual, or yet, why it is accepted as a legitimate certificate of skills in a given area regardless of performance. Both the worst and the best students will be awarded the same degree, with the same legal power and prerogatives.

Human relations are ruled by social imaginaries as well (Stephens, 2011). Our sense of hierarchy, for example, is socially imagined. Not only race or religion, as I have mentioned above, but also knowledge and occupation, for example, require different ways of referring. Therefore, perhaps one is talking to

a judge, and is required to address him as “your honor”, instead of “you” or “sir”. Additionally, imaginaries rule the organization of, for example, monogamous family life, whether homo or heterosexual.

Imagination is “a process of negotiation and interaction between personal and collective feeling and thinking” (Orgad, 2012). Imagination is not just our human, private and individual ability to create mental objects while they are not present, it is rather an exchange between social imaginary and individual imagination. Imagination is a moral force which ‘normalize’ actions and behaviors through the legitimacy-providing social imaginary – the way people do things without a guidebook to study the way things are done. A heavy load of scholars and researchers in sociology, philosophy, and sociology, have contributed to the studies of imaginaries. Kant was the first to introduce the concept of imagination in philosophy, idea that was further expanded by Spinoza. In psychology, Freud and Lacan have also studied how individual’s imaginations shaped their perception of the world. In sociology, Taylor, Appadurai, and Orgad have gathered the philosophical and psychological tenets laid before them and “imagined” them at a societal level. In common, they have addressed the moral dimension of imagination.

The social imaginary is a precursor to the identity, and is closely related to the construction of the society, at the same time being constructed by society, shaping interpretive schemas and reality. For Taylor (2004), social imaginaries enable practices of a society, the way by which we imagine the societies we live in, sustain, and move forward. Castoriadis (1975) explains the Marxist maxim ‘a machine is no more, in itself, capital than gold is, in itself, money’, relying on the social imagination of gold, developed socially and historically, being path dependent, and because of this, deeply ingrained in society as money, and not because of gold’s unique features and specificities. The same argument explains the assertion that a machine is no more than capital: because of a social-historical-economic path built by society, and not because the machine is gold. The economy itself, for instance, is a social imaginary, once this term reflects what society wants to be ‘economic’. For this matter, time is money, too.

Language makes speech possible, and speech portrays the social imaginary of society. God, an omnipresent figure in society is social imagined,

as is money, justice, and commodities, for example. Those words cannot be understood from outside the society because they speak for themselves. Society has created justice and its meaning using a network of significations derived from themselves, which have given birth to norms, myths, and further symbols. Different from mere 'subjects' or 'references', social imaginaries are irreducible instituted significations and do not reflect what individuals think by themselves (Castoriadis, 1975). As Lacan would put it, the real we know is not articulable, representable, or differentiated, for once the subjective imagination has been constituted, the real is substituted by the imaginary.

Once we live in a social imagined society, it may seem like the only conceivable one. Social imaginaries are carried by our history and legends, shared by groups and societies, and enable taken-for-grantedness and legitimacy. Taylor (2004) compares the social imaginary as a literal map of one's habitual environment – he or she knows how to move around, but he or she have never drawn, read, or even needed a map to learn how to move around. In society, he argues, we move without a map, by grasping, exploring and discovering the 'common repertory'.

Our background stories and history, our path dependent experience, help us to not only make sense of our daily lives and the actions and behaviors we conduct every day, but also provide us with our world of tools in order to enable our sense-giving abilities about our role in the society. Because of this, it is arguable that when developing meaning and signification, practices often get distorted and change their meaning, constituting a brand new social imaginary (Taylor, 2004). This practical link between representation and imagination that shapes our imaginaries can be grasped by media representations of facts (Orgad, 2012).

Appadurai (1996) argues that there are two driving forces of the social imaginary: media and migration. In addressing media, Orgad's (2012) studies show its power on influencing and shaping, "conditioning and orienting" the social representations by providing scripts, schemas, and narratives that orient a society's future. News reports bring social imaginaries to life by showing how do things earn coherence and how should people, organizations and societies behave, providing guidelines for action. Globalization plays a key role in this

explanation, because, most notably with media globalization, people are more prone to imagine their future and present without borders, imagining living, working, and being in different places.

Media is also a source of agency, telling individuals how to behave, what is fashionable, what is old and what is new, who is “in” and who is “out”. Appadurai (1996) argues that terrorists model themselves on Rambo, and that housewives replicate what they see in the soap operas – an imagination of, respectively, strength and manliness, and a benchmark for the perfect household. Of course, Appadurai’s (1996) work goes far beyond my scope here, spreading to international media and globalization. Yet, it shows the power of media in influencing action, behavior, and mostly, the imagination of society regarding what is going on, how do we fit in together, what is the meaning of life, and other questions that we do not have a “real” answer to. Print media, says Appadurai (1996), is important when it comes to imagining a nation, creating images – and imaginaries – of the world, providing repertoires of agency to its readers.

The major promise of the media is to control time and space, making use of narratives and images in order to take viewers on an imagined journey to a world they would likely never meet. Orgad (2012) talks about the media thinking not only in magazines and printed media, but on the wider background that composes it, such as Hollywood movies, TV shows and series, Billboard 100’s songs, and budget-blowing advertisements. All of them are scripts for behavior, telling individuals how to act and what to think, maintaining society in order. Media invites readers, watchers, and listeners to embark in a journey of collective culture, nourished by their own personal experiences.

2.5.1 Social Imaginary and the Institutional Logics Perspective

Institutional Logics rely on the societal institutional orders of religion, family, market, state, corporation, community, and professions. They all are different guidelines of action and behavior in society through their symbolic and material mechanisms. For instance, court decisions, whose power and legitimacy is granted by the state, such as death penalties, despite presenting real and

material consequences for the parts involved and society at large, are symbols for what felonies are unacceptable in a given area of the globe. Most of these legal, state issued penalties – and those that stem from societal penalties via coercion – seem to derive from Godly punishment for sins, such as working on Saturdays and stealing, which had severe biblical consequences. All of the institutional orders that rule society share this one major commonality: their ultimate origin lies in the social imaginary. By social imaginary, I mean that they do not actually exist as things, neither do they have a reasonable explanation to be – they are presented to society as the majors rulers of thought, intention, and action. This concept is similar to Friedland's (2015, 2018) institutional substance, his main criticism on Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury's (2012) institutional logics stance I adopt in the remainder of this research. Klein (2015), the first scholar to look to the institutional logics perspective from a Castoridian angle, argues that the Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury (2012) model has completely forgotten about the substances that precede institutions – their imaginary basis and foundations.

For the institutional order of Religion, God is the substance. It is an untouchable, invisible and unknown imagined figure that gives essence to the institutional order, from which all the ideal types and main features stem from. Freedom, Justice, Love, Property, and Knowledge are some examples of imagined significations which are present in every institutional order, despite of the lack of theorizing. For Friedland (2015, 2018) and Klein (2015), the institutional logics perspective is missing its point. The inclusion of these imagined significations as the heart of every institutional order is what makes agency possible beyond the purview of the institutional entrepreneur. The meanings are up for grabs for any agent to build upon through his own imagination and political jockeying.

Imagined social substances, such as God, have been for millennia shaping human behavior materially and symbolically, through *legein* (language) and *teukhein* (technique). Practices cannot exist without symbols, and symbols cannot exist without the imaginary. The imaginary, such as logics, are shaped historically through cognitive processes of framing, reordering and rearranging

imagination in one's mind. These newly formed imaginations are politically negotiated until they are discarded or they replace former imaginaries.

Back to the example of the exclusion of the African from society: the imaginary from that point in history deemed that coloured people had less “value”, were less human, or more animal, than the whites. Because of individual empathy, of the assessment of human capabilities of slaves, and for broader historical purposes, some agents imagined a different practice. Some agents had a dream, just like Martin Luther King, and politically acted upon the imaginary, making slavery forbidden and, today, establishing affirmative actions. More than a change in institutional logics, the slavery/affirmative action transition had its roots on the broader social imaginary. The substance-value of “humanity”, of “empathy”, and of “equality” rose upon the former imaginary of what we would today deem as “prejudice”, “selfishness”, and “greed”.

The social imaginary breaks researchers free from the seven institutional orders posited by Thornton and colleagues (2012). Any material, functional action derived from symbols must have been built upon an imagined signification up for grabs. Therefore, there is no need for a recombination of spheres of meaning and practice for a change in institutional logics to occur. There must be, however, the recombination of imaginary significations in order to change and action to take place. Values, for Klein (2015) were obliterated by the institutional logics perspective. The “thorntonian” view of institutional logics, in his view, misses the constitution of its seven overarching institutional orders.

Institutions are creative and mutant for Castoriadis (1975). They rely on significations that are not in the *tabula rasa* of nature, but are built by individual interaction, discourse, and negotiation. Individuals commit to act and behave, or to abstain and isolate because of the shared meanings they negotiate and institute in society. So, if it rains, it must be God's will. If there is lightning, maybe Thor is beating with his hammer. These imaginary significations are two-way bridges linking the individual and society, both instituting new imaginaries under the already instituted ones, presenting representations and things that yet do not exist.

Catholics drink wine imagining the blood of Christ, and eat bread imagining the body of Christ. The crucifix represents the love of Christ and

Christmas represents the birth of Christ. This transubstantiation (Klein, 2015) is what renders the imaginary material and symbolic. The turning of dates, of drinks, foods, and of abstract figures provides the imaginary with symbols. Giving presents on Christmas and abstaining from work, drinking wine in the church, eating fish before easter holiday, and making the sign of the cross before churches, are material practices that reinforces symbols and the imaginary. God is invoked by these material practices, and God is invoked by name. Therefore, logics do not determine action, nor do they provide meaning to it, they are the carriers of imaginary significations, conditioning, encouraging, and stimulating material practices.

2.6 Research Framework

Together, the field, the social imaginary, and institutional logics provide compelling grounds for a comprehensive approach to higher education. The framework of this research is depicted on Figure 1.

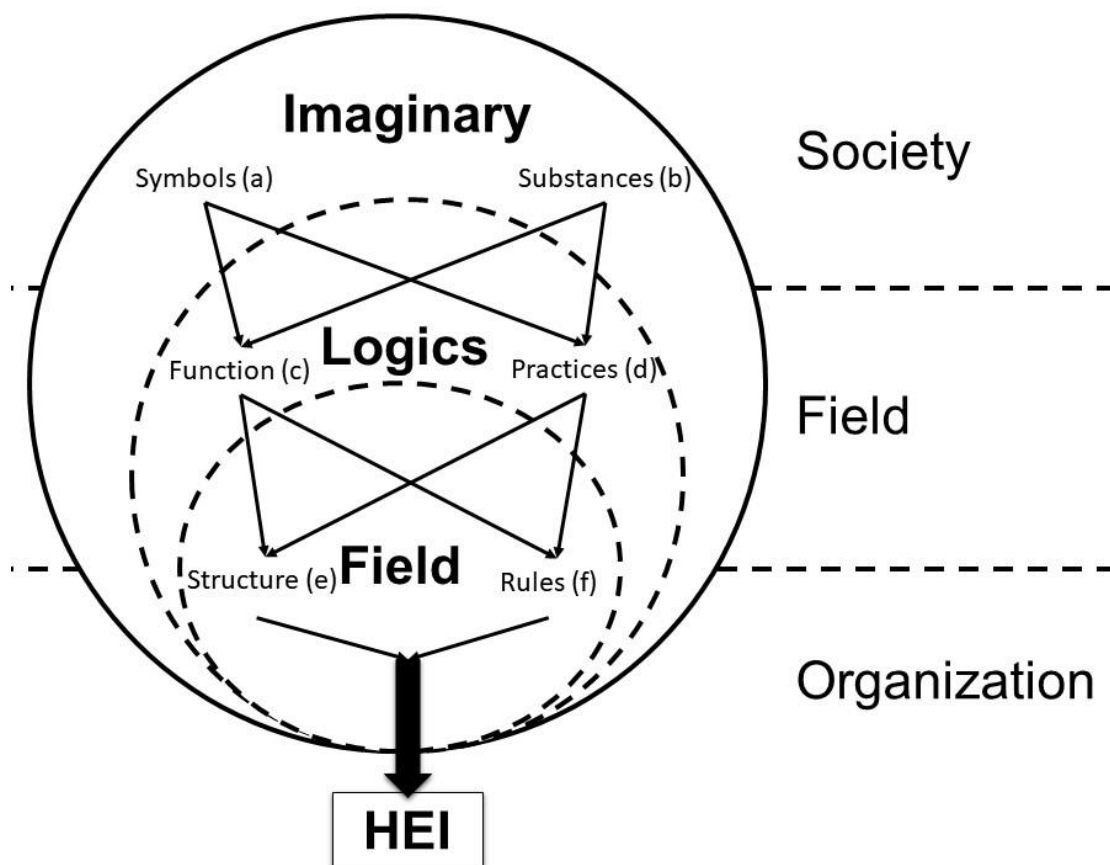


Figure 1: Research Framework

The social imaginary is the most abstract and raw form of cognition used in this research. For Castoriadis (1975) the imaginary precedes and thus shapes symbols and substances, the groundwork for institutional logics. Symbols (a) are conveyors of a socially constructed functionality which practices are prescribed by institutional logics. Similarly, substances (b) are the fundamental basis of institutional logics. In this sense, the social imaginary is the groundwork for the existence of institutional logics (Klein, 2015).

The enabling and constraining role of institutional logics (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012) is due to the functions and practices available on the shared understandings and common grounds of the social imaginary symbols and substances. Institutional logics prescribe functionalities (c) for the structuring of fields, providing them with overarching rules for functioning. Likewise, the practices (d) enabled by the imaginary are translated in structural organization in the field, under a set of agreed upon rules and norms (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012).

Lastly, structures and rules in the field, shaped by the imaginary in their conception, and institutional logics as conveyors, enable and constrain individual HEI strategies and agency.

3. Methods

This research seeks to understand the substances underlying the institutional logics acting upon the Brazilian field of higher education. The methods employed are based on an interpretive epistemology in order to capture the cultural content and meaning of the institutional logics acting upon the field.

3.1. Research Context

First, in order to understand the history and context of Brazilian Higher Education, I have chosen to perform a document research on a media outlet. At first, I thought about going to Brazil's largest newspaper, *Folha de S. Paulo*. However, when searching their online historical collection, there were more than 70.000 results to the "university" query, an incompatible amount of accounts to the scope of this research. Additionally, *Folha's* internet historical collection was not user friendly enough to allow the input of the pages of the newspaper into a qualitative data analysis software – a truly useful tool to use to code and analyse 70.000 pages of written data. The second thought was *Veja Magazine*, a weekly digest of news and entertainment, similar to *Time* and *Newsweek*, for example. *Veja* is published by Abril Editors, part of the Abril Group, one of the largest media corporations in Latin America. It is the largest magazine in Brazil, and the second largest in the world, with more than 6 million readers weekly, and holds a distinguished story regarding Brazil. Its articles, have led, for example, to the outset (and subsequent confirmation) of Brazil's ex-president Fernando Collor de Mello's crimes and impeachment, in 1992, among many other accusations that influenced Brazil's political and economic life.

Most recently, in an edition that is featured in this study, *Veja* has accused the former presidents of Brazil, Luis Inacio Lula da Silva and Dilma Rousseff of knowing every detail at the corruption scandal that happened inside Petrobras, in an article about the dawn of the 'car wash' operation, the largest corruption case in Brazil, featuring several sectors of the country's economy, and leading to the arrest and condemnation of several politicians and corporate executives, including the former president Lula. Because of being a weekly digest of the most remarkable news, for its interdisciplinary scope, for its user-friendly corpus, and mainly because of its relevance in the Brazilian society, I have chosen *Veja* magazine as the source of documents for this research.

It is important to highlight that *Veja* assumes its political views. In the governments from Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1997-2002) to the Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva (2003-2011) and Dilma Rousseff (2012-2015) the magazine editors had a clear political preference for a more conservative stance. After the death of Roberto Civita, the founder of Grupo Abril, in 2013, *Veja* started to assume a more liberal political stance. A stark example of this political change is that *Veja* kept hammering its readers that the Brazilian racial quotas in higher education would never work, comparing it with the south-african apartheid and nazi policies, because it was highly prejudicial and has never worked abroad. However, in 2017, the magazine contradicts itself and makes a cover article showing the bright side of racial quotas, and how it has helped blacks to reach higher education. I assume that *Veja* is the carrier of its own discourse; therefore, I stick to content analysis to endeavor on its interpretation.

The access to *Veja*'s historical archive is user friendly, requiring only a brief login procedure. After logging in, I was led to a screen with the most recent editions of the magazine, and the keyword search tool. I have chosen to query for "university", which led me to more than 8.000 results, averaging 10 accounts to "university" in each singular edition. I have chosen this query instead of other keywords such as "higher education" for three reasons: First, the search for the "higher education" keyword led to fewer results, circa 1.000, which I deemed as too little for the purposes of this document research. Second, in addition to rendering more accounts, the query for the word "university" resulted in the same articles that of the query for "higher education". Lastly, *Veja* uses the term "higher education", "college", "higher education institution", "higher education organization", and "university" interchangeably. Unfortunately, approximately 25 editions of *Veja* from 2000 to 2017 were not available in their system.

After defining a search query, I started downloading the images of the articles in order to input them into the qualitative data analysis software. All the images had to be downloaded individually, as a .jpg image file, with the keyword selected being highlighted in shades of red (Figure 2). For the section describing the history of the Brazilian Field of Higher Education, I have followed the 8.293 records individually, without coding, in order to provide a rich, thick description of the field in the last 21 years.

PROPAGANDA ENGANOSA

E-mails trocados entre os coordenadores do curso de propaganda e marketing da Unip mostram que os alunos encaminhados ao Enade eram previamente escolhidos

Neste documento, está relacionado o percentual de alunos de cada câmpus que deveriam fazer o Enade. Em um dos casos, apenas 22% dos estudantes foram selecionados para o exame – e o autor chegou a observar ao lado: “turma ruim”

As manobras causaram “estranhamento” em alguns alunos, mas o autor do e-mail ao lado festeja o fato de que apenas os que farão bonito no Enade foram selecionados. No total, estima que só 35% dos estudantes seriam inscritos no exame

RELATÓRIO SOBRE “PROSPECÇÕES” DO CURSO DE PMK, frente aos Resultados da PSA, para o ENADE (18.06.2012)

CAMPUS	TOTAL (7º.)	DEVERÃO “IR”	%	OBS.:
NORTE (noturno)	54	12	22%	Turma Ruim(9 falta)
PINHEIROS	21	10	47%	Metade Boa
RIBEIRÃO PRETO	31	14	45%	Metade Boa
SANTOS	18	13	72%	Tirou 4.0 em 2009
S. JOSE DOS CAMPOS	38	19	50%	Tirou 5.0 em 2009
TATUAPÉ	44	17	39%	Sem parâmetros
VERGUEIRO (NOITE)	66	21	32%	Turma normal
ALPHAVILLE	52	13	23%	Turma Ruim (tirou
CHÁCARA (NOITE)	137	41*	30%	*Ilda aposta em 20

Claro que houve algum “estranhamento” de salas “pequenas” surpreendidas com notas BAIXAS, mas tecnicamente TODOS ACEITARAM FICAR PARA EXAME.


Bem, estamos indo para os EXAMES com a consciência de que o que importa, AGORA, NÃO É MAIS um %, E SIM: que SEJAM LEVADOS AO EXAME OS QUE EFETIVAMENTE SABERÃO NOS REPRESENTAR BEM.

Contando que, ainda assim, ocorrerão REPROVAÇÕES nos EXAMES (mais disciplinas em DP’S, portanto) consideramos RAZOAVEL esperar UM PERCENTUAL DE “35%”, para PMK, SENDO O CONTINGENTE total de alunos do Curso indo para o ENADE de, no Máximo, 235 alunos).

autos. Em entrevista a VEJA, João Carlos Di Genio, reitor da Unip, e Marília Ancona Lopez, vice-reitora, disseram que tanto a professora Zulimar Barreto Boro como o coordenador Geraldo Fonseca Filho foram apenas “mal interpretados” nos e-mails e no vídeo. Quem lê as mensagens e vê as imagens, no entanto, pode constatar que a orientação dos dois é cristalinamente clara. Ambos, apesar de “mal interpretados”, continuam empregados na Unip até hoje.

As manipulações tiveram excelente resultado. Em 2012, o curso de propaganda e marketing nas diversas unidades da Unip alcançou desempenho extraordinário. As notas variaram de 4 a 5, as melhores possíveis. Em 2013, todos os cursos da área de saúde da Uninove ficaram com nota 4, à exceção de educação física, que ganhou nota 3. A importância de ter uma nota elevada no Enade é dupla: aumenta a reputação da **universidade** e garante a adesão em massa de bolsistas do governo federal, em geral estudantes de baixa renda. Nesta década, **universidades** privadas como Unip e Uninove cresceram muito apostando na ascensão das classes mais baixas. Em 2012, a Unip recebeu apenas 291 000 reais de bolsas federais, mas, no ano seguinte, o valor aumentou quase 400 vezes. Subiu para 114 milhões de reais. Em 2014, subiu ainda mais: foi para 350 milhões de reais. A Uninove teve um crescimento mais modesto. Passou de 66 000 reais em 2013 para 32 milhões no ano passado. Uma nota baixa no Enade pode levar a **universidade** a ser excluída dos benefícios federais.

As duas instituições negam qualquer irregularidade, apesar das evidências. O Ministério da Educação, consultado por VEJA, afirmou que pretende investigar o assunto. “O quadro da educação no Brasil é muito ruim”, disse o atual ministro, Mendonça Filho, do DEM de Pernambuco. “Os sistemas de avaliação pioraram no formato e na aplicação. Não tenho informação sobre irregularidades no Enade, mas o MEC e o Inep vão fiscalizar.” Tudo somado, comprovadas as fraudes, as **universidades** podem responder no âmbito administrativo e civil, mas não no âmbito penal. No terreno civil, tanto os professores forçados a mexer nas avaliações dos alunos como os próprios alunos prejudicados podem cobrar indenizações. ■



ESCUTE O ÁUDIO DO PROFESSOR MAEDA

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Figure 2: Sample of one of the pages coded

3.2. Research Design

External articles and news enlighten how practices are interpreted by the media, and thus, by the community outside of it, due to its opinion forming role and the construction of a social imaginary (Appadurai, 1996). I conducted content analysis in order to address four research goals: 1) To grasp the historical

background of this research since 1997; 2) To understand how does the field of higher education in Brazil work, its hierarchical structure, internal governance units, the role of the state, and its proximate fields, incumbents, and challengers (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012); 3) To understand the social imaginary (Castoriadis, 1975; Taylor, 2004, Appadurai, 1996) of the Brazilian Field of Higher Education; and 4) To investigate the institutional logics overarching the field.

Coding procedures on documental data were based on grounded theory's (Strauss & Corbin, 2008) approach to coding. First, I engaged in open coding, labeling every mention to the word "university" differently. Second, axial coding took place, finding matching patterns of data and consistently obeying coding criteria. Finally, selective coding helped to reach theoretical saturation and integrated the findings. On reporting the results of the document research, I have attempted to provide readers with a comprehensive background of Brazilian higher education in the last 21 years through thick descriptions (Geertz, 1973) of the data.

Despite providing this research with a rich background, *Veja Magazine* does not emphasize HE. Instead, it emphasizes the society at large, and is the conveyor of a discourse about politics and policies that shape the Brazilian Field of Higher Education, along with the practices, both material and symbolic, that are characteristic of the field. Seeking to bring this research endeavor closer to the Brazilian Field of Higher Education, and searching for validation, refinement, and inconsistencies, I have also conducted open-ended, unstructured interviews with the main policymakers and decision-makers in both HEIs. I chose to employ open-ended interviews because on complex institutions, such as universities, knowledge about some particular issues may vary. For example, the business school dean might have more to talk about partnerships with the industry than the director of the faculty department. The open-endedness of the interviews matches the requirements of a grounded-theory style approach to coding, combining flexibility and control. Therefore, these interviews may shed a light on the interviewee perceptions of institutional logics and their underlying imaginaries and substances, bringing a sense of morality to them. With the documental research at hand, I have also asked questions aiming to trigger informant's answers regarding particular subjects. By doing this, the intent is to elicit some

questions to check whether there is a conflict or overlap of theories, practices, narratives, and vocabularies, how are they solved, and how tensions and struggles among the surrounding constituents are settled.

When interviewing, I attempted to empathize with the participant, and seek for experiential understanding, or *verstehen*. As one informant said, what he was trying to put in words to me was “a phenomenological aspect, you’ve gotta experience it, you’ve gotta be here to understand it”. Another interviewee cried in the end of the interview, because he was telling me the story of a student that meant a lot for him. This kind of intensive interviewing (Charmaz, 2006) that I was looking forward to elicit.

Additionally, the interviewees were selected based on purposeful sampling (Miles and Huberman, 1994; Creswell, 2007), conducted in a one-on-one setting, recorded for later transcription. The structure of the interview and its protocol was based on the documental research for a better understanding of the history, logics, the field, and the imaginaries. Appendix A shows a brief summary of the main questions asked. Not all of them were asked for every participant, and more questions that were out of the script were asked, depended on the circumstances. The interviews were transcribed and coded in an qualitative data analysis software, using grounded theory’s (Strauss & Corbin, 2008) approach, starting with open coding, followed by axial and selective coding.

These two methods employed in sequence, along with the comprehensive historical background of Brazilian higher education, the description of the Brazilian field of higher education, and the interpretation of the social imaginary of Brazilian HE, are supposed to help to understand how institutional logics manifest themselves in two HEIs in Brazil, and how do they respond to these institutional demands. In this last goal, I put into work what Gioia, Corley and Hamilton (2013) termed as their “methodology” to assess qualitative data.

In Gioia, Corley, and Hamilton’s (2013) view, an inductive (or abductive), qualitative researcher is a reporter who listens to information sources and debriefs it to readers. The development of this debriefing includes pattern detection in data and the discovery of new and emerging concepts, which may enrich scholar knowledge and expand theory. For this purpose, Gioia, Corley,

and Hamilton (2013) propose an approach that presents 1st and 2nd order analysis. 1st order analysis uses informant-centric, *in vivo* terms and codes, while the 2nd order analysis emphasizes the researcher's concepts, themes, and dimensions. They argue that this transparent demonstration makes clear the connection between data and results, without jeopardizing qualitative insights. Despite Gioia, Corley, and Hamilton's (2013) method being directed at interviews, I have used their method with documents and interviews, making it, as they put it, a "get in there and get your hands dirty" research (p.19).

3.3 Coding Procedures

First, for the section that enabled me to understand and assemble the Brazilian Field of Higher Education through Fligstein and McAdam's (2012) theory of fields, I have coded Veja's 8.293 pages individually in a grounded theory fashion (Strauss & Corbin, 2008): open coding until I reached theoretical saturation and codes began to be redundant; axial coding by gathering the main events of the field through the open codes; and selective coding which resulted in the episodes of contention that have shaped the field. In order to organize, arrange, and combine the data, I have chosen to split the 21-year period in three different sections, in seven-year intervals, which have followed throughout the research: 1997 to 2003, 2004 to 2010, and 2011 to 2017. I have coded the interviews in this same grounded theory style, and have input them where they were fit.

Second, in order to analyse the social imaginary of higher education, I have chosen to employ the same contests for positioning of the Brazilian Field of Higher Education section. Because these have been triggers to substantial change in the field, I assumed that they were meaning-laden and portray new practices, material and symbolic, triggered by the change of values-substances (Klein, 2015; Friedland, 2018).

Finally, in order to induct the institutional logics acting upon higher education, I went back to the data and recoded all 8.293 pages of the magazine and the 260 pages of transcription of the interviews. The reason for "bringing the data back in" was twofold: I had read new material and updated the theoretical background regarding institutional logics and higher education, and thought it would be coherent to look at the data again not with new lenses, but with a brand

new pair of frames. With more coding experience and intimacy with the data, I was able to code the three time periods separately and analyse them with my new pair of glasses, leading not to a field analysis, as was the main intention of this research at the outset, but to a broader societal finding and public policy understanding.

3.4 Questions

The questions this research has sought to answer are:

1. How does the media portray the field of HE in Brazil?

This question is relevant for this research because I relied heavily on media accounts of higher education. I followed Appadurai's (1996) theorizing that the media has a significant strength to shape the social imaginary of society. In this sense, it is critical to understand the depictions and discourses the largest magazine in the countries spread about the field I engaged in researching. Especially because of its role in shaping the social imaginary, which according to Klein (2015), is the precursor to institutional logics (Friedland, 2015, 2018)

2. How is the Brazilian field of HE organized?

Fligstein and McAdam's (2012) theory of fields offers a comprehensive framework of field analysis. Before I begin to understand the social imaginaries and the institutional logics in Brazilian HE, I need to delimit the understanding of what is at stake, who are the main stakeholders, who are the incumbents, challengers, and internal governance units. The analysis of the Brazilian field of higher education will be crucial to the further development of the analysis of the field-level institutional logics.

3. What is the social imaginary of HE in Brazil?

In line with Friedland's (2015, 2018) reasoning about institutional logics, Klein (2015) proposes that the values-substances underlying logics are imaginary significations. The understanding of the imaginaries, symbols, and the substances that precede symbols has far-reaching implications for the definition of what is higher education for a society. Thus, the definition of what is the social imaginary of higher education will aid in the development and induction of the institutional logics over the Brazilian Field of Higher Education.

4. How do the institutional orders manifest at the Brazilian field of HE?

Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury (2012) have proposed the ideal types of seven overarching institutional orders, which are the master-rules of society. They argue that societies experience prescriptions from those institutional orders in the meso and micro levels. Understanding how these institutional orders operate at the field level may reveal the constraints and enablements of material and symbolic practices in the Brazilian field of Higher Education.

5. What are the institutional logics in the Brazilian field of HE?

Still according to Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury (2012), the institutional orders are refracted to the field level as institutional logics. In the field level, they blend, segregate, aggregate, decouple, expand, and contract, in an interplay among their prescriptions, giving rise to the constellations of logics (Goodrick & Reay, 2011) and institutional complexity (Greenwood et al., 2011).

6. What is the degree of institutional complexity in the Brazilian field of HE?

Institutional complexity (Greenwood, et al., 2011) happens as a result of contradictory prescriptions that institutional logics in the field level make upon organizations. Understanding how organizations cope with conflicting prescriptions of institutional logics through centralization, fragmentation, or decoupling processes may enlighten the degree of institutional complexity in the field according to its

7. How do HEIs cope with field-level institutional logics?

Organizations need to cope with institutional complexity (Greenwood et al., 2011) and respond to institutional logics (Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury, 2012) in routine decision-making. In processes mediated by attention, sensemaking, and interpretation, organizations cope with institutional logics to maintain legitimacy. Understanding how they manage different prescriptions elucidates which institutional logics are favourable and the consequences of this preference.

3.5 Operational and Conceptual Definitions

The primary concepts used in this research are the field, the social imaginary, and institutional logics

First, the field is defined by Fligstein and McAdam (2012: 09) as “where actors or organizations interact with one another on the basis of shared understandings about the purposes of the field, relationships to others in the field, and the rules governing legitimate action in the field”.

Operationally, I have delimited the field based on Fligstein and McAdam’s (2012) theorizing about incumbents, challengers, internal governance units, and proximate fields. I have searched for these actors and fields by relying on the broad historical context provided by the research, looking for patterns that could point to the relevance of some players and the secondary role others play. Similarly, when studying the proximate fields, I have chosen to listen to Veja and the interviewees’ voices to understand those industries, sectors, institutions, and further aggregates that played a role in the major shifts and changes concerning Higher Education. I have asked the data in hands questions based on Fligstein and McAdam’s (2012) theorizing, exposed in Appendix B.

Second, the social imaginary is a hard to grasp, phenomenological concept. It is the collective set of unconscious shared understandings we have with each other; our expectations towards the “fellow man”; a way of knowing, deeply shared and rooted in society; irreducible instituted significations and do not reflect what individuals think by themselves.

Operationally, I relied mostly on asking the data some questions grounded in the theorizing of the scholars, philosophers, and researchers that defined conceptually the imaginary, according to appendix C. I have first sought to understand the instituted and instituting imaginary by grasping the shared understandings of the field, looking for patterns in data that could indicate the taken for granted common grounds of the field. Then, I sought to grasp the material practices deemed as “functional”, and its underlying rituals, myths and symbols, through the discourse portrayed by Veja.

Lastly, institutional logics were researched as "The socially constructed, historical patterns of cultural symbols and material practices, including

assumptions, values and beliefs, by which individuals and organizations provide meaning to their daily activity, organize time and space, and reproduce their lives and experiences" (Thornton & Ocasio, 1999: 804)

Operationally, Thornton and Ocasio's (1999) definition was used along with Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury's (2012) and Friedland's (2015, 2018) conceptions of institutional logics. I have sought to conform to Gioia, Corley, and Hamilton's (2012) methodology for qualitative rigor in inductive research, by finding patterns grounded in data, with the help of a qualitative data analysis software. I intended to clearly portray the connections between *in vivo* excerpts and their aggregate dimensions that formed institutional logics. More specifically, I have relied on *in vivo* excerpts to build further second order categories, which I labeled conforming to the main patterns in the quotes. By aggregating the relevant second order concepts in the three periods of time this research was divided, the overarching institutional logics were inducted.

4. Data Interpretation

In this section, divided in three parts, I analyse the data gathered in Veja simultaneously with the data collected in 16 interviews in the RU and the RUC, a total amount of 260 pages worth of transcriptions.

4.1 The Field of Brazilian Higher Education

Despite of presenting a broad theory of fields, Fligstein and McAdam (2012) do not address HE as a field per se. HEIs are complex (Hardy, 1988). They welcome professionals from all areas of knowledge (Baldrige, 1979), with different logics and imaginaries to draw upon (Castoriadis, 1975; Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury, 2012), thus, different expectations, modes of action, behaviors, and broader cognitive frames. The administrators of universities must account for the faculty and for the employees, must take care of governmental regulations and demands, must balance the fulfilment of the mission and the expenditures of the revenue, must admit students and grant them degrees, must keep courses in high quality standards (McCowan, 2004) and keep research meaningful for domestic and international problems (Kerr, 2001; Weisbrod, Ballou & Asch, 2008). To fulfill all of its duties, HEIs count on knowledgeable employees, and generally, members of the faculty are in charge of administrative positions (Baldrige, 1979, Shattock, 2011). Universities are responsible for broad development, for life-changing experiences, and for the community that surrounds it (Gumport, 2000; 2002; Gumport & Snyderman, 2006). With all of these duties, proposing a field for HEIs is a challenging endeavor.

Relying on the institutional logics perspective, higher education is part of every institutional order posited by Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury (2012). Families tend to encourage their children of continuing education, which may be offered by the State or by Religious universities, giving rise to a Professional who will enter the Market and the Corporations, helping to develop the Community. Higher education is also an instituted imaginary signification, shaping institutions and logics (Castoriadis, 1975; Klein, 2015) through its material techniques for teaching and researching, and symbolic practices of granting degrees and advancing knowledge. Therefore, the societal-view of the field of higher education considered for this study is depicted on Figure 3, where I stress with bold, black arrows the scope of this research. In the figure, the field of higher

education is interconnected (note the dual edge arrows) to the seven overarching institutional logics, which in turn, are within the social imaginary. Based on the historical background provided by the document research, I essentially intend to build upon higher education as connected to the market, state, and the remainder institutional orders. Further, I build upon the six institutional logics highlighted on the framework, inducting their field-level refractions as a result of the recombination of institutional demands as an organizational response to institutional logics, as suggested by Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury (2012). The social imaginary always precedes the institutional logics through its substantial significations (Klein, 2015; Friedland, 2015, 2018). The instituted and instituting role of the imaginary is emphasized throughout the research as markers of institutional logics – apart from the recombination of the Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury's (2012) ideal types, Greenwood and colleagues' (2011) institutional complexity, and Goodrick and Reay's (2011) constellations of logics.

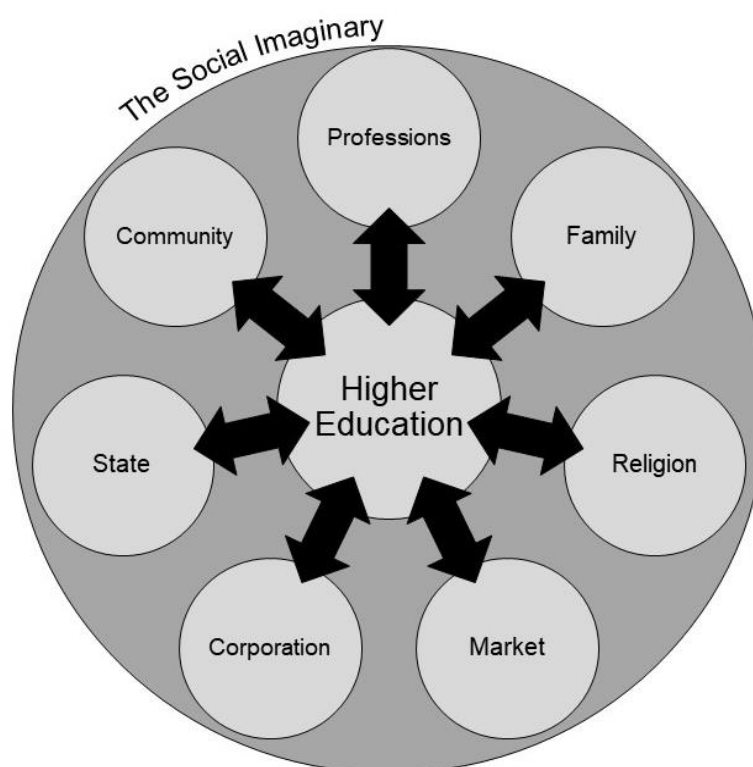


Figure 3: The Overall Scope of this Research

In order to set the stage for the field of higher education, I divide this chapter in three parts. The first part considers the time period from 1997 to 2003, where I grasp two major changes in the educational policy: the validity of the law of directives and basis of education, and the transition from the Fernando

Henrique administration to the Lula administration. The second part of this chapter is the period between 2004 and 2010, with the reelection of the Workers' Party candidate, and a major increase in public expenditure with higher education. Lastly, on the final part, from 2011 to 2017, I show what were the consequences of massive funding in higher education, and the present status of the field.

When designing the field for the three periods, I attempted to answer some questions based on the Fligstein and McAdam's (2012) theory of fields, such as what is going on in the field, what is at stake, who has more or less power, who are actors friends, enemies, competitors, what are the rules of the field, what tactics are possible, legitimate, and interpretable, and finally, how do actors see other actors in the field. Appendix B shows the script of questions I asked the data when analyzing and writing this section. I also attempted to expose the seven key elements of their theory of fields, including, but not limited to, the incumbents, challengers, IGUs, the broader field environment, the exogenous shocks, mobilization, the onset of contentions and episodes of contention and the field settlement. The description of the field conducted in the earlier sections was constantly revisited in this chapter in order to tell a story through the theory of fields' lenses and language.

4.1.1 1997-2003

The first element that sets the stage for Brazilian higher education, and in agreement with Marquis and Rayard (2015), is to say that it has always been and still is strictly controlled by the government – despite opening this field for private for profit endeavor in 1997. In 1996, the government has realized that the federal universities would never be able to accommodate the growing demand for higher education, and decided to sanction the law of directives and basis in 1997, which would allow private for-profits to enter the market. Immediately the number of private HEIs started to skyrocket, and so did the enrollments in these universities and colleges, as shown in Chart 1, with Inep's data (2018). The for-profit privates opened up thousands of places in higher education, but they did not compete among their fellow non-profit universities, because the latter were traditional and well established in the market. The for-profits were now in the market to provide higher education for those students that could not enter public

education because competition was too high and could not enter the non-profit because they were too expensive. This phenomenon was deemed by Douglass (2012) as the Brazilian Effect, where for-profits fill the gap of demand and offer and become the dominant provider of higher education.

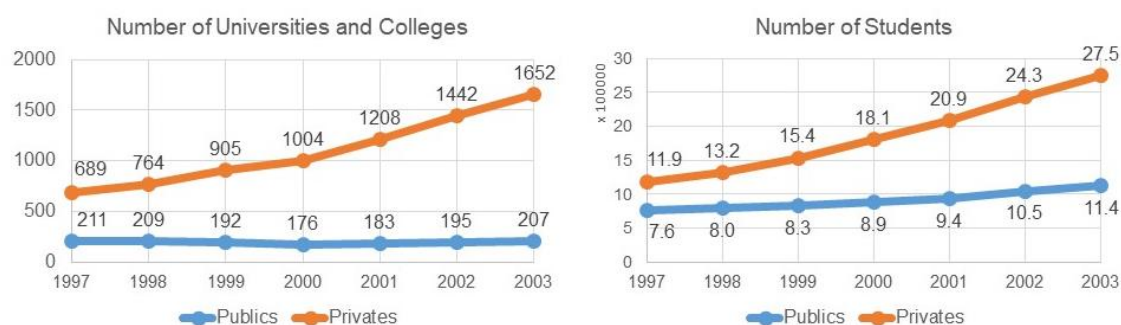


Chart 1: Number of Undergraduate HEIs and Students in Publics and in Privates 1997-2003 (Inepdata, 2018)

There was little to no competition among these fields, once they were substantially different. The state forced the public institutions to be elitist, because most of the high scorers in their admission tests were the students who attended expensive private high schools. The non-profit schools were also destined for the rich, due to their high tuition fees. The for-profits had a different proposition, seeking the fortune at the bottom of the pyramid (Prahalad, 2004), offering affordable tuition fees and dubious quality. Regardless, the public universities were the incumbents, because they set the tone for the remainder of the HEIs in terms of curriculum, structure, organization, staff, faculty, and the remaining criteria that according to McCowan (2004) are indicators of quality.

Fligstein and McAdam (2012) say that incumbents are able to exert disproportionate influence and impose their interests in the organization of the field. According to Marquis and Raynard (2015) a feature of emerging markets is the predominance of state endeavors. Therefore, as incumbents, public universities represent, with USP for example, the most notable example of what a public university should be like - its emphasis on research and excellent teaching has led USP to be renowned as the best university in Brazil. UNICAMP, another state university based in the state of Sao Paulo was deemed by Wired Magazine as the most promising technological centre in Brazil, due to its focus on technological research, Veja reports. Behind the success of the Sao Paulo

state universities lie a heavy source of funding: according to the magazine, state laws make at least 10% of all tax revenues from sales be destined to state universities. Public universities, the federal most notably, are criticized by Veja for being cost spirals, relying on massive loads of state funding, but failing to manage it.

Public universities are also research universities by nature. However, in some federal universities, not only the research level is low, but also teaching is lousy. Only 28% of the professors are PhDs, and all professors are expected to conduct research. Public universities face almost annual strikes led by the unionized faculty seeking more benefits and better wages. The publics could provide better wages for its faculty, if not for the large number of professors and personnel they employ. Veja says they should strive for efficiency in processes, as a symbol of respect to taxpayer money, not on hiring and increasing wages. In average, 90% of the universities' budget is destined to pay professors and employees, which cannot be fired because of the public service logic of job stability. There are no incentives for savings either, because if the university manages to save, say, 1% of the budget, in the following year they get less funding, putting a premium on inefficiency. Veja's claims for efficiency in public universities are diverse from the economic efficiency condemned by Locke and Spender (2011) and a significant body of literature on managerialism (Bastedo, 2008; Blaschke, Frost & Hattke, 2014; Gumport, 2000; Geiger, 1991; Olssen & Peters, 2005). The concern about efficiency is not tied to the quest for maximum outputs with the minimum inputs, as they define it, but with the government's and university presidents' inability to manage the university, in the sense of getting things done.

Those are some reasons why the magazine starts to advocate for sharing costs with students that are able to afford higher education, which would put less of a strain in national and state funds. Veja, in this case, is an incumbent in an distant field (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012), but whose opinions and articles are piecemeal attempts to change other fields, hoping to be noticed by insiders (Appadurai, 1996).

The private non-profit field is the first challenger to public higher education, because they were the first to provide a second option for those

students that were refused at the publics. An interviewee says “in the 1990s, [...] the person, or he was admitted to the federal university, and their second proposition was the RU”. While most research work was made by the publics, the private non-profits, especially the catholic universities, contributed to the body of knowledge. The catholic universities are, in this sense, similar to the public universities. They have research departments where Veja argues that some retired faculty from the publics settle, and attract scholars who are willing to, but have not passed in the civil examination, work for the publics. However, their funding is nowhere near that of the public universities, because they need to charge tuition in all degree-granting programs in order to prosper. To maintain excellent standards, some nonprofit institutions started to lobby to get more benefits, attuned with Marquis and Raynard’s (2015) proposition that relation with the government are determinant of success in emerging countries. First, Unoeste’s owners threw a party for some public representatives, and approximated the minister of education asking for tax waivers. Then, a columnist tells that, in a meeting with the minister of education, he witnessed a non-profit representative lobby for revoking the law that authorized for-profit higher education, because the university was losing students. Fligstein and McAdam (2012) posited that when higher level state fields do not support lower level fields in their Russian doll, bureaucratic fashion of fields, corruption was an obvious response. However, they did not account that lower level non-state fields also could engage in corruption when resources are low or competition is high.

There seems to be, therefore, two kinds of non-profit HEIs in Brazil. First, those confessional and philanthropic non-profits (CPNP), which hold research departments and excellent teaching. These are students’ second options after the publics – and could be their first option if publics charged tuition. An interviewee says that “the competitive advantage of federal universities is the absence of tuition fees”. There are few exceptions to this confessional-philanthropic field, such as FGV, ESPM, and Insper, community non-profits that are top-notch business schools seemingly inspired by Harvard. Second, the community non-profits (CNP), which are similar to for-profit HEIs, engage in lobbying, have in the top-team-management members of a family or friends, and are not as worried about quality as the confessional-philanthropic ones. These

CNPs generally assumed the organizational structure of a university centre, which allowed private HEIs to open and close courses at will. There is no contention among them, however, because they pursue different goals. The CPNPs are more concerned about providing good education and conducting good research, along with McCowan's (2004) indicators of quality, while the CNPs are for-profits with a different label.

The private for profits are the newest challengers in the field, and in its first few years of existence, faced prejudice by Veja because of its questionable quality mostly due to their poor facilities, high student-to-teacher ratio, the lack of research environments, and the inexperience of the faculty (McCowan, 2004). They have quickly absorbed students that were not wealthy enough to enter the CPNPs, and were unable to enter the publics. Some of these HEIs were first in the middle and high school *business*, and expanded their purview to higher education. Because of the Provaio, the annual assessment of higher education conducted by the government, Veja says that some private universities started to offer attractive wages to public universities' professors, and succeeded in hiring them for academic management posts, so they could use their knowledge to advance quality, balancing it with a managerial logic of earning and profiting. Despite of their alarming performance in Provaio, a president of a for-profit argued that "it is up to the market to decide who gets hired, not up to the government", therefore, challenging state authority and legitimating the market. This fact is interesting because, Fligstein and McAdam (2012) posit for a mutual process of dependence between state and non-state fields, arguing that the state legitimates and is legitimated by non-state fields simultaneously. However, for-profits challenge the state by stating that it is up to other non-state fields to legitimate them, seemingly indicating that the state is controlling and regulating more than it should. Indeed, an interviewee agrees by arguing that "the educational market is exceedingly regulated, unnecessarily regulated". This brand new challenger does not seem to bother its CPNP counterparts, which continue to be the second option for students when entering because of their quality. There was a large expansion of the field with the entrance of the for-profits, allowing more people to access HE through the for-profits.

The market, an interdependent field to higher education, welcomed students that graduated in private schools. The need for trained people, caused by a shortage of university graduates during the earlier years and by Brazil's growth and internationalization, has increased in such a level that any training or education was better than no training or education, Veja argues. The market relies on higher education to admit educated or trained workforce, and to acquire research results. The magazine says that firms prefer to fill their posts with the students from public universities, once they were the best. Private universities in the group of the CPNP also had the prestige of being considered to filling their job posts. With the entrance of the for-profits, the market started hiring students from those that scored the best in Provas, legitimating the assessment. The market started to approach the universities, too, especially those with a technological drive, and some little clusters of university-industry (UI) collaboration were created. In Fligstein and McAdam's (2012) view, this UI collaborations and the constant traffic of people from HEIs to the firms, and from the firms to the HEIs, are a signal that those two fields are interdependent. A major criticism, however, was that Brazilian science was not useful, not marketable, and did not serve Brazilian society. Because of this, some universities, such as UNICAMP started to conduct applied research in conundrum with some companies.

All fields within the Brazilian Field of Higher Education (Public, Non-Profit, For Profit) have stakes in other fields. Higher education provides workforce for the market, and at that time, Brazil's labor force was not as educated as after the entrance of for-profits. Higher Education is also the main driver for technological advances, and Brazil started to make more applied science in order to get closer to the market (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012).

Veja says the general sense of Brazilian population was that the boost of offer in higher education was favorable, because it meant that more people could be educated and strive to prosper. The FIES, the government-based loans fund, was expanded and enabled students who could not afford tuition to enter the private HEIs. This has contributed to the further rise in course numbers and decline in quality in McCowan's (2004) terms. The low-quality HEIs by the end of the 97-03 time period started to report a surplus of places, meaning that there

were more places offered than students demanded. Veja argues that there are still people who cannot afford higher education, even with the FIES program, which meant an opportunity for the challengers in for-profits, who started investing heavily on marketing and lowering tuition costs.

Despite the astounding number of private HEIs, both for profit and non-profit, they generally follow the public's benchmarks of teaching and research because, according to Veja, the Provaio measures their performance based on the public university model. An interviewee from the RUC confirms that "this yardstick is designed for the federal universities, with a, with a federal university baseline, the remainder, they must fit the measurement". The Provaio was the first event that shaped the field of higher education from 97-03, because it ultimately has led to a delegitimation (Suchman & Deephouse, 2008) of both for-profit higher education and most community non-profits, which sought to admit the largest number of students in the bottom of the pyramid for obtaining larger revenues, without concerns for quality. Because the Provaio is the first attempt to govern and control higher education, an idiosyncratic case occurs: the government – via Provaio – acts as the internal governance unit - IGU (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012) through the Inep - National Institute of Educational Studies and Research, a public autharchy¹, which is in charge of the test. In essence, therefore, the first major shift in this field-period is the inauguration of a new IGU, right after what could be deemed as another piecemeal change that motivated this study – the authorization of for-profit endeavors in higher education.

In summary, the Provaio has improved quality in the Brazilian Field of Higher Education, by making for-profits adjust to quality indicators (McCowan, 2004). A first attempt to superficially solving the access problem was proposed and applied by UFRJ, which established a quotas system reserving 50% of the places in the university for black and/or poor students, a system that according to Sowell (2004) is not adequate, since it is a disguise for other problems. A summary of the main localized changes in the Brazilian Field of Higher Education from 97-03 is depicted in Figure 4, showing that the number of institutions has

¹ Autharchies in the Brazilian legal regime are indirect public administration entities that are autonomous once they are created. It aims to decentralize the government functions. Federal Universities, in this sense, may be characterized as public autharchies, because they function without government effort, and independently of political processes.

grown because of the entrance of for-profits. The lines are blurred between the CNPs and the for-profits because they adopt the same practices when competing, putting money over mission. Black arrows indicate the internal movements within the Brazilian Field of Higher Education, while white arrows represent state field regulations and movements that affected the Brazilian Field of Higher Education.

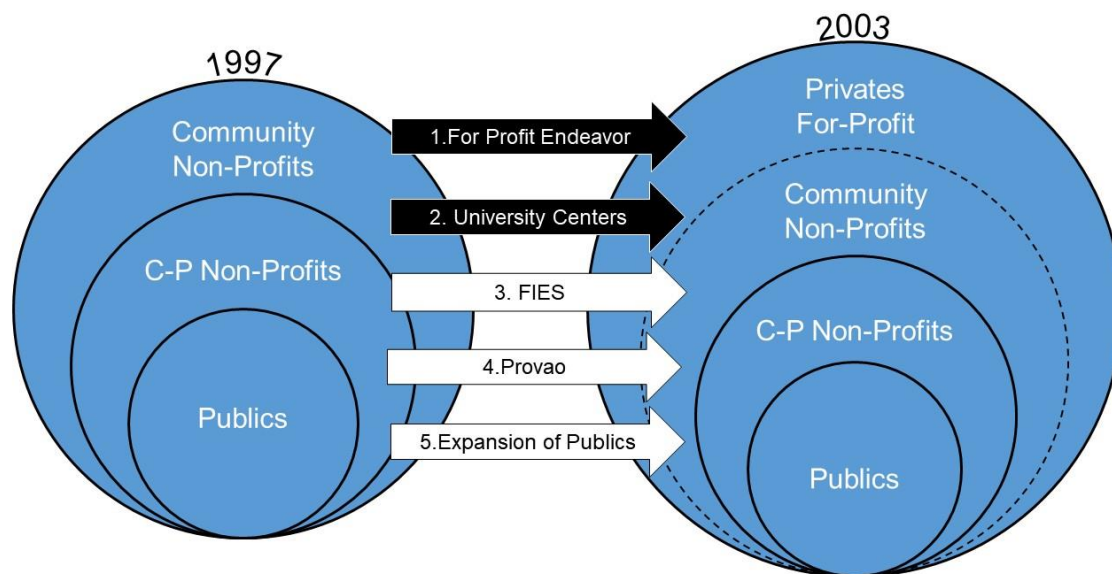


Figure 4: Main Changes in the Brazilian Field of Higher Education 1997-2003

The Brazilian Field of Higher Education in 1997-2003 is portrayed in Figure 5. The Brazilian Federal Government provides a background that regulates and legislates about higher education. The market, defined as the interdependent fields (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012) comprising the industries, commerce, and service endeavors, is interested in HE because of the workforce and research they get from it. The remaining institutional logics, professions and community most notably, but not exclusively, are also depicted as a background influence, or distant fields (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012). There are two main fields within the Brazilian Field of Higher Education, namely the Public Sector, and the Private Sector, that function in an independent fashion (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012). The public sector is composed by federal and state institutions. Some federal universities are specialized in areas of knowledge, such as the Federal Technological Universities and the Federal University of Health Sciences. Conversely, the state universities are funded by the Brazilian states, and follow

the same logics – and roughly the same regulations – of federal universities. Not all Brazilian states have state universities, once the decision is up to the state government. They are the incumbents in this period because they are well-known by their superiority in admitting the best students and hiring the best faculty, because they do not charge tuition and pay competitive wages to the faculty thanks to the government support they receive. Additionally, they are state autarchies, meaning that they are the yardsticks by which the state regulates the private sector (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012)

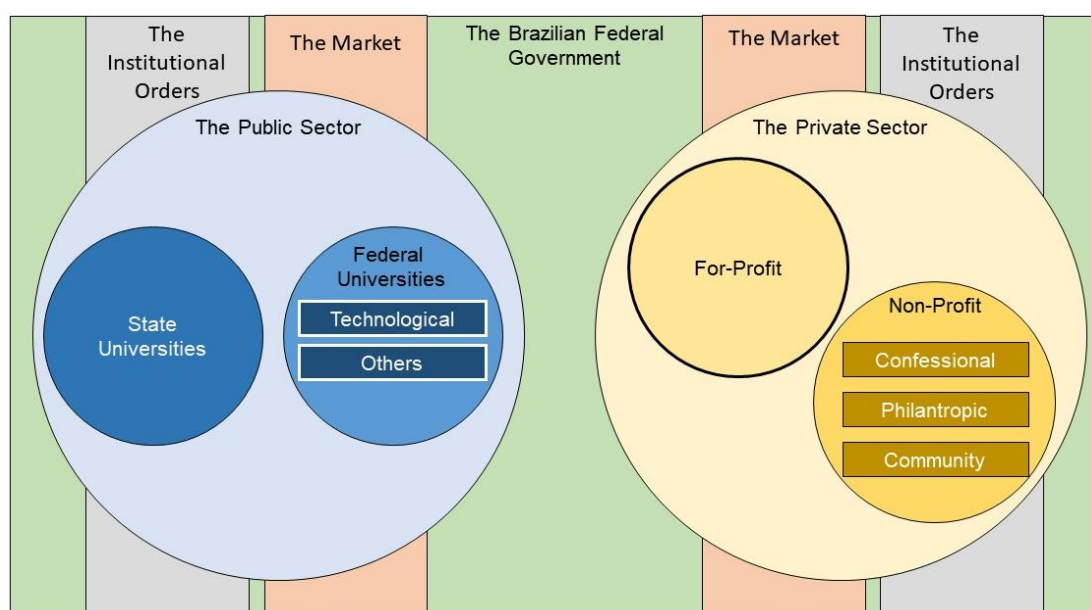


Figure 5: The Brazilian Field of Higher Education 1997-2003

The challengers in the Brazilian Field of Higher Education are the privates, which are divided between for-profits and non-profits. The for-profit universities are recent in Brazil, being authorized to function only in 1997 with the promulgation of the law of directives and basis of national education. They often function under a market logic and under tight state constraints for quality via the state IGU, the Prova0 (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012). The non-profit universities are roughly as old as the public universities, and divide themselves in philanthropic, confessional, and community HEIs. Generally the confessional – Catholic, Presbyterian, and Spiritist - universities are both confessional and philanthropic. They, like the for-profit universities, function under a market logic, and have tighter state regulative constraints because, in exchange of tax-waivers for their philanthropic status, they have further demands for accountability. Within the Private Sector, I consider the CPNPs as the incumbents in this period for their

tradition and legitimacy (Suchman & Deephouse, 2008), and research orientation. However, the CNP and for-profit challengers have been able to enroll a plethora of students, have invested millions in marketing efforts, and have managed to get their own slice of the cake. Despite not being a threat to CPNPs, CNPs and for profits are growing year after year, despite their low quality confirmed by the field's IGU – the Provão. While CNPs and for-profits grow, CPNPs seem to be stable in their sizes, and the state makes publics enroll more students.

4.1.2 2004-2010

Setting the stage for this second period, it is important to notice that under the Worker's Party administration, the Brazilian Field of Higher Education has become closer to the state than before. First, the Provao was replaced by the ENADE, a similar IGU (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012), but one that assesses students and their courses every three years, instead of annually. Second, realizing that only 20% of the age cohort was enrolled in higher education, and that even with the expansion of the privates there were places left at universities, the government has sanctioned the PROUNI, a scholarship program for students from poor backgrounds, which enabled HEIs to get tax waivers and more students. Third, seeing that the government was serious about the expansion of higher education, the first international group – Laureate – has arrived in Brazil. Fourth, the state confirms that mass access to higher education is a priority and that public universities are inefficient, and launches the REUNI, a program that seeks to make public institutions more cost effective and that makes them receive more students than they did before. Fifth, the for-profits go to the market and make their IPOs in Bovespa – the Brazilian stock exchange, benefiting from higher education as a really profitable business. Lastly, the government launches a new IGU for higher education, the ENEM, also controlled by the INEP, which manages the ENADE. The ENEM is the national assessment of high schools, and would be used as a kind of SAT in the admissions of the public universities.

The Lula administration has been elected under the motto that “it takes a guy without a degree to fix Brazilian higher education”. His actions were mostly concerned about the mass access to HEIs, spending on the PROUNI program, expanding the already existing FIES, making public universities more efficient

through the REUNI, and controlling admissions through the new ENEM. PROUNI, FIES, REUNI, and ENEM show the great deal of control and interference the state field exerts upon the Brazilian Field of Higher Education. The government is not able to provide access to HE for all just with its public universities, thus, it provides scholarships in privates to try to increase the number of students. Fligstein and McAdam (2012) argue that states generally support incumbents in fields so they still attribute legitimacy (Suchman & Deephouse, 2008) to it, however, instead of investing in public universities, the state decides to indirectly fund the privates. The private universities, especially the for-profits, perceive this increased access policy, and start to invest massively in higher education, enabling the Laureate group to enter the Brazilian Field of Higher Education, boosting the offer of distance, e-learning graduate programs, and making IPOs in order to get partners to grow even further. Therefore, for-profits start to engage in boundary spanning activity with the market, engaging in managerialism (Locke & Spender, 2011) in order to get market funds, and with the state, complying to its norms in order to get state funds.

The substitution of the Provas for the ENADE was motivated by political reasons, says Veja, once the current administration would not let a good deed of the former government prosper under their purview. An interviewee says that all regulations and incentives would be unnecessary if “Brazil treated education as a state program, not as a government program”. Just like the Provas, the ENADE might be interpreted as a state attempt to boost the power of the incumbents, the public HEIs, making other members of the field fit their structure and practices (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012). The Brazilian Field of Higher Education, in this sense, was a stage for a political struggle, for a maneuver with no specific objectives or strategy. The government’s priority for higher education was to improve access to the field, regardless of quality assessments. According to Veja, there were more than 500.000 places left on privates, especially for-profits, and this number did not benefit anyone – later it has grown up to 1.7 million places left in privates (Inepdata, 2018). A minimum quality standard was expected from the HEIs, but so minimal that less than ten courses were effectively terminated by the state IGUs - Provas or ENADE. The for-profits and CNPs were investing large sums in marketing campaigns, 25% more than they did the years before, and

opened courses in the poorer areas of the cities, struggling to get new students. However, the main instrument for improving Brazilian access to HEIs in the period was the PROUNI, which has also led to the legitimation (Suchman & Deephouse, 2008) of for-profit Brazilian HEIs, once deemed as degree factories, and now the study place for millions of students. In other words, the Brazilian Field of Higher Education, which was once limited to a few private non-profit endeavors and to state-provided higher education, encompasses now a for-profit subfield sponsored by the state. This might be seen as an empowerment of challenges that fulfill state duties, or as just other example of the myriad ties that state and nonstate fields engage in (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012). Nevertheless, the privates were in need of this kind of policy, according to chart 2 with data from the Inepdata (2018). The number of enrollments has never been so high, despite the sudden drop in enrollments due to the global financial crisis. However, the privates could welcome much more students than they do, as the number of places they offer grows geometrically.

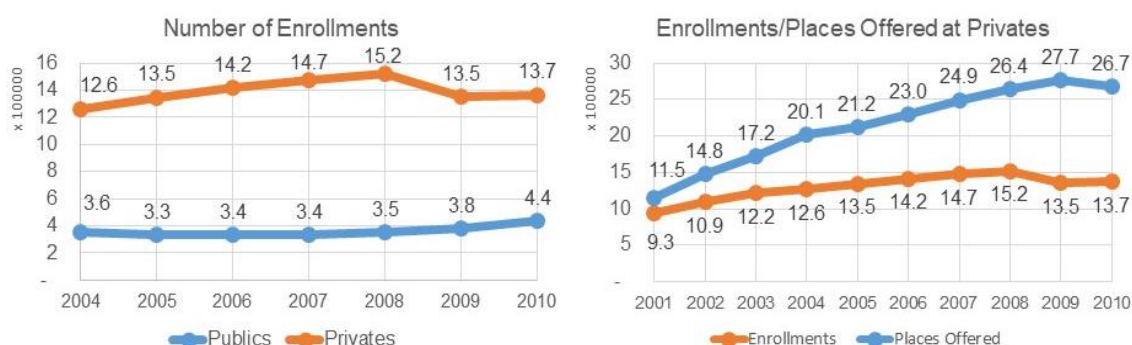


Chart 2: Number of Enrollments and Places Offered in Privates 2004-2010 (Inepdata, 2018)

An impressive amount of state endeavors went wrong, too. The universities created by Lula were built on places with little population density, causing them to have empty classrooms. The ministry of education announced a plan for higher education that would limit foreign participation in HE to 30%, and would subordinate the for-profits shareholders to a “community council” that would need to approve all the decisions made by their management, seemingly in an attempt to ‘regain’ control in the field, imposing tight regulative constraints on nonstate HEIs (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012). The government engaged heavily in political indoctrination both in the admission tests, and in the ENADE test – Veja said that at least four questions of the ENADE were explicit propaganda.

The state has also expanded HE for the Landless Workers Movement, a political organization attached to the Worker's Party, with different treatment from the remainder of the public universities' students, a close connection to social movement theory where states legitimate social movements in order to be supported by them (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012). Lastly the ENEM has had problems of leakage.

The state has empowered the challengers of the field, who now took advantage of these opportunities to expand. Laureate and DeVry, international groups of higher education, are the new challengers of the field. Their presence tends to increase enrollments even further because of their know-how and experience, and also because of the new technologies that are appearing, such as blended and e-learning. In the meantime, the CPNP remain silent challengers in the Brazilian Field of Higher Education, striving for excellence in their service, but without announcing big movements within the field. Some of them have turned into what the magazine called "Private Boutiques", meaning that they offered excellent teaching and facilities, charging expressive tuition fees.

The public incumbents have announced an expansion plan with the REUNI, a program designed to make them more efficient, enrolling more students, avoiding student evasion, and occupying empty places. This decision, together with the launching of 5 federal universities and 25 federal technological universities, is an attempt to maintain the public sector at the forefront of the higher education field. However, delegitimation processes happened when the public universities and the government behaved unpopularity. The president of UnB was accused of corruption. A proof of the fragility of the state happened at USP. Because of its high costs, the government of the state of Sao Paulo has attempted to demand accountability from its universities. However, the students and faculty, in response, invaded the administration building, challenging the government and demanding it to pull back. The government, after a 50-day strike, agreed to cancel its demands. The state sends contradictory messages. On the one hand, it empowers its own fields while also providing for nonstate fields, and on the other hand, it delegitimizes itself and its fields via corruption and inefficiency in management.

Relations with interdependent fields have grown in this period of years. UNICAMP, for example, has been consolidated as the “Brazilian silicon Valley”, and by their example, other universities have also embraced the industries around them and started to cooperate. This is a stark example of a state field resorting to a nonstate field for a cooperation. The professions, other interdependent set of fields, are standing strong because of the rigidity of Brazil’s laws. The economy council did not recognize an economy professor who was a visiting scholar at Harvard Business School because his undergraduate degree was in civil engineering, for example.

In summary, the Brazilian Field of Higher Education between 2004 and 2010 has underwent changes caused by the election of Lula, a leftist, Worker’s Party politician. He favoured the incumbents by inaugurating two new IGUs (ENADE, which assesses quality in higher education, and ENEM, which is a government instrument for admissions into HE), and by proposing an expansion of public higher education through his REUNI act. The state has also favoured the challengers via the PROUNI, which provides tuition for students in exchange for scholarships, filling the classes that were left empty in the last years. The PROUNI served as a kind of channeling of poor students to for-profits and CNPs in order to provide access to Higher Education, while the government has created more tuition-free public universities and technology centers that would be crowded by students of private high schools. In comparison with the last period, the state has assumed a more protective stance over its incumbents in HE, perhaps because of the incentives and concessions the challengers have had in years before. Favouring the incumbents is one way maintain the Brazilian field of Higher Education in a settlement regarding the ‘rules of the game’, and the IGUs were inaugurated exactly with this focus while supervising the field members (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012)

The for-profit and most CNP challengers have noticed the opportunity and endeavored in distance education in non-research graduate courses. They have benefited from the technology available in proximate, interconnected fields in order to expand their scope of action. For-profits have made their IPOs in order to raise money for growth, in consonance with Fligstein and McAdam’s (2012) theory of fields, which posits that challengers would attempt to accumulate

resources in order to compete with incumbents. Foreign groups also noticed opportunities and arrived in the country. Treating higher education as a commercial endeavor, these HEIs relied on marketing investments and low tuition fees to grow at the base of the pyramid.

Some CNPs and CPNPs, conversely, decided to take a serious approach to quality and transformed their courses in the best, according to the ENADE. Most CPNPs are still conforming to incumbents, instead of being active challengers to them. A summary of the field between 2004-2005 is depicted in Figure 6. The black arrows represent private movements in the field, and white arrows stand for state regulations and interventions.

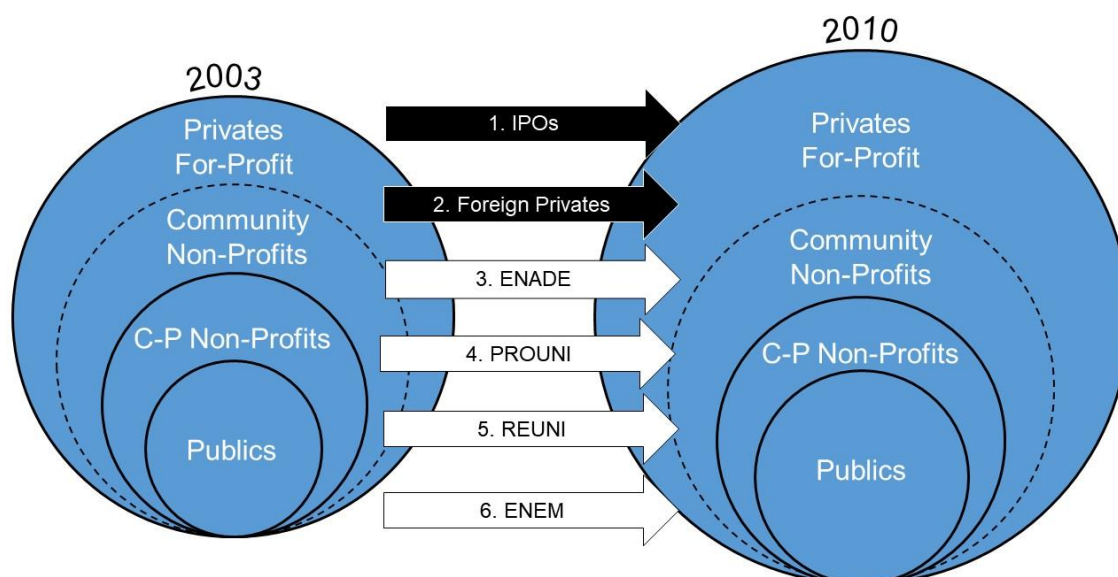


Figure 6: Main Changes in the Brazilian Field of Higher Education 2003-2010

From 2004 to 2010, the for-profit HEIs have challenged strongly the government's interventions in higher education. Figure 7 summarizes these changes (notice the relevance of the market and the division of sectors in the private sector). First, they have challenged the first IGU in the field, the Provaio, by stating that it is the market who should assess the quality of HE by employing only the students from good universities, not the state with a standardized test. The for-profits have chosen the market as their IGU, and most CNPs have joined them, mainly because their legal "communitary" identity is worth tax waivers, and they would rather to struggle for money over mission. There is a change, therefore, inside the Private Sector. The For-profits and CNPs have joined in a

“Profitable Sector”, where they approximate academic capitalism (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004) striving for revenue sources, managing faculty members, and promoting tight coupling between classroom instruction and strategic planning. These HEIs actively challenge the state incumbents by minimally complying with the state IGU in order to survive, and rely on the market to access resources. The “Non-Profitable Sector” remains with the CPNP HEIs, which give autonomy to faculty, conducts research, and are led by quality. Stark exceptions apply to these cases, however. FGV, ESPM, and other community universities and colleges, and even some for-profits, are similar to CPNPs.

For the Private sector, the market is increasingly more important. Unlike the public sector, the privates are not directly funded by the state. The for-profits are funded by the students that use state programs such as FIES and PROUNI - the non-profits also get these students and receive tax-waivers for their non-profit status. Pursuing the market in this circumstance is a smart way to earn extra dividends in the new economy (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004), and all the non-profits did it. Additionally, in this period the for-profits and CNPs started to engage in boundary-spanning activities with the market, IPOing and assuming market-like governance structures and managerial practices. The HEIs in the profitable sector send a clear message that they are gathering resources from both state and nonstate fields, but are minimally complying with state IGUs and worrying more about the market metrics over student employment.

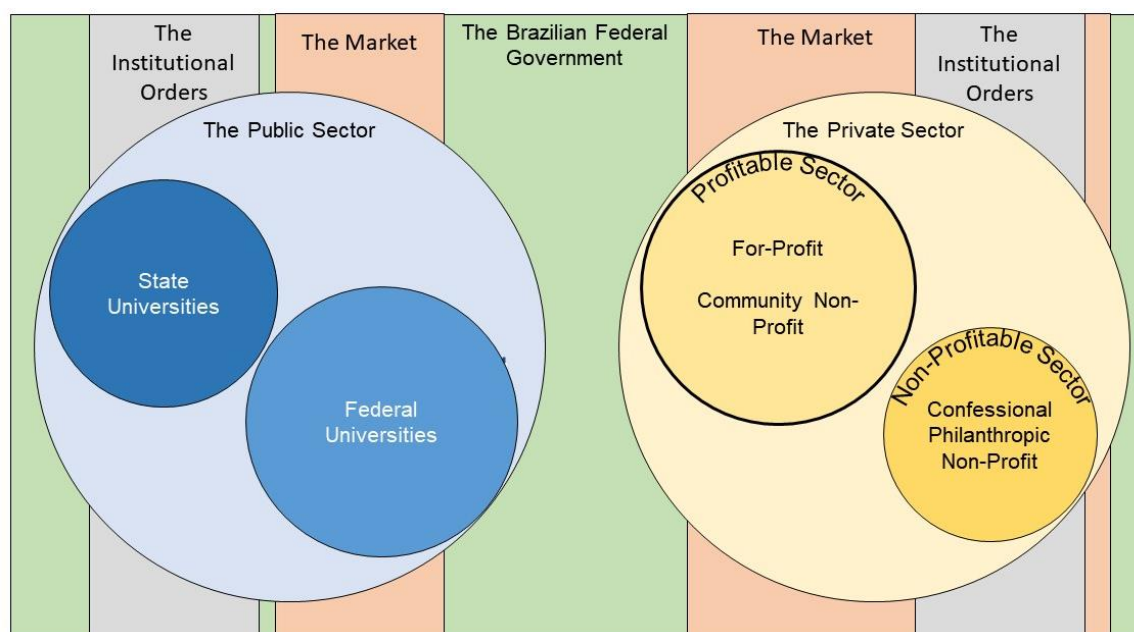


Figure 7: The Brazilian Field of Higher Education 2004-2010

4.1.3 2011-2017

In this final period, exogenous shocks have hit higher education. Under the motto “The Educationalist Motherland”, Dilma Rousseff has led the government into a financial crisis that ultimately resulted in cutting higher education’s budget up to 70% for graduate programs. This default was a result of fiscal crimes the president had committed, the main reason behind her impeachment. This proves Fligstein and McAdam’s (2012) point that the state’s ability to exercise its authority is always open to contestation. After Dilma was impeached, president Michel Temer has nominated Jose Mendonca Filho to the ministry of education. The current minister was accused of accepting bribery of a large construction corporation in his campaign for federal parliament. The Brazilian government, based on repeated corruption scandals and mismanagement of taxpayer’s money, seems to have completely lost Brazilians’ respect because, for Fligstein and McAdam (2012), the state’s power is dependent of the support it gets from nonstate fields. At least in the Brazilian field of higher education, null support was granted to the Brazilian government, despite its attempts the state’s attempts to support the private organization and its public universities. Despite providing resources through the FIES and PROUNI, several structural issues that posed serious restraints for privates were kept untouched, as an interviewee from the RU say: “our legislation, we have laws that are really

unattractive for non-public HEIs, so in our case, for some possibilities that publics have, there is a juridical limbo for privates, for or not for profit”.

This final period of the Brazilian Field of Higher Education analysis was marked by contention between the state and higher education. First, the USP’s polytechnic school has decided to move away from the state, and created a non-profit foundation seeking to grant resources from the market. This movement was similar to that of IMPA – the Applied and Pure Mathematics Institute, whose president came out to Veja in an interview and said that “The only way for Brazilian Higher Education to survive is to move away from the state and closer to the market”. Despite being still linked to the state, USP’s polytechnical school has ran away from the bureaucracy and all the strings attached to government’s money by creating a non-profit that is not closely tied to the state’s regulations, being able to receive donations, creating endowment funds, and to partner with industry in the development of new products. The model under which IMPA functions has earned one of its researchers a Fields Medal, the most ambitious prize in mathematics. Veja stresses yearly that Brazil does not have a Nobel Prize yet, and hopes that this move away from the state may bring fruitful ventures. Along with Poli/USP, a large amount of other schools also have created foundations to try to abandon state bureaucracy. Fligstein and McAdam (2012) posit that the legitimacy of the state relies on the provision of public goods to the society. In Brazil, higher education has been for a long time considered a public good, and is still provided free of charge for those admitted in public universities. It seems that the state has lost both legitimacy and support in this sense. The foundations stemming out of public universities send a clear message that a state fields is willing to become a nonstate field. One interviewee from the RU says that one of these foundations “has kind of disattached from the university, currently they hold a college and even master’s and doctoral programs [...] so I would even say that it is a case that did not end well”.

The state tries to maintain its legitimacy in the field, despite of its constraints over higher education and academic freedom. It has launched the Science Without Borders Program, which provided scholarships to Brazilian students to study abroad. This program, with time, was revealed to be a big mistake, when Veja realized that most of the scholarships were destined to

undergraduate students, of which some could barely speak English. Additionally, some universities that welcomed Brazilian students have reported that the Brazilian government was in debt with the universities they were in. This attempt has further delegitimized the state according to Fligstein and McAdam's (2012) reasoning, because the state was already cutting resources for higher education's threefold missions: teaching, research, and public service, and was funding foreign universities in order to educate our own undergraduate students, instead of investing in domestic HEIs. The authors of the theory of fields argue that those who support the state and are not being benefited by it are armed with reasons to oppose state's practices. This might be one piecemeal change for the broader contest for positioning that have led public university faculties to endeavor in private foundations, once the market and other nonstate fields have more resources to offer than the state (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012).

The FIES public loan system has shown its inefficiency by funding students and asking for payments after one year and a half. One student said that he would have to pay from 20 to 50 percent of his wage in order to make it up to FIES. Therefore, there was a massive default in the program. Also, some privates realized that the program was not strictly controlled by the ministry of education, and decided to raise tuition fees for FIES funded students, making the government pay extra when compared to regular students. The FIES was another program that aimed to somehow support the nonstate fields of higher education via federal loans, but its rules and conditions harmed students and institutions.

The state has also sanctioned the quotas law, which provides people of colour and/or of low income with 50% of the places in public universities. The system is mandatory for the federal universities, but most of the state universities have adopted it as well. After heavily criticizing the quotas project since it was a rumour, Veja changed positions and brought an article saying that it was beneficial to Brazilian HE. Nevertheless, the state as an institutional order as idealized by Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury (2012) does not make judgements apart from social and economic class. Once again, the state has generated contention over nonstate fields by taking actions that go against its purview. Fligstein and McAdam (2012) argue that nonstate fields flourish where the state has managed to stabilize fields, but the Brazilian state's actions seem to

destabilize the Brazilian field of higher education, which seems to be marching to contention and rupture from the state.

The state's IGU for the field, ENADE, has been manipulated by the for-profits, which invented a scheme that enabled only their best students to take the exam and grant the institution with high scores. Nevertheless, ENADE has closed more than 50.000 places in higher education, bringing up Veja's questioning: should people be enrolled in low-quality HEIs or not be enrolled at all? Responding to the closed places by ENADE, the for-profits and the CNP have inaugurated the venue of distance education in Brazil, enrolling a substantial number of students in the extent that the closed places in ENADE were nothing but a minor interference. States exist, for Fligstein and McAdam (2012) to create settlements and enforce rules that guarantee security and reliability regarding the settlement. However, the Brazilian State has shown to be unable to provide both, and has only provided financial resources and imposed regulatory restraints to the Brazilian field of higher education.

These shifts have ultimately led to divisions and ruptures in the field. Federal and state universities are still the student's favourites because they do not charge tuition. Competition to enter these universities is enormous, on both graduate and undergraduate levels. They are known also by their research, both in volume and quality, because the best researchers are attracted by the above average wages and public service benefits these universities provide. In summary, the federal and state universities get the best students and the best faculty. However, they do not work as American universities do, for example, because they do not have the autonomy to hire and fire, or to get out of the public service logic of bureaucracy, paperwork, and backwardness. However, the publics' faculty are more and more resentful of the Brazilian government, and like the IMPA and the Poli/USP foundation, they are willing to run away from the state's purview and approaching other nonstate fields in order to thrive. According to Fligstein and McAdam (2012), state and nonstate fields alliances depend on the "ability of the incumbents in both fields to honor the terms of exchange on which the relationship is based". The incumbents, public HEIs, are honoring their duties of teaching, research, and community service, but they have realized that they cannot depend solely on state fields, and started defecting to other nonstate

fields through a regulative breach – since they are forbidden to engage in such behaviors due to state constraints. Therefore, the rules of public HE and the state exchanges has changed, and it seems that the state is not willing to change its laws in order to honor the public HEIs needs and wants, causing a rupture in their relationship.

The CPNP HEIs are the second-best in this scenario. Although Veja never mentioned them in a 20-year time span, they are students' second option, after the publics. They conform to the government's controls over them, and strive to fulfill their missions within state boundaries set by regulations and legislation. An interviewee from the RUC confirms, saying that the norms "are equal directives for everyone, thus, if it is restraining, it restrains everyone, and some HEIs are better and others are worse, so we need to think in strategies, always one of the axis of our strategy are regulations". This testimony and the portrays Veja makes of CPNPs are attune with Fligstein and McAdam's (2012) theorizing that the state is able to ensure a relative stability in the field, at least for the CPNPs, which would rather conform to state norms in order to ensure their fair share of legitimacy and settle as passive challengers in the field.

Lastly, the CNPs and the for-profits have engaged in a solo-flight, seeking for revenues in distance courses and popular courses throughout Brazil. These HEIs could not care less about the government's prescriptions, and struggle to innovate and find ways to train more people and get more revenues. Despite their "neoliberal" or academic capitalist behavior as Slaughter and Rhoades (2004) would put it, they still rely on FIES's and PROUNI's students. These HEIs tend to take the most they can out of the state, and simultaneously ignore and try to cheat its regulations. Their quality is just average, and they do more training than educating. The fact that for-profits and most CNPs are not honoring their terms of the exchange with the state is another reason to believe in a for-profit and CNP rupture with the state (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012). Regardless, the CNPs and for-profits have granted access to millions of people who have never thought would be able to get a degree, and now could get it without leaving home. Access to higher education is, in the Brazilian case, a duty of the state, which is now provided by private institutions. Therefore, the reason for rupture in the field might stem from the fact that the Brazilian State is unable to fulfill their part of the

exchange regarding higher education, being overreliant on private institutions to do so, causing contention for power in the field. Using Fligstein and McAdam's (2012) theory of fields, I conclude that, in the one hand, the state claims ownership of the duty to provide higher education, but cannot fulfill its duty without private HEIs; and on the other hand, privates and especially for-profits and CNPs regard the state as a field that did not honor its part of the exchange that itself proposed, and claim property over the mission to provide access, in their own terms.

One way by which the privates are more effective than the state to provide access to higher education is Distance Learning (DL), which enables the delivery of just-in-time training to whomever might interest, with dubious quality, however. The struggle between quality and access was deemed by an interviewee from the RU, which said that quality and access “are absolutely inversely proportional, there is no way out of this, the more students we have, the worst we teach, unless you have an infinite structure”. Having an infinite structure is exactly what distance learning (DL) enables, and the upsurge in the number of students in DL was so significant that it has caused a small decrease in the number of students in campus, according to Chart. 3 (Inepdata, 2018).

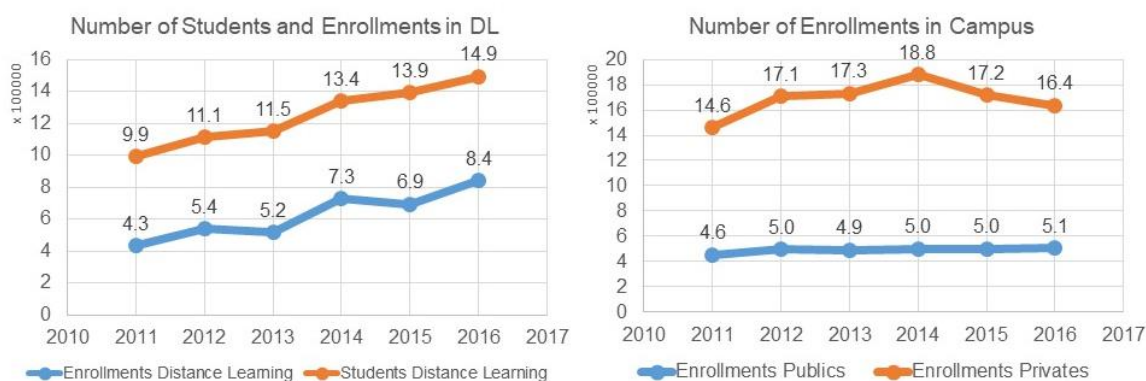


Chart 3: Number of Students and Enrollments in Distance Learning, and Number of Enrollments in Campus 2010-2017 (Inepdata, 2018)

This final period from 2011-2018 has substantially changed Brazil and its higher education field. The state and federal universities maintain their prestige, just like they had in 1997, but they are moving away from the state bureaucracy. The CPNP also maintain their prestige, and conform to state demands to continue their legitimation in the Brazilian field. The CNP and for-profits were the ones who

changed the most, contending directly with the state and its regulations in order to amass the highest number of sources of revenue and profit. Fligstein and McAdam (2012) warn that when challengers in a nonstate field are able to amass resources and become powerful, they might cease to legitimate the authority of the state over the field. In the case of the Brazilian Field of Higher Education, both incumbents and challengers have broken some of their ties to the state, the former through the foundations launched based on legal breaches to get closer to nonstate fields, and the latter through constants acts that dishonored state rules over the field. The field in 2017 is divided as depicted in Figure 8. The main difference lies in the blurring of the lines that separate publics and non-profits because of the movement towards private-like structures in these universities, which led them to approach a CPNP-like structure, without religion, of course. Black arrows indicate privates influences in the field, whereas white arrows represent the state influences and regulations.

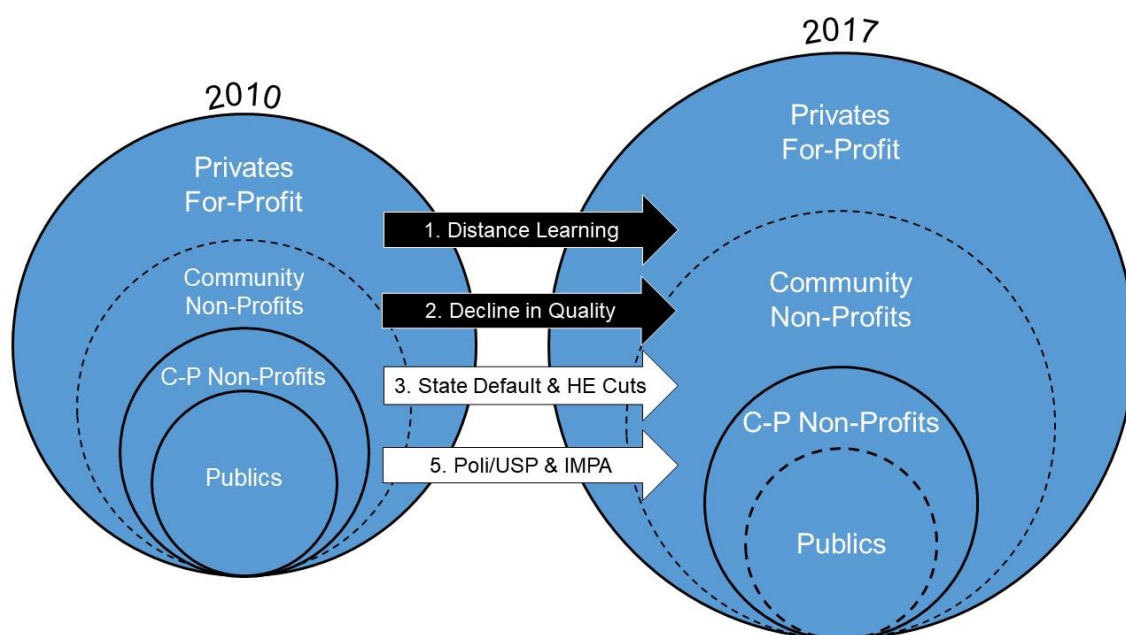


Figure 8: Main Changes in the Brazilian Field of Higher Education 2010-2017

The last period of the Brazilian Field of Higher Education is marked by a severe loss of legitimacy (Suchman & Deephouse, 2008) of the state. After being subject to several cases of corruption involving even the ministers of education, Brazil's justice system was inefficient to punish infractors of the law. The mismanagement of taxpayer's money in higher education with the severely defaulted FIES, and with the Science Without Borders scam have led the

population to the streets to protest, which ultimately caused the impeachment of Dilma Rousseff. This institutional crisis has allowed both incumbents and challengers to interpret the shocks faced by the government as opportunities, and innovate (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012). First, the Politechnical School at USP decided to launch a foundation to escape bureaucratic constraints of public higher education, especially the restrictions to donations and endowment funds, and the distance from the market. IMPA had already fled from the state's purview, and Poli/USPs foundation was the second to engage in private-like activity, approaching a sector where the market has more place to act, and furthering the distance of the Brazilian field of higher education and the state.

The Profitable Sector has demonstrated its disregard to the state and to the field's IGU by manipulating and cheating the assessment of HEIs and the funding of students. They have also extended their borders to the market, treating students as paying commodities and providing discount coupons, R\$50 tuition fees, and distance courses for students dreaming about a degree. With this, the private sector in HE is almost another market sector, and Higher Education Institutions turn into Higher Education Organizations. The private sector only remains because of legal implications – which in Brazil can also be fragile – and disappears when the observers look it regardless of regulations. Figure 9. depicts this description.

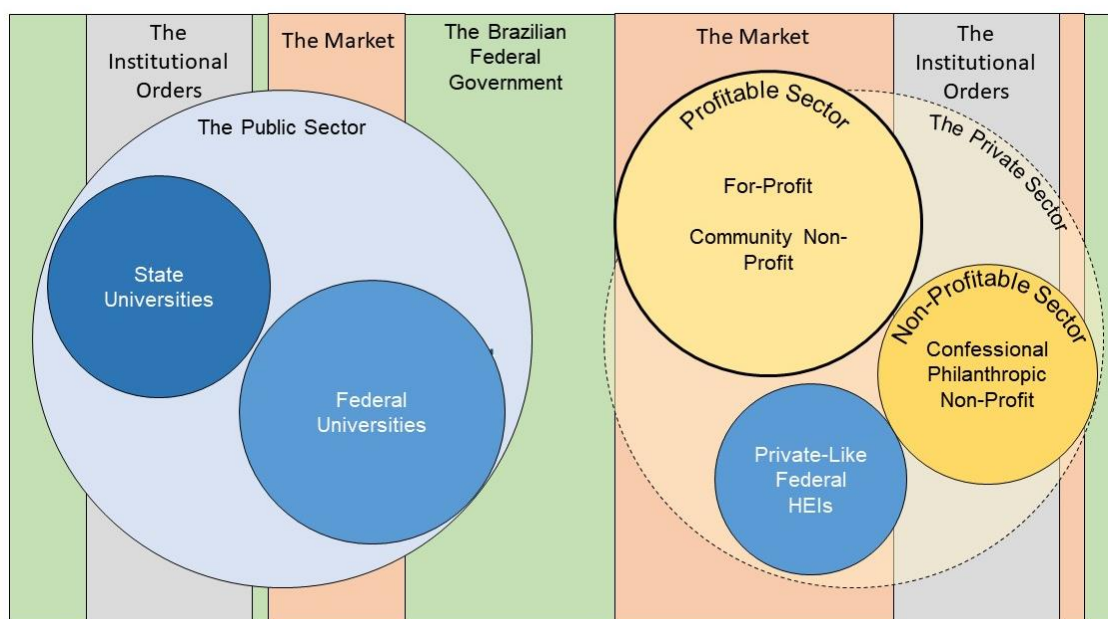


Figure 9: The Brazilian Field of Higher Education 2011-2017

Fligstein and McAdam (2012) argue that contention in nonstate fields and in state fields are correlated. After 14 years of contention, in the two first periods, between 2011 and 2017, a series of economic and societal crisis, including the late ripples of the worldwide economic crisis in 2009, the never-ending cases of corruption in the Brazilian government, and the inability of the state in regulating and setting the state for higher education have contributed to massive changes in the Brazilian field of higher education.

In summary, the Brazilian Field of Higher Education is divided in two sectors. One public, which is funded and supported directly by the state, and in exchange is restricted by a public service logic, with no autonomy whatsoever. These public universities may be federal or state universities. The other sectors are private, which had in 1997 witnessed the permission of for-profit HE to function. The confessional and philanthropic non-profits tend to be conservative and comply with the state's rules for the field, in order to maintain their legitimacy (Suchman, 1995) and to avoid major changes in their structure, in part because of their tradition. The community non-profits have demonstrated their will to pursue money over mission and have joined the for-profits in endeavors that sought to increase access to higher education at the expense of quality. These HEIs embrace academic capitalist management (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004), and even cheated the government's IGUs to gain market share, leading to a rupture within the private field of higher education. In Fligstein and McAdam's (2012) terms, the state, who was supposed to regulate the field and has committed itself to provide access to HE, failed to accomplish its mission because it was not able to honor its part of the exchange while sending contradictory signals funding public higher education and legally restraining privates' autonomy. As a result, the Brazilian market now is able to invest in higher education by purchasing stocks from for-profit universities, which are also indirectly supported by public funds through the PROUNI and FIES programs.

4.1.4 Theoretical and Practical Implications

This description of the Brazilian Field of Higher Education uses Fligstein and McAdam's (2012) Theory of Fields to tell the history of how politics, politicians, and policies, along with the media, are able to shape the field of higher education. Fligstein and McAdam (2012) argue that the state of a field is

determined and influenced by both internal dynamics and external events. While my documental research has not allowed me to dig deeper into the internal dynamics of the field, the interviews have provided evidence supporting documental data from a bottom up fashion. They have provided a broad account of the external events that shaped higher education in Brazil, and the perceptions and responses of two CPNPs to the main contests for positioning. Table 2 summarizes the most notable events and shifts in the field.

The Brazilian Field of Higher Education			
	1997-2003	2004-2010	2011-2017
Incumbent	Public HEIs	Public HEIs	Market Driven HEIs
Incumbent Power Source	State	State	Market
Challenger	CPNPs	CNPs	Public HEIs
Challenger Power Source	Market	Market	State
Resources mobilized by challengers	Offer-Demand Dyad	Government Incentives to Access	State Bureaucracy
Governance Units	Provão	ENADE, ENEM	ENADE, ENEM
Main Shifts	For Profits, Provão, Fies, University Centers, Expansion of Publics	ENADE, PROUNI, Foreign HEIs, REUNI, IPOs, ENEM	Poli/USP, Distance Education, State Default, Decline in Quality
Reason for contention	For Profits enrolling too much with low quality	For-Profits growth with PROUNI and market absorbs students	CPNPs, CNPs, and some publics turn to the market

Table 2: The Brazilian Field of Higher Education

The links and connections between the Brazilian Field of Higher Education are shaped mostly by HEIs resource dependencies on the state funding. What was once a cooperative relationship, has become with time a source of contention. From one side, the for-profits entrance into the market, bringing in different meanings and identities into the field - such as new managerial practices, innovative ways of saving and expending, of measuring and performing, and other business school terms you might want to add (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004; Birnbaum, 2001; Locke & Spender, 2011) - have established a new mission for the field: volume of students under the motto of 'access'. The Brazilian Field of Higher Education was never meant for granting access to large amounts of students. Unlike Finland, Denmark, and other hiper-developed countries, Brazil has been elitist for its whole history, and higher education was just inaccessible for the poor, according to Veja. The 1997 piece of legislation that allowed for-profit endeavor in Brazil changed the field, along

with further policies aimed at increasing access to HE, what Douglass (2012) called the “Brazilian Effect”.

The federal universities dominate the Brazilian Field of Higher Education. They do not need to pay taxes, or worry about financial demonstrations and payroll. The state provides for them, and they are provide free education to the admitted. However, because they pay attractive wages to faculty, conduct the best research in Brazil, and were repeatedly legitimated (Suchman & Deephouse, 2008) by Veja as the best universities in the country, they attract the best students, generally the rich, who study in private high schools and are better prepared for admission tests.

The state claimed sovereignty over the Brazilian Field of Higher Education for a long time. Prior to 1997, the federal, state, and non-profits shared the field in an equal way – most classes were full, most places filled, and large amounts of students in the age cohort were left out of the university. With the entrance of the for-profits, a symbol of the state’s inability to honor its commitment to provide access for all citizens, and their massive scale growth in a little space of time, the state ended up losing its ability to exercise authority because of the strict legal constraints imposed over managerialistic (Locke & Spender, 2011) for-profit and CNP HEIs, which were striving for autonomy as if HE was just a business. One interviewee from the RUC says that

it’s really easy to make a HEI become a wholesaler. You take tuition, drop its price way down, and increase enrollments, no matter if they are distance or in campus. The quality depends on the student, and in a HEI as such, it will never encourage or motivate the student, it will deliver mass training.

The for-profits and CNPs – who joined the growth movement – benefited from the state’s policies aimed at increasing access to higher education, such as the FIES in the 1990s, the PROUNI in the 2000s. The for-profits engaged in innovative action to grow even further: players from abroad joined the field bringing new identities and practices, technology enabled distance courses to function again, and IPOs endowed them access to more resources.

However, the changes in the field were not motivated just because of the entrance of the for-profits, or because they brought in their more corporate identities and practices. The state itself has worked on its delegitimation as a

“provider of public goods for its citizens [...] including public order, the rule of law, and the arbitration of public controversies” (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012). For these authors, there are two main functions the state is supposed to undertake in fields: providing for expansion, and limiting expansion by rule-setting. The state enabled for-profits to expand, but the rules for limiting expansion were too late to come – “the door had already been busted”, said a *Veja* columnist.

With the election of former president Lula, Fligstein and McAdam’s (2012) theorization showed to be right. With a more popular agenda, the Lula government thought it was a good idea to increase access to higher education, and raised the expenditures by building new Federal universities, which are supposed to be “public, free, and quality” institutions. He proposed the REUNI and PROUNI, which would further increase access to higher education. In other state areas, his government was known by a large amount of expenditures in infrastructure, candidacy for hosting the world cup and Olympic games, and outright welfare expenditures, giving money for families that enrolled their children in schools – the *Bolsa Família*, or family scholarship. However, Lula’s government was also marked by heavy corruption accusations towards congresspersons. Lula was accused of promoting a pact with representatives that would agree with every proposition he offered in exchange for a “*Mensalao*”, a large stipend, in English. Despite the corruption proofs, Lula has managed to help elect Dilma Rousseff, one of his ministers, also with an access, welfare, and income distribution agenda.

Fligstein and McAdam (2012) say that if the challengers in a non-state field get powerful enough, they might ignore state authority, challenging its legitimacy and causing crisis. The for-profits, for this matter, got stronger and stronger because of the government-funded students and their freedom to pursue money. They started to ignore state IGUs, such as the ENADE, and cheating the exams. In order to grant access to more resources, they benefited from the state mismanagement of FIES and overpriced tuition for students who used the program.

The incumbents in the field, the federal and state universities, were overwhelmed by the state imposed public-service logic, which denies them autonomy to act. The first move to the market was pioneered by USP, followed

by other universities, through the creation of private non-profit foundations, enabling fundraising for research. With this, the state has ceased to own the monopoly for funding and controlling public higher education, a major shock in the Brazilian field. One interviewee from the RU says that

we have a corruption system in brazil, that I think that if we don't have this strict control over people we won't do things as they should, with ethics. It's horrible to say this. It could be different [...] if we did not have this despicable habit in this country, unfortunately.

The future prospects are uncertain. With the impeachment of Dilma Rousseff and the conduction of Michel Temer to the presidency, little has changed in the field, apart from the continuous cuts started with the former president. In October 2018, Brazil will know its future president, and one of the interviewees at the RU says that “to be frank, I am not uncertain, I see a negative certainty, I don't see a favorable scenario for nonprofit HEIs in brazil, this is my feeling”.

4.2 The Social Imaginary of Brazilian Higher Education

Social-historical accounts provide excellent depictions of the changes society faces through time, and what substances and imaginaries were their triggers. The number of HEIs in Brazil has increased an astonishing 167%, and the number of enrollments in a larger 236%, while the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics – IBGE – estimates that the population grew 24% in the period. What are the reasons for this massive growth in higher education? Do we really need higher education?

Universities and colleges are social institutions (Gumport, 2000) that aim for the “universal good” (Vaira, 2004), meaning that there should be no such thing as the use-value and exchange-value of knowledge, nor the kind of academic capitalism and consumerism (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004) that turns higher education into a global fetish for market innovations and democratic access for *pret a porter* technical skills. The mission of the university considers as importantly the humanities and the business school, the exact sciences and the medical school.

The university’s mission has been a longstanding source of debate, though. Kerr (2001), the author of the chosen perspective for this research, argues that the multiversity is able to follow different paths, all loosely coupled (Weick, 1976) from the central administrative offices. However, scholars such as Cardinal Newman, Abraham Flexner (1994), and Ortega y Gasset (1944) have different views of the mission of the university, emphasizing, respectively, liberal arts against research, graduate research and teaching over undergraduate, and liberal and professional education against research. These authors, despite their contributions dating from decades ago, have shaped higher education scholarly literature, and their reasoning still prevails in the imaginary.

I agree with Scott (2006) when he argues that Kerr’s multiversity is able to perform with excellence every of these endeavors, and further efforts to contribute to society. Back in Kerr’s multiversity, in 1963, the American government was simultaneously engaged in the Vietnam War and grieving for JFK, while Martin Luther King addressed his “I Have a Dream” speech. Kerr’s multiversity was far from a global economy, from global enterprises and global financial markets. Culturally, the multiversity then was not affected by modern

journal publishing systems, by active methodologies in classrooms, by industry pressures over workforce, or by state cuts in higher education. However, today some universities still strive to be multiversities, while others have turned into higher education organizations – instead of institutions (Gumport, 2000). Different purposes on different imaginary significations.

Universities and colleges are social institutions, which are symbols and structures that humans create and use to conform to environmental exigencies (Turner, 2003). Organizations, in turn, are part of the industrial and market sectors, display written missions, engage in strategic planning, and aim for higher revenues. Higher education institutions are usually sponsored by the state because their benefits to society exceed their costs. Higher education organizations are revenue-oriented, seeking to grow, reproduce, and earn while providing a service for its customers.

This background is important because it sets the point that higher education is imagined to generate benefits for society, regardless on which form they might come. Some believe that universities should conduct applied research in order to benefit society. Others say that it is the education provided that is important. Some argue that philosophy and sociology are key to understanding society, while others say that engineering and marketing are what makes humankind prosper - just as Newman and Flexner disagreed, and Kerr and Ortega y Gasset, too, Gumport and Shattock, Bastedo and Scott, Hardy and Baldrige, Weisbrod and Etzkowitz, and the list goes on.

I describe from now on how the substances of higher education have, in the accounts of the *Veja* Magazine and of the interview participants, changed concerning the undefined yet plentiful missions of HE. In order to analyse the social imaginary underlying *Veja*'s and the informants' accounts on higher education, and also to understand the imaginary they are attempting to convey, I asked the data 20 questions related to the status quo, the material, symbolic, discursive, and imaginary significations, as shown in appendix C. In a bottom-up fashion, I use the interviews conducted in RU and in RUC in order to confirm or contradict the imaginary conveyed by the magazine. Castoriadis (1975), Klein (2015), Appadurai (1996), and Taylor (2004) help me in the interpretation of what are the imaginary significations of the role of higher education in Brazil. I use the

same temporal periods of my analysis of the field, and I am guided by the major contests for positioning (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012) they have gone through, for the sake of consistency.

4.2.1 1997-2003

4.2.1.1 For-profit endeavor in Brazilian higher education

At first, there was an instituted imaginary that higher education was a public good, under the strict surveillance of the state. Because not all professions are prone to market measurements, Brazil's government decided to fund their public universities, and open the market only for non-profit investments. Weisbrod, Ballou, and Asch (2008) agree that higher education is too important to be "left to the competitive forces of the market" (p.1), and therefore the Brazilian state has resisted the tendency of opening its market. However, time has come for profitable higher education. Functioning as a means to provide access for all, because publics and non-profits could not welcome every student who wanted a place in higher education, the Brazilian state authorized for-profit education. Recombining and adjusting market behaviors and logics in a historically state-bound field, the for-profits were initially deemed as bad by Veja. Their discourse was that there would be a concerning drop in quality, and that these for-profits would grant students a degree regardless of grades – just by paying regularly and generating income. The assumption that for-profits were "degree factories" was held at large by Brazilian citizens interacting with the magazine, expecting that there would be a boycott to professionals graduated on these HEIs. Despite being unreasonable to generalize that students with a for-profit degree are all poorly educated or straightforwardly dumb, there was a prejudice against for profits and their students. The government committed to regulate and supervise through the national HE assessment, the Provas, yet the imaginary remains the same.

The "degree factory" metaphor is tightly linked with the social significations over market practices and symbols. Comparing higher education institutions to factories is the same as comparing students with nails and the faculty with industrial machines, all lined up in the factory floor - the classrooms - waiting for the next order to come in. The factory is strictly managed, unlike the loosely coupled system (Weick, 1976) that characterizes HEIs. The imaginary

disseminated by Veja is that the market is unable to undertake an endeavor such as Higher Education, even with the lack of places in universities for all, prioritizing quality over access. Veja enacts this judgement recognizing the worrying situation of Brazilian enrollments in higher education, offering the solution of investing less in higher education, and more in basic schooling, so that every student gets a fair chance in the public and non-profits admissions test. Thus, because HE is imagined as being public good, instead of opening the market to for-profit endeavors and increasing the overall enrollments in HE, the government should increase its investments in basic education in order to increase competitiveness level in public and non-profit HE admissions. As Taylor (2004) argues, the imaginary conveys common understandings we have upon us that allow our lives in society, which are both factual and normative. Regarding Higher Education, the common understanding is that Brazilian higher education is a public good, and the norms before 1997 confirmed this factual understanding, since it was not possible to derive profits from higher education. However, post-1997, the norms have changed, but the factual dimension of a HE system sponsoring the public good have remained. A interviewee at the RU confirms that the RU is a

real educational institution, because the reason for its existence is to serve, there is no one here that lives to take the profit out of the RU, you know, no one has created this institution to, say, feed his or her ego, or to get rich, that's the difference, this is the RU to me.

4.2.1.2 Provaio

The government has carried out its commitment on assessing higher education and for the first time, Higher Education in Brazil was prone for assessment by the state. Until then, politicians have failed to accumulate quantitative and qualitative data concerning HE, and this was an attempt to have a first “picture” of Brazilian HE.

The discourse of Veja is that this was a major step for improving higher education, yet with important caveats that should be handled, since the Provaio cannot assess research output, or faculty appropriateness, for example. Regardless, the magazine assumed the test as the legitimate ranking of Brazilian higher education, and praised the top scorers while attacking those in the bottom

of the list. Veja simultaneously complain about the lower scorers and acknowledges the caveats of the testing, such as cramming 5 years of college in one afternoon worth of testing, or summing a professor's career in his/her degrees and his/her work regime. It is unreasonable to think that these variables determine the subjective quality of a HEI, its faculty, and its students. However, this inconsistency is left out of the debate. The scores represent the overall quality of Brazilian higher education, individual universities, students, faculty, and research simultaneously.

The representation of “good” or “bad” universities is incomplete until there is an ultimate agreement over what is desirable or not. The Brazilian constitution states that HE has a threefold mission: teaching, researching, and public service. However, by testing students, and measuring faculty's degrees and work regime, the Prova attempts to tackle just one of the missions. Assessments of research output are not approached by Veja, and community service is left out of state assessment. This implies that the imaginary of higher education resumes itself to transmitting knowledge from professor to student, and neglects the influences that universities have in their surroundings through public service, and in the world, through research. Appadurai (1996) stresses that the identities circulated by the media as being the primary, primordial ones, “ordinary people self-fulfillingly seem to act as if only this kind of identity mattered” (p.155). This “teaching” imaginary is tightly linked with the market demands for skilled workforce, and reduces HE as a tool for training people, rather than educating them. An interviewee at the RU confirms, saying that “what I need to sell is the professional in the future, you know, so he must be the one... Which education am I going to provide to this guy in the future, how is he entering the market...”.

4.2.1.3 FIES

Aiming to increase access in higher education, the Brazilian government has reformed its public student loans system, and relabeled it as the FIES, the student financing program. It furthers state participation in private HE, because it enables students that otherwise would not be able to pay tuition to enroll in these HEIs. Therefore, a part of these HEIs revenues come indirectly from government funding. The students pay for the loans after one year and a half of their graduation, a sort of deadline for employment. Veja encourages FIES, but with a

major caution that the FIES is a new label for a program that was in default. This means that students were not able to find a work, or were fired because of the Brazilian economic instability, where they earned enough in order to pay the remainder parcels of their courses. The expectations with the new program is that access to higher education increase even further, but in an unsustainable manner. The deficits on CREDUC, the former label of the FIES, were billionaire, and more than 50% of the students were in default. The future prospectives with FIES are the same. However, the more education the merrier, thus, the magazine shifts the meaning of a “default” to a meaning of “what needs to be done to increase access to HE”.

Veja represents the FIES as being different from a bank loan because of the government’s commitment and the low interest rates. However, in nature, the FIES is tightly connected to the market logics, because it enters in an unfair competition with commercial banks that offer this modality of credit, because unlike banks, the state does not need to profit, and might as well lend money with no interest whatsoever, acting as a redistribution mechanism (Thornton, Ocasio & Lounsbury, 2012). This reinforces the notion of HE as a public good, an imaginary signification, that only becomes material with the first paycheck, which would return to the government by taxes and payments of FIES installments (Klein, 2015)

4.2.1.4 The University Centers

The Brazilian government, along with sanctioning the for-profits, also sanctioned the administrative categories of HEIs: universities, university centres, integrated colleges, colleges, and superior schools. Both universities and university centers have autonomy for creating courses, except law and medicine, without authorization of the ministry of education. Therefore, the for-profits that entered the market, seeking more autonomy to manage their investments, have predominantly chosen to be University Centers instead of colleges, which have little autonomy for managing their future, and of universities, which are required to host post-graduate courses. Additionally, it is bureaucratically easier and financially cheaper to start a university center than it is to start a university. Veja says that this choice has led to a positive increase in enrollments, but a concerning drop in quality – assessed via Provaio – that undermined the “access”

discourse. They assume that almost every university center is a “degree factory”, while asking for more access in higher education. In a developing country, which is just learning to walk in for-profit higher education, asking for both quality and access might be too much. There are some “islands of excellence” among the privates, as Veja tells us, such as the so-called “private boutiques”, which charge high tuition fees for a specialized “service”. Despite these exceptions, most of the for-profit HEIs are just training instead of educating. These shifts further the meaning of higher education, one of diversity and complexity, to the teaching of few tools one could master alone. The faculty, not required to research, generally works full-time outside the HEI, and face teaching as “additional income”. This is confirmed by an informant at RUC, who says that “sometimes the professor, he or she comes to teach, and he or she sees it at a sort of a second-grade job, this is, what is a second-grade job, I tell you, it’s all about the status to be a teacher at the RUC”. In order to mitigate this, the government has decided to hinder for-profits of being university centers, but as Veja puts it, “the door had already been busted”.

Readers are led to imagine for-profit university centers as something to run away from. Veja represents for-profits as reckless imitations of universities, and make clear that most of them are interested in moneymaking, not in educating. The overarching substance is that educating – or training, for the matter – is about continuing education, and that education is always good. However, the main concern lies on whether higher education about training, or about teaching methods, tools, and other shortcuts to find packaged solutions to complex problems, or about educating with human values, ethics and morals. According to Castoriadis (1975), we might face higher education as an institution which functionality has been reduced to training, despite a broader background of rituals of gathering in Greek agoras and the search for the truth. In the latter case, rituals, myths, and broader symbolic accounts were independent from the functionality. However, with time, symbolism is conquered by functionality.

4.2.1.5 Expansion of public universities

In control of the higher education field, the state chose to hinder the offer of new courses by for-profits because of their alleged low quality. In order to fill this gap, the Lula government announced that it would start building 20 public

universities. This would offer more tuition-free places in higher education, as asked by Veja in several articles, because of Brazil's low number of graduates, while simultaneously improving state's position in the field (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012). Veja criticizes the program in the extent that it may provide access to few people, or that it might be redundant to build them, because with the entrance of for-profits in the field, there is already a surplus of places. With these doubts, it seems unreasonable to open new federal universities in Brazil, granting access to students that would otherwise enroll in the privates. Because the admission systems at public universities is based on rankings, the least prepared students, generally those who studied in public high schools, would end up in the privates.

Therefore, the meaning of building universities is more related to politics and government's discourse of "investing in higher education" than the substances of access and democracy. Veja says that enough resources are being invested in higher education, and too little is being allocated to the basic education, the one that would enable students to compete for a place in the public university. To balance these expenditures means to allocate resources equally among different areas, and unbalanced resources indicate those areas more or less prioritized by the government. The reason why universities seem to be more important than schools for the government is yet unknown. Scholarly literature tells us that universities are the major driver of a knowledge economy, but only when they are connected with the industry (Olssen & Peters, 2005; Etzkowitz, 2008). Public universities in Brazil are hindered from reaching the neighbouring industry because of the heavy loads of bureaucracy they face.

4.2.1.6 Summary

The imaginary, for Taylor (2004) is not a theory because the imaginary could never be codified in the form of a doctrine. The imaginary is unlimited, indefinite, and grasped by the background understanding of what, how, and why we do things. Brazilian higher education was heavily contingent on government policies and regulations in the 1997-2003 period because the substances (Friedland, 2018; Klein, 2015) or the imaginary significations (Castoriadis, 1975) of democracy, access, welfare, and education were under state control. However, because the state has not been able to provide for the growing demand for higher education, the government decided to ask the market for help in order to fulfill the

gap between offer and demand. Douglass (2012) has called these policies the Brazilian effect, meaning that a once elitist higher education system has been transformed into a mass market with the entrance of the for-profits in the field. The for-profits entered the field with a corporate mindset of revenues over mission, treating students as clients and taking part of a growth from 1.1 million students in 1997 to more than 2.7 million students in 2003. This neoliberal (Olssen & Peters, 2005) market logic that was brought into the field by the for-profits was further advanced by the government via FIES, which has provided more money to private HEIs. The for-profits took advantage of the government's regulative structures and started as university centers, autonomous to offer as many courses as they wanted to related to the "lesser professions" (Kerr, 2001) and skyrocketed their admissions. The government, in turn, has also revealed its plans to increase the number of federal universities, and established a state IGU (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012), the Provaio, in order to rank the HEIs according to their quality.

The neoliberal mindset (Olssen & Peters, 2005; Locke & Spender, 2011), which had started in Brazil in the early 1990s with former president Fernando Collor opening the country to the globalized market, reached higher education with important consequences. First, there is an overarching imaginary conveyed by the magazine (Appadurai, 1996) that the public university is the best, and that the for-profits are nothing but degree factories. Higher education is perceived as being a public good, and for-profits faced a great deal of prejudice as soon as they entered the field. In Friedland's (2015, 2018) terms, the shift of the institutional substance, the underlying imaginary signification that was instituting (Castoriadis, 1975) was that higher education was not exclusively a public good anymore. Instead, the state asks the market for aid, as it has done previously in other fields, in order to make sure that citizens have access to higher education. In few years, for-profits have become the dominant provider of higher education in the country.

The state, in the Brazilian case, which substance (Friedland, 2015, 2018) lies in democracy, reaches out to the market, which substance lies on capitalism. This exchange of democracy for money may seem contradictory at first, but it is complementary, ultimately. Despite the shortcomings of for-profit HEIs, which

provide more training than education, treats students as clients, and faculty as employees (Locke & Spender, 2011; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004), there is a component of inevitability in their behavior. Stemming from a corporate logic, where the more revenues the merrier, it is natural that for-profits abstain themselves from the most expensive sides of higher education, such as research and faculty, and immerse themselves in the least expensive sides of it, such as mass training and managerial practices (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004; Gumpert, 2000). However bad these practices and substances might seem, they were inevitable. Being a public good, and thus having as its core substance the democracy, higher education cannot afford to be elitist – as it was when only the state or nonprofits were legitimate (Suchman, 1995) to provide it. The government understood that it would never be able to welcome every student that wanted a place at the university, and despite every setback of the neoliberal, academic capitalist logic, has conceded the market with the opportunity to help. There is disagreement, however, over the legitimacy (Suddaby, Bitektine & Haack, 2017) of providing access for all. One interviewee at the RU says that in med schools

“the suppressed demand [...] is a demand that will never be absorbed, you know, and I think that it should not be so, because it's important that the quality of the education be more important than welcoming everyone, isn't it?”

The expansion of universities was deemed by Appadurai (1996) as being a result of the strategic importance of information after the World War II, which has turned the substance of ‘democracy’ widespread. Perhaps the message in the bottle of this period is that the government alone is unable to provide democracy and access, and that capitalism may play a role in granting democracy for citizens.

4.2.2 2004-2010

4.2.2.1 ENADE

Just four years after the first Prova, the Lula government decided that it should rebrand and relaunch it with minor changes, and then the ENADE is born. The ENADE, together with the assessment of the HEIs – made by a committee, in loco, taking into account many variables – were the key “indicators” of Brazilian

higher education. Inside HEIs, teams led by specialists were designated to gather documents and internal procedures to please the ministry's committee. Students started to be trained by private HEIs on how to take the ENADE test, and needed to take practice tests. The function of the exam is to assess higher education, but it has led to various practices and rituals that were, in essence, ways of making HEIs better at the overall rankings.

It is like the university had to pass a test with a major background check. Much time is lost in bureaucracy to gather the documents for the "Institutional Development Plan" (PDI), policies to teaching, research, and graduate courses, policies on personnel and faculty, and other sorts of planning material. Veja's discourse is one of prejudice with the ENADE, but mainly because of political reasons. They argue that the Provas was just relabeled with minor tweaks. However, the changes, especially in the way HEIs are now assessed – with a plethora of different documents to fill in – are significant. Veja assumes that, like the Provas, the ENADE and other assessments are beneficial for higher education because they are the measuring yardsticks on higher education, expecting therefore, that HEIs would improve just because they are assessed. It is unreasonable to think that planning instruments, especially in HEIs, would be triggers to change (Weick, 1976; Hardy, Langley, Mintzberg & Rose, 1983). An overarching mission that gives the inhabitants of the multiversity (Kerr, 2001) a sense of direction is more suited to assessing HEIs than *pret-a-porter* managerial tools, which once tested, are prone to be left away in some drawer.

The assessment represents a managerial, business school-like culture (Birnbau, 2001; Locke & Spender, 2011) entering higher education through key performance indicators, balanced scorecards, business plans, and further tools that serve the firm's competitive advantage. These assessments tools tend to reduce complex environments and phenomena to a set of variables in an "if-then" fashion, in a representation of the university as an ordinary organization, instead of a traditional institution (Olssen & Peters, 2005). Assessments brought to the public as rankings serve as legitimating propaganda for those who scored nicely, making students choose the best HEIs – after the public, of course, because they are free – among all. Therefore, good assessment scores should equal an increase in enrollments and free marketing. If the assessment is faced by HEIs

with this mindset, there are no substances underlying it other than capital (Friedland, 2015, 2018; Klein, 2015) which reflects the academic capitalist regime and the neoliberal economy. This might explain the upsurge, later, of more and more courses in HE that are more similar to training courses than to university ones.

4.2.2.2 PROUNI

In order to improve even further the access to higher education, the government decided to fund poor students via PROUNI, a state scholarship program. The overarching goal for the government was to increase access to higher education, and the PROUNI helped to accomplish it. It served as indirect state funding source for private higher education, and together with the FIES, most of the budget of privates was tied to the state expenditure in HE. State funding private higher education, even indirectly, represents a recombination of the imaginary signification (Castoriadis, 1975) of private property with a state substance of public good. Veja welcomes the PROUNI, arguing that people need, indeed, access to higher education. An interviewee at the RU legitimates (Suddaby, Bitektine & Haack, 2017) the PROUNI by stating that

“if access was possible for this number of students we have today, it was only due to the government programs, they are really important for the students and for the university”

The state reinforces its responsibility of granting access to higher education to the poor by giving them the PROUNI, and it reinforces its commitment to provide free, public higher education – a state-provided public good imaginary. Together with the first rumours and test-application of the quotas system, the government makes a bold statement that HE should be democratic and state provided. However, the substance that gets lost in the midst of the “Brazilian Effect” (Douglass, 2012) is the mission of higher education. Research and public service (Weisbrod, Ballou & Asch, 2008) are not profitable, therefore, few for-profits engage in them. Teaching alone, with no concern whatsoever for the missions of the university (Scott, 2006), makes a higher education institution into a higher education organization (Gumport, 2000).

4.2.2.3 Foreign HEIs come to Brazil

Realizing the impact of the Brazilian Fever in the Field of higher education, foreign groups started operating in Brazil through acquisitions of colleges and universities. Laureate, for example, has bought Universidade Anhembi Morumbi, and currently controls 12 HEIs. DeVry, another international group, has bought a traditional college in Brazil, and maintains its acquisition strategy ever since. Instead of renaming their acquisitions, they opted to maintain the HEIs logos and characteristics, adding to them their expertise in the “HE Business”. They come to get FIES and PROUNI resources, and attract students to higher education, coherent with the government’s actions. Indeed, it seems that the government is almost paying for HEIs to open their doors and sell their courses. By now, the threefold mission of the university has gotten lost, and higher education is all about teaching and training students.

Veja hopes that this investment is fruitful for Brazilian higher education, assuming that the management in these HEIs would make education better in comparison to what it once was – they did not read Locke and Spender’s (2011) work. Now it is up to the private HEIs to attract students to their courses, and thus the investments in the market have skyrocketed. It was never easier to earn a degree. The foreign investment in Brazilian HE not only represents, but firmly and boldly states that the corporations own the for-profit sector in higher education. This statement, however, is tied to the indirect public investments in the students, through FIES and PROUNI. The Brazilian State pays for the market to deliver the democratic substance of the state. Taylor (2004) argues that understanding enables practices, and therefore practices carry understanding. The understanding that a transaction may carry democracy and access might be the trigger for a transaction-based higher education (Gumport, 2001).

4.2.2.4 REUNI

On one hand, the privates are able to accommodate the demand for higher education, being there a surplus of places, mostly in for-profits. On the other hand, the government still “owns” public universities, some of the last universities that actually seek to fulfill their threefold missions – along with CPNPs. However, public universities, especially the federal, were always mismanaged and deemed as cost spirals by Veja. They rely completely on the

government and function under a bureaucratic, public-service logic. The REUNI was implemented in order to increase the number of students in the federal universities, to provide more courses at night, sometimes the only option for those who want to study but need to work in office hours, and to expand the coverage of the federal universities. New campi were created, along with new universities.

Veja strongly advocates the REUNI, mainly because it has made federal universities more efficient – not in a market sense, but in a logical/functional sense (Locke & Spender, 2011). Efficiency, in this logical/rational sense, consists on having a 1 professor for six graduating students, as Veja says is recommended by the OECD. It is reasonable to increase the number of students per professor with such a low ratio in public universities, without a decrease in quality (McCowan, 2004), especially when the objectives of the government policies in higher education aim to increase access. However, the REUNI is only about undergraduate education, with few implications for research and public service, what may further the newly instituted understanding of higher education being about teaching. This representation is reinforced by Veja, who forgets about research and public service when reporting on the REUNI program. An interviewee at the RUC also agrees by saying that he “needs to build solutions, [his] students must graduate ready to work, ready to innovate in the labour market”. Government policies on higher education seem to be a response to a public request for continuing education aiming the provision of workforce, not about more access to real higher education, committed to research and community aid. This implies that there would ultimately be two kinds of HEIs, those concerned with HE’s threefold mission, and those that are a sort of degree-granting training facility, with no interest whatsoever for the other uses of the university (Kerr, 2001).

4.2.2.5 IPOs

Roughly ten years after for-profits entered the market, and have reaped the investments that they sow with a grand amount of profits, they take one step further towards the market. Kroton, Estacio, Anhanguera started to offer their shares to the market, and officialized higher education as a business in Brazil. Veja says this might affect positively the “higher education market” because not only the students, but also the shareholders, are interested in their evolution. This

radical movement happening only ten years after the for-profit endeavor was sanctioned has a relevant functional role, because Brazil was in need of post-secondary education, which has come dressed as higher education training in for-profits, rather than a 'real' higher education. It has enabled low-income people to continue their education, after they graduate from the weak public schools.

Continuing education's substance is one concerning information and scientific knowledge (Friedland, 2018), and its signification seem to be "the more the merrier", regardless of where and how. *Veja* takes for granted that its readers believe that Brazil should have "more" higher education. The magazine assumes that people should be educated, and should never stop reading and attending schooling facilities. This discourse applied to the case in point depicts IPOs of universities as a good thing, which would provide access to continuing education and, therefore, fulfill the imaginary need for it. However, these companies are selling higher education, but delivering training and coaching: a major implication for post-secondary education, yet a legitimate one.

Castoriadis (1975) explains that *teukhein* is intimately tied to the imaginary significations a society shares. I interpret IPOing HE corporations as a technique for accelerated growth of these organizations because of the increasing access to resources, preceded by an imaginary of access to higher education for which the Brazilian state could not provide for, despite committing to it, as explained before. Underlying this interpretation is a notion that the capitalist market and corporations fulfill a major state duty in the field. Inepdata's (2018) data show that between 2004 and 2010, privates have enrolled more than 70% of all students in higher education. They dominate a field under the imaginary of research, community service and teaching, but are managing to change this imaginary for a more pragmatic, training-bound one. This is a major shift for the mission of Higher Education in Brazil.

4.2.2.6 ENEM

The government-based test, ENEM, was implemented by the ministry of education as a standardized alternative to individual tests. It functions as a state-organized SAT, making the transition from high school to higher education more transparent, organized, and use-friendly. The testing ritual is the only one taken into account for Brazilian universities. Unlike other systems around the world, a

broader background and school grades do not matter for admissions. Veja says that the ENEM is a mimic of the SAT, which works well on the United States. The magazine assumes that students would be able to be better prepared for this exam, once it is standardized around the country, rather than planned, built, and applied by individual universities. It is unreasonable to think, however, that this is the ultimate solution to HE admissions in a highly unequal country, mainly because public schools are dreadful when compared to their private counterparts. Veja argues for a massive investment in basic schooling, rather than furthering investments on higher education.

Together with the quotas law, being discussed in the senate, the ENEM is other program that seeks to advance access to higher education. While the ENEM might seem a state action to “control” higher education, this perception is flawed because most privates, mainly the for-profits, would not adopt it. Not because they do not want to adhere to the ENEM, or because they are trying to escape state’s solutions, but because their admission tests are just a matter of paying the first month worth of tuition. By eliminating admission criteria, the for-profits convey a stark message that the government is not keeping pace with the field. Taylor (2004) argue that there is a shift in worldwide moral order concerning the difference between the educated elite and the masses. This might be a hint of how the masses are able to get educated – or trained – in order to raise the imaginary bar of education in the country. It might also be a sign of the disconnect between the state and the market, once the state is still hammering on public education, while the masses are being welcomed by the market. Taylor (2004) continues saying that sociability, or education in my interpretation,

“could suggest a model of society as a mutual exchange rather than hierarchical order, whereas the project of transforming nonelites through discipline [education] can mean that the features of civility will not remain forever the property of a single class, but are meant to be spread wider”.

4.2.2.7 Summary

Marked by the for-profits movements to the market, and by the government’s incentives to this move, the higher education field seems to be changing its overarching structure. What once was a union of research, teaching, and public service, has lost two of these components without a change in

language. Higher education is still higher education, whether public or private, and the gap within it is increasing in size. On one hand, public universities and the CPNPs still struggle to balance their threefold missions, embracing the Kerr's (2001) view of a multiversity. On the other hand, the CNPs and for-profits have almost excluded research from their purview, and have moved away from its public service mission, embracing partially the postulates of Ortega y Gasset (1946).

Teaching is cheap. Cramming classrooms with students led by one professor is not absurd for the means of training and passing on standardized knowledge. Michael Sandel's classes on Justice, at Harvard, makes students watch his class standing in their feet, because the two-story amphitheater seats are all taken. Having 500 students in one class does not make Harvard a bad HEI. What makes it an excellent HEI, on the contrary, is its emphasis on research, its faculty, its facilities, its relevance to society and the community, and its contributions to humanity. That is what differs Kerr's (2001) multiversity from Ortega y Gasset's (1946) teaching based university – the same that differentiate Brazil's public and CPNP universities from the CNPs and for-profits. Ortega y Gasset (1946) makes a compelling point for teaching. One major setback of the Brazilian adoption of his model is that, while he espouses culture over profession such as the teaching of physics, biology, history, sociology, and philosophy, Brazilian for-profits and CNPs neglect culture and overemphasize immediate applicability. Thus, the imaginary signification (Castoriadis, 1975) of higher education shifts from an institution to an organization of lecturers (not professors), from culture to training, from humanist to pragmatist.

This division in the Brazilian field of higher education is latent. Profitable HEIs, the for-profits and CNPs, are teaching based, professional training facilities. These universities mission is to train professionals, rather than engage in research or public service. Indeed, their teaching mission might be deemed as a public service, because they are granting people a profession, which would probably advance their positions in the marketplace. Because this is the first time that these students were enabled access to higher education, especially due to the market economy and the government incentives, they have massively adhered to the Ortega y Gasset's (1946) model. The non-profitable HEIs, the

publics and CPNPs, carry on their Kerr's (2001) model of higher education, continuing to be multiversities, worrying about the surrounding community and society, and leading Brazilian research. Students dream about studying in these non-profitable HEIs, but most of them cannot because of the high competitiveness or high tuition fees.

The policies created by the government since 1997 challenged the Kerrian multiversity, and have changed the imaginary of what is the role of the university in Brazil. *Veja* opposes strongly to the public multiversity in Brazil mainly because they are state funded and inefficient, functioning under the public-service logic. The magazine hardly mentions the CPNPs, which also function under a multiversity model. Conversely, *Veja* admires the HE move to the market, applaud the entrance of foreign groups in Brazil, and praise IPOs of universities. *Veja* argues that because of the idiosyncrasies of Brazil, its inequality, imperfect distribution of income among the population, and privileges granted from birth to the elites, "higher education" is needed. The major shift in the Brazilian imaginary concerns the move to a more professionalizing higher education – cheaper, easier, and more accessible – in comparison with the traditional model of higher education, which emphasized culture, research, and public service. In the next few years, Brazil would decide which model suits it the best.

4.2.3 2011-2017

4.2.3.1 Poli/USP and IMPA

The public universities, despite being public autarchies, function under the same public-service logic that the remaining state fields do. Public HEIs cannot hire foreign professors in a field where internationalization is a mission (Scott, 2006). They cannot fire researchers that do not research, or teachers who do not teach. They cannot receive donations, whether in form of capital, notebooks, buildings, or libraries. They cannot buy foreign equipment, regardless if they are chemical compounds, computers, or even chalk, without legally publishing a public notice and choosing, mandatorily, the cheapest supplier. They cannot save money to launch a bigger project on the following years without having their budget decreased by the amount saved in the following year. They cannot pay different wages to faculty, nor can they engage in technology transfer, university-industry collaborations, or even triple-helix (Etzkowitz, 2008)

endeavors. Every public university is constrained by these regulative burdens, without escape.

However, there was light at the end of the tunnel. The IMPA - applied and pure mathematics institute, is a private, nonprofit research institute providing master's and doctoral degrees, which has benefited from the autonomy of being funded mainly through royalties over scientific production and teaching, but also receiving indirect funds of the government's research projects. In the same vein, the public universities' colleges were sick and tired of the government constraints, and decided to follow IMPA's structure, creating private nonprofit foundations to cheat on the government's system. This enabled the offering of courses, talks, in company courses, certifications, and joint research with the market, which have provided an additional funding source to these schools, and with the benefit that they could use it without government's authorization or consent.

Once more, relationships with the market have overcome the traditional submission to the state – a recurrent recombination of logics over the last years. Some faculty members, mainly those of the humanities, strongly opposed this movement, because it was deemed as “the privatization of the public university”. Veja applauded this initiative, and criticized the government for the excessive constraints over higher education. The magazine assumes that now, public universities would be more connected to the industries and markets, and that they would be able to actively contribute in Brazilian economy, expecting an increase in the number of patents and applied research, as well as an increase in general innovation and R&D departments in Brazilian industries. Without market involvement, research tends to be basic, investigating theoretical components that may enrich our knowledge of what is true, of the underpinnings of reality, and of the very things that make us who we are. Sociology, philosophy, astronomy, and further basic sciences have no market appeal or utility, no demand, but they remain important because they provide the groundwork for our own existence. A interviewee at the RU says that in her doctoral candidacy, she took a course on the philosophy of education, which she says that was the course in which she “has learned the most, has flourished the most, in both reasoning and critic curiosity”, and the professor said

“what’s the use of philosophy of education? There’s no use to it, you are not going to do anything with philosophy of education, no philosopher of education solves the problems of education, no philosopher of education create education theories. So, philosophy of education it’s of no use, and you will excuse me, because we’re going to spend four months talking about something which has no use”

On the other hand, medicine, engineering, and business management are astonishingly interesting and useful for the market. Because they rely on application and practice, they can be swiftly implemented in real conditions in the world, and are the triggers to innovativeness in companies.

Universities are traditionally in charge of basic research, while applied research is conducted by PhDs inside corporations willing to innovate (Etzkowitz, 2008). With foundations in public universities, this balance tends to be tilted towards applied research. A very limited number of companies in Brazil conduct research, and with the foundations, it is likely that they would outsource this task to the universities. This represents not only an extra mission for HE (Scott, 2006), but also a major shift in the imaginary signification (Castoriadis, 1975; Klein, 2015) of the university. Universities are not supposed to engage with the market, and were forced to do it to keep up with globalization and an academic capitalist regime (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). Thus, fewer researchers would be left pursuing basic science, turning this into a great epistemological debate: does basic science really comes first applied science? Or is it that the demands of applied science that advance basic science? Nevertheless, it seems that Veja cannot understand the relevance of basic science, once it tantalizes its accounts on the lack of innovativeness of Brazilian universities, and suggest that more applied science would seal this gap. A RUC interview when asked about research mentioned that there is a project of master’s and doctoral courses under way, but because

“when you have master’s and doctoral degrees, you are able to create value for the origin major, for instance, a business master’s and doctoral program, you offer the major, the master’s, and the doctoral, so the evaluation of the foundational major goes up”

While the market rationale seem to have completely invaded every subfield of the Brazilian field of higher education, Veja appears to have a fetish of innovation and technology, and blames universities for Brazil’s lack of both.

However, it never mentions that, while in the US the companies own R&D departments, Brazilian companies, with few exceptions, have never had an entrepreneurial mindset comparable to that of the silicon valley. Veja has attributed to the university a fourth function.

4.2.3.2 Distance learning

Following the government's policies for access, there was a major revolution in distance learning. First the for-profits, followed by the non-profits, and even some publics, engaged in online education, seeking to provide cheap information to students who wished a higher education degree. At first, these courses faced prejudice, deemed as being just façade courses, with no actual learning or teaching. However, with time more and more students started to enroll in online, degree-granting courses. Renowned universities were engaging in offering first post-graduate short courses, and afterwards 4-year “blended/hybrid learning” undergraduate courses. More recently, universities started to offer full courses online, with extremely low tuition fees, which tests were taken in “EAD branches”. These branches were used by universities as a tiny expansion of the campus, and are generally managed by individuals with no connections to the HEI in point, who rent offices in several cities in order to test distance-learning students. The function might be noble. Taking information to where HEIs cannot reach, in a continental-proportion, underdeveloped country like Brazil, means that more people may access HE. For the universities, it means a massive amount of profit, because the same class is transmitted or recorded for the entire country, saving money in hiring full-time faculty, and simultaneously having a classroom of thousands of students, without not even mentioning the savings in costs related to facilities. Students are able to get home from work and watch classes in their pajamas, asking real-time questions to the teacher, who, in turn, is being recorded at any major city of Brazil. If there was such a thing as the perfect capitalist venture, I am convinced this would be it.

Veja's discourse remains the “access” one. Any action that increases access to higher education is deemed as good. Veja assumes that these online courses are constructive because they take education to towns and villages with 20, 30 thousand inhabitants, wherein no one has ever been granted a degree. Veja expects that everyone access higher education, but without defining the real

functions of higher education, and how are they accomplished. Appadurai (1996) argues that globalization has shifted relations between consumers and producers, and as a result, modernity is more practical and less pedagogic, more experiential and less disciplinary. The meaning of higher education, in Appadurai's (1996) reasoning, has undoubtedly shifted towards mass-training, rather than a more substantial cultural education in campus.

4.2.3.3 State default and HE cuts

From 2013 on, the government has faced a severe economic crisis, as a result of the massive increases in public expenditures during the Worker's Party era, which was featured in the cover of "The Economist" magazine under the title "Has Brazil Blown It?", in response to their cover in 2009 that said "Brazil Takes Off". After, Dilma Rousseff was impeached, and politicians started to be framed at the car wash operation, conducted by the federal police and the federal justice system, and as I write this passage, the federal judge Sergio Moro has ordered the arrest of former president Lula.

A plethora of state programs were found to be scams, in the sense that the government was investing money it did not had, or that the real reason behind programs was not benefiting the population, but benefiting politicians and corporate business people, or yet, that the government had no idea of what it was doing. The last is the case of the Science Without Borders program, an exemplary case of public money expenditure for middle-class, undergraduate tourism abroad. The FIES and the PROUNI had suffered harsh cuts, and worse, research grants were cut in 70%. Higher education is one of the sectors that suffered the most with this economic crisis, and Veja condemned the government for neglecting the relevance of the field. Instead of enabling, the state has severely constrained access to higher education because the fountain was now dry. The money was over. Both publics and CPNPs suffered the most with the cuts. This crisis was the trigger to Veja's discourse that, for once and for all, higher education should be left away from the state. Contrary to what Weisbrod, Ballou, and Asche (2008) posit, that higher education is too important to be left for the market, in Brazil higher education is too important to leave it under the domain of the state. While the market represented, for Veja, the increasing access, the democracy, the freedom of choice, and the managerial efficiency; the state was

a symbol of inefficiency, corruption, stupidity, and worse. Appaurai (1996) had foreseen the decline of the states and argued that media and migration would be the driving forces of a “post-national imaginary” (p.21). However, in our case, the media and migration have made the market drive the continuity of the nation, without necessarily effacing it. This is the final movement, the definitive change from a market-like instituting imaginary, to a market like instituted imaginary. The interplay between instituting (to-be) and instituted (settled) imaginary (Klein, 2015) is the driver of institutional logics, as I mention on the next chapter.

4.2.3.4 Decline in Quality

The regime of the market in higher education had started with three well-known symptoms for the field. First, an increase of 64% in places offered in distance learning between 2015 and 2016. Second, while the overall number of students enrolled in-campus decreased, the number of students enrolled in online learning increased in 11%. This was the first time that Brazil registered a decrease in enrollments since 1991. However, the major setback for higher education is the definitive consequences of the state crisis. Six Brazilian universities have been left out of the Times Higher Education rankings, which considers more relevant variables in comparison to the government assessment, such as citation numbers, international outlook, and industry partnerships.

Veja assumes that the government is to blame, since most universities featured in the THE rankings are public. The magazine expects the scenario to get worse. With the impeachment of former president Dilma Rousseff and with Michel Temer assuming the presidency, replacing the minister of economy for a market egress, the prospects are that government investments would be cut even further, because public universities depend on taxpayer money to survive. The meaning of a public-good higher education has been undermined one more time, implicating in an additional delegitimation (Suchman & Deephouse, 2008) of the state as the official provider of higher education.

4.2.3.5 Summary

Definitely, Brazilian higher education has reached an academic capitalist knowledge/learning regime (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). The capitalist knowledge regime was deeply advanced by Veja throughout the 21 years

analysed, with requirements of more applied research, more technology transfer, and more university-industry collaborations. Publics have answered this call by creating spinoff foundations aiming for market relations. The capitalist learning regime was also a longstanding request of Veja under the “access” discourse, which has been indulged by massive investments – and revenues – in online learning courses, mostly on for-profits.

A grand contributor for what Douglass (2012) called “the Brazilian effect” was the own state government. With a history of corruption, inefficiency, and mismanagement of all state fields, the government seems to have completely lost its legitimacy (Suchman, 1995) over the Brazilian field of higher education, which has suffered from state’s deep and harsh cuts on research and undergraduate programs. Apart from monetary cuts, public universities also experience the one thing Kerr (2001) hoped the state not to do – exercise power over the university. This power came as heavy constraints that ultimately lead to a knowledge-learning capitalist regime in Brazil.

Globalization has played a key role in the shifts on Brazilian higher education in this last period. Veja has always asked for a more American-like higher education, with research connected to the market, with SAT-like exams, and with regular assessments on HEIs. The market has responded and heavily benchmarked the American model, too, relying heavily on distance courses and marketing efforts for getting more students. Both the Brazilian state and the market have found their grounds for the transformation of the Brazilian field of higher education in the American example, as portrayed deeply and thoroughly by Slaughter and Rhoades (2004). Douglass (2012) had already warned that the Brazilian effect is similar to the American phenomenon of private higher education with the University of Phoenix and Argosy University. The American and Brazilian for-profits tend to be used by students as professional education providers, instead of a real higher education experience, mostly in business education. Just as Appadurai (1996) warned, globalization leads individuals and organizations to annex the global in their local practices, and shrinks the distance between elites and the population, through the shift in the overarching imaginary.

Population growth and shifts in the labor market make the “access” discourse legitimate. With advances in technology and an overcrowding of

producers and consumers, machines replaced workers, who now need to be educated to perform an alternative economic role. For Douglass (2012), only postsecondary education might wage individuals a middle-class income. The inability of growth and expansion of publics and CPNPs in both countries has made for-profits invest huge amounts in the field, and they are reaping what they sow. Especially in the Brazilian case, repeated shortcomings and mistakes committed by the government in all areas of the economy had led to a delegitimation (Suchman & Deephouse, 2008) of its competency and trustworthiness, making even the public universities assume their private side.

The shift of a formerly instituted imaginary of a public-good higher education, which cared about the values, experiences, and transformations enabled in students in campus, has vanished from Veja's accounts. The discourse conveyed by the magazine is that higher education must serve the public good, but that it should be market driven, a market-good higher education. Democracy, the master term for substances (Friedland, 2015, 2018) such as freedom, welfare and rights, (Appadurai, 1996) thus, is not a state-bound concept. Castoriadis (1975) tells readers that democracy is a constitution, not a discovery. He says

“Athenians did not find democracy amidst the other wild flowers growing on the Pynx [... nor did] them discover these institutions in the heaven of ideas, after inspecting all the forms of government, existing there from all eternity, placed in their well-ordered showcases. They invented something, which, to be sure, proved to be viable in particular circumstances”

As such, the imaginary of access to higher education is an invention which *legein* and *teukhein* (Castoriadis, 1975; Klein, 2015) lies upon the responsibility of the state, once in history, the state is bound to deliver not only higher education, but welfare, democracy, justice, and rights. With Appadurai's (1996) globalization and Taylor's (2004) argument of slow development and ramification of practices, market-sponsored higher education, a new practice, has gradually changed the original meaning, and helped to constitute a new imaginary over higher education. This new imaginary confers to the market, not to the state, the burden of a democratic substance.

4.3 Inducting Institutional Logics from Media Accounts

The major shifts in the Brazilian Field of Higher Education were first analysed through Fligstein and McAdam's (2012) theory of fields; and later through the social imaginary lenses, relying mostly on Castoriadis's (1975), Friedland's (2015, 2018), Klein's (2015), Appadurai's (1996), and Taylor's (2004) contributions to institutional substances, values, and imaginary significations that shape and give origin to institutional logics.

In this section, I attempt to follow Reay and Jones' (2016) advice on capturing institutional logics inductively, along with Gioia, Corley, and Hamilton's (2012) rigor to find patterns grounded in data - 1st order, 2nd order, and aggregate dimensions - that match a field level refraction that Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury (2012) posit as being forms of institutional change, such as replacement, blending, segregation, assimilation, elaboration, expansion, and contraction of institutional logics over the Brazilian Field of Higher Education.

I have chosen to organize this section keeping the distinction between the three periods. For each period, societal level logics and field level logics are induced from the data collected at Veja and from the interviews.

4.3.1 1997-2003

4.3.1.1 Societal Level

Noticing patterns grounded in the data sources, I realized latently the influence of market and state logics right upfront. Since 1997, with the entrance of for-profits in the field, CNP HEIs were already being criticized for having low quality standards, and criticism went worse. "Degree factories", "Slot machine universities" were terms frequently employed by the magazine and its interviewees when referring to CNPs and For-Profits. An interviewee at the RU says that the directors of for-profits have never "had this same concern about education, and then I guess they tend to understand HE much more on a business sense, in the sense of, say, an income stream, you know, for their families".

Science, for example, became a domain for companies and corporations, too. A Microsoft engineer in an article advocating UI Collaboration says that "In Brazil, when someone says he/she is a scientist, people ask in which university.

In the United States, when I say I'm a scientist, people ask for which corporation do I work". The UNICAMP president argues for a similar stance over science: "When academic researchers are absorbed by private corporations, knowledge becomes innovation and wealth", he says. An interviewee at the RU agrees, saying that the country, in "the part of innovation, or of providing PhDs to the industry, we are still really far from ideal, we are, like, in 69th if I'm right, in innovation". The argument about university science and corporation science is longstanding, with streams of literature arguing that extensive UI collaborations make science a commodity through the academic capitalism knowledge regime (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004; Gumpert, 2000).

Apart from the science debate, market logics seem to generate further discussion in the period. Regarding profit and tuition, Veja says:

"In a certain sense, one could argue that universities that charge tuition are guided by a fairer philosophy, after all, who pays the bill in the end of the month is the student or his/her parents. In the public universities, on which tuition is free, society at large pays its costs in taxes."

Additionally, the magazine shows in an article that primary school and high school franchises are entering the "Higher Education Business", and that "the franchises are, really, the new owners of education".

Market logics' prescriptions are noticed through Veja's discourse, grounded in language, symbols, and reported practices compatible with Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury's (2012) ideal type of a market institutional order, emphasizing the transaction and industry analysis; compatible with Murray's (2010) accounts of the transposition of market elements over a field; and also in synchrony with Berman (2012) financial returns over science.

Similarly, societal state logics are also latent in data. For Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury (2012), the state acts as a redistribution mechanism, grants democracy, and increase community good. Veja reports this logic by saying that "the university is becoming more open and democratic" with the entrance of for-profits and the increase in government based loans. Claudio Moura Castro, a columnist which frequently debates education, says that "the university does not belong to the faculty, to students, or to employees. It is a public institution, financed by tax monies", strengthening state logics over the

Brazilian field of higher education. A participant at the RU agrees, saying that “a catholic university is evidently a public university”, despite its legal denomination being private. The state is also acknowledged in the realm of science by the magazine, which states that despite “we know that Brazil appears on the feet of the [scientific] production, the few conquers achieved are due to the government”. This last statement is confirmed by an interviewee at the RU, who says that “we have managed to get a nice funding from CAPES, which provides for our investment in research, and we have been able to get more nice things”.

A major contradiction over state logics appears, however. Despite state logics being portrayed as democratic and participative, aiming for welfare and justice, the Brazilian way logic contradicts several of these substances (Friedland, 2015; Klein, 2015) and imaginary significations (Castoriadis, 1975) preceding institutional orders. Instead of equality, state-sponsored inequality is a frequent matter. Instead of justice, corruption and lobbying are frequent. Instead of community good, self-interest is emphasized. I take each one at a time. First, root inequality appears right at the outset of a Brazilian’s educational life, determined by his/her family income. “Money is spent on public universities in neglect of basic schooling” argues the nobel prize Oliver Williamson in an interview. His definition of neglect in basic schooling is translated by the columnist Claudio de Moura Castro, who argues that “it is the bad quality of primary and high school that forms badly-prepared candidates [for admissions in the university]”. A participant at the RUC also argues: “man, I think that government money should be destined to the basic education”, criticizing the funding of public universities.

The magazine explains that

“high school existed to split Brazil in two strata: those that could afford quality schools and were admitted into the excellent public universities, and those that, forced to study in public high schools, would drop out of studying, or go to private universities, expensive and seldom good.”

Apart from root inequality, there is also legal inequality in Brazilian way Logics. While root inequality is determined by birth, legal inequality’s legitimation happens through formal norms and structures. The economist Gustavo Franco, columnist in *Veja*, explains that in Brazil there are “some megassubsidies, [which

are] not defined as such. [One example] is the children of wealthy families who study in tuition-free public universities". In the same tone, Veja says that "a great deal of constitutional rights privilege only the elites, such as stability for public servants and free public universities, where the poor hardly get in". With legally and constitutionally granted megassubsidies, and the expansion of the field of higher education with private HEIs, the magazine says that "Brazil has promoted the marriage between a desirable social virtue, mobility, and a dreadful flaw, inequality. The challenge is to eliminate the flaw without compromising the virtue".

Root and Legal inequality prescribed by the Brazilian Way Logics are encouraged by self-interest. A possible interpretation would be one of a transposition of self-interest, a Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury's (2012) norm of market logics, to the state. However, because self-interest lies on practices of congresspeople, public managers, and ministers, I interpret it as being harmful to society, instead of mere greed. Self-interest, in this sense, is emphasized by, for instance, the minister of education confessing that "for a long time, universities were used by politicians to create jobs for friends", an act that jeopardizes the whole public higher education system, harming society at large. Claudio de Moura Castro tells a story of one time he had a meeting with the minister of education, who

"said would show me what is it like being the minister of education. [...] He would have a meeting with a congressman who represented the owners of a private university. I heard his claims for the minister to hinder the inauguration of another HEI in his city, because it would compete with his **client's** university" (**emphasis added**)

Owners of private HEIs turn into congressman's clients for lobbying over the Brazilian Way Logics, a personal capitalism economic system on professional logics (Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury, 2012). Politicians' participation in the Brazilian field of higher education is not limited to private endeavours, though. Diogo Mainardi, another columnist, says that "in this legislature only, congresspeople have suggested creating 20 more federal universities in their electoral stockyards", as a means of granting further elections, because, as Veja says, "spending money in education is always a good deal".

Finally, state bureaucracy seems to transpose itself from the source of authority over the government as being a source of identity when politicians make use of their power in order to maintain their both their identity and authority as public officials (instead of being faceless), using their “employment” as leverage for self-interest, and relying on their managerial position to advocate for their own relational network. (Thornton, Ocasio & Lounsbury, 2012)

For clarity, Table 3 presents what I mean by the Brazilian way Logics ideal type, side-by-side with Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury’s (2012) ideal types of State, Market, Profession, and Corporation Logics. I emphasized the categories from Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury’s (2012) institutional orders that assume a key role in Brazilian Way Logics, making the transpositions and blends clear. The main contribution is the assimilation of a new source of legitimacy, granted by democratic participation to congresspeople and senators, who manipulate the law and create regulations in order to advance their own, their group’s, and their clients’ agendas. There is not, however, a replacement (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012: 164) of the institutional logic of the state, by the institutional logics of the Brazilian Way. I argue, conversely, that the Brazilian Way Logics are an additional, an eighth set of societal orders, with both material and symbolic practices, with overarching values and substances, which were inducted in this period, and is built upon the following periods.

	State	Market	Profession	Corporation	Brazilian Way
Root Metaphor	State as Redistribution Mechanism	Transaction	Profession as Relational Network	Corporation as Hierarchy	State as a hierarchical self-interested network
Sources of Legitimacy	Democratic Participation	Share Price	Personal Expertise	Market Position of the Firm	Power granted by law, lobby, and legislature
Sources of Authority	Bureaucratic Domination	Shareholder Activism	Professional Association	Board of Directors, Top Management Team	Bureaucratic Domination
Sources of Identity	Social and Economic Class	Faceless	Association With Quality of Craft, Personal Reputation	Bureaucratic Roles	Bureaucratic Roles
Basis of Norms	Citizenship in Nation	Self-Interest	Membership in Guild and Association	Employment in Firm	Self-Interest
Basis of Attention	Status of Interest Group	Status in Market	Status in Profession	Status in Hierarchy	Status of Interest Group
Basis of Strategy	Increase Community Good	Increase Efficiency Profit	Increase Personal Reputation	Increase Size and Diversification of the Firm	Increase personal profit
Informal Control Mechanisms	Backroom Politics	Industry Analysts	Celebrity Professionals	Organization Culture	Backroom Politics
Economic System	Welfare Capitalism	Market Capitalism	Personal Capitalism	Managerial Capitalism	Personal Capitalism

Table 3. *Brazilian Way Logics as a Result of the Interinstitutional System (Adapted from Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury, 2012)*

Table 3 is in accordance with the posited by Castoriadis (1975), who argues that if one new logic were to be constituted into the field, its relationship with the other logics could not be thought within the same framework, that is, logics do not replace each other, rather, they are substances enacted by sets of symbols and practices. Klein (2015) interprets that significations are “tension-laden and open to change and creation” (p.336).

In summary, root inequality, legal inequality, and self-interest are the major second order drivers for an aggregate dimension (Gioia, Corley & Hamilton, 2012) of the Brazilian Way Institutional Logic (Figure 10), acting upon the Brazilian Field of Higher Education. Those are the main drivers for the “shameful” numbers Veja brings its readers:

“In average, a public university student costs from 5000 to 10000 reais annually. [...]To make this number even more shameful, take into account that for the public school student, the state expends from 100 to 200 reais yearly, and for those in high school, 600 to 1000 reais.”

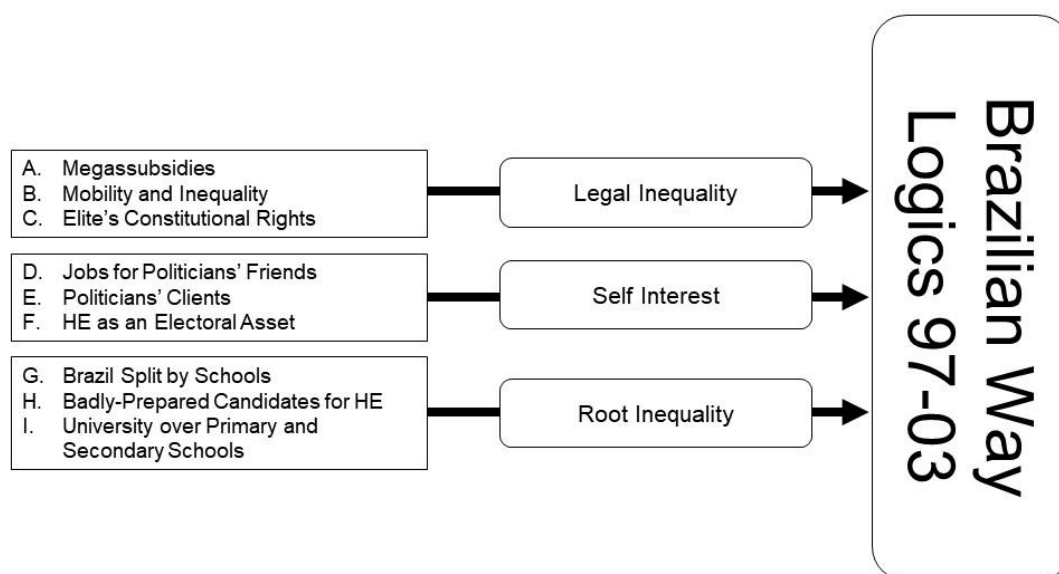


Figure 10: Brazilian Way Logics 1997-2003 (Adapted from Gioia, Corley & Hamilton, 2012)

4.3.1.2 Field Level

Over the Brazilian field of higher education, state and market logics seem to merge in a field level Multiversity Logic – unlike the societal Brazilian way logic which not only segregated from Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury’s (2012) state logics, but also assimilated new values-substances (Klein, 2015; Friedland, 2015, 2018) that fundamentally shaped their prescriptions. The influence of these

societal logics in the field level are, too, latent in Veja's discourse, and I tackle one of each at a time.

Public Service Logics: holding the substances of isonomy, stability, and self-interest at hand, public universities, such as UFPR, UFRJ, and USP were criticized by Veja regarding various aspects. These public universities represent Newman's university (1873), where knowledge should be its own end, without any commercial, market, or even societal charges applying upon. All of these universities are research universities, and are heavily criticized for the adherence to Brazilian Way Logics, promoting their own self-interest, root inequality, and legal inequality.

First, politics are frequently present in the routines of these universities, not on the sense posited by Baldrige (1999), which emphasizes an internal dimension, but through a tight coupling between the Brazilian Way logics with faculty, managers, and students. First, and the main trigger for this research, the government allows the for-profits to enter the field, and a massive outset of criticism and prejudice over these HEIs is installed. This trigger rendered market and corporation logics accessible and available for the field level of higher education (Thornton, Ocasio & Lounsbury, 2012) through a shift in the imaginary (Castoriadis, 1975) that was already foreseen by Appadurai (1996) because of the globalization of market practices. Eunice Durham, a renowned scholar on Brazilian Higher Education, shows discomfort with the new market-laden substances (Friedland, 2015, 2018) underlying higher education, saying that "the rampant increase of private institutions, guided by the market and profit, threatens the credibility of the country's education". Another professor at USP says that "in the short term, it's gonna be chaotic. Publics are destructuring, and privates are not able to provide a similar alternative". Veja itself says that it has "nothing against profiting. In contrary, it [profit] is good and necessary, but when restricted to the domains of commerce and industry. This is why education must not be subordinated to profit calculations".

Professors and unions also join the choir against for-profits, and Veja reports that "they [professors and unions] say that instead of submitting universities to assessment, the ministry of education should fight managerialism in education represented by the advancement of privates". The assessment they

mention is the Prova, which has caused much debate of whether it was a managerialistic instrument adopted by the government to control faculty's performance – what would mean a transposition of business-schoollike indicators over a non-market field (Locke & Spender, 2011; Birnbaum, 2001) triggering institutional complexity (Greenwood et al., 2011), or a trustworthy act to ensure quality in HE. Despite Veja considers the Prova a great advancement in the Brazilian field of higher education, faculty members and unions despised it as a reduction of their professional autonomy and *lehrfreiheit*, a sort of threat of the academic capitalist teaching regime (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). Veja argues that “they hated Prova because they disliked being assessed”. The president of UFRJ, in an interview, said that “there is a disease, which attacks several areas of the country, and in the university has gathered in the undergraduate courses. Its effect is devastating. It creates a state of permanent strike”, referring to the faculty and unions. The magazine calls this the “corporate culture” of the faculty, inspired by a self-interested corporatism that strives for “the land without an owner, which have become the government universities, [where] professors live with the delicious and relaxing isonomy”, where the “ideological preaching by a large part of the faculty still worries”, and where “policies are being criticized for favouring a neoliberal paradigm, once more students are sent to Harvard and Princeton than to the Patrice Lumumba University, in Moscow”.

This corporate culture, wherein faculty is in “permanent strike”, leads to a growing conservatism in publics, especially in undergraduate courses. Students argue that “public universities are in the past and sometimes have no clue of what is going on today”, and that their major’s “courses do not demand lots of effort, we can let it go”. UFRJ’s president agree, stating that “undergraduate programs are bad and do not educate people”. Because of this conservatism, publics have distanced themselves from the market, since “in many majors, the curriculum was created in the 1970s [...] and never updated”, and “part of the universities take, in average, five years to adhere to the reference literature”. Public universities, therefore “did not keep up with the evolution of the market”, partly because “a large part of faculty do not know the market, and do not seek to educate themselves”. Therefore, when for-profits opened new courses, “criticism [came] from faculty of government universities, bothered that this emergence [of new

courses] happens only in privates. They accuse the struggle for profit as the sole motor to this emergence”.

Veja attributes both conservatism and corporate culture to several factors, including the root inequality substance that originates the Brazilian Way Logics over the country and manifests itself in the field level. Root inequality has improved with the entrance of for-profits in the field, which granted access to a substantial amount of Brazilians in the university, however “in the publics, generally better [than their private counterparts] most of the admitted are from the upper or medium classes”, argues the magazine. Veja says that the “logic of functioning of state provided higher education is one that uses taxpayer money to finance the education of the elite”. The economist José Marcio Camargo explains that “the poor pay, at least, part of the shares of the riches’ children education”, and the sociologist José Pastore adds: “around 75% of public university students have studied in expensive high schools. They are people who could pay tuition, but get it all for free”. Root inequality makes universities elitist, once in order to be admitted at USP, for example, “the chances to pass the Vestibular are higher for those who studied in private schools”.

The main question overarching root inequality is why has not someone changed it? Management may be the answer. In the magazine’s words, however, mismanagement might be the answer. Veja says “public universities are bloated [with personnel and faculty] and mismanaged”, making it a “third world university that has first-world costs”, according to Claudio de Moura e Castro. In an interview, the president of UFRJ says that “we have today, at UFRJ, 108 jobs without an academic function [...] they do nothing”, and later, an article on the magazine tells readers that “the electrical power of UFRJ, one of the largest HEIs in the country, with more than 30.000 students [has been cut]. The power company has interrupted the provision because of R\$7.7 million in debts”. At UEM, a professor confesses: “our facilities are really despicable”, and at the magazine talks about the UnB case “as every other federal university, UnB also lives with financial problems”. On the other hand, any attempt of managing public universities is deemed as being a threat to academic freedom, or an academic capitalist learning regime (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004). Locke and Spender (2011) argue that business school-like management would, indeed, hinder

academic freedom and turn universities into managed corporations. However, they make the case for a kind of management that grants efficiency, without harming the idiosyncrasies of the higher education context.

Therefore, prejudice, corporate culture, conservatism, distance for the market, root inequality, and mismanagement are practices that manifest material and symbolic meanings, induced through patterns of language grounded in data, which that underlie Public Service Logics. Figure 11 depicts these 2nd order dimensions that build this Public Higher Education Logic, in a Gioia, Corley, and Hamilton (2012) methodology.

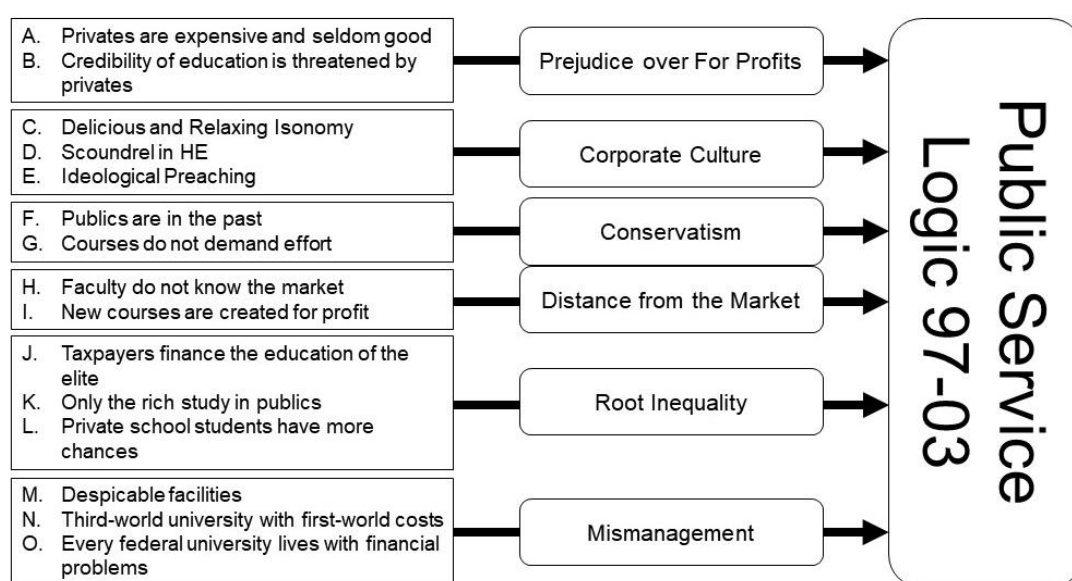


Figure 11: Public Higher Education Logics 1997-2003 (Adapted from Gioia, Corley & Hamilton, 2012)

Managerial Logics: Private HEIs entered the market approaching higher education as a problem-solving resource. These HEIs provided mass access to those who were initially excluded from public universities, and could not afford private nonprofits. Indeed, they managed to provide plenty of access, as the president of the Institute of Brazilian Architects reveals: “Until the 1960s, only USP and Mackenzie Presbyterian University offered architecture degrees. Now, only in São Paulo, there are more than 60 architecture programs”. Apart from architecture, there was a major “popularization of medical degrees [that] happens because the cost of procedures has decreased and there are more and more professionals being graduated in universities”, reports Veja. This access goal

follows the discourse of the UFRJ president, that said in an interview that “the role of undergraduate courses is to grant degrees in large scale”.

The access provided by the privates has bothered professional associations and the magazine, because “unfortunately, universities nowadays produce commodities. They prefer to educate generalists, because it is cheaper than educating specialists”, says Stephen Kanitz, a *Veja* columnist and management consultant. However, the meanings of education seem to have shifted, since for Claudio de Moura Castro, not only “consulting firms sell training to companies. Public and private HEIs, too”. When education is replaced by training, the magazine argues that “the old degree granted by universities is being replaced by another diploma [...] the certificate of specialization offered by technology giants”.

With access, not only education was replaced by training, but also market competition slipped into the field, causing a “backstage war between university owners and university center owners”, ended by the decree censoring the introduction of new university centers in the field. However, competition and training does not seem to worry Claudio Moura de Castro, who says that “in the medium range, the rotten chayotes will not be able to survive market competition”, making education reign again, supposedly. Market competition is a symptom of the introduction of a new logic in a once settled field (Thornton, Ocasio & Lounsbury, 2012). The entrance of for-profit HEIs has changed meanings, functions, symbols, practices, and identities on the Brazilian field of higher education, along with the imaginaries of what higher education should be like (Castoriadis, 1975, Taylor, 2004). The for-profit field might be characterized as being an emergent one (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012), which rules are not shared or settled (Greenwood et al., 2011). Greenwood and colleagues (2011) argue that the degree to which emergent fields face institutional complexity is unknown, being contingent on the field experiences. I argue that the for-profit field, within the Brazilian field of higher education, does not experience institutional complexity in a high degree. Instead, it benefits from compatible prescriptions of market, corporation, and Brazilian Way logics, under the substances (Klein, 2015; Friedland, 2015, 2018) of capitalism, managerialism, and self-interest.

Along with Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury's (2012) market logics, corporation logics also claim for adherence in the Brazilian field of HE. Following Flexner (1994) the president of UNICAMP says that "international experiences show that in all developed economies, with large levels of innovativeness, companies, and not universities, are responsible for research". However, Flexner (1994) had not predicted that universities would become so market oriented to the point that a public university, UnB, would start "increasing participation in an area with no connection to academic activities: the real state market, which grants an R\$8 million additional income". With corporation logics over the field, students become clients who "are getting money out of their pockets and demand quality".

When students become clients, faculty members cease to be teachers and professors to become Slaughter and Rhoades's (2004) managed professionals. The minister of education, when advocating for the Provão, said that "public exposure and the threat of closing [non-compliant HEIs] make teaching better". Science, too, enters a dilemma, because with the "institution of merit-based wages terminates a system that pays equally a researcher who cuts paper and a medical scientist". Veja also suggests that we take professors out of the teaching equation, advocating a "new software [which] allows images of celebrities to be used to advertise products or to lecture in universities". One participant at the RU calls this the "Brazilian mindset", and explains saying that for some,

"the university is a golden mine, it doesn't need help, I pay for it, so I'm entitled to have it all, some students say 'I'm paying' [he laughs], it has become a joke, you know, it's a little of our culture, 'I'm paying', so I'm paying and I can do what I want, I'm paying, now you need to provide for me, you know, you're my employee".

Most students enrolled in the new Private HEIs demand quality because they are eager for employability. Veja says that "the wages of those who get a HE degree are equivalent to the earnings of Americans and Europeans with the same degree". This statement, combined with increased access, and with Sadia's (currently BRFoods) CEO declaration that "the kid who leaves the university today is like a brand new car: complete", has made families and students rush into HEIs seeking to improve their positions in the marketplace, and most of them went to the privates, not only because they were unable to enter publics (under

a strong Public Service Logics), but also because “privates are attentive, agile to assemble courses and attend to market demands”. Interviewees have stressed the employability issue, one at the RUC say that

“employability it, it is a quality delivery, I might say I have quality, ok, currently the MEC shows you our quality, but that’s a legal quality, not a outcome quality, employability is an outcome quality”.

Therefore, access, competition, corporation, education, employment, and faculty management are the six pillars of the Managerial Logics. Following Gioia, Corley, and Hamilton’s (2012) methodology, Figure 12 provides these categories grounded in data.

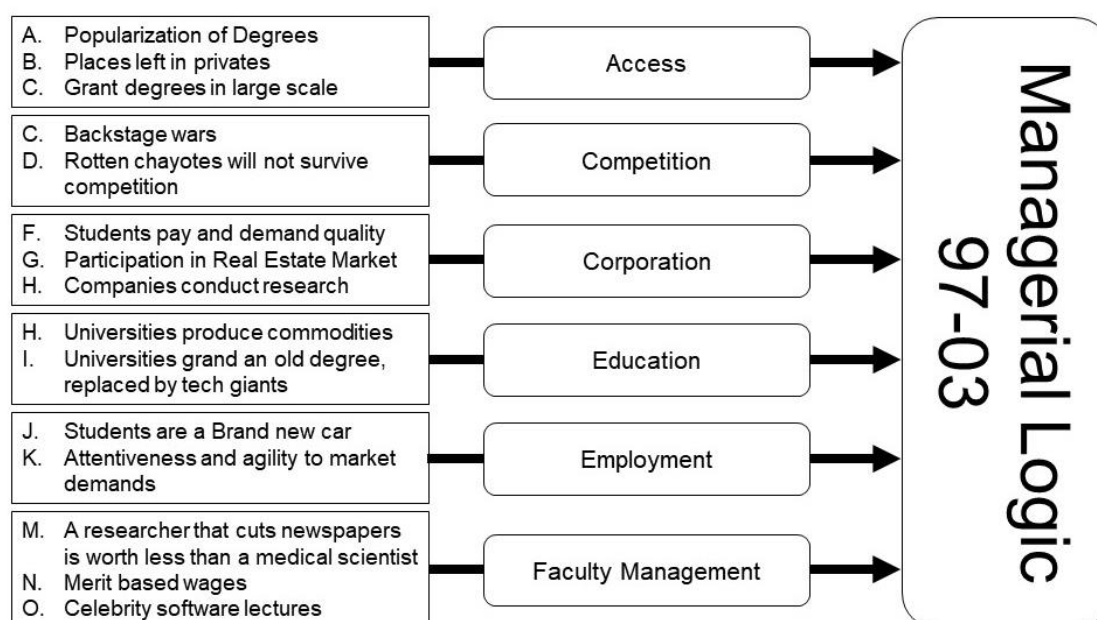


Figure 12: Managerial Logics 1997-2003 (Adapted from Gioia, Corley & Hamilton, 2012)

Multiversity Logics: Blending (Thornton, Ocasio & Lounsbury, 2012) institutional logics consists in taking dimensions from two or more logics and mixture them into a unique one, such as in a Venn Diagram (Figure 13). Public and Managerial Logics blend into one that simultaneously promote access and cost sharing, autonomy and market, and quality and social mobility.

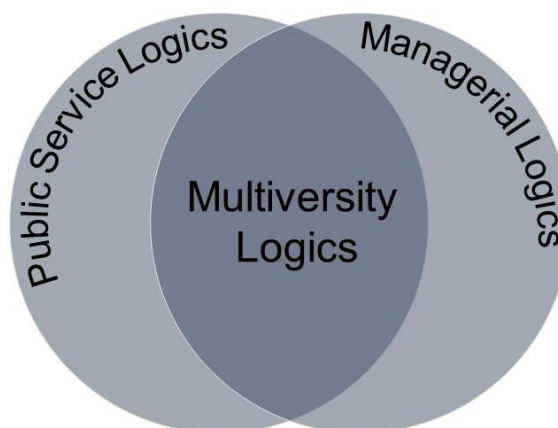


Figure 13: Multiversity Logics

This Multiversity Logic acknowledges, such as Veja does, that “it is a mistake to credit the low quality of Brazilian higher education to the excess of HEIs. What happens is exactly the contrary. There is a lack of HEIs in Brazil”. Before the for-profits, the magazine argues, “the number of places in Brazilian universities was so scarce that even for the most fortunate, access was limited”. Now, “the news are amazing. Every week, a new HEI is inaugurated in Brazil”, and higher education has started its journey to universality. For the first time in the country, an university “has decided to build a campus in a favela”. An interviewee at the RU confirms, saying “we have had lots of access to HE, big access, wow, we would have five classrooms crowded with 60 freshmen each in pedagogy programs in the first decade of the 21st century”.

Increased access has induced a wave of optimism for social development and mobility. Even the worst universities were being considered as having a relevant social function. Claudio Moura e Castro argues that

“the social and economic role of a ‘E’ university [the worst grade possible in Prova0] cannot be despised. The accusations against every ‘E’ university are nothing but ignorance, elitism, or fight for market reservations.

Veja agrees that “many ‘D’ and ‘E’ colleges fulfill a relevant social function”, mainly because, as the Prova0 coordinator would say, “many HEIs function as a development agent in their regions”.

Social mobility happens because regardless of the government evaluations, as the president of UNIT puts it, “the market decides who gets the job”. The market holds different dimensions in this Multiversity Logic, including the “privates [which] are showing that the public universities need to be closer to the market, [that] they cannot be trapped in academia”, according to the minister of education; and the need to “increase student loans and offer shorter courses”, in the opinion of the Higher Education scholar Simon Schwartzman. The director for the technology centre at UFF said that they “are not able to pull through only with government funds, [and] went to the market to ask for resources”, too. An interviewee at the RUC confirms that privates tended to collaborate with the market, revealing that “RUC has created a consulting area in 2001, the RUConsulting”. However, despite the former minister of economy’s remark that “prejudice against private education [had] almost vanished from companies”, Veja reports that “most trainees stem from only 1% of the universities”, and that “according to employers, around 20 of the 1.400 business management majors in the country offer students the required education to perform their tasks accordingly”.

Multiversity Logics also reveal that “it is evident that public universities are way ahead privates”, and that the Provão “proves, for the Nth time, the supremacy of publics over privates”. However, this dominance of publics over privates may be credited to root quality, a natural consequence of the admissions system. Because, the Public Service Logics and the overarching Brazilian Way Logic makes “high school split Brazil in two strata”, the students who were more prepared are admitted in public universities, meaning that it is natural that more prepared students would score better at the exams. The more prepared students come from the expensive private high schools, making “the public university, theoretically destined to the less fortunate, crowded with rich students”. A reader advocates cost-sharing, saying that “only those who have a high purchasing power study in public universities. Nothing fairer than charging tuition”. Veja puts the reader’s suggestion in figures, saying that “if there was a legal reformation which [...] made rich students on government-sponsored universities pay tuition, it would result in R\$50 billion to help the poor”. A great deal of participants agree with cost-sharing, and one of them, at the RU, “advocate a model of institution

where the government spends the same as it does today, but only with research, and that the cost of undergraduate degrees should be charged from everyone”.

Not only cost-sharing would be welcomed in publics under a Multiversity Logic, but also the autonomy of public universities. After reporting that “the minister of science and technology [had] defended an absurd idea: he want[ed] to spend more money in the creation of federal universities”, Veja says that “in Brazil, public universities need a reform from top to bottom”, and the minister of education argues that he “intended to get to the autonomy of the public university, but [he] did not make it”.

The Blended HE Logic makes universities more like Kerr’s (2001) multiversity, embracing all types of endeavors, but adhering to the core missions of teaching, researching, and serving the community. Access, autonomy, cost sharing, market, root quality, and social mobility add up as the building blocks of the Blended HE logic, as portrayed in Figure 14, with Gioia, Corley, and Hamilton’s (2012) methodology.

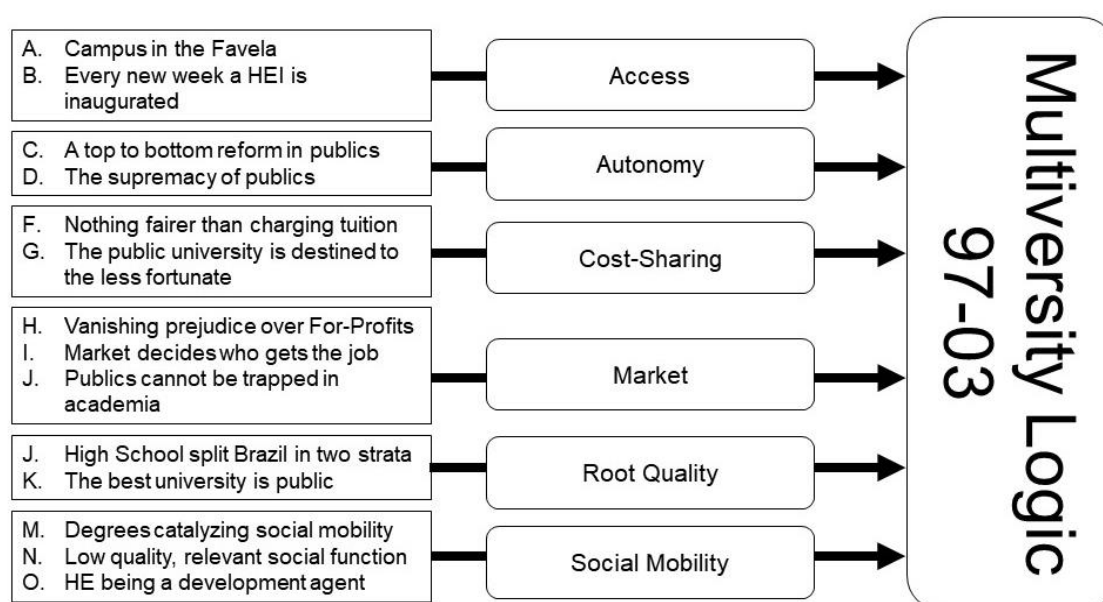


Figure 14: Multiversity Logics 1997-2003 (Adapted from Gioia, Corley & Hamilton, 2012)

4.3.1.4 Summary

Higher Education is a mature field (Greenwood et al., 2011), with high levels of fragmentation because of the multiple constituents and proximate fields relying on and pressuring it (Meyer, Scott & Strang, 1987), each one prescribing

different practices and demand different responses (Pache & Santos, 2010). Thus, high fragmentation levels increase institutional complexity over organizations. However, only one of the fragmented prescriptions, that of the state, is formalized for all HEIs, and for catholic HEIs, religion also formalizes its demands. Families, the market, corporations, industries, and the community do not tend to formalize their pressures over HE, making the high level degree of institutional complexity over the field decrease, since HEIs can respond with discretion the informal demands. Before the entrance of for-profits, the Brazilian field of higher education was centralized around the public and the CPNPs, making guidelines be centered around public universities and those privates should mimic their practices. With the entrance of for-profits, however, centralization tends to diminish. (Greenwood et al., 2011).

Between 1997 and 2003, an overarching societal logic was inducted in data. A Multiversity Logic rises among Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury's (2012) market logic ideal type, which substances (Friedland, 2015, 2018) lie on accountability, wealth, capital, and self-interest; professional logic ideal type, which substances lie on relationships, personal reputation and personal capitalism; corporation logic ideal type, which substance lies on hierarchy, bureaucracy, and management; and state logic ideal type, which substances lie on democracy, justice, community good, and welfare. The blend of these four logics in the macro level originate Brazilian Way Logics, which are mostly marked by inequality, bureaucracy, and self-interest.

Brazilian Way logics are generated by two different types of inequality: root inequality, which maintains the status quo of both those born in golden cribs, and of those born with no privileges whatsoever. Root inequality increases overall social and economic inequality, providing unequal income distribution in the entire educational system and taxes over consumption. Root inequality makes the rich thrive in public universities funded by universal taxes, while legal inequality provides them privileges, such as isonomy and stability for public servants, including university professors, and benefits for judges, politicians, and district attorneys. Legal inequality ensures the maintenance of the status quo of the rich and of the poor, and hinders the economic development of the latter by imposing bureaucratic barriers over entrepreneurship and education, for

example. Both root and legal inequality are born out of the income distribution root metaphor of state logics, and benefit from the bureaucratic authority, attention to interest groups, and control by backroom politics (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012). The transposition of market's self-interested norms sanctioned by the legislative power, and the adoption of a market capitalism, in contrast with a welfare capitalism as the economic system, helped to originate the Brazilian Way logics. However, transposition and blending of elements of professional logics, such as the personal capitalism and relational networks, evidenced by lobbying practices also played a role in building the Brazilian Way Logics.

In the field level, Brazilian Way Logics influence the Public HE field, marked by conservatism, corporate culture, distance from the market, legal constraints, mismanagement, lobbying, prejudice over for profits, and root inequality. Some examples of HEIs dominated by a Public Service Logics are USP, UFPR, and UFRJ, especially in their humanities core.

However, other HEIs blend state and market logics, refracting them in a blended HE logic, which joins its tenets without an emphasis on self-interest and market capitalism, but in a concern about joint development, overall wealth, and efficiency. These substances might be achieved with the provision of access, autonomy, and cost sharing on public universities, relations with the market, concern with social mobility, and a priority in root quality (one that credits primary and secondary education the student's success on higher education). These Multiversity Logics are responded to by HEIs such as the PUCs, FGV, and UNICAMP, the most latent examples of Multiversities (Kerr, 2001).

Lastly, and the major change over the field, come the Private HE Logic, overly reliant on market and corporation institutional orders in order to profit using its students. These HEIs, such as UNOESTE, Universidade de Mogi das Cruzes, and UNIP have provided mass access to higher education emphasizing market competition, the offer of services related to training (instead of education), a discourse of employment after the completion of the programs, and by treating faculty as managed professionals, making courses cheaper both by faculty savings and by mass volume. These organizations promote academic capitalism (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004) and employ business-school management

practices in higher education (Locke & Spender, 2011). Figure 15 summarizes the logics available and accessible to field level actors.

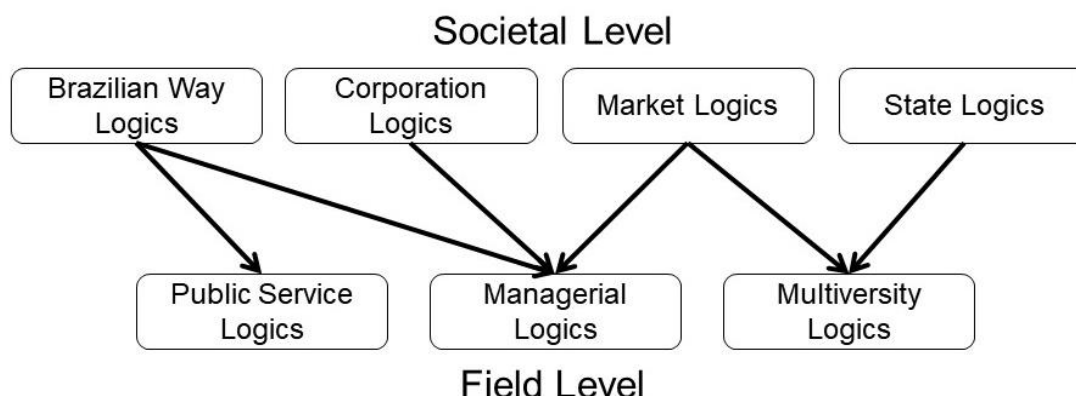


Figure 15: Institutional Orders and Logics over the Brazilian Field of Higher Education

4.3.2 2004-2010

4.3.2.1 Societal Level

ENADE, PROUNI, REUNI and ENEM were the major state programs that influenced Brazilian Higher Education in the period, opening up room for substantial change in the field, especially with the entrance of Foreign HE groups, and IPOs of large educational groups. *Veja* magazine has contributed to the outset of the investigations of one of the largest corruption schemes in Brazil, the Mensalao case, by which the worker's party top management paid congresspeople a monthly allowance in order to advance their agenda.

The Brazilian government at the time, with former president Lula, has raised the flag for seemingly important social policies, such as the access to higher education, advancing a project for quotas in civil service examinations and federal higher education, along with welfare and the fight against starvation. Claudio de Moura Castro argues that "Brazil is not a country without social policies. We have lots of them. The problem is that they tend to aid those who do not need them". The journalist Tales Alvarenga explains Claudio de Moura Castro's point at his column: "Lula has already searched for hunger in a country with obese poor people, according to IBGE, and has tried to impose quotas for blacks in HEIs in a society that has the same percentage of blacks in HE and in the population". Economic inequality still reigns sovereign, despite the policies created by the government.

The speculations around the quotas system and other government policies in all fields show mixed feelings related to equality. There is agreement, however, in the major flaw of the Brazilian State, which “talks much about inclusion. Its main theme is access to the university. I think it is a mistake. We do not have that many people to enter HE because secondary education is really bad”, says Simon Schwartzman. Claudio de Moura Castro normalizes all the policies on higher education by saying that this is the “usual national inability of making healthy rules to federal universities”, and I add, not only to federal universities, but also to overall social policies. For example, an unidentified professor at USP, in an article that discusses the mandatory retirement of professors at the age of 70, says that “it is a paradox that a citizen might be president being older than 75 years, but has to abandon the university at 70”.

Marquis and Raynard (2015) argue that Brazil is a developing economy, according to their data tabulation from the international monetary fund. However, they also say that emerging economies are those that face paralyzing bureaucracy and restrictive government policies. Despite of the average GDP growth and GDP per capita, I argue that regardless of the recent liberalization of the Brazilian economy, including the opening of new HEIs under foreign management, the government still tends to be restrictive on policies, hindering innovation and development. An interviewee at the RU says the government “paralyses a whole educational system under the flag of an absurd centralization that Brasilia [the government] imposes, treating a college in the countryside of the state of Ceara [one of the poorest areas in Brazil] and PUC Rio in the same way”.

Some societal regulations even go against the government’s more macro policies, giving rise to feelings of uncertainty, unpredictability, and paradox over the state’s real intentions. Former President Lula hired a strong economic team, in Veja’s opinion, which led the country to “engage in a solid macroeconomic policy, but in regulations, it sends contradictory signals that scare investors. It is a gunshot at their own foot”, says the former president of ANATEL, the government agency for telecommunications. For example, despite authorizing for-profits into higher education, which ultimately led to the entrance of foreign HE groups in the country and IPOs of the largest groups, “legal restrictions hinder

individual donations in cash, equipments, and books to public universities and other institutions”, says Veja. For the government, therefore it is acceptable that a HEI sells its stocks at Bovespa, but the individual or groups who wish to contribute to nonprofit or public HEI must pay taxes and overcome bureaucracy to do so. Locke and Spender (2011) argue that managers’ economic duties are related to stockholders, but their moral duties lie upon shareholders. Brazil shows a simultaneous blend of managerialism and statism at once, in an equation that seems to hinder the development of fields, especially HE. Quotas are also an example of these contradictory signals. The Undergraduate Dean at UFRJ says that “affirmative policies cannot be reduced to quotas. By doing this, we pretend to make social policies”, in accordance with Sowell (2004), who says that quotas have generally produced minor benefits for a few and major problems for society.

In summary, the Brazilian Government still seems to follow the Brazilian Way Logics posited in the earlier analysis of the logics acting upon the field. Instead of striving for the common good, acting as an as income redistribution mechanism, and providing welfare, over the overarching substances of democracy, justice, and nation (Thornton, Ocasio & Lounsbury, 2012; Friedland, 2015, 2018), the Brazilian state is driven by self and group interests, personal capitalism and bureaucratic roles, making a unique blend of state, market, profession, and corporation institutional orders. Figure 16 depicts the concepts that were aggregated into the 97-03 Brazilian Way Logics, based on 04-10 events, and on Gioia, Corley, and Hamilton’s (2012) methodology.

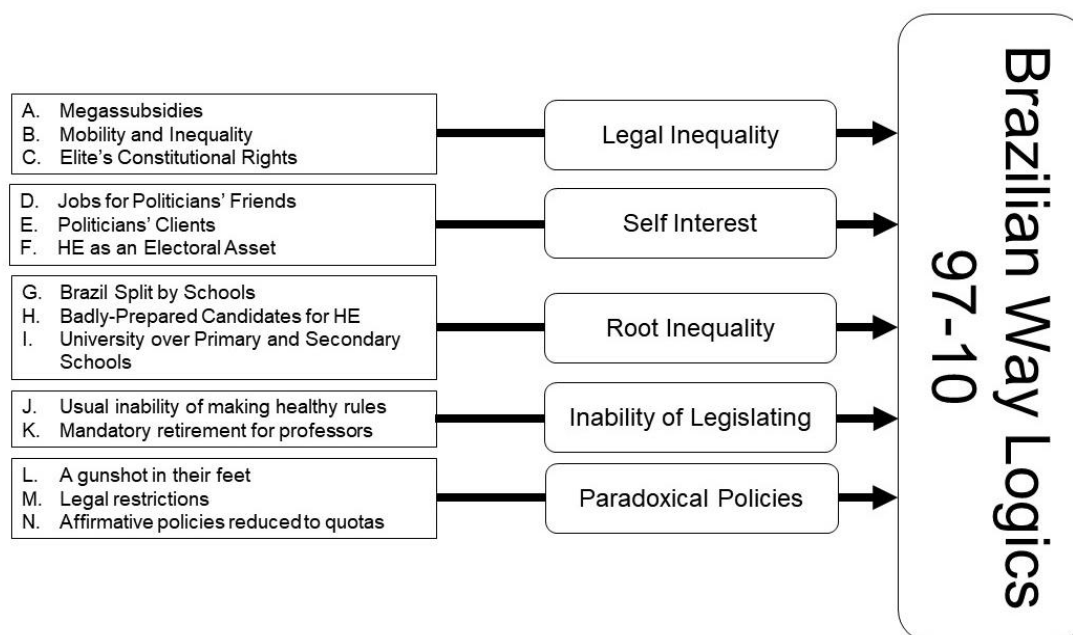


Figure 16: Brazilian Way Logics 1997-2010 (Adapted from Gioia, Corley & Hamilton, 2012)

4.3.2.2 Field Level

Public Service Logics: With Lula in command, the government has advocated for policies that would change substantially the field of higher education in Brazil. Labeled by Veja as the “war on knowledge” regulation, the magazine says that

“the government has proposed a breathtaking HE reform terminating university autonomy, putting it under the purview of corporations, ignoring meritocracy, and, under the pretext of tightening the bonds between the universities and the community, falling into a democratism that is incompatible with academia”

In short, the government, according to Veja, wanted to “create a council, constituted by professors, employees, students, and community leaders, to dictate the academic and administrative future of [public and private] universities”. Table 4 is a translated excerpt of Veja, which summarizes the proposal.

Government's Reform Proposal		
	Proposal	Expected effect
Privates	Create a council constituted by professors, employees, students, and community leaders to dictate the academic and administrative destiny of colleges. Participation of HEI owners would be restricted to 20%	Unionized leaders and other laymen will have power to change curricula and hinder HEI business decisions
	Opening new courses will only be possible when it attends the "social needs of the country".	Social need is a vague term. In practice, the proposal will restrict competition, hinder the emergence of new private excellence centers, and take off freedom from HEIs
	Limit in 30% share participation of foreign groups in Brazilian Universities	The higher education foreign investor that was beginning to discover Brazil will lose his interest in the country, which will lose resources and technological improvements
Publics	Book half of the places to students from public universities, blacks, and Indians	Decline in education levels. At USP, for instance, three out of every ten students with scores high enough for admission will be refused, and in their places, students with 60% lower scores will be admitted.
	Terminate the foundations through which researchers get funds from the market	Decline in up to 50% of the best public universities' budget, which get part of their income through these foundations

Table 4: "War on Knowledge" Reform Proposal (Adapted from the data)

The columnist Claudio de Moura Castro mocks the proposal, saying that Harvard's "practices are contrary to almost all articles in the government's reform proposition. Thus, it cannot be in Brazilian lands". For *Veja*, the project "states its anti-business ideology and seeks to drown private HEIs in regulations and prohibitions". I interpret this reform project as being a clear prescription of Brazilian Way Logics refracted to Public Service Logics – it places the state a step above private and public higher education by its bureaucratic domination (Thornton, Ocasio & Lounsbury, 2012) in a reform proposal, which would increase the power and legitimacy (Suchman, 1995) of the state to control, self-interestedly, the Brazilian field of higher education. This reform was not approved by the Brazilian senate, making, in a simplistic view, state and market logics overcome the Brazilian Way Logics.

Another attention deserving public policy that advanced the Brazilian Way Logics was the ENADE, the substitute of the Provas, and part of the IGC – general course index. Claudio de Moura Castro provides a compelling metaphor of how the IGC works:

"A physician who knew that his/her patient has 88 heartbeats per minute, 39C degrees of fever, and 380 cholesterol would have the initial elements for a diagnostic. Let us imagine that the physician summed these three elements, and shown the grand total. A nonsensical number. This is what the ministry of education has just done with the IGC".

The IGC is the sum of some indicators, such as the last grades of HEIs in government assessments, the doctoral and master's degrees evaluations, the ENADE, among others. Veja was disappointed with the substitution of the Provas for the ENADE, mainly because "the Provas had brought more benefits than every other national policy to higher education in the last 196 years, since the first college was inaugurated in Brazil". "The market has lost a thermometer that every year said: 'this university is garbage, run away from it'", Claudio de Moura Castro says. The ENADE was unpopular since its conception, but with time, it has grown unbearable. Because it is a test organized by the INEP, a public authority, it responded to Brazilian Way Logics, and instead of being aimed at improving higher education, it seemed to advance the government's agenda. The historian Marco Antonio Villa argued that it "is an authoritarian test. The right answer is determined regardless of science and common sense", while Veja argues it "is shameless propaganda of the government and attacks the media". Regardless of political agenda, an interviewee at the RU says that succeeding at the state's assessment "is not difficult to, to attain, because they are indicators, so it's just a matter of organization to achieve what they want, you know, not necessarily linked to quality".

The ENEM, another good idea the government has implemented, which sought to unify the admissions systems of all federal universities was glorified by Veja, which argued that despite being "late in comparison to the rest of the world [...] the consolidation of admission systems attends to the new needs of Brazilian Higher Education, which grows year after year". The best feature of the ENEM is to be "less overwhelming for students, but continues to rank the best", according to the magazine, empathetic with students who took up to thirteen admission tests in thirteen different universities. Gustavo Ioschpe, an education columnist, explains that the ENEM "will be the academic stock market. Comparing to other candidates, the universities decide who will be admitted". However, and like many other policies under the Brazilian Way Logics, the ENEM "was another example of how a good idea can be thrown in the garbage". The ENEM has leaked in its two first editions, and "the investigation by the federal police has concluded that the security around ENEM was amateur".

Quotas for public school students and black people also started being discussed in this period, generating different responses from the magazines, mostly in three different categories: prejudice, useless, and equality. Quotas were framed as prejudice by the sociologist Demetrio Magnoli, who stated that “policies based in race are the denial of the principle of democracy, which state that people’s opportunities are up for grabs, and not determined by their origins”, and by the retired professor from UFRGS and writer Lya Luft, who argues that students “do not reach HE by their own merit and family support, but by what the government, melancholically, considers a handicap: race or the school where they came from – offered by the government itself”. A stark episode happened at UnB, where a committee on race assessment was created and shocked Veja, which said that “the committee which determines who has rights to [quotas] privilege shows the dangers of ranking people by their skin color – what the Nazis and the south-african apartheid did”. The UERJ professor and historian Jose Roberto Goes says that “the first Brazilian racial purity court has been created”. As Sowell (2004) had already posited, one of the consequences of affirmative action is dishonesty in many forms, such as using “unverifiable criteria to conceal group preferences” (p. 191).

Claudio de Moura Castro brings another bright metaphor, now for the uselessness of the quotas system: “Obtaining social justice in university admissions is like putting makeup on Frankenstein. Lipstick, rouge, and powder will not be able to hide its ugliness”. Despite the “number of blacks in federal universities corresponding exactly to their number in the Brazilian population”, “the first and foremost reflection [about the quotas system] is that if the role of the university is to repair historical injustice”, argues Veja. Sowell (2004) agrees with the uselessness of quotas system, but warns for the kind of intellectuals and politicians whose agenda is to appear morally superior by denouncing society at large.

Two columnists framed the quotas systems as being a mechanism hindering inequality, however. Roberto Pompeu de Toledo argued that quotas “check-mate the reproduction of privileges and inequalities in the place the elites evolve and guarantee themselves: the Brazilian university”, while Tales

Alvarenga states that quotas are “very fair. Places in the best free education are taken almost entirely by whites, coming from medium and upper classes”.

Still under Public Service Logics, responding to the pressures, demands, and prescriptions of Brazilian Way Logics, corruption, indoctrination, electoral interests and political parties were stressed in *Veja*. By indoctrination, I mean the corporate culture that was advanced in the earlier chapters, mostly tied to the humanities faculty, which hinder thought and practice that goes against their political and ideological views. For instance, a reader sends a letter to *Veja* complaining that “an entire generation is being victim of indoctrination. Admission tests, especially in the humanities, have become ideological admission tests”. These ideologies are tied to the leftist movements, which have elected their home as the university. According to *Veja*,

“the left has invented the anti-intellectual, the wise man that does not hear, see, or talks about his powerful friends’ corruption. They educate our children in the universities and get paid with our money”

Another reader comes up and says that in the university, “feuds are created, the bosses are enthroned, and those who do not surrender to this authoritarian regime are excluded”.

What *Veja* deems as a leftist view is what I mean by a Brazilian State Logic: a state where government corruption is taken for granted and despite of it, those awarded with privileges (financial, legitimacy, power, fame, status, reputation, job posts) by the government struggle to maintain their status quo deploying the privileges vested on them. A state where ineffectiveness reigns supreme, due to the lack of competition, work, intelligence, engagement, or compromise. A state led by the substances (Friedland, 2015, 2018) of corruption, sloth, privilege, and pride. The Brazilian Way Logics have led federal universities to privilege social movements, such as the Landless Workers’ Movement, with “exclusive courses in public universities with the sponsorship of the government”. “While thousands of Brazilians without financial resources dream about being in a public university, the government sponsors the education of the landless workers’ movement fanatics”. Brazilian Way Logics have also influenced corruption in universities, first because “the former president of UnB has used money destined to research to furnish his apartment”, second because curiously,

“in the IRS forms, the address of CVP [a construction company charged of corruption] is exactly in the building of UFRJ”, and finally, because the minister of justice publicly said he had “received a judicial order to determine the federal police to remove the students that invaded the administrative building [of USP, in a strike]” and that he had disobeyed the judge’s orders telling that he “would not do so, because I believe that the students were acting legitimately against a situation that happened at the university”.

Brazilian Way Logics also demand that universities be used for electoral interests. The Brazilian Field of Higher Education is a particular scenario when compared to other countries, especially those which descriptions abound in the literature, such as the American and English. Veja says that “to untie [the Brazilian HE] knot, should be a priority, but it would be, without a shadow of a doubt, less visible to electors than opening universities in a hurry”. The magazines bring the example that the ministry of education has “ordered that the creation of private HEIs must be limited to the deprived and underprivileged places”. On the other hand, it has announced the creation of a federal university in the ABC”, one of the most industrialized and richest regions in Brazil. Veja also denounces that “Lula will announce the creation of the federal university of Osasco. With this, he intends to engage the electoral campaign of a congressman”.

Overall, Public higher education is deemed by Veja as being inefficient, having high costs, and for Eunice Durham, as being the “antithesis of a well assembled corporation”. Claudio de Moura Castro says that “almost all criticism accusing federal universities of inefficiency, unproductivity, and noncompliance in every area, are deserved”. Gustavo Loschpe agrees, stating that publics “are among the most inefficient of the world”, and Veja says that at UFABC

“there is an example of a hard to overcome inefficiency. Since it opened, in 2006, no president lasted longer than a year on the post. Evasion rates reached 46%. This disaster happens in a HEI where there are six students per professor”

Public Service Logics seem to function under a management system inverse to that proposed by managerialism (Locke & Spender, 2011). Gumport (2001) argue that critics rail against public higher education for its inefficiencies,

resistance to change and complacency, positing that the legitimating (Suchman & Deephouse, 2008) idea of higher education has been changing from an institution towards an industry. It is evident that all organizations need management. Higher education as an institution is an organized activity (Gumport, 2001) rather than an organization, and needs administration in the sense of getting things done (Locke & Spender, 2011), bearing in mind that HE is connected with a myriad of other social institutions, such as the religion, , culture, government, industry, among others (Turner, 2003).

Claudio de Moura Castro insists, saying that “creating new public universities is reproducing an inefficient education system, with high costs and low productivity”, and Veja calculates that “opening a new place in public universities costs to the government five times more than subsidizing a student in a private HEI, as it happens with PROUNI”. Harvard former president, Lawrence Summers, reminds that “it is important to avoid that HEIs be managed as an ordinary factory or bureaucratic organization”, however, Lya Luft exposes that “in public university, for many times, there lacks toilet paper for professors, materials for laboratories, good libraries [etc]”. Despite our “research universities being famous, public, and free, attracting almost always the best professors and the best candidates” for Claudio de Moura e Castro, high costs and inefficiency take over to respond to Public Service Logics.

More precisely, Public Service Logics are labeled by Veja as being “public service logic”, which the magazine argues universities should not follow. Public Service Logics make “intellectuals, with rare exceptions, have a hard-time to work in a group. Most of them being individualistic, self-centered, egocentric, and aim their personal interests”, according to Stephen Kanitz. Public Service Logics make “professors take part on an aleatory congress or publish an article in a journal that no one reads. Things that look like research, but that do not generate knowledge”, for Simon Schwartzman. An interviewee at the RU whose relative work for a federal university say

“they aren’t able to change over there, they aren’t able to understand what we’re debating currently, you now, active methodologies, no one wants to change there, they’ve got in, passed the civil service exams, and want to carry on the way they have always been”

Public Service Logics make intellectuals “bend over power, whether fascist or socialist”, for Roberto Romano. Public Service Logics make faculty and students strike, and, as the former minister of education puts it, “a strike that lasts over 100 days shows that the university is no longer necessary in the way it is structured. Imagine a bank in strike for 100 days”. One example of strike was that that happened when the governor of the state of São Paulo demanded financial accountability of its three universities: USP, UNICAMP, and UNESP. The state intended to include the universities in a system that monitored “the expenditures of all public agencies, allowing taxpayers to know the uses of their money”, according to *Veja*. The magazine reports that this demand “was seen as an attack to autonomy by the unions”, and Gustavo Loschpe explains that “in the name of autonomy, there is a myth in Brazil that universities are above accountability”.

Under Public Service Logics, theory overcomes practice because there is “a mindset rooted on Brazilian enslaver society, where practice was less important, reserved to slaves and not to the noble”, says the president of USP. Stephen Kanitz says that “Brazilian Universities teach intellectual arrogance”, positing the supremacy of theory over practice. Brazilian universities say “they prefer to educate citizens. However, what is the citizen going to do if he can’t get into the labor market?” Eunice Durham asks. A headhunter confirms Durham’s concerns, saying that students “have a hard time adapting to a more diverse environment in the corporation. They lack maturity”.

This inability to educate makes universities be far from the market, because they “remain far from the reality of the professions, and students do not take the course seriously enough to get basic knowledge”. The problem with Brazilian primary and secondary education, states Gustavo Loschpe, is that the “programs in HE are more concerned about educating the vanguardist warriors of the creation of a new society, instead of mere course teachers”, because the labor and professional market is completely neglected by the university. Stephen Kanitz argues that “the core concept of the university is to congregate intellectuals in a same place, or universe, so that they research and propose solutions together”. However, technology transfer and UI Collaborations are still incipient. The main reason the Former Minister of Education argues for this is that “the Brazilian university traditionally creates knowledge that is not interesting to the

real world”. Simon Schwartzman posits that in “publics, where a great deal of Brazil’s research is conducted, are not encouraged to attend to the demands of society and of the market because they are entirely financed by the government”. In a nutshell, Brazilian science is almost entirely funded by the government, and “the private sector loses an excellent opportunity to technologically evolve [and] the government loses because it does not use academic knowledge to formulate public policies”, continues Schwartzman. Veja argues that the fact that researchers are in universities and funded by taxpayer money “hinders innovation and brings losses to competitiveness of Brazilian companies”.

Lastly, and perhaps the most latent dimension of Public Service Logics, inequality still remains a central substance to public education. Diogo Mainardi says that “it is sad to repeat always the same jibber-jabber. And the jibber-jabber is: Brazil spends too much on universities and too little on primary and secondary schools”. The unjust, unfair system continues to work: “The poor pay to study at privates, and the rich study for free at publics”.

Figure 17 depicts the Public Service Logics inducted from data in the Gioia, Corley, and Hamilton (2012) fashion.

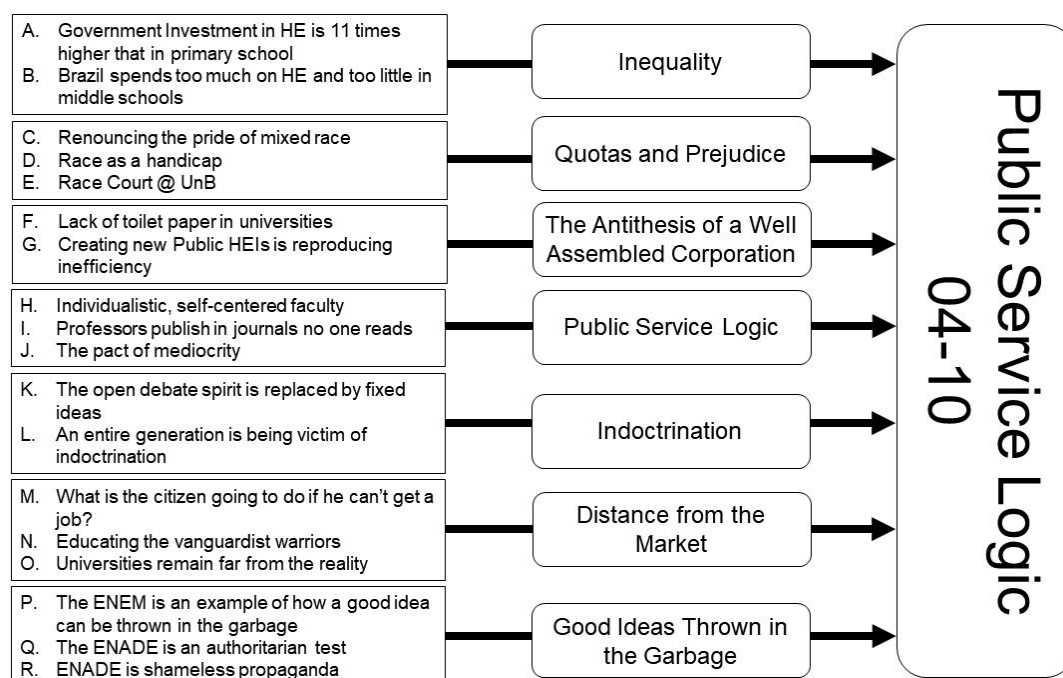


Figure 17: Public Service Logics 2004-2010 (Adapted from Gioia, Corley & Hamilton, 2012)

Managerial Logics: “Education in Brazil has become not only a good business, but a different **business**”. This quote from Veja set the stage for Private HEIs, which benefit and profit in a field where public policies are mostly aimed at providing access to higher education. Government incentives, such as the PROUNI and the FIES made private higher education skyrocket enrollments and achieve profitability with ease. Veja reports that “attracted by [this] great profitability and by the growth prospects, businesspeople of several areas have invested massive amounts in the creation of colleges”.

The astounding surge of investments in creating new ventures in higher education, with countless institutions aiming to be “the Brazilian Harvard” increased market competition. Responding to Managerial Logics, the field level refraction of market and corporation institutional orders, HEIs started to compete for their market positions through many mechanisms. For example, Veja reports that “Estacio’s growth is controverse. Its prices are so low that it was accused of dumping, and even an illiterate person was admitted”. Similarly, Veja explains that “being part of a groups, the costs with curriculum building and material, the part that is expensive to HEIs, fall drastically”. Lastly, but most importantly, John Meyer argues that “universities tend to professionalize their management, improve their facilities, and offer curricula that attend to the demands of the country’s marketplace”. Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury (2012) posit as the basis of strategy of corporation institutional logics the increase in size, just as Estacio did, and in diversification, just as the university groups did. The quote by John Meyer, one of the founding fathers of institutional theory, also state the relevance of the authority of management, another core tenet for the corporation institutional order, transformed in practice and symbol through the Private HE Logic in Brazil. This kind of field organization is consonant with Gumpert and Snyderman’s (2006) depiction of the field of for-profit higher education in the United States, wherein large chains offer mainstream degrees and increase revenues by increasing the number of students.

Still bearing in mind that Managerial Logics blend the elements of market and corporation logics, in this timespan, from 2004 to 2010, mergers, acquisitions, and IPOs have transformed higher education in a massive marketplace. Veja mentions that Anhanguera “went to the stock market and

received 512 million reais, which it will use to purchase twelve HEIs. Share prices have increased 60% so far". Legitimated by their share price in a public communication vehicle with the strategy of diversifying and increasing in size, Anhanguera is one of the most latent examples of what HEI responses to Private HEI Logic look like. Similarly, the president of IBMEC, argued that "there is no better way to sponsor the expansion of universities [than to enter the stock market]". These findings are consonant to Douglass (2012) description of the for-profit field in the US, where large chains also engaged in trading their shares in the stock market.

Expansion of higher education in Brazil was welcomed by public policies and necessary to the country. However, with "almost 500.000 places left empty [in privates], colleges lower their prices and ignore admission tests" emphasizing the transaction metaphor of the market, with the strategy of increasing efficiency profits, getting more students regardless of their backgrounds. The director of INEP says that "we have reached the top, and now privates will need to restructure to the demand", however, regardless of places left, these HEIs are still profiting and kept on lowering their prices and benefiting from public policies over access to higher education. As the magazine puts it, "In higher education, blacks and whites have benefited from a recent phenomenon: the tight competition among HE groups has caused tuition prices to fall".

For Profits and CNPs provide higher education to those that were not able to enter public, and were not able to pay for CPNPs. Despite their responses to Managerial Logics, driven by market and corporation interests, "competitiveness is too high [and] apart from investing in marketing, HEIs will need to worry about quality and price", says the former minister of education. Regardless of the definition of quality, investments in marketing campaigns keep on rising in order to attract poor students to the classroom and training them for the labor market. These selling practices have made it to the CPNPs I have chosen for the study, however. An interviewee at the RUC said he

"entered academia, and from working with products, tangible stuff, now [he] works with intangible things, and [he] is transforming - and that's the challenge - the intangible in things students can touch, feel, it's, it's like the techniques they use in airlines, it's the techniques they use in banks".

A new phenomenon resulted from the rampant increase in graduates: the market is not able to hire all those who graduate. As a result, “a new kind of student has emerged in Brazilian universities: he does everything in his power to postpone graduation, and takes up to twice the time to graduate [...] in this way, they are able to keep their jobs as interns”, Veja reports. An economy graduate says, “since [he] left the university, two years ago, all I got was an internship with a symbolic wage”. In an individual level, there is frustration for not being able to work in the area one has majored in, however, for Gustavo Ioschpe, “it is better for the country to have a shop clerk with a degree than to have another illiterate worker”. However, that Gumpert’s (2000, 2001) student-as-potential-or-current-employee is in risk, for private higher education has found the limits to its emphasis on workforce training.

Figure 18 shows the first and second order concepts that make up to the aggregate dimension of the Managerial Logics (Gioia, Corley, & Hamilton, 2012).

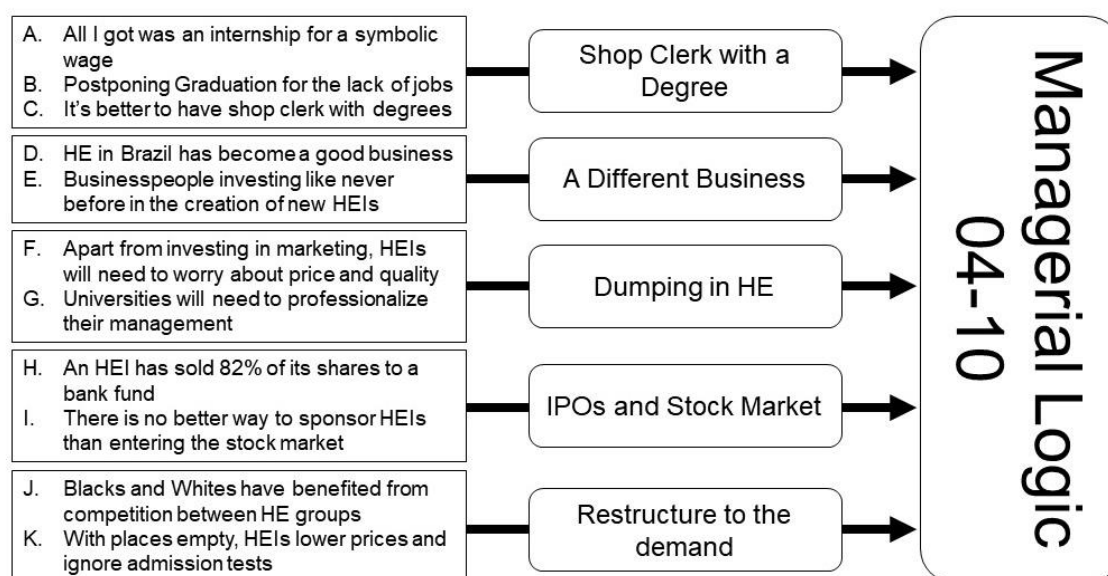


Figure 18: Managerial Logics 2004-2010 (Adapted from Gioia, Corley & Hamilton, 2012)

Multiversity Logics: HEIs responding to Multiversity Logics seek to attend to market demands by stimulating entrepreneurship and investing in STEM fields. They are mostly private, with few public exceptions. Private HEIs are more connected to the market than most of their public counterparts. Some for-profits “started to embrace sports related themes in their traditional curriculum of majors, and have created additional programs and extension courses related

to the area” given the prospect of being host to the FIFA’s World Cup and the Olympic Games. Veja says that privates “educate the majority of people hired by Brazilian companies”, statement that is confirmed by a headhunter who argues that “private education is graduating people that are readier to real life”. Indeed, an interviewee at the RU argues that one of their strategic planning goals is a career centre with an “international platform, entirely virtual, where the student will be able to contact companies around the world, where he will have help to write his CV, where he will have help to take part in interviews”. Gumport (2000) reasons that the emphasis on students’ human-capital and market value is a displacement of practices that stressed human development and citizenship. HEIs responding to Multiversity Logics tend to see their students as a competitive advantage and entrepreneurship (Etzkowitz, 2008), but maintain core social functions such as the character formation and the cultivation of citizenship (Gumport, 2000). Some HEIs, according to Veja, enable their students to work within the university walls in junior enterprises, where

“the university offers an office and facilities [...] but do not fund the student’s actions. It is an endeavor which goal is not to develop and move it out of the university, as other incubators, but to prepare undergraduate students to succeed in their careers”.

A professor at INSPER says that right out of the university, students “are up-to-date in their areas and have great abilities to innovate”. Veja says that “instead of a fixed job in a big company, [students] would rather adventure themselves in their own business, despite the risks and uncertainties involved”. In the RU, an interviewee says “our goal in our school is that the student has to graduate, not every one of them will open their companies, but they will need to know how to engage in entrepreneurship”. Olssen and Peters (2005) say that this entrepreneurship ‘fever’ is a feature of the neoliberal state over higher education; however, it does not seem coherent to have a neoliberal economy under a government by the Worker’s Party. Perhaps the entrepreneurship ‘fever’ grows out of need, rather than out of political views. The need for technical innovation and STEM professionals has boosted technology courses, mostly in private HEs. Technology courses were “advocated by specialists to increase the number of engineers in the country”, and Eunice Durham agrees that these “technical

courses [...] achieve something that many universities do not: prepare students for the labor market”.

Technological courses and entrepreneurship are tuned with Simon Schwartzman’s reasoning that “no country is able to intend to educate only PhDs in German philosophy. Only with diversification, after all, it is possible to make mass higher education”. Under Multiversity Logics, practice and theory are valued equally, and as the USP president argues, “it is up to universities to, besides basic research, produce applied knowledge to the needs of the economy and society at large”. An interviewee at the RU agrees, saying that they “can’t detach from the issue of applicability of our research to the society, how meaningful and socially relevant it is, or of its social tune”. This is a heritage from the German university (Flexner, 1930) that fits the knowledge society of modern times. Applied research creates skilled workforce and enables economic development (Scott, 2006).

HEIs responding to Multiversity Logics are the ones that most attend to market demands and try to establish triple-helix-like collaborations. While public universities are far from the market, and private universities tend to look at the market as the future employer of their students, the Blended HEIs offer, “free of charge buildings with good facilities and in change, demand that [companies] invest around 1% of their revenues in research. Now, these companies fund 85% of research [in a university], and benefit directly from it”, reports Veja. Claudio de Moura Castro introduces the “foundations, which function inside universities, [that have] a furiously capitalist style, making it possible to sell services, courses, research, and technology”. Finally, the President of UNICAMP states that

“creating patents and knowledge is of no use if we do not give it back to society somehow. This is why we are happy to see the large number of companies that chose to be next to us”.

Additionally, an interviewee at the RUC confirmed that the HEI has “created a consulting area in 2001 [...] bringing a project for the city hall”,

HEIs under Multiversity Logics agree with the “relevance of bringing to the debate another change in Brazilian higher education, a radical one: charging tuition in public universities of those who can afford it”. Claudio de Moura Castro advances that “charging tuition, compatible with the student’s possessions, would

allow public universities to substantially increase their revenues”, but this is not the only reason why cost sharing is advocated by Multiversity Logics. Veja reports that “according to a OECD ranking, the cost of a HE student in Brazil is among the highest in the world”, and by being so, publics are not only costly, but contribute to the inequality posited under Public Service Logics. Johnstone (2004) warns that cost-sharing should be accompanied by programs and policies of financial assistance, such as the PROUNI and FIES, so that it is compatible with access and equality. Brazil already has what it takes to charge tuition in public universities, however, Gustavo loschpe explains that “despite being obvious, the need to charge tuition of students from high social-economic levels bumps in the lack of courage of politicians to debate the theme”, politicians that function under the Brazilian Way Logics, which seek to maintain their privileges and use public universities for electoral purposes. An interviewee in the RUC agrees, saying that he always

“disliked public higher education, I’m against free higher education [...] my mom had always asked ‘why don’t you take an exam to work at the federal university’ [says in a funny voice tone], crap, man, I don’t believe in it, I’m not gonna make something I don’t believe in, you know”.

Because publics are not able to provide access to mass higher education for their high cost per student and competitiveness in entrance, Gustavo loschpe says that Lula

“found with PROUNI creative dodgery to transfer to privates the responsibility to welcome the poor. He has sold the idea that he gave the poor the key to HE, but the number of aided students is so small that it does not make any difference for social mobility or race causes”

The magazine agrees with loschpe, and attacks Lula’s public university expansion program. Veja says that “a less costly solution, argue specialists, would be to use at least part of the 1 million places empty in private universities through PROUNI”. The PROUNI largely benefited private HEIs, such as “Estacio de Sa, [which] has become the largest HEI in Brazil. In ten years, it has increased its number of students from 10.000 to 100.000”. An interviewee at the RU says that “man, we have a huge number of PROUNI students here, and you see a PROUNI kid that enters here with the biggest social struggle and gets out with a summa cum laude degree, you know...” Not only the PROUNI, but distance

education also aided private HEIs to contribute to society providing access to HE. Veja reports that “the number of enrollments in distance programs has increased 151% in three years. The growth was, overall, in the north and center-eastern regions, where there lacks universities”. In this time period, however, neither the RU, nor the RUC have endeavored in distance education. In contrast to the American model of distance learning, where public colleges are mostly engaged in order to reach all citizens (Weisbrod, Ballou & Asch, 2008), in Brazil all distance programs are conducted by privates.

While Public Service Logics deem private universities as “degree-factories”, and argue that public universities should be thoroughly expanded countrywide, private universities under Multiversity Logics keep on having an important social role. Ioschpe proposes that “if a student is not in a better university, it is a signal that he/she has not intellectual or financial conditions to be there. Without the ‘bad’ university, this student would not be enrolled in HE”. An interviewee at the RUC puts religion as an “anchor of our traditional, conservative, in a good sense, vision”. Further, while under Public Service Logics, the legitimated manifestation for more privileges comes in the form of student and faculty strike, the journalist Roberto Pompeu de Toledo observes that “Private HEI students are not dumb to strike, they pay in order to study”.

Despite responding mostly to Brazilian Way Logics, the Brazilian government is responsible for most of the country’s science investments. For the director of FAPESP, the São Paulo State Research Funding Agency, “our scientific development is a result of fifty years of state investment in public universities and the creation of institutions that support research”. Claudio de Moura Castro agrees, stating that “the reason our post-graduation is successful is because it is supported by competitive funds, by merciless peer evaluation, and by the pressure to produce more and better”. The CAPES, CNPq, and state funding agencies are the main sponsors of Brazilian science, and grant competitive funds for projects. However, Veja reports that “specialists are unanimous to argue that Brazilian science lacks two factors to develop: investment and a system that distributes resources to the best researchers”. Veja’s claim is that government funds to public universities, other than those from the agencies that support and provide for research, are distributed regardless of

merit or productivity. The magazine says “none of our universities are among the 100 best in the world. It’s not a surprise. They are not encouraged for that. Public funds come religiously. Why bother to improve?”

The Blended HE logic is the aggregate dimension (Gioia, Corley, & Hamilton, 2012) for the grounded quotes in first order, that make up the second order features (Figure 19)

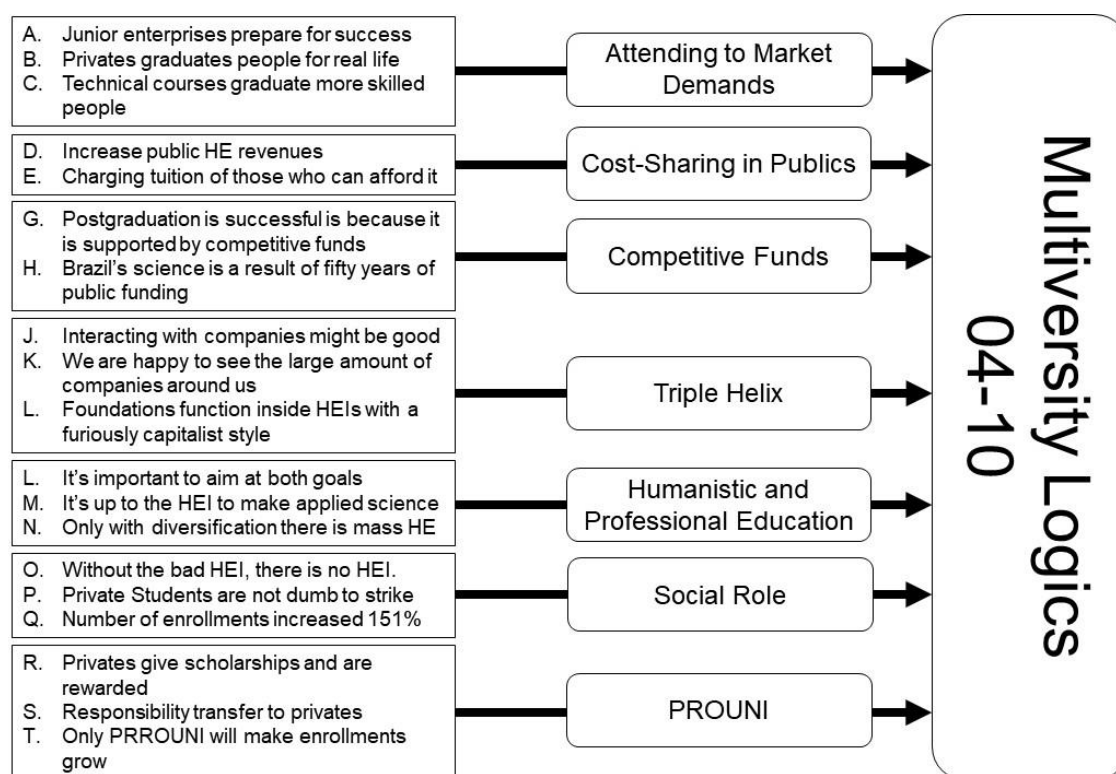


Figure 19: Multiversity Logics 2004-2010 (Adapted from Gioia, Corley & Hamilton, 2012)

4.3.2.3 Summary

In this period, the public policies sanctioned by Lula, such as the substitution of the Provaio for the ENADE, the PROUNI, the expansion of public universities, and the ENEM, have had a great impact in the Brazilian field of higher education. Under Brazilian Way Logics, the government continued to privilege the elites by providing free education for the best students, generally those who attended private high schools, while dodging from its responsibility as an “income redistribution mechanism” as posited by Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury’s (2012) state institutional order. In order to do so, however, the government has attended to market logics, providing tax-waivers for private HEIs, which have provided access to students from poorer backgrounds. In this case,

however, the government is acting both as a redistribution mechanism, in accordance to state logics, and exempting its income at the source, in the form of taxes, in order to transact with private institutions, responding to market logics. Using Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury's (2012) ideal types, the state is acting as a redistribution mechanism, emphasizing its bureaucratic domination, in order to emphasize the value of the transaction in the market, oftentimes increasing share prices and market position of HEIs. A blend of state, market, and corporation logics. The Brazilian State Logic, in this sense, contribute to a larger centralization of the field (Meyer, Scott & Strang, 1987), decreasing the degree of institutional complexity at the field level (Greenwood et al., 2011).

Another government attempt to get closer to state logics over the HE field was the outset of discussions and implementation of the quotas system, which provided access in public universities for blacks and students from public high schools. Quotas were criticized for being prejudicial and unfair, and generated some debate about the functions of Higher Education in Brazil. No doubt that universities have important social functions (Gumport, 2000), but under Brazilian Way Logics marked by the substance of inequality, adopting a quotas system, as UnB and UERJ did, transforms the university into an instrument, a tool for public policies, rather than an institution. Market and State Logics have overpowered the Brazilian State Logic with the refusal of the proposal of reform in the higher education field – the “war on knowledge” regulation.

However, Public Service Logics are still dominant in public universities, the inefficient and costly “antithesis of a well assembled corporation”. Brazilian Way Logics refract at the Brazilian Field of Higher Education as Public Service Logics prescribing indoctrination, distance from the market, and the supremacy of theory over practice in HE, and also referring to the political and electoral interests, corruption, and state control.

Inefficiency, therefore, is a hallmark of Public Service Logics. Gumport (2000) say she is afraid that the things she cares the most about in higher education might be deemed as inefficient, such as the university being a place for unpopular ideas, for creativity and the life of mind, for relationships, and other essences of HE. However, the inefficiency of the Brazilian Public University, under Public Service Logics, are far from those things Gumport (2000) cares

about, and more tied to the lack of administration over an organized activity. I do not mean a managerialist activity that turns the university into a multidivisional corporation (Locke & Spender, 2011; Birnbaum, 2000), but a more nuanced administration seeking to make things work without as they should.

Surprisingly, Managerial Logics had little emphasis on this time span, maybe because of the large number of government-proposed changes, usually under the Brazilian Way Logics, and refracted in the field level by Public Service Logics. Most of Veja's accounts considered as Managerial Logics were related to market competition, profitability, mergers, acquisitions, and the stock market. Vaira (2004) argues three main reasons for the globalization of higher education, such as the entrance of foreign endeavors in the Brazilian field of Higher Education: a minimal state, managerialization/entrepreneurialization, and a knowledge society. Brazilian Way Logics prescribe the opposite of a minimal state, as evidenced by the "war on knowledge" regulation proposal. On the other hand, opening the market for Higher education, and sanctioning programs such as the PROUNI and the FIES signal that the state is open for the market. HEIs tend to get bogged down in these state movements, because it sends conflicting signals regarding its true intentions. Some interviewees tend to face these movements naturally. At the RUC, one informant says they "have a framework through which we can adapt swiftly to changes in legislation". At the RU, however, one interviewee admits: "I don't know if the students' perception of quality will allow us to survive this autophagy that's being imposed in the market of higher education in Brazil".

Lastly, Multiversity Logics, which make a field-level blend of market and state orders, attended to the needs and requirements of the market, engaged in triple-helix like events, received state investments, and joined theory and practice to fulfill their social role. An informant at the RU says that when he was hired, he "joked that we had to take the F out of the RU, I realized that the RU was the Religious Federal University, that we had a strong public culture". This Public Service Logics over the RU, however, tends to fade, as another interviewee there say that professors have

"made a presentation last week, or the week before, in which they had to say, in seven minutes, their applied research. When I asked this in 2015 comparing to now,

wow, it's totally different. So, the mindset is slow to change, it's a culture"

In summary, Brazilian Way Logics continue to demand conflicting behaviors from HEIs, therefore, according to Greenwood et al. (2011), the degree of institutional complexity in the field should be higher. However, HEIs have elected three overarching field level institutional logics to respond to the Brazilian Way Logics demands. HEIs responding to Public Service Logics are favoured by Brazilian Way Logics. HEIs responding to Managerial Logics are also, in some extent, favoured by Brazilian Way Logics, but under Market and Corporation Logics, they turn HE into a commodity, benefiting from globalization and the knowledge society (Vaira, 2004). Lastly HEIs responding to Multiversity Logics seem to have already got used to this kind of conflicting prescriptions of Brazilian Way Logics, and under State and Market Logics are the ones who maintain HE as a social institution (Gumport, 2000) in the country, while simultaneously engaging in triple-helix (Etzkowitz, 2008) activities.

4.3.3 2011-2017

4.3.3.1 Societal Level

Brazilian Way Logics are different from Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury's (2012) State logics because they blend components from corporate, market, and professional logics into the state. In the field level, Brazilian Way Logics are refracted as Public Service Logics, both acting on Public Universities, since publics are managed and under the government's purview, also because publics tend to be closer to some ideological stances and substances, such as the distance from the market and the struggle against every action that might be deemed as academic capitalism (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004).

Brazilian Way Logics prescribe bureaucracy, once more, consistent with Marquis and Raynard's (2015) theorization of developing markets, where bureaucracy is suffocating, mitigating entrepreneurship and investments. Veja says that Brazil is absent of the innovation ranking. Three factors explain why: first, bureaucracy. Delayed and slow processes that take years and harm universities and companies, private and public". Some bureaucratic norms and rules seem like they are meant to be broken under Brazilian Way Logics. Claudio de Moura Castro tells the story of "two members of the commission of degree

revalidation [which where] discussing. They were scared with the stupidity of the system. They would need to refuse their own degrees if they were submitted to the same evaluation”.

Brazilian Way Logics are the stronghold for Public Service Logics, which prescribe job stability and wage isonomy for faculty members in universities, and all other civil servants in the country. Kerr (2001) agrees that faculty members need “a sense of stability”, “a sense of security”, “a sense of continuity”, and “a sense of equity”. However, Veja reports that “the president of USP says that the current system favours the comfort of researchers who have career stability, who do not create anything, and who think it is enough to repeat experiments”. The Director of IMPA, Cesar Camacho, says that “Brazilian universities [...] are all doomed by rules that hinder them to seek the most talented. Public service exams hire people who guarantee their jobs until they retire, regardless of their performance”. Legally granted, full stability, until retirement, is way different from a sense of stability. Isonomy, the standardization of wages, is also demanded by Brazilian Way Logics. The columnist Gustavo Loschpe argues that the ministry of education “could lower the fix wages of faculty and complement their income through research project fundings” as a solution to the isonomic principle. However, still in accordance with Marquis and Raynard’s (2015) research, productivity is stagnant in federal universities and in public service as a whole, mainly because civil servants get paid regardless of their work productivity.

The substances of Brazil logics are mostly led by inequality, self-interest and lobbying power. Inequality does not translate itself only in education, such as when the poor need to pay for higher education while the rich get to study in free public HEIs. Public service is also a provider of inequality. Judges, politicians, district attorneys, and some other civil servants are paid well above market average. A Senator says that “it is unreasonable that a person who just left the university starts his/her professional career earning 28000 reais, while a university professor earns 8000”. Regardless, there are still those who argue that “primary, secondary, and higher education of excellent quality should be of democratic access for all”, and that “the hour to increase places in universities has come. Most people cannot afford private HE”. Thus, this is the “vacuum”

posited by Geiger (1991) wherein privates arise. Demand grew geometrically, and the state could not keep up.

According to Gioia, Corley, and Hamilton's (2012) methodology, Figure 20 shows the aggregate dimension of the Brazilian Way Logics throughout the period grounded in 1st order *in vivo* quotes and 2nd order categories.

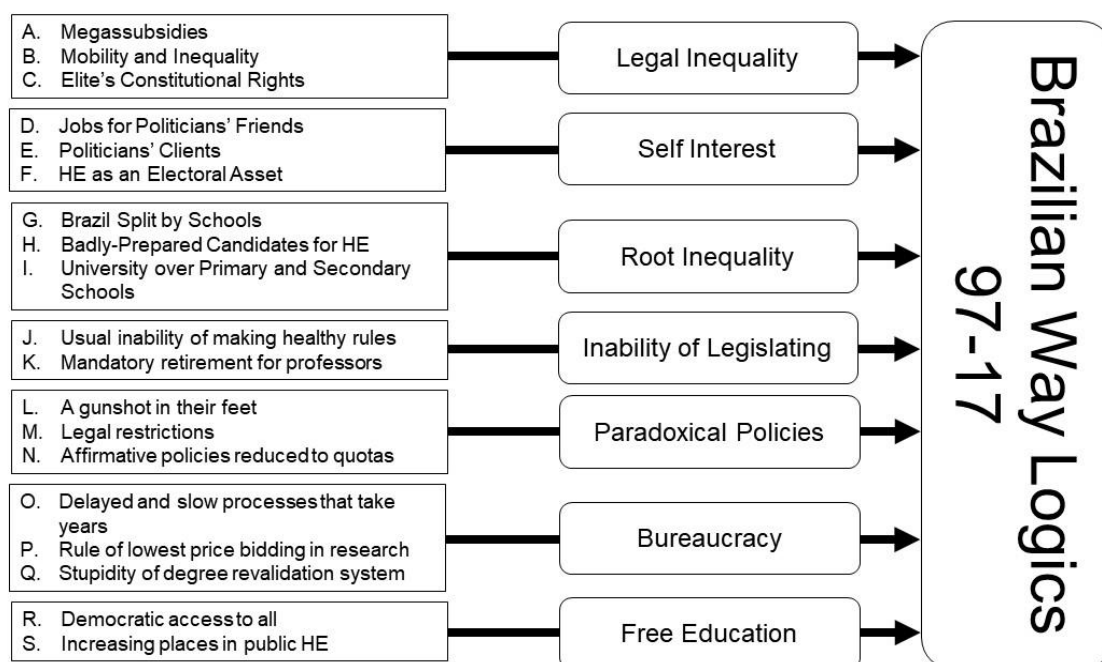


Figure 20: Brazilian Way Logics 1997-2017 (Adapted from Gioia, Corley & Hamilton, 2012)

4.3.3.2 Field Level

Public Service Logics: Under the worldwide trend for internationalization, another mission of the university for Scott (2006), the ministry of education has sponsored around 100.000 scholarships for Brazilian students in the SWB program. However, Veja reports that “Almost 80% of all 93000 scholarships were granted to undergraduate students [...] in the most part being a kind of brief interchange, state-funded tourism. Thus, we missed science on the SWB”. An interviewee at the RU confirms, saying

“a thing the government did to please others, you know, was the Science Without Borders, come on, what the f*** was it, tourism without borders, zero outcomes, you know [...] I know people that said wow, I need to spend this money the government gives me, so they bought a brand new computer, went on sightseeing, you know...”

A professor at UFSC says that the SWB “takes away the scarce public resources, even completely terminating the government’s research funds”, and

the results were that “110 students had to come back, in the middle of their courses, because they couldn’t keep up with classes. They lacked minimum knowledge of English language”. Scott (2006) posited internationalization as the “service to the body of nation states”, comprehending teaching, research, and public service missions, Brazil pretended to internationalize by sending undergraduate students abroad. And worse, in some cases, “Brazilian students of the SWB program [were] receiving unpleasant messages from their universities in US. They say that they did not receive the tuition fee due”. Veja says that “despite Dilma’s patriotic optimism, the crisis kept on without borders”.

The Brazilian Field of HE experienced massive cuts in funding due to the financial crisis. “Federal universities suffered a cut of 30% in funds from the ministry of education”, Veja reports. The columnist Lya Luft says that “the federal government has cut 75% of the funds for the program that supports master’s and doctoral degrees”, and a researcher at USP says “the lack of resources has hindered us to make our projects advance”. Simon Schwartzman argues that “it’s a priority issue. In order to fund undergraduate scholarships, essential resources of research programs [...] were used”. It seems that, indeed, the government “does not invest [in research] because basic science does not grant votes in the election”.

In privates, there is a similar situation due to a “shocking decree [by the minister of education, [that] change the transmission of FIES funds to universities from 30 days to 45 days”, to which Veja responds that “the money is over, and the government has changed the rules in the middle of the game”. Indeed, the “irresponsible and populist extension of FIES” has harmed students and HEIs. Despite being a good idea, the FIES has harmed many students. Veja tells a story of a nurse whose

“tuition fee financed by FIES amounts 1.536 reais. If FIES is used until he leaves the university, the student will have a 100.000 reais debt, and during 15 years, will need to pay 700 reais monthly. Most nurses earn between 1.000 reais and 3.000 reais monthly. This explains, in part, the extraordinary default of FIES.”

However, FIES is a good political program. The president of UERJ says that “If education was understood as something strategic, we would not be in this situation. [...] Education is a long-term investment, and the outcomes are seen

way after a political mandate". For Veja, universities needed reforms that "are important to the Brazilian people, and unpleasant for our politicians and many incompetent faculty and employees". A former UnB professor says that "The university has been taken by a tacit ideology enforcement, assembled to function without being noticed", and the former minister of education agrees that the university is "subordinated to the unions, fragilized by the corporate culture and by the weakness of its scholars".

In 2017, Veja changes its position on the matter of quotas for higher education, and says that "fifteen years after the first experience, reserving places in universities to fight inequalities has been working well". Despite Sowell's (2004) conclusion that quotas do little for the poor anywhere they have been sanctioned, after researching five countries, there are some that are still favourable to reserving quotas for blacks in Brazil, after all, Veja says, "without quotas, what will be of the people that, in other ways, would not have access to a place in the university?". However, a reader says that "quotas policy is a certificate of a cruel and shameful reality: the total inability of the state in providing citizens with quality education", meaning that quotas have come by, in Brazil, to mitigate the effects of root inequality, which works by making basic education bad. Claudio de Moura Castro says that "of course, it is easier to create quotas than to invest in basic education". Quotas are also accused of being racist, as put by a professor at UFRJ "it is nonsensical to fight racism exactly with a differentiation based upon race", in accordance with Sowell's (2004) argument that despite the blacks have been maltreated, neither black poverty, nor their rise out of poverty is due to affirmative action and preferential policies.

The wisest thing to do, instead of quotas, would be to fund basic education. However, the Public Service Logics prescriptions are set: "the budget with the SWB was equivalent to that of public school lunches - the difference is that while the SWB kept 35000 students abroad, school lunch is served to almost 40 million students", reports Veja. This is why often, according to Lya Luft, "Students enter the university without knowing how to write, reason, read, and comprehend". Under Public Service Logics, students write in ENEM essays "lame recipes, soccer club hymns, and dreadful language mistakes [which] were well evaluated". The ENEM is a good example of what I mean by Brazilian Way

Logics refracting on the field level to Public Service Logics, once Veja reports that “It seems like we’re lying [but] the ENEM has leaked again”.

The United States entitles HE for the masses and institutionalize universal access to postsecondary education (Gumport & Snyderman, 2006). Brazil, too. However, the way this is accomplished, is markedly different. In Brazil, public universities are not able to provide access for all students, and the privates enroll most students in the country. The minister of education says he is “in favour of quality instead of quantity”, after decades of preaching for universal access to higher education, and has used the ENADE to “expose bad quality [and terminate] 200 programs’ admissions”. The columnist Gustavo Loschpe says that “to close places in Brazilian HEIs today is not only stupid, but also a crime [...] the idea that is good to close admissions is a blend of intellectual laziness with magical realism”. An interviewee at the RUC reveals that

“we take their yardstick [ENADE], we do as they want us to do, and work to have good scores. For instance, there are institutions that emphasize this [makes money sign with hands], because it’s ok for them scoring a 3 [out of 5], it’s an acceptable quality to a given demand that pays for that and knows what they are going to get”.

Additionally, at the RU, an informant reveals “today we know that are a series of tricks, you know, to get good grades at the ENADE, there are those who have mandatory courses on ENADE, you know”. As Kerr (2001) has predicted, it is a bad situation that the preservation of status quo took priority over the commitment to access. Of course, access must be provided along with quality and autonomy and Kerr (2001) says that quality of instruction is related to the degree of engagement in disseminating knowledge, not the results on standardized tests. The ENADE is, for the president of INSPER, an exam “with an ideological bias, high subjectivity, and a simplist outlook over the great contemporary issues”, and himself, a PhD. in economy by the University of Chicago, has “decided to take, out of curiosity, the ENADE. According to the official answer key, he got only half of the questions right”, says Veja. Nevertheless, access was hindered by Public Service Logics.

While Kerr (2001) defines broadly quality as engagement, Weisbrod et al’s (2008) argue that quality judgements are hard to do in education, saying that a stimulating learning environment and professors that challenge and motivate

students might be some dimensions. In Brazil, the physicist Glaucius Oliva reports that in undergraduate programs, “we impose students an absurdly high classload, based in an excess of boring, expositive classes”, while the founder of Minerva, Stephen Kosslyn, argue that “universities do not value didactical innovation, hindering the application of different methods”. Because, as Claudio de Moura Castro says, “higher education here is exceedingly theoretical, academicist, and it disencourages many students that prefer a more practical, market-laden model, like some examples abroad”, quality does not seem to be our forte.

Research, too, is often large in numbers, but little in quality. Even the president of CAPES, has “accepted to publish in a journal with dubious credibility [...] by paying 630 euros”. Publications in low relevance journals in a globalized, internationalized scientific community is the reason why “Brazilian universities remain far from the first position in international rankings” for Veja, who interview a Times Higher Education consultant who says that “Brazil should not worry about increasing the volume of publications, but to emphasize high-impact research that broaden the limits of the world comprehension”. An interviewee at the RU says that

“for starters, you cannot engage in productivism, we say, in publishing in low circulation journals that are not peer reviewed, you know [...] there predatory journals they take advantage of this opportunity niche, but people are getting that it's not the way, but the RU is for a long time [emphasizes with hands], for about ten years, with this vibe of quality”.

It is difficult to achieve quality, despite its blurry definitions and boundaries, in a country where “apart from seeing its presence in the global rankings decrease, the first decline in students after two decades of growth has been registered”, Veja reports. The minister of education himself admits that “only 16% of the age cohort is in the university, and we surely need to watch over the 84% that stay behind and give them opportunities”. The president of CNPq argues that, of these 16%, many “live in a comfort zone, without embracing risks or ambitions”, especially those doctoral students, who do not “ambition anything extraordinary, and survive based on one or two articles published in low-relevance journals”, says Glaucius Oliva. Some students even engage in vandalism and aggression, such as those that “with branded clothing and

expensive cars, [...] vandalize USP because they want to smoke weed without being bothered". For Lya Luft, the university has become the "stronghold of intellectual poverty", where "mediocrity reigns, scary, relentlessly, and persistently".

Universities under Public Service Logics are the "Public education jewels" for Veja, arguing they "are restricted by an old and obsolete management model, highly dependent on the government". Claudio Haddad sees "clear management and governance problems in public universities. [...] But internal resistance to any action that changes the old way of doing things is so great that nothing gets done", causing, for example, USP use "105% of its budget in payroll", according to Veja. At the RU, an informant says, "the public university in Brazil is at the rearguard of society, society is ahead the university, but it is the university who should go ahead".

UI collaborations could be a solution for HE's independence, but for the IMPA director, Marcelo Viana, "the industry does not seek the university, and the university does not see as its mission to serve the industry" because, still in his opinion, "profit is still seen as a vice, something that takes the virtue out of academic production". An informant at the RUC says

"eventually when you present it [UI Collaboration] at the federal university, oh, they are gonna tell you, what for? Why? We have nothing to do with these guys! The market wants one thing and we want another!"

At the RU, an interviewee agrees:

"the businesspeople are not very fond of this kind of interaction, and they do not feel safe legally to know that the investment they're making will be able to be deducted from his taxes, so he ends up not doing it".

A professor at UFPB warns that "if Brazilian universities intend to take part on the international scientific elite, this barrier on the market needs to be demolished", but Glaucius Oliva explains that "our science has always been offertist, based on a logic where first you investigate something, and then you ask if someone is interested".

Public Service Logics (Figure 21) were found grounded in data, which might be understood using Gioia, Corley, and Hamilton's (2012) methodology.

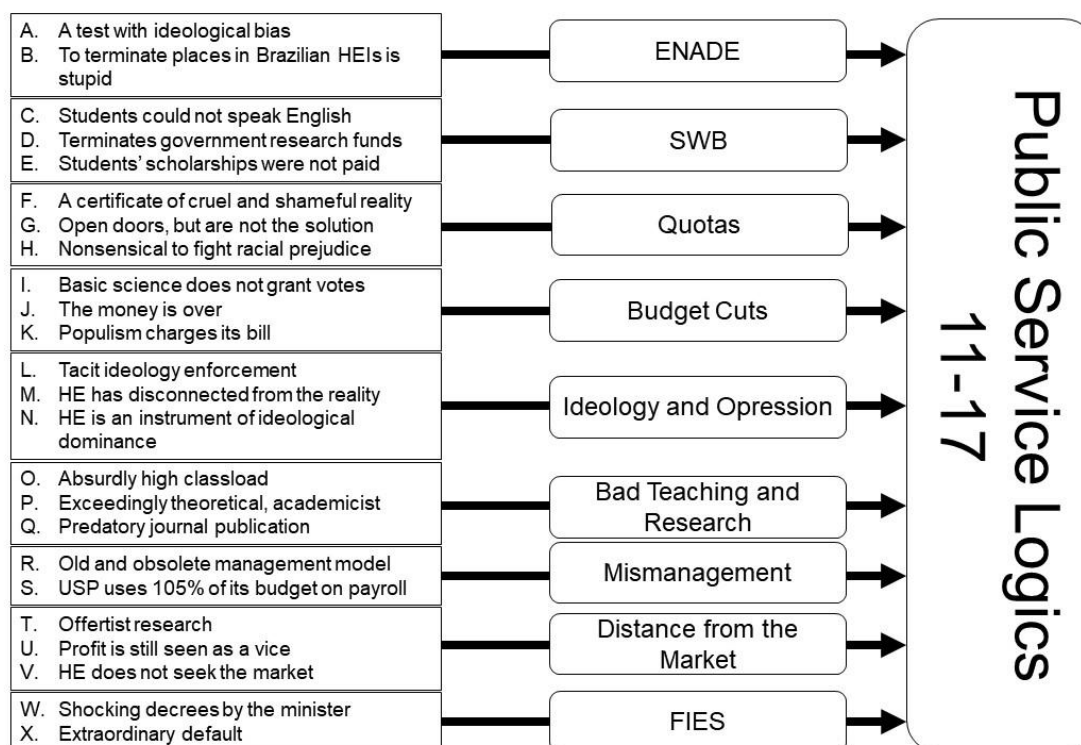


Figure 21: Public Service Logics 2011-2017 (Adapted from Gioia, Corley & Hamilton, 2012)

Managerial Logics: Under Brazilian Way Logics, privates have realized that they also could engage in corruption, inequality, and lobbying for their benefit. These substances (Friedland, 2015, 2018; Klein, 2015) have led “two of the largest universities in Brazil, which together have more than 400000 students enrolled” to fraud the ENADE, Veja reports. The Director of UNINOVE, one of these universities, admitted that they “would call the student saying that the university was giving him an opportunity to graduate earlier, and we would make him an exam, which we ignored. Afterwards, we just graded him and sent him home”, so that he would not need to take the exam. This happened not only because of the grades in ENADE, and not only because of the substances (Friedland, 2015, 2018; Klein, 2015) prescribed by Brazil Logics, but also for financial reasons. It turns out that private HEIs are over-reliant on government incentives to students. Veja explains that

the relevance of having high scores in ENADE is twofold: it increases the university reputation and grants mass adherence of scholarship students, low income students, generally. [...] In 2012, UNIP received only 291000 reais of federal scholarships, but in 2013, the amount has increased 400 times. It has rose up to 144 million reais. In 2014, 350 million reais

Not only these universities benefited from Brazilian Logics prescriptions. The Galileo group, which controlled two universities, was accused of “fraud, racketeering, and conspiracy in a state investigation. [...] Last week, the ministry of education decided to close both HEIs and 12000 students were left with no place to study”.

Managerial Logics have appropriated the prescriptions of market and corporation logics (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2012) to merge and operate in the stock market aiming for higher competitiveness, stock values, and volume of “sales”. Veja reports that “the university Estacio de Sa, the second largest in Brazil, with 590.000 students, has announced the acceptance of the billionaire proposal from Kroton, which has become, merger after merger, the largest higher education corporation in the world”. Little time after, however, Veja tells that “CADE has vetoed the acquisition of Estacio by Kroton”. CADE is the Administrative Council of Economic Defense, responsible for, among other functions, analyzing mergers and acquisitions that might form monopolies in Brazil. This is a huge finding for HE and institutional logics literature. Douglass (2012) has mentioned the Brazilian Effect referring to the large size of the Brazilian For-Profit HE market. However, two HE corporations have attempted to merge, and the state has concluded that their merge would mean, in fact, a risk of monopoly in the market.

As Douglass (2012) and Geiger (1991) posited, private HEIs come to absorb the demand that Publics cannot, and Gumpert (2006) agrees that public and private HEIs are complementary. In some cases, however, privates offering access is not taken kindly by Veja. Lya Luft says “the multiplication of med schools is incomprehensible and disastrous [...] law schools abound over the country”. On the other hand, Gustavo Loschpe argues that “the student in a low-score HEIs is not there because he is stupid or being fooled, but because it is the best one he could get into, or the cheapest he could pay for”. For Shattock (2011), despite teaching and research being universities’ core missions, they are increasingly taking on additional roles – inclusion being one of them. Nevertheless, an important strategy for granting students access to higher education is making them eligible for access. Veja reports that “UNIP and Kroton

are financing tuition for students that are not eligible for the FIES, the currently weakened government program”.

However nice and kind these policies of access might seem, they come with strings attached. The website of Kroton, according to Veja, displayed the message that FIES’s “interest rates are so low that it is worthy to hire it, even if you have money to pay for your major. If you deposit the money in your savings account they money you would spend to pay tuition, you might end up profiting”. The for-profits and CNPs have benefited from the government’s program for student loans and started to fraud it, too. Veja reports that “in universities of the Kroton group, for example, tuition fees were higher for FIES students”, an appropriation of self-interested Brazilian Way Logics by the Managerial Logics. Under Brazilian Way Logics, all substances, practices, and symbols of this particular order are both accessible and available (Thornton, Ocasio & Lounsbury, 2012), up for grabs. As they argue, however, availability and accessibility do not determine activation, which is determined by the situational fit – accomplished through contradictions among logics (institutional complexity) and new organizing practices. I interpret this finding as the weakness of State Logics over Brazil, and as a consequence, the weakness of its prescriptions of community good and income redistribution (Thornton, Ocasio & Lounsbury, 2012) under the substances of democracy and welfare (Friedland, 2015, 2018) make them less accessible than those prescriptions of Brazilian Logics under the substances of self-interest and injustice. Veja summarizes:

It is a pity, but what was born as an excellent idea and has helped less-favoured people to open the doors of the university, ended up being a debauchery with public funds. Two opposite and apparent outcomes: a great business for private universities, and a great debt to just-graduated students

I summarize the findings concerning Managerial Logics through Gioia, Corley, and Hamilton’s (2012) methodology on Figure 22.

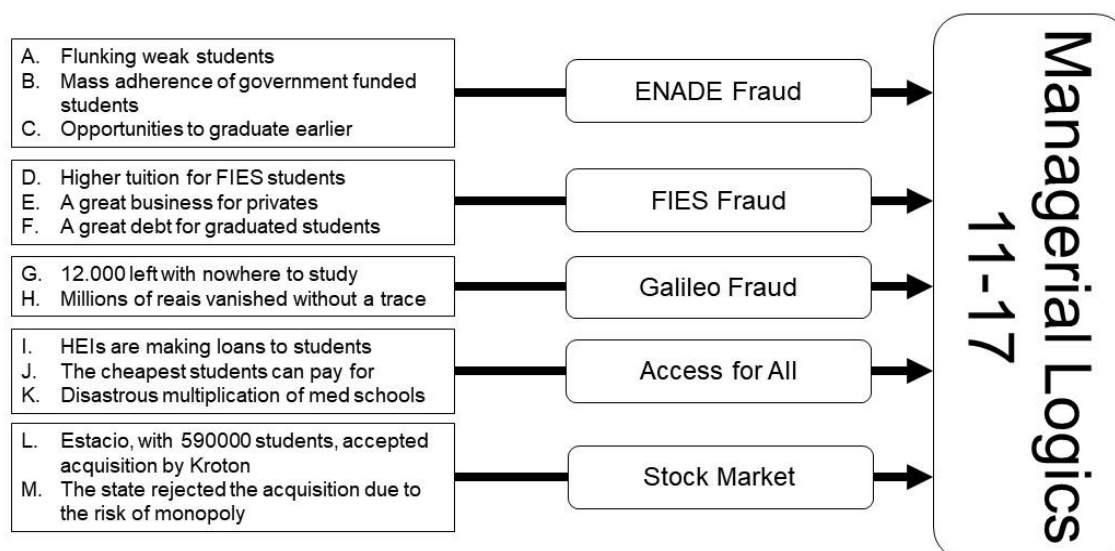


Figure 22: Managerial Logics 2011-2017 (Adapted from Gioia, Corley & Hamilton, 2012)

Multiversity Logics: Multiversity Logics represent a more balanced representation of substances in state and market logics (Thornton, Ocasio & Lounsbury, 2012) struggling for both access and quality, both democracy and wealth, both equality and merit. HEIs responding to Multiversity Logics are proximate to the market, first by breaking with Brazilian State Logic in order to tight their UI Collaborations. The foundations that emerged in public universities, USP most notably, are examples that “the creation of a fund for high-standard science in Brazil might break with a surreal logic: companies want to invest in universities, but they can’t”, reports Veja. They cannot invest in universities because the legalist prescriptions of Brazilian Way Logics hinder this kind of investment taxing all donations, and forcing public HEIs to bid for donations. Veja also says that “oil Industries compete for engineers in universities, the elite of the labor force that will fill their open job posts”, and Claudio de Moura Castro completes:

University laboratories only get to the half of the technology cycle. Then, it is up to the companies to make their budget and risk themselves, in their own centers of research and development, with people who have learned science in the universities.

The collaboration between universities and industries are essential to the embeddedness of HEIs in other fields, especially in terms of employment goals (Levy, 2006). However, not only inter-field relations are important, but also international ones. Research, for instance, is an international endeavor that

universities often pursue, increasing the interchange between scientists around the globe. A researcher at USP says that “Currently, 10% of the Brazilian researchers have worked abroad, and those are the ones that shine the most around here”. Under Multiversity Logics, universities fight Brazilian Logics and “despite the hardship, Brazilian scientists have left the third to the second division in number of articles published and cited abroad by foreign journals”, says Veja. Brazilian researchers, for a professor at the Smithsonian Institute, are “are more ambitious, they want to make research in Brazil that is renowned internationally”.

An interviewee at the RU confirms that their “strategic objective regarding research is to have research that has international recognition”. As Vaira (2004) posits, a knowledge-based worldwide competition pressures the internationalized HEIs to act as knowledge producers and deliverers. HEIs under Multiversity Logics are willing to enter this international competition. However, at the RUC, an informant says, “investing in master’s and doctoral programs is complicated, we have invested once here, and then, recently we have asked the MEC for authorization of an executive master’s degree, but they did not approve it”. Shattock (2011) say that the success of universities is most often due to their research reputation alone, taking teaching out of the equation. Regardless, the RUC tackles simultaneously UI Collaborations and Internationalization through extension courses, in which they have “government’s top management team, top managers of firms, it’s an program of education of top leaders, you know, high performance leadership, it’s our program, an international one, and this last module ends in Portugal”.

In line with competition, meritocracy is frequently emphasized by HEIs under Multiversity Logics, because, as Cesar Camacho argues, “those that like systems that reward their merit are the ones that perceive a chance to have their talent renowned, and not those that know in advance that they do not have the minimal conditions of being well evaluated”. He posits that instead of the ENADE, which is only a ranking of higher education, the “government should think about a serious certification, granted only for those who fulfill the role of education good professionals for the market”, consistent with Shattock’s (2011) proposition that world-class HEIs are only able to flourish in merit driven systems, citing the London School of Economics, which has built its image and reputation upon

academic merit. An informant at the RU says that the university “needs to take care of its sustainability, and you can only do this by establishing governance levels, you know, professionalization, and clear meritocratic criteria to pay coordinators, deans, etc.”.

Claudio Haddad, INSPER’s director argues that “among public elite universities, two factors weight against productivity: they get guaranteed public funding, and most of their money is distributed without considering the relevance of the scientific production of each center”. Especially in times of crisis, HEIs are more prone to get away from the state and engage in market activities, mainly because, as the president of UERJ argues, “we rely almost exclusively on a state in financial calamity and with a reputation of defaults”. Gumport and Snyderman (2006) argue that the state provides public funds for public universities because they provide a public good. However, the Director of Poli/USP says that “in order to give students a degree that is worth the same as the best HEIs in the world, Brazilian universities cannot anymore depend on the state for everything”, because under Brazilian Logics, “both universities and research institutes reward prudence and hinder innovation”, says the president of USP.

Gumport and Snyderman (2006) suggest that the government should fund students instead of HEIs, exactly what the PROUNI does. However, Brazilian Way Logics make the state fund free public universities, too, under the motto of public, free, and quality education. However, OECD’s scientist Stijn Broecke argues that publics are “attended by a small number of rich students [and] taxing these students would bring additional resources”. An interviewee at the RU agrees,

“there is now a discourse of charging tuition in publics, you know, what for me makes a lot of sense, so I don’t, I don’t understand why publics should be entirely free in the way they are in Brazil, because this does not holds no income distribution reference, you know. The comparison I make, you know, that for me is appropriate, that this logic is so, so absurd, that you are in a country where the roads are tolled but higher education is not”.

Indeed, Gustavo Ioschpe agrees that “charging tuition in public universities would allow to mitigate distortions in Brazilian HE”, attuned with Veja’s report on a OECD research stating that “first, quotas do not make the

sector advance. Second, charging tuition in public universities could help". Sowell (2004) had already argued that quotas are often a negative-sum process, and Weisbrod, Ballou, and Asch (2008) had already said that tuition is the major income stream for most schools. However, Brazil ignores scholarly literature to implement quotas and make public universities tuition-free, causing a major debate on the latter, but silencing the former. The gratuity of the public university maintains its legitimacy (Suchman & Deephouse, 2008) since its original conception, being questioned oftentimes by Veja, but with no actual results from their arguments.

Because the free public universities are mostly for the rich, often the poor and those in small towns and villages benefit from distance education. Veja says that, regarding higher education, "a lot has changed in the last decade. The number of students enrolled in distance courses has multiplied by 170. Out of every six students in the country, one studies online". Kroton's president argues "the student has lost the personalized experience, but we make up to this through technology". A reader tells her story with distance education:

I'm from a humble family, live in the countryside, had to work when I was young, and I could not continue to study. Thirty years later I finished high school, I was able to study again. Today, at 55, I have a degree and a post-graduate degree in philosophy because of distance education

Both the RU and the RUC engaged with distance education, but in different ways. The RU, according to an informant, "does not want to make that mass distance education, with 8 thousand students, and deliver a handful of degrees, those things. It would be highly profitable, without a shadow of a doubt". Another interviewee there says "the RU has lost the train of history, it's important to highlight this, and we need to recover the time we lost in distance education", arguing that the university has taken too long to open distance education courses. In the meanwhile, a participant says the RUC

"does not offer distance degrees, we use distance education to be flexible for our student, the student that has failed a course, who has a religious issue and cannot come to class on Fridays, who sometimes have corporate appointments and needs to travel on Mondays, these students use [distance education] within the legal boundaries, we give them this flexibility".

Apart from distance education, some HEIs choose to be smaller and more specialized in some areas of knowledge. Claudio de Moura Castro says that these “colleges are consolidating themselves throughout the country, sometimes ranking ahead publics”, and Veja confirms in a headline: “A new ranking of Brazilian universities reveals good education in smaller HEIs, more specialized and far from great centers”. The RUC is a latent example of this kind of HEI, as an informant says:

“we are not going to educate the masses of the labor market, we are a boutique institution, so we are not going to educate the masses, and this, so, in terms of volume, the number of people we will educate will not change the market, we will change the market by the leadership role the guys who’ve studied here play, so leadership has assumed a key role in our mission, we are educating leaders, you know, because the volume will not make we reach our mission of creating a fairer, more sustainable, and happier society”.

Distance education, the move away from the state, investment of firms in HE, cost sharing tendencies, internationalization, meritocracy, and ambitious research were the 2nd order categories foundational to Multiversity Logics, according to Gioia, Corley, and Hamilton’s (2012) methodology (Figure 23)

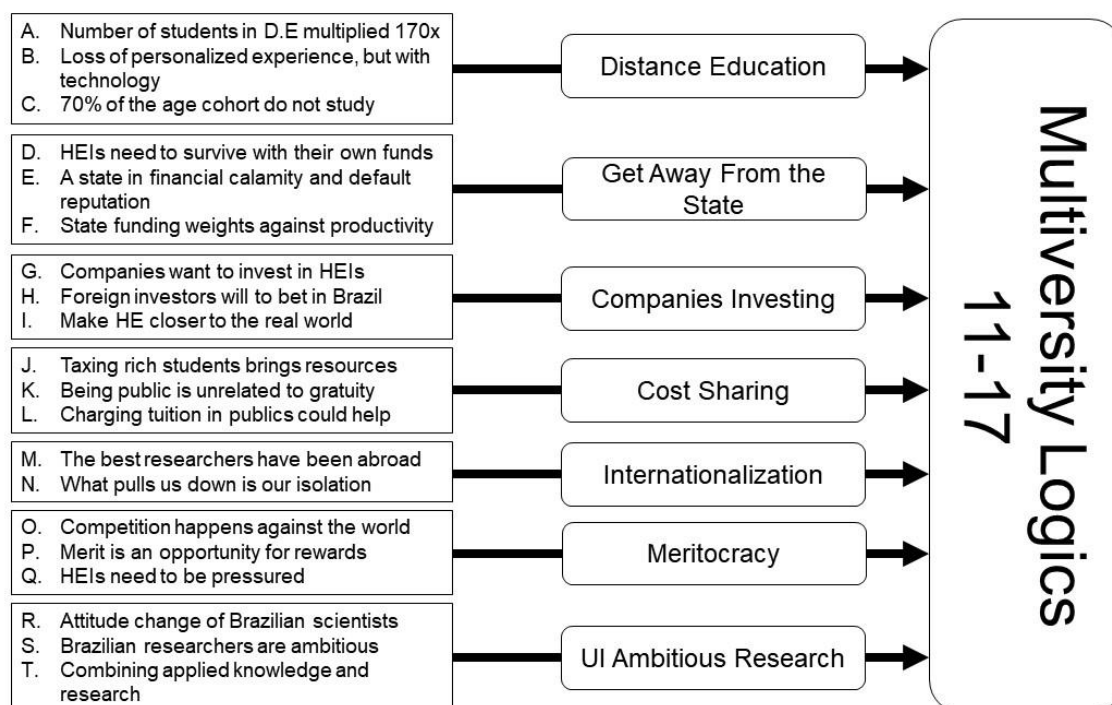


Figure 23: Multiversity Logics 2011-2017 (Adapted from Gioia, Corley & Hamilton, 2012)

4.3.3.3 Summary

Marquis and Raynard's (2015) description of emerging and developing economies is accurate, and their contributions are frequently in accordance to the data I have presented. Brazilian Way Logics continue to be the primary proponents of Public Service Logics, making universities distance themselves from the market and encapsulate in "glass bubbles", in an informant's words. However, the Brazilian State acts as if it were an emerging economy, proposing and imposing regulations on free trade and increasing its participation in sectors of the economy. These attempts come along with the mismanagement of public funds, and corruption scandals that happen in several state fields. In turn, the Brazilian State sometimes behaves as a developing economy, allowing the entrance of foreign companies in higher education, and indirectly funding private higher education through the PROUNI and the FIES.

The field-level Public Service Logics, has total attention from the field because of the coerciveness of many of its demands. For instance, Public Service Logics led to the promotion of the Science without Borders, under the motto of internationalization of Brazilian HE (Scott, 2006). However, because Public Service Logics are mostly a field-level refraction of Brazilian Way Logics prescriptions, the substance (Friedland, 2015, 2018) of mismanagement of public funds came along, and the program was a fiasco, according to Veja and to the informants. Brazilian Way Logics have led the country to a massive financial crisis, and Public Service Logics have imposed a resource restriction over the field. A result of this crisis was the restriction of 75% of the funds for research in Brazil, and a shift on the regulations of the FIES.

Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury (2012) theorize that changes in the resource environment might shift practices, which in turn, might change the theories, frames, and narratives of field level actors. While Public Service Logics prescribe distance from the market, demanding that HEIs be trapped in their own "glass bubble", Multiversity Logics encourage UI Collaborations in both teaching and research. There was an attitude change in Brazilian research universities to, for once and for all, begin to collaborate with organizations via applied research. The major shift in this last period was the distance some HEIs took from the state, mostly because of its mismanagement of public funds, contradictory political and

economic signals, budget cuts, and its veto to donations to HEIs. Most notably, the HEIs that stopped following Public Service Logics were specific colleges in those public universities that were most engaged in responding to Public Service Logics prescriptions of ideology and oppression. They engaged in innovative action and began to decouple, a coping mechanism for handling institutional logics (Greenwood et al., 2011) from the public university, and assembled spin-off foundations in order to respond to Multiversity Logics. Some privates also engaged in distancing themselves from the state, but through frauds and manipulations of the ENADE, FIES, and other broader financial frauds, challenging the state's prescriptions while engaging in behaviors compatible to Brazilian Way Logics. The government was, little by little, suffering delegitimation processes (Suchman & Deephouse, 2008) from its main constituents, including higher education, and the ultimate outcome was the impeachment of president Dilma Rousseff.

Public Service Logics also influenced the sanction of quotas to federal universities, included ideology in the ENADE, closed courses in private HEIs, and imposed a regime of high classloads, lack of applied research, and research publication in predatory journals. In the meanwhile, Multiversity Logics prescribed cost-sharing in public universities (Johnstone, 2004), proposed internationalization as a mission (Scott, 2006), and advanced meritocracy in the field. Under Multiversity Logics, some HEIs started to collaborate with companies through applied research, whereas under Managerial Logics, some started to endeavor in the stock market in an academic capitalist regime, making HEIs be more like HE organizations (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004; Gumpert, 2000).

The Managerial Logics over the field, however, even though being a refraction (Thornton, Ocasio & Lounsbury, 2012) of the institutional orders of market and corporation, ended up fulfilling an important State Logic prescription: the provision of democratic access to all. Some HEIs responding to Managerial Logics discounted their tuition fees, and delivered teaching that complied with Public Service Logics prescriptions, enabling students to get their degrees. Multiversity Logics also played an important role in this feat, once it prescribed distance education through hybrid courses in order to increase the offer of education.

5. Concluding Remarks

5.1 The Field of Brazilian Higher Education

21 years ago, the Brazilian field of higher education has underwent dramatic changes, which still influence the field today – a path dependent effect (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012). In 1996, the government has published the new law governing the Brazilian educational system, and allowed the pursuit of profit in higher education. Signaling a minimal-state approach to higher education under the government of Fernando Henrique Cardoso, for profits thrived and provided mass access to degrees, in a phenomenon labeled as the Brazilian effect by Douglass (2012). This same piece of legislation allowed IPOs and the entrance of foreign HEIs in the field later on, causing a boom in offer and in demand for higher education.

Under the Lula and Dilma government, policies continued to favour the access rhetoric, with programs such as the PROUNI and FIES, and the unified access system, the ENEM. ENEM and ENADE function as the main IGUs for the field, sponsored by the state. The worker's party 15-year presidency also aimed to increase the reach of public universities, building the Federal Technological Universities, and expanding federal universities through building HEIs in new locations, and also with the REUNI.

The CPNPs remained silent on Veja's accounts. Only some of them deserved the magazine's attention, mainly in interviews and short accounts. However, in the interviews, I was able to understand that they are approaching the market with applied research and with the workforce education vocabulary. They are also treating their faculty as managed professionals, enforcing active methodologies and engaging in strategic planning. (Gumport, 2000, 2002; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004; Birnbaum, 2001; Locke & Spender, 2011; Olssen & Peters, 2005)

Most contests for positioning in the field were caused by the for profits and CNPs, which little by little, challenged state's authority, frauding and manipulating IGUs, engaging in opportunistic behavior with the state's student loans system, and other financial frauds. Some faculty members in public have decoupled (Greenwood et al., 2011) from the university and engaged in private

activities in response to the massive budget cuts in higher education in the last period. Private HEIs engaged in distance learning, making higher education more accessible to remote areas of the country, and most of the for profits forgot about the quality (Kerr, 2001; McCowan, 2004) in order to increase volume.

These changes have also affected CPNPs, which have over time become more managerialistic, incorporating business school practices (Birnbaum, 2001; Locke & Spender, 2011) in their administration in order to compete with their for profit counterparts. The market was more and more considered in HEIs decisions, and both Veja's and informants' accounts emphasized UI collaborations and workforce development as the missions of the university (Etzkowitz, 2008), in contrast with teaching, research, and community service (Weisbrod, Ballou & Asch, 2008), and with its society development mission (Gumport, 2000; 2002).

The state stands strong in federal universities, mostly because of the resource dependencies these HEIs have. They tend to ignore market demands, and are deemed as being inefficient, old, conservative, and obsolete because of this. Public HEIs get the best professors because the state provides them nice retirement plans, job stability, and wage isonomy. Those benefits are expensive and represent a burden in public funds, once tuition is free for all (Johnstone, 2004). One way the state has found to cope with this was to turn the public university into an instrument to correct inequalities with the already discredited quotas system.

In the private sector, which once was exclusive of the non-profits, welcomes profitable endeavors, such as for profits and most CNPs, and the private-like federal HEIs, who have decoupled from their state structure. The private sector as a subfield of the Brazilian field of higher education tends to vanish, since the difference between its subfields are latent. In one side, the CPNPs continue to attempt to fulfill their role of being exemplary universities. However, because market forces are really strong in the private field, they tend to engage in both managerialism and academic capitalism. In the other side, the profitable sector, with the for profits and most CNPs have become massive training centers, enrolling a multitude of students in both in campus and online majors, behaving as massive "degree factories". In the middle of the two, the

private foundations decoupled from their public cores also begin to offer degrees and conduct market oriented research.

The state has not been able to maintain its legitimacy over the field of higher education, mostly because of its actions (or inactions) over its duties. Marquis and Raynard (2015) were accurate when describing emergent economies as having major interferences of the government, which in this case, ended up hindering entrepreneurship and dismantling institutions on the attempt of conserving them. As a result of the repeated acts of corruption, mismanagement, and austerity, the government suffered processes of delegitimation that ended in the impeachment of former president Dilma and the arrest of former president Lula and several politicians.

The Brazilian field of higher education is polarized. On one side, the public universities, controlled by the state, deemed as cost spirals and inefficient, and encapsuled around a glass bubble. On the other side, the private universities, increasingly managerialistic and capitalist. The market has busted the door of the Brazilian field of higher education, mostly because of the inability of the state on maintaining higher education as a development agent, instead of a profitable venture. Weisbrod, Ballou and Asch (2008) had already warned that higher education was too important to be left to the competitive forces of the market. However, in both sides, on the public and on the fading private sector – which is rapidly becoming a profitable sector – the university is not able to fulfill its mission. The shades of grey are vanishing in a black and white nation.

The main question remains unanswered: what will be of the Brazilian university?

5.2 The Social Imaginary of Brazilian Higher Education

More than a field shift, the changes in higher education were motivated by a shift in the social imaginary of Brazilian society. For Taylor (2004), the social imaginary might be depicted as one's ability to move around a familiar environment, without needing a map to learn how to. For Castoriadis (1975), this ability lie on the human imagination, which precedes language, symbols, and practices. What might, at a first glance, seem distant from the domains of organization theory, becomes entangled with it when Klein (2015) attempt to

merge the value-laden imaginary with Friedland's (2015, 2018) substances, and Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury's (2012) institutional logics.

The social imaginary, for Taylor (2004) is both factual and normative. Factually, higher education was once a public good, and now has become more like a private service. Normatively, and according to scholarly work, since Newman's (1852) idea of a university, to Flexner's (1930) universities, to Kerr's (2001) multiversities, there was little consensus about the roles of the university. We do know that it is supposed to be a teaching institution, wherein all sorts of knowledge coexist harmoniously. As an interviewee say, "the university is the last library of the knowledge that, if you look at it today, has no use, but that contributes to the development of the human being integrally, you know, a reflexive, conscious being, that differs us from a castor bean tree". Factual and normative domains do not meet, and Taylor (2004) posits that the ability of recognizing the ideal case is founded in a sense of moral order, which is beyond our immediate comprehension. This sense of moral order, which makes practices make sense, need a foundational common understanding of our history, how we relate to others, how have we got here, and so forth.

Higher education in Newman's, Flexner's, and Kerr's time was surrounded by a different epoque. No global interests or internationalization, no computers or internet, no qualitative data analysis softwares or statistical packages. Life, research, and teaching were vintage, so to say. Increasingly, and most notably from the 90s forward, a managerial trend has come upon universities. Business schools flourished around the world, efficiency was the name of the game, and profit was its legitimating (Suchman & Deephouse, 2008) outcome. The internet made things easier, faster, and better. Telecommunications improved, transportations too, countries developed, and business schools (Birnbaum, 2001; Locke & Spender, 2011) took microeconomic descriptive accounts and turned them into prescriptions (Thornton, Ocasio & Lounsbury, 2012). The stage was set for change.

The university has ceased to be an institution to become an organization (Gumport, 2000). In defense of higher education, Gumport (2001) shows that business schools have vanished with Newman's, Flexner's, Kerr's, Ortega y Gasset's universities, and turned them into corporations. They must be efficient,

they must be up-to-date on new teaching methodologies and methods, with new instruments for controlling faculty and students. Faculty members are managed professionals, research is patented and transferred by executives in technology transfer offices, and corporate CEOs are hired as directors, board members, and such – an authentic academic capitalist knowledge-learning regime (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004).

Taylor (2004) argues that such as the understanding carry practices, practices must carry the understanding. This shift in societal understanding of the university, which enabled these business practices, was enabled by the overarching managerial shift throughout the world, which reasons extend the aims of my research. However, as Taylor (2004) argues, society needs to know how to discriminate their actions, for instance, knowing how to speak with someone. In the same sense, managers should have known to discriminate a cookie factory from a university. Cookies are well available in the nearest Wal-Mart, and in every 7/11 convenience store. Higher education, too.

Other important sectors in society are being left to the competitive forces of the market in Brazil. There are the police, but many hire private security services for their homes and offices. There is free public education, but many enroll their kids on private schools. There is free public healthcare, but many pay for health insurances. Foreign privates have also entered the country with an American style of corporatism. The Apollo group, DeVry, Laureate, and other organizations have also raised the managerial bar in Brazilian lands. However, the government, instead of rewarding those universities that were indeed institutions, and instead of encouraging the emergence of more institutions, rewarded higher education organizations (Gumport, 2000) through the FIES and PROUNI, and encouraged the emergence of more higher education organizations. The Brazilian state could not even keep his own yard tidy, and witnessed faculty decoupling from the public university.

Of course, these organizations have contributed to the access rhetoric in higher education. We have never witnessed such social mobility, thanks to degrees granted by these organizations, to people who could not have had it 20 years ago. But to emphasize that is to miss the case. Everyone has access to higher education, but to what higher education? To that higher education that

educates, transforms, and develops human beings to flourish? Or is it to that higher education that trains, professionalizes, and is at arm's length from its students? Saying that everyone has access to higher education, instead of just-in-time degrees, is to miss the point.

Despite an increase in access, and overall social mobility, higher education has shifted its meaning. In Brazil, the case of this research, degrees are more comparable to training certificates awarded by payment than to transformation symbols awarded by student effort. I argue that the imaginary of higher education has become somewhat similar to the imaginary of a service: you pay for it, and then you get it; that the imaginary of higher education has become somewhat similar to an electoral public policy: the government wants to please you, so you all have access to higher education now; that the imaginary of higher education has become somewhat similar to a commodity: it is important for the country's GDP, HDI and ROI, so we must have it. The easiest, quickest, and most efficient way of doing this, is transforming a development agent into a cookie factory. The hardest, slowest, and less efficient way of doing this, is maintaining the imaginary, the idea of a university, the multiversity, and the functions of the university intact.

Taylor (2004) argues that the understanding of what we do makes sense because of our understanding of the wider predicament. The way the world was conquered by microeconomic theories and business school's prescriptions is not localized. Particularly for this study, the literature on higher education in the UK (Shattock, 2011), United States (Gumport, 2000, 2002; Gumport & Snydman, 2006), was emphasized, and Brazil went with the worldwide flow – and how could it not? Interviewees and the media treat HEIs as being just another organization, importing business schools vocabularies, theories, practices, and narratives. It seems like we have forgotten all other substances (Friedland, 2015, 2018), all other significations (Castoriadis, 1975), all other senses of moral order (Taylor, 2004), and now we must face relations like a transaction in a faceless marketplace, under the motto of workforce training, employability, and technology.

5.3 The Institutional Logics overarching Brazilian Higher Education

Brazilian Way Logics have their fair share of responsibility in the shift of the imaginary signification of higher education. While the state logics prescribed democratic access to HE, Brazilian Way Logics prescribed the easiest way out. In the rest of the world, according to the theoretical background, there are still universities *strictu sensu*, meaning that the idea of a university is still alive and breathing. Under Brazilian Way Logics, however, the substances of self-interest and phony democracy seem to have made a pact with market logics to outsource the provision of higher education. State logics were mainly used to provide power and legitimation to state's decisions, and professional logics were employed within state structures to maintain status quo through reputation and status, while corporation logics enabled the transposition of practices from an organizational setting to HEIs.

The Brazilian government responds to Brazilian Way Logics when it ceases to be a redistribution mechanism in order to serve its own self-interests through a hierarchic network. Brazilian Way Logics are a blend among market, corporation, profession, and state logics. More specifically, state logics provide its theory of how a state should operate; however, Brazilian Way Logics use market, corporation, and profession logics' frames, creating a blended narrative wherein the substance (Friedland, 2015; 2018) of self-interest, bureaucracy, and inequality aid in sensemaking and sensegiving. Practices include inaction over the legal restraints over entrepreneurship, the financing of private and public corporations, and the assurance of stability and isonomy to public servants. Vocabularies of practice are grounded in the provision of public, free, and quality services for taxpayers, aiming for democratic access for all, but the common ground is that despite the vocabularies of practice, access to education, health, and security is hindered by mismanagement and corruption.

Because the offer-demand balance is tilted, and both the government and the market are eager to provide resource opportunities for the Brazilian field of higher education, different practices were enabled in response to this resource environment.

The practices of offering public, free, and quality higher education enabled the emergence of Public Service Logics over the Brazilian field of higher

education. Under the theory that the state should provide for all, and the narrative that the market is not able to provide quality education, these logics prescribe adherence to state programs, compliance to state requirements, and inefficiency in management, being mostly a field level refraction of Brazilian Way Logics, empowered with coercive power. HEIs complying to Public Service Logics are unequal, bureaucratic, and mismanaged. They continued to be unequal, mainly with the sanction of quotas that aimed to use the university as a quick fix to inequality (Sowell, 2004), implemented simultaneously with the SWB, which has sent undergraduate students to a 6-month vacation abroad with public funds.

The practices of facing every relationship as a faceless transaction, inspired in market and corporate institutional orders, enabled the emergence of Managerial Logics over the Brazilian field of higher education. The market logic enabled practices related to transactions, while the corporation logic enabled the increase in size and market position. These practices took advantage of the resources that the access narrative in HE provided, and enabled theorizing about opening up the field for for-profit endeavor. The frame of the for-profit practice was that with business school management and microeconomic theorizing, HE could prosper in a country where it was scarce. Because demand was high and offer was low, the balance was tilted, and then the for-profits could make offer transcend demand. Thus, under the reified narrative that higher education should reach all citizens, but without a clear theory of what higher education is, what are its functions, and how should be it organized, the institutional orders of the market, the corporation, and Brazilian Way Logics also refracted as Managerial Logics in the field level. This was predictable, as Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury (2012) theorize that societal logics shape field level logics through sensemaking and vocabularies of practice. The available and most accessible logics are generally the ones the field chooses to comply. Because the overarching imaginary (Taylor, 2004), as I have explained previously, has changed from a public good to a market economy, market logics, compatible with corporation logics and Brazilian Way Logics have refracted to the field level as Managerial Logics. Later on, however, Brazilian Way Logics' prescriptions under the substances (Friedland, 2015; 2018) of self-interest and inequality were refracted

by Managerial Logics in the field, which ultimately led some HEIs to comply with frauds and manipulations in order to profit.

The practices of managing the multiversity as a complex organization, such as advocated by scholarly literature, enabled the emergence of Multiversity Logics over the Brazilian field of higher education. Under the theories that the university is different from cookie factories, and that the government under Brazilian Way Logics is unable to manage the university without bias, Multiversity Logics prescribe a nuanced management of getting things done (Locke & Spender, 2011), with some degree of inefficiency (Gumport, 2000), and autonomy among schools and faculty (Kerr, 2001) within a loosely coupled system (Weick, 1976). HEIs complying to these Multiversity Logics are, however, being pressured by both Public and Managerial Logics, experiencing a great deal of complexity. Because with no margin there is no mission (Weisbrod, Ballou & Asch, 2008), they are increasingly turning to the market via applied research and TTOs, along with distance education and active methodologies imposed over faculty. They are able to comply with Public Service Logics tests and requirements, in order to continue earning PROUNI and Fies students, again in the name of money.

In a nutshell, I have added a new institutional order to Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury's (2012) interinstitutional system ideal types: Brazilian Way Logics. This addition is supported by Marquis and Raynard's (2015) theorizing that most scholarly work regarding institutional logics has been conducted in the northern hemisphere, in developed countries, wherein stability is latent. In an emerging/developing country, such as Brazil, institutional logics might be completely different, as the data has shown. Brazilian Way Logics provide different practices, theories, frames and narratives to field level actors, and contribute to the overall constellations of logics (Goodrick & Reay, 2011) and to the degree of institutional complexity (Greenwood et al., 2011) over the field level. Three field level institutional logics were inducted from documental data and interviews: a Public Service Logics, which is mostly a field level refraction of Brazilian Way Logics; a Private HE Logic, the field level refraction for market and corporation logics; and a Blended HE Logic, which is a nuanced and balanced blend of the former. HEIs in the field level comply to all of the field level

institutional logics. However, recently, Managerial Logics have been endowed with more power over organizations mainly because of resource dependencies due to government crises. Whether the university will, one day, return to its original mission is yet unknown.

5.4 Conclusion

In 2001, Gumport authored a chapter in a book called “In Defense of American Higher Education”, edited by Phillip Altbach, herself, and Bruce Johnstone. Since then, no one has left and raised the flag in defense for Brazilian Higher Education.

In this research, I have showed the evolution of the Brazilian field of higher education through the lenses of Fligstein and McAdam’s (2012) theory of fields. Data since 1997 until 2018 has guided me to the finding that there is a fading private sector in Brazilian Higher education, which is merging with the market and prone to be incorporated by market firms. First, for-profit endeavor has been sanctioned without any kind of restraint. Second, these new for-profit “players” have chosen an organizational form that granted them autonomy to grow without the need for consulting the government. After, they have grown so much, that foreign groups interested themselves in the Brazilian “market” and have settled here through acquisitions. These organizations IPOed and launched stocks in the market, as if they were some kind of cookie factory or oil company. Ultimately, some of them engaged in frauding the regulations proposed by the state.

This movement started with the rhetoric that everyone should have access to higher education. However, what is higher education? Do we really need higher education? Why? The socially imagined role of higher education is path dependent since the academy of Plato, since the secret meetings of Pythagoras, and the Sophists reunions (Kerr, 2011). Higher education is an imaginary signification (Castoriadis, 1975) that has, for centuries, stood strong over world wars, despicable regimes, and resisted every single attempt to bring it down. Of course, this robustness is remarkable on English universities, such as Oxbridge, Italian, such as Bologna, German, French, and most western Europeans. Brazil’s first university was founded around 8 centuries after the first European universities were. Our eldest university is not centenary yet. Our

educational system is new, and prone to new and trending imaginary significations.

New imaginary significations emerged in the 50s (Berman, 2012), with the growth of market industries, production lines, and the diffusion of business schools (Locke & Spender, 2011). Together with the entrance of for-profits in the market, higher education has ceased to be an institution, collegially managed, loosely coupled, and knowledge oriented, to become a corporation with clear hierarchical roles, tightly coupled, and income oriented (Slaughter & Rhoades, 2004; Gumpert, 2000). Instead of conducting basic research and collaborating with companies with it, Brazilian universities now are centers of applied research outsourcing, used by the industry to generate new technologies (Olssen & Peters, 2005).

Of course, there is a broader background. Brazil has never been innovative. Companies did not have to worry about competition until the 1990s, when former president Fernando Collor opened the market to foreign endeavor. Our industry has always been oligopolistic and emphasized commodity exportation instead of innovation. We have never worried too much about education, hence our terrible schools and decaying universities, the data says. Our imaginary is different from the rest of the world, and our institutional logics tend to be, too (Marquis & Raynard, 2015; Friedland, 2015, 2018; Klein, 2015).

With this imaginary in mind, Brazilian institutional orders do not limit themselves to those of Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury (2012). There is a wider constellation of logics the authors forgot to bring about, mostly because just what Friedland (2015, 2018) and Klein (2015) have already said: we need to bring values back in. Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury (2012) have done an outstanding work on coming up with a perspective of institutional logics, but they faced the interinstitutional system as microeconomy does: in a *ceteris paribus* fashion. In Brazil, I argue, we have different values-substances underlying institutional logics. Our state is not as beautiful as Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury (2012) portray, and their accounts of the state are not corresponded with our reality. There is, in fact, some efforts by some politicians to make the state such as their ideal type, however, the authors have forgotten about, as an Angolan friend of mine says, “the curse of the countries of Portuguese language”.

Corruption, self-interest, inequality, mismanagement, waste, and inefficiency are some of the substances (Friedland, 2015, 2018) underlying Brazilian Way Logics, which have an immediate impact on higher education. Brazilian Way Logics are a blend of market, profession, corporation, and state logics: the state is conducted as being a corporation, where status and reputation are granted democratically, but the main interest is selfish, instead of being redistributive. Data shows that practices as money laundering, covert schemes, illicit partnerships, parliament scandals, and influence trafficking, affect how universities are managed, imagined, and financed.

Under societal Brazilian Way Logics, three institutional logics have emerged from the field's data. First, a Public Service Logics, a refraction of Brazilian Way Logics over the field. Second, a Private HE Logic, a refraction of market, corporate, and Brazilian Way Logics over the field. Last, a Blended HE Logic, a refraction of state and market logics over the field. HEIs responding to Public Service Logics need to comply with the government's programs for higher education in order to get resources and continue to exist. Those responding to Managerial Logics make the bare minimum to comply with state's rulings, and sometimes entirely break with the state claiming for independence. Those responding to Multiversity Logics are the last exemplars of the kind of university we see in the literature in Brazil, complying with government and market rules. This last logics seems to be fading, slowly and steady, and Managerial Logics seem to be dominating the fading field of private higher education.

Soon enough, scholars will need to get out in defense of Brazilian higher education.

5.5 Limitations and Directions for Further Research

This study has important limitations. When coding data from *Veja* magazine, I realized that most of it referred to public policies in higher education, and little management was emphasized. My theoretical background refers to strategy and management, and important sources of knowledge regarding public policies were left behind. Therefore, this study has become not a research, but an ongoing project, which I seek to fulfill.

Further research should help to build a Brazilian scholarly scaffold for higher education management. While there are streams of literature on Brazilian

higher education, they are mostly connected with public policies, learning, and teaching. Most part of the literature regarding higher education refers to the American and European system. Brazilian scholars should participate on the international debate over our own higher education system.

Further research should also explore and understand the internal dynamics of the subfields in the Brazilian field of higher education. This research attempted to provide internal insights through interviewing 16 top managers of two HEIs in southern Brazil. I am convinced that more work needs to be done to understand the influences of other factors, logics, and imaginaries over the Brazilian field of higher education, specifically in the subfields. For profits provide a compelling case of managerialism, CNPs show how innovative behavior may turn a nonprofit into a for-profit organization, and CPNPs may indicate how mission and money are balanced among the imaginaries I've posited. Brazilian public higher education, too, is interesting for the criticism and denounces of Veja and the informants.

Research that use the social imaginary is scarce, and further research on its implication to management and institutional logics are also needed. Values, substances, and moral orders are overwhelming for only one point of view over a field such as higher education, and more insight is needed.

Last, but not least, the institutional logics perspective seems like it has left behind important contextual factors, and become to structuralist, as Friedland (2015, 2018) argue. The work by Boltanski and Thévenot (1991) was suggested by Cloutier and Langley (2013) as a solution, and Klein (2015) has suggested Castoriadis' (1975) social imaginary. However, most research on institutional logics still rely solely on Thornton, Ocasio and Lounsbury's (2012) work, along with Greenwood et al.'s (2011) institutional complexity.

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Appendix A: Research Findings Context

In this section, I make a yearly summary of every article on Higher Education, in order to provide a thorough background for the remainder of the research while simultaneously building the historical path dependency to the current year, in order to narrow down the further analyses. This recent history of the higher education sector is important in shaping the current imaginary, the field of higher education, and the institutional logics overarching the field.

1. 1997

Right at the outset of the analyses, the second page sets the tone for the history for Brazilian higher education in years to come. In a column named “the map of donations”, *Veja*’s journalist Anselmo Gois argues that as Brazilian elites complain about the quality of Brazil’s higher education, they are cheap not to donate and help universities. He compares American donations (in 1997, Yale had received US\$20 million from one philanthropist), to Brazilian donations, where only USP – University of the State of Sao Paulo, and PUCRio – Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro, had received financial aid from individuals or corporations (important to stress here that in Brazil, donations are fully taxed, hindering fundraising efforts of the organizations). In discussion, some of the main subjects that led *Veja*’s stories through the time: finances in higher education - public and private - and the regulations the government imposes into it.

The Brazilian government has always offered tax incentives for NFP universities, in order to support and nurture their financial balances in exchange for their public service mission. However, these were not always used for missionary investments. UNOESTE, the University of The Paulista West Side, a private not-for-profit university owned by the Lima family, whose dean was a friend of the minister of the education, benefited from tax waivers while giving large amounts of profits labeled as salary to the family of the owners. An article in *Veja* tells that the dean of UNOESTE, Paulo Lima – himself a congressman -, threw a party for his colleagues of the congress and four Brazilian ministers. The reason behind his party lies in a major debt he had with the Brazilian Revenue Service, derived from the earnings of his family’s university. Cases like this one, where university and college owners were becoming rich even with not-for-profit

endeavors, confirmed a prejudice that Brazil had against private higher education. A Brazilian astronomer, for instance, responded ironically to the offer of a private university who asked to buy his library. He said: “I’ll take a look at the stars before I decide. Call me in seven moons”. Private universities in Brazil were regarded as “slot-machines” for their high profit margins, and as “diploma factories”, because of their student lifecycle.

Politicians have often engaged with higher education in Brazil. The former president Fernando Collor de Mello, who was impeached due to money laundering and corruption, was allegedly invited by Dr. Richard Peck, the Provost of the University of New Mexico, to be a visiting scholar. The provost was quoted denying the invitation, saying that if the former president wanted to give a talk, he would agree to it, but he would not put Collor’s name in the faculty directory.

Among so many cases where the state has been criticized by *Veja*, not only but mainly regarding higher education, there is one where it seemingly has it right. The national Higher Education assessment in the 1990s and early 2000s, the *Prova*, was a great hit in the eyes of the magazine. Unfortunately, the results were ghastly. *Veja* underscores that, at least, the ministry of education could now have a portrait of the quality of the higher education in Brazil. The *Prova* featured three different phases: a test for the students in their final year, a grade for the degrees and qualification of the faculty, and a grade for the worktime of the faculty (part time, full time, formal register, etc.). The results were so bad that the ministry of education went in public stating that “at least we know that there are some good private universities in Brazil”. A methodological deviation, however, when calculating the grades, was purposefully and politically made. The grades, which stemmed from EEE to AAA, were not proportional to the score. Any university that scored above 30% was granted a C, at least.

The *Prova* shed a bright light upon the best scorers. It has confirmed that the best universities in Brazil are public, research oriented, and that its students had access to private middle and high school. Most of the top rated schools are located in the south/southeastern region of Brazil, such as the Federal University of Minas Gerais, the ITA – Technological Institute of the Air Force, USP, and UFRGS - Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul. However, not all of the top scorers were public, a big surprise for the government and for

the magazine. FGV - Getulio Vargas Foundation was an example of a private AAA in business management education.

Some dysfunctions happened, however, beyond the criteria for assessing the lower scorers. Several universities boycotted the Prova0 arguing that this kind of evaluation was a threat to academic freedom and autonomy. Some programs with lousy facilities, lacking computers and equipment for engineering majors, for example, got a triple-A.

According to Veja, however, the real reason behind the Prova0 is not to show the top scorers, but to know what happens to those colleges and universities that get horrible grades. One college in the countryside of the state of Parana, for instance, used the facilities of a middle school. For the magazine, “the worst of education is concentrated in private institutions”. However, Veja recognizes that in some cases, the private colleges and universities hold an important social function. The state sponsors and creates public endeavors only in densely populated areas. If not for the private endeavor in higher education, especially in the countryside, people would not have access to it. In short, a bad university education is better than no university education at all. The president of Universidade Tiradentes, a private for profit university, challenged the Prova0 by saying that it is up to the market to decide who is hired. A large amount of small colleges and universities act as development agents in their scope.

Great part of the improvement of the HEI depends on the student. When the student does not make an effort to learn, there is little the university can do. When interviewed for an article, a student said: “the programs do not demand much effort”, and as a result, he prefers cramming his learning on the day before the test. The average Brazilian HE student lives with his parents, has studied in private schools, works as an intern, complains of the major he has chosen, and does not read enough. “The Brazilian HE student behaves just like a high school student”, a professor argued. In the best universities, however, students mobilize to bring foreign professors in talks and events, and even make formal surveys to evaluate their teachers.

The best part of the Prova0, argues Veja, was the verification that the university plays a major role in social mobility. 60% of the students taking the exam went further than their parents in terms of education. However, in order to

ascend to the ivory tower, students undertake a harsh admission process. The Vestibular, a yearly test prepared by the universities and colleges, is the only way to enter higher education. Similar to the SAT, the Brazilian Vestibular puts a massive stress on high school students, who have one chance per year of being admitted in one of Brazil's public universities – so he or she does not need to pay tuition. Some students spend three, four years trying to get a place at the public university. Because for-profit endeavors in higher education were only starting to appear, and the animosity upon them was high, there was a shortage of places public universities could offer. A psychiatry professor at USP said: “the Vestibular is one of the three major causes of stress in our society. The remaining two are the decease of a relative, and unemployment”.

This admissions process, along with the structure of public education in Brazil is a motor for inequalities. While the poor students - who need to face Brazil's dreadful public schools, which lack basic learning structure and capable teaching staff – have narrow chances at making it to the public, tuition-free university, the rich students are able to pay for their middle and high education and get their university degree free of charge. The Brazilian public university, which was, at least in theory, destined to those who could not afford tuition expenses, is crowded with rich students. Veja continues to criticize the public university because of its oversized cost structure, especially when compared to Brazilian expenses on middle and high school education. On average, one student at a public university costs the same as 50 students in middle school, or 10 students in high school. This means Brazil invests more on that rich student that paid for his tuition in middle and high school and managed to be admitted in the public university, than it invests on the poor.

The social role of higher education is, as posited by Weisbrod, Ballou, and Asch (2008), one of three of the missions of the university, along with teaching and research. However, in a column about higher education, Claudio de Moura Castro, the ex-president of CAPES, the commission for improvement and development of higher education professors - a sector under the ministry of education, and in charge of the graduate programs – claims that the Brazilian elites imagine higher education teaching as being inseparable from research. He claims that in France, teaching relies on the Grandes Ecoles, and research is

conducted in institutes and foundations. He argues that in the United States, there are only ten research intensive universities, and that American students tend to graduate in colleges. With this international background at hand, he proceeds to argue that both *Grandes Escolas* and Colleges have better teaching because this is their focus. In Brazil, all federal universities must be research universities, according to the law, and every full-time professor must be a researcher. He argues that it is exceedingly expensive to manage this big of a payroll, and the result is that Brazilian federal universities tend to present a higher cost per student than the European universities, for example. Additionally, few professors engage in research work, and those who do, earn the same monthly payments that those who do not, because of the *isonomy* principle of Brazilian public service.

Faculty members in public universities were privileged in the 1990s. This is because they had “acquired rights”, a fancy name for the accumulation of benefits and revenue sources, such as housing assistance, restaurant tickets, paid holidays, 13 paychecks per year, and others. They also benefited from *isonomy* in their professions, meaning that every professor has the same rights as their peers, regardless of research, teaching, or additional services to the university. Nevertheless, for-profit higher education started to emerge competitively, and started to attract professors from public universities. *Veja* overtly opposed for profit higher education, stating that “the good education is not a profitable one”, and that education should “not be submitted to the calculations of private profitability”. In an 8-page, cover article, entitled “Brain Drain”, *Veja* argued against for profit higher education, remembering the professors who left the public university for the private. *Veja* grieves for researchers lost to private HEIs, for the study groups formed by these professors at the public universities, contradicting most of what it stated formerly regarding expensive faculty.

It is easy to understand why did a large part of professors left the public schools to work in private universities. Brazilian regulations grant full wage for retired professors from the public schools. Therefore, professors retire, and as receiving their former income stream monthly, as if they were still working, they add a new one on their new job at the private university. Professors in the 1990s needed to stay in the public university for only 25 to 30 years to be able to retire,

which comprehended the time the professor was a graduate student. As soon as they could, they would retire, generally in the age of 50 to 60 years old, and go to the private, for profit university, seeking more earnings. In some cases, private universities payed professors four times more than in the public. However, being a professor in a public university seemed to be a really important role at the time. One professor reported, for example, that he had received an invitation from a private university to be their provost. He answered that “if [he] had accepted the invitation, [he] would implicitly put that the public university, to which [he] had dedicated his whole life, is hopeless.”

As always, when mentioning any subject on higher education, Veja relies on the United States system. They make a case for non-profit private HE, advocating that Brazilian universities should benchmark Stanford, Harvard, and Columbia. They even tell that Stanford has built a shopping centre, which would subsidize the university, and compared it to the Brazilian Universidade de Guarulhos, which owners bought the stocks of a shopping centre – Veja calls the Universidade de Guarulhos a “joke” for doing so. The main, implicit message seems to me a selective prejudice against Brazilian for-profit higher education.

2. 1998

In 1998, there was a major strike organized by the faculty and servants of the federal higher education organizations. This strike started on April 1st and ended 103 days later, on June 30th. They claimed for a “salary reposition” of almost 50%, for the maintenance of quality in public higher education, and for autonomy to create a career plan for the faculty. The salary reposition is a constitutional right for public servants in Brazil, which corrects the servants’ earnings yearly according to the estimated inflation rates, so there will not be a loss in purchasing power. Until 1998, faculty and servants of public higher education had struck in other 12 opportunities, since 1980. Strikes are a common characteristic of Brazilian public higher education, because the faculty and servant’s union have strong political representation.

In response to the end of the strike, Veja brings an article that asks for a reform in higher education, expressing in numbers the problem with the Brazilian system. In 1997, Brazil had spent R\$6,4 billion on public universities and colleges, accounting a cost per student averaging US\$9.500/year. This cost

spiral is mostly linked with excess faculty, Veja says, 70% more than the recommended amount by the Interamerican Development Bank.

Public universities are bloated with personnel and mismanaged. They admit a small number of students, do bad research, and do not employ good professors – while the best are migrating to the privates. Their budget is allocated on the same grounds, for both good and bad universities, regardless of performance and achievements. Veja asks for a deep reform in the public higher education system, one that would give autonomy for presidents to fire and hire, to manage their budget in the most adequate way, to create performance criteria that would drive faculty wage, to concentrate research investments in good research centres, to compensate good research, and to implant a career development plan.

At this time, the public university administration was not allowed to fire or hire personnel, even when performance was critically low. Nor was it allowed to control its budget. There were no incentives for savings. Instead, there were incentives not to save money, because if a university saved, say, 5% of its budget; the next year they would get 5% less of their budget. The budget of the federal universities was allocated regarding the number of members of the faculty and employees. Faculty members reaped the benefits of the isonomy principles, which granted them their wage regardless of the number of research papers published or classes taught - the reason why they could publish research that never got read or cited. In fact, the majority of the faculty members at public universities were unable to conduct research because only 28% of them were PhDs. Some facts seem impossible, but they have happened, and here are some examples. In five public universities, the employees outnumbered the students. Once a professor is retired, the public university must pay him his wage until he dies. Professors in public universities are promoted and have their salaries increased automatically as they accumulate “service time”, regardless of the quality, or if the service they are hired to do is accomplished. The money needed to enable these acts stems from taxpayers, since public universities are forbidden to charge tuition. Because of these factors, 90% of the public universities’ budget is assigned to the payroll. Therefore, despite the Brazilian cost per student is superior to that of, say, Germany; a Brazilian professor earns half of what a

German would. A Brazilian philosopher called this the “mediocrity pact”, where the faculty pretend they teach and research while the students pretend they learn.

This is the corporate culture of Brazilian public higher education. In provost elections, for instance, every employee of the university is entitled to vote, even those who do not have any links with teaching or research. In public universities, faculty members are against the assessment of HE and rankings, while private for-profit universities prepare and invest in the qualification of the faculty in order to achieve higher grades.

In 1998, for the first time, Veja advocates for the worldwide cost-sharing trend in public universities. 70% of the students of public universities in Brazil came from paid private high schools, and if public universities charged tuition only from these students, Veja estimates that their budget would increase around 15%. However, faculty members are afraid that this would be another way of taking the university away from the state and leave it to the market forces.

3. 1999

In 1999, Veja has interviewed a Brazilian genetics professor who worked in the University of Wisconsin, asking about his findings on extending the life-span of mice in the lab. After discussing how his discovery affects our lives, and the university relations with the market field in order to patent technologies and transfer technologies (a habit that was not usual in Brazil at the time), he was asked by the reporter if he considers coming back to Brazil. The Brazilian researcher answers that he always thinks of coming back for emotional, sentimental reasons. However, he says that he would never be able to conduct his research in Brazil, first because lab mice are expensive, then because there is a technology that is not yet available in Brazil, leading to massive loads of paperwork in order to import it. “Things are not taken seriously in Brazilian universities”, he adds.

Brazil is a country with continental dimensions, and high demographic density in urban areas, usually centered in the capitals of the states. For example, more than 30 million people live in the urban area of the city Sao Paulo, more than twice the population of Los Angeles. However, in the countryside of the state of Sao Paulo there are some of the finest universities in Brazil, such as UNICAMP – University of Campinas, and UNESP – State University of Sao Paulo. This

same phenomenon happens in other states, and has led students to change their homes from the capitals to the countryside. Veja brings an article about the motives and consequences of this “exodus” from the capitals, and the impacts this has had in smaller cities, expressing how universities are able to be vectors to social and economic development. A professor interviewed for the article argues that having a university in town tends to increase in approximately 30% the public gross revenue from taxes. Veja tells that when the last admission test (vestibular) took place at UEL – University of Londrina, the local McDonalds restaurant has served 7.500 customers in a single day – a historical record. In Botucatu, home of the UNESP Campus, the inauguration of the university, with 18.000 students back in 1999, led to a twofold increase in tax revenues.

The students that choose to move to a different city in order to study need, first, a place to live. Because very few universities offer housing options for their students, they tend to organize themselves in “republics”, a shared rent system whereby students are able to live in nice houses at the lowest cost possible (similar to the American fraternities and sororities, but with the major difference that the house or apartment is owned by a tenant). They tend to gather in groups of around four students and learn how to live out of the purview of their parents. Despite sharing the rent, they tend to spend 2/3 of their income (sometimes a monthly allowance granted by the parents, sometimes their wage from a part-time job or internship) in housing expenses, food, and transportation. The remainder is spent in parties, course materials, and more general expenses.

Some students pose serious problems to university administration. Drug abuse, especially cannabis, is higher than alcohol, a study reveals. The main concern is not about the dangers of cannabis to the user, or the fact that it is forbidden by law. The issue is that, because university students use it, drug dealers and traffickers converge to the university facilities seeking clients.

Veja also seeks to provide advice to prospective graduate students. An article discusses the pros and cons of leaving Brazil in order to study abroad in graduate schools, arguing “everyone dreams about graduate education abroad”. Their conclusion is that studying abroad is more important than working or studying in Brazil until the thirties, and that after this age, people should opt for domestic and quick fixes. Undergraduate students also seek opportunities

abroad. A British Council fair intended to provide Brazilian students with information about their universities and guidance for studying there. Veja tells that the Great Britain has launched in 1999 a worldwide campaign in the search for foreign students, including the simplification of the admission processes and the permission for students to work part-time while they study.

In 1999, Veja published four articles about the vestibular, the admission test for the Brazilian universities. As in the previous years, it considered the stress placed upon teenagers and some practical tips for the families about how to deal with this period of examinations. They acknowledge that the vestibular system, which only takes into account the final score of the student in a multiple-choice test and an essay about some trending topic (usually about an article in *Veja* or *Folha de S. Paulo*), is a “necessary burden”. Veja recognizes that, along the years, the competition for a place at the university is increasing, especially in some courses. At USP, the physiotherapy program, for instance, has a ratio of 92 candidates for each place – the highest in Brazil. However, they argue that this rise in the candidate/place ratio is often seasonal and tends to stabilize because of the tendency to offer more places with the increasing demand. Law schools, paradoxically, are plenty around Brazil because they dismiss expensive laboratories and materials. There is, therefore, a overcrowding on the law profession, leading to the local professional council to wish to limit the further creation of schools arguing the more law schools are created, the worse are the lawyers that take their examination.

4. 2000

2000 is the year when, for *Veja*, companies started to see universities as a great workforce provider. Even Petrobras, the largest company in Brazil, with stocks traded all over the world and still with state ownership, started going to the undergraduate and graduate classes to announce their job opportunities. Companies such as IBM, Cargill, and Ford also seek undergraduates for trainee programs. Their preference is clear for top-tier students in top-tier universities such as USP, FGV, and UFRJ. The telecommunications sector alone intended to hire 5000 students across Brazil, because of the arrival of five foreign companies in the country, after this sector ceased to be a state monopoly.

Citing the Wired Magazine, Veja says that the city of Campinas – home for UNICAMP - and the city of Sao Paulo – home for USP - were elected as two of the most promising technological centres, due to the congregation of universities and research centres, with large companies and financing sources. Campinas, thanks to its HE system - because before the universities the city's economy depended on commodity exploration – has become the most important technological centre in Brazil

Even the professions with traditionally low market appeal in Brazil, such as pedagogy, linguistics, and others, usually sought by students who wish to become middle and high school teachers, experienced a demand expansion. In part, what explains the upsurge in Brazilian HE is the raise in enrollments in high school, which has led to a shortage of teachers. This move to the market of Brazilian HE led to the creation of new majors, also motivated by globalization and technology. Chiropraxy, Acupuncture, Real Estate Brokerage, and Wood Technology and Engineering, are some of the specific-interest programs enabled by the for-profit universities.

Veja published, by the end of 2000, a supplement emphasizing the traits that companies and corporations look for in undergraduates. They argue that a degree in a good university is important, but that the candidates' problem-solving abilities were the distinctive remark of a good prospective employee. In fact, it seems that as time goes by, companies are getting used to private for profit HE, and do not care so much, as they did before, with the name of the university printed in the diploma. Any study time is admirable and desirable, regardless of the HEI. In an interview, Antonio Maciel Neto, the president of Ford Brazil, says that education is the most valued aspect when hiring.

Despite the market saying that problem solving abilities are the best predictors of effective employees, the Vestibular continues to happen, and to be criticized by Veja. Cramming all of the school subjects in a single evaluation happening on a hot summer Sunday is not the best way to evaluate students' learning, they argue. However, Veja fails to provide alternatives, as mentioned in a column by Claudio de Moura Castro, the former president of CAPES. He stresses the worldwide competition to enter HE, and emphasizes the new efforts of the ministry of education. MEC has introduced the ENEM – National High

School Examination, which may provide a way out of the inflexible vestibular. It is a standard test, like the SAT, administered in every city of the country simultaneously. This column was commented by readers in the letters section in the following edition, who stated that the problem lies not on the evaluation system, but in Brazil's middle and high school operations.

The students who took the vestibular in 1999, after a great deal of stress and summer vacations, had their profile assessed by Veja. Most of the ones who succeeded and got in the university do not work, and more than half of them went to private high school. In other words, students from poor families, who needed to work and attended public high schools have not made it to the university.

Students from poor backgrounds, who were sidelined by the public university and managed to enter one of the privates, use the government-funded educational loan system – Veja has never mentioned the private loan options, however - in order to fulfill their HE dream. The Brazilian student loans system, formerly CREDUC and now FIES, depicts an unpleasant background of debt and bankruptcy. Generally, students leave their HEIs and are unable to pay the fees, or straightforwardly refuse to pay it. Indeed, in an interview, the American historian Thomas Skidmore argues that Brazil is unequal partly because of this HE system, which is subsidized by taxpayers and benefit the elites. The Brazilian government cannot care less about the poor when it comes to their enrollment in HE. In a quotation, senator Lauro Campos says “We can rob in the cities and in the universities. But we can never rob school lunch”, virtually legitimating bribery and corruption in the HE sector – but don't you dare mess with school lunch!

In the meanwhile, students from rich backgrounds, who managed to enter the tuition-free public university, instead of worrying with financing their HE dream, worry about going abroad in full-funded interchange programs, for example. UFPR – The Federal University of Parana collaborated with French universities to exchange thirty students in 2000. Also, the British Council has increased the number of scholarships available for those students seeking to graduate or research abroad, a gross amount of 3.200 scholarships.

It would be a mistake to think that these elite teenagers in Brazilian universities are part of a civilized or sociable group. At least for law students, being in a comfortable financial situation does not seem to teach them the basic

tenets of living in society. In his weekly column, Prof. Stephen Kanitz tells readers about the traditional “pendura day” at USP law school. The “Pendura” day is an annual festivity where these law students have lunch in the restaurants around the university, and leave the restaurant without paying for their feast – they put it on the cuff, buy on credit, and never pay for it. A steakhouse has once reported that approximately 600 students left without paying for their meal. Kanitz says: “if law students, who claim for social justice, ethical behavior, and equality, are in favour of the ‘pendura’, how could we expect a better country?”

Regardless of being able to study in a public or private university, being rich or poor, 2000 was the first year to register a surplus of places in HE. In a country where entering the university was the hardest endeavor one could face, the HE move to the market enabled everyone to attend a university or a college. 1.099 private HEIs were operating, and more than 1.6 million students were enrolled in them – a record for Brazil, which faced 20 years of stagnated enrolments in HE. Yet, the number of Brazilian students able (and willing to) go to college is, in proportion, the half of that in our latin American neighbours. Additionally, only 85% of all students who enroll in HE tend to give up before they graduate.

Because of this increase in offer, quality remains a major problem for Veja. In the interview with Antonio Maciel Neto, the president of Ford Brazil, he says that despite emphasizing higher education as the greatest distinctive feature of a candidate for a job, he “suspects that students do not study during their stay in the university”. On the other hand, the president of Sadia (currently owned by Brazil Foods), Gilberto Tomazoni, said that a student that leaves the university is like a new car leaving the factory with a/c, electrical steering, a good engine, and all the options included. Quality, at least for Brazilian executives, seems to be overly relative.

In the last assessment of the Brazilian universities and colleges, out of a grand total of 410 programs assessed, 95 were so dreadful they risked to be cancelled by the ministry of education. Veja argues that these results are because many students do not care about the place in which they graduate – they just want their degree, regardless of its quality. On the other hand, the assessment of universities the government implemented has shown its bright side. Some of the

universities that had lousy scores in the first editions of the assessment have improved dramatically. Veja tells the story of three universities that scored an E or D at the first assessment, in 1997, and moved up to the A or B score in 2000. Their main effort was to demand their professors to go back to the university to get their master's and doctoral degrees. Some of them bought thousands of books for their libraries, or took more radical measures and fired unsuited professors in order to replace them with better ones. Even though some universities managed to improve in Provas, some of them have not. Therefore, the assessment of HE by the state, which was supposed to punish and close those programs that did not conform to the minimum traits of quality, ended up being a ranking of the best and the worst.

Faculty and research are important criteria when assessing HE. Brazilian Universities boast about the increase in international publications, but they forget that patenting is also important. In Brazil, less than 1% of all patents are filed by universities.

Finally, a curious scandal took place in the amazon border with Venezuela. Foreign anthropologists who intended to study the Yanomami Indian Reservation were accused of fraud, sexual abuse, and of purposefully transmitting the small pox virus to try to understand those who survive – the alpha males. Veja concludes this article by saying that anthropologists should study their own tribe to understand themselves.

5. 2001

The major reference point for Veja when talking about higher education is the United States system. Harvard has been mentioned 577 times, the University of California, 331. Considering the whole documental research, with over 8.000 pages coded, half of them mentioned some foreign university. The magazine seems astonished about both the millionaire donations for American universities, and by their research and relations with proximate fields – the market, most notably, according to an interview with Michael Porter. Following this inspiration from abroad, Veja discusses MBA quality, advertising the Financial Times ranking which put Wharton Business School, at the University of Pennsylvania, as the most top-ranked MBA in the world. They say that “the powerful brand of business schools (Harvard Business School) has been

upstaged by Wharton". Veja ends the article by stating that the Brazilian Coppead MBA, by UFRJ, is on the 99th place.

Nevertheless, Harvard is still a powerful brand in Brazil. Veja describes Harvard's MBA as the most globalized in the world, and warn readers that the business school is looking for new Brazilian students. In an interview, an HR consultant says, "Harvard is a charming, elite university, and those who graduate there win the market game". In his column, Claudio de Moura Castro argues that, in spite of a recent "brain drain" panic, that happened because Brazilian students went and settled abroad instead of coming back to their country, Brazil needs an even bigger "brain drain", but one that brings students back to solve our problems from the inside and teach our students what they have learned abroad.

The IMF – International Monetary Fund selected issues for Brazil in 2001 included a section recommending the government to adopt cost sharing in public universities, explaining that in spite of being public, they should charge tuition from those students who could afford it. Veja decided to ask its readers whether the government should listen to this advice or not, and shows some answers. A professor from the humanities at UFPR answered saying that because Brazil is poor and unequal, universities must be free and research must be basic. Another reader says that "IMF does not have to interfere in how we manage education". Some of the readers agreed, though. "We do not need the IMF to tell us that only those who have high purchasing power study in the public university", says another reader.

In a column just after the IMF suggestion, Brazilian economist Gustavo Franco makes the case that the Brazilian government subsidizes rich families when decides to pay R\$6,2 billion for federal universities, of which 2/3 of the students come from rich backgrounds. He estimates that if tuition was as low as a minimum wage a month for these rich students, it would be possible to conduct 30 times the most expensive research Brazil had ever conducted at the time – the genetic sequencing of *xylella fastidiosa*, a bug who destroys orange trees.

In fact, Brazil seems to need some country to look up to, regarding the rancid things our universities do. In 2001, a poodle and a mare (the animals, yes) were awarded a certificate of capability of teaching English language classes by a public university in the state of Parana. The dean says he signed the diplomas,

but did not read them thoroughly. Our universities may not take things seriously, as put by a scientist in the earlier years. However, some students, the best scorers in Provas, the Brazilian HE assessment, are examples of grit and determination. An 2001 article shows that the poorer students are the best scorers in the test, and that the portrait of inequality in public university admissions is not as bad as Veja once said it was - the rich do not outnumber the poor in the public universities. These data were gathered because the ministry of education, for the first time in five years, decided to make public the list of the top-ranked students and their universities – so people could qualitatively assess and benchmark their routines and hopefully, obtain the same results. Veja reports, in a 6-page article, short interviews with the ten highest scorers, telling their habits and practices, and a brief family and socio-economic background from each one of them. Some of them worked part-time in order to help their families, others were able to study full-time, and ended working as research assistants. Veja says that there are two rules of thumb for Brazilian HE: public schools are better than the privates, and only the rich benefit from the first rule. The Provas confirmed the first rule – from all of the eighteen student names the ministry of education made public, sixteen studied in public universities. However, the majority of the best scorers were from poor backgrounds. Veja argues that, despite of these findings, programs with more competitive admissions, such as medicine, tend to be filled with wealthy students, while careers with lower market appeal and tradition in Brazil, chemistry and math, for instance, attract more the underprivileged students.

In December 2001, Veja published another article about the Provas, where they introduce the first student to get all answers to the test right. They advocate, along with the minister of education, that despite the Provas did not present yet any coercive measures, such as the termination of the dreadful programs, the performance assessment has brought improvements. Indeed, they were right. The Provas has become a major part of the marketing efforts of private HEIs, and so have professors with doctoral degrees, students ranked highly on the test, and grade “A” facilities. The minister of education assures: twelve majors, which have not improved over the last two assessments, were forbidden

to admit new students until they improve their performance. If, in the following Provas they fail to show signs of improvement, they will be terminated.

Since not all students were provided access to higher education, the Brazilian government had authorized the for-profit venture in the field, leading to the inauguration of more than 4.000 programs since 1997, increasing enrolment in 42% over these years. However, in 2001, the ministry of education decided that enough was enough, because quality was commencing to reach absurd levels. With 6.000 more programs pending approval in the desk of the ministry of education, the government has decided that quality would now be assessed before the program could function. Veja approves this attitude, but by saying that by now, the HE “door had already been busted”. Indeed, of almost 8.000 programs evaluated since 1997, 5.000 of them were average (C), alarming (D), or atrocious (E). The main challenge for the ministry lies in the university centers, which are not universities nor colleges, but are able to freely launch and halt courses without asking for approval or having its quality assessed a priori.

The provost for UFRJ indicates that the Fernando Henrique Cardoso two-mandate presidency, from 1995 to 2003, was indeed a good one for education. The ministry of education opened up higher education for private for-profit endeavors, increasing in 11% the enrollment of the cohort in the university. In 2001, the minister of education – who even thought about being a candidate for the next presidency - said, in an article that recalls the recent path of higher education, that his next step would be to grant autonomy to public universities, so they could pay professors based on their performance and merit, not on isonomic principles. Veja explains the autonomy of the public university by saying that it would “finish a system that currently pays equally a researcher who cuts pieces of newspaper and that medical scientist of the USP”.

The isonomy principle, a major target for criticism by Veja, is advanced by the faculty of the public universities. According to the president of UFRJ, “there is a disease that attacks undergraduate majors, the corporate culture of our faculty, which makes us live in a state of permanent strike where all the propositions to change and transform are vetoed”. He says that in UFRJ, there are ten majors pending approval by the faculty, such as tourism, biotechnology, and public health, which were highly demanded by the market at the time. Night

courses were also on the agenda, but the faculty council never approved them, arguing that quantity harms quality. This corporate culture advances and nurtures the lack of effort and work, at the same time that it advocates for higher wages. In Brazil, the year for university teachers is comprised of 150 business days, while the law requires it to comprehend, at least, 200 days – which would enable shorter majors. In UFRJ, there are 108 “gratified functions”, that is, job posts that get bonuses for doing absolutely nothing. They exist because they have always been there, and are not finished because this corporate culture does not allow it to. Some professors earn amounts comparable to corporate executives, and still, are striking in grievance for better wages. In his weekly column, Claudio de Moura Castro, the ex-president of CAPES, blames the professors themselves for the ivory tower that the public university in Brazil is. He says that there are many professors who know that there are major flaws in the systems, but they do not do anything about it. He says that professors do not show up to their classes, and do not fulfill their duties or obey rules, and that no one seems to care.

In a three-page interview, the president of UFRJ scorches the current system of higher education. He says that, while graduate studies are well and evolving, the undergraduate core is dreadful, and is not educating as it should. Programs are too long and outdated. Long because they were conceived in the 1960s, when students took undergraduate courses and never returned to the university. Now, he argues, the university needs agility and activity, because students are returning as soon as they graduate. He mentions the example from Cambridge University, where the engineering major lasts three and a half years, one and a half year less than the same program in Brazil. Indeed, productivity is low in Brazilian higher education, since UFRJ has 50.000 professors and graduates 50.000 students yearly – a 1/1 ratio, which in developed countries is 4/1. The solution for this productivity problem would be opening more places in the public university.

Shortly after the government’s announce that private HEIs would face quality assessments before opening new majors, *Veja* shows that the public universities are, too, expanding, opening new majors and more places in the most crowded programs. However, the article’s title “Will there be any places left?” is misleading. The magazine says that this act is a sort of retaliation to the private

endeavor in higher education, mainly because private universities tend to have more applied research (if any), and because of ideological issues such as “ownership”, “profit”, and “shareholder-value” in higher education. The prejudice with private universities continues to exist in public universities, but an interview with a HR executive reveals that companies consider candidates from publics and privates equally, because the degree does not matter as nearly as does the individual’s capabilities. Indeed, one of the “owners” of IBMEC says that their intention is to be the “Brazilian Harvard”. In the reader’s letters section in the following edition to this article, it is clear that there is still prejudice against private higher education. A reader says “The public universities are the best. That is a fact verified by the existence of jobs that put as one of the minimal requirements for applicants a degree in a public university”.

One of the causes for the Brazilian animosity to private higher education is their abundance of majors, both short and long term, with dubious quality standards. One of the greatest examples of why this prejudice lasts is given by the Gama Filho University, which marketed short courses to prospective students, but without a degree recognized by the professional councils because they do not fulfill the regulations of the ministry of education. An example is the “Athlete Nutrition” two-year program – a public health risk according to the nutrition professional association. However, this practice is not exclusive in the private HEIs. The Piaui State University offers two-year psychology degrees, an entirely irregular program, but one that the ministry of education has no power upon, because it cannot intervene in state universities. The reporter who wrote the article ends it with a powerful sentence: “We are yet to know if the ministry of education will be able to control the quality of the education fast-foods”.

Regarding research in Brazilian Universities, Veja has often assumed a criticizing stance on the social sciences and humanities, and overtly emphasized the hard sciences, such as biochemistry and genetics. In an article about the routine and habits of our researchers, they tell interesting stories about the constraints imposed by regulations and the passion of our fellow professors. In an interview, Prof. Mayana Zatz, a geneticist from USP, tells that one of these days she got two envelopes. The first, a letter from the government saying that they would be unable to provide her a lab assistant. She says she thought it out loud

“It’s so hard to research in Brazil...” The second envelope, however, was an announcement that she had won the award for the UNESCO – the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization award for women in science, to which she celebrated “hard, but possible!”.

In addition to the massive number of private HEIs created in Brazil, competition increases as the broader education market grows. As Fligstein and McAdam (2012) posit, fields get more complex over time, and players assume boundary-spanning roles that affect proximate fields. As I will argue later on, higher education is an omnipresent field, such as the state, professions, and the market, and the interplay among these fields is unstable. Market fields have assumed the role of higher education for some professions, for example. Veja says that “the old degrees offered by universities are being replaced with new kinds of credentials offered by market companies”. They are talking about both corporate universities, classrooms within the corporate buildings that teach the core applied tenets of business and economy, for example, and the certificates offered by technology companies, which for some professionals, is more valuable than a master’s degree.

In Brazil, women tend to outnumber men since middle school, until the master’s degree. However, at doctoral classes, men are the majority. Racial issues are also important for students in higher education. Veja has interviewed a Harvard scholar who believes that there should be restitution for African-americans in the form of affirmative policies in higher education. At the time, there were rumours that the ministry of education would obligate public universities to adopt a system of quotas to black and indigenous people, and also launch majos to aid African-americans in HE admission tests. The interviewee, however, states he agrees with affirmative actions, such as those who take race and ethnicity in consideration in the admission process, but that he will never agree with a system of quotas, which make colour and ethnicity the determinant factor for admission. UFRJ’s provost argues that the universities should embrace the role of helping high schools, by inviting students to mentor high schoolers.

6. 2002

This was a major year for Brazilian politics. After having faced more conservative governments, Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva is the first president-elect

with a left wing agenda. Lula is a public figure, and managed not only to win two consecutive elections, but also to help elect Dilma Rousseff twice by endorsing her campaign. Lula has never stepped into a university – he quit high school – and made his political career by leading the metal workers' union, and organizing riots during the Brazilian military regime. He says that, because some famous Brazilians have not studied too, such as the romancists Machado de Assis and Paulo Coelho, and the supermodel Gisele Bundchen, it is not a big deal that he was a high school dropout. The higher education system is important for the conduction of the economic policies and directives of Brazil. In the Fernando Henrique Cardoso administration, all the policies were formulated by the economists at PUC Rio. Ciro Gomes, a candidate from the left-conservative wing, in turn, was supported by Jose Alexandre Sheinkman, a Brazilian economist based at the University of Chicago. Lula, finally, chose to nominate a political ally for being ministry of the economy, balancing his political nomination with a more technical one for the management of the central bank. He also said, to university provosts in a meeting, that "it would take a guy without a higher education degree to fix Brazilian higher education". Meanwhile, the governor of the state of Parana wanted to keep at least 80% of the places in the state universities to candidates born in the state.

It is easy to point, however, the main mistakes of Brazilian HE system. Actually, the HE system in Brazil, for the economist John Williamson, former professor of the University of Princeton and the MIT, is a reflex of Latin American government: it spends too much with the richer in higher education and forgets about middle and high school. He is one more scholar to advocate for the cost sharing tendency.

The government, so far, has championed the opening to the market of Brazilian higher education, which led to a major increase in enrollment, a development in the workforce, and a boost in overall education and competitiveness. However, Simon Schwartzman, a Brazilian social scientist who worked with the World Bank and the OECD – Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, has halted this celebration. Studying data from Brazilian HE in the period, he organized the data so that it showed the real impact of this expansion for the poor. The result of this research is that HE in Brazil grew in enrollments

only for the rich and the middle class, and that, surprisingly, the enrollment of the 20% poorest has declined. He explains this by saying that the number of places in Brazilian HE was so low that even for the rich there were barriers to entrance. When the sector started to expand, the places were taken by the richer. Schwartzman advocates for a system similar to the German, where HE is divided by the universities and the *fachhochschulen*, specialized in technical fields, with shorter programs and closer to the market.

Market relations are important to the HEIs. The magazine brings a research that discovered that the majority of the corporate executives in the top and middle management, studied in private universities. The research considers that public universities are not able to admit that many students, and even so, the private universities are better off. While this might simply mean that companies do not care about the academic background of their students, it might also show that the prejudice against private universities is over, at least in the market. The former president of Citibank, who himself graduated in a private university says that “the first degree is not so important [...] what matters is the lifetime investment in education”. The minister of education comments this article saying that “this is a signal that the public university should be closer to the market”. The private universities, indeed, have a more proximate relation with the market. When Ford announced that it was moving their factory to Camacari, a little city in the state of Bahia, in the northeast of Brazil, plenty of private HEIs followed in order to provide workforce for the industry. In a special issue about the Brazilian economy, *Veja* says that over 10% of workers who labour in the factory floors are enrolled in HE, expecting that when they graduate, they will be able to get better opportunities.

Regarding HE assessment – ProvaO – the column of Claudio de Moura Castro brings a study that found that 80% of the students’ performance is linked with the knowledge he had after entering HE. This means that HE only accounts for 20% of the knowledge of the students, regardless of the efforts that might be made. Universities that enroll bad high school students score worse in the assessment. He shows this study in order to advance that the ProvaO has a major dysfunction, a methodological deviation – it only assesses the total knowledge of the student, not the knowledge that was acquired in HE. He finishes his column

by saying that “those who judge and accuse any bad HEI are just ignorant, elitist, or advocate for market reserves”.

Basic education, middle and high school, is tightly interwoven with higher education. In Brazil, only the public expenditures with middle schooling might be considered as focused on the low-income population. According to studies, only 8% of all public expenditures in high schooling reach the poorest 20% of the population. As a result, there are students who leave high school with horrible writing skills, and incapable of performing the four mathematical operations. However, the basic education system pushes them out of high school, and they are able to bet their chips on higher education.

With the explosion of private offerings in Brazilian HE, the worst students are able to enter some HEIs, only because the admissions system is based on competition – the best go to the tuition-free public universities, and the remainder go to the private universities regardless of their knowledge background, because every one of them need students' tuition to exist. This is not a bad thing, for *Veja*, because at least they are continuing to study. The bad thing for the magazine is that Brazilian middle and high school are unable to prepare students accordingly for HE. As an illustration of this phenomenon, the magazine has once more interviewed the top scorers in the admission examinations of seven of the most contested universities. They show that family support is essential to a good performance, together with private high schooling, and learning over knowing by heart and memorizing. However, a further insight is valuable. Several middle and high schools, benefiting from the government permission of for-profit higher education, started to endeavor in this sector, meaning that a student can withstand his whole educational cycle – middle school, high school, and higher education – under the same organization.

Veja seems to be fond of publishing articles about the best and top students, perhaps because of their target audience. The fact is that the magazine brings another article of this type, now emphasizing the behaviors that drive the best university students in Brazil, based on a report from the ministry of education on the *prova* results: studying hard, keeping up with the news, learning a foreign

language, and reading books.² Similarly, the magazine started to advertise job placements for undergraduate students – the trainee programs. They also list a series of “best practices” students should pursue in order for being hired, such as knowing how to use a computer and MSOffice software, being fluent in English and interested in learning another foreign language, having leadership skills and general knowledge.

There is a paradox regarding Brazilian higher education at this time. On one hand, the government wished that the number of enrollments in HE was higher. On the other, there are places being left in private HEIs, because students cannot afford tuition. Brazil only enrolls 8% of the 18-24 age cohort, while more than 200.000 places are left empty in universities yearly. While private universities struggle to attract more tuition-paying students, the public university fights recklessly to fulfill its mission. For example, in August, UFRJ energy provision was cut off because the university's debt with the power provider reached R\$7.7 million. Fortunately, they managed to close a deal to pay their debts in four interest-free installments. One way out to this paradox was the regulation of shorter 2-3 year technology programs, which were cheaper, less demanding, and fit for the market demands.

Admissions in Brazilian universities are facing a new discussion, related to that of high school quality. In 2002, civil service examinations started to provide quotas for black and mulatto races, and women. Quotas would later arrive at the federal university, favouring black, mulatto, and public school students. In the state of Rio de Janeiro, quotas were mandatory in the state universities, destining 40% of the places to black and mulatto candidates. One columnist at *Veja* says that racial quotas are good, because they “break with a longstanding past of denial and insensibility about the racial situation in Brazil”. The title of an article asks: “where are the black?” *Veja* argues that on a picture of the average Brazilian classroom at the average Brazilian university, only white people made it there.

A half-page article shows that, after having managed to publish an article in the *Nature* magazine, Brazilian researchers have earned the cover of the

² *Veja* starts to get really repetitive and shallow when talking about the behavior of the best students. Therefore, I chose this year to be the last one to report on these issues.

Journal of Neurosurgery. This article depicts the evolution of Brazilian research – a leap from 7.000 articles published in international magazines in 1997, to 10.300 in 2000. However, the magazine still does not agree that Brazilian universities are able to teach and research at the same time. Claudio de Moura Castro says, in his column, that the public universities are forced by law to hire professors with an alleged “research” profile because, once they enter the public university, they are supposed to research.

The main topic about foreign HE was the inauguration of the new Harvard president, Lawrence Summers. Veja says that “Lawrence Summers refers to humility as Madonna refers to chastity”. The magazine exposes the reforms deemed as important by the president - such as the renovation of the grading system to a more competitive one, and the assignment for graduate professors to dismiss their teaching assistants in order to teach in the undergraduate courses, too – saying that he wants to fix that which is not broken.

The University of California at Berkeley also deserved a column, talking about the sex-ed classes for male and female students. The magazine tells readers that, in the final class of the course for male students – scheduled to take place in a strip club – ended at someone else’s house with an orgy. Veja says that this is common at Berkeley de-cals (democratic education courses, where students are themselves the teachers of some courses). The University of Texas is also mentioned as the propeller of the attraction of several companies to the state.

Studying abroad, especially to undertake a master’s or doctoral degree abroad is a dream for many Brazilian executives and professional. However, often tuition fees are prohibitive, and hinder applications. In a column, Veja offers a “Help to study” by pointing some private organizations that offer funding for graduate education abroad.

7. 2003

In 2003, Lula took his position as president of Brazil, after an easy electoral process, where he was elect with over 60% of the total votes.

Some Brazilian universities mimicked the athletics of the American universities and started to provide athletes with scholarships and even salaries.

In Brazil, the athletes generally start their career in high school, and never make it into the university. But HEIs are working to change this paradigm, offering scholarships to students in order to build strong teams. They hope that athletics would be an additional financing source to them, just as in the American case. All universities willing to enter this endeavor are private, meaning that they do not have the large allowance the public universities have from the government, but pursue the same mission. However, in a prejudicial tone, Veja says that private universities are causing billionaire financial losses to the government because most of them are philanthropic, meaning that they are entitled to receive tax waivers as an exchange for the offering of scholarships. The dark side of this is that the privates seem to be facing a crisis. The largest education network, The Paulista University, has laid off 288 professors. The owner of the group says that they will be replaced by more prepared scholars, but the future is yet unknown.

Additionally, the public universities in Brazil tend to strike quite often, almost once every year, for around 1 to 2 months. The consultant and former professor Stephen Kanitz, published a column right in the middle of a faculty strike, saying that students do not need a teacher to learn. He criticizes the faculty in public HE, saying that most of the professors think that building summaries of books and reading them out loud is the same as teaching. He says that “universities are elitist, and the private high schools rejoice. Libraries are democratic, and make independent students”. Even with the background of mismanagement and spiraling costs at Brazilian public universities, the government assumes the motto that “spending in education is investing”, and wishes to build even more (around 20) federal universities. The political effect of spending in education is great, but Latin American governments, as seen before, spend excessively and recklessly.

Not only the publics, but the privates had seemingly entered their comfort zone. Before 1997, the private universities were calmly waiting for their paying students who did not make into the publics. They were happy with being the second choice. However, with the new regulation in 1997, offer for HE exploded, and started to bother the once quasi-monopolistic universities the old system has provided for. With new, and cheaper endeavors in HE, students could choose between a good and expensive degree, or a not so good but not so expensive

one. Claudio de Moura Castro says that, in a meeting with the ministry of education, he witnessed a congressman lobbying for these older private universities, asking for the minister to stop allowing more privates to open their doors. The minister of education ended up giving in for the lobby, and has limited the creation of new university centers. Perhaps because of these never-ending political influences and judgements over higher education, Brazil, according to USP research, is a century behind the more developed countries in terms of economy. He argues that Brazil would take 150 years, growing 3% per year, to reach the United States.

For Veja, universities should let go research efforts in order to focus in teaching. They say that the “developed countries” have moved research to the private companies, which led to an increase in innovation and economic development. An interviewee says that “in Brazil, when I say I am a researcher, they ask me for which university I work for. In the USA, they want to know what company I work for.” The magazine says that in the United States, eight out of every ten studies that have immediate practical applications are conducted by companies. Therefore, the problem that Veja presents is not that universities do not research, but that companies do not use the research available, nor contact the researchers of the universities, in order to innovate. Brazil has the best universities in Latin America, and grants as many PhD degrees as developed countries, says the provost of UNICAMP. He also says that companies should absorb researchers from the university in order to transform their knowledge in innovation.

In order to augment market relations, such as the provost of UNICAMP recommended, USP decided to offer mandarine language classes, in a partnership with the trade federation of the state of Sao Paulo. The president of the trade organization said that because Brazil is building strong links with China, he believes that this cultural interchange would be important for the overall commerce. Innovation hubs, software industries, and the like are starting to concentrate near the universities, too. Following these trends, the UnB, Brasilia National University, a public university, decided to offer some services to the market, such as the elaboration of tests, regulations, consulting work, etc.

However, the university decided to enter the real estate business, building and selling apartments in its terrain.

The market, too, is realizing that higher education organizations are an excellent workforce provider. Veja brings a 10-page article entitled “the second Vestibular”, the admission to the labour market. The best job positions, argues the magazine, are far more difficult to conquer than a place in the university. To work at Citibank, for instance, 3.000 candidates have applied for one only job position. However, companies complain that most candidates are unprepared for the market because there is ideological preaching at HE, and because professors do not know what the market needs.

The quotas system for blacks, pardos, and students coming from public schools had its first test at UERJ. Veja published an article entitled “It did not work”, showing that almost 6 out of every 10 candidates for courses in the university entered because of the quotas system – in the medicine school, 76% of the admitted students entered because of quotas. As formerly predicted, students with horrible performance on the admission test were admitted, leaving many students with great scores out of the competition. It gets even worse, because it is difficult and discriminating, to appoint whether a person is black or pardo. Therefore, the criterion for assessing the race of the candidate was a self-declaration of race, which led to hundreds of white students to declare themselves as black because they did not agree with the quotas system – and various mulattos declared themselves as white because, perhaps, they did not think they were black enough. Excellent students who earned scholarships in private high schools were also left out of the quotas. The readers responded this article saying that racial quotas are prejudicial because virtually every Brazilian has had a black ancestor at this time. The lesson learned from this “experience” was that quotas would not mitigate the inequality in Brazil, nor erase prejudice; heavy investments in public middle and high school surely would. Quotas and affirmative policies matter are a big deal in Brazil, a country where public schools are horrible and racial inequality is high.

The admission process at Brazilian universities is itself flawed. Claudio de Moura Castro asks what would happen if the provosts and deans of the universities took the test they submit candidates to. Probably they would not pass,

and that is the point of his column. If scholars from the administration of the ivory tower would not pass the test took by the candidates in undergraduate degrees, what is this test for? The vestibular is comprised by questions regarding a plethora of disciplines: biology, chemistry, physics, history, geography, philosophy, sociology, Portuguese language, literature, a foreign language, arts, physical education, information sciences, arithmetics, geometry, and an essay about a polemic social discussion. Regardless of the course candidates are interested in, they need to take tests in every one of these themes. Stephen Kanitz posits that universities are producing commodities because of their fixed curriculums and courses that tend to teach general knowledge instead of specializing students. However, afterwards, *Veja* publishes an article saying that the HEIs in Brazil are offering more specific careers – there are fifty choices of engineering courses, for example. In 1999, students could choose one from 199 different courses. In 2003, there was a selection of 572 courses available in Brazil.

Some universities, in a race for better scores at the Provas, the Brazilian higher education assessment, are coaching their students so that they present better grades in their tests – which will define the ultimate score of the university. The Provas has been labeled by *Veja* as the greatest advancement that the government has imposed into higher education ever since the military regime, that ended in 1985. However, this might be the last time I will write about it here. The new minister of education, wishing to fix what is not broken, has asked a team of specialists to build a new assessment tool for higher education. The results are as follows: Instead of being mandatory, students would be able to choose if they want to be assessed. Instead of evaluating courses, such as business and medicine, it would assess knowledge areas. Instead of evaluating the student in his/her freshman year and his final year, it would evaluate in the middle section, too. There would not be rankings, as well, for the HEIs would receive specific qualitative feedbacks. The evaluation of the facilities and faculty would be made by the own faculty and by the students. *Veja* says: “the corporate culture of the public universities has won this battle”. The readers agree with *Veja*, saying that “the termination of the Provas might be one of the most coward blows that this leftist government could inflict to Brazilian education”.

In the meanwhile, Veja says that foreign universities are investing in comfort and well-being choices for students, which proceed from climbing walls, hot-tubs, golf simulators, and even waterparks. They are also hunting Brazilian athletes, and offering them scholarships and tuition waivers to study abroad and play for their teams.

8. 2004

The Provas is officially terminated. The new ENADE – National Examination of Student Performance is on its way. The last test for the provao, took in 2003, had its results reported by Veja, which states that this habit of assessing higher education has led to improvements in overall quality and a more competitive environment, wherein students choose their options among the best scorers, avoiding those HEIs with low scores. Therefore, there were no more prejudices to private universities, because with the results of the Provas, they proved that they are as good as, or even better, than the traditional public universities. The provao was also useful for companies, which could assess the quality of the candidates by the quality of the HEI they graduated in. With these improvements, even the students who used to deliver the tests untouched as a protest against the examination, have benefited from it.

The ENADE, exam that will replace the Provas, will happen every three years, instead of annually, but will comprehend more courses. Freshmen will also take the test, for the purpose of the exam will be to assess how much knowledge has the student accumulated through his education. Despite showing similar characteristics to the Provas, the magazine criticizes the ENADE, saying that “losing the Provas decreases transparency of Brazilian higher education”, perhaps because the magazine was afraid of a leftist approach to the examination and performance measurements. The Provas was not a perfect tool, as argues an employee of the UEL, who says that the ministry of education has lost the tests of 640 students who took the examination.

Another issue alarms universities - only the privates, however. Almost 500.000 places were left open in private HEIs in 2013. In order to attract students, some of them lowered tuition fees, exempted candidates from admission fees, and even ignored the admission test results and accepted any candidate that came knocking on their door. The for-profit universities invested incredible

amounts in marketing efforts, an increase of approximately 25% in comparison to 2002, estimated to increase a further 15% in 2004. Tuition fees have declined roughly 20% in the last five years, in order to get more students. Because of the declining tuition fees, the poorer are starting to enroll in HE. According to the government, it is possible that, in the following years, the private universities should be encouraged to provide scholarships in exchange for more tax waivers.

In addition to the law project of the minister of education to allow the poorer to enter private universities for free, the he has announced that the private universities created from now on will need to be established in poor areas – possibly indicating a movement towards the provision of scholarships while partnering with privates. Concurrently, Lula announces that his government will take a federal, public university to its political cluster – the industrial region of the state of Sao Paulo, the ABC. This is a highly developed and rich area. The message, after all, is that the poor will have to pay for higher education, and that the rich will get a public university. Then Veja comes and calls the two biggest for-profit HEIs in Brazil – UNIP and Universidade Estacio de Sa – “degree industries”.

Public universities have become political stages, not only for the politicians themselves, but also for members of the faculty and students. Besides this, there are plenty of cases where the state constrains higher education from the pursuit of its mission. First, we witnessed the aggression inflicted to two American congressional representatives at UERJ. Students and faculty members, tied to the far-left parties in Brazil, have attacked the American politicians with a mixture of water, detergent, and flour, menacing them of decapitation. Then, in UFAL, the Federal University of Alagoas, president Lula has also been a target of aggression by the faculty and students. Now, another strike affects the best university of Latin America – USP. The cause is not the faculty grievance for better wages, but student vandalism and violence, encouraged by some members of the faculty, seeking to boost their privileges. Still at USP, in a 1999 party that was traditionally thrown to receive the freshmen, a student was found drowned, and now, the justice system decided to archive the process because no one knows what happened – no one was punished and the death was judged to be an accident. In addition, UFRJ had announced that its

students would be able to leave before 10.p.m from their evening classes, because the increase of violence in Rio de Janeiro threatened their lives when going home. UFBA, the Federal University of Bahia, lacks funding to buy toilet paper for its law school. A Brazilian political scientist says that the university is paying for the “national disregard for education”. Undeniably, this is the case. Finally, the cherry on top, the government is thinking about reforming the higher education system, proposing a basic, two-year cycle for the “improvement of the reading comprehension and writing”, which would increase for even longer the student time at the university and would be a certificate that students are admitted in higher education without knowing how to read and write accordingly.

Regarding admissions for HE, the UnB started to take seriously the quotas system. The university has created a kind of a “race court”, where employees assess the “blackness” of candidates, because the admissions committee did not trust the self-declaration of some students. They started assessing the hair characteristics, skin pigmentation, and nose size in order to give the verdict of “blackness” or “whiteness”. Veja complains and asks president Lula: what about quotas for ministers? Of the 35 ministers on the government, 2 were black. Not even the “minister of racial equality” was black.

Some faculty members of Brazilian HEIs started to answer the call of Veja to produce applied research, connected to the market, through research foundations tied to the university. Of course, ideological pressures from inside the universities, and the collection of fees imposed by the administration bothered these researchers, who ended up leaving the university and establishing private endeavors. Claudio de Moura Castro shows that full-time professors in an HEI cannot work in a private company – a self-explanatory feature of a full-time job. Nevertheless, he worries about those students who learn how to build from an engineer who has never built something, or learn how to manage from a manager who has never managed. He posits that applied science professors should never be submitted to a full-time post at any university, because they, unlike biologists, physicists, and philosophers, belong somewhere else, additionally to the university. Nevertheless, Brazilian research is evolving and developing, allegedly thanks to the peer evaluation system and the high competitiveness for funding.

Curiously, researchers never seem to adhere to the collective strikes launched by the unions.

The faculty in public universities must be all-rounder. They must know how to translate articles, how to teach, how to research, and even how to change power plugs on the wall. If they were to ask someone to do it, they would have to wait for the bureaucracy and lack of funds to do it. The best researchers' wage is the same as that of the ones who should research, but do not. Of course, there are some perks, such as the retirement wage, which is the same as a working wage, and the compulsory retirement with 75 years. Some professors, passionate about the university, complain: "Why do we need to retire at 75 when there is no age limit to be president?" Therefore, some of them retire, but never leave the university.

Veja interviewed Lawrence Summers, the president of Harvard, and asked for some tips on how to manage the HE system. He promptly responded that universities should not be treated like factories, nor like an agglomeration of people seeking knowledge. There must be competition among universities, whether for good students or professors. The educational mission of the university has to aim at both ends: a humanistic core and a professional core. Biology needs to reach the humanities, and philosophy needs to reach the health sciences. There is some hope for Brazil. In an interview, the Argentinian writer, and professor at the Rutgers University, Tomas Martinez says that "[he] warned the authorities in the university that Brazil is a giant that turns its back to you, but some day, this giant will be in front of you and it will be so big that you will not know what to do with it".

9. 2005

In 2005, the Brazilian government has sanctioned the PROUNI – University for All Program, which provides full, half, and quarter scholarships to students with incomes as low as 2 minimum wages. With this act, the government sends a message that public schools cannot make up to the high demand, and need private endeavors in higher education to be able to enroll even more students they did before. The PROUNI program will pay tuition for one student, and in exchange, the universities need to provide at least one full scholarship for every 9 students enrolled in their courses; or yet, one full scholarship for every

19 students, and half and quarter scholarships which overall value is 10% of the revenues of the courses with PROUNI students. Universities that accept the terms and conditions of the program will be exempted of revenue taxes, taxes over profits, and two other minor taxes, proportionally to the number of scholarships provided.

Within the apparent progress for Brazilian higher education, the government shows that PROUNI had strings attached. The president and his ministers have proposed a project for a reformation in the universities. Veja says that this is “a major attack to the society, [...] combining attacks to reason, academic achievement, market economy, and law and order, despising the pursuit of knowledge and private property”. Indeed, most would agree with the magazine. The proposition states that the owners of private universities would not be able to make decisions regarding its management without the approval of a council formed by the faculty, students, and “community leaders”, empowering unionized leaders and the laity to prevent owners’ decisions and impose their agenda. The creation of new courses would be possible only when they “meet the social requirements of the country”. Finally, foreign groups would not be allowed to own more than 30% of private universities in Brazil. For the public universities, the proposition of the government reserves half of the places to black and poor students, which would affect at least 30% of the highest scorers in admission tests. Finally, the public universities would not be able to hold foundations that collaborate with the market, closing for once and for all the university-industry collaborations in Brazil.

The justifications for the proposed changes are that Brazilian HE needs to portrait a clear national identity, which would be taken off by foreign investors. Community leaders would decide what is best for the surrounding community of the university, instead of its owners who worry solely about the incomes and financial demonstrations. A philosopher from UNICAMP says: “this government has no appreciation for the university, for science, or for culture”. The leftist agenda is “importanter”, as president Lula would say in a “popular Portuguese grammar”, than the politically neutral agenda of investing in public school education. But why nobody in the university opposes these propositions? According to Prof. Romano, from UNICAMP, the faculty have an “infinite

capability of bowing to power, whether socialist or fascist, in change for their immediate interests”.

Indeed, building quotas systems whereby students from public high schools can enter higher education is easier than worrying about public high education per se. Several scholars and specialists in education have warned that it is not enough to reserve places to students that come from public schools, they must be prepared to enter the university. However, the president responds to all of the attacks to the program with the same rhetoric: “when the poor conquer a little bit of space [in society], they bother [the elites]”. In fact, it is undeniable that prejudice against blacks exists in Brazil. In 2004, two black brothers were almost late to the admission test for the UFRGS – Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul. They started to run to get to the test on time. They were stopped by three police officers, with guns in hand, and lost the test. However, a research ordered by the ministry of education itself shows that the number of blacks in the public university is the same as the number of blacks in the country, meaning that quotas for blacks are not necessary. The research also shows that 46% of the students in public universities attended public schools, fulfilling the governmental quota even before it is official to all universities.

Regarding the market, year after year the magazine shows that the universities and the corporations are meant to collaborate. They announce a collaboration of Vale, one of the biggest public companies in Brazil, with PUCMG, the Pontifical Catholic University of Minas Gerais. Together, they inaugurated a major on railway engineering. All the students were hired by the company. Siemens started to conduct Research and Development in Brazil, and has 300 ongoing projects with universities.

Fortunately, and perhaps a moment of relief regarding higher education, the government has sanctioned and approved research with stem cells and embryos. Few weeks after, however, the faculty union declared another strike, one that would last for 112 days, the longest in the history of higher education so far. The minister of education himself said that “a strike that goes beyond 100 days shows that the university is no longer necessary, as structured currently. Imagine a bank in strike for 100 days.”

The column by Claudio de Moura Castro shows that, according to the government propositions for higher education, even if Harvard had a campus in Brazil, it would be ordered to close by the ministry of education, for their practices would be contrary to the majority of the points pinned by Brazilian politicians. “Whatever”, says the columnist, “we do not want Harvard around”, he jokes. If Brazil cannot make it, Singapore can. Both MIT and Stanford established campuses there.

In the meantime, the Brazilian millionaire Jorge Paulo Lemann has donated around US\$2mi to Harvard University, where he graduated. He had already donated over US\$3mi to the university, sponsoring the creation of the Brazilian Studies Centre. Brazilian reporters went to South Korea to investigate how they managed to grow at such large scale when compared to Brazil. South Korea was even more underdeveloped and poor than Brazil in the beginning of the 1960s. In 1980, South Korea and Brazil GDP were proportional. Now, in 2005, South Korea seems to be years ahead Brazil. The reporters that studied the Asian country for a month, in loco, bring 7 tips regarding education that Brazilian policy makers should know. Three tips are related to higher education: the first is to emphasise public expenditures in basic education – instead of higher education, as Brazil does –; second, to attract private investments to higher education in order to conduct both basic and applied research; third, to invest and enable technological centers in universities. Our neighbor, Chile, has done the same. The country invests in public schools, and adheres to the cost sharing in public universities, where the poor benefit from tuition waivers.

Finally, the politically correct jargon was ignored by Lawrence Summers, Harvard president, when he said that biological differences may explain why females are not so fond of STEM fields. He apologized, afterwards. The psychologist Helena Cronin responded to him, explaining that men have more variation in abilities, making most of the nobel prizes being men, but most of the idiots, too. She argues that women are mostly good.

10. 2006

The government, in 2006, has announced the creation of 5 new federal universities, and more 25 technological universities, fulfilling Veja’s wishes of a more market-driven higher education. One federal university will be based on the

president's political home, the ABC Paulista, one of the most industrialized and developed areas of the country, and in the richest state, Sao Paulo. Another federal university will be built in Osasco, also in the richest state of Brazil, and political stronghold of a friend of the president, who has done a political favour for him. After all, it seems that Brazilian HE has become an exchange for more profitable, and illegal, political actions.

The Brazilian government has always been criticized by Veja. Compliments were made when they were fair, such as when the first results of the former assessment system, Provaio, were made public, but most of the times, Veja has stick its fingers on the open wounds of the government, because these wounds tend to hinder progress and serve agendas other than the development and well being of society. One example is brought by Claudio Moura de Castro in his column. He tells the story of the economist Mario Henrique Simonsen, a visiting scholar in Harvard, professor in Brazilian graduate schools, and an undergraduate in a Brazilian college. He needed to earn his degree in economy in order to be considered an economist by the professional association, because he only had a graduate degree in civil engineering, despite having specialized in economy. The columnist says that "if the Swedish Science Academy adopted the same criterion, Herbert Simon and Daniel Kahneman would have never earned their Nobel prizes". There are cases of Brazilian PhDs, who studied in American universities and were forbidden to be professors in Brazil, because they did not have a diploma in the field they intended to teach.

Another dysfunction imposed by the Brazilian government is barriers to philanthropy. While in the United States the universities receive donations from millionaires and billionaires willing to contribute to society, in Brazil, legal impediments hinder donations, whether in the form of cash or other assets. If one wishes to donate books to the university, for instance, the university would have to pay taxes over them, because they are considered as income by the internal revenue service.

The magazine brings an article about innovation, and reveals that, after Petrobras, the giant semi-public oil company, UNICAMP is the most patent creating organization. The president of the university normalizes this accomplishment, saying that it is meaningless to patent and to create knowledge

if it is not useful to society. “We are happy to see all the companies that came around us”, he says. However, the main constraint for the universities to innovate is money. “In Brazil, money is expensive and there is no venture capital”, a researcher says. This is why the scientific research in Brazil is concentrated in three universities – USP, UNICAMP, and UNESP. Those who want to invest in innovation realize that these universities had already succeeded, and are not willing to bet on the performance of others.

In 2006, the first massive foreign investment in higher education came from the Laureate International Universities Organization, group that bought the Universidade Anhembi Morumbi and now is in charge of 25.000 brazilian students. Veja believes that an immediate consequence is the development of the quality of the courses, a professionalization of management, and a closer relationship with the market. “It is the first step for the globalization of brazilian higher education and labour market”, the former minister of education said. The magazine says that the Apollo group, who owns the University of Phoenix, is speculating the Brazilian University Estacio de Sa, which has over 120.000 students. Internally, the Positivo group has reached a gross income of R\$1bi, and its president says that their University Center will be transformed in the first Brazilian Harvard. The president of the Faculdades Metropolitanas Unidas, another for-profit HEI, says that he will evolve his venture into a university, and has invited the person in charge for the permission to do so – a ministry of education employee – for the post of provost. However, the project of a deep reform in the higher education system, as discussed in 2005, is ready to be sanctioned, which would surely hinder further investments in private HE.

Despite the barriers that might be imposed by the government, it is indeed a good time to invest in Brazilian higher education. There are approximately 1 million students entering higher education every year, and more to come. With increasing competition and downregulation of the prices, more and more strata of society will be able to enroll. The PROUNI program will also assure that more people enter higher education. A new trend, however, comes to cement this development. The distance courses, once believed to be second class in Brazil, are back, more dynamic than they were earlier because of the growth and democratization of internet access. In 2001, the ministry of education has

authorized the offering of distance post-graduate courses, and plenty of universities have fulfilled this demand. Now, *Veja* cements the issue saying that it is, indeed, worthy to take not only the online postgraduation courses, but also the online undergraduate courses, offered by many universities. Because no class was ever granted a degree yet, the magazine argues that the undergraduate courses are not as respected; but they say it is just a matter of time for this to happen. The best of this piece of news is that, once again, higher education has become cheaper and more inclusive for all strata of society – just what Brazil demanded.

With this expansion of the universities and HEIs, Brazil is witnessing a never before seen development in the intellect of the population. *Veja* reports that even those who had already earned a degree, or even those who have never went to the university, were enrolling and investing in their knowledge. The number of students over 40 years old studying has doubled from 1991 to now. More surprisingly, the amount of students over 50 years old has tripled.

Another demand that needs to be fulfilled is the presence of researchers in private companies, which would boost innovation in Brazil. Despite having multiplied the number of PhDs, of research programs in universities, and fought to bring the companies closer to the higher education sector, there are still few scientists working for private companies. Stephen Kanitz, in his column, argues that Brazilian researchers need to know how to work in multidisciplinary teams, instead of locking themselves in their faculties.

Veja brings upon the polemic case of the discovery of plagiarism and data fabrication made by a Korean geneticist, whose phony work was published in the #1 scientific magazine of the world, *Science*. A similar case happened in Brazil, where a doctoral candidate had been hired by a publishing company to translate a book. However, another scholar had already translated it, so the PhD aspirant has straightforwardly copied an earlier translation. The American bioscientist William Hurlbut compares modern science to religion, because of the main features it presents: arrogance and lack of self-criticism.

In an interview with the philosopher Antony Appiah, *Veja* question his opinion on the issue of the quotas system. The scholar preaches what the majority of the Brazilian population has understood from the matter: there is no

way of knowing someone is black just by looking on his or her face, because heredity does not work like this; and that there has never been, since slavery was abolished, official racial segregation in Brazil, such as in the United States, for example, has had. In India, the untouchables (Dalits) and others also benefit from quotas, after centuries of exclusion and segregation.

11. 2007

The government of Brazil decided, in 2007, to implement the PAC, the Growth Acceleration Program, investing in infrastructure, reducing taxes, and implanting actions encouraging the offer of credit and financing. Education is not contemplated in this plan, because Brazil already invests in it plentifully – managing is the problem. For example, the country invests 3,4% of its GDP in basic education and 0,8% in higher education, when the OECD average is 3,5% and 1%, respectively. However, other areas need incentive. A research shows that some students are postponing their graduation because they need to keep their internships in order to make ends meet at home. With a 20% unemployment rate, Brazilian interns are fearful of their future perspectives at the labour market. In the meanwhile, there is a lack of engineers in Brazil, due to the advancement of infrastructure works and the growth of hard industries, such as mining, steel, and oil. Only 10% of the graduates leaving higher education in 2006 are engineers. A way out of this problem is the teaching in shorter, technical courses, of applied engineering, that are currently seen as having a lower level than university degrees.

In the higher education system, the government is taking its first measures towards efficiency in public universities. The REUNI - Restructuring and Expansion of Federal Universities – plan seeks to double the number of places offered in public in 10 years, without increasing the number of professors. Currently there are too many professors per student in federal universities a 1/10 ratio. The goal is to achieve a 1/18 ratio. Indeed, the Brazilian public universities do not need more money. They are a burden to the Brazilian budget because they are ineffective. The Brazilian cost per student in federal universities is one of the greatest in the world. All faculty members get “research and teaching” wages, regardless if they in fact research or teach. The first action that would make HE cheaper for the Brazilian tax-payer would be cost sharing, charging

tuition from those who can afford it, instead of waving tuition for all students. In the end of the year, the REUNI plan was adopted by every federal university, a clear statement that Brazilian higher education is willing to take a step further towards the development of the country. However, the adoption of the plan was not without noise. Several universities watched their students protest against what they deemed to be a decline of academic freedom and the wasting of quality in higher education.

There is a massive ideological struggle in the university. A Brazilian professor says that the level of left wing ideological indoctrination in Brazilian universities is tremendous, especially in the humanities. The faculty is able, according to the interviewee, to torment and expel students and professors who do not match their political views. Even in the vestibular, questions concerning the humanities diminish right and Austrian liberal economic thought and highlight leftist ideals. One question for the admission test of the UFPE – Federal University of Pernambuco asks students to put a tick next to ethical men, with an engaged philosophical vision, pointing Ghandi and Dalai Lama as right alternatives, and George W. Bush and the former president, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, as wrong answers.

In 2007, even with the lack of places in public universities, even with the increasing competition to enter them, and even with the spiraling costs they represent to the tax-payers, the government has decided to oblige federal universities to offer degrees to the Landless Workers Movement – MST, which is one of the most renowned left-wing movements in Brazil, known for its violent invasions in private farms and fields with the pretext of income distribution and land reform. However, the workers themselves are who decide what the courses they will need to take are, in classes exclusive for those who are part of the movement, with an admission test that tests the knowledge of areas related to social issues in Brazil.

In UnB, students have set three apartments on fire, allegedly because of racism, because the tenants were black and African. Several authorities came forward and suggested this attack to be of nazi-fascist responsibility, and that the date should be remembered as the “day for the struggle for racial equality”. However, after investigations, the reasons for behind the arson were far less

political, or racially induced, than the authorities thought. It was the result of a contention among neighbours because of the loud music the Africans played in one of their night rituals. Veja says that there is, indeed, a discomfort towards foreign students in the university lodging houses because they are taking a place that could be destined to other poor Brazilians. Discrimination, in Brazil, is motivated by economic reasons, argues the magazine.

UnB has also committed a major mistake, which has jeopardized even more its “racial court”, where students who self-alleged to be black went in order to get a final verdict. Two brothers entered the court, and one was judged to be black and other to be white. It is unfair because both come from the same family, and have similar achievements. But the judgement gets worse as Veja tells that the two brothers that underwent this “trial” were identical twins – a major certificate that it is not possible to assess the “blackness” of the candidates. Later, the white brother has “become” black to the eyes of the university.

Lastly, and still in UnB, a professor was accused of racism because he used the term “crioulo”, similar to the American “negro”. The professor was suspended for a month, and accused the university of being the black ku-klux-klan, because of the similar tactics employed by the American group. The term “crioulo” was also employed by the president Lula in one of his speeches, but no one accused him of racism.

In USP, a group of 300 students, all tied to the humanities, invaded the administrative building in grievance against the accountability demands from the government on USP, UNICAMP, and UNESP, under the discourse that accountability mitigates academic freedom. The students’ invasion was endorsed by the faculty and its union. This government demand for accountability happened because USP has reached a cost per student four times higher than the developed countries. Other problems also would be solved by accountability, such as answering why these universities’ research has low impact. A professor from UEL, the University of Londrina, says that in public universities the faculty tends to mistake academic freedom for lack of transparency, creating feuds, electing the powerful, and excluding the opposing. Two weeks later, the justice system ordered that the students left the building, but they not only did not leave, but also made barricades and burned tyres to hinder police access. Gustavo

loschpe, an education specialist, says that these students are probably the most privileged on the country, because they study, for free, in the best Brazilian university. Instead of giving back to the community, they would rather vandalize and destroy the universities' facilities. "To imagine that the students can dictate the future of the university is like imagining that the private companies will dictate a future tax policy", he says. After 51 days, the grievance was terminated because the government went back on its decision.

The results from the ENADE, the higher education assessment that replaced the Provas, were curious. The top five universities in Brazil were now in the State of Minas Gerais. Small universities had astonishing results, such as the University of Montes Claros, and University of Sao Joao del-Rei. In common, the five universities had tight links with the local market and industries, fundraising through foundations that allowed university-industry collaborations. Interestingly, the students that enter these best universities come from the best high-schools in Brazil, also in the state of Minas Gerais.

The magazine brings, because of the launching of the new iPhone, an article asking why 9 out of every 10 innovative products and services come from the Silicon Valley and Stanford University. The answer is straightforward: because of university-industry collaboration. Google executives say that their "secret" for being so innovative is the "army of PhDs" they hire. A reader has sent his opinion on the matter arguing that there is no big secret, no magic, witchcraft or wizardry: top notch education, well paid professors, access to resources, fair prices, educated manpower, venture capital, and especially, he says, "serious institutions that protect the investor and its investments". Brazil has some lessons to teach, however. In 2007, the Harvard Business School has announced that it would present a case for its students based on the history of Casas Bahia, a countrywide retailer.

It is not difficult to understand why the United States is so innovative. The reason lies not behind the Silicon Valley or on other innovative hubs, but on the development of top-notch universities. A research shows that of all universities in the world, the 18 best regarding scientific publications are American. Regarding Brazilian science, USP is on the 97th position and UNICAMP in 190th. The third is UFSC, the Federal University of Santa Catarina, in 281st. However, there are

some good news. In a span of two years, between 2002 and 2004, the number of companies hiring universities to research has increased 51%, which led to an increase in universities hiring researchers.

12. 2008

Veja has realized an event with the title “40 Propositions for Brazil”, of which four are aimed specifically to the higher education field. First, Veja argues for a “Merit Shock” in HE, awarding with benefits and additional wages those teachers who educate better students and conduct better research, putting away a system that in every five years raises the wage of professors automatically, no matter what they have done, or not. Second, to increase the breadth of the technical and technological higher education, since currently, Brazil only grants 8% of all degrees in STEM fields. Third, to encourage competition within universities as an incentive to improve their quality and competitiveness in the world. Finally, to finance the best researchers, who have proven that they are able to innovate and show an entrepreneurial mindset.

The discussion of the quotas system, which would be later universalized, has started in 2001, and still brings up questionings. The first questioning stands on the argument that, if blacks and mulattos need quotas, they are intellectually less capable than whites, what would mean that quotas are racist. The second questioning, and sometimes ignored because it is the only solution available at the time, stands on the argument that reserving quotas for those students graduated from public high schools mean that the public schools are so bad on doing their job that their students cannot compete with others to get in higher education. Some readers agree with the quotas systems, saying that there is a massive historical debt relating to the exclusion of black people out of all segments of society that needs to be paid. Others say that quotas are outright prejudice, and should be abolished.

An even longer lasting discussion is that of the assessment of higher education, which has started with the Provaio, in 1997, and was dismantled by the Lula presidency, just after he was elected. Veja says that not continuing the plans adopted by past governors is a Brazilian tradition, because politicians are remembered by the plans they have come up with. Some readers say that Brazil should terminate all the universities and colleges that do not meet the quality

requirements of the ministry of education. Some argue that any university degree is better than no university degree.

Closely interwoven with higher education quality concerns is the number of researchers in Brazilian universities and organizations. An article says that there is a lack of researchers in Brazilian companies, and a surplus of researchers in the universities. This means that Brazilian research is far from market demands, which in turn undermines competitiveness.

Brazilian federal universities were always criticized for spending too much money, and failing to manage their budgets. Now it is a fact that the presidents of the public universities could not care less with taxpayers' money. The president of UnB was accused of spending half of a million reais to reform his apartment, including an R\$859 corkscrew. The students have then invaded their office and demanded that he was fired. He resigned.

Regardless of corruption accusations, of political reforms, and other labels attributed on and on to Brazilian higher education, even Diogo Mainardi, a *Veja* columnist says "it is sad to have to repeat always the same jibber-jabber that Brazil spends too much in the public university and too few in public schools". This happens because the pedagogy courses emphasize theoretical components instead of practical teaching. He strongly criticizes the government arguing that we should not mimick only the quotas system from the United States, but also the sharing of costs in public universities, the donation legislation, and the merit based funding.

About policy in education, *Veja* brings a three-page interview with Simon Schwartzmann, one of the most renowned scholars in the field of Brazilian education. He says that Brazilian research does not contribute to the development of the country, since they are not transformed in knowledge that is useful for society to use. He blames the free-for-all system of Brazilian public universities for this because they are not encouraged to seek funds elsewhere when they get it from the government. However, the Brazilian industry has not demanded for university-generated technology, so in addition to the lack of offer, there is a lack of demand. Simon argues that Brazilian universities, despite having the best graduate education in Latin America, are too focused on scholarly work and too far from the everyday practice. The number of published papers, of

patents, and of PhDs granted increases annually, but there are no ultimate positive results for society. After publishing a paper, researchers prefer to start another research than to offer their findings to private companies, because their performance is measured by the number of papers published.

This researcher evaluation system leads to a large amount of knowledge generated, but underused by the industry, which does not evolve technologically. The government, too, does not benefit from the research it funded to create newer and smarter public policies. The government could use scholarly work regarding education, for instance, to know the strategies it could pursue to achieve certain ends. The government could encourage university-industry collaboration giving autonomy to the university and promote their move to the market. But the government cannot do this if it continues to treat universities over the same public-service logic, where there is wage isonomy and every researcher gets paid the same amount. Instead of concentrating investments in research in some excellent centers, the government disperses it with no merit-based criteria whatsoever. Brazilian researchers do not have an entrepreneurial mindset, nor does the government.

Entrepreneurship is high in the for-profit universities, however. In an article entitled “The Education Goes to the Stock Market”, *Veja* reports that HEIs are trading their stocks, and that students may benefit from this. The best examples are the Kroton group, which has been inaugurated with eight colleges, and transformed them into 25, and the Anhanguera group, which has started with seventeen colleges and has now forty-seven. The owner of the Anhanguera group says: “I became an entrepreneur without knowing the basics”. He opened his first college based on a hunch, gathering three colleagues and mortgaging his house to get a loan. The results of the IPOs of these educational groups have been pleasing the students: lower tuition fees, increase in the availability of scholarships, improvements in facilities, and even improvements in teaching. This is a partial answer why the private universities enroll most of the students that work in Brazilian companies. The magazine posits that these HEIs follow a market rationale: if quality drops, students will prefer the competitors and so will the shareholders. Thus, quality and other important measures for higher education are improved.

Entrepreneurship is also starting to surround Brazilian universities. The Silicon Valley model has reached Brazilian HE, and several technology clusters are being created near universities, each one with its own idiosyncrasy. Due to government tax-waivers, some companies are starting to settle near HEIs to benefit from research and get closer to the scholarly environment. Some universities have even sponsored hubs, encouraging students to endeavor. PUCRS, for instance, has offered facilities for free to attract companies, with one only string attached: the companies needed to invest 1% of their gross revenues in scholarly research. The result is that 85% of the funding of all research conducted by the university comes from this partnership.

However, the government insists in bringing up new ways of measuring quality. Instead of maintaining the Prova, the government has created the ENADE. Now, the minister of education has created further assessments. The first novelty is to assess every student that enters HE, not only the ones who leave it. This will be the basis of the IDD – The Performance Difference Index -, which will show how much knowledge has the university added to the student. However, a good high school education may bias the results. Finally, there is the II – the Input Index – that will measure the teaching process, the number of PhDs, and full-time faculty, for instance. While these numbers may make sense, the government's proposition is to take them, sum and reach an average, which would be the CPA, the Preliminary Concept of Evaluation. As Claudio de Moura Castro puts it, it is nonsensical to take a patient with 88 heartbeats per minute, 39 degrees of fever, and a 380 cholesterol rate, sum these numbers up, and take their average. Each number measures one different variable, which cannot be excluded from the evaluation.

Finally, *Veja* announces the creation of the embryo of the modern MOOCs – Massive Open Online Courses. The magazine brings an article entitled “One Click Apart From Yale”, being enthusiastic of the offering of videotaped courses in the websites of several universities in the United States by saying that “this is a great opportunity to those who ambition to learn with the best”. In the next edition, *Veja* makes an addendum: The UNESP, in the State of Sao Paulo, also makes available these kind courses on their webpage.

13. 2009

The quotas system advances, and treads its path to the senate, after being approved in the congress. If approved by the senate, all 55 federal universities will be obligated to reserve 50% of their places to students from public high schools. Blacks, mulattos, and indigenous will need to be included in the same proportion as they picture in the state the university is located. So, if in the State of Parana there are 30% of blacks and mulattos, 20% of the remaining quotas will be distributed to students in public schools, and the other 50% will be open to general competition. In an interview, a mathematician argues that quotas students would enter HE with grades 25% lower than the merit admitted students. Veja, in a 7-page article brings 6 reasons why Brazilians should watch carefully the to-be-approved quotas system: 1) The government should never make rules about any racial debate; 2) Defining who has a right based on race will always be an unsettled matter and a source of injustice; 3) Quotas do not solve social inequalities; 4) The real problem with Brazilian education lies in the middle and high school; 5) Quotas harm the meritocratic principle; and 6) In countries where affirmative actions were taken, the main problem was never solved. Veja posits that the best thing the government could do, instead of giving quotas to those who do not need it, is to charge tuition in public universities. The magazine brings upon the free-for-all tuition-waiver as an ideological mistake in a left-wing government. It is widely known that most of the students in public higher education are white and rich, and it is also widely known that the majority of the taxes come from the base of the pyramid. Therefore, the poor subsidize the degrees of the rich – an evil deed. If the rich students could pay at least US\$1000 annually, the income of the universities would increase around 15%, which could be used to build facilities, fund research, or even to bring industry in.

There is change in the way for the admissions system, too. The ENEM – National High School Examination, is the favourite option to replace the old Vestibular, an admission test elaborated and applied by the university. The main difference is that, with the ENEM, the admissions system becomes more similar to that of the United States and the SAT. The ENEM was formerly a tool to measure the performance of students that left high school, but it was similar to a Vestibular. It will be applied countrywide, at the same time, once every year.

Therefore, the government suggested that every federal university should accept the ENEM as an admission test, but adhesion is voluntary. A survey made by Veja with 51 presidents of federal universities reveal that 48 of them intend to adopt the new ENEM, and so will at least 500 private universities. The public universities were afraid that they would lose the money from the registrations to the Vestibular, but the minister of education promptly responded that it would be subsidized for them. The privates may lose these funds, but are willing to in order to attain more students.

Not one thing in Brazilian higher education has obeyed the initial plan. Generally, planning does not work well in these settings, but things in Brazil seem to get way out of the track. The ready to be implanted ENEM had its tests printed, and someone has offered copies of them to a large newspaper in Brazil. There was a leak in the printing process, and several students have had access to the tests par avant. The ministry of education has been able to obtain a copy, and confirmed the legitimacy of the leak. A total amount of R\$35 million, says Veja, was thrown in the bin. The investigation, performed by the federal police, says that the security procedures of the companies hire to print the exam were awfully amateur, since 90 people had free access to the printed exams. One employee allegedly left the graphic company with one test hidden in his underwear, and another hid it into his coat's pocket. Now, the army and the federal police are in charge of security measures, and another printing company, linked to the UnB, and a public foundation will be in charge of printing the exams in printers located in vault-rooms. After the testing occurred, the students were not able to check their answers online, because all the answer keys provided by the government were wrong. Some students got emails from the government informing the wrong place for the test. The result of this event was a student abstention rate of almost 40%, and the abandonment of adoption of the exam by a large number of universities.

Not one thing in Brazilian higher education comes without some sort of string attached. ENADE, the Brazilian assessment of higher education, showed that it had a big, political string attached on it. The test had at least four questions that included political propaganda, both boasting about the government and attacking the media.

With reference to the grievance of the students in USP in 2007, where there was a justice order for them to abandon their occupation of the administrative building, Veja has denounced the minister of justice for disobeying the justice system. In an event, the minister has admitted that he had received a judicial order to determine to the police the removal of the students out from the building. He confessed that he had never delivered the orders to the police because he believed the students were acting legitimately. In 2009, USP strikes again. However, this is not an ordinary and traditional strike. The definition of a strike says that it is the generalized dissatisfaction that leads to a massive group of people to stop working. At the university, after a comprehensive observation by Veja, it is different. Most students are still going to their classes, and most faculty members, too. A good deal of the administrative employees is also working. The strike is focused on the areas with a more leftist political ideology who end up speaking in the name of thousands of students and faculty members. The president of the university had to call the police because the demonstrators were menacing employees and saying they would invade (again) the building. There was a major conflict, and 10 people ended up in the hospital. The strike lasted for 57 days, and the strikers' demands were fulfilled (a salary increase of 6%).

In a different background, away from public university grievances and strikes, from low wages and bad facilities, Veja says that some colleges and universities are becoming boutiques, small and luxury, with the best teaching that any student might need. These HEIs are exclusive, expensive, have few – but elite – courses, small classes, and excellent facilities. Ten out of the twenty best HEIs in Brazil have strategies like this, surmounting some of the best and most traditional universities in the country. Students tend to prefer these HEIs because they are well renowned by the market, bringing along with theory, practical knowledge – lacking in the remainder of the universities.

14. 2010

In 2010, Dilma Rousseff, supported by the former president Lula, was elected to the post. With this, the Brazilian left wing has guaranteed four more years of government, meaning that the policies advanced by the Lula government are likely to continue.

Right in the beginning of the last year of the Lula presidency, the ministry of science and technology has published a piece of advertisement starring the 38 most celebrated Brazilian scientists in the last 400 years. Most of them started their careers after 1950, and were born in the states where the first universities were founded. The point is that Brazilian science is excessively young when compared to that of most developed countries, such as the United States and European countries. Therefore, there is a lot of path dependency we need to go through in order to reach a high-level stance in the global scientific community.

The Lula administration inaugurated several new federal universities and technological universities as a means of “democratizing” access to free, public, and quality higher education. However, these public universities are not free, and do not meet the quality standards set by the government that created them. There is an excess of faculty for few students and high evasion rates. A survey in 13 of these new universities revealed that the number of idle places was around 20%, reaching 40% in some cases. Evasion rates are as high as 46%, meaning that for every two students admitted, one quits the course. With these indicators, the universities reach the ratio of one professor being in charge for only six students, contrary to what the government pleaded with the REUNI program, launched in 2007. Some of these new universities were built on cities with few inhabitants, leading to the admission of every candidate that applied. A more intelligent solution to the problem of low enrollments in higher education would be to expand the PROUNI program, which waives taxes from private schools in exchange for the provision of scholarships. Instead, the government says that private higher education is not as good as the public, and insists in opening new public universities. Another bright solution would be to charge tuition from those students who are able to afford higher education, in order to subsidize tuition for those who cannot afford. However, Veja says that investing in middle and high schooling, charging tuition from the universities, and expanding a “partnership” with private endeavors is not as politically favourable as building new universities.

The also politically favourable quotas systems have once more proved its ineffectiveness. According to a government research, black people have, in the last ten years, climbed the social pyramid for good. The group of blacks who now have a family income of more than R\$7.000 monthly has grown 57%, while

the white group has grown only 17%. Most recently, with the authorization of the private for-profit endeavor in higher education, the percentage of blacks enrolled in universities has more than tripled. In other words, Veja posits that the encouragement of private endeavor in higher education opens up competition in this field, which leads to cheaper tuition fees, that attract the poorer strata of society – much more than even a 100% quota could.

Concerning quotas, the ENEM also happened in 2010, and much went wrong one more time. In this year, there was a massive leakage of the personal, confidential information of the candidates – all data was exposed in the internet to whomever was willing to consult it. After the testing was done, a judge from the state of Ceara ordered that the ENEM be suspended because of errors in the printing process. The ministry of education suggested the application of a new test to the students who were affected by their mistake, and there was a “second call” to the ENEM for them. Gustavo Loschpe says “To err is human, to err twice is ENEM”.

While Brazilian universities struggle to make it to the top of the ENADE, foreign universities struggle to be at the top of three main rankings in worldwide higher education: Times Higher Education, QS World University Rankings, and the Shanghai Academic Ranking of World Universities. For Veja, there are different ways of assessing quality in higher education, but every one of them presupposes that the university must be able to teach for learning and research for impact. Some rankings account for the Nobel prizes of the universities, others ask the market for its evaluations. However different the evaluation metrics might be, the same six universities dominate the edge, because “the best universities are the best from any angle one might want to look”, says a MIT professor. If this is true, Brazil needs to worry about its finest university, USP, which does not appear in the THE ranking, is placed between 101st and 150th in the Shanghai Ranking, and only in 253rd in the QS Ranking.

The president of USP, Joao Grandino Rodas, was interviewed by Veja, and argued that if the university wants to compete with the best in the world, it needs to abolish some old dogmas. He says that some schools refuse to connect with the government and with the industry, thinking they are so good that they are able to be self-sufficient. In order to strive for efficiency, he says that he is trying

to encourage competition among schools in USP, rewarding merit and effort. There are some groups that deem merit as “productivism”, ignoring that the best universities in the world are ruled by merit. These groups are always the same, argues the president: the unionized faculty, the invaders of the administrative building, which hinder even career plans for the faculty. These groups are proponents of a closed university, far from the government and from the market, overvaluing theories and despising practice, rooted historically in a slave-based society where practical knowledge is deemed as being destined for the lower strata of society. These groups also judge every attempt to connect the university to the market as a support for the privatization of the public university. Finally, these groups are the first to advocate for a free-for-all university, paid by the population’s taxes, but also the ones who believe to own the monopoly of the knowledge about the suffering of the average Brazilian who cannot afford higher education, but pays it indirectly through taxation. Joao says that, for USP to be featured higher in international rankings, internationalization should be prioritized. The number of foreign students in USP is insignificant because the university has not left its “comfort zone”. Lastly, he argues favourably to the foreign investments in Brazilian higher education, such as those by the Laureate Group, because they tend to raise the quality bar.

One of the most popular initiatives that take the university closer to the market is the Junior Enterprise, a voluntary association of students who endeavor seeking to fulfill market needs. There are, in total, 1120 Junior Enterprises in Brazil, in various segments of the economy. They all have their headquarters inside the university, and are managed by the students willing to practice what they learn in class. The price they charge for products and services tend to be below market average, so they often succeed at their endeavor of being close to the market. Generally, their clients are small businesses, for which hiring, say, specialized consulting, would be too expensive. However, large companies see that the youth working at these enterprises are motivated and willing to learn, and tend to both hire their services, and hire some of the students as interns. The profits these Junior Enterprises make is reinvested in the operation, since the main goal of them is to provide students with an opportunity of practice, of an “owned internship”.

15. 2011

In her first year as president, Dilma Rousseff was the first woman to make the commencement speech at a United Nations reunion. She also witnessed her ministry of the economy resign after being accused of corruption in several cases. In the education field, she maintained the minister of education from the Lula era, Fernando Haddad. Thus, this was a stable year for higher education.

Corruption is a well-known Brazilian issue. The country always figures in the top of the global rankings that measure it. However, corruption has reached Brazilian HE, with the accusation of plagiarism to a USP researcher, in an article that was coauthored with the former president of the university. The Brazilian researchers were accused of taking images from microscope screens from other article. In a survey with HE professors, 82% of them had witnessed cases of plagiarism among their students. In an interview, a lawyer says that she managed to graduate in law school by paying a third party to do her monography, a small dissertation required of students for graduation. On the internet, various sites offer this kind of service, where students choose a topic and pay for a scholarly work with their credit card.

Despite these isolated cases of plagiarism, Brazilian science is managing to prosper. The number of articles authored by Brazilian researchers has grown 84.5% between 2005 and 2009, and citation counts increased 126.4%. These numbers are stunning, because Brazil spends only a little more than 1% of its GDP in research, and only few companies contribute to research, since university-industry collaborations in Brazilian HE is only beginning to happen. Researchers face tax and customs barriers for research, making the simple acquisition of, say, a reactive component, a bureaucratic process with never-ending paperwork and months of waiting. Those components may be available in the Brazilian market, but their price domestically is up to three times higher than in other countries due to taxation. A professor from USP says that if we want to improve even more the Brazilian research scenario, we would need to “increase interchange between Brazilian scientists and international universities and institutes. Currently, only 10% of the Brazilian researchers have worked abroad, and those are the best researchers we have”.

Brazil has granted a PhD degree to 12.000 students in 2010. In an interview, the mathematician Jacob Palis says that we need more, especially in STEM fields. Jacob says that Brazil has only recently discovered that science is valuable, and has been advancing large amounts, but there is still conservative behavior that condemns merit and innovation in the name of tradition. He says that, even if there is no increase in the funding for research by the state, Brazilian higher education will prosper. However, some behaviors must be changed “we need to break with the old Napoleonic spirit of equality prevailing over merit”. The problem is not the lack of funding; it is the rationalization of the expenditures. If universities cannot pay competitive wages to those who deserve it, they will stick paying average wages to those who do not deserve it. Also, there is a kind of a market reserve, which hinder the universities of hiring foreign researchers. For a foreign researcher to work in a public university, he would have to take a civil service examination, to revalidate all his degrees, and to take a Portuguese test.

This bureaucracy has harmed many universities since their creation, because they are treated as an ordinary public agency. Once, a computer manufacturer wished to donate hundreds of computers to USP, which was obligated to refuse, because by the law, the university would need to open a bidding process to choose the best option. Not only the bureaucracy, but also the mindset of the faculty also hindered opportunities for the universities. The law school at USP has received a large endowment, and the donors asked only one counterpart: to frame and expose their names in a wall. Students and faculty insurrected, saying that this was to compromise academic freedom and to encourage the privatization of the university. However, enough was enough for a group of professors. Facing large deals of bureaucracy and resistance from groups, the polytechnic school in USP decided to create a foundation with non-legal links to the university, managed by executives and entrepreneurs, able to channel donations from the market. This would grant the ability of emulating an endowment fund, which earnings would be destined to research and laboratory facilities: a big step for the university budget, which would be raised in 25% with this endeavor.

Apart from corruption and inequality, two issues discussed at exhaustion when talking about Brazilian higher education, it is the time to discuss intolerance.

In a debate about racial quotas, organized by the UnB's law school, a district attorney was forbidden to speak. When she tried to, a massive group led by the faculty would boo in disapproval, call her a racist, and other "unpublishable adjectives", says Veja. She was not allowed to leave by the security guards, fearing for her security. Her car was vandalized, and she promised never to set feet again at the university. The reason behind this sad story is intolerance. She was against the racial quotas system. Veja has interviewed members of the faculty of UnB to reveal what was happening at the university. They all indicated that this "intolerance wave" started with the conduction of one of the founders of the Worker's Party, a left wing Brazilian party, to the post of president of the university. He was conducted because an administrative maneuver allowed the students' votes to have the same weight of the faculty vote. The other candidates to the post suffered retaliations, stemming from boycotts in funding research, a large increase in teaching hours, the loss of course coordination and dean positions, and even the exclusion of some courses. The president's progressivism, a professor argues, has led to the libertine use of drugs within the university's facilities. Finally, research that does not serve to the president's agenda is not funded.

At USP, students have invaded, once again, the administrative building. They demand that the military police stop patrolling the campus, "so that they can smoke cannabis without being bothered", says Veja. Most students support the presence of the police in the campus, because of the increasing violence and cases of robbery inside it. Early in this year, one student was murdered in an attempted robbery.

As always, the end of the year is known to be the time for the admission tests to the university. The government tried to suggest the ENEM, but it did not work in the first time, in 2009. And it did not work on the second time, too, in 2010. In 2011, the ENEM has failed for the third time. Quoting Ian Fleming in "Goldfinger", "Once is an accident. Twice is coincidence. Three times is enemy action", and the enemy is incompetence. The ministry of education decided that it was a good idea to put questions taken out of simulated tests in several high schools: fourteen questions were "recycled".

The magazine's calls for internationalization were heard by the Brazilian government, which launched the *Ciencia sem Fronteiras* Program – Science Without Borders (CSF). The CSF intends to send up to 100.000 Brazilian graduate and undergraduate students abroad, in periods of 6 to 12 months, in order to encourage the internationalization of universities. It is a fivefold multiplication of the former internationalization program, prioritizing STEM fields and undergraduate students.

16. 2012

President Dilma has finally ended up the suspense around quotas for higher education. She has sanctioned the law that guarantees 50% of all places in the university for students from public schools, 25% of which must be black, mulatto, or pardo. The law affects all of the 59 federal universities in the country, a very little amount when compared to the overall HE system, but the major contributor to the scientific development in Brazil – around 89% of the research in Brazil is conducted in federal and state universities. This newly sanctioned law, for *Veja*, is bad from two different points of view: first, because it risks the country's science by despising merit; second, because it is a certificate of the incompetence and the dreadful quality of public middle and high schools. The magazine reports that “a poor white student and a poor black student have the same difficulties in Brazil, but only the last one may enter the university now”.

In the United States, the supreme court has forbidden the racial quotas because its main tenets are against the constitutional principle of equality. However, universities are autonomous to decide to implant affirmative actions, and most of them do, in their admission process, not as a determinant factor, but as a characteristic that may be considered in order to stimulate diversity. In this country, racial segregation still exists. However, in Brazil, a great deal of the poorer are not black: they are white European immigrants who came fleeing from the war, and settled in the countryside. Most of the familiar agriculture in Brazil is forwarded by these people, who cannot access higher education because they are geographically and economically impaired.

A major strike compromised 56 out of the 59 federal universities in Brazil. The strike that started in May has spoiled the continuity of the scholarly year, making these universities to reschedule courses in summer break, and in some

cases, making students lose a whole semester towards their graduation. According to Veja, strikes have historically costed more than R\$1.5 billion to Brazilian taxpayers, since the services offered by the university stop, but laws and regulations forbid the state to stop paying employees.

The assessment of HE in Brazil, conducted by the government, has closed more than 50.000 places in the university. The columnist Gustavo Loschpe says that “to terminate places in HE in Brazil is not only stupidity, but also a felony against the country”. Brazil enrolls only 20% of the age cohort in higher education, partially because the free-of-charge option cannot offer an amount compatible to the demand, and partially because those who really need higher education cannot make it to the tuition-free option and cannot pay tuition to the privates. The flag raised by the government, however, is that by closing “bad” private HE courses, the professionals available to the market will be more capable. However, in a country where there are not enough professionals in the market to fulfill the demands for service and products, it is “a magical realism” to conceive that the world is binary like this, where there are good or bad professionals. Therefore, the country will ultimately continue to depend on a market reserve of several positions, instead of raising the education bar naturally.

The first students that went to the Science Without Borders program of the Brazilian government are returning. Veja interviews Brazilian researchers to know their expectations for those students who are coming back, and the same old problems are approached: “the effort and the money spent will not be enough if the students have not access to resources to make the leap in higher education”. Because most of the students selected for the program came from STEM fields, the traditional Brazilian bureaucracy is likely to be the first problem these students will witness, with lacking resources in the laboratories because the Brazilian customs agency refused the delivery, or because the Brazilian sanitary agency deemed a product as potentially harmful. Nonetheless, The market needs more STEM professionals than the higher education system is able to offer. The engineers, for example, are sought by companies like Petrobras, Vale, and Companhia Siderurgica Nacional, working with oil, mining, and steel, respectively. The future engineers are learning with the best, abroad, but they might experience a shock when they get back. Brazilian higher education, for

Veja, has too much time spent on classes, too little time spent on projects, and no flexibility regarding the curriculum. A Brazilian student at the Technological University of Munich said that he could choose among 30 options of courses related to renewable engineering, while on his Brazilian university, there were only two.

Finally, Veja states that the overall feeling about Brazilian education is that it is a disaster. Particularly in high school, the magazine says that education is highly theoretical, and does not fit the needs of a developing country, which should be striving for applied and practical knowledge. An example of how poor is Brazil's education lies on the large number of CSF scholarships left open for undergraduate (40%) and especially for graduate studies (64%). Despite there being students scared to take this big of a leap in their careers, or just comfortable with their status quo, a great deal of the places was left empty because the candidates did not meet the minimum requirements of English language.

17. 2013

The giant has awoken in 2013. A series of mass demonstrations all over the country have stopped Brazil, taking more than 1.5 million people to the streets of several cities. The trigger to this uprising was a 20 cent increase in the public transport fee in the city of Sao Paulo, which led, cumulatively, to a massive movement in the country, embracing also other grievances against, for example, the quality of the public services, the enormous amount of taxpayer money spent in the world soccer cup and the Olympic games, and aleatory acts of corruption. The movement was labeled as "apartidary" or "antipartidary", meaning that both leftists, rightists, conservatives, and liberals adhered to it.

Considering this historical background since 1997, it is understandable what Brazilians were facing in terms of higher education. However, Brazil has a large government, a paternalist one, which grants several rights while hindering others. If the situation in higher education may seem chaotic, the background for the justice system, social security, health, and security is worse.

With access to information, Brazilian citizens watch universities in the United States make their courses available online, freely, in platforms such as Coursera and EDX. They witness Glaucius Oliva, the president of CNPQ – the National Council of Research - admit that even in our best universities, the

students funded with taxpayer's money are in a "comfort zone", and that our courses are "frozen in time with their fossilized model". He admits that there were unacceptable delays in the provision of scholarships for Brazilian students abroad in the Science Without Borders program, and blames the Brazilian bureaucracy for it. In his three page interview, Glaucius reveals that some faculty members and deans from Brazilian universities were against the program, because it took their brightest out of their purview. The humanities faculty still complains, since the program did not prioritize them. He shares a different point of view on the reason why Brazilian companies do not use scholarly knowledge or engage in university-industry collaboration as much as they do in other countries. His explanation is that, for a long period, between the 1980s and 1990s, Brazil has had a protectionist perspective on the market, with no stimulus to innovation or competition. Furthermore, Brazil's economy in these decades distanced investors for its huge and highly volatile inflation rates.

Brazilian citizens also witness the ENEM, which could have been a big win for the federal government, become synonym to a joke. All the 4.2 million tests feature an essay, for which 5.596 professors were hired to correct – a process subject to carelessness and errors, argues Veja. It gets worse. Two students, already enrolled in the university and taking their courses, decided to take the ENEM with one sole objective in mind: prove that the exam is a fraud. They succeeded. One of them wrote the hymn of his football team in the middle of the essay, being the proposed theme "The immigration movement to Brazil in the 21st century", and another wrote the recipe for mac&cheese. Their grades were above average.

The Brazilians also watch a federal university, funded by their hard earned money, host the "Center for the Diffusion of Communism", which goal is to establish communism in the country. Worse still, is knowing that every med-school student, whether enrolled in private or public HEI, will be forced to serve the Brazilian health system for two years after they graduate, an unconstitutional and authoritarian law, according to Veja, that will increase the graduation time of physicians from 6 to 8 years.

While the government endeavors frustrate Brazilian citizens, some universities, by their own enterprise, seek to offer what students want. Starting in

2000, and expanding up to 170 times the number of enrollments in 2013, the degree granting distance courses have succeeded via the internet. Out of every six students enrolled in higher education, one is studying at home, in both graduate and undergraduate degrees. The target audience for these distance programs is the remaining 70% of the age cohort that should be studying, but either cannot be present in the classes, or cannot afford regular tuition. Besides from the endeavors on e-learning advanced by Brazilian universities, the foreign universities have invested in Massive Online Open Courses – MOOCs, which attracted a great deal of *Veja's* attention in a 14-page article about distance education. The magazine was stunned that universities such as Harvard, Stanford, and University of California were making some courses available for free. They tell that, similar to Coursera and EDX, there is a Brazilian enterprise called Veduca that also gather the brightest professors to host online classes for free – charging a contribution for those who would like a certificate, just as do their American counterparts. Most importantly, the magazine says that it is a quality leap in extension and specialization courses, because students say they prefer to undertake a Harvard course online rather than a USP course in person, for example – the difference being that Harvard is now for free.

Expanding on the matter about foreign higher education, *Veja* says that more students from the Science Without Borders program are back, and compliments the program by stating that it might have “forced universities to consolidate international departments and to scan the foreign environment”. Differently from the last year, in 2013 the goal of scholarships awarded was fulfilled. The program is funded partially (25%) by some private companies, via the CNI – National Industry Confederation, a government agency for which industries are forced to contribute, however. The CNI promised to fund 6.000 scholarships, but has not provided for the program yet because they demand autonomy to choose the students who get funded, based on their contribution and current placement in the industry, while the government wants to keep its selection criteria for every interchange student.

18. 2014

The year begins with bad news for the students of the traditional Universidade Gama Filho, in Rio de Janeiro. The Galileo group, which controlled

the university, has declared bankruptcy. The owner of the group, Marcio Costa, is a good friend of two ministers from the supreme court, and hired them to fly from Brasilia to Rio weekly in private jets, in a millionaire deal. While the ministers got VIP treatment, other professors were not being paid, and the university was not honoring its debts. Mr. Costa was charged of fraud, conspiracy, and larceny, partly due to the group's R\$1 billion deficit. Facing the facts, the ministry of education has decided to disqualify the university's courses, and more than 18.000 students were left with no place to go. About these facts, the ministry of education said that the only duty of the ministry is to evaluate the HEIs, not to check their debts, and that the students will be placed in other universities in the state. The investigation conducted by the federal police revealed that this was one of the biggest scams to ever occur in Brazilian education, since not even the police knows where more than R\$100 million worth of debentures are. Not surprisingly, they found connections of the university with the senator Renan Calheiros, known for corruption cases.

This struggle between mission and money is an equation that is tough to balance, especially in Brazil. In an interview, professor Stephen Kosslyn, the provost of Minerva, says that the role of higher education is not to make students read books, but giving students a chance to apply the knowledge they bring, advocating for a more applied emphasis in the undergraduate and master's degrees. He announces that online teaching will, with time, prevail over real classes, and that those HEIs that are not worried about the student experience will end up failing and being vanished, as witnessed with Universidade Gama Filho – a traditional school that has been, for too long, in its comfort zone.

This overall quality in higher education should be assessed, in Brazil, by the government's ENADE test. However, in an interview, Prof. Claudio Haddad, the president of INSPER, one of the finest business schools in Brazil, says that even he has failed the test. This is because the ENADE, according to him, is not made to measure students' knowledge, but their orientation with the ideology of the government, in a test with high subjectivity and a shallow outlook over the problems the country faces. The president of INSPER recalls one question that asked if the 2009 world crisis was the economic system's fault – a false statement for him, but a true statement for the ministry of education in its answer key. When

asked for a solution, he says that the own universities are to be blamed for all the problems that happen to HE in Brazil, because they do not seem to care, they do not demonstrate against mismanagement and lack of governance, nor do they fight for their own interests. Instead, ideological groups have taken care of the Brazilian HE system in order to maintain the status quo, with the isonomy principle, with spiraling costs, and far from the market and from foreign countries.

The president of USP, Marco Antonio Zago, also speaks of these three main issues: costs, market, and internationalization. He explains the reasons why, USP has fell in both the Times Higher Education and in the QS Ranking, being passed by the Pontificia Universidad Catolica of Chile as the best of Latin America. His accounts are normalizing, arguing that these oscillations are normal and do not represent dramatic change in quality. However, if Brazil had a better high school structure, if universities had the chance to manage their own budget, if administrators had the permission to manage faculty according to merit, and some more “ifs”, we would be better off. Brazilian public universities have no autonomy to hire professors without a civil service examination because of the public service regulations, no autonomy to pay their wages differently because of the isonomy principle, no autonomy to promote professors for their merit because of the automatic system of promotions and pay raises, and no autonomy to manage their budget. This is why, Prof. Zago states, USP is currently using 105% of its budget to pay wages, near financial bankruptcy, just because universities are allowed to hire as many professors and employees as they want, but they are not allowed to lay-off excess personnel.

A way out of this government bureaucracy and lack of flexibility is, instead of remaining inside the university, creating a foundation or institute under other juridical denomination. IMPA, the institute of applied and pure mathematics, is an example. These institutes and foundations are able, partnering with universities, to grant degrees, and at the same time, to denominate themselves as philanthropic and raise private funds. The IMPA is responsible for the Brazilian Math Olympics for the middle and high schools, where they hunt for their brightest prospective students in an admission process of their own. Unlike other HEIs, they are merit-driven, what led them to conquer two Fields Medals with foreign researchers, a French and an American.

Indeed, Brazilian research was in need of these accomplishments from IMPA. Apart from every researcher Veja has brought upon in its articles, known for their merit and effort in their jobs, the larger part of researchers in Brazil have botched with the quantitative performance metrics of the CAPES, organization that evaluates Brazilian research. The longstanding catchphrase “Publish or Perish” was taken way too seriously by the scientific community. A plethora of low quality journals started to appear in “high productivity” researchers CVs. These predatory journals charge high fees for prompt publication of scientific articles, and have published “research” from Brazilian professors who were supposed to zeal for Brazilian science, such as the president of CAPES, a member of the “Brazilian Council for the Progress of Research”, and USP’s research rector.

A different background happens in the HEIs, which use the ENEM to admit candidates to their courses. However, despite previous dysfunctions of the test, in 2014 there were more candidates than ever before – a clear signal that the offer and demand scale is tilted. The demand has never been higher, especially in the most attractive courses, such as medicine (145 candidates per place at UNICAMP), business management (134 candidates per place at UFMG), and law (104 candidates per place at UnB). The quotas system is also a factor in this high rate of candidates, shrinking the odds for white candidates that studied in private schools. The ENEM itself is a factor for this competitiveness, because it enables candidates to take the test to any HEI in the country, without leaving his or her city.

19. 2015

Between the 26th and 29th December of 2014, the minister of education has made official two regulations that would contribute to the failure of the higher education loans system. The FIES – Student Financing - is a government program that provides students with loans so they can afford tuition in private universities. Up to this date, students were required to prove that they were unable to afford tuition without jeopardizing their subsistence. After this decree from the minister, only students with a score higher than 450 points in ENEM, out of 1000 possible, would be allowed to compete for the FIES. Additionally, instead of receiving monthly payments, HEI with students funded by the FIES would

receive payments in every 45 days, constraining their cash flows. Shares from the groups controlling universities, Kroton and Estacio, for instance, fell up to 31% in value immediately after his decree. Students coming from the dreadful public high schools also will need a miracle to reach more points, in a country where only 37% of the age cohort is enrolled in higher education. Gustavo Loschpe, in his column, says: “the student who is willing to evolve in his or her career and willing to borrow money to do it has courage and deserve applauses, not boycott”.

The universities who adhered to the FIES started hiring alternative, private financing agencies, and stopped taking FIES students. In March, period when students are required to update their data in order to continue to receive the loans, the online system crashed, and chaos was installed. In 2014, one out of every four HEI had at least 30% of their students financed by the FIES. More than 1.9 million students were funded by the program, and suddenly the government realized that it would not have enough money to honor their debts, thus the actions taken by the minister of education. Mr. Carlos Monteiro, owner of a consulting firm specialized in education says: “the money is over and now the government has changed the rules in the middle of the game”.^bThe money is indeed over, and not just for the FIES program. After decades of a more populist approach to governing, the Brazilian public administrators had to cut expenses even on the federal universities, who witnessed cuts of at least 30%, most notably in graduate school resources – a 75% cut.

Veja has published a 3-page interview with Prof. Cesar Camacho, the president of IMPA, due to the award of the Fields Medal to a Brazilian researcher, Artur Avila. Camacho says that the ultimate goal of the IMPA was to compete with the best in the world, so they had to hire the brightest professors and attract the brightest students, both from within and from without Brazil. He argues that this is the main bottleneck for Brazilian public universities. In IMPA, professors are hired in a probatory state for four years until they are hired as effective members of the institute, while in the public universities professors are hired by civil service examinations for their entire life, without any risk whatsoever, of being laid off. In IMPA, if according to their objective measurements the hired professor does not comply to what the institute expects, he is laid off. His summary is that the Brazilian university is constrained by a set of rules that hinder its growth and

expansion. “Public universities in Brazil are political entities that devour themselves” because with every change in their own presidency or in the country’s government, they follow a different path from the former person in charge.

In 2015, the Brazilian congress has accepted the denounce of fiscal crime against President Dilma Rousseff, which would ultimately lead to her impeachment in 2016. *Veja* in these two years (2015-2016) emphasized its articles and reports on the issues involved, and little space was dedicated to higher education issues. However, because the policies related to higher education have been the same since the Lula government, which began in 2003, there were few changes in the field. It is latent that the accounts of the transition between the Fernando Henrique Cardoso administration to the Lula administration were far more extensive and broad, because of their conflicting political views. With the election of Dilma Rousseff, the Lula administration policies kept evolving, with minor changes, except for the quotas system and for the ENADE, which made the field more stable.

20. 2016

This was a historical year for Brazilian politics. President Dilma Rousseff was impeached from continuing her administration, and Michel Temer, her vice-president, was conducted to the post. In the corruption investigation labeled as “Operation Car Wash”, Brazilian police found out that there was a major corruption scheme under the Worker’s Party administration, from former president Lula, to the current Dilma administration, involving the largest Brazilian public company, Petrobras, and other private companies, such as JBS and Odebrecht. Despite all the clues and evidences pointing towards the most corrupt government to be ever elected in Brazil, former president Lula was awarded with a *honoris causa* doctorate by the Regional University of Cariri, a public state university – his 30th *honoris causa* title.

In the meantime, the minister of education, Cristovam Buarque, says that the universities are subordinated to the unions, which have a tight relationship with the Worker’s Party and other left wing parties in Brazil. He says that, like the universities, the party has crowded its job posts by political indications, rather than by merit. The motto of Dilma Rousseff’s second administration was “The

Educationalist Homeland”, however, there was nothing about education, except for the motto. The government used the slogan to trick people to think that policies regarding education will be advanced, but the only policy that was advanced were the Olympic Games in Rio. All that is happening in politics today, Cristovam says, was agreed upon by the higher education system. Fifty four Presidents of universities have signed a letter supporting Dilma’s reelection, thinking, perhaps, that they would get more resources, and they did not.

The major investment in higher education sponsored by the Dilma administration was the Science Without Borders program. However, the program turned out to be a major scam, because the government never had the money to fund it. Students were receiving letters from the universities they were enrolled in stating that the government has never paid tuition, and they would not be able to renew their enrolments. Also, some students were left abroad unfunded by the government. Veja says that Brazilian science had found its borders, but the political crisis is borderless.

Brazilian science, too, has been “unfunded”. The CNPQ, national council for research and productivity, is a public agency that funds research and researchers of all areas of knowledge. In 2014, it has published a public notice that it would fund scientific research, as it used to do annually. In 2015, the public agency, due to the financial crisis, had not published this public notice. In 2016, they returned to publish this notice, asking for projects to fund. However, CNPQ has not paid its 2014 dues to researchers, and it seems that this money will never get to the university. A researcher says that CNPQ could make a public notice funding the curtains that protect the university’s lab of direct sunlight, which he had to pay from his own salary. This is why the dream of every Brazilian researcher, especially on the areas that need laboratory structure and heavy funding, is to leave Brazil to other countries.

In another interview, a researcher from IMPA, says that the only way out for private higher education to survive is to move away from the government money and promises, and connect to the private sector. The higher education system should be part of the productive system of a country, and in Brazil, ideology and regulations detach the university from the market, impairing both sides. For example, researchers and universities cannot profit from their studies,

because profit is seen as “a vice, something that takes the virtue out of scientific research”.

Stemming away from research and quality, and going to education and quantity, the Kroton group has made an official offer to incorporate the Estacio group, what would leave 1.5 million students under the purview of one higher education group. These students get the opportunity to pay low tuitions for distance and traditional learning, but they get the quality they pay for. Overall, courses in both Kroton’s universities and Estacio’s universities are just average, the minimum possible not to be a target to the ministry of education. However, some private HEIs need some extra “incentives” to meet the ministry of education’s minimum requirements. Two of the largest universities in Brazil, which together enroll more than 400.000 students have found illegal ways to manipulate their scores in ENADE. They forced the weaker students, which would bring the university’s scores down, to flunk their courses’ tests so that they would not be tested by the ENADE – or worse, they would grant these worst students their degree right away, so that they would skip the ENADE. In some cases, they would cease to offer courses that were mandatory for graduation – or offering them in distant campi in a different schedule, so the students would not be eligible to take the ENADE. After all, corruption is not exclusive to the public sphere. The ministry of education has responded to this article, and said that it would investigate and monitor the attempts to fraud the ENADE, but it did not mention any penalty to the frauders.

21. 2017

In 2017 the year commenced as the first of Michel Temer’s presidency, substituting the impeached president Dilma Rousseff because of the fiscal crimes she had committed. However, the public sector corruption does not seem to be enough to Brazil. In 1997, the for-profit universities were allowed to function, and they were deemed as “degree factories”, meaning that those who pay tuition, get their degrees regardless of their real capabilities. After a long struggle, for-profits managed to eliminate prejudices and be known as legitimate endeavors, essential for the Brazilian higher education system. Recently, scandals started to be revealed, and they only got worse in 2017. First, because for the first time in 25 years, higher education enrollments have declined. Second, because the

Times Higher Education Ranking, which featured 27 Brazilian universities in 2016, now lists only 21, meaning a decline in quality, too. And the list goes on.

The FIES, public loans system for students in private universities, loans money so that students can grant their degrees, and start paying it back a year and six months after they are graduated. Other options include a co-participation, where students pay 50% of tuition and FIES pays the remaining 50%. As a law and a program, the system works perfectly, and had been working until now. However, for profit universities argue that FIES's money is not enough to fund tuition for students in expensive courses, such as engineering, medicine, and others, which require better facilities, laboratories, and equipment. Thus, apart from receiving tuition from FIES, these HEIs started to charge students extra fees. What should be an illegal initiative, because it is written in law that students must not pay any fees whatsoever for their education, and HEIs are strictly forbidden to charge them, was deemed as legal by a Brazilian judge.

Furthermore, the for profit HEIs started to realize that no one in the FIES administration controlled tuition prices, so they were able to raise their tuition fees way further than an ordinary student would pay. With these increases in tuition fees, FIES students paid full-tuition, while regular students were able to get "scholarships" that gave up to 70% discounts. In summary, the government-funded students paid up to 70% more than those who "negotiated" with the university did.

The FIES is a program that Brazil needed, and has managed to help thousands of students to get a higher education degree. However, sometimes the program is unsustainable. Veja interviews a FIES sponsored nursing student, who has chosen to get a full-tuition loan from the government, having to pay for it after he graduates. He says that he will have to pay, during fifteen years, a monthly R\$700 debt with the government, a grand total of R\$126.000. However, a nurse in his state, earns between R\$1.000 to R\$3.000, meaning that he would have to, during 15 years of his career, spend from 70% to 30% of his wage just to afford his degree. This is why the default rate of the program is practically 50%.

The government's politics of credit expansion led FIES to get out of control. Between 2005 and 2010, the rules of the program were that any student with a monthly familiar income of up to 20 minimum wages (R\$6.000) could apply

to the program. However, “only” 98% of the Brazilian population earned this much monthly. Some for-profits started advertising FIES as a rentable investment, saying that “even if students are able to afford tuition, applying to FIES is financially better”. Indeed, *Veja* seems to be right to label this article “The FIES Debauchery”.

However, what was once labeled as debauchery by *Veja*, now seems to have worked. The polemic quotas system, which reserved 50% of the places in federal universities for the black and students from public high schools, has reached the state universities and is worthy of the magazine’s applause. In the only cover article about higher education in the 20 years included in this research, *Veja* compliments the affirmative action policies adopted by former president Lula. 103 out of the 104 public universities in Brazil have adopted the system, even without being forced by law to do so – the only universities obligated to adopt these affirmative action policies are the federal ones. For *Veja*, the quotas system “as-is” is almost a perfect one. Almost perfect because the criteria for assessing who is black and who is white in a “latte” nation, as the magazine puts it, is not well defined. The magazine admits that race, itself, is a social construction (I missed the Berger & Luckmann citation, by the way), and the best that universities can do is to accept an auto-statement of race. *Veja* even mocks United States President Donald Trump for ordering an investigation in American universities because whites are no longer predominant at Harvard, for example, believing that universities are racist against this group.

The first university to adopt the quotas system voluntarily was UERJ, which now faces severe financial troubles. In an article labeled “The University Asks for Help”, *Veja* tells that because the government of the state of Rio de Janeiro was in recession, it has decided to stop funding the state university, a sad portrait of the dependency of universities on the government. In 2016, UERJ faculty struck for five months due to the lack of payment of their earnings. The president of the University was interviewed by *Veja*, and said that the universities can no longer depend on the state, that they need to approach the market, but that there is this group that is against this approximation, and that old “jibber-jabber” again. He also stated that he had sent a request to the state congress

asking them to vote promptly a law project that would create incentives to donate to universities, but there were no answers.

The Science without Borders program was finally terminated, after 100.000 students left the country to foreign universities. What was once a big hope for Brazilian science and research, was now debunked. The program was more expensive than the government thought it would be, costing R\$9 billion, and 80% of the scholarships were destined to undergraduate students. What was supposed to get Brazil one step ahead, ended up getting students in a Sabbatical year abroad – “there was a lack of science in the Science Without Borders program”, Veja says. Some students were sent back to Brazil by the universities abroad because they did not know how to speak English. It gets worse, because in order to fund the undergraduate students abroad, the government had to decline the funding for graduate studies in Brazil, so instead of a doctoral candidate going abroad to research, undergrads were going abroad for tourism. The Brazilian government is still in debt with universities abroad. Each student costed up to R\$100.000 a year to be abroad, money that could be used to enroll 18 children in middle school. The total budget was the same of that of the lunch schools provide for their students, with the difference that instead of funding 100.000 students stay abroad, it could have funded 40 million student’s nutrition through the year.

The last story from this report on 21 years of Brazilian higher education is touching. In 2017, the president of UFSC – the federal university of Santa Catarina was accused of prevaricating to corruption, and arrested temporarily by the federal police – without ever being called for a testimony. He had no knowledge whatsoever that he was being investigated and alleged innocence, but the evidence said otherwise. A witness revealed that she had come to him to say that there was a corruption scheme at the university, to which he promptly asked her to “put away that little folder” she had on her hand to show him. A couple of days later, he was let out of prison, and found that his life would never be the same. He was fired from his post in the university, and was forbidden to set his feet in the campus. His psychiatrist said he was suffering from post-traumatic disorder, because he could not understand why all his university peers and students were blaming him for what happened in the university. His ex-wife

said that she “was afraid of what he could do, because his life belonged to the university”. One day, he took his son to have lunch, and went alone to the cinema in a local shopping mall. He smoked a pack of cigarettes at night, while writing four letters – one for his son, one for his brother, another for his closest friend, and put the fourth in his pocket. He left a box of documents for the police to find in his apartment. In the next morning, he ended his life at the 7-story shopping mall he had gone the day before. His note said: “My death was sentenced when I was banished from the university!!!”.

Appendix B: Open Ended Interview Questions

- What is your HEI for you?
- What do you do in your job?
- What is the mission of your HEI?
- How does your HEI balances mission and money?
- What has changed in your HEI in the last years?
- What are the short and medium term goals?
- What are the long term goals?
- What is your HEI's strategy for achieving the goals?
- What is the identity of your HEI?
- What was the last major change your HEI has underwent?
- How does the government influence your HEI?
- What are your main competitors?
- What are your main partners?

Appendix C: Theory of Field's (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012) Questions for the Data

1. What was the field like before?
2. What is going on in the field?
 - a. Who are the incumbents, challengers and IGUs?
 - b. Why are they the incumbents and challengers?
 - c. Who has more/less power?
 - d. Who has more/less resources?
 - e. Who are the main actors, friends, enemies, and competitors?
 - f. How do actors see other actors in the field?
3. What are the rules of the field?
 - a. What tactics are possible?
 - b. Do challengers break the rules?
 - c. How the rules influence the settlement of the field?
4. Where there any exogenous shocks in the period?
 - a. What caused the exogenous shocks?
 - b. How did the shocks influence the field?
 - c. What were the outcomes?
 - d. Why did the exogenous shock happen?
5. What were the main crises in the period?
 - a. Why did them happen?
 - b. Who was involved?
6. What were the main contests for positioning in the period?
 - a. Who challenged who?
 - b. Why did the contest for positioning occur?
 - c. What was at stake?
 - d. How did the contest unravel?
 - e. What was the outcome?
7. Is there a settlement in the field?
 - a. How did the settlement come about?

Appendix D: Social Imaginary Questions for the Data

The following questions were based in the works of Castoriadis (1975), Appadurai (1996), Taylor (2004), Klein Jr. (2015) and Friedland (2015; 2018)

1. The Factual Realm
 - a. What was the instituted imaginary?
 - b. What were the shared understandings? The common grounds?
 - c. What is the instituting imaginary?
2. The Material Realm
 - a. What is the function of the instituting imaginary?
 - b. What are the practices enabled by the instituting imaginary?
3. The Symbolic Realm
 - a. What are the rituals of the instituting imaginary?
 - b. What are the recombinations and transpositions enabling the instituting imaginary?
 - c. What was transubstantiated? What meanings were conversed?
4. The Discursive Realm
 - a. What is the discourse?
 - b. What are the assumptions?
 - c. What are the expectations?
 - d. What is not reasonable?
 - e. What meanings were shifted?
 - f. What are the commitments of action?
5. The Imaginary Realm
 - a. What is the link between representation and imagination?
 - b. What is the imaginary that comes before the symbol?
 - c. What values are enacted?
 - d. What is the radical imaginary?
 - e. What are the underlying substances?
 - f. What are the ethical implications?

