



Hacettepe University Graduate School of Social Sciences
Political Science and Public Administration

**HIGHER EDUCATION IN BRAZIL AND TURKEY (1989-2016):
EXPANSION AND PRIVATIZATION POLICY**

Erica MACEDO DE SOUZA

Master Thesis

Ankara, 2018

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"People come and go. Everyone that's been in your life has been there for a reason, to teach you, to love you, or to experience life with you."
Anonymous

ÖZET

MACEDO DE SOUZA, Erica. *Brezilya ve Türkiye’de Yüksek Öğrenim (1989-2016): Genişletme ve Özelleştirme Politikası*, Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Ankara, 2018.

Üniversiteler ve yükseköğretim sistemi neoliberal özelleştirme politikalarının merkezinden gelmektedir. Neoliberal özelleştirme politikaları, toplumun bazı kesimlerinin direnişine rağmen 2000’lerde yer edinmeye başlamıştır. Bu direniş karşı bu politik model, Brezilya ve Türkiye gibi pek çok gelişmekte olan ve yükseköğretim açısından son on yıllarda özelleştirme politikalarında baskı hissetmiş ülkeler tarafından sahiplenilmiştir. Bu ülkeler, bu seviyede bir eğitim için talepte bulunan öğrenci sayısındaki artış ve bu talebi karşılayacak kaliteli eğitim sorunuyla karşılaştılar. Bu karmaşık sorunların arasında tespit edilebilecek yönlerden biri, yükseköğretimde büyümek için özelleştirme yapmaktır. Bu konu çerçevesinde, bu araştırma, Brezilya ve Türkiye’nin yüksek öğretimdeki özelleştirme sürecinde gerçekleşen genişlemeyi kamu ve özel alanın gelişimi açısından bakarak, 1989 ile 2016 yılları arasında yükseköğretimin ilerlemesi açısından analiz etmiştir. Analizde yer alan dönem, 1980’lerin sonundan itibaren iki ülkede neoliberalizmin canlılığını ve özellikle de AKP hükümetinin 2002’de, Lula hükümetinin 2009’da görev süresinin başlamasıyla birlikte, söz konusu yükseköğretim sistemlerindeki değişikliklerin düşünülmesini haklı çıkarmaktadır. İncelenen her bir ülkede üniversitenin özgün bakış açılarından yola çıkarak, yükseköğretim sisteminin evrimindeki benzerlikler ve farklılıklar aranmıştır. Çalışma odağı, kamu ve özel yüksek öğrenim yaklaşımını dikkate alarak iki ülkenin eğitim sisteminin karşılaştırılmasına dayanmaktadır. Yükseköğretimdeki genişleme ve özelleştirme süreçlerinin analizinde gözlenen değişkenler; yükseköğretim kurumlarının niceliksel büyümesi; kamu ve özel kuruluşlarda kayıt ve erişim; yükseköğretim sisteminde sonuç; kamu finansmanı ve her iki ülkede de yükseköğretim için bazı programlar olarak saptanmıştır. Araştırma, Brezilya ve Türkiye’deki yükseköğretim sistemlerini tarihsel farklılıklar ve mevzuattaki ilgili düzenlemeler ile kapitalist bir mantıktan etkilenen yüksek öğrenim kurumlarının yeniden

yapılandırılmasını doğrulamayı amaçlamıştır. Üniversitenin tarihsel yapılanmasının her iki ülkede karşılaştırılması, Brezilya'daki yükseköğretimdeki özel inisiyatifin orijinal varlığının Türkiye'den çok daha baskın olduğunu gösterdi. Bu, ilgili yükseköğretimde elitist ve kitlesel özelliklerin yanı sıra, kamu ya da özel bir ya da bir başka hukuki nitelikteki bir karşıtlığı gösterir. Karşılaştırılan değişkenlerin analizinde, özellikle 1990-2006 yılları arasında, her iki ülkede de yükseköğretimde daha büyük bir özelleştirme etkisi görülmektedir.

Anahtar Sözcükler

Brezilya ve Türkiye'de Yükseköğretim Sistemleri; Yükseköğretimin Genişlemesi; Yükseköğretimde Özelleştirme; Karşılaştırmalı eğitim

ABSTRACT

MACEDO DE SOUZA, Erica. *Higher Education in Brazil and Turkey (1989-2016): Expansion and Privatization Policy*, Master Thesis, Ankara, 2018.

Universities and the Higher Education System are at the heart of the transformations stemming from neoliberal-privatist policies. Neoliberal privatization policies gained ground throughout the 2000s, despite resistance from some sectors of society. In contrast to this resistance, such political model has been adopted by many developing countries, such as Brazil and Turkey, which have experienced in the last decades a pressure to adopt private policies in relation to Higher Education (HE), at the same time as they face challenges to meet the growing demand of students for this level of education and quality improvement that allows an effective democratization of opportunities at the higher level of education. In the midst of complex problems, one of the directions that can be identified is the articulation of the expansion of higher education with privatism. In this line, the present study analysed the expansion and privatization processes of the HE in Brazil and Turkey, seeking to investigate, from the point of view of the development of the public and private sphere, the progress of higher education that occurred between 1989 and 2016. The period covered in the analysis is justified to contemplate the vigor of neoliberalism in the two countries from the end of the 1980s, as well as changes in the referred Systems of Higher Education, particularly after the beginning of the mandate of the AKP Party government in the year 2002 and the second Government of Lula, in 2009. Starting from peculiarities from the original point of view of the university in each analysed country, similarities and differences in the evolution of Higher Education Systems were sought. The focus of the monitoring of Brazilian and Turkish higher education, in comparative analysis, focused the axes of approach in the public and private HE. Having as unit of analysis the Higher Education System of the two countries, the methodology used fell on comparative education. In the analysis of the processes of expansion and privatism in the HE, the observed variables

were the following: quantitative growth of HE institutions; registration and access in public and private establishments; conclusion in the Higher Education System; public funding, and some programs for HE in both countries. The research verified, among the systems in Brazil and in Turkey, higher education in the scope of differences in the historical formation of each Higher Education System and the respective adjustments, changes in the legislation and the potential reorganization of the HE establishments towards a logic induced by the capital. The comparison of the historical configuration of the university in both countries evidenced the original presence of the private initiative in the HE in Brazil much more dominant than in Turkey, signaling the protagonism of one and another legal nature, the public and the private one, besides characteristics more elitist or massed in the respective Higher Education System. In the analysis of the variables compared, especially between the years 1990-2006, there was a greater voracity of privatism in the HE of both countries.

Key Words

Higher Education Systems in Brazil and Turkey; Expansion of Higher Education; Privatism in Higher Education; Comparative education.

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INTRODUCTION

The neo-liberal policies experienced since the 1970s to democracies of hegemonic capitalism in the 1980s, such as the US and Britain, and later introduced into other open market democracies or even pro-market dictatorships in Europe, Asia, and Latin America between the 1980s and 1990 became official with the agreement signed in the Washington Consensus (1989). However, such a "consensus" has only gained space in the midst of a historical conjuncture marked essentially by: 1) exhaustion of the consumer market in the most industrialized countries; 2) over-indebtedness of most national states, caused by the fall in revenues and the inability to maintain and expand public funding; and 3) political crisis and economic ruin of the Soviet, post-capitalist or planned economy countries (MÉSZÁROS, 1995; 2008).

The submission of the national economies and economic blocs to the "consensus" was carried out with the full forwarding of the premises aimed at the monetary return in which the neoliberal thought became dominant, directed in favour of the reduction of the State, opening of markets and free transit of speculative capital in national economies.

Among the ways of imposing it were threats of economic retaliation that could end up undermining the already weakened economy of many countries (e.g., restrictions on borrowing, non-repayment of national debt, trade sanctions, among others) by leading bodies in world finances such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank.

In the midst of such processes of economic and financial deregulation at the global level, it is necessary to ask: what changes of paradigms observed in the public and private sector are operated in higher education (HE) of Brazil and Turkey in this context?

In addition to the prevailing pressure from the IMF and the World Bank (WB) on the economic front, there are also elaborate recommendations that would be disseminated as a model for the HE. In this sense, the WB recommendations (1995) were very recurrent. All, in general, place on the premises a direction of the state decrease in the financing of the HE, favouring the commodification and privatism of this

level of education. Higher education systems in Brazil and Turkey have received both the burdens of macroeconomic pressures and the burden of the recommendations of the WB for the HE, which in a very insistent way has been strained and shocked especially with the public university in both countries.

At the global university level, the initiative of 29 European countries in agreement signed in the city of Bologna, Italy, in 1999, is emblematic. The content of the Bologna Declaration signaled the basis for a European HE space. All subsequent multinational declarations and agreements, in the sense of creating and regulating this space, became known as the Bologna Process. Following the logic of commodification and transnationalization of the HE defended by the WB (2012), the deliberations around the creation of the European space in the HE was carried out at the political level of the national governments and imposed vertically, excluding the academic environment. Concerning the establishment of programs of cooperation, funding, production of reports, white papers and political-normative texts, agreements and consensus were imposed through "voluntary membership" and threats of exclusion, leaving opting-out processes. The Bologna agreement stipulated targets, evaluations and recommendations, and the European Union (EU) was responsible for the supranational locus of education policy - a "meta-state public policy for a university metaphor" driven by the EU but beyond its borders.

The hegemonic tendencies of the commodification of the HE have evidenced the conversion of the university, which increasingly distances itself from its ethos of production of disinterested knowledge (at least economically) in the service of society, gradually becoming a space submitted to the logic of capital as a provider of services and research aimed at increasing the value added (DIAS SOBRINHO, 2002). However, the process of the university in the market does not occur in a mechanical or uniform way, nor is it implemented without greater resistance or repudiation. In this context, the research reflects to what extent the transformation of higher education, towards greater social democratization and / or privatization of education, focuses on the Higher Education Systems of two major countries: Brazil and Turkey.

The observation of the expansion of the Brazilian and Turkey HE systems in more recent decades makes evident the importance that the subject has demanded in each society, above all, making clear some changes that have been processed in the field of this scope of education.

The objective of this study is to study the progress of higher education in Brazil and Turkey from the point of view of the development of the public and private spheres, as well as to compare the differences in the historical formation of each HE system and its adjustments, changes in legislation and the potential reorganization of establishments of the HE towards a capital-induced logic.

In this sense, this work aims to identify, through a comparative perspective on the Brazilian and Turkey HE system, understand the level of influence of privatization or neoliberal policies for the period between 1989 and 2016 in both countries.

The educational systems investigated in the units of analysis have an approach axis defined by public (state) and private (groups and / or private) categories. The categories similarities / differences are analysed from the public and private point of view, compared in Brazilian and Turkey Higher Education.

According to Bereday (1964), the comparative method will be used: a) description; b) interpretation; d) simultaneous comparison. In this sense, for the construction of the analyzes of this research, we consider quantitative and qualitative aspects related to the research of the variables of the HE addressed in the research, namely: configuration, expansion, access, financing and actions. In the approach used, the quantitative elements prevail. As for the treatment of the sources, they are searched from the description and interpretation of data.

The collected and analysed data found from the sources in the research served to measure, within the focused categories, indexes, rates, numerical quantitative values.

1 CHAPTER

SYSTEM OF HIGHER EDUCATION AND PRIVATE INITIATIVE IN BRAZIL AND TURKEY

The university was instituted as a representation of the human effort of creation and transformation of the conception of critical knowledge and innovative ideas, formed from the medieval European scenario, it was universalized in order to preserve the national and local diversity. As developing countries as a whole, Brazil and Turkey have a significant number of institutions originating from this critical environment.

In the context of the purpose of producing knowledge, techniques, and culture, reflecting processes of reform and scientific-cultural creation, the university is configured as a social vision of knowledge and culture, being part of several social environments. Such dynamics provided innumerable advances in the most diverse areas of human knowledge within the context of Higher Education (HE). Through this system of higher education, Brazil and Turkey were able to train their leaders to produce a diversity of knowledge and cultures, thus enabling a development journey for both countries. In recent decades, through the process of globalization, it is possible to verify consistent pressures for the complete restructuring of the whole HE and, above all, the attribution of a new meaning to the university institution. At the center of these movements are the processes of expansion and privatization of the university field. The expansion is carried out by actions that broaden and diversify the higher education sector. Second, privatization would possibly be conditioned by the intensification of the expanding environment of higher education.

From a comparative perspective, the understanding of the forms of privatization inherent in higher education in Brazil and in Turkey increases the understanding of the expansionist logic of the Higher Education System in each country.

The scope of analysis extends between the years 1989 to 2016. The selection of the period covers criteria of a specific historical nature, pertinent to the two countries analysed. However, to understand the

involvement of private enterprise in the HE in both countries, it is necessary to refer to previous periods to verify particular aspects of the original performance of public and private actors in the Brazilian and Turkish university field.

With regard to the late 1980s, privatization actions that were previously only areas of public authority were driven by the neoliberal globalization process. In an expanded international dimension, the most diverse countries, including those in the process of development, such as Brazil and Turkey, have encountered the neoliberal bias guidelines that are increasingly dominant over their specific space.

The supposed inevitability attributed to what came to be called globalization - globally induced by the Washington Consensus (1989) - was engendered at the end of the Cold War (1945-1989). A period characterized by the economic crisis of the inability of the state to maintain the productive cycle of capital, where a situation of state failure is experienced, thus challenging the system of public administration, forcing the state in crisis to redefine its role in dealing with social problems increasingly aggravated and increase inequality.

In the context of the economic crisis and the state's incapacity to manage it, capital found a free field to sketch the most intense forms and processes of capitalist concentration and centralization known today. Carried forward in the neoliberal globalization process, the new hegemonic movements then resorted to the intensification of profit rates and over-exploitation of surplus value on a world scale, and can be understood as a strong advance of capital over control of all fields of human activity.

According to Mészáros (1995, 73), the force of capital comes to the present day through a "tendency toward universalization" or commodification of all things, strengthened by capitalism. This universalizing tendency, however, is a reformulation with a characteristic of the adequacy of the internal dimensions of the capital system operated, when necessary, to guarantee and increase the capital of the processes of metabolic social reproduction. In this new scenario, the university has an important position for the capitalist dimensions of training, reproduction of the workforce and production of Science and Technology necessary for

the operation of increasingly complex means of production and work processes. On the other hand, the commercialization of higher education in private HE institutions is a lucrative market, pursued by large corporations. In this way, there is no doubt that in the last decades the HE has intensified processes of diversification of institutional types, modalities, and forms of vacancies, appropriating even technological means, such as those used on web-based (distance education) courses. Although diversification occurs both in the public and in the private sector, it is in the latter that the priority is to seek profit or, at least, surplus and less risky forms from the financial point of view in carrying out the activities.

In this sense, idealized as a means of human progress from the maximization of values such as efficiency, effectiveness and competition, neo-liberal globalization, in general, went to a much more complex and contradictory logic of what was defended as truth in the Washington Consensus (1989). From the premise launched to a reality to be achieved by all countries, the solution to an open market around the world - for democratic states or not.

In the scenario of neoliberal globalization, Brazil and Turkey, highlighting particularities and differences in the respective historical process, have signaled some approximation in recent decades or, at least, relative convergence regarding political re-democratization, progressive implementation of the neoliberal agenda and/or permanence of neoliberal paradigms in the HE.

There are convergences in the economic model adopted in the last two decades both in Brazil and in Turkey, it is essential to underline some essential differences between the two countries. Since there is a considerable difference in the current organization of HE system, it is necessary to understand the general characteristics of the economy, geography, population and schooling rates for both countries in recent years.

1.1 Comparison of Geographical Aspects and Schooling in Higher Education in Brazil and Turkey

In comparative perspectives from a geographical point of view, Brazil and Turkey oppose disproportion both in relation to the territorial dimension and the population contingent. With regard to the size of the economy and the extent of the HE, differences in the volume of gross domestic product (GDP) and net and gross rates of schooling are observed. According to values compared between the two countries in Table 1, having as the base the year of 2016, Brazil had a population three times bigger, besides having territory at least 11 times greater in geographic dimensions. Also, accounted for in the current year GDP twice compared to Turkey. Thus, one can measure that in geographic and economic attributes, Brazil ensures wide superiority: territory of 8,515,770 square kilometres, population of 207,652,865 inhabitants and GDP valued at \$ 3,140 trillion in contrast to the data of Turkey: Geographical area of 785,350 square kilometers, population of 79,512,426 inhabitants and GDP accounted for \$ 2,007 trillion (WDI, 2016). On the other hand, Turkey, having a smaller disproportion between economy size and population size, has a per capita GDP distribution of US \$ 25,247,20 per inhabitant, compared to US \$ 15,123,85 measured for Brazil in the year 2016 (WDI, 2016).

With regard to enrolment rates, it is inferred that Turkey has a considerable advantage, with higher rates of access to education in general. However, the secondary education (*Lise*) and higher education are comparatively high. While Brazil had a net and gross rate for secondary education in 2016 at 68% and 87,2%, respectively, the Turkish rates for the educational level of equivalent age group reached the schooling rate of 82,5% and 106,9% for secondary schooling respectively (INEP, 2016, Milli Eğitim İstatistikleri, 2017).

In relation to the HE enrolment rates, Turkey had, in the same year, a gross rate with a value that was over twice the gross rate of this percentage of schooling, 103,28% against 34,6% verified in the Brazilian HE system. In terms of net higher education, the difference between the two countries is relatively similar, with a Turkish rate of 42,43% against 18,1% measured in Brazil (INEP, 2015, Milli Eğitim İstatistikleri, 2017).

In an initial analysis, the comparison of characteristics and differentiated variables between Brazil and Turkey - based on the year

2016 -, undoubtedly it is relevant to this work to seek the understanding of some of the possible causes of dissimilarities in the scope of higher education in each country.

One of the causes is perceptible from the observation that differences do not occur singularly in the HE field, but are reflected from previous educational levels, as seen in the rates of high school (or secondary) enrolment.

In this sense, observing the curricular differences and the distribution of the years of study, it is possible to verify that in Turkey the access to the level of pre-university education (or that precedes any modality of HE) is greater in relation to the level found in Brazil. In sum, it can be observed that Turkey allows greater access to secondary education, generating greater demand for university education or even higher education modalities after the end of basic education.

However, it would be too simplistic to say that the issues pertaining to access to HE were restricted to offer-demand. In order to deepen the focus of the differences, and also possible similarities of the object of study, it is necessary to centralize in the analysis the public and private category and its variables compared here; that is, the role of public and private actors in the configuration of HE and the evolution of quantitative and qualitative variables of the HE in a comparison of both countries between the period to be addressed.

Table 1- Brazilian and Turkish State in comparative perspective (2016)

Comparable Variables	Brazil	Turkey
Surface Area (sq., km)	8,515,770 km ²	785,350 km ²
Population, Total	207,652,865	79,512,426
GDP, PP (current US\$)	3,140 Trillion	2,007 Trillion
GDP per capita, PPP (current US\$)	15,123,85	25,247,20
School Net Rate (age range 15-17 years)	68%	82,54%
School Gross rate (age 15-17 years)	87,2%	106,94%

Net Rate of HE (age range 18-24 years) ¹	18,1%	42,43%
Gross Rate of HE (age range 18-24 years) ²	34,6%	103,28%

Source: Elaboration based on WDI, 2016; TÜİK, İSTATİSTİKLERLE TÜRKİYE, 2016.

In Turkey, secondary education normally comprises four years and it covers the age group of 15 to 18 years, depending on the optional choice of a complementary year of professional education that it is divided between *Orta Okul*, which covers the age group of 13 to 15 years, respectively the seventh, eighth (or seventh, eighth year); and *Lise*, which covers the age range of 15 to 17 years, making the tenth, eleventh and twelfth year of study; and optionally 13th and 14th year, in the case of professional secondary education, surpassing the traditional age group.

It was chosen to highlight the *Lise* (spelling used in Turkey) to enable comparability with the same age group of 15 to 17 years and the equivalent years of study of the High School conducted throughout the Brazilian territory.

1.2 The Private Initiative and University Education in Brazil and Turkey

In relation to the social reach of the HE in Brazil and Turkey, based on the recent singularities measured by the educational rates for 2016, the dissimilarity between the two countries is related mainly to historical-cultural elements that precede the present time and refer to the configuration of the HE field in both countries, as well as the historical participation of the State and private actors in higher education.

In this sense, we consider it necessary to analyze the origin of the universities and identify the protagonists of the public or private initiatives and their instituting process in relation to the particularities of both national states. It is understood that the brief investigation of the case is important

¹ The figures for the NET Rate of HE (age range 18-24 years) in Brazil was not available, being necessary to use based on the previous year, 2015.

² The figures for the Gross Rate of HE (age range 18-24 years) in Brazil was not available, being necessary to use based on the previous year, 2015.

to provide for the character of this comparative research, some historical reasons for the differences and peculiarities of each case to be later confronted.

In the midst of the protagonism of actors of the State or the initiative of private actors, the focus is the insertion and expansion of these respective segments in relation to the systems of the HE in both countries.

In this line, respecting the focus of the study, the delineation of the university campus will be investigated in Brazil and Turkey, later making a comparative synthesis.

1.2.1 The Establishment of the University in Brazil

The university in Brazil did not reach existence before the twentieth century, unlike other Latin American countries. Although discussions about the establishment of a university in Brazil had advanced in the late nineteenth century, there was no consensus among the dominant social sectors about their importance and need for the country. The problems were diverse, from the search for protagonism of some provinces that wanted the pioneerism of hosting this institution in Brazil, to the conservatism of influential positivist actors at that beginning of the Republic (1889). The latter feared two things in universities, the spread of revolutionary ideas and the expansion of Catholic teaching (UNICAP, 2002).

In spite of the colonial prohibition of the establishment of universities, the superior knowledge was punctually given in several schools. Many of them derived from Jesuit teaching. The Jesuits, before being expelled in the eighteenth century, were responsible for the educational initiatives in the country, also in higher education, in the areas of knowledge that were of interest to the Church and to spread Catholicism.

In this way, religion played an important role in the Brazilian scenario before the establishment of universities in the twentieth century, through the operation of both main Faculties, on the initiative of the Jesuits, and in most of the medical, law, in the nineteenth century. Even with the prohibition of the exercise of Jesuits in the country, the

educational gap left by this secular order was not minimally assumed by the state or private initiative. In addition to the pedagogical field, Brazilian HE also counted on religious orders mainly in terms of the appropriation of the physical spaces of the infrastructure inherited or granted by the Catholic missionary orders.

Throughout the History of Brazilian Education, there is no unanimity on what would be the first university (recognized) in the country. For some authors, this event would return to the University of Brazil in 1920, in the city of Rio de Janeiro, from the agglutination of three pre-existing colleges. Some claim the pioneerism of the former University of Minas Gerais (UMG, current UFMG), claiming that the University of Brazil had an ephemeral duration. Still, others understand that the university only consolidated itself with the University of São Paulo (USP) in 1934, because it was the first to be built in accordance with the Statute of the University, Decree No. 19.851, dated April 11, 1931 (BRAZIL, 1931). In the midst of so many divergences, it is certain that the first institution to function, bringing together the superior knowledge of several areas, dates back to 1909 (TUFFANI, 2009) in the remote city of Manaus. The pioneering spirit of this school was the bold initiative of individuals. At the beginning of the operation, like many other higher education establishments, it survived with extreme difficulty in terms of cost to provide educational services to a restricted number of students and, mainly, of allocation of physical space, governmental donations and subsidies.

Table 2 - The first Brazilian universities

Year	University	Place	Initiative
1909-1926	Escola Universitária Livre de Manaus (2002)	Manaus	Private
1911-1919	Universidade de São Paulo	São Paulo	Private
1912-1915	Universidade do Paraná (1950)	Curitiba	State
1920	Universidade do Rio de Janeiro (1965)	Rio de Janeiro	Federal

1927	Universidade de Minas Gerais (1949)	Belo Horizonte	State
1934	Universidade de São Paulo	São Paulo	State
1934	Universidade de Porto Alegre (1950)	Porto Alegre	State
1935-1937	Universidade do Distrito Federal	Distrito Federal	Province
1941	Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro	Rio de Janeiro	Private
1944	Fundação Getúlio Vargas ³	Rio de Janeiro	Private
1946	Universidade da Bahia	Salvador	Federal
	Universidade Católica de São Paulo (1947)	São Paulo	Private
	Universidade de Recife (1965)	Recife	State
1948	Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul	Porto Alegre	Private
	Universidade Rural do Estado de Minas Gerais	Viçosa	State
1951	Universidade Católica de Pernambuco	Recife	Private
1952	Universidade Presbiteriana Mackenzie	São Paulo	Private
1954	Universidade do Ceará	Fortaleza	Federal
	Universidade do Espírito Santo (1961)	Vitória	State
1955	Universidade Católica de Campinas (1972)	Campinas	Private
	Universidade da Paraíba (1960)	João Pessoa	State
1957	Universidade do Pará	Belém	Federal
1958	Universidade Católica de Minas Gerais (1983)	Belo Horizonte	Private
	Universidade do Rio Grande do Norte (1960)	Natal	State
1959	Universidade Católica do Paraná (1965)	Curitiba	Private
	Universidade de Goiás (PUC, 2009)	Goiânia	Private
1960	Universidade Federal de Goiás	Goiânia	Federal

³ Fundação Getúlio Vargas is considered a private institution, but it was an initiative of the Brazilian Federal Government, directing the school activities according to the governmental purpose.

	Universidade de Juiz de Fora	Juiz de Fora	Federal
	Universidade Católica de Pelotas	Pelotas	Private
	Universidade de Santa Catarina	Florianópolis	Federal
	Universidade Federal do Estado do Rio de Janeiro (1965)	Niterói	Federal
	Universidade de Santa Maria	Santa Maria	Federal
1961	Universidade de Alagoas	Maceió	Federal
	Universidade Católica de Salvador	Salvador	Private
	Universidade de Brasília	Brasília	Federal

Source: elaboration based on CUNHA (2007); BRAZIL (2017)

The Statute of Universities (BRASIL, 1931) systematized criteria and minimum prerequisites for each higher education institution to standardize the conditions for its own functioning. The conception of a formalized university in Brazil has become clearer as until then, the Federal Government only recognized the universities, conferring them status or not, without any legal framework.

It is noteworthy that the first university initiatives in Brazil were private. In spite of the fact that they sometimes had political support or punctual incentives from the public authorities, they were undertakings that, given the economic and political difficulties, did not succeed in achieving continuity, becoming what Cunha (1986, 170) called "temporary universities".

The second institution to be titled as a university in Brazil, the University of Paraná, began operating in Curitiba in 1912. However, it also suffered a state veto through the Reform of Carlos Maximiliano (1915), whose content prohibited universities in cities with less than 100,000 inhabitants. Curitiba did not meet this criterion at the time, and the University of Paraná was proscribed. When observing the first universities in the country, there is a much greater interest and effort on the part of the private initiative and the states in securing conditions for

founding universities than on the part of the Federal Government between the middle of the Old Republic and the New State.

The first universities that were effective in Brazil were founded in the 1920s. The University of Rio de Janeiro, founded in 1920, and the University of Minas Gerais, created in 1927, were similarly formed from the agglutination of pre-existing high schools. Nevertheless, the first one started from the initiative of the Federal Government, and the second was induced by the State of Minas Gerais, being federalized only in 1949.

In summary, when analysing the first fifty years of the opening of universities in Brazil within a historical scope it is possible to highlight three specific periods. The first one has been in existence since 1909, with the Free University School of Manaus, and extends until the University of Distrito Federal (UDF), at the beginning of the New State, in 1937. These first three decades culminated in an important realization, the foundation of University of São Paulo (USP), on the initiative of the State of São Paulo, in 1934. The period can be characterized as a foundational phase of private and state universities of transit operation.

The second stage includes the New State, which runs from 1937 to 1955, a year that has been more than the last term of Getúlio Vargas in the presidency of the Republic (1930-1945, 1950-1954). In this period, a very large centralism was observed under the model of the University of Rio de Janeiro (transformed into the University of Brazil in 1937). The emergence of the first Catholic universities, privately owned by local archdioceses, also marked the establishment of new universities in those years.

The period from 1956 to 1961 covered the administration of Juscelino Kubitschek de Oliveira in the Presidency of the Republic until the founding of the University of Brasília in 1961. Between the 1960s and the late 1980s, the pace of university expansion declined, except in exceptional cases, an occasional expansion of federal universities to state capitals that did not yet have such institutions (BRASIL, 2017).

Among the periods analysed here, the second half of the 1950s was the one that accounted for the largest number of universities opening in Brazil, highlighting important creation and federalization initiatives of Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) (BRASIL, 2017). The process of

opening these universities culminates in the creation of the University of Brasilia (1961).

1.2.2 The Origin of Higher Education in Turkey

The establishment of universities in Turkey dates to a period before its founding as a Republic, and it is important to observe the Middle Ages before the establishment of the Turks in the region known today as an Arab and Persian territory under the rule of the Ottoman State. All the educational institutions of that time were assembled under a unique structure called Madrasa, served as secondary and high educational levels, providing a professional education on the Islamic sciences, such as Arabic grammar and philosophy, helping students to understand the sacred texts (MAKDISI, 1970). The sciences, for example, Philosophy and Medicine were educated in the homes of educators. The Madrasas developed in number amid the time of the Seljuk State (1071-1299), being the principal schools of Muslim religious philosophy of the time. The Medical Sciences were perceived in that period and a few restorative instructional hubs and clinics were set up.

After the Seljuk Period, these religious schools kept on being critical foundations of advanced education in Turkey and thusly developed in number and assortment in the time of the Ottoman state (1299-1920). This general structure stayed unaltered until the late nineteenth century, when such foundations became secular colleges, bringing about an impressive change in the advanced education framework, with an expansion in secularization and modernization of higher education organizations.

Established in 1863, Darulfunn, the first Ottoman State University, with a cutting-edge structure, educational programs and instructing strategies. The Darulfunn was later reorganized and reopened under the name Dar'ulfünu-i Osmani (House of the Ottoman Sciences) in 1900, containing the fields of medicine, law, science, and theology. In 1933, this institution was changed over what is currently referred today as the University of Istanbul. The Tanzimat declaration in 1839 was an important process to modernization, which has proceeded in constricted courses since the start of the seventeenth century.

Other higher education institutions were also founded in the same period, such as the Imperial Naval Engineering faculties in 1773; the School of Administration in 1877 and a Faculty of Law in 1878, after the model of French schools. After the founding of the Turkish Republic, every one of these foundations were changed over into colleges and universities of the new republic, when the announcement of the Turkish Republic was proclaimed in 1923.

Table 3 - The first Turkish universities

Year	University	Place	Initiative
1933	Istanbul University	Istanbul	State
1944	Istanbul Technical University	Istanbul	State
1946	Ankara University	Ankara	State
1955	Ege University	Izmir	State
	Karadeniz Technical University	Trabzon	State
1956	Middle East Technical University	Ankara	State
1957	Atatürk University	Erzurum	State
1967	Hacettepe University	Ankara	State
1971	Boğazici University	Istanbul	State
1973	Anadolu University	Eskişehir	State
	Çukurova University	Adana	State
	Dicle University	Diyarbakir	State
1974	Cumhuriyet University	Sivas	State
1975	İnönü University	Malatya	State
	Firat University	Elazığ	State
	Ondokuz Mayıs University	Samsun	State
	Selçuk University	Konya	State
	Uludağ University	Bursa	State
1978	Erciyes University	Kayseri	State
1982	Akdeniz University	Antalya	State

Source: Data obtained from the Turkish Higher Education Information Management System (YÖK, 2017).

In 1931, the government welcomed Professor Albert Malche of the University of Geneva to make an evaluation and a review on Darulfunun and a general proposition for higher education. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, founder and first leader of the Republic of Turkey, included what he thought about the adjustments in the college. Atatürk additionally tended to issues, for example, scholarly flexibility and obligation, the senior member's influential position, a standard educational curriculum for the

Following this report by Malche, the Grand National Assembly passed Law 2253 (TURKEY, 1933), changing over the Darulfünun to the University of Istanbul, which was properly inaugurated on November 18, 1933. The University Senate expressed that its fundamental goal was to keep up a Western-style higher education foundation assuming a key part in the social and monetary improvement and promoting a secular a state. The rationality fundamental the approaches was the changes of Atatürk, which were proposed to help the procedure of modernization and Western secularism.

This model of secularism and a blend of mainland Anglo-American and European college models took after the establishments of the modern higher education framework in Turkey. Different periods influenced the improvement of the cutting edge Turkish arrangement of higher education. The main change went under the administration of the Democratic Party in the 1950s with the foundation of Anglo-American colleges, for example, the Karadeniz Technical University in Trabzon and the Ege University in Izmir in 1955; the Technical University of the Middle East in Ankara in 1956 and University of Atatürk in Erzurum in 1957.

Hacettepe University was made after a merger between the Hacettepe Faculty of Medicine and the University of Ankara in 1967. In 1971, Robert College was changed over into an English-dialect state college and renamed to Boğaziçi University. Until 1981, there were four sorts of higher education establishments: universities; academies, professional schools, and educator preparing organizations. While colleges had institutional self-rule however were monetarily represented,

foundations, professional schools, and instructor preparing establishments were under all perspectives under the control of the Ministry of Education. Since the establishing of the Turkish Republic in 1923, extension in the higher education sector has been significant.

1.2.3 Comparison of the Constituent Matrices of the university in Brazil and in Turkey under the influence of the Private and State initiative

One can see that there are significant differences between the university systems of Brazil and Turkey. To better understand them, it is pertinent to carry out a brief comparative analysis of the historical structuring of the two systems. In the comparative analysis of differences and similarities in each HE system, taking into account that both originated in distinct times and spaces, it is fundamental to maintain a diachronic perspective. The comparative perspective presents great differences during the analysed period. By centralizing the focus on the public and private categories in the configuration of the university in each analysed region, it is possible to understand the process of university structuring and its founding characteristics from a long-term perspective. This is believed to be important for comparing the similarities and differences of the HE systems in Brazil and Turkey in the 1990s and 2000s.

One can emphasize the first great structuring distinction in the Brazilian and Turkish university system in the Turkish university genesis. This difference lies primarily in distinct historical times and in very specific situations, perceived in the two countries analysed, as it relates to the implantation of universities in their space. While Turkey, from the second half of the eighteenth century, was able to enjoy a university institution established on the initiative of the Ottoman State. Brazil, despite the existence of higher education in colleges and isolated establishments in previous periods, can only recognize the first university, belatedly in the twentieth century and in the city of Manaus, through a voluntary initiative of groups of private citizens in order to maintain the establishment.

Common frame in the educational constitution of the two countries, the Christian-Catholic and Islamic religious spectrum, it can be perceived characteristics very different as to Portuguese administrations and the

Ottoman empire. This distinction evidenced in the Portuguese colonization a certain conservatism in relation to the authorization of their colonies to build universities in the territory, although punctual superior courses were offered by religious missionary orders and by faculties whose initiative was carried out by private individuals throughout the period of colonization (CUNHA, 2007).

With regard to the process of implementation of university and higher education institutions in the Brazilian and Turkish territory, two contrasts are striking. The first is of a temporal order and is present at different times with considerable distance between the two events - which only makes possible a historically diachronic comparison between the origins of the university in the countries analysed. Another contrast, influenced by the first, lies in the interrelations of the protagonists of the university in the two countries, whether the State, private individuals and missionary orders at first as in the case of Brazil.

While in Turkey, after the establishment of the Republic, the government soon occupied an exclusive role in the founding of the first universities. In Brazil, there is enormous political opposition and difficulties to university implantation, with the first universities appearing as personal enterprises of a group of private individuals (University of Manaus, University of Paraná and the first University of São Paulo, 1910).

In Brazil, the State only assumed this role in the late twentieth century, since it initially developed a secondary position in relation to higher education, subsidizing or aiding private initiatives, or even countering these and other initiatives of old state governments, as a factor hindering the existence of the university. The State's greatest inoperative in the field of Higher Education and, in general, a historical exclusion in the educational area as a priority subject of the state agenda competed in Brazil to stimulate a private initiative of greater magnitude in higher education. This analysed in a long-term time greatly enhances the trivialization of private HEIs in Brazil than in Turkey, where the first private university establishments only appeared in 1985 with İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University.

In this logic, on several occasions throughout this period, the Brazilian State stimulated directly or indirectly, through recognition and

authorization, the private initiative in the HE, while in Turkey private universities appear and remain for a long time with restrictions and rigid state control. This distinction may perhaps lead Turkish private universities to work with very specific students, who, being able to choose between free and non-gratuitous education, would opt for paid higher education.

1.3 The Brazilian Higher Education System and its exclusion and Privatization Features

In general terms, the consolidation of the university in Brazil, with respect to the access and democratization of the HE, evidenced the maintenance of the current social hierarchy and the exclusion of the lower classes. In this way, it guided practices in the service of the formation of intellectual elites focused on the occupation of bureaucratic positions and more prominent positions. As for scientific research, structures were created at specific Brazilian universities, as post-graduation took shape throughout the 1970s. However, it is in the last two decades of the present time that the Brazilian HE system has been directed towards greater diversification with the growth of a private education sector, stimulated since a military dictatorship, but especially resumed and intensified in the 1990s.

Regarding the possibilities of the working classes to enter the university field in Brazil, access formalities have historically been characterized by obstacles to those who face a limitation in the preparation in the years prior to higher education, according to the public universities, as will be dealt with below. Brazilian universities were set up belatedly, a great distinction is mainly due to the fact that the HE system is composed mostly of private institutions: these HE institutions were widely diffused in several historical moments. In relation to the investment, public institutions in Brazil always depended directly on the budget either of the Federal Government or of State Governments. In this way, the low-income applicant, who has the public institution of secondary education as a unique option to enter the private education system, which, however, are economically inaccessible to most from the commercial point of view.

It is not unintentional that most postgraduate and research courses in private establishments are focused on fields of knowledge whose investment required is lower, focusing on courses offered in the Humanities or professional and technical personnel, aimed to meet known market needs, as discussed by Bok (2004), increasingly commercial aspects tend to infiltrate the corridors of the academia as observed in the last decades in the Brazilian scenario and, thus, corrupting the process of education in our institutions of higher education. Universities have embraced a facet of the marketing concept that emphasizes customer loyalty by adopting a logic that sees its students as customers who consume the education services of their education providers. Such infiltration of trade into academia has caused concern among those concerned solely with corporate interests, backed by the financial influence of monetary incentives, thereby corrupting academic values, restricting free inquiry, influencing intellectual priorities, or distorting the results of the search. Research for the production of scientific and technological knowledge is very costly, uncertain, and does not guarantee immediate results, which is a risk that the educational entrepreneur does not want to run and also implies the volume of investments that it does not want to bear. The precarious situation becomes more difficult to control and is unlikely to reverse in the following years, according to INEP (2016), 87,7% of HE establishments are maintained by the private sector and 75,3% of the vacancies occupied are in private institutions.

At the same juncture, the public higher educational system, although heterogeneous and unequal in quality, composes with few private institutions of quality higher education in the midst of a disorderly set of establishments of all types and sizes. This is compounded to be noted that the wide appeal of private HEIs released to the student-consumer, as a product of a service sold or "commodity-education" (RODRIGUES, 2007) is the insertion in the labor market. However, this appeal does not materialize in practice most of the time. After graduation, what has been observed is the formation of a semi-qualified mass, unemployed or in precarious work and disillusioned with the time and investment that he spent to acquire knowledge, which did not insert him socially under the conditions in which he imagined - which results in the

maintenance of a lower salary mass and greater exploitation of the surplus value.

In the last decades, especially in the period from 1989 to 2016, the HE system in Brazil, under neoliberal practices has been expanding, gaining new forms, modalities, financing modalities and access, and driven by demand and corporate profit logic (MARGINSON, 1997). Some original and structuring marks of Brazilian higher education, however, have remained despite this expansion.

The Higher Education in Brazil was founded at the outset of the formation of an elite, children of landowners, prosperous merchants of urban centers, or fractions of the middle class who dealt with the bureaucratic services of public administration, it was later influenced by meritocratic ideas. In this way, through some performance tests, they have been directed to the levels of education that are considered, from the examinations, the most capable, the tenacious ones and the prepared ones, as Calhoun (2006) notes, people become elites not only because they are empowered - even if they are - but because "there is a system that offers these elite positions and preparation for them.". However, exceptions to the rule are not an elitist, undemocratic and exclusionary general characteristic, not only of the Brazilian HE system but also of other educational levels. The design of HE system in Brazil has a liberal-individualistic basis, with an original pretence of mass teaching. In this way, the HE, in general, does not constitute an object to be used by the people during the year, the former slave, the worker and the lower middle class. The classification of meritocracy, post-capitalist consolidation in relation to the history of Brazil, is a level applicable to the level of higher education. This can be verified in the reading of the Federal Constitution, without art. 208, subsection V:

Article 208, The duty of the State with Education shall be effected by guaranteeing: (...) V- access to the highest levels of teaching, research and artistic creation, according to the capacity of each individual;

In this line, the form found to measure the "capacity of each individual," ignoring the inequality of opportunity, income, and schooling of a heterogeneous set of society, has been imposed through admission exams known as vestibular. The elimination test, the vestibular, would function as a filter to block the vast majority of the incapable individuals, giving fluency to the good, capable, and overcomers. With a privileged minority and exclusion of the majority, despite the economic obstacles and historical challenges, the State has been able to refrain from any greater efforts in relation to the expansion and massification of HE system in Brazil in relation to coverage of vacancies and access to the public network of Higher Education.

Paradoxically to the needs of capitalism in the face of the needs of industrialization due to the greater supply of labor power and the greater demand of qualified cadres for public administration and the expanding services sector in Brazil, and faced with the difficulties of access to the university, the working classes attended the creation of some options for these problems demanded by capital. In order to do this, solutions were created for the qualification and technical qualification of the workers, with several technical and professional courses of lower professional status and lower social prestige, these courses have attempted to respond to the industry's most immediate yearning for labor. In Brazil, technical and vocational courses are usually equated and validated at the level of High School. In this regard, they did not attract or satisfy the aspirations of the middle class and were not viewed as a serious alternative to replace a higher education diploma, becoming, in Brazil, shorter paths for fractions of the working class to achieve employment in industry or the sector services, having mainly met the human resources needs of these branches of the market.

Very recently, technical and vocational education has gained more attention. In the last years of the government of the Workers' Party (PT), the courses at the middle, upper, and even postgraduate levels in masters, within this modality, have been fomented. Contrary to the historical negligence and the emptying of this modality during the administration of President Fernando Henrique Cardoso (FHC), the technical education has been highlighted with the opening of the Federal

Institutes of Technical and Professional Education (IFETs in its acronym in Portuguese).

In an attempt to give greater expansion to the various modalities contained in the educational systems, the output found the stimulus to privatization in higher education. This process consisted of the privatization of the university organization and the encouragement of the opening of private HEIs, reflected in more elementary levels of education. Since public universities have been precarious and have excluded considerable demand for HE in the last decades, the private sector assures itself of the market reserve, exploiting this demand of the middle class for schooling. The greater massification of basic education also has an effect on higher demand and contention for the HE vacancies.

The HEIs are divided into categories of academic organization and by legal nature, according to Table 4, as academic structures, the institutions are regulated by Decree No. 5.773/2006 (BRAZIL, 2017) and classified as universities, university centers or colleges. The same decree also provides for the Federal Institutes of Technology Education (former CEFETs), which offer technical courses and professionals at various levels, including superior level.

Under the regulated legal order, the HEI establishment, in the beginning, must be accredited by the competent Public Power in the category of college. The faculty acts in a field of knowledge, does not develop research activities, turning exclusively to teaching, and does not enjoy the autonomy of a university or university center (Article 12-I, § 1o, of Decree No. 5.773, of May 9, 2006, Cf, BRASIL, 2017). The university centers are not legally conditioned to conduct research, but they are given the possibility to do so. These centers are characterized by courses in various areas of knowledge, and are more directed to teaching and enjoy university autonomy.

Universities, in order to be recognized and enjoy status and autonomy, must necessarily be multidisciplinary higher education institutions that integrate teaching, research, and extension and meet other legal requirements as a broad scientific production, and have a third of their teaching staff with exclusive dedication and degree of master or doctor (LDB no, 9,394 / 1996, Art, 52-I-III, see BRASIL, 1996).

Table 4 - Types of Brazilian higher institutions

I- Regarding the type of management by Legal Nature		
Public		Private
Federal		Individuals
State		Religious
Municipal		Community
		Philanthropic
II- The academic organization and the institutional purpose		
Universities	University Centers	Colleges and Technological Centers

Source: Elaboration based on BRAZIL (1996; 2017)

Table 5 - Percentage distribution of HEI by institutional category and organizational form in Brazil (base year: 2016)

Type of management		Academic Organization	
Private	87,7%	Universities	8,2%
Public	12,3%	University Centers	6,9 %
Federal	4,5%	Colleges / Institutes	83,3%
State	5,1%	Centers / Colleges of Technology (IFETs)	1,7%
Municipal	2,7%		

Source: INEP (2016)

Regarding the composition of the Brazilian HE system, Table 5, above, presents the panorama by institutions distributed in categories of management types, governmental spheres and referring academic organizational forms in the year 2016.

According to the legal nature, HEIs must necessarily be categorized as public or private. Public ones are defined as federal, state and municipal; the private HEIs, classified as private, community, confessional or philanthropic. Non-public establishments are necessarily private law and maintained by an individual or by a specific legal entity. Community institutions are characterized by groups of individuals or legal entities, in the form of cooperative, parents' association, pupils, and neighborhood. Religious HEIs also have groups of individuals or one or more legal entities as their maintainers, the difference is that they must comply with a specific confessional, ideological or religious orientation (Article 20-III, of the LDB, Cf, BRASIL, 1996). Philanthropic institutions are governed by the law and have rights to tax subsidies.

Public HEIs are maintained by the federal, state, municipal or Federal District. They are funded by the respective education systems to which they are submitted, Federal Higher Education Institutions, including federal universities and technical and vocational education institutes, are maintained by the union and state universities are free, the municipal universities, particularly public ones, are paid. All Brazilian HEIs are supervised and evaluated by the Ministry of Education (MEC).

1.3.1 Structuring of The Higher Education System in Turkey

As specified, the higher education procedure of Turkey, began toward the finish of the Ottoman Empire and the start of the Turkish Republic had a history set apart by wars and changes. The college history has had a parallel course with the Turkish political history since the establishment of the Turkish Republic and advances at the same time with the military overthrows. All the authoritative controls aside from the university law in 1946 have been ordered by the administrations framed after the military upsets. In this way, the Turkish university history is recalled with the historical backdrop of military upsets. Then again, After

the military coup that happened in the nation in 1980, liberal approaches were taken, bringing about a standout amongst the most striking changes ever of Turkish university.

The 1980s are essential for Turkey regarding both efficient political structure and instructive arrangements. Turkey's endeavors for incorporation and enunciation with the world market were exceptional in the 1980s. The Economic Recovery Program, which came into force on January 24, 1980, served as the economic sphere of this procedure of articulation process set up at the time, bringing about choices that would reduce state obligation in the economy and empower fast changes to an economy of the market. The association of this improvement at university level was given by the Higher Education Law n° 2547 (TURKEY, 1981) that defines out the objectives and guidelines of higher education in Turkey, and in addition having standards, obligations, authority, and duties of education, not just of human capital as teachers and administrators, yet in addition students who are a piece of the association.

The changes were launched in the 1980s to re-establish the nation's macroeconomic steadiness and open up an economy to competition. A model of state-oriented economic development served well in an earlier phase of its development, with the focal component of the traditional culture of a paternalistic state. However, such a model was unsustainable and no longer suited to the requirements of Turkey. The primary improvement plan included critical steps for the development of a market economy, and in addition a capital commitment and expanded part of costs in the distribution of assets. There was additionally a need to change the rules, including privatization and institutional reforms of the public sectors, with the point of lessening the part of the state in the economy (OECD, 2002). With this procedure began in 1980, new rebuilding arrangement or neo-liberal approaches were incorporated in the Third World Countries drove by the World Bank (WB) and the International Money Fund (IMF). These methodologies which finished the neo-liberal courses of action were extremely a bit of the strategy to synchronize the Third World Countries to the industrialist world economy. In Turkey, the framework in this manner got a unified structure, with all higher education establishments connected to the Yüksek Öğretim Kurumu (YÖK) [Council

of Higher Education]. Through this rebuilding development, all higher education foundations were assigned as universities. The expansion of the higher education all through the nation was united and access to higher education was concentrated and a central university entrance exam was presented.

Student contribution rates at state funded colleges were likewise presented, and non-benefit establishments were permitted to establish private higher education organizations. From that point forward, public and private colleges have been controlled and regulated, with the Board of Higher Education frequently checking its courses. At present, there are 193 higher education establishments, of which 117 are public and 76 are private universities (YÖK, 2016). The space of state funded colleges is noticeable, keeping up a substantially more prominent investment in student enrolment. Having taken its fundamental attributes from the Anglo-American and European continental models, Turkish organizations of higher education are basically public establishments under state control. Other higher education organizations, for example, the Military Academies and Police are excluded in the typology since they are particular field establishments and consequently have diverse objectives and structures of public and private foundations of higher education. Along these lines, they are only in part subject to the Higher Education Act (YÖK, 1981).

There are two sorts of institutions in Turkey, in particular State and Non-profit Foundation Universities. The higher education foundations have scholastic self-governance and lawful identity. These foundations are arranged by the Law on Higher Education as Universities, Higher Institutes of Technology, Colleges, Graduate Schools, Higher Education Schools, Conservatories, Vocational Schools and Research Centers.

In the organizational framework of the HE in Turkey, Table 6 and Table 7, underneath, show, individually, the arrangement by lawful and academic nature of the HEI and the participation rates of each institutional kind in the base year 2016.

Table 6 - Types of Turkish higher institutions

I- Regarding the type of management by Legal Nature						
Public			Private			
State			Philanthropic			
II- The academic organization and the institutional purpose						
Universiti es	Institutes of Technolo gy	Colleg es	Gradua te School s	Conservator ies	Vocatio nal Schools	Resear ch Center s

Source: Elaboration based on YÖK, 2017.

The Higher Institute of Technology is an institution of higher education that has academic autonomy and legal personality, carrying out research, education, production, publication and high-level consultancy specifically in the areas of technology. The conservatories are considered as an institution of higher learning in music and performing arts.

The Research and Application Studies centers aim to carry out research and studies applied to meet the needs of applied study in several areas, as well as to provide preparatory and support activities for various professional areas, with the objective of supporting education in higher education institutions.

Table 7 - Percentage distribution of HEI by institutional category and organizational form in Turkey (base year: 2016)

Type of management		Academic Organization	
State	60,6%	Universities	96,9%
Private	39,4%	Foundation Vocational Training Schools	3,1%

Source: Elaboration based on YÖK, 2017.

Considering the Turkish scenario in relation to the type of management, there is a predominance in the number of universities managed by the State. However, it is noteworthy that private universities in Turkey are also under state supervision. Non-public establishments are necessarily held by an individual or by a specific legal entity. Philanthropic institutions are governed by the Foundations Act 2762, dated June 13, 1935.

Such non-benefit establishments might regard the standards and procedures stipulated by the Law on Higher Education with respect to scholarly issues, the enlisting of teaching staff and security, however barring monetary and authoritative issues.

Private establishments in Turkey are not permitted to build up organizations or give instruction on military or security (police) services, these areas are restricted to the state.

In connection to salary, private establishments can get direct donations and support, and can benefit by the budgetary arrangements and exemptions indicated in Article 56 of this law, similarly as public universities.

The Ministry of Finance can provide state assistance as a way to partially absorb the costs of this type of educational establishment. The amount of such financial aid per student enrolled in the institution receiving the support shall not exceed half the amount per student in public institutions of higher education.

If the activities of a particular institution are closed, either temporarily or permanently, the control of the university is assumed by a public institution, as designated by the Board of Higher Education. In this way, all Turkish HEIs are monitored and evaluated by the Higher Education Council.

1.3.2 Higher Education System in Brazil and Turkey in a comparative perspective

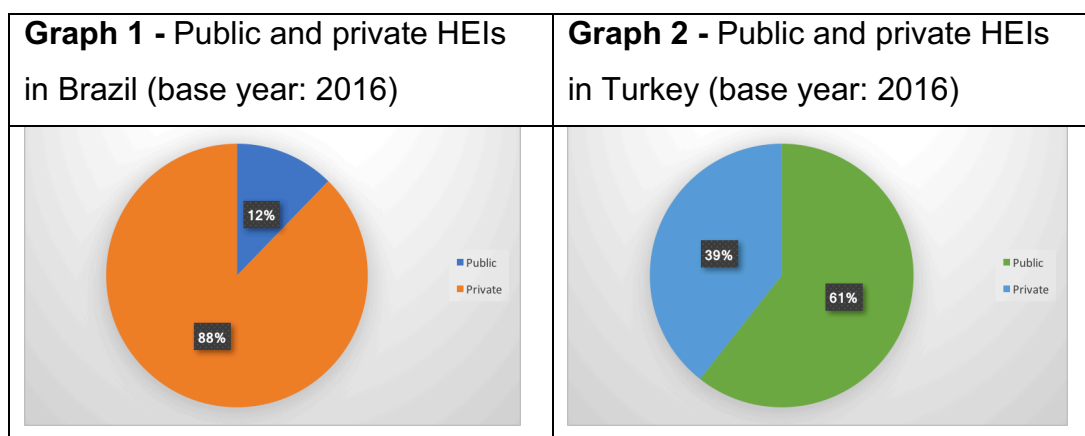
From a comparative point of view, the Higher Education System in Brazil and Turkey have more structuring differences than similarities.

These distinctions can originally be perceived in the conception, direction and social reach of Higher Education instituted in the two nations. It can be observed some important contrasts analyzing the composition of the two university systems, both in more recent periods and in constituent periods. In the last two decades, these differences, although very striking, have gained a certain convergence regarding the increase of privatism in the HE. This privatization occurs with regard to the university organization and also the political stimulus for the opening of new private establishments to reduce the demands for public university undergraduate courses funded by the state budget.

Regarding the recent period in comparison in the years 1990 and 2000, the systems of university education in the two countries still reflect conceptual distinctions of specific historical formation. While in Turkey the university has a more entrenched stage of public tradition and democratization of access to Higher Education, the university system in Brazil brings slower advances in these aspects. On the other hand, in Turkey there is more resistance and discouragement to the expansion of private university establishments, national policies for the expansion of public HEIs and more equitable distribution of access opportunities have, throughout history, curtailed the voracity of educational privatization. In Brazil, the political and economic strength of private enterprise in the university educational field through large corporations has been able to constitute itself as a socially winning trend in the field of higher education. This characteristic is so striking and contrasting in relation to Turkey that it can be analysed under a political bias that particularizes Brazil as a country where the formation of business and employers' unions by the marketers of education is legally permitted.

The similarities in the university models of Turkey and Brazil show the strategic importance that Higher Education in undergraduate studies assumes in the formation of intellectual and qualified cadres for action in sectors vital to the balance and development of the State. The maintenance of this importance, however, would be subject to more or less universal political directions, of neoliberal and privatist nature. Although such a trend may be curtailed today, the reflexes of privatism can be gauged in the analysed Higher Education Systems.

In this respect, in Brazil the private initiative from the beginning played a leading role. In recent times, the situation has a greater imbalance. On the other hand, in Turkey, where the role of the state was most relevant to the induction of the HE, the privatism of the last decades seems to have narrowed the gap between the public and the private. The degree of privatization, although quite different, can be seen in the recent numerical configuration of HE system (Graph 1 and Graph 2).

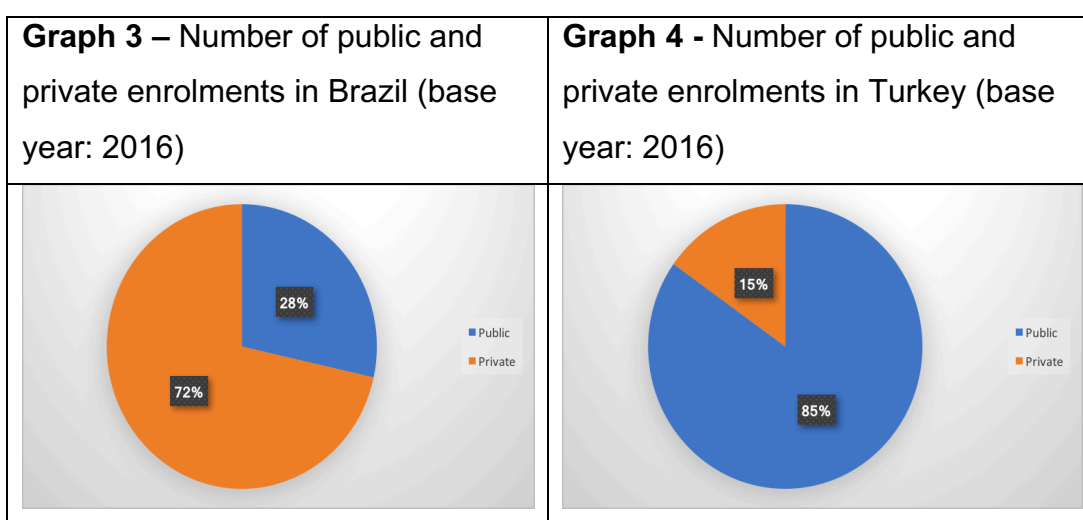


Source: Elaboration based on INEP (2016), YÖK (2016).

In this logic, the neoliberal reforms that were attempted to move forward in the HE of the two countries from the 1990s, through the adoption of a range of state-coordinated restructuring policies that resulted in the increase of privatization in the field of higher education, possibly pressured the greater diversification of higher education in Brazil and Turkey. They also contributed to the relative convergence between the two HE systems, although increasingly diversified, the changes perceived by the analysis of the legislation and public and private statistical composition of the HE system contributed to a reduction of the differences initially

observed between the HE of both countries, privatization. Both the diversification of the HEIs and the standardization of the HE system entail necessary adjustments from the point of view of the capital.

The neoliberal-reformist policies for the university sometimes consider the national and regional characteristics peculiar to its elaboration. However, neoliberal reform policies with limited variants, immersed under distinct socioeconomic, cultural and political conditions, generate a more or less uniform purpose through particular goals and actions.



Source: Elaboration based on INEP (2016), YÖK (2017).

As regards the structure of the two national HE systems, differences can be observed in relation to the importance of public HEIs. In Turkey, public higher education institutions are more active in meeting the demand of students, registering the majority of enrolments in higher education in public universities, whereas in Brazil this is the opposite, with a lower number of participation in the public institutions. In this way, a great difference is seen in relation to the public and private enrolments in the HE of the two countries in the analysis, as presented in the Graphs 3 and 4.

When observing the enrolment percentages in establishments of a public and private legal nature, based on the year 2016, it is possible to

show a complete contrast between the HE systems of Brazil and Turkey. While in Brazil, the absolute majority of the enrolment is in private HE (71,51%); in Turkey, 84,84% of the enrolment is concentrated in the public sector. It is undeniable that part of this structuring of the HE in both countries comes from the historical configuration of the public and private sphere at that level of education. However, privatization gained momentum in the 1990s, from a relatively greater expansion of the private sector than the public in relation to HEIs and enrolments in the Brazilian and Turkish HE systems, as discussed in the next chapter.

2 CHAPTER

THE SYSTEM OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN BRAZIL AND TURKEY IN A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE: STRUCTURE AND CHARACTERISTICS OF EXPANSION OF INSTITUTIONS AND UNDERGRADUATE ENROLMENT

Numerous changes since the 1990s have affected the educational field, above all, Higher Education. Expressed through more or less homogeneous and elaborated reforms in hegemonic centers of world power in favor of maintaining the rentier logic based on the mega-accumulation of the global capitalist system, the paradigmatic transformations of the HE have been attempted in Brazil and in Turkey.

These transformations are classified by the vast literature, by political means and mass communication, as university reforms. However, it is almost unanimous that this reformist movement, described by dominant political, economic, and ideological capitalist structures, through certain adjectives (modernization, optimization, flexibility, etc.), is inserted in the new rearrangement of globalized capitalism in a vertical direction to the concentrated financial-speculative gain, whose essence finds support in the current neoliberal thought.

The present research shares the critical perception of the current historical process and its negative side to the current university - reflected in the potential of the processes of expansion and privatization of Higher Education. In this sense, the expansion of private provision propitiates relative expansion of access to vacancies for the HE.

The privatization process is directed to some areas of high profitability derived from the exploration of educational trade and/or directed to the specific demands of the market, engendering contingent labor surplus training, decreasing the value of labor. Educational privatization may be accompanied by the greater diversity of the organizational types of HEIs and extend to other forms present in public policies or in the clashes between market forces and public interests in higher education. For Dias Sobrinho (2002), privatization in the HE is better understood from two dimensions: the first refers to the increase in

the number of private providers in the education sector, which are guided by a commercial logic and seek the increase of gains in the economic activity in which they operate; the other dimension is identified as a "gray outline phenomenon" operating in the tensions between "market impositions" and "public spirit" to which all institutions receiving public funding would be subjected.

In this sense, it is believed that the premises for HE changes are based on recommendations from hegemonic multinational organizations, such as the World Bank, the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) and United Nations Education, Science and Culture (Unesco). In a more or less uniform way in several countries of the world the objectives tend to a quasi-homogeneity of reform actions.

Convergence with Mészáros' (2008) understanding of the existence of an incorrigible logic of capital and its impact is inevitable to Education, it is designated for these actions that in this sense aim to restructure the HE the expression "neoliberal reforms" - post which identifies the movement in favor of pro-market reform actions, potentially developed in favor of and under the incentive of capital. The neoliberal changes applied to the college, with the state as an agent, might be inconsistent with the self-sufficient nature and financial matters that prevailed on a bigger scale in the HE until that point.

All things considered, the neoliberal changes of higher education started in the 1990s in Brazil and Turkey reflect certain particularities and bear comparable similarities to the pattern of covering esteems and practices of the worldwide focused market to the college field.

In this sense, understanding the differences and the rhythms of implementation, the neoliberal reforms in the HE system of both countries, quite possibly, tend to lead to a greater homogeneity among the systems than before. The analysis of such neoliberal university reforms is seen by the logic of the expansion of privatism in the HE as a counterpoint to the expansion of the public sector at this level of education. The research looks for indications of the introduction of a more or less standardized agenda of the HE in the two countries. In this sense, we will investigate in a comparative way some similarities and differences markedly important for the two HE systems and essential for our analysis.

2.1 The development of The Higher Education System in Brazil and Turkey in recent years: Privatization and Expansion of the public sector in the two last decades

2.1.1 The expansion process in the public and private HEIs in Brazil

Analyzing the recent numerical progress of HEIs, it is possible to see clearly the existence in Brazil of a process of exacerbated privatization at the higher level of education. Such space is understood in the present research in the last two decades.

When assessing the quantitative evolution of higher educational establishments, it is possible to identify that public HEIs had an expansion below a very increasing demand, in the order of 34,55%, while the number of private establishments increased by 209,53% in the whole period analysed (INEP, 1999a; 1999b; 2001; 2002; 2003; 2004; 2005; 2006; 2007; 2008; 2009; 2010; 2011; 2012; 2013; 2014; 2015; 2016).

In the period between 1989 and 2016, it is possible to typify a three-phase process, all characterized by the tendency of privatism in Higher Education.

The first one covers the period 1989-1994 - the end of Fernando Collor de Mello's term and the beginning of the Fernando Henrique Cardoso (FHC) era; here it was opted for some important measures for the society of the time, namely: inflation control, fiscal adjustment, monetary indexation - aiming at economic stability, with the consolidation of privatism in Brazilian Higher Education.

This is the privatization of education, initially fostered in the military dictatorship and gradually intensified in the context of economic crisis and lack of public resources for universities.

However, the privatization trend of higher education remained practically unchanged, despite small fluctuations during the early 1990s, with the total participation of private HEIs in the national HE system between 74.38% and 75.51%. The slight variations in the period were due more to the creation of several state universities by some States than of federal HEIs by the Union.

Table 8 – Quantitative development of public and private HEIs in Brazil
(period 1989-2016)

Year	Public HEIs	Private HEIs	Total
1989	220	682	902
1990	222	696	918
1991	222	671	893
1992	227	666	893
1993	221	652	873
1994	218	633	851
1995	210	684	894
1996	211	711	922
1997	211	689	900
1998	209	764	973
1999	192	905	1.097
2000	176	1.004	1.180
2001	183	1.208	1.391
2002	195	1.442	1.637
2003	207	1.642	1.849
2004	224	1.789	2.013
2005	231	1.964	2.195
2006	248	2.022	2.270
2007	249	2.032	2.281
2008	236	2.016	2.252
2009	245	2.069	2.314
2010	278	2.100	2.378
2011	284	2.081	2.365
2012	304	2.112	2.416
2013	301	2.090	2.391
2014	298	2.070	2.368
2015	295	2.069	2.364
2016	296	2.111	2.407
Cumulative growth in% (1989)	34,55%	209,53%	166,85%

Source: Own elaboration based on INEP Data (1989-2016)

The second phase covers the eight years of the FHC government (1995-2002), characterized by the consolidation of the Real Plan with the control of the inflationary process and economic stability.

However, such stability did not engender greater public investment; led to a shrinking of the state in socio-educational responsibilities - resulting from a neoliberal macroeconomic plan of monetarist-style adjustments prescribed by the WB and the IMF.

Table 9 - Development of HE system in Brazil in relation to the percentage of public and private HEIs (1989-2016)

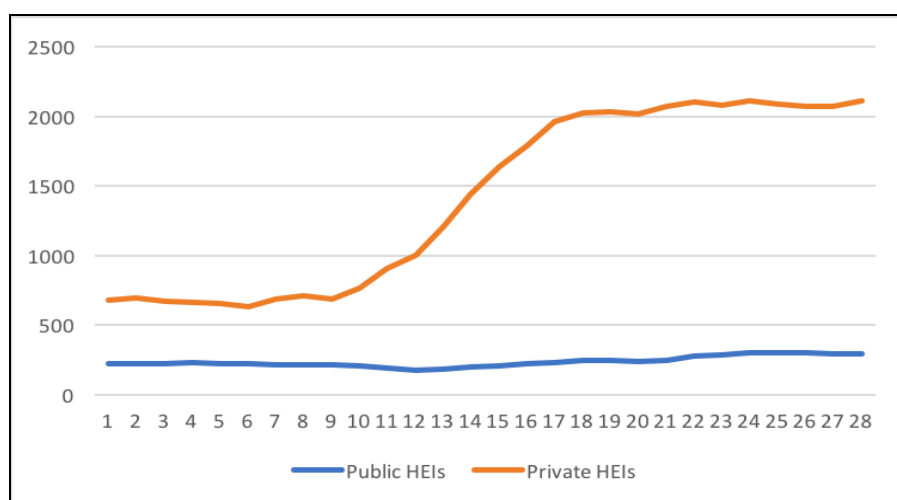
Year	Public HEIs %	Private HEIs %
1989	24,39%	75,61%
1990	24,18%	75,82%
1991	24,86%	75,14%
1992	25,42%	74,58%
1993	25,32%	74,68%
1994	25,62%	74,38%
1995	23,49%	76,51%
1996	22,89%	77,11%
1997	23,44%	76,56%
1998	21,48%	78,52%
1999	17,50%	82,50%
2000	14,92%	85,08%
2001	13,16%	86,84%
2002	11,91%	88,09%
2003	11,20%	88,80%
2004	11,13%	88,87%
2005	10,52%	89,48%
2006	10,93%	89,07%
2007	10,92%	89,08%

2008	10,48%	89,52%
2009	10,59%	89,41%
2010	11,69%	88,31%
2011	12,01%	87,99%
2012	12,58%	87,42%
2013	12,59%	87,41%
2014	12,58%	87,42%
2015	12,48%	87,52%
2016	12,30%	87,70%

Source: Own elaboration based on INEP Data (1989-2016)

For illustrative purposes, in graph 5, the State's shrinkage in terms of the participation of public HEIs in the totality of the system and the beginning of a substantial quantitative increase of private establishments in that period, especially in the last FHC management, four-year period 1998-2002 is shown.

Graph 5 - Progress of the composition of public and private HEIs (1989-2016)



Source: Own elaboration based on INEP Data (1989-2016)

Regarding the proportion of private HEI in relation to the total Brazilian HE system, this figure ranged from 74.38% to 85.08% in the 1990s, and from 86.84% to 87,70% in the years 2000 and up to 2016, there was some growth but less variation. Thus, at this juncture, a progressive increase in privatization is identified in the HE field. In the four-year period 1994-1998, this increase was already being designed as a trend, showing itself more timidly. The policy carried out for the HE in the 1990s, which marked the entire period of FHC, was not restricted to the quantitative increase in the number of higher private legal entities but was essentially a qualitative change. This type of change, given the amplitude, is better defined as "metamorphosis", through the process of diversification and differentiation of HEIs in Brazil (OLIVEIRA, 2002).

With the regulation of several types of HEI conceptualized by law, the withdrawal of the university as a standard model of higher education establishment to be expanded was officialized, breaking the indivisibility of "teaching, research and extension" and creating others models capable of commercial exploitation of the private sphere. At the same time, there was a substantial withdrawal of public investment from the HEIs, especially in the federal area. In the last four years of FHC's management (1998-2002), the increase in privatization has been accompanied by the freezing of public funding and has gained strength, bringing private HEIs to the edge of 90% of all higher education establishments.

In the period 2003-2006, in the first term of President Luís Inácio Lula da Silva, the trend of privatization continues; however, privatization has a structural change aiming to make HE system a more inclusive model, without such action being against the commercial interests of the private sector. In this sense, although there is a gross growth of private HEIs, the trend of privatization has the impetus, or at least, the indiscriminate opening of establishments of this legal nature, as observed in the 1990s. However, private higher education in Brazil (indirectly through tax exemptions) the public financing with the creation of the Program Universidade para Todos (PROUNI). At the end of the period, the trend of privatization seems to show greater signs of restriction on the opening of some federal universities in recent years of the Lula administration, although it is far from being reversed. This movement

continued during the term of President Dilma Rousseff, following the foundations of the People's Party (PT).

2.1.2 Development of the higher education sector in Turkey between 1989-2016

It is possible to analyze a gradual increase in the number of institutions in higher education in Turkey, as well as the predominance of the state as an actor in the first decade. The process of privatization and establishment of private sector institutions was more relevant only in the early 2000s.

Considering the quantitative evolution of higher education establishments, it is possible to identify that public HEIs present a considerable expansion in the period, in the order of 265.63%, the number of private institutions showed a rapid growth in the same period, with an increase in 7500.00% between 1989 and 2016 (YÖK 2017).

It is possible to observe a trend of privatism in higher education between the observed period, mainly between 1996 and 2002, when the number of private universities increased the participation rate from 5% to 28.75%.

In the previous period, Turkey had a limited capacity of universities in both the public and private spheres. In order to solve this problem, the Turkish initials (AKP) after the 2002 elections moved efforts to open new institutions in the country in order to create greater capacity to absorb the demand of higher education students. The policy of Higher Education during the AKP governments increased the number of public institutions, but mainly the number of private universities, focusing on a privatization of Higher Education as a way to meet demand, even in a milder way than occurred in Brazil in the same period. The country in the same year was included in the list of OECD countries to adopt regulatory principles designed to help countries to structure and meet the challenges of globalization by helping the government develop and maintain policies, tools, and institutions for regulatory reform (OECD, Regulatory Reform: Efficient Markets, Effective Government).

Table 10 – Quantitative development of public and private HEIs in Turkey
(period 1989-2016)

Year	Public HEIs	Private HEIs	Total
1989	32	1	33
1990	32	1	33
1991	32	1	33
1992	55	2	57
1993	56	2	58
1994	57	3	60
1995	57	3	60
1996	57	8	65
1997	57	16	73
1998	57	18	75
1999	57	20	77
2000	57	20	77
2001	57	23	80
2002	57	23	80
2003	57	24	81
2004	57	24	81
2005	57	26	83
2006	73	27	100
2007	90	33	123
2008	99	42	141
2009	99	54	153
2010	107	65	172
2011	108	73	181
2012	108	77	185
2013	109	84	193
2014	109	85	194
2015	114	89	203
2016	117	76	193
Cumulative growth in% (1989)	265,63%	7500,00%	484,85%

Source: Own elaboration based on YÖK Data (1989-2016)

The observed trend of privatization of higher education has remained practically unchanged in the last six years, despite the small fluctuations with the total participation of private HEIs in the national HE system between 40.33% and 44.84%, with a reduction in the year 2016 to 39.38%.

Table 11 - Development of HE system in Turkey in relation to the percentage of public and private HEIs (1989-2016)

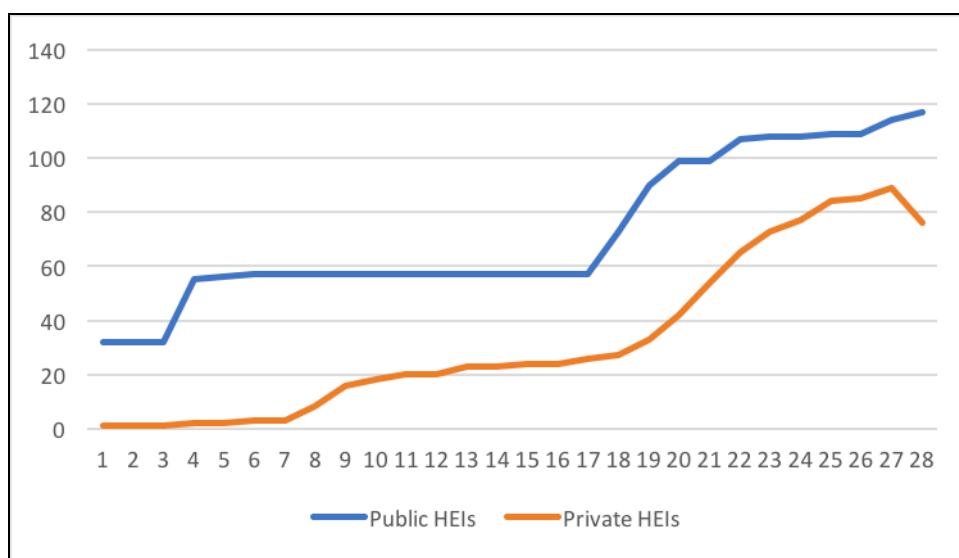
Year	Public HEIs %	Private HEIs %
1989	96,97%	3,03%
1990	96,97%	3,03%
1991	96,97%	3,03%
1992	96,49%	3,51%
1993	96,55%	3,45%
1994	95,00%	5,00%
1995	95,00%	5,00%
1996	87,69%	12,31%
1997	78,08%	21,92%
1998	76,00%	24,00%
1999	74,03%	25,97%
2000	74,03%	25,97%
2001	71,25%	28,75%
2002	71,25%	28,75%
2003	70,37%	29,63%
2004	70,37%	29,63%
2005	68,67%	31,33%
2006	73,00%	27,00%
2007	73,17%	26,83%
2008	70,21%	29,79%
2009	64,71%	35,29%

2010	62,21%	37,79%
2011	59,67%	40,33%
2012	58,38%	41,62%
2013	56,48%	43,52%
2014	56,19%	43,81%
2015	56,16%	43,84%
2016	60,62%	39,38%

Source: Own elaboration based on YÖK Data (1989-2016)

Graph 6 shows an increase in the number of public universities in terms of participation in the whole system, as well as a substantial increase in private universities, especially after the AKP Party has begun its mandate.

Graph 6 - Progress of the composition of public and private HEIs (1989-2016)



Source: Own elaboration based on INEP Data (1989-2016)

In relation to the proportion of private HEI in relation to the total HE system in Turkey, this number varied from 3.03% to 25.97% in the 1990s

and from 28.75% to 39.38% in the years 2000 to 2016 there were in total 76 private institutions in the country at the end of the period. Over the four-year period 1992-1995, this increase was already being projected as a trend, although at a slow pace. The policy adopted after the 2002 decisions, where the AKP party won, in view of a methodology that moved to a huge offer of the financial cost of this development to the private area. The procedure of development along these lines was to embrace neoliberal economic approaches of privatization and market-oriented deregulation that had just been presented two decades earlier. Such reforms were initiated by Prime Minister Turgut Ozel in 1980s with the support and encouragement of the IMF. In this manner, the AK Party facilitated the expansion of the Turkish higher education system through the promotion of private education institutions.

2.2 Expansion of enrolment and privatizing trends in the Higher Education System of Brazil and Turkey between 1989 and 2016

2.2.1 Expansion of public and private enrolment in the Brazilian Higher Education System

With regard to the offer and enrolments in the Higher Education in the period 1989-2016, the expansion of vacancies in Brazilian Higher Education follows, in a coherent way, the trend of accelerated educational privatization at that level, already identified by the analysis of the quantitative and numerical progress of HEIs. In such dynamics, privatization should not only be identified in the quantitative increase in the period, but it is better perceived, above all, in the increase of enrolments in private HE establishments when compared quantitatively to vacancies in public institutions in that period. In all the data referring to enrolment in the Brazilian HE, deepened in the present analysis, a clear imbalance stands out, surpassing the filling of vacancies in private HEIs to public HEIs.

In the period 1989-2016, while public HEIs expanded - in relation to the volume of students, private establishments almost quadrupled the total number of enrolments in Brazil. The analysis of all the data collected indicates, unquestionably, a sharp increase in the number of vacancies in

private HEIs. The expansion of the paid enrolment has evidenced the triumph of a mass educational market to the higher levels and the advance of the higher privately owned establishments on this market, increasingly involving the demand for the HE.

As identified in Chapter 1, since the early days of the university in Brazil, the strong influence of private enterprise in the HE has affirmed privatization as a brand of education. On the other hand, the economic shortage of the State in the 1980s led private HEIs to constitute the type of establishment of higher education that is increasingly predominant, both in terms of the number of faculties and in enrolment volume. In Table 9, the privatization of enrolment is evidenced by the distinct rhythm between public and private HEIs in relation to the expansion of vacancies in Brazil during the years 1990 and 2000.

When analyzing the data, it is pointed out that the rate of expansion of vacancies in public HEIs was minimal throughout the period, especially during the 1990s. The opening of vacancies by private HEIs, unlike the low number of enrolments observed in public universities, occurred with great impetus, especially since 1995 - the beginning of the first administration of the FHC government. However, it has been since the mid-1990s that privately run HEIs have been gradually and geometrically engendering an increase in offers of various forms of admission (much lower level examinations than traditional entrance exams). It is also worth mentioning that the number of vacancies, enrolments, courses, colleges, financing (student credits and scholarships, public funds and tax exemptions) and diplomas issued, becoming more and more the option of higher education to the reach of a large contingent of the population that demands training at this level of education. Such a trend is addressed by Vincent (2005) in both windows as private organizations, with a financial aid base based on the results of public organizations.

In many of the private colleges, there is a diversified combination of non-university courses, whether professional or technical, or short-term, in face-to-face or distance learning. The courses offered are based on the current job market and the demand of those looking for a placement or better occupational position.

In general, the educational enterprises that manage these establishments aim at the profitability of exploiting the existing demand. However, it is worth mentioning that, even considering the total number of enrolments in the HE, both in public and private HEIs, the scope of this educational level in Brazil is still restricted. Considering that the Brazilian population accounted for about 207 million inhabitants, the national HE shows a low number of Brazilians with a college degree in the last decade. (IBGE, 2016; INEP, 2016), It can be considered that its expansion has been conservative to overcome minimally the challenges that are placed on the demand of that level of education in the country. Despite the increase in enrolment in the public sector in 2016, the demand for a large percentage of the population not served with the free HE has assured the private educational important top-level market reserve. Furthermore, there is still a clear trend of expansion of the private sector over this level of education.

The stimuli to HE expansion carried out in recent governments have contributed to induce a large part of the demand for higher education through the multiplication of vacancies in private institutions of all types, qualities, and sizes. Political actions addressed a neoliberal and economic bias in the field of Education, emphasizing the predominantly private nature of HE system in Brazil.

Table 12 below shows the increase in the public sector and private sector vacancies in the period 1989-2016. It should be emphasized that the increase in registered enrolment in paid courses occurred in even greater proportions than the growth in the number of private HEIs in the same period.

Table 12 - Undergraduate enrolment in the Brazilian HE (period 1989-2016)⁴

Year	Public	Private	Total
1989	584.414	934.490	1.518.904
1990	578.625	961.455	1.540.080
1991	605.736	959.320	1.565.056

⁴ Data referring to undergraduate teaching in face-to-face method.

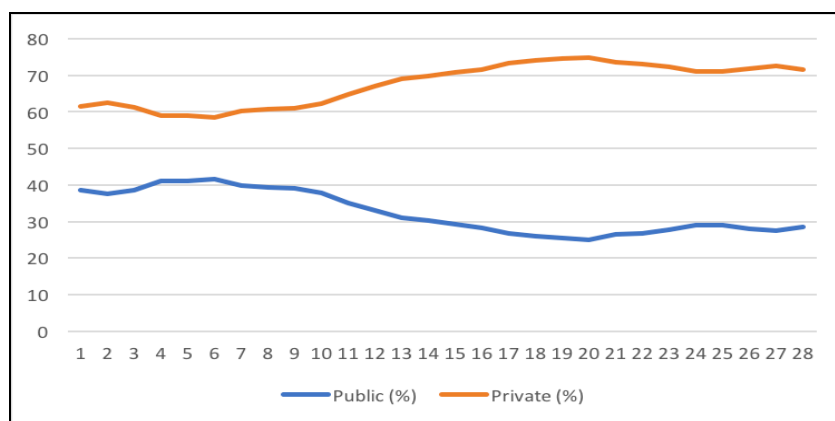
1992	629.662	906.126	1.535.788
1993	653.516	941.152	1.594.668
1994	690.450	970.584	1.661.034
1995	700.540	1.059.163	1.759.703
1996	735.427	1.133.102	1.868.529
1997	759.182	1.186.433	1.945.615
1998	804.729	1.321.229	2.125.958
1999	832.022	1.537.923	2.369.945
2000	887.026	1.807.219	2.694.245
2001	939.225	2.091.529	3.030.754
2002	1.051.655	2.428.258	3.479.913
2003	1.136.370	2.750.652	3.887.022
2004	1.178.328	2.985.405	4.163.733
2005	1.192.189	3.260.967	4.453.156
2006	1.209.304	3.467.342	4.676.646
2007	1.240.968	3.639.413	4.880.381
2008	1.273.965	3.806.091	5.080.056
2009	1.351.168	3.764.728	5.115.896
2010	1.461.696	3.987.424	5.449.120
2011	1.595.391	4.151.371	5.746.762
2012	1.715.752	4.208.086	5.923.838
2013	1.777.974	4.374.431	6.152.405
2014	1.821.629	4.664.542	6.486.171
2015	1.823.752	4.809.793	6.633.545
2016	1.867.477	4.686.806	6.554.283
Cumulative Growth			
1989-2016	219,5%	401,5%	331,5%

Source: Own elaboration based on INEP Data (1989-2016)

The graph 7 below clearly shows the upward curve of private sector enrolment in the period, while enrolments in public institutions have a declining line. It is evident that this fact confers veracity to the thesis that the increase of the vacancies follows the logic of an educational market,

by means of a gradual massification of the courses in the private colleges and institutes, reducing the level of quality on this phase of education, since in this type of expansion would be the precariousness of teaching, through the differentiation and diversification of HEIs in Brazil (OLIVEIRA, 2002).

Graph 7 - Enrolment in Brazilian HEIs in percentage of participation (period 1989-2016)⁵



Source: Own elaboration based on INEP Data (1989-2016)

Table 13 - Percentage development of the enrolment by public and private category in HE in Brazil (period 1989-2016)

Year	Public (%)	Private (%)
1989	38,48	61,52
1990	37,57	62,43
1991	38,70	61,30
1992	41,00	59,00
1993	40,98	59,02
1994	41,57	58,43

⁵ Data referring to undergraduate teaching in face-to-face method.

1995	39,81	60,19
1996	39,36	60,64
1997	39,02	60,98
1998	37,85	62,15
1999	35,11	64,89
2000	32,92	67,08
2001	30,99	69,01
2002	30,22	69,78
2003	29,23	70,77
2004	28,30	71,70
2005	26,77	73,23
2006	25,86	74,14
2007	25,43	74,57
2008	25,08	74,92
2009	26,41	73,59
2010	26,82	73,18
2011	27,76	72,24
2012	28,96	71,04
2013	28,90	71,10
2014	28,08	71,92
2015	27,49	72,51
2016	28,49	71,51
Variance % (1989)	-25,95	16,23

Source: Own elaboration based on INEP Data (1989-2016)

2.2.2 Privatism in the progress of university enrolment in Turkey

When the number of students in public and private HEIs is analysed in Turkey, it can be seen that, compared to other countries, the privatization process was not so overwhelming in public higher education. In the period in which privatization reached its peak (1991-2007) and the number of private university establishments became the majority over those of public management, this fact is very relativized by the amount of

enrolment distributed throughout the higher education system that maintains the number of students high, especially in large national universities. In this sense, the public university HEIs continued to have the characteristics of mass universities and did not allow, at any moment, to absorb the majority of enrolments and university student admissions - never less than 80%.

It is important to analyze the evolution of the gross enrolment in university graduation in Turkey in the period 1991-2016 in order to verify the particularities of the process from the point of view of a privatization trend. From this, it is necessary to understand how the expansion of enrolment, distributed in the public and private HEIs, accompany the numerical increase of the systems of Higher Education. This comparative analysis is possible from the observation of Table 14, below.

In general terms, based on the year 1989, official data collected show that the growth of private enrolments (10078.4%) in the Turkish HE follows the privatization logic observed in the HEIs. Privatization gains strength in the university system during the management of the AKP party.

Table 14 - Undergraduate enrolment in HEI in Turkey (period 1989-2016)

Year	Public	Private	Total
1989	570.985	3.202	574.187
1990	620.666	4.243	624.909
1991	667.979	5.043	673.022
1992	780.506	5.668	786.174
1993	960.845	6.404	967.249
1994	963.086	7.106	970.192
1995	993.796	7.350	1.001.146
1996	1.034.964	10.067	1.045.031
1997	1.113.855	16.164	1.130.019
1998	1.148.906	22.828	1.171.734
1999	1.163.543	30.947	1.194.490
2000	1.220.348	40.612	1.260.960

2001	1.252.386	45.003	1.297.389
2002	1.406.452	49.308	1.455.760
2003	1.418.387	57.623	1.476.010
2004	1.489.919	68.620	1.558.539
2005	1.632.360	81.730	1.714.090
2006	1.693.555	89.173	1.782.728
2007	1.742.742	100.523	1.843.265
2008	2.067.072	116.061	2.183.133
2009	2.576.317	126.101	2.702.418
2010	2.864.270	140.262	3.004.532
2011	3.254.740	166.927	3.421.667
2012	3.692.233	198.567	3.890.800
2013	3.137.328	268.012	3.405.340
2014	1.622.336	275.356	1.897.692
2015	1.711.465	328.762	2.040.227
2016	1.823.254	325.912	2.149.166
Cumulative Growth			
1989-2016	182,6%	10078,4%	274,3%

Source: Elaborated based on YÖK (1989-2016); INEP (1989-2016).

The difference between the number of enrolments between public and private HEIs is due to the fact that private university establishments are traditionally small and concentrated in urban areas, the province of Istanbul, as well as other major urban centers of the provinces. Another important factor is that some of the paid university institutions in Turkey have elitist characteristics. Thus, the hypothesis that a large majority would not be able to pay for the more elite private university courses and / or would naturally opt for the courses in public and free HEIs.

Compared to the HE system in Brazil, the privatization process in Turkey was contained. In this sense, even between the years 1990 and 2007 - the period of greater expansion of private HEIs and shrinking of the public sector in the university field -, public HEIs did not overcome in

relation to enrolments nor the relative weight in the composition of the university education system. Even with the greater division of enrolments between public and private institutes, privatization processes do not succeed in reversing the predominance of the public sector.

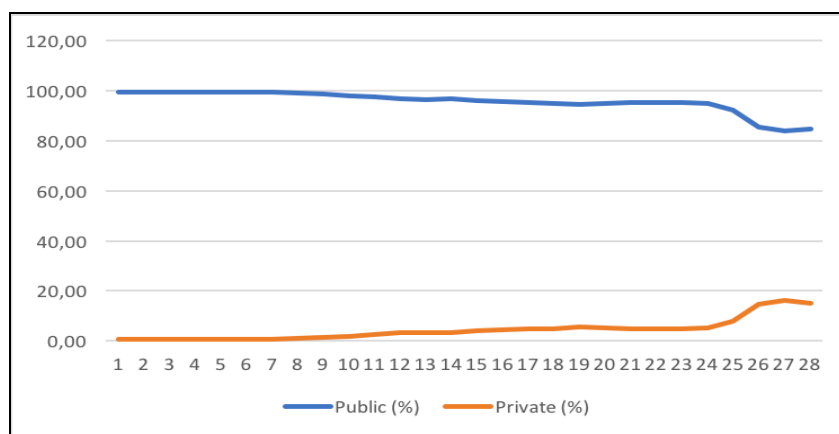
Table 15 - Progress in percentage of public and private enrolment in the HE in Turkey (period 1989-2016)

Year	Public (%)	Private (%)
1989	99,44	0,56
1990	99,32	0,68
1991	99,25	0,75
1992	99,28	0,72
1993	99,34	0,66
1994	99,27	0,73
1995	99,27	0,73
1996	99,04	0,96
1997	98,57	1,43
1998	98,05	1,95
1999	97,41	2,59
2000	96,78	3,22
2001	96,53	3,47
2002	96,61	3,39
2003	96,10	3,90
2004	95,60	4,40
2005	95,23	4,77
2006	95,00	5,00
2007	94,55	5,45
2008	94,68	5,32
2009	95,33	4,67
2010	95,33	4,67
2011	95,12	4,88
2012	94,90	5,10
2013	92,13	7,87

2014	85,49	14,51
2015	83,89	16,11
2016	84,84	15,16
Variação % (1989)	-14,69	2.619,33

Source: Own elaboration based on YÖK Data (1989-2016); INEP (1989-2016)

Graph 8 - Progress in percentage of enrolment in Turkish university HEIs (period 1989-2016)



Source: Own elaboration based on YÖK Data (1989-2016); INEP (1989-2016)

2.2.3 Comparison of the Higher Education enrolment expansion in the public and private sector in Brazil and Turkey

Regarding the total volume of undergraduate students in higher education levels in Brazil and Turkey between the 1990s and the late 2000s, there is a higher rate of enrolment growth in the private sector. However, the dominant privatization trend observed in the period should be analysed with attention to the particularities and changes over the years.

In relation to the growth rate of HEIs, the general increase in enrolment overlaps in higher levels. However, considering the central categories of the analysis used here, it is important to measure the growth of the enrolment of the public sector, in addition to the analysis of the expansion registered in the private sector. In 1989, the amount of 1.518.904 had been recorded in Brazil and, in 2016, 6.554.283 - an increase of 331.5% (INEP, 1989, 2016).

In Turkey, between 1989 and 2016, there was a total increase in enrolment in the HE of 274.3%. In both countries, the largest increase in the number of HEIs, and proportional to the number of students enrolled, is in the private sector.

As for the growth of the number of students in Brazil in this period, the same tendency of privatization is echoed and is designed as a much more voracious and uncontrolled phenomenon than in Turkey. Despite the consolidation of the privatization trend of the HE field, there is a concrete increase in enrolments in both spheres. Between 1989 and 2016, there was an increase in the volume of 401.5% of students in Brazil for the private higher education subset, and 219.5% for the public educational subset. In Turkey, the increase in public enrolment throughout the HE, based on the year 1989, reached 274.3%. In this sense, it is possible to infer that the enrolment of the public sector grew more in Brazil than in Turkey between the second half of the 1990s and the end of the 2000s. In view of the growth statistics of the number of public HEIs and coverage rates of higher education, this growth evidences a demand for HE much more dammed in Brazil than in Turkey.

As for the growth of enrolment in private HEIs, which, based on the years of 1989, accounted for an accumulated growth of 331.5% in Brazil by 2016, it is possible to have a clear notion of privatism leveraged at this educational level. In the period from 1991 to 2016, the expansion of private enrolment in Brazilian higher education accumulated an index of 318.8%. Between 2002 and 2016, the index was 294.6%.

On the other hand, Turkey, based on the year 1989, registered in the private sector of the entire HE, an increase of enrolment in the order of 10078,4%. When comparing the numbers relative to the evolution of enrolment in the two countries, the comparisons allow us to clearly state

that the process of privatization of enrolment occurred more strongly in Brazil.

In proportion to the total number of students enrolled in Brazil by public and private HEI categories, in 1989, there was a percentage of 38.48% of students in the public sector to 61.52% in the private sector. In 2016, the ratio 'public enrolment' and 'private enrolment' reached rates of 28.49% and 71.51%, respectively. In Turkey, there is also a relative higher increase in enrolment in private HEIs. Observing the enrolment of the Turkish HE system, based on the year 1989, it is possible to verify a proportion of 99.44% of public enrolments in relation to 0.56% of enrolments in private HEIs - which already showed a great difference in the composition of the HE system, when compared to Brazilian HE. In 2009, the proportion of public enrolment versus private enrolment in Turkish HE increased to 84.84% and 15.15%, respectively.

In sum, the private sector has increased, but the privatization trend - which peaked in the 1990s and early 2000s - was unable to overcome or threaten the public sector's relevance in the university field, signaling its restraint.

Taking the comparisons presented as the center of the analysis, the highest growth of the private sector in the observed periods and modalities of Higher Education is clear. In Brazil, the process of privatizing enrolment is greater. In both countries, the summit of the privatization of enrolment occurs between the second half of the 1990s and the first half of the 2000s. It is undeniable that in both countries, based on the years 1990 and 2000, the private sector registered a higher proportional increase in relation to the initial volume of students (INEP, 2016; YÖK, 2016).

2.3 The forms of admission in the Higher Education System of Brazil and Turkey

2.3.1 Admission to the Brazilian Higher Education System

When analyzing the evolution of HEIs and the enrolment of public and private higher education, a privatization trend in the Brazilian HE is

confirmed. This trend has been growing in the last two decades and corroborates the persistence of the role of private initiative in Brazilian HE, as it has been characterized since the beginning of university activities in Brazil as observed in chapter 1. Another structural characteristic that has historically hampered the access to Brazilian higher education is elitism, which is a mark that has remained during the years following the establishment of the first universities in the country, despite the changes experienced during the period, such as institutional expansion and the increase in the number of enrolments in Education Higher.

As a result of the Law No. 5,540 / 68 (BRASIL, 1968), which establishes the entrance exam as an institutional examination for entry into the HE, there is then a conditional evaluation process for entry into the HE. In this way, the vestibular is, in essence, a competitive test. As a competition, this test has been consummated in a multiple-choice test or objective questions that potentiate the classificatory cut in descending order, from the maximum score reached until the limited number of places offered.

However, the Brazilian HE system has historically borne the mark of elitism, vestibular exams, selective admission processes - such as the National High School Examination (ENEM) and serial assessments, applied by private universities, have been over time, increasingly popular and accepted as a fair or meritocratic way of accessing the university. In these types of examination, centesimal fractions of points are often determinant for the separation between the last of the classified and the first one eliminated in the dispute for a vacancy in a university.

The vestibular is a test in which the candidate who prepared the best will be approved and classified according to those who defend this form of entry, in a way that the best will always win, with the approval being the prize for the individual effort.

However, it is important to take into account other aspects relevant to the success or elimination of vacancy in Higher Education, such as the level of knowledge and culture of the candidate, acquired throughout the school life of the individual; the quality of schooling; the specific preparation for the examination, as well as the emotional intelligence at the time of the test. These proofs, originally designed to maintain the

features of an elitist system, have truly become a mass assessment; however, its eliminatory and excluding feature remained throughout the period analysed here. The few vacancies available for courses offered by public universities are among the most popular in the country. Also, highlighting the offers of night shift, historically inferior to other shifts, excluding even more students who are not part of the "Brazilian elite", who need to work.

Table 16 – Number of Vacancies Offered and Registration for Entrance Exam by Nature of the Institution (1996)

HEIs by nature	Vacancies Offered	Registration for Entrance Exam	Candidate/Vacancy
Public	183.513	1.384.643	7,5
Federal	84.197	740.520	8,8
Estadual	63.603	549.318	8,6
Municipal	35.713	94.805	2,6
Private	450.723	1.163.434	2,6

Source: INEP (1996)

Table 17 – Number of Vacancies Offered and Registration for Entrance Exam by Nature of the Institution (2016)

HEIs by nature	Vacancies Offered	Registration for Entrance Exam	Candidate/Vacancy
Public	529.239	7.904.621	14,9
Federal	315.722	6.073.468	19,2
Estadual	155.450	1.735.527	11,2
Municipal	58.067	95.626	1,6
Private	3.407.890	5.731.131	1,7

Source: INEP (2016)

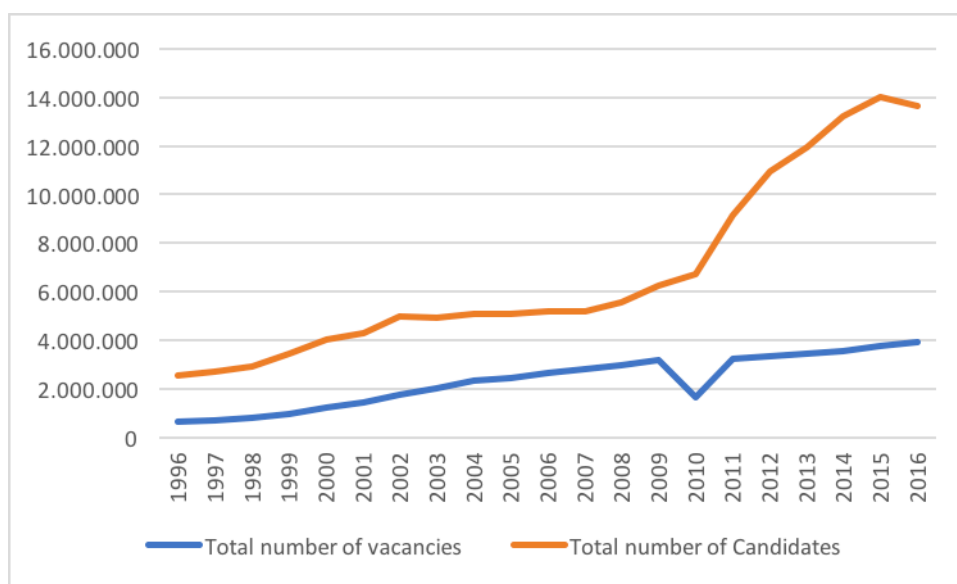
Regarding Table 16 and 17, it is possible to illustrate inequality in the conditions of competition, depending on the type of institution to which the vestibular examination is given. The competitive ratio brings the gross average of all public and private HEI courses. According to the INEP, competition for public HEI vacancies in 1996 and 2016 varied between 7,5 and 14,9 candidates for each vacancy offered, while private HEIs presented lower competition, between 2,6 and 1,7 candidates for each vacancy offered.

In the last years, the vestibular has lost the characteristic of a heterogeneous institutional exam, being fragmented and developed by each HEIs. Likewise, the character of a unique form of entrance exam has also been lost. Through the formulation of ENEM, applied at the end of elementary education, this evaluation has been increasingly used nationally as a way to enter an HEI. Created initially to measure the quality of High School, ENEM has been converted into an option to enroll in the higher courses of the most varied HEIs. The use of ENEM as a form of an entrance is free for students graduating from high school from public institutions and is not imposed to fill the vacancies of the HEI, and their use for access to the undergraduate course a voluntary adhesion by the HEIs. Adherence to a national test has brought together a large number of federal, state and private universities, maintaining this examination as the main classification and eliminatory assessment of the mass character, making it the largest national exam, open to wide competition and carried out simultaneously by millions of secondary school students (INEP, 2016).

It is important to note that the MEC does not practice any interference in university entrance systems, either in the ultracompetitive selections for public HEIs, or in private individuals that define evidence as a mere formality. The ENEM, in spite of its increasing adherence in the most diverse HEIs, did not impose, at least in the initial years of implementation, the obligation to implement the examinations by the HEI or to the students as a way of accessing Higher Education positions. Private universities are also legally obliged to demand admission tests,

and may do so in any way according to their wishes or the student profile that best fits the profile of the institution. Public universities have the autonomy to stipulate the selective process that is convenient for them to better fill their vacancies (whether through selective exams, racial, social, etc.) systems, in order to stimulate competition or favor some aspects of equity. There are, in fact, compensatory policies with reserves of vacancies or quotas for Afro-descendants and indigenous, used in some federal and state HEIs. In addition to the quota policy, the ENEM and the traditional vestibular, exist several other forms of a selective process for admission to higher courses.

Graph 9 – Progression of Vacancies offered and Candidates (1996-2016)



Source: INEP (2016)

In the analysis of the period between 1989 and 2016, there is a notable increase in the number of students enrolled in selective processes. However, the total number of applications to compete for a vacancy in Higher Education does not reflect all the potential net demand of young people in the age group of 18 to 24 years, since the High School in Brazil is far from universalized, only reaching 68% of young people between 15 and 17 years old (IBGE, 2016).

As evidenced by the State's failure to open HE opportunities in table 18, selective exams for enrolment in higher education institutions continued to play an important role in the education system as a whole. However, open competition in the college entrance examination, with the highest candidate / vacancy ratio, was reduced in the mentioned period, with a growing trend in 2011 until the end of 2016, when competitiveness per vacancy became more intense.

Table 18 - Evolution of competition for vestibular and other selective processes and evolution of the number of vacancies - Brazil (1996 – 2016)

Year	Candidate / Vacancy	Total number of vacancies	Total number of Candidates
1996	4,01	634.236	2.548.077
1997	3,89	699.198	2.725.776
1998	3,60	803.919	2.895.176
1999	3,54	969.159	3.435.168
2000	3,32	1.216.287	4.039.910
2001	3,02	1.408.492	4.260.261
2002	2,80	1.773.087	4.984.409
2003	2,44	2.002.733	4.900.023
2004	2,17	2.320.421	5.053.992
2005	2,07	2.435.987	5.060.956
2006	1,97	2.629.598	5.181.699
2007	1,83	2.823.942	5.191.760
2008	1,85	2.985.137	5.534.689
2009	2,10	3.164.679	6.223.430
2010	4,10	1.634.118	6.698.902
2011	2,84	3.228.671	9.166.587
2012	3,29	3.324.407	10.927.775

2013	3,48	3.429.715	11.945.079
2014	3,74	3.545.294	13.245.796
2015	3,74	3.754.284	14.026.122
2016	3,46	3.937.129	13.635.752
V % (1996)	-14%	521%	435%

Source: Own elaboration based on INEP (1996-2016).

2.3.2 Admission to the Turkish Higher Education System

Turkey has a national program for candidates wishing to join a higher education institution in the country established by the Higher Council of Education in 1981, after a restructuring of the existing selection programs at the time, considering that the increase in the number of candidates, it was necessary to structure an examination that meets the current need. In order to enter the graduation program of HEIs in Turkey, students must take an admission examination called "Student Selection and Placement System" (in Turkish: Öğrenci Secme and Yerleştirme Sistemi, ÖSYS). The examination consists of the application of two separate tests. The first stage is known as the Higher Education Entrance Exam (YGS) and the second stage, the University Placement Exam (LYS) for students who have completed their final year of secondary education in Turkey or abroad.

The YGS exam has its score calculated taking into account the correct and incorrect answers given to the questions of Turkish, social sciences, basic math, and science. The YGS weighted scores (AYGS) of the candidates are calculated using standard scores and weights. Students must obtain the minimum score to be eligible to apply to the higher education institution in Turkey with their YGS scores and must enter the second phase. LYS consists of 5 tests: Math Test (LYS-1), Science Exam (LYS-2), Literature-Geography Exam (LYS-3) Examination of Social Sciences (LYS-4) and Foreign Language Exam (LYS-5).

In the case of graduates of vocational and technical secondary education institutions, if they so wish, they may have their admission without an examination in vocational schools and associate degree

programs of open education which are carried out within ÖSYS. In the same way, for the students who won the first, second and third place in International Science Olympiads. These candidates are exempted from taking the YGS test (Except they wish to apply for a scholarship).

Foreign students who hold a diploma equivalent to Turkish secondary education are also able to register for the ÖSYS exams, although it is not compulsory for these students, considering that some institutions in the country accept international test scores, such as the exam of the standardized educational test in the United States, SAT (once acronym for Scholastic Aptitude Test or Scholastic Assessment Test).

According to data released on the number of candidates for the university entrance exams, in 2016 were registered 2.256.422 candidates for the first phase of the exam (YGS). Among the total number of applicants, 1.600.031 were classified for the second phase (LYS) (ÖSYM, 2016).

According to table 19, between 1989 and 2016, there was a substantial increase not only in the number of students enrolled in undergraduate courses but also a corresponding gradual increase in the number of candidates who took the entrance exam to higher education.

Table 19 - Evolution of the number of candidates and places filled at Turkish universities (1989-2016)

Year	Total number of Candidates	Total number of vacancies⁶	Candidate / Vacancy
1989	824.128	193.665	4,3
1990	892.975	196.253	4,6
1991	875.385	199.599	4,4
1992	977.550	260.268	3,8
1993	1.154.571	324.432	3,6
1994	1.249.880	345.907	3,6
1995	1.263.379	353.300	3,6

⁶ The number of vacancies filled was used for comparison parameters, considering that Turkey tries to fill the largest number of vacancies possible. The number of total vacancies is not available during the period. Such detailing has only begun to be released in the last 4 years.

1996	1.398.768	386.372	3,6
1997	1.398.367	421.453	3,3
1998	1.355.707	394.432	3,4
1999	1.478.365	414.341	3,6
2000	1.407.920	414.647	3,4
2001	1.471.197	455.913	3,2
2002	1.817.590	614.125	3,0
2003	1.593.831	506.637	3,1
2004	1.897.196	574.867	3,3
2005	1.844.891	607.994	3,0
2006	1.678.326	590.533	2,8
2007	1.776.427	626.425	2,8
2008	1.645.416	833.532	2,0
2009	1.450.582	786.677	1,8
2010	1.587.866	763.516	2,1
2011	1.759.403	789.169	2,2
2012	1.895.478	865.631	2,2
2013	1.924.547	877.787	2,2
2014	2.086.115	922.275	2,3
2015	2.126.681	983.090	2,2
2016	2.256.367	961.864	2,3

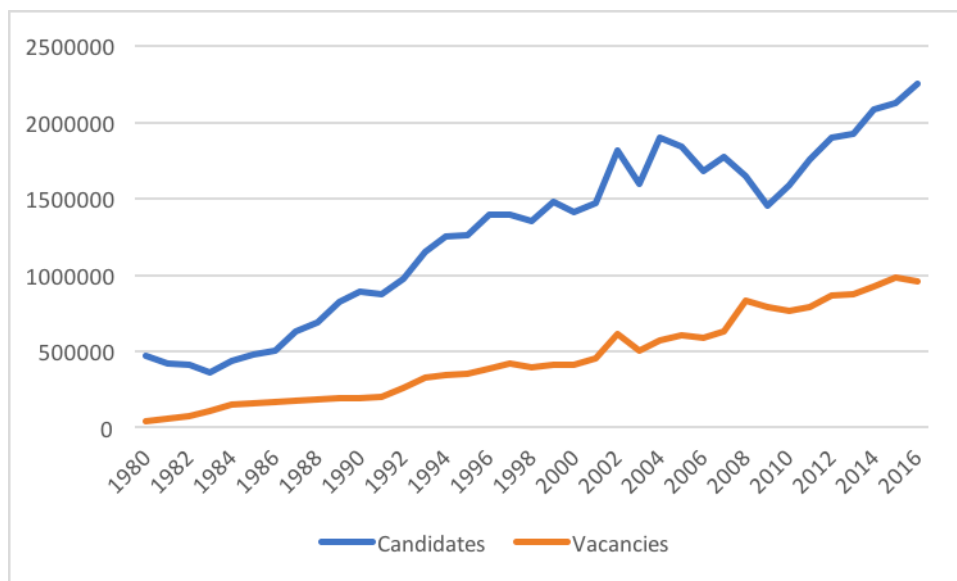
Source: YÖK (2016)

As it can be observed in the graph 10 there is an expansion of vacancies and an increase in the number of candidates interested in joining an institution of higher education. The cumulative increase in the number of applicants each year is 174%, expanding on a smaller scale than the cumulative for the total vacancies, 397%. The most plausible hypotheses are that with the increase in the number of institutions in the country, whether public or private, the number of vacancies offered has increased, but is still insufficient to meet the demand that has grown by an average of 8% a year since 2010.

In relation to this trend, KAVAK (2011) forecasts a demographic transformation by the country's young population, also indicating that

higher education institutions will increase by 23% by 2023 and is expected to grow by 30% in 2050. Such expansion follows the logic of privatization already addressed, increasing the participation of the private sector in the Turkish educational environment.

Graph 10 – Progression of Vacancies offered and Candidates (1996-2016)



Source: YÖK (2016)

2.3.3 Comparison of the forms of entrance in the universities in Brazil and Turkey

Differences and similarities can be observed in the higher education system of Turkey and Brazil when the forms of entry of the two countries are analysed. As in Brazil, access to the HE in Turkey is based on principles that are supposedly meritocratic principles. In this way, access is restricted and occurs through an exam that attests to the cognitive conditions of the candidates and selects them among the best of an open competition through job vacancies. Depending on the university in which the exam is given and also on the intended course, the competition and the degree of difficulty for entry into higher education may be higher or lower in both countries.

The entrance exams known as vestibular and later nationalized from the ENEM initiative are the main selective and regular ways to enter the Brazilian HE system. Thus, although the ENEM constitutes itself as a national test, it is not an exclusive or compulsory examination. Different tests are still adopted in the country at the discretion of the universities, such as the FUVEST exam applied by the University of São Paulo or tests elaborated by the private universities to evaluate their candidates according to factors determined by the institution. Such autonomy could lead to poor application of the examination or poor management of the courses offered, being necessary as in Brazil, state interference, limiting the autonomy of universities at specific times (BRAZIL, Diário Oficial da União, 2014).

In Turkey, the entrance is still mostly through the ÖSS, demonstrating a lower autonomy of the universities in relation to the application of their own selection exams.

2.4 Completion rates of students in Higher Education in Brazil and Turkey

2.4.1 Completion rates of students in the Brazilian HE system

Joining a university, unfortunately, is not a guarantee of completion of the course in which the student was enrolled. During the academic years, a number of factors can affect student performance and course completion, such as financial conditions, difficulty in following the school curriculum due to a lack of knowledge, among others. In Brazil, the problem of high drop-out rates is notorious, especially in private higher institutions.

As discussed earlier, one of the obstacles to be faced by the student before even entering selective exams is the low acquisition of cognitive knowledge from the basic education in Brazil, especially for the lower classes.

Another issue experienced by the candidate is not being able to stay on the course, even though he is in a free or private-public institution

paid for and subsidized by the government through scholarship and funding programs.

Although not paying tuition, the student needs time, rest and minimum material conditions to fund teaching materials and study minimally.

There are some of the most sophisticated and complex ways to calculate the rate of completion of the school year, it was decided to measure the gross course completion rate, taking into account an ideal average duration of four years of university graduation in Brazil.

The calculation of this rate is simple, based on the number of students entering in a given year and the relation of difference with the number of graduated students four years after admission.

The following formula shall be used:

$$\text{CCR} = 100 - [(SE - GS) \times 100] \div SE$$

CCR - Course completion rate

SE - Students enrolled

GS - Graduated students (four years after entering the course)

Table 20 – Completion rate of higher education in Brazil (1989-2016)

Year	Total nº of Graduated Students	Total nº of Students Enrolled	Conclusion rate
1989	232.275	382.221	61,31
1990	230.206	407.148	58,22
1991	236.377	426.558	59,81
1992	234.267	410.910	61,29
1993	240.269	439.801	62,86
1994	245.887	463.240	60,39
1995	254.401	510.377	59,64
1996	260.224	513.842	63,33

1997	274.384	573.900	62,39
1998	300.761	662.396	64,93
1999	324.374	787.638	63,56
2000	352.305	897.557	68,56
2001	395.988	1.036.690	69,00
2002	466.260	1.205.140	70,39
2003	528.223	1.262.954	67,06
2004	626.617	1.303.110	69,81
2005	717.858	1.397.281	69,25
2006	796.829	1.448.509	66,12
2007	756.799	1.481.955	59,92
2008	800.318	1.505.819	61,42
2009	826.928	1.511.388	59,18
2010	829.286	1.590.212	57,25
2011	865.161	1.686.854	58,38
2012	876.091	1.970.392	58,18
2013	829.938	1.951.696	54,91
2014	837.304	2.110.766	52,65
2015	916.363	1.944.178	54,32
2016	938.732	1.858.106	47,64
V %	304%	386%	-22%

Source: Own elaboration based on INEP (1989-2016)

The gross upper secondary completion rate in Brazil has remained reasonably stable over the period analysed, with small changes between 1989 and 2009, when the rate begins to decline, reaching the lowest level in 2016 with 47.64%. It is necessary to analyze in which types of institutions there is a higher or lower completion rate, in order to verify if there are significant discrepancies or not.

The difficulty of assessing net completion rates as well as the calculation of the abandonment of HE results from both the methodological complexity and the scarcity of data. To reach these

numbers, it would be necessary to know the annual number of students retained, external transfers from HEIs or internal undergraduate courses. Such data are not described in the statistical summaries of the MEC from 1989-2011. INEP provides data on the number of students who have undergone withdrawal procedures by type of educational institution between 2012 and 2016 - which might provide some parameters for comparison (Table 21).

Table 21 – Number of students who have completed withdrawal procedures by type of educational institution

Year	Total	Public	%	Private	%
2012	2.399.347	408.830	17,0%	1.990.517	83,0%
2013	2.500.755	437.909	17,5%	2.062.846	82,5%
2014	2.834.096	458.966	16,2%	2.375.130	83,8%
2015	3.035.956	461.254	15,2%	2.574.702	84,8%
2016	3.284.647	477.025	14,5%	2.807.622	85,5%

Source: INEP (2012-2016)

According to the data, the number of withdrawal procedures is calculated by type of academic organization. It occurs more frequently in private HEIs than in public HEIs. More than 80% of the students who dropped out or had to leave the course for a period are from privately funded institutions.

2.4.2 Completion rates of students in the Turkish HE system

Regarding the verified completion indexes, there is a progressive and gradual trend of elevation over the years. In the analysed period, the proportion of incoming students increased, signalling also progress in the graduation rate, especially in the years 2015 and 2016.

Table 22 – Completion rate of higher education in Turkey (2012-2016)⁷

Year	Total nº of Graduated Students	Total nº of New Students Enrolled	Conclusion Rate
2012	248.811	687.874	66,38
2013	406.215	581.219	71,21
2014	399.049	707.222	119,44
2015	458.564	789.726	135,96
2016	437446	673. 327	63,59
V %	76%	-2%	-4%

Source: Own elaboration based on YÖK (2012-2016)

However, the rates presented between 2012 and 2013 may be related to the imbalance between the four-year official curriculum time average for most undergraduate courses and the actual average time in which many of the students take seven or more years to complete finish the course, which could be completed in four years.

2.4.3 Comparative perspective of graduation rates for higher education in Brazil and Turkey

When comparisons are made with regard to the completion of undergraduate courses in Brazil and in Turkey, there are similarities regarding the motivations for non-titling in HE. However, in the absence of data such as statistics of internal and external transfer of courses, transfers between HEI or ex-officio, quantitative retention, enrolment, and enrolment of isolated subjects within undergraduate courses, no reliable methodology can be investigated and assess the problem of dropout and dropout in the HE. Thus, the basis for the analysis of the end-of-course variable in the HE of the two countries was more related to the qualitative aspects between the two systems than comparisons of numerical data that illustrate the analysis, in a quantitative way.

Although none of the data on university dropout is found in the official statistics of Higher Education, very few studies focused on this subject can be found. Similarly, in Turkey, official statistics on dropout in

⁷ Data relating to previous periods is not disclosed by the responsible authorities.

the HE are not known. In this way, it was chosen in this study to investigate the conclusion in the courses from the measurement of a gross rate of completion of the higher courses based on an official average of graduation numbers in both countries.

In Brazil, most of the undergraduate programs have a minimum of four years. Between 1989 and 2016, the gross rate of completion decreased by 39,31%, from 61.31% in 1989 to 22% in 2016. It is noteworthy that in Brazil historically, completion rates are higher in public HEIs and lower in private ones, accumulating higher dropout rates. The lower number of courses in private HEIs leads to the hypothesis that the dropout rate in the Brazilian HE may be related to economic factors. In spite of the democratization policies of the access to the HE through fiscal subsidies to the private HEIs, the privatization of Higher Education can be related in some way to the decrease of the gross rate of completion of the course.

3 CHAPTER

PUBLIC FUNDING AND POLICIES FOR THE ACCESS AND INCLUSION OF THE PROCESS OF EXPANSION AND PRIVATIZATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN BRAZIL AND TURKEY

In this chapter, we will discuss the types and evolution of public finances in Brazil and Turkey, as well as some government programs and projects developed for this level of education within the last decades.

The neoliberal premisses introduced within the HE essentially undergo the argument of the inevitableness of the reduction of the attributes of the State before the supposed impotence within the cost accounting of the general public structures, or within the growth of those structures before the expansion of a social demand and maintenance. Within the neoliberal comprehension, the state intrinsically is unfit for any change which will equate or lessen the costing problem at any time - which might displace attainable solutions for a specific entity: the market.

In the context of privatization initiated within the 1990s, from the point of view of neoliberal formulators, the sole answer to the matter of the shortage of state resources is focused on a state reform. In the measured practices, the neoliberal state is characterized by ultraliberal bases that compete for the triumph of the market over all fields of human action, or that may carry out a group of public policies under this direction.

Harvey (2005) points out that neoliberal principles are oriented towards factors such as the defence of private property, market economy, free movement and capital flow, open markets, competition, and competitiveness. These are considered a universal value to be achieved by national economies and individuals. A fierce competitiveness means maximizing the efficiency of the expenses, optimizing resources, both human and material, and the effectiveness of the results, achieving a higher productivity. In the neoliberal frame, the state becomes the

regulator of norms, rights, regulations, oriented under market values. Such practices and values are supported by dominant multinationals (IMF, World Bank, IBRD, WTO, IDB) and are regulated by large financial agencies that guide capital and control speculation for the risk ratings of each country's economy.

In order to comply with neoliberal guidelines, the State imposes as priorities for the investment of its own resources the remuneration through interest and dividends, amortization, and public debt rollover services, even if it may end up compromising part of the country's GDP. Although the work of the State "decreases" in relation to the service of society, it increases in relation to the consumption of resources in favour of the financial capital that governs the global market.

Regarding higher education, neoliberal-reformist ideas have fostered a reduction of the "hand of the state" and under-financing. Bringing to the educational sector entrepreneurial paradigms advent of private initiative.

Neoliberalism-reformist restructuring the Institutions of Higher Education through the reduction of public funding and its broad conditioning to GDP growth in detriment of the social demand for Higher Education. This gap opens up space for private companies to act as service providers of higher education through partnerships, covenants, and programs.

If, in a productive logic based on human capital, formal education is converted into a reserve that can be measured by the relation to the monetary cost of training the individual in relation to the benefit measured by economic returns that education generates in the long run, neoliberalism, even if it does not abandon all this vision, tends to be more immediate. In globalized neoliberal capitalism, it is more feasible to optimize existing resources, to cheapen all productive processes to maximize profit, as well as to hire imported labour, if it is less expensive and more qualified and productive than the investment in "human capital" and this is more visible in times of financial crises.

Throughout capitalism, in periods of crisis of retraction or stagnation of capital, as in the crises between the years 1970 and 2008, it is inferred that neoliberal arguments have been imposed as a rule or, at least,

"recommended" with the support of global dominant organisms such as the IMF, WB, IBRD, WTO, and Unesco. These institutions not only suggest desired goals for various areas but also impose goals, often standardized for countries of different weights and cultures. Paradoxically, they affirm their goal of reaching the global development and greater standard of balance between nations, among which is the educational area, including the higher one. In the neoliberal-reformist reasoning, the responsibility for the crisis was placed on the state, as the private initiative, the volatile capital, and the privatizing actions aimed at the market would rise to the horizon as a solution to the problem.

With regard to the various "recommendations" documented by the WB, signed by each signatory State in relation to the respective HE, they bring forward ideas full of terms and ideas of "rationalization of expenditures", openness to financing and private participation and university as criteria to be sought for "possible improvements" in the HE (WORLD BANK, 1995, 2005, and 2007). These guidelines, once launched, have contributed to both processes of incentive to academic productivism, interuniversity mobility (or internationalization), greater institutional diversification and standardization of quality and efficiency criteria, as well as the implementation of external institutional evaluations on sometimes unrelated criteria of the University. The measures, imposed or "recommended", from the dominant spaces can be widely found in processes such as the "Bologna process" and also in the most varied neoliberal reformist policies for the HE in Brazil and Turkey from the 1990s, as it has been intensified in universities.

The question of educational funding is at the heart of the institutional debate of governments for the development of current public policies for education in Brazil and Turkey. In the current scenario, any public spending or investment is subject to control of can be avoided. In many circumstances, public spending must be transformed into private spending, transferring much of the HE's responsibility to private enterprise. Potentially, in view of the retraction of the State and its controls on HE, the private educational enterprise active in Higher Education has enjoyed greater protagonism in the university, tending to subvert the university field more and more to the sphere of the exploitation of capital in Brazil. In

Turkey, although the process is more controlled, the growth of privatism in the last decades is undeniable.

In the scope of this research we mean the privatization of the HE in the broader aspect, which concerns not only the numerical increase in the private institutions that commercialize the teaching in relation to the total of HEIs, but also the overlaps between the financing of the public sphere over the private sphere to favour the latter.

Around this privatizing process of the HE, if legal and normative constraints impede neoliberal reforms, they will certainly constitute obstacles that are very likely to be revoked or at least to be subjected to strong pressure from the capital on the political, governmental, legislative, and university levels. In this sense, the desired changes necessarily require a legal basis - which implies legal reforms and new laws and regulations that make it possible to reform the neoliberal sphere at the university.

3.1 Legislation for the financing of Higher Education in Brazil and Turkey

3.1.1 Public funding and the cost of higher education in Brazil

The financing of the Brazilian Education is shared by the political-administrative spheres, Federal Government, state, municipal and Federal District governments (GDF). In the responsibility of educational financing, the shared destination of the taxes collected by a sphere of power, in the order of 18%, for the Union and 25%, for States, Municipalities, and Federal District, should be allocated. These legal determinations are expressed in the Federal Constitution (Art. 212) and Art. 68 of the LDB (C. BRASIL, 2012 and 1996) to the state constitutions and the law of the Federal District, determining or at least legally implying other standards, laws, budget guidelines (LDOs, federal and state) and multi-year budgeting. However, it is important to emphasize that the 25% constitutionally imposed for the educational destination by the States, Municipalities, and Federal District cannot be allocated in higher education.

Although the educational levels, according to Art. 211 of the Federal Constitution (1988), organize administratively in a system of collaboration between the Union, States, Municipalities, and DF, different financial impacts can be observed for each government. Throughout history, the Federal Government has assumed greater responsibility for Higher Education, while the States are responsible for primary and secondary education. The municipalities, in turn, would concentrate primarily on the financing and maintenance of the elementary and primary education (Federal Constitution, Art. 211. C. BRAZIL, 2012a). LDB (1996, 1996), in Articles 8-11, also contributes to these responsibilities in the practice of public financing of Education, since it defines in a similar way in its text the priorities of each administrative scope.

In spite of the educational levels, according to Art. 211 of the public cost of HE, largely maintained by on lending of the Union, has been constituted as the financing of a greater proportional volume of resources applied in relation to the coverage of the demand for a specific educational level, while basic education has been practically maintained by States, Municipalities, and the Federal District. In economically disadvantaged places, to which local authorities cannot guarantee the lowest cost of basic education, there has been a chronic need for a greater counterpart of the Union by the constitution of the Basic Education Development Fund (FUNDEB), officially approved by Law No. 11,494 of June 20, 2007, which built up a supplementary fund for the financing of Basic Education in Brazil, in light of the distribution of a segment of the assessment gathering of state and city charges. The amount of this fund would be manipulated by the Union and transferred to the financing of Basic Education of the States and Municipalities deprived of the capacity of financing of Basic Education in their spaces. Nevertheless, as much as it is the definition of a minimum volume of financing public education needed at different levels, the accountability of different public authorities in relation to educational funding, as well as the construction of an agenda of priorities of governments that respect concrete socio-educational needs, is the subject of heated discussions of a distant consensus and difficult juridical execution.

In this context, there is a negligence of several governments regarding the elaboration of a State agenda that prioritizes Education in terms of financing and in relation to a political construction that implies necessary improvements for the minimum functioning of the area. This can be glimpsed in the little evolution of the direct public financing for the Education in the last decades.

A normative instrument to modify the underfunding framework could be carried out with the implementation of successive 10-year National Education Plans (NFPs). Although the PNEs are formalized in laws, they lack mechanisms that clearly assign the respective responsibilities of each public agent or are punished in case of noncompliance with the educational financing goals, among other legal instruments for the effective implementation of strategies and the scope of goals of the PNE. In this sense, the PNE has not yet passed a letter of principles, deregulated strategies, medium-term objectives and goals that are very rarely achieved.

3.1.2 Public funding and the cost of higher education in Turkey

The emergence of the public sector is the existence of public necessities. The goods and services produced by the private sector are diversified. If we look at semi-public products in our research interests, especially in education and health services come to mind. In particular, the presence of different aspects of education compared to other public goods revealed the concept of semi-public economy. Semi-public goods are goods between private goods and complete public goods. In general, there are more semi-public goods than complete public goods. The most distinctive feature of the utility from public goods are goods which are not only consumed but are also be beneficial to the community.

In a service of higher education, which is a semi-public good, this situation is clearly seen, we see that the university graduate in a common vision has prospect of increased income, which can be defined as a special benefit for the individual. The contribution to the individual that obtains a superior formation brings social benefits, these caused by a series of discussions in the financing of the higher education.

The need to finance community education is based on the premise that individuals must achieve equal opportunities, social benefits, education, and the labor market, and it is necessary to make decisions for these ends and to plan according to economies of scale.

In general, financing refers to the provision of cash and the same resources necessary for the acquisition of a good or service. Funding of education and training, as well as the provision of resources for the sustainability of these services, (KARAKÜTÜK, 2006). The new provisions concerning the Turkish HE system came into force in constitutional amendments and the Higher Education Act of 1981. At the beginning of these provisions comes the establishment of YÖK. Legal provisions were introduced for the establishment of higher education institutions for non-profit foundations (*VAKIFs*). According to the legal provisions regarding Higher Education, the higher education council is responsible for planning, coordinating, and supervising teaching.

The annual budget of each university is negotiated by the State Planning Organization together with YÖK and the Ministry of Finance. The Council sends these budgets with its own budget to the Ministry of National Education and the Minister of National Education presents it to the assembly to be discussed. In addition to the annual budget financed by the state, universities have three sources of income. Income from health services, fees and R & D projects. These three funds are subject to the laws established by the state. For this reason, universities are not allowed to makeover in terms of autonomy.

The financing of higher education through public funds is financed by public budgets or by scholarship and credit system. Student expenses for education and teaching as well as building and education expenses of charity universities are provided from the appropriations allocated to the state university budgets.

The increase in the number of students and the difficulty in allocating public resources create difficulties in increasing the allocations to higher education.

The funding of public universities is carried out by the state, while the foundations of higher education are funded by the private sector. The

state university budgets have a special budget according to the Law of Control and Public Financial Management No. 5018 (TURKEY, 2012).

The budget of private universities according to the scope of central government is established to perform the provision of a specific service, with income and expenses determined by budget laws of foundations. The private universities in Turkey, based on the authority given by the Constitution, according to article 6 of the Law of Higher Education No. 2547 (YÖK,1981), as a separate legal entity which is not the legal entity of the foundation and the income of this university are temporarily active or accounts. Pursuant to Article 3 of Law No. 2547, decisions of fiduciary / foundations in relation to university establishment are presented to the Board of Higher Education with the positive writings of the General Directorate of Foundations, together with certain documents and commitments. The main financial resource of the private universities in Turkey, legally identified as foundations are the contributions of students. Student contribution rates are determined by the fiduciary committee decision.

A number of state aids are being provided to foundation universities according to the supplement 18 of the Law no. 2547, in order to contribute to the expenses of the foundation universities considering the number of students enrolled in the university.

3.2 Progress of the financing of Higher Education in Brazil and Turkey between 1989 and 2016

It is recurrent that some official data overestimates budget execution data to increase the volume of funding for Education and other areas considered as current expenditure of public expenditure. For this, several accounting makeovers are used, constituting true budget juggling and making the original allocations of the resources provided by law as flexible as possible. With regard to these economist practices, which are very common in a State that directs policies under neoliberal parameters, it is common to see the increase in external or indirect expenses in the accounting that makes the expenditure calculations for public HEIs. Infinite

are the practices of the neoliberal economist state to underfund, freeze or reduce financial contributions to the HE, ranging from forced and suspect increases in capital expenditures to justify the limited room for raising costs even to the inclusion of expenditures costing with inactive and unrelated programs in the total volume of direct expenses with HE and cost-student calculation.

For Amaral (2011), the official linkage of education expenditure to a nation's GDP can mask the actual volume of funding needed for specific educational levels. The first distortion caused by the linkage of consolidated educational expenditures to GDP, pointed out is related to the total volume of GDP. For a nation with low GDP, the percentage of GDP spent on education represents a burden that can interfere with the costing of other areas assumed by the State and / or the amortization and debt rollover service.

Regarding the quantification of educational spending in relation to GDP, another problem mentioned by Amaral (2011), is related to the net demand of the pupil of a certain educational level. In this logic, the volume of expenditure in relation to GDP would have to take into account the "size of the student to be served", that is, the number of people from a particular country in an age group appropriate to a respective educational level.

Before analyzing the reforms and some HE programs, this comparison is deemed necessary to understand the degrees of priority on the political agenda of the state under the neoliberal capitalism of the 1990s and their permanence in the 2000s, as in both countries.

In order to obtain a broader analysis, it is necessary to project beyond GDP and its application, represented in amounts and percentages related to the expenditure with HE in the two countries in relation to the economic dimension of each one, and also to relate the size of the net demand of the HE, represented by the quantitative study of the age group of 18 to 24 years in the periods measured or projected from the national statistical censuses referring to the population as a whole.

Regarding the data on the percentage of annual public expenditure for Higher Education in relation to GDP, the data available in the ministries and national bodies of Education of both countries analysed are used. In relation to the tabulations related to GDP, values measured in current US

dollars and calculated in indices of comparability of the specific cost of living of each country are considered. For this, the data of the purchasing power parity index (PPP), used in the measurements made by the IMF and World Bank will be utilized.

3.2.1 The evolution of the financing of Higher Education in Brazil

Between 2003 and the end of 2016, the consolidated public spending on Education, covering all amounts allocated to the HE through the Union, States, Municipalities, and DF, reached an average of 0,77% (INEP, 2016). In relation to the amount invested in higher education in Brazil in relation to GDP, it is observed that despite a growth of the Brazilian GDP, the investment in tertiary education continues without major significant changes during the period.

The GDP PPP, between 2003 and 2016, recorded an accumulated growth of 78.8%, while the growth of the amount invested by the government in relation to GDP was only 11.22% in that period.

Table 23 - Evolution of GDP, public investment in HE and percentage of investment in relation to the Brazilian GDP (2003-2016)

Year	GDP, PPP current prices (billions of international dollars)	Government expenditure on Tertiary education, total (% of GDP)
2003	1.768,15	0,69
2004	1.921,5	0,64
2005	2.046,715	0,68
2006	2.193,089	0,65
2007	2.387,896	0,68
2008	2.558,683	0,68
2009	2.574,873	0,73
2010	2.802,894	0,76
2011	2.974,764	0,83
2012	3.088,127	0,78
2013	3.232,46	0,78
2014	3.307,199	0,75
2015	3.224,389	0,72
2016	3.152,275	0,77

Source: IMF (2016), INEP (2016)

3.2.2 The evolution of the financing of Higher Education in Turkey

In the AKP Party Government, there was clear interest in a complete overhaul in the ways of university management and operation. The new universities founded in the 1990s sought to implement the new privatization axes in management and also in relation to financial management. The expansion of these new universities sought to counterbalance the weight of large national universities and possibly impose in the medium term a new management model in line with neoliberalist guidelines.

Among the total expenditures with Education, perceived between 2003-2016, the budget of the Ministry of Education destined for university education has corresponded to at least 4.13% of total expenditures in relation to GDP.

Table 24 - Evolution of GDP, public investment in HE and percentage of investment in relation to the Turkish GDP (2003-2016)

Year	GDP, PPP current prices (billions of international dollars)	Government expenditure on Tertiary education, total (% of GDP)
2003	761,555	0,94
2004	857,963	2,45
2005	965,355	3,34
2006	1.065,76	3,35
2007	1.149,159	3,21
2008	1.181,605	3,29
2009	1.134,568	3,33
2010	1.245,901	3,24
2011	1.412,942	3,68
2012	1.507,895	3,63
2013	1.662,355	3,77
2014	1.779,62	3,88
2015	1.908,397	3,91
2016	1.994,281	4,13

Source: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı (2017)

The amounts invested in the HE in the year 2016 are about 5 times higher than that allocated to this area in 2003. In relation to percentages of GDP, there is a significant growth during the period, with a cumulative growth of 161.87 % in the period.

3.2.3 HE financing in Brazil and Turkey in comparative perspective

When comparing the public financing of the HE in Brazil and in Turkey between the period 2003-2016, one can verify some contrasts with respect to the percentage in relation to the invested GDP. During the analysed period, we observed a higher investment in Turkey than that observed in Brazil.

In relation to the investment in the HE as percentages of GDP / PPP in Brazil and in Turkey, we can see a large difference regarding the period analysed. While in Brazil, between 2003 and 2016, there is a consistent stagnation of the investment indexes in the GDP-related to the HE and a minimum growth of 11.22%, based on 2003, since the index was 0.69% in that year and 0.77% in 2016; in Turkey, there is a substantial advance in GDP-related financing ratios, which increased by 161.87%. This increase in the percentages of GDP applied in the HE was progressive throughout most of the period, which considerably increased the investment from 0.94% of GDP in 2003 to the index of 4.13% in 2016 (IMF, 2016, INEP, 2016, MEB, 2017).

Although in both countries GDP grew strongly in the two decades, with an increase of 78.28% in Brazil and 161.87% in Turkey, in the Brazilian case the increase in the amounts for the financing of the HE did not keep pace with growth economic development of the country.

3.3 Public Funding Policies for Intervention Programs and Projects in The Higher Education

The comparison between public funding in Higher Education in Brazil and in Turkey makes it possible to show relative differences in the forms chosen by each country for the expansion of the number of places and the consequent access to the modes of Higher Education. However, if there are particularities among the public policies to be compared, the long-term trends observed in the two countries have signaled a greater convergence of purposes and actions.

In the 1990s, it is undeniable that the policies and actions adopted for the Higher System in Brazil and Turkey have assumed a more privatizing character. However, it is from the second half of the 1990s that a set of focused policies that materialized in the form of programs and projects of state intervention in the public university. Adapted to different realities of both countries, the policies of state intervention in the HE consisted of a set of diffuse actions, particular to each national reality, but convergent in relation to some reformist objectives, especially that of socially providing greater and better conditions for access and the permanence in the HE.

In this context, it is important to analyze in a comparative way some programs carried out by both countries, focusing on the equity and efficiency of systems.

3.4 Public Policies in the Higher Education of Brazil and Turkey in the period 1989-2016 and general characteristics

In analyzing the public policies implemented by both Brazil and Turkey, a similarity was sought in relation to the actions in relation to the objects or format.

It is worth emphasizing that the practices between the public power and the private sector result from historical configurations of Higher Education, as we could observe in previous chapters. In relation to the government programs for intervention in Higher Education, a difference is established between the two countries in relation to the practice of financing and public subsidies for private establishments. While in Turkey this practice occurs on specific occasions, seeking to direct public resources towards the financing of primarily state institutions.

It will be sought to draw a comparative overview of some of the major programs between 1990 and 2000 in the two countries for the expansion of the HE, number of places and permanence in higher education. Among the various policies to be compared, it analyzes the state interventions and actions for credit, access, maintenance and permanence of students in higher education courses.

3.4.1 Government policies and actions at the Brazilian university (1989-2016)

In Brazilian Higher Education, government actions have gained greater attention since the late 1990s. In successive governments, interventions have been aimed at improving the conditions of access to Higher Education. In general, the reformist actions have sought to extend the conditions of access and permanence of the students at the university. To achieve these objectives, the promotion of private initiative through subsidies and partnerships was chosen. These actions have aimed at increasing the role of private initiatives in the HE and the consequent reduction of the State's responsibilities towards this level of education or at least a division or partnership of responsibilities. From the point of view of the profit of educational companies operating at the higher level and the containment of the expenditures necessary for the State to expand the HE network to meet demand minimally, some of the profitable partnerships and public-private sector tax exemption programs have emerged since then.

In the 1990s, in the face of neoliberal policies initiated with Fernando Collor de Mello and consolidated in the FHC period (1994-2002), in which resources for higher education practically stagnated in the face of the growing demand. Thus, reformist interventions in HE system acted more towards reducing the size of the State, as well as its financial responsibilities regarding the cost of Higher Education. Between 1990 and 2004, the peak of the privatization of Higher Education in Brazil was observed. There was an expansion of private HEI never seen before, not even in the previous process of expansion of privatism in education

through stimuli and fiscal renunciations. in the military dictatorship (1964-1984).

The first action, to stimulate privatism, was the creation of several academic typifications, e.g. universities, university centers, integrated and isolated colleges, etc. - process known as differentiation (OLIVEIRA, 2002).

The process of privatization of Higher Education was also observed in the 2000s and was not reversed by Lula's mandates (2003-2010). However, specifically from the beginning of the second mandate, in 2007, the public policies for Brazilian HE are materialized in programs that are closer to a state policy for the expansion of public higher education than at any other time. In spite of having great similarities with the management of FHC, especially in the first term, 2003-2006, Lula divided the governmental attention regarding the HE between the stimulus of the public sector and the private initiative.

A very emblematic law, sanctioned in the Lula government in the first term (2003-2006), called attention to the neoliberal privatism of that government. The Federal Law 10,973 of December 2, 2004, which allowed the private and the corporate use of the human and material resources of the Federal Institutions of Higher Education (BRASIL, 2011).

The Lula government also followed the practices of educational credits, which were reformulated. Carrying out the preparation of some important programs of educational inclusion and university assistance, such as PROUNI, PNAES, among others - implemented in recent years.

In the last decade, the promotion of the private sector of the HE has been simultaneous and combined, through the FIES Program (BRAZIL, 2008) - offering educational credits to finance tuition fees - and the benefits granted with funding in private HEIs through the PROUNI scholarships, created by Law 11,096 of January 13, 2005, was designed with greater appeal to the social (BRAZIL, 2013). With different objectives and similar target public, the two programs attend to the modality of full or partial costing of the permanence of the student in the private HEI. Another peculiarity is that in recent years it has been increasingly common, within the modalities of partial funding of these programs, the allowed accumulation of FIES credits with the PROUNI grants. In this field,

it can be said that both programs serve the same public or at least a very close student profile among those who make up the huge number of applicants for opportunities in higher education.

Although PROUNI is more recent and presents itself as a benefit, being perceived as a more advanced means of social inclusion and of providing access to HEI to an audience composed of economically disadvantaged classes, it is possible to find some convergences with the FIES. In the field of inclusion in higher education, both offer opportunities for access.

Table 25 - Total number of scholarships offered by PROUNI each year

Year	Total scholarships offered
2005	95.569
2006	109.018
2007	105.573
2008	124.620
2009	161.368
2010	152.734
2011	170.762
2012	176.751
2013	177.302
2014	223.488

Source: MEC (2017)

Table 25 shows an average growth greater than 133.85% of the scholarships offered in the first years of the program. This brings to the forefront the huge demand for the program and consequent allocation of more budgetary resources to cover the increase in the number of scholarship holders and to pay in full security the tuition fees of private establishments.

3.4.2 Government policies and actions in the Turkish HE (1989-2016)

Measures introduced to accelerate the transformation of education in various parts of the world are now recognized as a process of liberal

restructuring. Within this process, we can include policies aimed at privatization, cuts in public funding, restructuring of the academic curriculum, and changes in the conditions in the work of teachers (HURSH, 2005).

With an economic crisis that was faced in the late 1970s and a restructuring process associated with the military coup of 1980 such trends were also strengthening in Turkey. However, the neoliberal restructuring of education in Turkey only really began in the mid-1990s and has since gained momentum with the AKP party government since 2000. In this process, international organizations such as the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the OECD have played important roles in introducing this process in the country.

As we have seen during the previous chapters, marketing and privatization practices in education have increased significantly over the last decade in Turkey.

The participation of private institutions has increased with the introduction of regulations to increase the number of institutions of this type.

Another practice observed during this period is increased government support for private educational institutions through the expansion of "public-private partnerships." One of these activities is the "educational campuses" that rely on the monetary help of the state government on a monthly basis to the organization that provides the school (or 'grounds'), and every immediate cost, for example, security, cleaning, and so forth. (EĞİTİM-SEN, 2012).

Another change, now more structural, in relation to the management driven by this market experience was the adoption by Turkey of a model more oriented to public management, rather than a traditional administration. The New public management (NPM) is based on business-specific management methods and techniques applied to the public sector for the efficiency and effectiveness that can be gained from market practices. With a similar approach by the private sector and the public sector. One feature of NPM is broader structural reform of education (TOLOFARI, 2005; VERGER & CURRAN, 2014). One of the changes in

this new management model is the price of the public service, and is now market driven.

In Turkey, there is no complete decentralization of education. The state remained centralized and in control, but has attempted to increase the impression of greater stakeholder participation.

An arrangement called the Ninth Development Plan (2007-2013) affirmed by the Turkish Grand National Assembly on 28 June 2006 as per Law 3067 of October 30, 1984. depicts this arranged strategies (T.R. PRIME MINISTRY, 2006). The Ninth Development Plan tends to financial, social and social changes in a coordinated way. Seeking strategic planning to increase the institutional and structural regulations of the country allowing a more efficient operation the market as a result of a redefinition of the role of the State in the economy.

3.4.3 Policies and intervention actions for access and inclusion in Higher Education in comparative perspective

During the period of research, between 1989 and 2016, both in Brazil and in Turkey, the processes of expansion and privatization of Higher Education had different rhythms in relation to the volume of financing and public policies generated for the HE. Despite the dominant neoliberal logic in the 1990s, which leaves traces of permanence on the social set (including the university), the processes of expansion and privatization of Higher Education have been accompanied by policies to facilitate access and social inclusion in higher education levels. However, this does not contradict neoliberal logic, since focused policies are also part of the neoliberal model. It is possible to observe in the two countries in the analysed period actions of a reformist nature, mainly through government programs / actions.

However, some points in common, coinciding with World Bank guidelines, which are diversification and massification of HE systems, have persisted over successive governments in both countries. In the field of strategies to reach these objectives, starting from different HE systems, the set of actions for intervention in Higher Education has delineated

contrasts. In general terms, strategies have been launched in both countries through a diffuse set of laws over the years, programs and projects focused on some of the state intervention objectives for the expansion of the HE system.

Both PROUNI and FIES, besides functioning as important tools for access and promotion of privatization in the HE, are also fundamental programs, from the point of view of the Federal Government, for the expansion of the Brazilian Higher Education.

In the Turkish HE system, characteristically less diversified and privatized than the Brazilian one, privatism, represented by the higher growth of private HEIs in the years 2000 in the AKP Government, is a trend that continues in the present day. Throughout the years 2000, policies, many of them focused on greater efficiency and conditions of permanence, have resulted in the considerable opening of national universities.

3.5 A Comparative analysis based on The U21 Ranking of World Higher Education

As specific objectives, it was tried to demonstrate the evolution of higher education in both countries, presenting the models of higher education. In order to analyse a more holistic comparison regarding the impact of the points addressed during this study, it is necessary to resort to a ranking of the world best practices of higher education, where it will be possible to observe in a complementary way to what has already been approached regarding to the similarities and disparities between higher education systems in Brazil and in Turkey.

The Universitas 21 Institute started in Melbourne in 1997, developing alongside a dynamic group of research-concentrated colleges that team up in areas of common interest and application for understudies and instructors. One of the goals of the U21 ranking is to empower improvement by comparative analysis of national frameworks in connection to performance in different nations.

In the overall result of the ranking between 2012-2018, among the 50 countries analysed, table 26 shows the positions reached by Brazil and Turkey.

Table 26 - Overall U21 2018 Ranking (referring to Brazil and Turkey between 2012-2018)

Brazil			Turkey		
Year	Ranking	Score	Year	Ranking	Score
2012	39	47	2012	44	44
2013	41	45,6	2013	45	38,9
2014	38	46,1	2014	47	39,1
2015	40	45	2015	49	38
2016	38	45,1	2016	44	40,7
2017	42	43,1	2017	40	44
2018	39	45	2018	41	44

Source: Adapted from Universitas 21, 2012-2018 ranking

Using as reference the Universitas 21 ranking of 2017, one can observe four different factors: resources, environment, connectivity and output.

3.5.1 Resources

The Resources variable investigates the scope of government expenditures, total expenditure and expenditures on Development Investment in HEIs. Environment has a quantitative record of policy and regulatory condition, the gender equality of pupils and educators, and a variable of information quality. Connectivity has been extended with the incorporation of web use measures, and number of global students and research articles composed with worldwide teammates. Output evaluates through nine output factors, the presence of world-class colleges, participation rates, and workforce abilities. (UNIVERSITAS, 2018)

One of the basic conditions for successful higher education is adequate allocation of resources, either by the government or the private sector. One measure is the spending by higher education institutions as a share of the GDP. Is worth to note that, for low-income countries,

especially those with a large student-age population, the share of GDP may not translate into high expenditures per student. In order to measure the contribution of higher education to the development of research, it is also important to evaluate R&D expenditures in higher education institutions in each country. Thus, in the resource item, 5 different variables are analysed, as detailed below:

R: (5%) - Public expenditure in higher education institutions, in percentage of GDP; R2: (5%) - Total expenditure on educational institutions percentage of GDP; followed by R3: (5%) - annual expenditure per student (full-time equivalent) by higher education institutions in USD; R4: (2,5%) - Expenditure on higher education institutions for research and as a percentage of GDP; and finally R5: (2,5%) - Expenditure on higher education institutions for research and development per capita population purchasing power prices USD, 2011. (UNIVERSITAS, 2018).

Table 27 - Criteria Resources U21 2018 Ranking (referring to Brazil and Turkey between 2012-2018)

Brazil			Turkey		
Year	Ranking	Score	Year	Ranking	Score
2012	36	42	2012	27	53
2013	38	42	2013	45	38
2014	34	46	2014	43	36
2015	34	45	2015	43	37
2016	35	47,1	2016	29	50,3
2017	33	52,6	2017	22	62,9
2018	34	50,5	2018	21	61,6

Source: adapted from Universitas 21, 2012-2018 ranking

It can be observed in relation to the Resource item that Turkey in the last 3 years have been assuming better positions in the Ranking compared to Brazil. On the other hand, Brazil did not show great variations in relation to its placement or overall score during the period, indicating as already noted that investment in higher education in Turkey is still higher than that experienced in the Brazilian scenario.

3.5.2 Environment

The second item evaluated to assemble the ranking is the evaluation of the Environment. Although allocated resources are a necessary condition to achieve a higher quality of service offered in higher education, they are not enough, and the regulatory environment is another important factor to ensure that these resources are used in an adequate and efficient manner, indicating the need for financial autonomy by the institutions, as well as appropriate diversity and competition, as well as external monitoring of performance.

In order to evaluate this question, quantitative data are used and a questionnaire was prepared with the objective of measuring the autonomy of the universities of higher education, having as 4 metrics for such analysis, which are:

E1: (2%) - Proportion of female students in higher education; E2: (2%) - Proportion of teachers in higher education institutions that are female; E3: (2%) - The classification for data quality, and finally E4: (14%) - qualitative measurement of the political and regulatory environment (UNIVERSITAS, 2018).

Table 28 - Criteria Environment U21 2018 Ranking (referring to Brazil and Turkey between 2012-2018)

Brazil			Turkey		
Year	Ranking	Score	Year	Ranking	Score
2012	36	82	2012	42	68
2013	40	80	2013	47	70
2014	40	80	2014	48	70
2015	37	76	2015	49	63
2016	40	73,9	2016	49	62,3
2017	42	68	2017	47	65,9
2018	41	66,8	2018	47	63,2

Source: Adapted from Universitas 21, 2012-2018 ranking

In relation to the Environment criterion, a superior performance of the Brazilian educational system is observed throughout the analysed period. Brazil ranks 41th in 2018 in the matter in question, while Turkey remains 6 places behind, despite the difference of only 3.6 points. Turkey

between 2012 and 2016 fell 5 positions, reaching the 47 position of the general ranking among the 50 countries analysed. As discussed in Chapter 2, higher education institutions in Turkey have less autonomy than the Brazilian system.

3.5.3 Connectivity

The third construct observed is connectivity, which is the value of a national higher education system, assessing the level of connectivity with the rest of the country's society, as well as internationally through education and research. Connectivity has the ability to promote technical change and economic growth. In order to evaluate this item, six measures are used:

C1: (4%) - Proportion of international students in higher education; C2: (4%) - Proportion of articles in co-authorship with international collaborators. The data are a weighted average for each country where weights are the output proportion of each higher education institution; C3: (2%) - Open access number of full text files on the web; C4: (2%) - External links that university web domains receive from third parties, averages for institutions; C5: (4%) - Responses from executives invited to evaluate "knowledge transfer is highly developed among companies and universities "in their country, in a survey conducted by IMD World Development, Switzerland; and as a last measure C6: (4%) - Percentage of research publications of the universities that are co-authoring with industry researchers. (UNIVERSITAS, 2018).

Table 29 - Criteria Connectivity U21 2018 Ranking (referring to Brazil and Turkey between 2012-2018)

Brazil			Turkey		
Year	Ranking	Score	Year	Ranking	Score
2012	42	22	2012	45	17
2013	40	38	2013	44	27
2014	43	33	2014	45	30
2015	46	27	2015	48	25
2016	47	25,3	2016	48	25

2017	48	24,6		2017	47	25,6
2018	39	36,8		2018	48	25,4

Source: Adapted from Universitas 21, 2012-2018 ranking

During the analysed period, Brazil won 3 positions, rising from 42 in 2012 to 39 in 2018, demonstrating an increase in connectivity in higher education. In relation to the proportion of international students, the country rose to 14th place, but collaboration with international researchers and local companies is ranked in the lowest quintile. On the other hand, Turkey that in 2012 occupied the 45th place in the ranking lost 3 positions, finishing in the 48th place in the year 2018, despite experiencing an increase in the score, demonstrating that despite seeking greater connectivity still lags behind the other countries evaluated.

3.5.4 Output

The last item to be evaluated is the Output, which through quality higher education is able to provide the country with a qualified workforce in order to meet the needs of the country, contributing to economic development and national and global knowledge. In order to capture these results, research and impact production measures are used, as well as student achievement, number of researchers, number of excellent universities and the employability of graduates as seen below:

O1: (13.3%) - Total articles produced by higher education institutions; O2: (3.3%) - Total of articles produced by higher education institutions per capita of the population; O3: (3.3%) - An impact measure calculated from the SCImago database; O4: (3,3%) - A weighted average number of institutions listed in the top 500 according to the 2013 Shanghai Jiao Tong index divided by population of the country; O5: (3.3%) – The excellence of the best universities in the country average of the index scores of 2013 Shanghai Jiao Tong to three best country research universities; O6: (3.3%) - Enrolment in higher education as a percentage of the eligible population, defined as the five-year age group following secondary education.

In addition to the measures mentioned above, complementary measures are addressed:

O7: (3.3%) - Percentage of population aged 25-64 with a higher education qualification, 2011, O8: (3.3%) - Number of researchers (full-time equivalent) in the nation per capita of the population, O9: (3.3%) - Unemployment rates among graduates aged 25-64 years, compared to unemployment rates for those with only non-tertiary secondary or post-secondary education.

Table 30 - Criteria Output U21 2018 Ranking (referring to Brazil and Turkey between 2012-2018)

Brazil			Turkey		
Year	Ranking	Score	Year	Ranking	Score
2012	33	25	2012	40	21
2013	34	25	2013	40	22
2014	33	27	2014	41	23
2015	34	28	2015	42	25
2016	33	31,7	2016	38	25,8
2017	37	27,9	2017	44	25,5
2018	37	28,5	2018	40	28

Source: Adapted from Universitas 21, 2012-2018 ranking

Regarding the Output criterion, Brazil presents a better return in relation to the investment in higher education, considering the various factors addressed. Regarding the country publications occupies a reasonable place, getting the 12th place in the total number of publications. However, it is worth mentioning that about 50% of publications are produced by 10% of higher education institutions, while Turkish institutions occupy the 15th place in the total number of publications.

CONCLUSION

In the last two decades, the Higher Education System has been under pressure from governments and international organizations for changes in direction. The transformations undergo processes of expansion and privatization of Higher Education (HE). From the analytical reading of the processes of expansion, organizational change and some public policies for the HE, the reformist orientations can be identified in university systems of developing countries like Brazil and Turkey. In the greatest institutional variety, privatism finds ground liberated for the exploitation of the educational market and / or university products. If, on the one hand, the massification of systems meets the demands of expanding capitalism, privatism in the HE also serves the specific interests of capital passed in the educational market.

Undoubtedly, from the 1990s onwards, a well-established tendency to expand the HE provided for a "democratization" of the market, that is, it accelerated the reproduction of capital and the exploitation of surplus value. From the point of view of capital, this process operates through the constitution of a massive contingent of labor force, increasingly dominated, sub-positioned and over-exploited by market operators and their agents who hold the hegemonic political power in each national state.

The documents governed by this logic can be found in the general recommendations of the World Bank for the HE of the most diverse countries between the analysed period. Among the basic premises listed as World Bank's universal prescriptions for the HE, can be found: 1) rationalization of expenditures; 2) openness to financing and private partnership; 3) transnationalization and commercialization of the university; 4) promotion of greater differentiation of institutions, including the establishment of private institutions; 5) provide incentives for public institutions to diversify funding sources; 6) redefining the role of government in higher education; 7) observation of policies that are designed to give priority to the objectives of quality and equity (WORLD BANK, 1995).

In the field of "rationalization of expenditures", what has been observed in Brazil, followed by successive governments during the

analysed period, is the occurrence of an expansion of the HE system without enough financial contribution from the State to support growth the demand for higher education. Although the process of expanding vacancies in HEIs (public and private) has been intensified in recent years, the investment proves to be insufficient. Although there was an increase in the amounts invested in HE in the period 2003-2016, there is an insignificant increase (11.22%) compared to the accumulated GDP growth (78.28%).

Turkish higher education, when analysed from the point of view of the evolution of public investment in the analysed period, reveals itself differently from Brazil, with a higher investment in higher education during the period and a more significant increase in relation to GDP (339,36%).

Beginning at the starting point that the HE of Brazil and Turkey are systems that present marked differences, we investigated how public and private categories were present in the structure of the university of each country. The first striking difference is that the most recent origin of the university in Brazil has borne traces of state resistance throughout history. This neglect opened the Brazilian university field, from a first moment, to the private initiatives. In a different way, the Turkish space, already had a university maintained and managed by the Ottoman Empire. After the founding of the republic, Turkey maintained in the "hands of the state" the control and responsibility of the higher education provision to society.

Due to the original structure of Higher Education being distinct in both HE system, the result of these processes generated forms of privatism and amplification of higher or lower waves, expressed in rhythms, nuances, intensities, and own actions, particular to each observed reality. Among the variables investigated, we sought convergences and contrasts regarding the conception of the HE in the two countries, the quantitative evolution of HEI and vacancies by public and private categories, access forms, and course completion rates.

The forms of access in the HE of the two countries were also consolidated with marked differences in the requirements for entry into HEI. While the structuring of Brazilian Higher Education has borne the marks of elitism, which still today are manifested in university exclusion mechanisms such as ENEM and other selective processes for admission.

The application of a national test in Turkey to equity of access and greater control of the state.

In relation to the number of students in public and private institutions, we observed distinctions between the two countries. Private university establishments in Turkey are a minority, recruiting a smaller number of students - which, to a large extent, makes them more elitist. In a scenario of large vacancies in public HEIs, such as the situation observed in Turkey, the expansion of the private sector did not go much further.

The HE system of Brazil and Turkey, convergingly, processes of expansion of vacancies in the HE, institutional diversification and privatization are unmistakably noticed. These same processes follow degrees, nuances, scales and differentiated rhythms related to singular aspects to the HE system of each country during the analysed period. However, the differentiations in the HE of both countries, preceding the last decades, refer to the foundations about the role of the public sector and private initiative in the original university configuration of each system - which brings different consequences in the evolution of the HE sets analysed and the intensity of privatism observed at this level of education.

In the analysis of enrolment in the HE, between 1989 and 2016, there are no doubts about actions that aimed to massify and diversify the set of the HE in the two countries in focus. Although all these processes can be identified in the two countries, there is no doubt that in Brazil educational privatism was more voracious. Of the enrolment in the Brazilian HE, 71,51% of enrolments were from private HEIs. In Turkey, it can be said that the private initiative in the HE remained as a minority in relation to vacancies offered and fulfilled, only 15,16%.

Based on the observation of the analysed data and historical factors related to the historical context of each country, it is possible to create suggestions for improvements in Higher Education in Brazil and in Turkey, aiming to improve in the long term.

The term benchmarking, known within the administration for analyzing positive criteria of other companies and application within its organization for better performance, was the basis for the creation of suggestions for improvements, in order to analyze the positive aspects

both countries evaluating a possible increase in the quality of university students.

The best practices were observed in Brazil, considering that the country presented a better placement in the ranking of Output, which evaluates publications, enrolment in HEIs, and number of young people with higher education. Although the country shows a strong privatization of the higher education sector and a lower participation of the State, both in terms of autonomy and investment, compared to Turkey, it still showed a high performance in relation to the Turkish higher education in the same period, indicating that greater participation and investment in higher education by the State does not necessarily represent an improvement in overall results.

However, it should be noted that Brazil and Turkey still remain among the last of the 50 countries analysed, with Brazil in position 39 and Turkey in position 41. Therefore, it is necessary to analyze not only quantitative criteria regarding the expansion, but also qualitative in relation to the services offered, in order to evaluate the real impact of the privatization process in the higher education system, such as the perception of the services provided, control of the courses offered by the educational institutions, quality of the structure (e.g. laboratories), in addition to observing the dropout factors of the students, both in public institutions, but mainly in private institutions, considering that in Brazil this number was extremely high among the total number of students who dropped out of undergraduate courses.

Higher education has been growing and studies in this area and suggestions are for constant improvement, and in the academic environment changes in new methodologies are necessary by analyzing the professional market that demands quality of university students in the increasingly competitive market.

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