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THE PROFILE OF STUDENTS IN THE “UNIVERSIDADE PARA TODOS” (UNIVERSITY FOR ALL) PROGRAM

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Abstract: The objective of this study is to investigate the profile of the public that had access to scholarships from the “Universidade para todos” Program based on race and gender categories, identifying the contribution of this public policy to the expansion of university among young people with family income of up to 1.5 SM (with access to full scholarships) and 3 SM (with access to partial scholarships). The study, with a quantitative and qualitative approach, adopted a procedure of bibliographical and documental research and collection of information and statistical data made available by the Open Data Portal of the Ministry of Education. The results suggest that PROUNI offered scholarships to men and women, more for the latter than for the former; for undergraduate students in private institutions of university, with the progressive growth of brown and black students and the reduction of white students. PROUNI presents itself as a Public Policy capable of expanding access to low-income youth in private institutions of university, as provided for in legislation.

Keywords: “Universidade para todos”; Democratization; Race; Gender.

INTRODUCTION

PROUNI was created by the Federal Government through Provisional Measure No. 213 of 2004, later converted into Law No. 11,096/2005 for, pursuant to art. 1 of the Law, grant “full scholarships and partial scholarships of 50% (fifty percent) or 25% (twenty-five percent) to students of undergraduate and sequential courses of specific training, in private institutions of university, whether or not for profit” (BRAZIL, 2005).

The Program, according to Interministerial Expo n° 061/2004/MEC/MF that accompanied the proposed Provisional Measure (BRAZIL, 2004), is part of the

Federal Government’s objective of granting scholarships to low-income students with a view to accessing university. For this, it elects as beneficiaries: those with *per capita* family income of up to three minimum wages who have completed high school in public schools or private institutions as full scholarship holders; students with disabilities and public school teachers students of training courses for teaching basic education (licenciatura, normal superior and pedagogy).

The present study intends to answer the following question: what is the profile of the public benefited by the PROUNI Public Policy? Who are these beneficiaries, based on their profile in terms of race and gender? In this sense, the objective is to analyze how the contingent of people contemplated by the policy indicates a break in the cycle of reproduction intrinsic to the educational system, which at a higher level was historically presented as a space reserved for the country’s elites. For this, it is worth analyzing the data made available by PROUNI, which has shown the inclusion of new audiences in Brazilian university, even within the scope of the private network. It was possible to observe, based on the numbers presented, that although there was a quantitative insertion in the number of students, this was accompanied by what Catani and Gilioli (2005) pointed out in a previous study: low concern with the permanence of students and with the quality of the education to be offered, and government granting of financial and institutional power to large educational conglomerates¹.

ACCESS TO UNIVERSITY IN THE BRAZILIAN CONTEXT: BEFORE AND AFTER PROUNI

Access to university in Brazil has historically been reserved for higher-income segments, which are also linked to race

1 In the discussion of the PL that established PROUNI, the sponsors of private higher education were central, with almost all of their claims incorporated into the final text (CATANI, GILIOLI, 2005).

(predominantly white). Government policies such as FIES (1999), PROUNI (2004) and the Quota Law (2012), however, have changed this reality as they focus on excluded segments. This made it possible for more places to be occupied by black and indigenous people and low-income students, generally from public schools. However, these policies, which were strengthened during the Workers' Party (PT) governments (2003-2016), made concerns regarding access to overcome concerns regarding the permanence of students. Furthermore, they focused on private university (CATANI, GILIOLI, 2005).

Such measures are inserted in a context in which the reproduction cycle pointed out by Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron prevails, where the school, as a social institution, acts towards the standardization of knowledge and behavior and the subjugation of those who do not fit into the its dictates. After all, symbolic violence takes place in this place in formats presented as neutral. For example, in the production of speeches that are intelligible only to a part of the students, excluding the others, or in the application of segregating tests (BOURDIEU, PASSERON, 2017)². School curricula are also included here, as they are mechanisms in which representations and worldviews are consolidated that do not reach all students who enter teaching banks. With the entry of new subjects in university, in contemporary times, disciplinary programs, bibliographies and pedagogical methods have become politically disputed, in order to break with an educational model based on the perpetuation of social positions that come from outside to inside the academy.

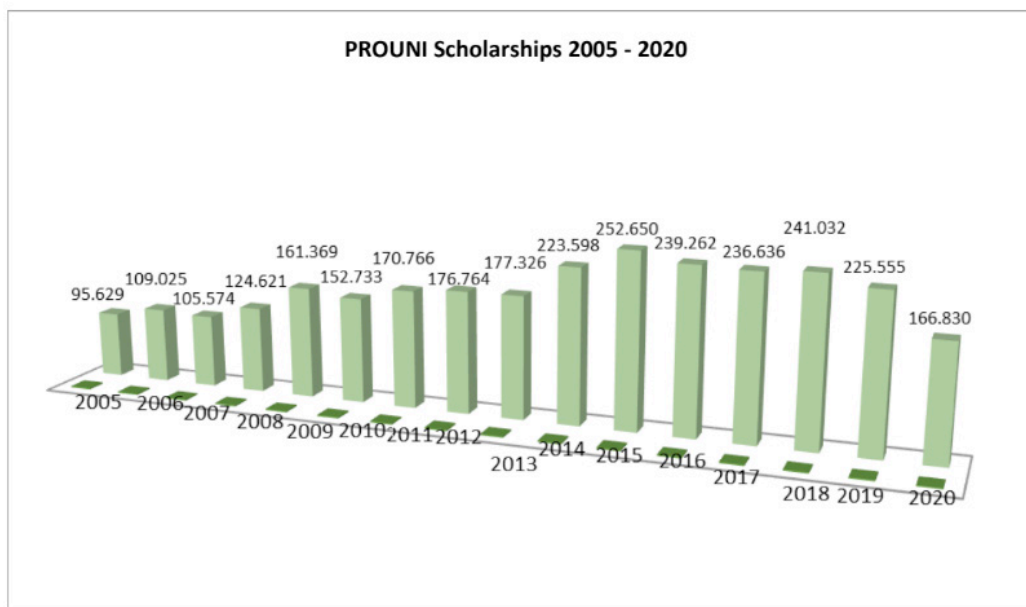
By giving the dominated classes access to Universities, PROUNI made it possible for the university system to be updated in its

composition. From a space for the reproduction of hierarchies, there was a leap towards the possibility of transforming not only the social spaces occupied by the new publics that accessed universities, but also the curricula and practices applied in classrooms. However, even though university democratization policies put an end to intergenerational cycles of non-access to university, they did so, as in the case of the policy analyzed here, through quantitative inclusion in private education, disregarding the possibilities for permanence of students. new audiences in the chosen courses and the benefits that would be granted to private Universities, strengthening them to the detriment of public university, since these suffered from chronic evasion problems due to the impossibility of many students to pay the contracted monthly fees (CATANI, GIOLILI, 2005).

As it can be seen in Graph I, between 2005 and 2020 a total of 2,859,370 scholarships were awarded via PROUNI, initially 95,629 and in the last year analyzed 166,830, registering in 2015 the highest offer with the granting of 252,650 scholarships, with hence a decrease.

Despite the reduction, it is possible to verify that, between 2005 and 2020, there was an increase of 74.5% in the number of scholarships, reflecting the curve of increase between 2008 and 2015 and the curve of reduction observed between 2016 and 2020. of beneficiaries, as shown in Figure 2, is, in almost all years (with the exception of 2007 and 2008), made up of women. This implies problematizing the place of women in university. If for decades access to university banks was forbidden to them, currently these occupy most places in universities according to IPEA data collected by Alves, Cavenaghi, Carvalho and Sussai (2016), even in certain courses such as Pedagogy and Social Work

² The authors analyze the French case, in which the presence of students from different social classes in public schools and universities is common. In Brazil, however, this fusion is different, given that private basic education tends to be a differentiator between the dominant classes and the dominated classes.



Graph 1– Number of scholarships offered by PROUNI/Brazil between 2005 and 2020.

Source: Elaboration of the authors based on Open Data - MEC (BRAZIL, 2005-2020)

YEAR	Masculine	%	Female	%	TOTAL
2005	36,097	37.74	59,532	62.26	95,629
2006	46,294	42.46	62,731	57.54	109,025
2007	74,485	70.55	31,089	29.45	105,574
2008	87,447	70.17	37,174	29.83	124,621
2009	68,890	42.69	92,479	57.31	161,369
2010	64,359	42.13	88,374	57.87	152,733
2011	74,393	43.74	96,373	56.26	170,762
2012	77,073	43.60	99,691	56.40	176,762
2013	80,824	45.57	96,502	54.43	177,326
2014	96,761	43.27	126,817	56.73	223,598
2015	112,243	44.42	140,407	55.58	252,650
2016	108,057	45.16	131,205	54.84	239,262
2017	107,660	45.49	128,976	54.51	236,636
2018	105,003	43.56	136,029	56.44	241,032
2019	94,187	41.75	131,368	58.25	225,555
2020	65,693	39.37	101,137	60.63	166,830

Table 1 – Distribution of PROUNI Scholarship Holders by Gender in the period from 2005 to 2020.

Source: Elaboration of the authors based on Open Data - MEC (BRAZIL, 2005-2020)

these are almost the totality and in others, such as engineering, they are at a numerical disadvantage. With regard to private university, this trend is no different, with most of the scholarships awarded by PROUNI being aimed at this public.

PROUNI FROM THE GENDER PERSPECTIVE

In the year the program was created, PROUNI had 59,532 scholarships occupied by women and, in the last year, the supply of scholarships occupied by women almost doubled, with 101,137, being the peak of 140,407 scholarships in 2015. The year 2007 represented the worst performance, in terms of occupation of scholarships by the female public, with a reach of 31,089 scholarship holders, as observed in table 1. This predominance of the female contingent in the program constitutes historical reparation of the veto to which women were submitted for centuries, involving access to education higher in Brazil. Only from the 1960s, with the rise of the feminist movement, it is possible to observe a growing inclusion of women in university institutions as well as in the labor market (ALVES, CAVENAGHI, CARVALHO *et al*, 2016). This achievement, however, does not indicate that academia is no longer permeated by gender inequalities. Female students are, in general, more penalized in the university context for taking on double or triple shifts (domestic, care). In addition, it is difficult for them to pursue certain careers, such as science.

In the case of PROUNI, these singularities can be aggravated, considering that in private Universities, the concern with the conditions of class, gender and race of students is even lower, which may aggravate the evasion of public benefited by the policy. Despite this, the numbers have shown that, at least quantitatively, the place of women has been

established in university. It is necessary, however, to verify, in other works, the numbers of concessions from 2021, in a post-pandemic context, given that they were the most affected by the health and economic crises, triggered due to the spread of covid 19, as data from the United Nations (UN, 2020), mainly in Latin American countries, such as Brazil. Would the granting of scholarships to the female public have cooled down in this scenario?

Figure 2 shows the predominance of female presence in practically every year since its installation, with a drop occurring only in the years 2007 and 2008, with a recovery and permanent growth in relation to the male audience. In 2005, women represented 62.26% of the scholarships offered by the PROUNI program, that is, 59,532 scholarships, out of a total of 95,629. In 2015, when the Program reached its peak, with 252,650 scholarships, the female public occupied its largest number, 140,407 scholarships, that is, 55.57% of the vacancies offered. In 2020, the female audience reached 101,137 vacancies, that is, 60.62% of the total, thus showing the growing consolidation of the female audience in the “Universidade para todos” Program.

In the opposite direction, men have always occupied a secondary space within the scope of PROUNI grants. In the year of its installation, male scholarship holders obtained 37.74%, or 36,097 vacancies. In 2015, at the height of the scholarship offer, men obtained 11,243 scholarships, or 44.42% of the available places in the “Universidade para todos” Program. In the last year surveyed, 2020, the percentage of vacancies destined for the male public represented 39.37%, or 65,693 vacancies. In the years 2007 and 2008, the male audience was the majority, with 70.55% and 70.17% of the amount of scholarships, these years being the ones with the greatest discrepancy between men and women. The fluctuations in the percentage suggest, however, a predominance

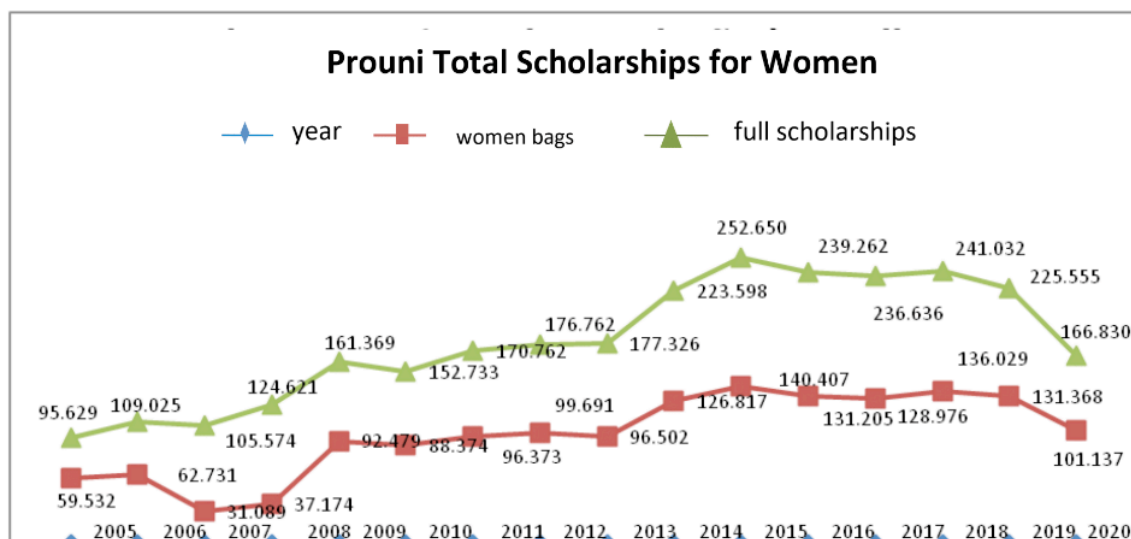


Figure 1 – Evolution of occupation of PROUNI scholarships by women in relation to the totality.

Source: Elaboration of the authors based on Open Data - MEC (BRAZIL, 2005-2020)

YEAR	Percentage of scholars by race				
	Yellow%	White%	Indigenous%	Brown%	Black%
2005	3.14	47.32	0.81	35.25	13.48
2006	1.90	48.83	0.19	33.83	15.25
2007	1.87	51.88	0.09	34.11	12.05
2008	1.90	50.09	0.09	35.30	12.62
2009	1.75	48.86	0.07	36.69	12.63
2010	1.66	47.85	0.08	37.86	12.55
2011	1.64	47.71	0.08	38.44	12.13
2012	1.61	44.19	0.09	41.72	12.39
2013	1.67	43.39	0.08	42.41	12.45
2014	1.72	41.70	0.08	43.39	13.11
2015	1.71	41.70	0.08	43.82	12.69
2016	1.84	40.67	0.08	44.87	12.54
2017	1.69	39.93	0.08	45.31	12.99
2018	1.73	38.69	0.08	46.53	12.97
2019	1.69	38.33	0.09	46.82	13.07
2020	1.74	38.67	0.09	46.81	12.69
Average	1.82	44.36	0.13	40.82	12.85

Table 2 – Percentage of scholars by race between 2005 and 2020.

Source: Elaboration of the authors based on Open Data - MEC (BRAZIL, 2005-2020)

of the female audience, maintaining a positive balance for women at the level between 54% and 62%, while men figure between 38% and 46% on average.

PROUNI FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF RACE

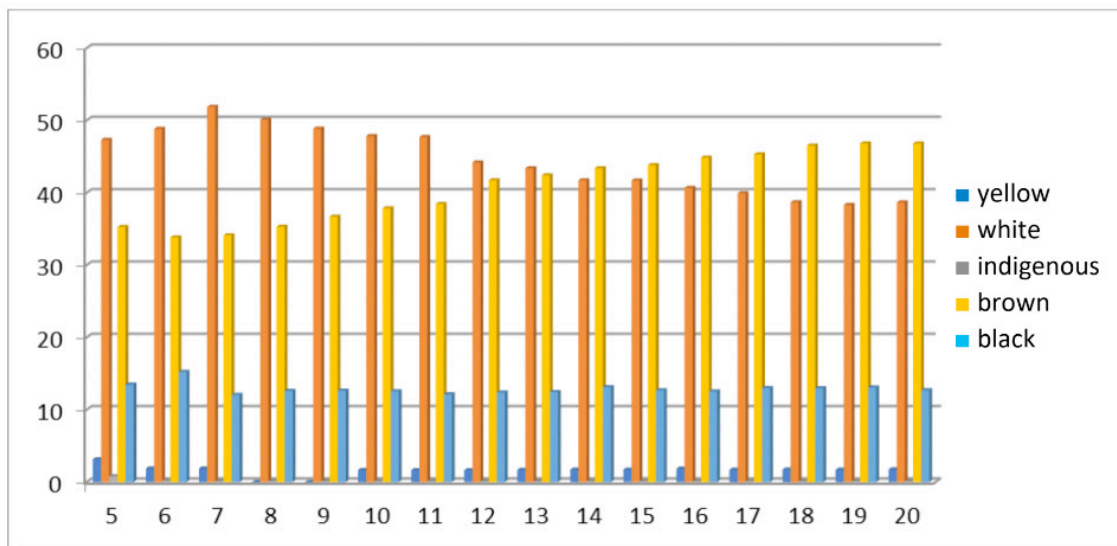
Those attended between 2005 and 2020, as shown in Table 2, are, on average, 1.82% yellow, 44.36% white, 0.13% indigenous, 40.82% brown, and 12.85% black. In the year the program was implemented, 3.14% of scholarships were offered to yellows, 47.32% to whites, 0.81% to indigenous people, 35.25% to browns and 13.38% to blacks. There was an increase in the number of scholarships made available to brown students during the period studied. While they represented 35.25% in 2005, they arrived in 2020 with 46.81% of vacancies, with an average of 40.82% in the period. On the other hand, white students reduced their participation. In 2005 they represented 47.32% of the total number of PROUNI grants. In 2020, self-declared white scholarship holders represented 38.67%, but their average in the period (44.36%) is higher than that of self-declared brown scholarship holders (40.82%).

In 2005, black scholarship holders represented 13.48%. Such rates in relation to scholarships for black students reached their peak in 2006, with 15.25%, remaining between 12% and 13% in the remaining years. As for indigenous scholarship holders, the highest offer of scholarships occurred in the first year of PROUNI, with 0.81%. In the surveyed period, the offer varied between 0.07 and 0.09% in the amount of scholarships. The data show that until 2009, there was a predominance of white people among young people awarded with PROUNI grants. From then on, brown scholarship holders take the lead, keeping ahead in all other years. This movement expresses a trend that would

accelerate with the enactment of the Quota Law in 2012: the entry of racialized people into university. Until the 2000s, the association of university (public and private) with the middle and upper strata of Brazilian society was evident. These higher income strata are also predominantly white. If on the national scene, class and race combine, the inclusion of black and brown people through policies to democratize access to university made universities the *locus* of the popular classes.

Graph 2 shows what has already been exposed above: comparatively between 2005 and 2020, the issue of race, based on the scholarships offered, favored white scholarship holders who represented the largest audience of beneficiaries from 2005 to 2013, having a higher average than the others races throughout the study period (44.36%). Brown scholarship holders grew throughout the period studied, surpassing white scholarship holders in 2014, assuming the leading role in the number of vacancies, but the average for the period remained in the background (40.82%). It is necessary to discuss with this turn how the permanence of black and brown people has occurred in university. Although the occupation of vacancies is important, other policies must be thought together with PROUNI, since the grants granted refer to the financing of the course fees, assuming that other costs involving food, materials, books and mobility continue to be borne by students. Only by combining this other layer is it possible to speak of a more consolidated inclusion.

In the Brazilian context, the marginalization resulting from racial hierarchies was historically combined with the marginalization resulting from class hierarchies, due to the predominance of black and brown people at the base of the social pyramid. As sociologist Lélia González (2018) puts it, enslavement and Brazilian-style racism, masked under the



Graph 2 - Percentage of PROUNI/Brazil scholarship holders by race between 2005 and 2020

Source: Elaboration of the authors based on Open Data - MEC (BRAZIL, 2005-2020)

YEAR	Teaching Mode	Gender Modal	Modal Region	Modal shift	Modal Color/ Race	Type of Modal Bag
2005 Absence number %	In person 90,860 94.90%	Female 59,532 62.25%	Southeast 52,055 54.43%	nocturnal 63,210 66.09%	White 34,535 36.11%	full 67,276 70.35%
2020 Absence Number %	In person 113,005 67.73%	Female 101,137 60.62%	Southeast 71,644 42.94%	nocturnal 75,328 45.15%	brown 46,951 46.79%	full 130,744 78.36%

Table 3 - Modal Profile of PROUNI/Brazil Scholarship Holders - 2005 and 2020

Source: Elaboration of the authors based on Open Data - MEC (BRAZIL, 2005-2020)

discourse of “racial democracy”, produced a society in which the place of black people is that of non-citizenship. Nothing is more “natural” in this context, therefore, than the exclusion – based on socioeconomic barriers – of this group from university, given that this was a layer of education reserved for the middle and upper strata. Therefore, by boosting the presence of black and brown people in private university, PROUNI, with all the limits already pointed out, made it possible to break intergenerational cycles.

PROUNI SCHOLARSHIP HOLDERS’ PROFILE FROM 2005 TO 2020

Table 3 presents the modal profile of the PROUNI scholarship holder in the year the Program started (2005) and in the last year in which data are available (2020), showing the permanence of some variables and significant changes in others, namely:

I – With regard to the teaching modality, while in 2005 there were 94.90% of scholarship holders in the face-to-face modality. In 2020 this number reached 67.73%, with a significant growth in the distance modality.

II – The predominance of the female public with PROUNI scholarships was on average 60% throughout the period surveyed

III – Predominance of PROUNI scholarships for students residing in the Southeast region, with fluctuations ranging from 54.43% (2005) to 42.94% (2020), this region being historically the largest concentration of vacancies in the university.

IV – Prevalence of PROUNI scholarships offered in the night shift, highlighting the offer of vacancies for student workers and student workers;

V – Initial predominance of white

scholarship holders, with 36.11 in 2005 and permanent evolution of brown scholarship holders, who currently outnumber whites, with 46.74 in 2020. VI – Prevalence of offering full scholarships, with an average remaining between 70.35 in 2005 and 78.36 in 2020.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

This article presents the results of the “Universidade para todos” Program, based on information available on the Open Data Portal of the Ministry of Education, analyzing data on the number of scholarships and their distribution according to gender and race, since its creation in 2005, until 2020. An attempt was made to present an overview of PROUNI in a general context, with a view to broadening the understanding of this Public Policy, aiming at a future evaluation and identifying an expansion of access to publics that until then were minorities.

Regarding scholarship offers, an average of 178,710 scholarships were awarded per year, with 2015 being the year with the highest number of scholarships offers (252,650) and 2005 the year with the lowest offer (95,629). With an annual average of 4.7%, until 2015, the program had an annual growth trend. As of 2016, except for 2018, there has been an annual drop in the number of scholarships offered for the “Universidade para todos”(University for all) Program. Over the period studied, 2,859,370 scholarships were offered. These grants were predominantly awarded, on average, to women, with 53.60%. Men obtained, on average, 46.4% of the grants. In the year of creation of the Program, in 2005, 59,532 scholarships were occupied by women, managing to almost double in the last year of study, in 2020, obtaining 101,137, being its peak in 2015, with 140,407 scholarships for the female public. There is a prevalence of

the female public of those who have access to scholarships of the “Universidade para todos” Program, with the female and white public being predominant in the averages in the studied period, with an annual evolution of the composition of the occupation of scholarships by brown students in recent years.

With regard to the Race category, during the study period, from 2005 to 2020, whites obtained the best average, with 44.36% of the scholarships made available by PROUNI. However, there is evidence of a growth in the presence of pardos with access to PROUNI grants. While representing 35.25% in 2005, pardos reach 2020 with 46.81% of the vacancies offered by the Program. The white public, which represented 51.88% in 2007, reaches 2020 with a percentage of 38.67%.

Therefore, PROUNI offered scholarships to men and women, more to these than to those; for undergraduate students in private institutions of university, with the progressive growth of brown and black students and a reduction of white students.

This Program, as a public policy for access to university for young people from the popular classes, has been fulfilling the objectives established in terms of its creation: an increase in the number of vacancies in the university, through the provision of full and partial scholarships, as well as assistance in meeting goal 12 of the National Education Plan in order to increase the number of young people aged between 18 and 24 in the university.

In addition, PROUNI contributes to breaking with the association of university spaces as elite spaces and unique and exclusive reproduction of the dominant culture, as seen in the theses of Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron. However, by focusing only on access, it disregarded the permanence of students and the way in which the government used public resources to strengthen private

university instead of further increasing the expansion of public university so that it was universalized.

This work needs further deepening in terms of the universe of the public with access to university and the impact of the “Universidade para todos” (University for all) Program regarding the entry of new characters in private Universities. Greater action is expected on the part of the MEC in the sense of expanding the database with a view to identifying elements related to family income, parents’ education, employment, family situation, situation of people with special needs, access and permanence, evasion and conclusion, so that more precise factors can be identified regarding the analysis of the present public policy.

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